THE DISSOLUTION OF THE WEST INDIES FEDERATION

A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

BY

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.

Department of Geography,
McGill University,
Montreal.

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PREFACE I

The rapidity with which important developments are occurring in West Indian affairs makes it impossible to be up to date with everything in this work. What is more, since many parts of the West Indies lag behind in the publication of statistics it has been impossible to obtain reasonably complete sets of figures, for example, statistical data on population densities for a year or two preceding the formation of the Federation (1958); which means that some data are a few years old at the time of writing. In most cases, however, the substitution of the latest figures would not appreciably alter the conclusions drawn from the material.

The writing of this work has been made possible by the help of many people. Though there is not room here to thank them all by name, the author wishes at least to record how deeply he is indebted to them. He wishes to thank Dr. Trevor Lloyd, Chairman of the Department of Geography, McGill University, for his guidance and many invaluable suggestions during the preparation of this work. Grateful acknowledgement is also made of the help offered by Mrs. Kathleen Larson in the drawing of maps and by Mrs. Maura Giuliani in reading through the manuscript. It is no easy task to single out the many persons in the West
Indies who aided the author in many ways during the summer of 1962. Above all, the author offers sincere thanks to Mr. Ivan S. Smith, former Assistant Director, Bellairs Research Institute, Barbados; Mr. Peter Parker, Manager of the Deep Water Harbour, Barbados; Mr. Frank Walcott, Secretary General of the Trade Union, Barbados; Mr. Basley Maycock, civil servant, Ministry of Agriculture, West Indies Federation; Mr. John Girald, Surveyor, St. Lucia; Mr. Frank Rojas, Public Relations Officer, Grenada; Mr. E.A. Pringle, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Agriculture; Mr. Hugh Shillingford, Director, Public Works Department; Mr. Alick Boyd, Manager, Dominican Banana Growers' Association, all of Dominica; Mr. Levi Joseph, Labour Union, Antigua; Mr. Eric Skerrit, Federal Pharmacist, St. Kitts, Mr. Owen Rowe, officer-in-charge of the Commission in Canada for Barbados, Windward-Leeward Islands and British Honduras; the governments of Barbados, Trinidad/Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, and St. Kitts, all of whom introduced the author to books, records, places and peoples of interest on the islands. Any inaccurate interpretations, however, are the author's and all these people are not responsible for them. This work would not have been possible without the financial support from the Canadian Commonwealth and Scholarship Committee. Last but not least, the author thanks Mrs. Nina Byford who bore the
burden of typing while at the same time attending to her little boy.
INTRODUCTION

Since the Second World War all British parties have agreed on bringing the colonies to independence as quickly as possible, a process which often involves linking separate territories in a federal union. By this process, the Federation of Greater Malaysia and Nigeria have both become autonomous members of the British Commonwealth. The Federation of the West Indies was expected to become independent in this same procession but it was dissolved before it took its place.

Federalism is a difficult form of government whose success requires the sacrifice of some autonomy by the constituent units. The difficulties are increased where the units of the federation are markedly dispersed and unequal in their physical setting, wealth and natural resources, population, and cultural evolution. The West Indies Federation suffered from an imbalance of all these factors.

This is then an attempt to describe the influence of geographical (physical, economic and social) factors on the break-up of the West Indies Federation; it is also an attempt to suggest possible lines of investigation to those who wish to explore the subject in more detail.

The term 'Political Geography' here needs some explanation.
'Geography' may be defined as the study of areal differentiation and similarity of phenomena, physical and human, which give character to an area. 'Political Geography' is, therefore, the study of areal differences and similarities in a political setting as an interrelated part of the total complex of areal differences and similarities. It deals with the internal structure of a state, that is; physical features (geology, size, shape, physiography, climate, soils and vegetation), occupation, political set-up, social organization and with external relations which comprise location, territorial, political, economic, and strategic considerations. Thus "Political Geography deals with man's relation to the earth encompassing physical aspects of climate, landforms, and soils. It also draws upon social sciences as history, sociology, economics, political science and international relations. "(1) It is essential to know the basic facts of the physical environment, size, shape, the population, the economic and the political life of the states, and what neighbours these states have. The British West Indian islands, for example, are in the Caribbean; their neighbours include Cuba, Haiti, Venezuela, the Central American republics and Florida. They have approximately 3 million

inhabitants and most of their employed population is engaged in agriculture; they occupy an area of about 8,000 sq. miles, most of which, however, is of slight use for farming. Without these fundamental facts, it is difficult for one to assess the significance of the events that took place in the islands between 1958–1962. (1)

Chapter One is devoted to a general consideration of the historical political geography and deals with forces which have influenced the idea of forming a federation among the West Indian Islands. Chapter Two includes aspects of geographical difficulties – dispersion, inter-island trade, transport and communication, population, unsatisfactory location of the Federal Capital – together with economic obstacles to the federation. Chapter Three presents an outline of the physical environment, the different types of occupation, and trade. Chapter Four deals with cultural diversity and the ensuing problems in education. Chapter Five is concerned with the effects of the dissolution and alternatives. Chapter Six concludes with a few suggestions for the West Indies, Britain, and Canada.

The figures (maps, diagrams, and plates) are placed as near as possible to the page or pages to which they are related.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE FEDERATION

Islands in the Caribbean Sea consisting of ten territories in the British Commonwealth had voluntarily joined to form a union of free and equal partners. This West Indies Federation was formed in January, 1958, and was to become independent on May 31st, 1962, — a date which, instead, marked its dissolution. The four-year old Federation of the West Indies was, however, not the first but the most comprehensive attempt at political integration in the Caribbean. The idea of a West Indies Federation dates back to 1682 when the Leeward Islands of Antigua, St-Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands and Dominica included in the Leeward Islands, joined in a Federal Assembly. However, the islands did not actually federate until 1705. The association broke down in 1798. Time and time again in the nineteenth century, Britain considered the advantages of a West Indian Federation, but for a variety of reasons, nothing constructive was done about it. In 1871 a loose administrative federation was imposed on the Leeward Islands which merged into the larger experiment in 1958. A similar attempt was made among the Windward Islands of Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent after 1871, but it was short-lived. At no time was there a formal federation in being until 1958, and during all these attempts to bring the islands into closer
administrative association, Trinidad and Jamaica, the two largest islands, stood aloof. (1) In 1932, for example, an Eastern Caribbean Federation based on mutual contact and proximity was proposed, but Trinidad was strongly opposed to any kind of union with the other small and poverty stricken islands. These islands have always been able to count on aid from the United Kingdom Government, whether in balancing the budget or in recovering from periodic disasters through hurricanes, fire or crop failure — to all of which the area seems prone. Thus "between 1946 and 1956 nearly £8.5 million was given for such purposes. Substantial grants for economic and social development have been allocated under successive United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare (C.D. & W.) Acts — which totalled £37.5 million between 1946 and 1960." (11)

The initial impetus toward a larger federation came from the establishment in 1940 of the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme which, through grants in aid, started helping the islands overcome their financial difficulties. The Scheme provided an opportunity to appreciate regional co-operation although no long-term economic and social plans could exist because of war.

Regional co-operation was also furthered by the activities of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture founded in 1921 in Trinidad; by the Sugar Cane Breeding Station in Barbados; by the Cotton Research Station in Antigua; and by the Regional Virus Research Laboratory in Trinidad. The University College (now University) of the West Indies, founded in Jamaica in 1949, attracted students from the whole Caribbean area. Apart from its teaching and research programmes, it served as a centre for many regional conferences on education and for a number of regional research projects. A Regional Economic Committee which also included British Guiana and British Honduras was formed in 1951. Its chief concern was with economic surveys, inter-island shipping, air services, trade, export industries, and public finance. Interterritorial Producers' Associations included the British West Indies' Sugar Producers' Association, the Federation of Primary Producers of the British Caribbean and British Guiana, the West Indies Sea-island Cotton Association, the British Caribbean Citrus Association, the West Indian Limes Association, and the Caribbean Tourist Board.

In 1955 a unified currency was established for the whole of the Eastern Caribbean. Reciprocal arrangements were concluded to make Jamaican currency legal tender in the
Eastern Caribbean and vice versa. Services of this type, although they appeared elementary, helped to forge some reasonable policy of economic development.

The "Caribbean Commission" was established in 1942 jointly by Britain and the United States but was extended in 1945 to include France and the Netherlands, which were unable to join in 1942 because they were occupied by Germany. In September, 1961, the Commission was renamed the Caribbean Organization and its members at that time included French dependent territories in the Caribbean -- Martinique, Guadeloupe, and also French Guiana; the Netherlands dependencies of Antilles and Surinam; British Guiana, British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the United States Virgin Islands as well as the West Indies Federation, which then existed. The organization is responsible for regional economic, social and cultural development. The Caribbean Research Council, whose technical committees have studied the basic problems of the Caribbean region was an outgrowth of this organization.

By the end of the Second World War, the British Government decided to press for a West Indian Federation more vigorously than ever before. After a favourable response from the West Indians themselves, culminating in the Montego Bay Conference in 1947, when the principle of
federation on the Australian model was accepted, a federation was formed in 1958. The governments which came together to form the federation were Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands; but of these, Jamaica had (and has) dependencies, consisting of the numerous islands of the Cayman, Turks and Caicos groups. The Leeward Islands group was itself a federation of presidencies comprising a large number of inhabited islands, including the British Virgin Islands. The Windward Islands were a collection of four fair-sized islands which had a common governor. Trinidad had associated with it in government the smaller island of Tobago. When the federation was formed some of these groupings were disregarded or dissolved. The presidencies of the Leeward Islands colony, for instance, and the colonies of the Windward Islands, all entered the federation as separate units. The units of the federation, therefore, were Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Kitts–Nevis–Anguilla, Montserrat, Trinidad with Tobago, Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. British Guiana and British Honduras could accede to the federation at any time if they so decided.

MOTIVES FOR FEDERATION: United Kingdom Pro-Federation Policy

As Henry J. Bruman states, ".. the Caribbean islands have become an increasing financial burden to the United
"Kingdom,"(i) and hence Britain proposed and supported the way in which the ten territories could be fashioned into one politically and economically viable union able to act as a sovereign state. Only in this way could the islands' maximum bargaining power in international discussions affect their vital economic interests, in such matters, for example, as the fixing of sugar quotas. Only through unity could the islands pool their resources, be able to employ experts, support research programmes and agricultural programmes which the islands could not afford individually. "... the logic of the modern world demands larger units which alone can pool resources to command the capital for adequate development and social welfare. "(ii) All except Jamaica and Trinidad are too small and too poor to be workable self-governing units in twentieth century conditions. The British Government was also convinced that only through some union could the islands achieve dominion status, independence within the British Commonwealth — a status to which even the political leaders of the islands professed to aspire.

"ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION"—1942:

Britain had been increasingly interested in the economic betterment of the islands since the beginning of the Second


(ii) Ibid., p. 800.
World War. Her eagerness rose partly from a desire to raise the standard of living in the area for the sake of the West Indians themselves, and partly from lack of proper working conditions. Before the Second World War, there had not been any trade unions; sugar workers were unorganized and working conditions were generally poor and often accompanied by strikes (St. Kitts, Jamaica, Barbados).

Britain also hoped that separate tariffs and other barriers to trade imposed by the ten islands against one another would be eliminated. The elimination would, in turn, stimulate inter-island trade and possibly provide a larger internal market. This would encourage development of industries which were uneconomic within a single island. It was further claimed before 1958 that federation of the islands would facilitate free movement of people and goods among the islands. Migration of people would reduce the disparities in population and allow more rational adjustment of people and resources, hence contributing to the reduction of unemployment and to the economic development of the entire region. International commercial negotiations would also be improved because they would be made by one government rather than by ten as had been the case. Federation would help in creating a basis on which to diversify agriculture, rationalize
production and build up new light industries. Admittedly, Britain did not expect the Federation to solve all these economic problems. Federation by itself could not, and no federation will, end any of these difficulties. The elimination of tariffs for example, would not in itself double the volume of inter-island trade as long as island units continued to export in large quantities the same products (like sugar and bananas) or to offer inferior products to those obtainable elsewhere.

Technically efficient, the British West sugar industry has increased its yield in tonnage by 66-213 per cent in ten year; but if it hadn't special protection by the United Kingdom it could not possibly compete with the Dominican Republic, whose total exports are about the same as the whole of the British West Indian Islands'. Trinidad's oil is an efficient industry making a profit, but its relative costs are so high that it cannot plough back what it needs for expansion, still less support the standard of living that other oil-producing communities (like Venezuela and Mexico) enjoy. Ecuador's bananas could put the West Indies' bananas out of business at once if she could sell them in Britain on a free market. The high quality of Trinidad's and Grenada's cocoa makes it competitive, but lower costs (as those in Ghana) would give it still greater advantages. Dominica's limes could not compete with Mexico's in a free
market. Florida's citrus fruits can undersell the British West Indies' although her wages are five or six times higher than theirs. (i)

Jamaica's bauxite is the only product which has an assured market. A well-balanced economy would lower production costs, improve organization for marketing, introduce some mixed farming.

The removal of immigration barriers would not relieve the overpopulation from which an island like Barbados suffers so long as land for settlement remains unexploited due to inaccessibility in a less densely populated territory like Dominica.

The West Indian Desire for Federation

At the turn of the 20th century there were immense obstacles to a political federation of the Caribbean: lack of sentiment among the people of the unit territories; diversity of culture and economic difficulties; difficulties of communication and physical isolation. People in the Caribbean had not learned any lesson from the loose federation of the Leeward Islands in 1871: However the federation (1897) and amalgamation (1899) of Tobago with Trinidad left a mark on the larger question of Caribbean federation since the status of Tobago did not pass unnoticed in some of the smaller islands.

The period between the two world wars witnessed the growth of the federal idea in the Caribbean, but this growth was largely confined to the Southern Caribbean. "In these islands there was mutual contact and interchange and the development of West Indian sentiment was a natural corollary of such a situation."(i) This same period is also marked by discontent and unrest (page 7), which helped the notions of democracy and self-determination.

During the war, through the lend-lease destroyer deal with Britain, the United States established strategic bases on the islands. "The establishment of American bases within the area was probably the single most important factor contributing to the development of West Indian nationalism. The manner of the decision, made without reference to West Indian opinion, (the islands were colonies) forced attention to the problem of self-determination. The society was also exposed to the flow of ideas from all over the world, while the set-backs experienced by the Allies led to an undermining of that section of the population whose political beliefs were founded on a belief in British might."(ii)

(i) Ibid, p. 137

Experience of West Indian students at universities abroad was also one of the major sources of West Indian nationalism. But minor institutions—the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture and the University College of the West Indies, had fostered West Indian sentiment. The limited number of students who passed through the Imperial College "developed a collective solidarity and led the Agricultural departments of the area to possess quite early a national rather than an insular composition."(1) The University College fostered national sentiment by the process of living together. Also for West Indian leaders of foresight, federation of the islands meant political independence and greater economic strength for the islands.

But the islands supported federation also for varying reasons. The smaller islands hoped to attain and sustain advances in economic, social and also political fields. To them, federation promised a customs union, free movement of people and also an extension of economic development and functional co-operation which had begun in 1942 with the establishment of the Anglo-American Commission which in 1952 expanded to include the Regional Economic Committee. It was, therefore, thought necessary for the smaller units to pool their resources. To the larger units of Jamaica and
Trinidad, federation would turn the smaller units into markets for their products.

These points together with some emotional will toward nationhood among the West Indians, themselves, led to the formation of the federation in 1958. But from the outset, the complex problems confronting it were evident. These were historical, political, social, economic and geographical.

However,

the real obstacles to the spread of a Caribbean-wide outlook are more deeply rooted...they stem from such geographical factors as: isolation, which had bred insularity; and regional homogeneity of climate which has led to the production of competitive rather than complementary export crops; from traditional bilateral trade relations between each of the colonies and the 'mother country'; and from poverty perpetuated by a century of neglect following the abolition of slavery; and an ever-growing population pressure upon limited natural resources.(1)

Geographical isolation in particular has greatly enhanced the economic, cultural, historical and also political fragmentation.

CHAPTER II


Italy was referred to as only a geographical expression in 1815, so also was the West Indies Federation in 1958. The British West Indies are often thought of as a single group. This in no way implies cohesiveness either geographically, politically or economically, but is simply a convenient way to refer to the islands.

(A) GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFICULTIES

Dispersion:

The West Indies Federation was formed in 1958. It included one large island — Jamaica, about the size of Wales with about 1.6 million people or half the population of the whole federation; a medium-sized island pair — Trinidad and Tobago with approximately 800,000 people; Barbados with about a quarter of a million people; four small Windward Islands — Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica; and a smaller group of Leeward Islands — Antigua, St.Kitts—Nevis—Anquilla and Montserrat. On the periphery but not members were British Guiana and British Honduras. All these territories (not including British Guiana and British Honduras), will be discussed under the title "West Indies Federation".
The Western part of the Caribbean is called the Greater Antilles where some of the islands (the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Haiti) are independent republics. Jamaica is British and Puerto Rico is American. Among the islands of the Lesser Antilles in the Eastern Caribbean (Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago and the Leeward and Windward Islands) are also the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Dutch dependencies of Curacao and Bonaire lie off the northern coast of Venezuela. The whole region presents a hopeless physical and political fragmentation, and to try to unite politically such widely scattered communities must surely be the most difficult experiment in federation ever undertaken.

Jamaica lies more than one thousand two hundred miles from Trinidad which in turn is about six hundred miles from the smaller islands in the Eastern Caribbean. The eastern islands, small and scattered bits of territory over fifteen degrees of latitude on the Atlantic are divided by water and by the insular possessions of other metropolitan states like France. The more dominant factor, however, is their separation by water which, together with economic factors, has meant a political fragmentation of the area.

The inclusion of Jamaica in the West Indies Federation posed problems of transport and communication because for many centuries Jamaica has had very little to do with the
people of Trinidad or with those of the Eastern Caribbean islands. The intervening stretches of sea had not been covered by sufficiently cheap and frequent communication facilities to permit large-scale contacts among the units until the advent of the airplane in the early 1940's. Even the coming of air transport, although it made federation practicable, did not in itself break down that insular outlook of the typical West Indian who, with an average annual income well under three hundred dollars, was not able to pay an air fare even to the next island. The Federal government itself "maintained only feeble and haphazard communications among unit members which erected tariff and immigration barriers against each other." (1) Many West Indians have never left their home islands and regard inhabitants of the other islands more as aliens than neighbours, except perhaps in terms of business, sports and student life. Before 1958, the Leeward Islands had often been referred to as the "leeward coast of Jamaica". The Eastern Caribbean had, on the other hand, some inter-colonial ties with Trinidad, but very few, if any, existed between those two groups and Jamaica. Out of every three residents of Port-of-Spain in Trinidad there is bound to be at least one Grenadian. Many lawyers and teachers from Barbados live elsewhere in the

**BRITISH WEST INDIAN AIRWAYS (BWIA)**

**JET-PROP ECONOMY FARES (CANADIAN DOLLARS C$1.00 = W.I.$1.70)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROUND TRIP FARES</th>
<th>Antigua</th>
<th>Barbados</th>
<th>Dominica</th>
<th>Grenada</th>
<th>Kingston (Jamaica)</th>
<th>St. Kitts</th>
<th>St. Lucia</th>
<th>St. Vincent</th>
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<td>Grenada</td>
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<td>84.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kingston (Jamaica)</td>
<td>168.90</td>
<td>229.20</td>
<td>192.30</td>
<td>234.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>16.50</td>
<td>91.50</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>97.30</td>
<td>153.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>54.50</td>
<td>33.10</td>
<td>28.30</td>
<td>33.10</td>
<td>203.90</td>
<td>64.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>84.90</td>
<td>33.10</td>
<td>62.30</td>
<td>232.50</td>
<td>92.50</td>
<td>28.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td>105.10</td>
<td>50.30</td>
<td>101.70</td>
<td>28.70</td>
<td>34.10</td>
<td>234.00</td>
<td>114.90</td>
<td>58.40 45.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures from BWIA (British West Indian Airways), Caribbean Time Table, BOAC, Laurentian Hotel, Windsor Street, Montreal, Quebec – Effective February 1st, 1963.

N.B. Above fares are subject to change any time.

N.A. Not available – Montserrat is served by Leeward Island Air Transport from Antigua.
other islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and St. Kitts. Needless to say, geographical and socio-cultural factors complement each other because the other smaller islands serve as safety-valves for the surplus population of Barbados.

"Physical insularity intensifies a sense of belonging within each island, whatever its size."(1) Unlike Indonesia, where people make the ocean a highway instead of a barrier, social contact in the West Indies seldom goes beyond the shore of the island which "is in most contexts the most compelling areal symbol".(ii)

Barbuda, a dependency of Antigua and only a few miles away, is dependent on Antigua economically, but the inhabitants of each island seldom say good things about each other. In fact Barbuda prefers being ruled by the United Kingdom Government to being directed by Antigua. Nevis, approximately two or three miles from St. Kitts has peasants who raise ground provision — tannias, sweet potatoes and dashins, which find their market in St. Kitts. St. Kitts with its sugar economy supports the development and also alleviates the labour problems of Nevis. The relations between them are like those between Antigua and Barbuda.


(ii) Ibid., p. 187.
"Vincentian teachers and civil servants seconded to Union Island, (Grenadines) Kitticians in Anguilla, Antiguans in Barbuda feel like Englishmen posted to Imperial backwaters where amenities are scanty and the natives clannish and uncooperative". (i) Admittedly, there are inter-colonial ties of trade and family in the Eastern Caribbean; a Trinidadian with say an Antiguan father and Barbadian mother will feel himself a West Indian, but it is difficult to say how much meaning the concept of "West Indian" has for people who do not illustrate it thus in their origins. On the other hand Jamaican insularity finds expression in the "bigness" of the island and that it merits an unfettered economy (See Fig. III, p. 76). Connected with the concept of size, is the "mystique of numbers", (ii) Jamaicans outnumber all other British West Indians (in the Federation) combined. When Federation was formed, Jamaica had more than twice the number of inhabitants in Trinidad and Tobago, and almost one hundred times as many as in Montserrat. This inequality in the sizes of the populations of various units within the federation made federation difficult. Some of the inhabitants of the smaller islands were afraid of being submerged by the larger territories in a federal union. An effort to allot representation on

(i) David Lowenthal, "Levels of West Indian Government" Soc. and Econ. Studies, Vol.11, No.4, 1962, p. 386

any basis other than population might well prove unacceptable to the latter, however.

Another factor contributing to the persistence of Jamaican insularity is the mountainous character of the island and the parochialism of its settlements in the interior of the island (See. Fig. III, p. 67)

Jamaica is also often associated at least in thought and word with British Honduras. They have had long close connections and even partnership up until 1884 when their formal ties were severed. Both are component units of the Greater Antilles. Geographically, Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean islands can for all practical purposes be deemed to be in two different spheres. "It is impractical to link up islands so widely separated as some of the West Indian islands, just as it is to suggest a confederation between the British Isles and Malta." (1)

Thus one of the real obstacles to the spread of a Caribbean outlook stems mainly from geographical isolation which has in turn bred parochialism. This detached insular outlook of each unit and the exaggerated idea of importance held by each island, has led to a sense of separateness rather than unity. Island people are notorious for this

Approximate Population Distribution of the West Indies Federation 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jamaica</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Trinidad / Tobago</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Barbados</td>
<td>232,000</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. St. Lucia</td>
<td>87,000</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Grenada</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. St. Vincent</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dominica</td>
<td>59,000</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Antigua</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Montserrat</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,036,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
characteristic. Newfoundland, the only large inhabited island of Canada, joined the Canadian Federation only in 1949, eighty-two years after Canada became a federation. The Isle of Man still insists upon retaining its ancient parliament. Some inhabitants of British Borneo in Brunei are reluctant to join the grand design of "Greater Malaysia". A similar attitude exists in the West Indies, especially in Jamaica and among some islands of the Lesser Antilles. A Barbadian or Jamaican or Trinidadian identifies himself more with his own island than with the West Indian community. "The islander is first a Jamaican, Trinidadian or Barbadian and only second a West Indian" (1)


The British West Indies Schooner Owner's Association regulated and maintained relationships in inter-island trade before 1958. The privately owned schooners, together with motor vessels, still operate between the islands and British Guiana. In the Eastern Caribbean, schooners going to Dominica took from Barbados edible oil, coconut meal and empty copra bags, motor vessels carried general cargo — lard, margarine, soap, biscuits, empty rum bottles, cardboard fittings and dry goods — not only to Dominica, but also to Grenada, Montserrat and St. Kitts. The "Carib Clipper" carried both cargo and passengers once a week to St. Vincent,

Grenada and Trinidad and returned with nutmegs, mangoes, bananas and plantains. "Lady Joy", "Barbados Pioneer", "Daerwood","Unity O'Mandaley II", and "Belle Queen" took general cargo and returned with fresh fruit. Barbados received canned juices, citrus fruit, split peas, dry peas, meal, coffee, angostura bitters, cedar wood, gasoline and diesel fuel from Trinidad and rice from British Guiana; records, electrical equipment, pitch and coal came from Trinidad. Firewood and coal came from St. Lucia and Dominica, and spices from Grenada. The schooners also dealt with transhipment-trade. Barbados imports cement, confectionery and metal furniture from Jamaica but these began coming in during the lifetime of the Federation (1958-1962) and that was because of the services of the ships chartered by the Federal Government and (since 1961) of the two federal ships — the Maple and the Palm — which were freely given to the islands by the Canadian Government. Further, Barbados imports most of her cement from Venezuela. It is possible, however, that there might have been some trade between Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean, but the schooners and motor vessels were, as they still are, more closely associated with the islands of the Lesser Antilles and British Guiana than between these and Jamaica. Similarity of products was another factor against trade between Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean.

Moreover, Jamaica's proximity to the United States
no doubt has had a considerable bearing on the course of its trade and political relations. The United States acts as a market for most of Jamaica's bauxite and aluminum and also gives aid in education, agriculture and health. Proximity has also encouraged more interchange of travellers between Jamaica and the United States than between Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean. It is less expensive to travel from Jamaica to New York than it is from Jamaica to Trinidad or Barbados. Even students from the Eastern Caribbean who go to study in Jamaica prefer spending their vacation in New York to going back to either Barbados or Trinidad. This is not only because of the fares, but also because of the "pull" of the city and higher standards of living found in New York.
The State of Communications

Improved communication was favourable only in places where the metropolitan powers had concrete interests: in Trinidad, where they were interested in oil and asphalt; in Jamaica, where a bauxite industry was being developed; and in Barbados, where sugar cane was the main attraction.

In the Eastern Caribbean, schooners and sailing sloops were slow, risky and also insufficient for both passengers and goods. "Even now, in an island like Grenada livestock, ground provision, fruits and other kinds of cargo are indiscriminately bundled into these small craft, of which the departure, arrival and smoothness of passage are very inconstant"(1), perhaps due partly to hurricanes and adverse winds. In general, the volume of passengers and cargo traffic was not large enough to offer a common basis for the islands. If the Caribbean had been a continuous land mass like a typical federation, say the United States, Australia or India, perhaps the difficulties would have been less pronounced. As Elias puts it: "...hardly any other federation can be found exactly to parallel the scattered character of the island constituents of the West Indies Federation. The separation of the units by water, in some cases often vast "oceans of water (e.g. Jamaica lies

1,000 miles northwest of Trinidad), is a real problem of communication, in the physical no less than in the spiritual sense, as between the various units of the federation."(1) Since 1948, however, shipping services, although inadequate, had slightly improved. The improvement was nonetheless short-lived, because in 1952 two Canadian passenger/freighter boats running on the Eastern Caribbean were withdrawn.

Realizing the importance of the shipping service in economic, social and political co-operation for the whole area, the S.S. "West Indian" (a small vessel) was inaugurated in 1953, but due to the heavy losses encountered, she was withdrawn in 1957. Today the two federal ships make a ten-day voyage between Jamaica and Trinidad, calling en route at all the islands of the Little Eight — St. Kitts, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica (where the vessels meet), St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and Barbados. The Ships are equipped to carry 44 cabin and 200 deck passengers with cargo. One way fare from Jamaica to St. Vincent is $99.00 cabin class and $132.00 de luxe.

Many of the West Indians, however, argue that since the idea of a federation had been discussed for a long time, the United Kingdom Government should have perhaps supplied three or four ships before the actual formation of the

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Federation. The ships would touch at Puerto Rico which was not a member of the proposed federation but had a good harbour and the economy would be boosted through trade with her. Inevitably more ships would have caused great losses for the federation, for even the two cargo-passenger ships had lost an estimated $116,600.00 (1) during their first year of operation. These ships are too large to handle the present size of inter-island trade and the comparatively small number of passengers wanting to travel between the islands by sea (they always ride high of the "full cargo" mark) although the"...principal need (of the ships) was to provide adequate and cheap facilities for the transport by sea of agricultural produce upon which the prosperity of the territories primarily depends." (11)

An inter-island air service is provided by the British West Indian Airways, once a subsidiary of British Overseas Airways Corporation, but now owned by the Trinidad government. The British West Indian Airways was established during the Second World War to replace the disrupted shipping services. Its activities are supplemented by the Leeward Island Air Transport (LIAT), especially between the smaller islands, the neighbouring United States and the Dutch territories. Jamaica,

(1) Current expenses only. Ships were given freely but there was need for some funds to be set aside for depreciation. If these charges were added, the loss would be greater than the figure above.

Trinidad and Barbados have the best airports and in all the other islands except Antigua, the runway construction is rendered difficult and expensive by rough terrain. St. Vincent, until recently, used to be served by amphibious planes, and only air strips have been constructed in Dominica, Montserrat and Nevis. In Dominica, flight operation depends on the behaviour of the weather. The air strip itself is forty miles away from the centre of the island, and almost all smaller islands are served by small craft which are too inadequate to handle freight and passengers in bulk or with speed.

Post offices maintain surface and air mail services, but delivery of letters, although flights are frequent, is at times irregular—owing perhaps to the small size of the craft.

An extensive network of British and foreign airlines (Air France, KLM and Pan-American Airways) connects the territories, one island with others in the region, with South and Central America, the United States and Europe. This improved air travel facilitates movement of foreign travellers, but only Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica with international airports serve as embarkation or debarkation points. Kingston in Jamaica is on the route from Miami to the Panama Canal and approximately ten services are provided
each week between North and South America. Port-of-Spain in Trinidad is the terminus of the service from the Panama Canal Zone via Colombia and Venezuela. It is also a place of call for machines flying in each direction between Miami and Brazil and Argentina, and it is the terminus of a service to and from Miami via Haiti and Puerto Rico. A modern air terminal has been opened in St. Vincent and regular plane service links the island with the rest of the world four days a week. There is, however, a general feeling that these services are too expensive for the West Indians as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Telecommunications:

Cable, wireless and telephone connections are centered in Barbados and linked with Europe, America and the other islands in the West Indies.

Telephone Services:

For many years the telephone system throughout Trinidad had been operated by a private company under a franchise which ended in 1939. Between 1939 and early 1950's, there were negotiations that the telephone system be handed over to the Trinidad government — which, at present runs the system.

In Jamaica, public telephone service was, before 1958, conducted in Kingston by the Jamaican Telephone Company acting under license from the government. Its license expires
in 1965. Private systems, also operated under license, were maintained by the United Fruit Company and by the Standard Fruit and Shipping Company.

As things were there was no company in either Trinidad or Jamaica that could undertake to assume the responsibility for the telephone services of the smaller islands. An objection in principle to any form of private company taking over the public utility service may have been raised by persons in the larger and smaller islands in the West Indies.

Wireless Communications:

The system of telegraphic communication by cable and wireless is fairly well developed in the British West Indies. The islands have also wireless stations with a range extending to several neighbouring territories through which they can ultimately reach North America and Europe. But only in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad have wireless telephone services with London and New York been established. Before and after the formation of the federation telephone services from other islands to Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica, were lacking and yet for reasons both of administrative convenience and of economic development there was need to supplement the existing telegraphic services between the West Indian colonies by providing facilities for communication by speech. This type
of wireless telephone would have helped the governments of all the islands in transmitting important executive acts of the Federal Government to all unit legislatures. In terms of economic development a telephone service might have been of great assistance in securing an increase of inter-island trade for the transport of which provision of two federal ships was made.

**Broadcasting:**

Regional broadcasting was, and still is, carried out from three centres — Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. The Windward Islands have their own Windward Broadcasting Station in Grenada. In nearly all these islands, broadcasting is commercially organized. Time is usually reserved for government programmes and educational purposes. Broadcasting officers are government appointees. But the services have not been pursued with vigour, neither have they been organized with a real regional outlook. There are, for example, wide gaps between the three bigger islands and the smaller seven. Flow of information to the latter is both slow and unsatisfactory. As a result, the people of Dominica or St. Lucia or Montserrat were not informed of their Governments' views and policies relating to the Federation. From the outset, the Federal units did not limit the broadcasting system to a single service operated from a central point.
The commercial radio is also directed towards the local audience. Only in case of inter-island cricket tournaments are there broadcasts which may be described West-Indian-in scope, but even in these the local advertisements intrude to rob them of a truly regional character. In order to get a truly West Indian character, the West Indians turn to the special series of the B.B.C. broadcasts to the West Indies.

The Caribbean Press Association is essentially an organization of publishers. The journalists themselves remain largely unorganized on a Caribbean basis. The journalists who are partly employed and partly professionals belong to a marginal profession.

One reason for the paucity of organizations operating on a federal-wide basis, has been this relative poverty of communications-transport, shipping and air facilities of the area, extreme parochialism of the press and radio. This difficulty was very pronounced in early days, but latterly the position has improved. In the Southern Caribbean for example, air plane services have made Trinidad newspapers available fairly regularly to readers in the other islands. From both technical production and content the Trinidad papers tend to be superior to the local ones available. The Trinidad Guardian, for example, is considered the best source of information in both the Windward and Leeward Islands.
and Association with Jamaica inevitably encountered this problem of communications. Perhaps it would have been practicable to proceed with the formulation of a scheme for closer union among those colonies which had some common interests. Because of proximity, mutual contact and trade connections, Trinidad should have formed a federation with the other Eastern Caribbean islands. This procedure would have left Jamaica to seek its own independence since its geographical location and trade connections did not in the authors' opinion, warrant inclusion in the last West Indies Federation.

**Internal Communications:**

Internal systems show wide variations both in their scope and their quality. The Government railway in Barbados was closed to traffic (1938–39) because of large deficits. Trinidad's railway system, owned by the Government, consists of four different lines with a total length of 118 miles, but there, as in Jamaica where the Government also owns the railway, the competition of road transport for the conveyance of passengers is intense. In St. Kitts, the railway system is mainly used for carrying cane from estates to the factories.

The road systems of these islands also vary considerably. At one extreme are Trinidad and Barbados. In Trinidad the width of the roads is reasonable and many of them have an excellent oiled surface; secondary roads are generally passable
throughout the year. Barbados is fortunate in being served by an extensive network of good roads which facilitate travel and reduce transport costs. The quality of the roads in both urban and rural districts is fairly uniform possibly because the small land area and the high density of the population make it necessary to look upon many rural districts as quasi-urban areas for the purpose of road maintenance. The surface is not, however, of so high a general quality as that found in Trinidad and in times of heavy rainfall considerable trouble is experienced in some districts through the subsidence of the soil. Road communications are poorest in Dominica, and some of the smaller islands, except Antigua and Grenada. In Dominica the roads, including the one to the air strip, are so narrow and of such an uneven surface that the use of motor conveyances upon them is often difficult and at times dangerous. The total length of road which can be used is less than one hundred miles; and the system, therefore, falls short of providing adequately for the needs of an area of three hundred and five square miles. There is no through communication by road between Roseau, the capital, and Portsmouth, the second town of the island in the north. People, therefore, have to make this journey by sea. Difficult terrain, heavy rainfall (which also causes landslides) and lack of capital are major handicaps in road construction
in Dominica. The problems of the Windward as well as those of the Leeward Islands are greatly complicated by the smallness of constituent communities, their distribution over an area large enough to make speedy communication of fairly expensive matter, and the small scale of most of their economic activities. As in Dominica, there are practically no roads to the rugged and mountainous interior of St. Vincent.

The separation of the people and territories is a physical fact, and until this is overcome it is impossible for the islands to pool their resources together completely. Lack of sufficient means of transport within islands themselves divided the coastal settlers from the small patches of settlements inland. However, if all the territories had started buying asphalt from Trinidad in order to improve their road systems, perhaps a trade relationship would have been established, and this would have meant Trinidad securing, if necessary, an increase of imports of suitable products from the purchasing territories. Imports of arrowroot (St. Vincent) and limes (Dominica) come to mind immediately. However, road improvement needs not only asphalt but also capital.

**Unsatisfactory location of the Federal Capital:**

A federation usually constructs a new capital free from vested sectional interests that might attach to a city whose historic traditions or economic ties were with one of the
components rather than with the whole country. Washington is of this type rather than New York, Chicago or St. Louis; Canberra rather than Sydney; Ottawa rather than Toronto or Montreal. Ottawa and Washington were selected without any regard to economic considerations other than to avoid having both the economic and political power in the same city. All "...are examples of towns with less economic significance than others in their federations, and the selection for the capital either of a completely new site or a town of small importance in itself must be regarded as a normal, though not universal principle in federal states. New Delhi and the proposed future federal capital of Brazil (Brazillia) are other examples." (1)

In the maritime West Indies Federation "physical insularity made it harder to agree on the capital site, for the choice of any island would deprive all the others of direct contact with the seat of power." (ii) Even their spatial arrangement and character made each federating territory unsatisfactory for a federal capital. Jamaica and Trinidad, the largest and most advanced islands economically, lay at the extremities of the federal arc; Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua and Montserrat were

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outside the triangular shape of the federal arc; and the smaller islands were sparsely populated, poor and faced with communication difficulties. (Fig.II, p. 37.)

The Federal Capital Commission sent out by the United Kingdom Government in 1956 recommended Barbados for the capital site because of its smallness in size as compared to that of Jamaica or Trinidad; its benefit of trade winds, availability of good sites near Bridgetown, higher intellectual atmosphere resulting from long establishment of Codrington College and the Teacher Training Colleges. The headquarters of the Sugar Breeding Station and those of the West Indies Cable Company were also located in Barbados. Barbados has one of the best international airports which facilitates connections with the outside world; a good though foreign banking system; an excellent climate, and sufficient if narrow roads. However, Barbados was rejected because it was found too small in size and already overpopulated to accommodate Federal Government civil servants. The land required for the federal site was approximately thirty square miles and Barbados, with over 1,380 persons (1958) per square mile could not have afforded that much land. Even if it could, the concentration of people in Bridgetown would in itself influence the Federal Government disproportionately, which in turn would cause animosity, jealousy and suspicion on the part of the other islands, and this would weaken the
THE WEST INDIES

THE FEDERATION

0 100 200 300
MLS.

CUBA
BAHAMA IS.
HAITI
DOM. REP.
VIRGIN IS.
ANGUILLA
ST. KITTS
NEVIS
MONTEREY
PUERTO RICO
DOMINICA
ANTIGUA
BARBADOS
ST. LUCIA
GRENADA
TRINIDAD
JAMAICA
ST. LUCIA
BARBADOS
ST. VINCENT
TOBAGO
CANAL ZONE
VENEZUELA
No island is geometrically central for the whole Federation. Jamaica, Trinidad and St.-Kitts-Anguilla being at the corners of the rough triangular shape. Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua and Montserrat being a little outside the triangle.
political activities of the Federal Government as well as increase the number of the unemployed. "In Australia the concentration of population in Sydney is so great that the public opinion, if the legislation were seated in the city, might well exert an entirely disproportionate influence. This would naturally be a source of jealousy on the part of other states, which eventually would become a source of political weakness."(i) Land in Barbados could be acquired easily but construction of the capital with machines would cost the Federal Government heavily.(ii) Moreover Barbados seemed to the other islands "un-West Indian" in outlook since it is "often referred to as the 'little England', wearing a definite English outlook as reflected in village churches and village cricket, and also the desire to read." (iii)

As an alternative, the Standing Association Committee of the West Indies Federation selected Trinidad for the location of the federal capital in 1957. Their choice of Trinidad was made on the understanding that Trinidad, because of its oil industry, was generally more advanced than either Barbados or Jamaica. Trinidad was found closer to the Eastern Caribbean

(i) O.H.K. Spate, op. cit. p. 624
(ii) The Federal Government received only one million pounds from the United Kingdom for the construction of the Federal Capital.
than Jamaica although no more so than Barbados or St. Lucia. Moreover, in Trinidad there was an absence of a major tourist industry which usually tends to intensify economic, social and racial cleavages. Its per capita financial contribution to the Federal Government put her ahead of both Barbados and Jamaica. (i) Trinidad had also facilities which included adequate and available land suitable for building, ample water supply, electricity, proximity to an existing airport and an urban centre; and for the purpose of retaining dignity, self-respect, pride and intelligence — attributes essential for the building of a nation — the capital was to be in the most beautiful island. The strongest claim for Trinidad, however, was based on its cosmopolitan outlook with a mixed population of Negroes, East Indians, Creole, French, British, Portuguese and Syrians.

The standing Committee assumed that the capital would later be shifted from Port-of-Spain (capital of Trinidad) to the present site of Chaguaramas, a naval base leased to the United States by the British Government in 1941. Chaguaramas, located in the north-west corner of Trinidad and overlooking the southernmost entrance to the Caribbean, seemed to have fulfilled all the prerequisites for a federal

(i) Trinidad's annual per capita financial contribution ca. $4.00. Jamaica's annual per capita financial contribution ca. $2.00.
capital: beautiful beaches, room for expansion, proximity to Piarco Airport and to Port-of-Spain. But when the question of the federal capital site was referred to the United States in 1958, the latter reported that, for financial and strategic reasons, Chaguaramas could not be made available to the Government of the West Indies. An alternate site at Irois Bay would have cost the United States approximately one hundred million dollars and would have taken from five and one half to ten years to build. The West Indies Federation had been offered only one million pounds by the United Kingdom Government for the purpose of constructing a capital in Trinidad, a sum which the United States regarded too small to cover the cost of all the facilities of warehouses, offices, barracks, utilities and a hospital at the base, although for many years Trinidad, unlike the Azores and Morocco, had never received any revenues, resources or amenities from the leased base. After all, the United States could fully meet all her strategic functions on the Gulf of Paria which, extending 3,100 square miles of calm water with two narrow entrances, is landlocked between the west coast of Trinidad and the Venezuelan mainland. But to the United States, Trinidad's geographical situation, the "Gibraltar of the Caribbean", makes it an ideal location for a naval base for the protection of the Panama Canal. Another site required to be a twin-town
to a large existing town, remained to be found. Meanwhile, the issue on the site of the federal capital continued to be a serious political question among the islands, and especially between the Federal Government and Trinidad. Insular jealousies once more became illuminated. The smaller islands lost their trust in Trinidad as the centre of the Federation, and to a Jamaican on the street, the Federation was some new government department which had been created in Port-of-Spain to the upkeep of which Jamaica as a whole was contributing approximately four million dollars a year. In general, then, the issue on Chaguaramas should have been settled before selecting Trinidad for the location of the federal capital.

The claim to a cosmopolitan outlook in Trinidad is superficial since the ethnic groups remain very much apart with 43% of its population being negro; 37% of East Indian stock; and the remainder consisting of Chinese, Syrians, Portuguese, French Creole and British, all of whom form separate cultural enclaves.

From the first arrival of indentured labourers from India in 1845 until fifteen to twenty years ago, the Trinidadians of East Indian stock have, like the Chinese in Malaya, had ideals and loyalties different from those to be found elsewhere in the West Indies Federation,
They exercised a disruptive influence on social and political life in Trinidad which would vitiate the social and political life of the capital if it were placed on that island. The stock feared the strong negro population of Jamaica, of the Leeward and Windward Islands, and especially of Barbados which they thought would swamp Indian nationalism and cultural outlook. There are today wealthy businessmen, educated professionals and powerful politicians among the East Indians who are very influential in Trinidad's political affairs. The Portuguese, Chinese and Syrian entrepreneurs retain their own identity justifying themselves on the basis of colour and wealth. The French Creoles never associate themselves with the negroes; the negroes themselves are subtly divided between the light and the dark-coloured. Under these circumstances it would have been difficult to federate the insular people when the inhabitants of the proposed federal capital site were themselves divided.

Trinidad has another special characteristic due to geographical location; it is close to Venezuela from which it is separated by only about ten miles of sea. Venezuela was once to citizens of Trinidad and Tobago an avenue of employment, while to Venezuelans, Trinidad has been a haven, a centre for education and also for white-collar jobs. Venezuela is Trinidad's second (the first is the United Kingdom) source of imports, especially crude oil for their refineries. In 1961,
out of the total imports amounting to one hundred and ten million pounds, those from Venezuela were worth well over one fifth. The volume of Venezuelan crude oil imported — 28 million barrels — was nearly half the total imports of crude. The other islands in the Eastern Caribbean have no connections with Venezuela in matters of commerce, capital, education or labour.

Even the requirement that a federal capital be neutral had no meaning in Trinidad because of the great pressure exerted on Federal Government by the Trinidad Government especially over Chaguaramas.

As elsewhere, so too in the West Indies, "primate cities" are the culmination of national life. Many people flock to Port-of-Spain in Trinidad, to Bridgetown in Barbados and to Kingston in Jamaica, because they are dissatisfied in every way with the narrow opportunities of smaller towns. If they find themselves doing badly in a small capital like St. George's in Grenada they think they can do better in a bigger capital. Port-of-Spain has grown through opportunities for ready employment which have particularly attracted the inhabitants of the Eastern Caribbean. Growth in all the three cities (Port-of-Spain, Bridgetown, Kingston) has also been affected by their geographical location: they lie at the crossroads of international trade, and all of them have been
growing almost at the same pace. Complete control by either Port-of-Spain, Bridgetown, or Kingston would, as it did, arouse jealousy from those not selected. If perhaps Jamaica had been excluded from the Federation, the smaller islands in the Eastern Caribbean would have been socially and economically sympathetic towards Trinidad as the centre of the Federation, but how these same difficulties would have been overcome even without Jamaica is inconceivable, especially in view of parochial outlook. The West Indies should have, therefore, selected a site in a smaller island which was detached from the political or economic interests of the bigger cities, possibly in St. Lucia.

St. Lucia:

Lying twenty-four miles to the south of Martinique and twenty miles to the north-east of St.Vincent, St. Lucia has total area of 233 square miles, larger than the Isle of Man: it is 27 miles long and 14 miles wide with a total population of 87,000. One tenth of the land, despite its fertility is still covered with forest and most of this uncultivated land belongs to the Government which offers it to settlers on easy terms. Forty miles south of Castries (the capital) is Vieux Fort which was used as an air force base by the United States during the Second World War.
Possible Federal Capital Site at Vieux Fort, St. Lucia.
In the past many federal states have found it necessary to remove the Government from the large cities in order to free legislature and executive from local or regional interests or pressures; it was thus that Canberra, Washington, Ottawa and Brazilia came into being. It was, therefore, desirable for the Federation of the West Indies to construct a new capital free of the vested sectional interests, preferably at Vieux Fort in St. Lucia. (Location of Vieuxfort, Fig.111, p.67).

If Vieux Fort had been chosen for a capital, the struggle between Jamaica and Trinidad would have been minimized. Bot British and French cultures prevail in St. Lucia without any social awareness as is the case in both Barbados and Trinidad.

Located on the Leeward side of the island, Vieux Fort has an ideal climate for a federal capital. Not far away there is good farm acreage to feed its people and, since the island's economy is chiefly based on the production of bananas and copra both of which face marketing problems, some of the food could come directly by sea or by air since Vieux Fort has facilities for both sea and air communication. Castieres could also supply the federal capital with some of its food and materials, so that the capital would be free from any commercial industry and devoted exclusively to government offices and residences.
With the federal capital in St. Lucia, land settlement would be encouraged and small industries (tobacco) could be established between Vieux Fort and Castries. This might act as a safety-valve for the Barbados' surplus population since St. Lucia has a density of 370 persons per square mile, far less than that of Barbados. Diminica which is not far away from St. Lucia could also be exploited.

A Federal Government with its centre in St. Lucia could have better devoted itself to the task of breaking down that "inferiority complex" which is prevalent among the smaller islands.

The main purpose, therefore, of building a capital at Vieux Fort would be to achieve unity, administrative efficiency and economic and social planning of the whole region. However, St. Lucia has many problems, some equally urgent: such as those concerned with water power; transportation; food; foreign trade; uneven distribution of wealth; inflation; high percentage of illiteracy (as opposed to, Barbados' three percent); and expensive costs in the acquisition of land due to the peculiar and archaic system of land tenure. Land ownership based on Napoleonic Code is inherited equally among the members of a family and primogeniture, which is practised on the other islands, does not exist. Clearly all these, in spite of Britain's offer of one million
pounds for the construction of a capital, would put a strain on the finances of the Federation.

Refusal of British Guiana and British Honduras to Join the Federation:

One of the initial difficulties faced by the West Indies Federation and one which has a direct bearing on the population distribution in the region, was the refusal of both British Guiana and British Honduras to join the Federation.

The smaller islands, which could not provide adequate employment for their adult population, claimed that they had the right of unrestricted movement under the federation umbrella. However, the larger islands saw in this a threat to their own labour standards. Although one of the objectives of Federation was to provide the greatest possible movement within the area, agreements about facilitating and controlling inter-island migration were never agreed to. Emigration to the United Kingdom was already being restricted in 1958; the United States' immigration policy was highly restrictive; Cuba, Central and South America which, in the past had absorbed appreciable numbers of West Indians, no longer wanted an influx of negro labour. The South American and Dutch Caribbean Islands already had enough labour for their needs.
A possible solution to this problem of surplus labour would have been the inclusion of both British Guiana and British Honduras right from the start.

"In terms of surplus population, the most Federation could hope for was the accretion of British Guiana and British Honduras -- which hardly have comparable potentialities for popular growth."(i) The original plan was to extend the federation area to the mainland territories of British Guiana and British Honduras, since they were the only territories in the British Caribbean with large areas of unoccupied land. British Guiana's size in 83,000 square miles, and its total population in 1958 was about half a million people. British Honduras has a land area of 11,000 square miles, whereas the islands combined together have a size of only 8,000 square miles with approximately three million people. If both British Guiana and British Honduras had become parts of the Federation, a "lebensraum" could have been established for the bursting seams of smaller islands like Barbados. After all, British Guiana has potential resources of oil, timber and bauxite, and surplus population from Barbados would obtain employment there -- but only if the Federal Government were strong enough to legislate on this. It was the lack of existing federal legislation on migration which frightened the mainland.

territories. In fact, their refusal arose "from a complicated blend of economic, political, religious and sentimental motives. In both territories the idea of 'continental destiny' together with Surinam and French Guiana, and similar slogans have considerable emotional force, and in British Honduras, there is wide-spread distrust, even dislike, of Jamaica."(1) In British Guiana the ratio of East Indians to Negroes in 1960 was 1.5:1 and their ratio in the West Indies in 1958 was 1:43. In Trinidad alone the East Indians accounted for about 35% of the population in 1958. The two mainland territories, therefore, decided to stay out of the Federation, "for fear of being inundated by immigrants from the densely inhabited islands"(ii) In British Guiana the objection to federation union was based upon the fear of some businessmen that their commercial interests would suffer. There was also a desire to retain the vast undeveloped areas of the colony for the use of its own expanding population, uncomplicated by large scale immigration from islands suffering from population pressure. There existed great variations in population density ranging from 1,380 persons per square mile (see page 52) in Barbados to 5 in British Guiana....

The densities served in general as indices of population pressure, and those in some of the less crowded territories could be expected to resist federation lest it open the way to large-scale immigration which might reduce employment opportunities and threaten the prevailing wage-scale. However, the resolute refusal of both British Guiana and British Honduras to participate robbed the federal project of some of its attraction. The population problem became critical for Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad after the United Kingdom Immigration Bill of July 1st, 1962. The three islands together have a chronic unemployment of about 110,000. The smaller islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and St. Kitts, on the other hand, are short of labour so that in a place like St. Kitts, mechanization seems to be the only substitute. But mechanization raises its own problems, it needs people of technical skill and may also displace the present employees. Antigua has difficulty in finding men to do heavy manual work in sugar factories, the result being that more and more attention is being paid to the cotton industry.
Population and Vital Rates for British Caribbean, 1954*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory Islands</th>
<th>Size in Square Miles</th>
<th>Pop. 1954</th>
<th>Density per sq. ml.</th>
<th>Natural Increase</th>
<th>Birth Rate</th>
<th>Death Rate</th>
<th>Rate of Natural Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>4,677 1,531,900</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>37,330</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1,981 709,800</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>22,150</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>166 228,400</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>5,030</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>133 86,000</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>233 86,200</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>2,060</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>150 75,200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>305 61,400</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,590</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Kitts-Nevis</td>
<td>153 53,600</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua, Barbuda</td>
<td>170 50,900</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>32 14,100</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin Is.</td>
<td>67 7,700</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ISLANDS</td>
<td>8,067 2,905,200</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>76,110</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Guiana</td>
<td>83,000 460,300</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13,810</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Honduras</td>
<td>11,000 78,200</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL MAINLAND</td>
<td>94,000 538,500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16,170</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total British Caribbean</td>
<td>102,067 3,443,700</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>92,280</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) ECONOMIC OBSTACLES TO FEDERATION:

Although islands were drawn more closely together by improvements in air transport economic difficulties persisted.

All the islands in the Federation were underdeveloped, but some were more underdeveloped than others. Jamaica and Trinidad/Tobago, the two sizeable states, received most of their revenues from the bauxite and oil industries respectively, in addition to agriculture. Jamaican economic insularity found expression largely in its sugar (Plantation) economy on which she depended (before 1961). Because of this Jamaica was a protectionist. The Jamaicans also deluded themselves that other West Indians were much poorer than themselves; continued federation with bankrupt small territories would be a continuation of poverty which, so they reckoned, could only hamper Jamaican development. Many of the Jamaicans also supposed that their social and political conditions were more conducive to economic progress and more attractive to potential investors than those of the other islands. Images of small-island backwardness bolstered Jamaican belief that Jamaicans were not only different but also better. Yet when Jamaica voted to secede from the Federation, "the fall of her securities on international changes, the flight of capital from the island and investor
hesitation brought wide-spread doubts about Jamaica going it alone." (1)

Jamaican insularity also found expression in her demand to safeguard herself against federal taxation and for equitable representation in the central government. It was the Federal Prime Minister's (Sir Grantley Adams) 1958 threat to levy retroactive taxes that triggered both.

Trinidad, whose main source of income was derived from royalties and income tax from oil companies rather than from sugar, could afford to adopt an extremely liberal view of the matter, and in fact pressed for an immediate customs union and free trade ... potentially with the Eastern Caribbean with whom she had had a long history of local trade and local population interchange. There was also trade with British Guiana in rice which was later re-exported to the smaller islands. Jamaica approached the matter more cautiously. She was sensitive because a large proportion of the islands revenue was derived from customs duties. In order to protect her sugar industry and economic development, she agreed to have a common tariff policy only by stages with full implementation after ten years, but refused entirely to have a common currency.

Trinidad was, on the other hand, a firm advocate of a tightly-knit federation, adequately empowered at the centre to enable it to carry out an effective policy to counteract economic fluctuations. "Experience in other Federations (such as Canada and Australia) has shown that an effective policy of economic stabilisation must be centrally administered" (i) "These islands have a long history of insularity, even of isolation, rooted in the historical development of their economy and trade and the difficulties of communications for centuries. No amount of subjective, that is to say historical, cultural or other activity of the time can be expected to overcome this heritage. Only a powerful and centrally directed economic co-ordination and interpenetration can create the true foundations of a nation. Barbados will not unify with St. Kitts, or Trinidad with British Guiana, or Jamaica with Antigua. They will be knit together only through their common allegiance to a Central Government. Anything else will discredit the conception of federation, and in the end leave the islands more divided than before." (ii) It may be pointed out, however, that Trinidad's advocacy for a strong federal government was only confined to its leaders, and the population as a whole

(i) The Economics of Nationhood, "Office of the Premier and Ministry of Finance, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad Sept.11,1959,p.7.
(ii) Ibid. p.11.
did not show much interest.

All the Windward and Leeward except St. Kitts were still grant-aided when Federation was formed. "In 1958, grant-in-aid was 44 per cent of total revenue in Montserrat, 22 per cent in Dominica, 14 per cent in St. Lucia, 20 per cent in St. Vincent, and in 1959 the proportion was higher."(1) They depended entirely on agriculture, taxes, customs duties and tourism since they lacked natural resources. Their governments and social services were, (as they still are) costly in proportion to their population. Efforts to develop the islands were expensive and far less productive than comparable sums spent in the larger territories, "industrialization is a reality in Trinidad, a chimera in Montserrat. Yet the small islands received most of the funds and advisory services disbursed by the Federal Government."(ii)

The economy of St. Kitts has also experienced stagnation although fluctuation in sugar fields and prices and a general increase in the price level have obscured this. In Dominica labour limitations enhanced by migration are setting bounds to growth. Grenada and St. Vincent have probably experienced some increase in real Gross Domestic Product

but of a low order compared with that of Trinidad and Jamaica. St. Lucia has shown positive growth, and Antigua has shown growth of an order comparable with larger territories, partly because it started from near starvation level and mainly, of course, due to expansion. (1) Potentially all these small islands, except Antigua, have stagnant "economics in which real growth may be non-existent and in which income must decline relatively to the larger territories and to the world as a whole if general economic expansion continues." (11) .."Most of them are actually or potentially non-viable economically" (111) Normally the islands have a net annual income of $31,326,400.00 and a chronic deficit of 20 per cent which is offset by grants-in-aid.

It is this poverty among the majority of these smaller islands which caused doubts concerning the feasibility of federation. Would the people be prepared to accept a scheme which would require additional taxes in order to enjoy more distant and somewhat problematical benefits?

Jamaica was unwilling from the outset of shepherding a string of smaller and poorer islands towards a higher standard of living especially since development of the smaller islands would probably drag down Jamaica's prosperity. Trinidad would

(1) See Carleen O'Loughlin, op. cit. p. 45
(11) Ibid p. 45
(111) Ibid p. 52
not allow free movement of people without free movement of goods, since migration from the smaller islands would bring with it labour and housing problems to areas where raising the standard of living had been none too easy. The smaller islands, on the other hand, declined to be controlled by either Jamaica or Trinidad or to accept the rule of one colonial power for that of another. These sentiments portray the general break-down of confidence which had been evident among the islands even before the federation was formed. Perhaps if more financial aid had been given to the smaller units their inhabitants might have been persuaded to stay in their own islands, and the same would have helped to soften the highly critical attitude of Trinidad and of Jamaica toward the federation. The smaller islands needed substantial economic aid from both sides of the Atlantic — Britain, Canada and the United States.

The history of the British possessions in the Caribbean is the history of the creation of a very highly specialized and entirely artificial economic and social structure which was quite unrelated to the natural resources of these islands. The system, at its peak in the eighteenth century, could only work while certain conditions were present — slavery and ample market for sugar. When these were taken away in the nineteenth century, partly by design, partly by the trend of international economics, the islands were thrown into confusion. Since then they have had to build up their societies on new foundations. Their basic problem has been that the population is too great for their natural resources, and has been growing rapidly throughout the period since the end of slavery. It would be unrealistic to say that they have the capacities to be affluent societies unless they develop
industries as well as agriculture. And, if any moral emerges it is that the British, who created the problems of their West Indian possessions for their own advantage, have an obligation to help them to solve their pressing difficulties. The profits of sugar helped to build the industrial strength of Britain, the debt remains to be paid.(1)

Federation took place in the West Indies after wide economic differences had developed between the average national incomes in the various units. (p.60).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>363.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>102.0</td>
<td>439.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>289.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>263.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>905.3</td>
<td>563.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>251.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>302.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>253.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>267.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>613.7</td>
<td>743.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,744.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again the Windward and Leeward Islands taken together formed the poorest units of the federal union. These figures also indicate that the average annual per Caput income throughout the smaller islands fell within the range of three hundred dollars whereas that of Barbados was nearly four hundred fifty dollars; of Jamaica five hundred dollars and that of Trinidad exceeded seven hundred dollars almost three times that of the Leeward and Windward Islands. This economic discrepancy in living conditions between the Leeward and Windward Islands on the one hand and Trinidad–Jamaica–Barbados on the other, was one of the serious barriers to the growth of a common federal idea. At least seven (St.Kitts–Nevis–Anguilla included) of the ten islands in the federation were categorized as underdeveloped and economically poor (taking U.S. $300 as the index in judging the difference between the poor and the rich) (1). The coming of the federation tended to cause the gap between rich and poor islands to widen rather than close.

The Federation itself had a budget of $9,120,000.00. Inevitably this would be exceeded, and unless outside help was made available, chaos was certain. The United Kingdom Government was willing to provide grants for ten years. The smaller units continued receiving grants-in-aid from Britain; the mother country hence "continued to be the guarantor in

(1) Ibid p. 18.
financial help — and since this was so, the Federation was inevitably handicapped. It needed financial help to exist and if this came from Britain it was doubtful whether it could wrest political independence from Whitehall."(1)

With its meagre revenue the federal government could not exercise a co-ordinating and positive influence on the economic development of its constituent islands. The Federation could not find a way to draw the economic directions of the territories together so as to make a united attack on the poverty under which the vast majority of its inhabitants live.

Another difficulty in the West Indies, unlike in Canada or Australia was the highly "open" nature of its economy and the rigidity of its money supply, due perhaps to the absence of a central bank. The islands have been regarded since the sixteenth century, not as areas of settlement like New Zealand or Australia but as places which would grow certain valuable crops — sugar, tobacco, coffee, cocoa — impossible to grow in Europe, but which could be sold there at an immense profit. Two aspects resulted from this situation: it exposed the islands to one of their chief characteristics — economic vulnerability because their products are dependent on distant metropolitan dictates and desires. The other

(1) Edmund H. Dale, op. cit., p. 175.
Financial Contribution of the Units to the Federal Government. 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>ACTUAL SUM in W.I. Dollars</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jamaica</td>
<td>3,930,720</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td>3,520,320</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Barbados</td>
<td>784,320</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Windward Islands</td>
<td>583,680</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leeward Islands</td>
<td>300,960</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Federal Revenue 9,120,000
result has been an uneven development of the area: at one time it was Barbados ahead in sugar production; at another it was Jamaica in the lead; another time it was Trinidad, but it was not all of them at the same time. One came forward while the others lagged behind, then it continued at that pace until another came forward. It may be appropriately said that the West Indian Islands have found it difficult to co-operate economically and also politically partly because, for centuries, they have been economic satellites of the metropolis. The unit members made the mistake of accepting the political federation of the area and of overlooking the economic factor.

Because of these economic difficulties, it was not an accident that the federation failed. After Jamaica's withdrawal, Trinidad also abandoned federation but offered the small islands the option of joining, like Tobago, in a unitary State. This gave hope that a smaller grouping around Trinidad in the Eastern Caribbean could be preserved. This possibility vanished when the smaller islands refused to accept the invitation which involved a virtual denial of their identity. By withdrawing, both Jamaica and Trinidad deprived the West Indies Federation of three quarters of its population and four-fifths of its wealth.
CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY.

All the ten islands in the 1958-62 Federation lie within the tropical belt (between 10° and 18° north); beyond this similarity there is great diversity of topography, climate, soils, vegetation and also occupations. The area of the islands also varies greatly — with Jamaica in the Western Caribbean accounting for half the total.

(A) The Physical Setting:

The West Indian Islands are the summits of a partially submerged mountain chain which divides into branches. A simple distinction is made between the Greater Antilles and the outer chain of the Lesser Antilles (Antigua and Barbados) which are composed of sedimentary rocks, and the inner chain of Lesser Antilles which is mainly volcanic. Trinidad is structurally more associated with the Andean Mountain system of South America.

Geological Structure and History:

In Jamaica, the geological succession begins with volcanic tuffs with occasional beds of rocks containing lime-stone fossils. These are overlain by sediments of terrigenous origin. The whole series was folded before the deposition of the next succeeding strata.
During the Eocene and part of the Oligocene, a marked subsidence led to the deposition of Globigerina chalks and white Radiolarian earths of Jamaica, Cuba and Hispaniola. At this time the Greater Antilles were almost completely submerged. Similar deposits of Barbados and Trinidad point to the same subsidence beyond the Windward Islands.

In Mid-Oligocene, upheaval accompanied by mountain folding and intrusion of plutonic rocks raised the Greater Antilles above their present level. A subsequent depression and a series of minor oscillations finally resulted in the production of the present topography.

In the Lesser Antilles, except in Barbados and Trinidad no deep-sea deposits have been discovered and there appears to be no evidence that the area sank to abyssal depths. In Barbados, however, there are old volcanic tuffs which may possibly be the equivalent of the cretaceous beds of Jamaica, and volcanic activity which continued throughout the Tertiary period persists even now in islands like Dominica and St. Vincent; the latter experienced a serious eruption at Soufriere in 1902. St. Kitts-Nevis, and Montserrat consist of extinct volcanoes which have been eroded, submerged and then capped by marine deposits. Antigua and Anguilla, although extinct, are as is Barbados, composed largely of coral. On
THE WEST INDIES FEDERATION

--- Roads

Contours at approximately 1000 ft. intervals

Island areas given in square miles
FIGURE III

Physical Map of the West Indies Federation. Includes transport systems of all the islands. The area of Tobago is included in that of Trinidad.
the other hand, Barbados contains no volcanic rocks but limestone and sandy clays which are overlain by deep beds of sediments and marine deposits.

Earthquakes occur throughout the Archipelago and, although the shocks are usually slight, there have been severe ones in Jamaica, the Windward Islands and also in the Leeward Islands.

**Physiography:**

Generally, the islands are of high relief; a Blue Mountain peak in Jamaica reaches 7,042 feet high and the other islands apart from Barbados and Antigua, (except for a small mountainous area in the south-west at Shirley Heights) reach heights over 4,000 feet. The Windward Islands and to some extent Jamaica and Trinidad, are dominated by a central range of mountain spurs which stretch toward the coast and deep valleys lie between them. In Jamaica, there are generally valleys between mountain ranges. Passes over the mountains are rare and difficult. Barbados is rather flat by comparison with its island neighbours to the north and south. This does not, however, imply an entire absence of high ground. Antigua, like Cuba, is low-lying while Anguilla barely rises above sea level. Nevis seems to be a single cone rising from the sea to the summit in the middle of the island. In Montserrat, the land
is much cut up by large main gullies and their tributaries.

Rivers are necessarily (by virtue of the islands' small sizes) short and swift-flowing. Lakes and rivers are both absent in Barbados. Plains are chiefly confined to limited coasts. A lagoon is a common feature in Grenada and landslides are frequent and sometimes even dangerous in Dominica, St. Lucia and to a smaller scale in Grenada. Occasionally, landslips occur in Trinidad.

Climate:

As is typical of tropical countries, the climate of the West Indies is generally moist and sub-tropical. Temperatures show very little seasonal difference but greater equability and lower maxima than those of such large landmasses as for instance, Nigeria which lies between latitudes 4 and 14 degrees north. In the cooler months of January and February, temperature rarely falls below 76°F., and the average annual temperature is 80°F. Shade temperatures rarely go outside the range of 75°F. to 87°F., and there are no frosts. However, climate as a whole varies according to differences in topography. The intensity of the heat in low-lying places is modified by the persistent north-east trade winds. The highest mean annual maximum temperature recorded in St. Kitts in over thirty years was 89.9°F., and the lowest 65.5°F.
Trinidad, the most southernly of the islands with slightly higher temperatures, occasionally has cool nights.

Rainfall is everywhere abundant but it shows important variations according to position and altitude. Islands separated by a few miles or the extremities of a single territory, often have very different precipitation. Jamaica, with an average of 75 inches a year has regional extremes of 30 inches and 220 inches. A dry period in which very little rain falls, in some cases none, is characteristic. In these circumstances irrigation is practised. The windward slope receives over 100 inches annually while the leeward receives only 40 inches. Although the rainfall varies from island to island, all the smaller islands except Dominica experience a rather low and badly distributed rainfall. Irrigation is probably a priority. Dominica has marked variations with 250-300 inches of rain in the interior; 80-90 inches on the windward side; and 40-50 inches on the leeward side. These local differences are important because they show themselves in the contrasted vegetation and agriculture of the different islands.

Antigua, has an average of 45 inches of rain annually but this is low because it is badly distributed between different areas of the island and also between seasons.
This feature, combined with the lack of rivers and springs has, in the past, led to a pessimism concerning agricultural development. However, Antigua is fighting drought by boring wells and by building catchments and cisterns to conserve water as has long been done in Bermuda. Anguilla also suffers from a limited amount of rainfall.

In general every island has wet and dry belts on the windward and leeward sides respectively. A regular and marked dry season with occasional droughts sometimes limits agricultural development and requires special husbandry system, especially on light soils. In Barbados, practically no crops grow in the long-dry season.

Hurricanes, the chief climatic menace to the West Indies except Trinidad, usually occur between July and October, and are a partial explanation of the rainfall which falls during these months. At times, these hurricanes cause great devastation to most of the islands by damaging trees, by upsetting local sea transport and coastal fishing. Coconuts, limes, cocoa and bananas are very prone to damage. Jamaica suffered a loss in bananas in 1951 and Grenada (Hurricane Janet) in 1955. These losses by hurricanes are an element in the West Indian agriculture and life.
This type of climate has led to the production of competitive rather than complementary export crops; sugar, bananas, cocoa and citrus.

Soils:

Extensive stretches of level terrain are rare in the West Indies. Much of the land, except perhaps in Barbados, is so steep as to preclude any but hand cultivation or even to make any utilization save as forest reserve. Soil erosion is common.

In physical texture and chemical character the islands as a whole and some of the individual territories show wide variations. These arise partly from climatic differences and partly from the many different types of parent rock from which the soils have been formed. In addition to acid, intermediate and basic igneous types, the parent rocks include such sedimentary types as non-calcareous sandstone, slates and clays and limestone. Limestones, overlain with alluvium or loam and clay, cover large areas in Jamaica and the resulting soils give high crop yields. In Barbados and Anguilla most of the soil is derived from coral limestone overlain in the former by volcanic dusts. Anguilla receives limited rainfall and has flat stretches of poor soil. In the Scotland district of Barbados
soil varies from siliceous sand to yellow-brown silt and clay. The area is inherently of very low agricultural value, (Sugar Cane). As in Puerto Rico, land in Barbados has been used for a long time and manure is, therefore, used to fertilise it in order to continue producing good crops. This need for heavy fertilisation has undoubtedly been one of the more important costs involved in the intensive cultivation of sugar cane by the large as well as by the small peasant farmers.

In Dominica, volcanic soils prevail but areas of soil deficient in potash are known to occur although they cannot be demarcated. Soil erosion is frequent because of high rainfall and steep slopes. Dominica is also "handicapped by having rich soil in remote and inaccessible parts which are costly and difficult to develop."(1)

In St. Kitts, slopes and soils are such as to promote erosion but the well-known soil holding power of sugar cane has preserved most of the land. The island has a gently sloping skirt which is cut through by many large gullies originating in the hills which, lower down are fed by many branching tributary gullies called "guts".

Nevis, like St. Kitts, has also a wide skirt around its
lofty forest-covered central mountain mass. Soils are much heavier and in parts huge boulders lie on the surface while stones of all sizes are found in the sub-soil.

St.Vincent, hilly and receiving heavy rainfall, has mainly light soils. Production of arrowroot is made possible by soil conditions and plentiful running water for the long washing process this product requires. Grenada with a fair rainfall has soils which are, for the most part light. In Trinidad the undulating parts are reserved for cane production and the hilly parts for cocoa.

The general soil situation in the West Indies can, therefore, be summed up this way: In Trinidad, soil erosion is not immediately significant; in Barbados it is confined to a small distinctive area; in the Leeward and Windward Islands, it is wide-spread and severe; in Jamaica its extent and severity are made the graver by their connections with the territory's former chief exports — sugar and bananas.

From the evidence of crop growth, the soils of the islands are not outstandingly good. They are not a type that can sustain a dense population without intensive, well-directed work. At Hillside Conservation - Tobago (sponsored by the Trinidad/Tobago Government), an area of 281 acres was treated against erosion in 1960 as compared with 179 acres in 1959.

The following were completed: 43,164 feet of contour drains were lined on 313\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres of land; 24,663 feet of drains were dug on 245\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres. 11,632 feet of terraces were dug on 6 acres. Work extended also over an area of 20\(\frac{1}{4}\) acres in contour banking.(1)

**Vegetation:**

The flora of the West Indies is rich and varied in its "natural landscape". Volcanic summits receiving 100 to 300 inches as those of Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada support a luxuriant tropical rainforest cover. Within a few miles of these forests there are coastal areas which receive less than 50 inches of rain where cacti and thornscrub as those in Barbados' lime districts, prevail. Barbados lacks forests and heavy vegetation. Anguilla's vegetation is similar to that of Barbados, and in both islands nearly all the low-land has been cleared for cultivation. Economically useful trees include palm and fruit trees which are found on each island.

The "prevailing north-east trade winds bringing rain

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within this region account for a tropical forest vegetation on the windward side, or in the north, east or north-east portions. Similarly the dry leeward sides along the southern fringes reveal a desert, steppe, or savannah vegetation. This climatic condition naturally affects the economy and agricultural pursuits of the area.\(^{(1)}\)

**(B) OCCUPATIONS**  
**Agricultural Activities:**

The great majority of the population of the British West Indies is engaged in agriculture. This activity is mainly directed to production for export. This is true not only of estate agriculture, but in almost equal degree of the small peasant agriculture. "Ground provisions" (starch foods, such as sweet potatoes, tannias, yams, eddoes, manioc), which form part of the local diet, are extensively grown throughout the West Indian Islands, but, except perhaps in Barbados where sugar estates cultivate sweet potatoes rather systematically and Grenada, where peasants sell their provisions in Trinidad, these provisions are not grown to a very large extent for sale outside the islands which raise them. An estate worker grows his own ground provisions on the small plot of land allowed him by the estate. The peasant equally grows his on part of his own holding. But as far as production for sale

is concerned, both the estates and the peasants think mainly in terms of export market, so much so that "cash crop" and "export crop" are virtually interchangeable terms in the British West Indies. The greater part of the food requirements of the population other than ground provisions, is met by imports: flour and meal, rice, salt fish, meat and condensed milk, canned foodstuffs. All these are imported in substantial quantities.

The predominance of sugar in the agriculture of the West Indian Islands as a whole and specially in Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua and Jamaica is apparent. But on several islands other crops are of major importance.

Cocoa is grown chiefly in Trinidad/Tobago and Grenada. It was for a long time the major export of Trinidad, and it now takes third place to oil and sugar. In Grenada, it is still one of the main exports although it no longer exceeds the exports of nutmegs and mace. Cocoa is largely a peasant crop. The economic structure of Grenada is closely associated with the peasants who have played a significant part by developing cocoa-growing. The rapid expansion in the consumption of chocolates and cocoa by the peoples of the United States and Europe led to satisfactory prices but the increase in supply from Ghana and
**Economic Bases of the West Indian Islands:**

**List of Units with Principal Income Sources* (In Order of Importance).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Income Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>sugar, bauxite, alumina, bananas, tourism, citrus fruit, coffee, coconuts, cocoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td>oil, sugar, cocoa, citrus fruit, coffee, coconuts, bananas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>sugar tourism, (light industries - matches, candles and cigarettes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>nutmegs, cocoa, bananas, tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>bananas, arrowroot, livestock, coconuts, sea-island cotton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>bananas, coconuts, tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>bananas, limes, citrus fruit, coconuts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</td>
<td>sugar, sea-island cotton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>sea-island cotton, sugar, tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>sea-island cotton, tomatoes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The order of products signifies their importance, although in Jamaica the chief source of income since 1961 have been bauxite and alumina.
Nigeria changed this favourable price position. True, the cocoa of Trinidad and Grenada is of a superior quality to African cocoa, but the costs of production in the West Indies are much higher than in Africa, owing partly to the higher standard of living in the West Indies. At the moment the majority of West Indian cocoa growers, whether planter or peasant, cannot continue in business, without either financial assistance or some change in their present system of cultivation. The Government of Trinidad pays a subsidy to its cocoa-growers, but the Government of Grenada lacks the means to give any assistance. Grenada is particularly faced with a formidable problem, since its main industry, nutmegs, also suffers from increasing competition from Indonesia, while at the same time the population of the island is increasing rapidly.

Coconuts are generally converted into copra, and form one of the most competitive sources of the supply of oil nuts and seeds. The main producers are: Jamaica, Trinidad/Tobago, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, with a small portion coming from Dominica. The price of copra follows a similar course to that of cocoa and the low price has led to a fall in the number of labourers employed. Moreover, the industry is one which involves a long capital lock-up in trees that do not yield a return for several years; and the investment of fresh capital cannot be expected so long as the market
outlook remains unattractive.

Jamaica, Trinidad/Tobago and Dominica produce citrus fruit, an industry in which organized and up-to-date methods of marketing are of great importance. All these islands organize their marketing individually, and Dominica finds it extremely difficult because of the limited capital and hence lack of means to improve its transport and communication system. Moreover, the islands do not only compete against one another in the British markets but they also face a serious competition on the world market from fruit produced elsewhere: California, Florida and the Mediterranean countries.

Limes were until 1900 the staple industry in Dominica; but the industry has suffered from a series of adverse influences: a succession of hurricanes which caused widespread damage, an outbreak of wither-tip disease and the virtual disappearance of the market for natural lime juice owing to the use of synthetic substitutes. The lime industry was also of considerable importance in Trinidad, St. Vincent and in Jamaica, but it has suffered from smaller purchases by the United States.

Arrowroot and sea-island cotton are grown in St. Vincent;
Coconuts being converted to copra. Delaford Estate in Dominica.
and sea-island cotton is also grown in the Leeward Islands of Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, and Montserrat. The marketing of arrowroot is by a compulsory system, by which all the product of the island is processed and sold by one organization, the "Arrowroot Association". The market for arrowroot, however, is limited and introduction of the product into other islands would reduce the present trade of St. Vincent. Sea-island cotton faces increasing competition among the islands that produce it.

Coffee which used to be grown in Jamaica for export has been, for many years, a declining industry. Trinidad, however, is paying subsidies to support coffee experimental farming but the better coffee produced elsewhere — Brazil and West Africa and the fluctuating world market, may offset the development of Trinidad's coffee. Tobacco for commercial manufacture is grown in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, St. Lucia and Dominica.

Bananas were for many years the principal crop of Jamaica but are now the main crop in three of the Windward Islands: Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The cultivation of bananas is, in a large degree, a peasant industry. They are, of course, grown extensively now by large and medium-
sized estates, but they are still a crop to which the majority of small landholders devote themselves.

It is apparent from the survey above that the outlook for the export agriculture of the West Indian Islands, apart from the sugar and perhaps the banana industries, is diverse and sometimes discouraging. There is also at the same time a more emphasis on production of crops for export rather than on more production for local consumption. A diminishing volume of employment is the prospect in most of the branches of agriculture. "It has been estimated that there are approximately 140,000 less people employed in agriculture than there were employed in 1921."(1) Great importance, therefore, attaches to the prospects of the sugar and banana industries.

Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts depend almost entirely on sugar. It is once more the principal crop of Trinidad and rivals the importance of bananas in Jamaica. Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts are all relatively flat with favourable soil conditions for mechanized estate farming. In St. Kitts sea-island cotton and sweet potatoes are grown in rotation with cane.

The sugar industry is a reliable source of income among the West Indian Islands mainly because of the substantial

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preferential assistance in the markets of Great Britain and Canada. Since the early post-world war period the islands have been receiving the advantage of an Imperial Preference in the United Kingdom and Canadian markets amounting to £3.15.0d. per ton before 1951, and now standing at £7.10.0d. per ton. If in the future Britain joins the European Economic Market, Barbados, which is solely dependent on one crop economy — sugar — will definitely be affected because sugar will no longer receive preferential treatment in the British markets. Moreover, the trend of world conditions has become generally adverse to the development of tropical communities basing their economic life on the export of agricultural commodities. This fact both adds to the gravity of the economic difficulties of the West Indian Islands and complicates, in many ways that will become apparent in future, the problem of relieving them.

Bananas form the main cash crop of the Windward Islands and also contribute to the economy of Trinidad. In Dominica, peasants produce 70 to 80 per cent of the total bananas raised on the island. Bananas were, until 1923, a peasant subsistence crop in St. Lucia, former sugar estates have been converted almost completely to bananas. Three quarters

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(1) (from page 82)
K.R. Hunte, "To work together in Unity for the Economic Betterment of the West Indies Federation", p. 20.
of the landowners raise bananas for export.

The Windward Islands have many advantages in the growth of bananas: presence of volcanic soils which facilitate higher yields, warmer temperatures which hasten growth and lower frequency of droughts. Jamaica, on the other hand, has less favourable sedimentary soils which are not suitable for banana production. Its winter also checks the growth.

Non-Agricultural Activities:

As has been seen a greater number of the West Indian Islands is engaged in agriculture. Only in Trinidad and Jamaica are minerals of any importance to be found.

Trinidad has extensive petroleum deposits and an "inexhaustible" pitch lake from which asphalt is obtained. Petroleum industry is of great value to Trinidad in many ways: it contributes 80% to the total public revenue, partly through the taxation that falls upon it in respect of income tax and customs duties levied on the equipment that is imported, and partly by royalties paid to the Government by the companies in respect of oil produced on Government lands. For this reason the Government of Trinidad alone among the West Indian Governments is in easy financial circumstances, and in a position to undertake fairly extensive programmes of expenditure without much external aid. Production continues
PLATE III

Pitch Lake from which asphalt is obtained in Trinidad.

PLATE IV

Oil refinery in Trinidad.
to increase with marine drilling supplementing the ordinary mining activity.

Petroleum industry also exerts a general stimulating effect on the economic activity of Trinidad as a result of its substantial and growing expenditure on wages, salaries and the purchase of local materials. However, in terms of labour, the petroleum industry is not nearly so important as might be supposed because the oil companies (The Esso Standard Oil and Texaco Companies) and contractors employ less manual workers since petroleum is a capital-intensive industry that requires less manpower than most others. In many cases the industry provides more income than it does jobs. Oil which contributes 80% to the national export, is running out. It is estimated that present usable reserves will last only another twelve years. The training of local men for responsible positions and intensification of massive exploration depend largely on the good relations between the companies and the Government of Trinidad.

Trinidad's other manufacturing industries include: glass-making, spinning and weaving, cement making and the manufacture of rubber goods, typewriters, adding machines, paints and varnishes, shirts and shoes — and all these are exported to the smaller islands and to Central and South America.
For several years Jamaica has had a programme of industrialization to provide work for its growing population. Industries were being established by external firms like the Esso Standard Oil Company to which concessions of freedom from taxation for stipulated periods, high tariff and import quotas were offered to attract industry.

Bauxite deposits were discovered during the Second World War but their production showed a striking increase only after 1952. The bauxite companies (Reynolds, Alcan, Kaiser), with their massive capital investments of over one hundred million pounds, in less than twenty years, have doubled the island's exports, improved its balance of payments position particularly in hard currency, accounted for 30% of the island's revenue and made Jamaica the largest supplier of bauxite in the world. The total value of both bauxite and alumina (processed only by Alcan) export products in 1960 was £27.5 million with bauxite alone amounting to £10.9 million and alumina £16.6 million. This was an increase of £7.1 million over the 1959 value of £20.4 million, and also accounted for most of the increase in the value of the island's domestic exports. This boom encouraged Jamaica to practise "economic brinkmanship on a large scale".\(^{(1)}\) The three companies have not only confined their contribution

to mining and processing but they have also invested heavily in agriculture and livestock. Reynolds operate a cold storage and a meat processing plant; and in 1960 started the manufacture of livestock feed which alone saved the country nearly 300,000 for importation in 1962. Their operations too, have produced a climate of prosperity in the country areas where they are based.

The oil companies (Esso, Shell and Texaco), have contributed to the economic advancement of Jamaica and since World War I their service stations have been spread across the country. These activities make life easy for the motorists and spread job facilities for many of the inhabitants across the island. The not so obvious undertaking is their service to industry and agriculture, the technical knowledge they have imported from their research laboratories abroad, their ready contributions to education through scholarships and donations and their interest in employees' welfare, for example, pensions.

The Government of Jamaica intends to continue to encourage foreign capital for developing local industries. There are many factories today employing over thirty thousand people and producing a wide range of goods which include
textiles, tobacco, nails, paper, cement, plastics, gramophone records, matches, metal windows and a large proportion of food products. In 1962 the manufacturing sector of the economy contributed more to gross national product than the agricultural area; manufacturing accounted for $97 million, narrowly beating out agriculture, forestry and fishing which had a value of $94 million. In 1950 manufacturing had a value of $24 million. Manufacturing accounted for 13.4% of the 1961 gross national product, agriculture 13% (1) ...... "mining industrial and tourist trade development have made it possible in the last few years for Jamaica to lift herself up by her own bootstraps and raise the low standard of living. The decision to leave the Federation and to 'go it alone' was in a measure, influenced by this favourable change in the economic outlook which has occurred since the decision to join the Federation was originally taken."(ii)

While Jamaica and Trinidad have rapidly expanded their manufacturing capacity, Barbados is slowly following suit; its pioneer industries include the manufacture of shirts, confectionery, tobacco, the canning of flying fish, cement,

toys, matches, automobile batteries, mattresses, liquid carbonic gas, pottery, basket-making, ceramic products and retreading of tires. A $640,000.00 abattoir and cold storage has been constructed near the new deep-water harbour. Much of this expansion has been due to the establishment of an Industrial Development Corporation, which was first set up in Jamaica in 1952, but whose activities have been extended to Barbados, Trinidad and some of the smaller islands.

In the smaller Leeward and Windward Islands, there is little or no development at all in the manufacturing industries due to lack of natural resources. However, there are small scale processing plants dealing with local agricultural produce of sugar, rum and molasses, and also a few cottage industries like canning and handicraft. Grenada has provided also new industrial undertakings to relieve the overstrained agricultural economy by the establishment of laundry, dry cleaning, and cold storage. But these projects suffered a serious setback in 1962 when public money was misused.

Tourism.

As Elizabeth Wallace puts it, "... the only natural resource (save in Jamaica and Trinidad) are the native
intelligence of the people and the natural beauty of their country."(1) Nearly all the smaller islands, except Dominica which lacks the traditional beaches and seasonal security against rain that visitors demand, are ideal for recreational development in terms of climate, beaches and water facilities and even the attitude of the people. Climate, which is not very suitable for agricultural products, on the contrary is conducive for an expansion of a Tourist industry. It is equable all the year round. Nights are cool and refreshing, sea temperature is ideal for sea bathing. In the warmer months from November to May, the islands are cooled by Trade Winds and, in many cases, by land winds from the mountains. An example of an ideal temperature is that of Jamaica.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sea level</th>
<th>maximum</th>
<th>minimum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sea level</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 feet</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 feet</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 feet</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 feet</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Elizabeth AWallace, op.cit., p.270.

The Caribbean area is also healthy and free from diseases — tsetse flies, mosquitoes — which are prevalent in other tropical regions of the world. Sanitary improvements are being made possible every year. The varied and beautiful scenery, the beaches, the lagoons (Grenada), the luxuriant flowers and fruits (breadfruit in St. Lucia), and Roaring River Falls in Jamaica are other attractions. Sights include the Shirley Heights with Nelson's dockyard in Antigua, the Fort in St. Lucia. The chief attraction in St. Kitts is the Brimstone Hill, which is 780 feet high.

Like the United States, the area is also a melting pot of diverse races — American, African, European and Asiatic. These elements have given the Caribbean a special but superficial civilization of their own which is distinct from the civilizations of the Americas.

The West Indies draws its tourists from the United States, Canada, Central and South America. The islands are also the nearest tropical resort to Great Britain and in the past they attracted many British winter vacationists.

**Economic Importance of Tourism:**

Tourism contributes to the country's revenue through indirect taxation on beverages, petrol, food and cigarettes. It also brings to the region some permanent improvements
in highways, airports, transportation, hotel and catering establishments, recreational facilities and residential areas. Public health, sanitary conditions, water and lighting are also given special attention.

Increased travel creates more work and brings about wide-spread employment of local labour, although these labour facilities are seasonal. Domestic agriculture gains through the creation of a much larger body of consumers.

Tourism also stimulates handicraft and local industries for a souvenir market. Local perfumes and beverages of all kinds (e.g. rum) find a ready market where a tourist industry exists. Moreover, this industry provides part-time jobs for people in cottage industries, guides and chauffeur services.

Jamaica:

Tourism has been more developed in Jamaica where a tourist board financed from public funds was set up in 1955. Again, Jamaica, because of its size and proximity (from the United States and Canada) and the beauty of its coastal landscape, has attracted foreign capital into her tourist industry. American-built hotels, however, are foreign to the region's economy. It is also this influx of American capital
which has widened the gap between the two large islands — Jamaica and Trinidad — where the transition from agrarian to a mixed economy is at least under way, and the smaller islands, where investment opportunities remain limited and Government revenues are inadequate for improved services.

Jamaica has doubled its income within less than a decade although it is "difficult to arrive at the exact value of the tourist, because it is not possible to ascertain the exact amount each visitor spends during his or her holiday."(i) The estimated figures give a rise of $7.2 million within a year in Jamaica.(ii) Until the 1962 Cuban crisis disturbed the tranquility of the Caribbean, the trend was still climbing. Capital for the hotel boom came from Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom working closely with Jamaican capital. Lengthy tax free periods stretching up to eight years with a general government policy of help and encouragement has made Jamaica a hotel promoter's dream. The only serious uncertainty is what impact, if any, the Cuban scare may have on future winter tourist seasons and also the developing Bahamas

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(i) K.R. Hunte, op. cit. p. 34.
(ii) Ibid., p. 35. 1958: $48.0 million
1959: $55.2 million
Islands which are close to North America. Trans-Canada Airlines adds almost an hour to its flight time by going around Cuba, but there are nine other air facilities serving Jamaica and three main shipping companies.

**Trinidad and Tobago:**

Located across the airways of Europe, Africa, South America to the United States and to Panama, Trinidad has often been referred to as a Transit Centre. The island is served by the local BWIA and by several international air and shipping lines. Tobago, its 27 by \( \frac{7}{2} \) mile spread of luxurious scenery as close an approximation of a northerner's idea of a tropical island as it is possible to find in the whole Caribbean, offers a better resort for tourists. However, its airport and harbour facilities are still in an unsatisfactory condition.

The opening of the multi-million dollar Trinidad Hilton hotel in Spring 1962 has already been paying off in an increased flow of visitors to Trinidad. But on the whole, Trinidad is not as conducive to tourist industry as Jamaica\(^{(1)}\), for example; hence the speculation that if she joined in a

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\(^{(1)}\) Trinidad, unlike Jamaica, obtained a profit value of \$1.4 million (W.I.) in 1959 over the 1958 values. Figures from K.R. Hunte, op. cit., p.35.

1958: \$15.6 million (W.I.); 1959: \$17.0 million (W.I.).
unitary state with Grenada then the latter may have to concentrate on tourism and Trinidad on manufacturing.

The Little Eight:

Although the economy of these undeveloped islands is basically agricultural, tourism is gaining rapidly, particularly in Barbados and Antigua which have better transport facilities than the other islands. In 1960, the eight islands together earned $50 million (W.I.). But the one island which has shown a substantial improvement in its economy lately is Antigua, and this has been done mainly on the basis of a tourist industry. Islands which have limited possibilities for agriculture are very suitable for tourism. Anguilla, Antigua, Barbados and the British Virgin Islands could not find any substitute industries, a point to be set against the widespread criticism of tourism. In Barbados, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Kitts-Nevis, tourism can make a substantial contribution to the economy.

But tourism creates exclusive beach areas and subversive attempts at segregation in hotels although most of these can be met by a firm stand and if necessary legislation by the local administration. The high prices\(^{(1)}\) charged, in the

\begin{verbatim}
(1) Approximate hotel charges: Barbados ...... $14 (W.I.) daily
    St. Kitts ...... $18  "  "
    St. Lucia ...... $10  "  "
    Dominia ...... $12  "  "
\end{verbatim}
belief that the tourists will pay them, attract very very few West Indians who can afford to take advantage of the tourist facilities. Much of the food used in the hotels is imported from abroad, and very few non-West Indian tourists smoke local brands of cigarettes or use locally-produced toilet preparations. True, tourism provides a ladder, at least up to the level of the working class elite such as the taxi-driver and head-waiter which was not available, for instance, in Antigua in the days when cutting cane was the only occupation. But there is also a widespread belief in the same island that tourism has encouraged begging. In addition Antiguan tourism is already showing signs of instability due to its high cost—there is virtually no middle-income tourism. Beach space is being used wastefully by a small number of expensive hotels, resulting in a low yield of tourists per beach area. Local fishermen are being inconvenienced. All these problems could be avoided if there were a plan, and the potential investors would be assisted by knowing that other facilities complimentary to their own would be likely to be placed near them. (I) Whereas Antigua and Barbados have improved

roads, electricity, water supplies and international airports, the other small islands lack sufficient good roads; air communication is expensive and the islands themselves are too poor to construct hotels individually.

**Fishing.**

Most islands have a small fishing industry, and a variety of fish is caught. Barbados is famous for flying fish.

With its vast extent of waters, its numerous islands with a high density of population, it might be assumed that the Caribbean has a great fishing industry. The state of fishing industry is still primitive. (1) Subsistence fisheries are isolated and unorganized. Since livestock farming is still in its infancy, fishing would provide that necessary protein, so essential in nutrition. If organized, as in Norway, it would also be a valuable source of income and employment.

Many factors, some of which are peculiar to the Caribbean— including oceanographical and biological conditions — influence the fishing industry in the area. Others are technical,

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economic and sociological in nature since they deal mostly with the customs, traditions and ideologies of the people.

**Physical Limitation:**

In North Norway "the coast as a whole benefits from an unusually favourable set of physical conditions. These include: many deep fjords, numerous bays and channels, thousands of large and small islands, a series of banks covered by relatively shallow water, and by the physical characteristics of the sea water." (i) "... North Norway is (also) unusually favourably situated for its high latitude, because of the year-round open water, the numerous natural harbours, the excellent 'inside passage' provided by offshore islands (particularly important in stormy weather) and because of comparatively convenient "location to the fishing banks." (ii) North Norwegian fishing banks are rich in a variety of plankton on which fish live.

Potentials of a fishing industry in the tropics as a whole, are generally lower than in temperature latitudes although the actual production depends a great deal on location.

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(ii) Ibid., p. 3.
In the West Indies, the depth of the basin and the narrowness of the Continental Shelf preclude any vast expansion of the fishing industry. It is difficult to develop fisheries to the same extent that they are developed in North Norway or off the Newfoundland. Coral sea bottom often precludes trawling. West Indian fish neither salt well nor preserve well at low temperatures.

As in North Norway, frequent storms in the Caribbean influence the fishing industry since most of the fishing vessels are small and cannot by any means risk "the dangers of riding out storms at sea, as can larger vessels". (1)

**Technological Barriers:**

These include dugout and Carib canoes which are generally used in sheltered waters. Hooks, spears, harpoons are made of wood or galvanized chicken wire. Nets are made by the fishermen themselves. Marketing is primitive or non-existent. Fish is usually consumed in the neighbourhood of fishing areas. Even in villages along the coast, very few markets are established and what the fishermen do is to bring their catch to the streets — which may be eight or ten miles away. By the time they arrive the fish begins to go bad because there is neither ice nor refrigeration used for storage, both being

(1) Ibid., p. 3.
too expensive. The result is that fish is generally of a poor quality, not only because of the above factors, but also due to the inefficient transportation, especially from the coast to the interior where there is a large potential demand for fishery products particularly in St. Lucia; shore facilities are non-existent. There are no harbours or anchorages (St. Lucia, Dominica) except where docking facilities, warehouses, refrigeration and ice plants are available.

**Economic Limitations:**

These are complex and interrelated with the technological factors. There is a high price on fishery products; this is due to inefficient fishing methods, lack of credit and good business practices. There are no loan schemes to enable the fishermen to buy mechanized boats. The fishermen also lack technical and scientific skills.

**Sociological Limitations:**

The fishermen are generally satisfied with catching enough for their own subsistence or perhaps an extra small amount that is sold to provide for their basic needs. Organization of individual effort will take time before anything materializes. Just as the peasant breeders are
indifferent to the pasturage and irrigation projects in St. Lucia, so are the fishermen also indifferent to the development of the fishing industry. After all, people prefer meat to fish except, of course, in islands like St. Lucia and Dominica, where the predominance of the Catholic religion necessitates the catching of fish — especially during Lent. Even in these two islands the people are satisfied with only fresh fish, dry salted fish, sardines and salmon, all of which are imported from Canada. The result is that in all the islands, fishing is mainly an enterprise of individuals, often unskilled men who follow it intermittently. However, all the islands are aware of the importance of their local fishing. All island governments have fishery departments aimed at assisting the fishing industry in order to obtain catches.

In 1959 the St. Lucia Government established a fishery school at Vieux Fort for the purpose of training the fishermen in the use of improved types of fishing boats, using modern equipment and better means of fishing to develop new fishing grounds made available by the larger type of boat. Apart from the usual handling of boats, and the fishing techniques, principles behind co-operative systems of fish handling are also taught.
With the co-operation of the other islands during the lifetime of the Federation, the course was run on a federal basis, the students having been recruited from other islands of the Federation. This was going to mark the beginning of a federal fishery scheme, instead of each island going along its own lines. The collapse of the Federation brought back again the same old picture of parallel development. The only hope in the future lies in the activities of the United Nations trying to develop a local but regional fishing industry.

The United Nations is investigating the commercial feasibility of deep sea fishing (expected to open in 1963) in the Caribbean. "The United Nations has contributed over two million dollars for the scheme while Jamaica, "Trinidad, Barbados, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and Dutch and French islands will also contribute. The administrative and marketing headquarters for the scheme will be in Barbados. It is hoped that an expansion of local fishing industry will result."(1)

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(1) "Barbados", Overseas Review, December, 1962, p. 66.
The characteristic features of West Indian economics is that external trade accounts for a relatively large part of their incomes and that they are much too small consumers of the world's exports to have much influence upon the incomes of the countries which provide their principal markets. This is partly the result of the relatively small populations of the individual territories and the existence of a pattern of production and trade which makes dependence upon larger economic survival. (i)

EXTERNAL TRADE:

The islands produce a small number of commodities and concentrate upon these to satisfy a relatively assured market in the dominant country. The dominant country, in return, supplies most or all that the islands require. The exports of the islands constitute only a small part of the imports of the dominant power while their imports constitute only a small part of the exports of the dominant power. This is the position of the satellite economies of the West Indian islands. When the dominant power, in this case Britain, erected barriers against products of other countries, the

exports of these islands, began to enjoy a marketing advantage. A corollary to this is that the islands, as consuming countries, have often to obtain their requirements from a market protected in favour of the dominant country. In the circumstances, certain purchases of the islands may cost rather more than if they were free to buy where they wished.

This is a fairly correct description of the West Indian islands. Britain provides the market for approximately 40 per cent of the exports of the islands and she is also the major supplier (about 40 per cent) of their imports. Canada supplies approximately 10 per cent of the imports and receives 14 per cent of their exports; the United States supplies 17 per cent of the islands' imports and takes about 13 per cent of their exports. (i)

TABLE I - EXPORTS - 1960/61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Value of Exports in W.I. $000 f.o.b.</th>
<th>Principal Exports in order of importance.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>983,242</td>
<td>petroleum products and crude, cane sugar, rum, cocoa, coffee, nutmeg and mace, lime cement and fabricating building materials (except glass and clay materials), grape fruit juice, lime juice, oranges(fresh), grape fruit (fresh) and orange juice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Ibid
TABLE I continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Value of Exports in W.I. $000 f.o.b.</th>
<th>Principal Exports in order of importance.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>352,789</td>
<td>alumina, cane: sugar, bauxite, bananas, rum, pimento, orange juice, grapefruit (fresh), oranges (fresh), cocoa, coffee, grapefruit juice, lime juice, ginger, lime cement and fabricated building materials (except glass and clay materials).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>56,852</td>
<td>cane sugar, rum, lime cement and fabricated building materials (except glass and clay materials).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Islands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>11,414</td>
<td>nutmeg and mace, cocoa, bananas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>5,804</td>
<td>bananas, nutmeg and mace (arrowroot, sea-island cotton).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>4,913</td>
<td>bananas, lime juice, cocoa, grapefruit (fresh), oranges (fresh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>3,254</td>
<td>bananas, beet and cane sugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeward Islands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>14,261</td>
<td>cane sugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>3,131</td>
<td>cane sugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>not available.</td>
<td>not available.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All islands except Jamaica and Trinidad, are essentially concerned with export agriculture which is chiefly dependent on sugar or bananas. So complete is this specialization that the islands produce only a portion of their own food. Barbados, for example, buys wheat flour instead of raising maize to substitute for wheat flour. This is partly explained by the
extreme overcrowding and the extension of plantations with very little land left for the peasant farmer.

The emphasis on cash crops also explains, although only in part, the relatively lower standard of living in the West Indies and especially in the Windward and Leeward Islands.

The islands buy products (see Table II) from temperate countries at higher prices in exchange for the low-priced crops which they sell in the fluctuating world market, except for sugar and bananas which receive preferential treatment in the British markets. Cocoa, nutmegs, coconuts, citrus, arrowroot are all subject to the vagaries of the world market. This is a difficulty which cannot be overcome easily because there are no other alternatives. Except in Jamaica and Trinidad, there is very little complimentary trade. Barbados, St. Kitts and also Antigua depend largely on the export of sugar and the by-products. Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent mainly export bananas. The disadvantage here is that in times of bad seasons, these islands have nothing to fall back upon.

Moreover these "islands are economic competitors selling in the same market the same agricultural products: sugar, bananas, cocoa". (i) Jamaica competes with Dominica in the

sale of citrus; Barbados, Trinidad, St. Kitts, Antigua and Jamaica compete against one another on the sugar market, and both Trinidad and Jamaica compete with the Windward Islands in the sale of bananas. (See Table I above).
### TABLE II - IMPORTS - 1960/61*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Value of Imports in W.I.$000, C.I.F.</th>
<th>Main Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td>685,469</td>
<td>meat, milk, meal and wheat flour, petroleum crude and products, cotton fabrics, textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>283,569</td>
<td>meat, milk, meal and wheat flour, salt fish, petroleum crude and products, cotton fabrics, textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>33,003</td>
<td>meat, meat preparations, milk, meal and wheat flour, cotton and textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>4,119</td>
<td>meat, meat preparations, milk, meal and wheat flour, textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>3,935</td>
<td>meat, milk, meal and wheat flour, petroleum products, cotton and textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>meat, meal and wheat flour, textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>5,790</td>
<td>meat, milk, meal and wheat flour, cotton and textile fabrics, iron and steel, manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>cotton and textile fabrics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>milk, meal and wheat flour, cotton and textile fabrics, iron and steel manufactured goods and machinery.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE II continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Value of Imports in W.I. $000 c.i.f.</th>
<th>Main Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>milk, meal and wheat flour, cotton fabrics, textile fabrics and manufactured goods.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direction of External Trade:

TABLE III Percentage of Imports from:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>W.I. Federation</th>
<th>British Guiana</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE IV Percentage of Export going to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>W.I. Federation</th>
<th>British Guiana</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position as summarized in the above tables reveals that only about 2 per cent of the imports of the islands are obtained within the island group itself and approximately 4 per cent of their exports remain within the group. Another 2 per cent of their imports come from British Guiana which also provides a market for 2 per cent of the exports from the islands."


INTERNAL TRADE:

Much the same sort of pattern is maintained by the individual units. Trade between them is very small compared with foreign trade. (See Tables). On the basis of 1957 statistics, for example, much of inter-island trade appears to be carried on among Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. Trinidad carries on a sizeable trade (rice) with British Guiana; and Barbados obtains a portion of its rice from that source. Except for some trade with Trinidad, Jamaica has little trade with the other islands in the Eastern Caribbean. Most of the trade of the Windward and Leeward Islands is conducted with Barbados, Trinidad and within the groups themselves. Approximately a third of the trade of the Leeward Islands constitutes trade within the group. British Guiana's exports to the islands are mainly directed to Trinidad, Jamaica, and Barbados, and the bulk of its imports from the islands come from Trinidad.
### TABLE V OVERALL TRADING POSITION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>West Indies</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imports $M.(W.I)$</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>Island</td>
<td>Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936 - 38</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXPORTS $M(W.I)$**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936 - 38</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although imports and exports have risen in value during the post-war period, it still remains true that a relatively small range of commodities still accounts for a disproportionately large share of total exports. Of the total $722 million recorded for all the islands in 1957, petroleum products, (Trinidad), bauxite and alumina (Jamaica) accounted for approximately $420 million. These three items were responsible for 60 per cent of the total exports of all the islands combined, and almost the entire market for the three products lay outside the West Indies. This dependence on external markets for a large proportion of the output from the area, gave rise to concern about the Federation's ability to pursue any programme directed towards strengthening its economy.

Trinidad exports most to the other islands. In 1955, her exports rose in value from $14.1 million to $21.2 in 1959. (See Table VII). The value in Barbados rose from $4.5 million in 1955 to $5.3 million 1958, and accounted for 10 to 13 per cent of the total exports from that island. Jamaica's value of exports was small at $3.6 million in 1959 which represented only 1.6 per cent of the total Jamaican exports. Exports from the Leeward and Windward Islands to each other and to Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados were small in quantity although the regional market was more important to some of the small units than it was to Jamaica, Trinidad or Barbados (See Table VII).
TABLE VI

Inter-Regional Imports and Exports of the West Indian Territories, in $ W.I. million, and as a percentage of total Imports and Exports of each Unit Territory, 1957.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-Regional Imports</th>
<th>Inter-Regional Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ W.I. Million</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windward Islands</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeward Islands</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE VII

Inter-Regional Trade in $ W.I. million and as a percentage of total Imports and Exports of each Unit Territory, 1955-58.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ W.I. Million</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.I. Million</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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Barbados was the heaviest importer of all the Units in the Federation in 1958. Her imports amounted to $6.9 million constituting 9.4 per cent of all imports to the island. Jamaica was the second largest market in 1959 with $6.7 million imported from the other territories. This amount is, however, insignificant because it constitutes only 2 per cent of total imports into Jamaica. Imports from the other units into Trinidad amounting to $3.2 million in 1959 were even smaller than such imports to Jamaica. West Indian imports to Trinidad never exceeded 1 per cent of total imports to the island between 1950 and 1959. Imports into the Leeward and Windward Islands were smaller but those of 1957 were significant because they accounted for 13 to 21 per cent of all imports into these smaller islands.

Table VIII shows the destination of regional exports from the different islands. In 1959, Trinidad exports of domestic produce amounted to $18.6 million and $2.7 million re-exports to the other islands. Jamaica was the largest importer chiefly in petroleum products from Trinidad. The second largest market was Barbados, followed by Antigua, Grenada, St. Kitts and St. Vincent.
TABLE VIII REGIONAL EXPORTS FROM UNIT TERRITORIES OF THE WEST INDIES ACCORDING TO TERRITORY OF DESTINATION

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<tr>
<td>TOTAL Exports</td>
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<td>212,661</td>
<td>3,556,324</td>
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</table>

n.a not available
† returned goods
source, Ibid: p.67
The largest market for Barbados (rum) is Trinidad and there is also important trade with all the other smaller islands. Jamaica exports almost entirely its own produce and Trinidad is its largest market. ($2.1 million in 1958). Exports to Barbados in the same year were valued at a meagre $0.4 million and those to the Leeward and Windward Islands were much smaller although they increased in 1959 and 1960.

Table IX indicates the origin of regional imports into the islands. Jamaica imports practically nothing from the Eastern Caribbean except petroleum products from Trinidad. Trinidad imports from Jamaica, Barbados and St. Vincent (mainly foodstuffs). Barbados imports from Trinidad, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Jamaica. Grenada obtains approximately four-fifths of its regional imports from Trinidad and almost all the remainder from Barbados. St. Lucia is more dependent on Barbados than on Trinidad. Data for the other islands is set out in Table X which shows the most important regional exports supplied by each island.

From these statistical data it can be readily seen that there is more movement of goods among the islands in the Eastern Caribbean than there is between them and Jamaica. This lack of sufficient trade between the Eastern and Western Caribbean was one of the major causes of the decline and fall of the Federation. This point also emphasizes, although only in part, the fact that the Eastern Caribbean islands including Trinidad should have formed a federation of their own without Jamaica.
### TABLE IX  REGIONAL IMPORTS INTO UNTITLED TERRITORIES OF THE WEST INDIES
**According to the Territory of Origin**

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<td>175</td>
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<td>337,482</td>
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<td>75,499</td>
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<td>323,128</td>
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<td>987,537</td>
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<td>n.a</td>
<td>732</td>
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<td>8,192</td>
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<td>n.a</td>
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<td>10,058</td>
<td>120,65</td>
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<td>237,613</td>
<td>75,775</td>
<td>50,413</td>
<td>5,376*</td>
<td>7,017</td>
<td>40,047</td>
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<td>TOTAL Imports</td>
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<td>1,558,995</td>
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Imports valued c.i.f.

n.a = not available

# = returned goods

TABLE X  PRINCIPAL COMMODITY EXPORTS OF EACH UNIT TERRITORY TO THE WEST INDIAN REGIONAL MARKET.

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<th>Value $ W.I. f.o.b.</th>
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<td>gals.</td>
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<td>Returned goods &amp; special transactions</td>
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<td>Scientific, medical, etc. apparatus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>lb.</td>
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<td>Sewing machines, etc.</td>
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<td>Postal packages</td>
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<td>15,030</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Motor vehicles, chassis etc.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Coal, coke, etc.</td>
<td>ton</td>
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<td>Radio apparatus</td>
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<p>| Barbados (1958)     | Rum                              | 000 gals. | 370.7    | 1,066,860           |
|                     | Textile yarn, fabrics etc.       |           |          | 880,500             |
|                     | Margarine and lard               | 000 lb.   | 1,232.9  | 518,290             |
|                     | Medicinal &amp; pharmaceutical products |         |          | 440,890             |
|                     | Machinery other than electric    |           |          | 273,890             |
|                     | Sugar                            | Long ton  | 765.5    | 172,490             |
|                     | Soap                             | 000 lb.   | 822.1    | 167,400             |
|                     | Transport equipment              |           |          | 160,550             |
|                     | Coconut (copra) oil              | 000 gals. | 65.7     | 131,080             |
|                     | Cereals &amp; cereal preparations    | 000 lb.   | 344.2    | 111,540             |
|                     | Other                            |           |          | 1,416,840           |
| Total               |                                  |           |          | 5,340,330           |</p>
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<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value $ W.I. f.o.b.</th>
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<td>000 lb</td>
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<td>Fruit juice</td>
<td>000 gals</td>
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<td>Carpets &amp; carpeting</td>
<td>000 sq.ft</td>
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<td>Whisky</td>
<td>000 gals</td>
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<td>Insecticides</td>
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<td>Lime oil, distilled</td>
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<th>Value f. W.I.</th>
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<td><strong>Jamaica (1959)</strong></td>
<td>Tin cars, empty (incl. broken down in pieces)</td>
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<td>Motor spirit</td>
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<td>543.4</td>
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<td>tons</td>
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<td>Cosmetics, toilet preparations</td>
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<td>Cotton seed cake &amp; meal</td>
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<td>Scrap iron &amp; steel</td>
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<td>Bananas</td>
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<td>Lime juice</td>
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<td>Horses &amp; scrap rubber</td>
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TABLE X Continued

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<td>Copra</td>
<td>000 Lb.</td>
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<td>Molasses</td>
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<td>Petroleum products</td>
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<td>Electric machinery &amp; apparatus</td>
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<td>Railway stock</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mining, construction &amp; other machinery</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>Road motor vehicles</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Cotton seed meal</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Lucia (1958)</td>
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<td>Copra</td>
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<td>Banana, cocoa &amp; coconut plants</td>
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<td>cocoa, raw</td>
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<td>Soap</td>
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TABLE XI  EXPORTS FROM TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO TO OTHER WEST INDIAN TERRITORIES, 1959
(Commodity groups by S.I.T.C.)

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### TABLE XI Continued

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#### Total Exports to W.I. Terr. as %

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AN ANALYSIS OF FEDERAL SHIPPING SERVICE.

Table XII shows the pattern of cargo carrying in terms of aggregate freight tons picked up and dropped on north and southbound voyages, covering the period 1958-1960. On the northbound voyage the ships load at Trinidad and drop off cargo as they proceed northwards. They pick up almost no cargo from the smaller islands, since some 93 per cent of loading is done in Trinidad and only a further 7 per cent is loaded at all the other ports of call. Heaviest deliveries on the northbound trip take place in the Leeward Islands as some 80 to 90 per cent of cargo is deposited by the time the ships leave St. Kitts. The remaining percentage is taken to Jamaica. The pattern is the same on the southbound trips except that cargo loading at Jamaica and Turks Island is less that that at Trinidad, although this differential is narrowing gradually. However, in 1960, 93 per cent of cargo was picked up in Jamaica and Turks Island and the remaining 7 per cent at the other ports of call. (1) As from 1961, Jamaica tended to use the Federal ships to reach Trinidad whereas Trinidad sent very little on Federal ships to Jamaican markets. Table XII shows the pattern of cargo loading and delivery in detail. It also illustrates unused capacity of the Federal ships on both northbound and southbound voyages.

If the Federal ships and the Federal Shipping Service were not considered as a commercial enterprise but regarded mainly as the basis of transport and communications policy essential to the islands they would constitute to serve the developmental programme (in terms of maintaining accounts, paying depreciation, receiving net revenues and other maintenance) of all the islands involved in the West Indian Inter-Island trade. Lack of a comprehensive policy regarding the Federal Shipping Service helped in breaking down inter-island ties between Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean pm the basis of trade. Jamaica, using the sterling as its currency has its own freight rates which are not uniform with those of the Eastern Caribbean for example.
### TABLE XII  CARGO PICKED UP AND DEPOSITED IN FREIGHT TONS, 1958–1960

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Source: Figures from "Inter-Territorial Freight Rates, etc." Op. Cit p.78.
CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

History:

The original inhabitants of the West Indian Islands have completely died out. When Christopher Columbus discovered the islands in 1492, he found three sets of people: a few primitive Indian cave dwellers, the agricultural Arawaks, and the warlike Caribs who had come from the mainland. The Arawaks were completely destroyed by Spanish colonists through warfare, forced labour and disease. A small Carib reserve can still be found in Dominica, although most of its present inhabitants are of mixed descent.

The present population is descended from races introduced mainly in the last three centuries. The Europeans who came as conquerors, pirates, missionaries, educators and traders, were drawn from a variety of European nations: Spain and Portugal, England, Holland, France, and later even from Latvia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

When the Spaniards found the local West Indian labour unsuitable for their gold mines and sugar estates they turned to West Africa from where they imported slaves. The
slaves came from many walks of life and also from a wide variety of tribes: Fanti, Ashanti, Yomba and Ibo. They spoke different languages and observed diverse customs; there was thus little opportunity for the slave people to establish a single community. Even today there are differences, which are traceable to the varied ancestry of the West Indian negroes although many are, at the same time ashamed of calling themselves African descendants. With Caribs, a variety of Europeans, Africans from different roots and countries, the West Indies is the only area with such a mixed community. Yet there is one more racial group to be added to this kaleidoscope.

After emancipation (1833), large numbers of labourers from India and China were imported under the indenture system for agricultural work. Importations continued until 1916 when the system was stopped. The Asians, comprising one-tenth of the population, brought new tongues, customs and religions to the West Indies. Thus throughout the islands, the West Indians consist of immigrants from a wide variety of societies, with diverse cultures and traditions, and often following different religions. Thus "the Caribbean is only an assemblage of functionally unrelated communities."(1) Its population "having no native population aspires generally to

the political and social standards of Great Britain and the United States, \( i \).

Four factors explain this outlook among the West Indian people: the first being European control which has existed for the last three centuries. These islands have been continual targets of conflict between the Spaniards, the English and the French. Some of the -- Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada -- for example, have changed hands several times, and in the process adopted cultural traits from both the British and the French. "The emphasis on European interests has also tended to lay the lines of communication between the islands and Britain or North America, leaving practically no contact between the peoples of the islands "themselves." \( ii \) Just as in most other tropical lands, climate has also had a part to play. The warm temperature and plentiful vegetation has made life comparatively easy to sustain at a subsistence level, yet high humidity and lack of natural resources have made it much more difficult to develop a better standard of living. These factors have influenced both human life and the natural wealth of the islands.


\( ii \) John Hatch, "Dwell Together in Unity", London, April, 1958, p.5.
Economic security through dependence on one crop — sugar — has been, until the formation of the Preferential Trade Pact with Britain in 1938, practically unknown in the islands. Slavery also has had an effect of inferiority on the character, behaviour and social outlook of the West Indians.

The history of the islands is, therefore, as diverse as their configuration, economic occupations, population densities, "Each island society has had its own unique historical development, and subsequently, a differing political and economic relationship with Great Britain." (1)

Social:

During the long period of war between 1793 and 1815, there was much fighting in the West Indies, in the course of which Great Britain seized Trinidad from the Spaniards who had already established a Spanish culture in the island. In 1783, the Spanish Government had admitted French immigrants from Haiti which was then a French colony; thus French culture was superimposed on the already established Spanish culture. In 1802 Spain ceded the island to Britain and thereafter African slaves were brought to Trinidad and to the other islands. After emancipation, in 1833, to meet

the shortage of labour, indentured labour was brought in from India. The result of all these migrants is that Trinidad has had to contend with mixed and complex society problems as well as with the social and political development of the descendants of ex-slaves. Structural diversities show 43% Negroid; 37% East Indian; 20% Chinese, British, Syrian, Portuguese and French. The East Indians retain their own religions traditions and other social customs which are unrelated to those of the other groups. The language" is said to be Spanish in origin, French by tradition, English by adoption, and not without traces of the languages of India, Pakistan, China, Syria and Palestine". (1) Very few East Indians mix with the rest of the population although, superficially, in carnivals and calypsoes, all seem joined together. The presence of a large East Indian element in Trinidad complicated the problem of federation in a particularly serious way. East Indians feared that federation might adversely affect their position both by encouraging immigration of negroes from other units and thus reducing their strength in the population, and by placing them under a federal government dominated by negroes.

Barbados by contrast, represents the English in custom and tradition. The element of social stratification, typical during the Victorian era, is still dominant. The island has been an uninterrupted British possession since it was first colonised in 1627. It retained a bigger proportion of its early white small holders than did the other islands, and its white population was almost entirely English, unlike the Leeward Islands where many Irish had settled and where the French held part of St. Kitts. The basic division here is that between whites and non-whites but..."Barbados, with 230,000 people is practically one geographic community despite fairly rigid class barriers, owing to its excellent road network and its historic cultural homogeneity. Dominica, on the other hand, with only 65,000 (now 59,000) has considerable village and local consciousness because population centres are isolated by difficult topography and poor communication and, in part, because of the collapse of the plantation economy that once supported island-wide social institutions."(1) Unifying factors like newspapers and radios are all present in the larger islands of Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, but are not so strong in St. Lucia or St. Vincent, and non-existent in the Grenadines. Such a situation explains partly the

existence of diverse communities.

Jamaican society is like that of the Southern United States, a hierarchy of three social sections differentiated by colour, culture, status and interest. Of these, the minute upper section represents one or two percent of the population, the black lower section includes four-fifths, and the brown middle section the remainder. Until 1938, whites monopolized decisive power in Jamaican economic and political affairs and the section still "wields a tremendous influence in the island (the same is true of the other islands) for in their hands lies economic wealth which ensures for their political power, opportunities or privileges. Social conditions of this sort tend to divide rather than unite."(1) The dominant upper sections espoused economic development, the status quo and the West Indies Federation. The black lower section in its disaffection demanded withdrawal from Jamaican society, opposed federation and proclaimed black racism and a return to Africa.

This was in contrast with Trinidad where the social structure was rather fluid and differences within the creole section (comparable to those in Jamaica) lost their structural primacy and dynamism in face of the overriding division between

Creoles and Indians. (1)

The Windward islands present a still further contrast since the language and social structure of some of them are largely French in outlook. Each of the four windward islands is so different, a factor which is not only a result of an intriguing geographical disparity but also the outcome of a varying heritage in which the changing fortunes of the eighteenth century struggles between Britain and France have left their mark. St. Vincent is predominately British but without colour or class distinctions. One is constantly aware of the French by the names of places — Roseau in Dominica; Vieux Fort and Soufriere in St. Lucia; and Grenville in Grenada. Popular French names include: Le Blanc and La Corbiniere. Strong traces of solid French architecture are visible in St. George's — Grenada, and in many other less obvious matters of law, custom, and social tradition.

We thus find that in the 1958-62 federation of the West Indies, Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands and St. Vincent (the most 'British' of the Windward Island)

were decidedly English and Protestant. The inhabitants of St. Lucia and Dominica, had not lost their marked French character; most of them still spoke French patois, often regarded by the English-speaking as unintelligible, and were Roman Catholic. Trinidad displayed French and Iberian as well as East Indian characteristics.

Problem of Education:

In the United States, compulsory State education was the main assimilating instrument which brought together into the "melting pot" all the European immigrants. Under central direction, education can be more advantageously used in "trans-influence" and is less likely to become a prey to particular local prejudices or short-sightedness whose bad effects on one particular group might poison relationship in all the neighbouring communities.

In the West Indies primary education is free and universal in all the islands and secondary education also is free in Trinidad and Barbados. "Except in Barbados and the Leewards, one child in six never goes to school. Most children leave school to start work at the age of twelve or thirteen; in Jamaica only eight out of a hundred complete the elementary course. Even those who attend more or less regularly learn
little beyond the rudiments in the ordinary primary school, which is desperately over-crowded and understaffed."

Most of the teachers are untrained. There is only one teachers' training college throughout the Leewards located in Antigua, with an enrollment, of not more than thirty. "This implies that teachers in the West Indies are inadequate in number, and training especially in the smaller islands. Too great reliance is placed on the pupil-teacher system, too little effort is made to attract into the profession those who have received a secondary education and there is an almost complete lack of transfer between the islands which prevents the profession from broadening its scope to include the Caribbean area as a whole." The main problem, however, is that only one or two graduates of each island gets a scholarship for further training. This is, of course, explained by the general poverty of the islands. Without any financial aid, only the few whose parents have an annual income of about five hundred or more dollars can afford to attend the few secondary schools which exist in some of the islands like St. Lucia and Montserrat which have two and one, respectively.

School is the only institution through which a man

---


NUMBER OF SCHOOL TEACHERS AND SCHOOL ENROLMENT (1958)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>School Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prim.</td>
<td>sec.</td>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados (a)</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia (b)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent (b)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobago</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1,857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Statistics from K.R. Hunte, *op. cit.*, p. 41

(A) All schools aided by the Government
(b) All schools unaided by the Government excluding private primary schools (not subsidised by the Government agency)

N.A. = not available
## The Percentage of Trained Teachers in Primary Schools

*(in the Windward and Leeward Islands in 1957)*
*(including those of Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territories</th>
<th>Total no. of teachers</th>
<th>Total no. of <em>trained teachers</em></th>
<th>percentage of trained teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada (1959)</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad/Tobago</td>
<td>5,442</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


N.B. "Trained" here means with a teacher's certificate diploma.
can gain wealth, power and status; education weakens caste and colour consciousness. But education in the West Indies has also adverse points: the educated people with either Senior Certificates or degrees are far remote from the common people because they prefer it that way, and because their society expects them to be so, and also because of the scattered nature of the small island villages with perhaps ten to a thousand people. Because of this lack of contact between the educated and the uneducated, the latter never adapted themselves to the circumstances at the time Federation was launched.

A village in Dominica or St. Lucia or in any of the other islands, feels proud when a local boy qualifies for the island scholarship award, but the same happy community would be unhappy if after going away to school, he continued to behave and think like themselves. During vacation he does not help his parents in the field and on completion he decides to stay away from both his island and family thereby refusing to share the daily life of his community.

Although the secondary level provides a vigorous academic training, there is little connection with the peculiar realities (poverty, little education) of the West Indian life. Education is based on the English Public School model of classical curriculum. Most of the best
students go abroad to study law, medicine and education. The West Indian children in secondary schools despise the customs, tradition and aptitudes of the common fold — that is, their ways of speaking and dancing. Instead they express themselves with a diluted English culture. These attitudes are a result of slavery. Peasants have also problems which are beyond their control. They do not reject instruction in things like handicraft, but they think that the demand for training in the crafts is for ceremonial occasions rather than for daily life, inasmuch as land is enjoyed by residents as a source of recreation and inspiration. Beach rights are jealously guarded by local boards of control. The Caroni Camp in Trinidad is protected for wild-life. Hunting and fishing are everywhere popular. The evils of the past have led the native people to suspect that such foreign innovations as these are bad.

Lack of school places and high costs in schools of all the islands except Barbados and Trinidad, prevent most West Indians from seeking advanced education. Poor teaching service due to independent development of units over the years also contributes to the deplorable state of secondary education particularly in the smaller islands.

The general standard of education in the smaller islands is lower than that in Trinidad and Barbados but probably, on
average, higher than that in Jamaica. The smaller islands are being left behind in the drive for increased technical education since centres for such education have been set up in the major islands. In the smaller islands centres can only cover a limited range of techniques. Funds would, therefore, have to be available from any development plan to send people away for specific types of training as well as for raising the general standard of education. Although problems facing all the smaller islands are the same, Dominica is a very particular case, her problems being almost continental rather than insular.

On the whole then, the low educational level of the majority of the people also caused doubts concerning the feasibility of federation. Would the electorate understand the relatively remote and complex issues of federal politics or, in confusion, feel prey to demagogues and elevate them to positions of federal responsibility? Could there be found in these small territories enough men of the required calibre to staff both the unit and the federal governments? The federal civil service was small and most of its work was done by men who were paid locally, a serious source of friction.

These factors together with others more strictly geographic or economic in character (and even political) were sufficiently unfavourable for maintaining the West Indies federation.
CHAPTER V

EFFECTS OF THE DISSOLUTION

May 31, 1962 was the day appointed for the independence of the West Indies Federation. "Through the irony of fate, the date marked instead the dissolution of the West Indies Federation." (1) The closing of the Common Services Conference in Port-of-Spain in July, 1962, completed the liquidation of the Federation. The dissolution marked the end of an attempt to create a functional region in the Caribbean. Thus we have the West Indies divided into three Dominions — Jamaica on the one hand, Trinidad/Tobago on the other, and the remaining "Eight" islands (Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitts–Nevis–Anguilla, and Montserrat) forming a third group.

The Position of Common Services:

The West Indies University, the Shipping Service, and Seismographic research remain as regional operations controlled by and run for the area as a whole. But it was suggested in 1962 that Liberal Arts Colleges be established under the auspices of the University of the West Indies in Barbados and Trinidad.

This was effected early in 1963. Both Barbados and Trinidad continue to remain in the University of the West Indies. The opening of Liberal Arts Colleges in both Barbados and Trinidad means a lot to the islands since their students will continue to live at home and their fees will be reasonably low compared with those at the residential University of the West Indies in Jamaica. But no one island can run a college or a full-fledged university in the West Indies. The establishment of a university is no mean undertaking, and with the University of the West Indies establishing a Faculty of Engineering at St. Augustine in Trinidad, (where there is already a Faculty of Agriculture), and faculties of Medicine, Arts and Science at Mona in Jamaica, Barbados would find it difficult financially to subsidise the West Indies University while running at the same time its own Liberal Arts College. Even British Guiana which has since 1962 been contemplating on establishing Colleges of Engineering, Agriculture, and Medicine under the aegis of the University of Guiana was wise to postpone such plans but her withdrawal from the University of the West Indies in July, 1962 destroyed all hopes of future co-operation in education. Jamaica needs Trinidad's Agricultural and Engineering Faculties, and the latter is unable to establish a worthwhile Medical Faculty and teaching hospital without enormous expense. The 'Eight' will always need the University facilities of both Jamaica
and Trinidad; their finances can scarcely run a Liberal Arts College, much less a university. Unfortunately the University of the West Indies will cater for all the former units of the dead Federation only up to 1972. Then there will be not only a geographical, political, or economic, but also an educational fragmentation.

The Canadian gift ships were retained regionally because they have proved useful for the whole region. But for a while their fate became uncertain. Some islands suggested that they be returned to Canada but Canada refused to get them. The 'Little Eight' decided they should have the ships to themselves, but when it was pointed out that the already existing large deficits would be even larger since most of the passengers and trade came from Trinidad and Jamaica which had seceded from the Federation, the 'Little Eight' quickly lost enthusiasm for the idea. There is still no firm proposal on the future of the Maple and the Palm but there appears to be a tacit agreement among all the islands to let them keep running until 1964 on the understanding that each government pay a nominal sum toward their upkeep.

Future meteorological observation will also be fragmented. The smaller islands, urged on by Barbados decided to withdraw from the joint meteorological services in September, 1963.
From then on, weather forecasting and hurricane watching will be a two-party operation with Trinidad, Jamaica, the Bahamas, British Guiana, and British Honduras working their charts on one side and the 'Eight' on the other.

Fragmentation also came in the matter of the Regional Labour Board, a body concerned with the workers in the United States. Trinidad withdrew and is presumably looking after her labouring citizens in the United States by way of her diplomatic facilities.

The Eastern Caribbean Farm Institute will continue only until summer 1964 and British Guiana withdrew in December, 1962.

Dealings with the non-West Indian world are also to be carried on separately in future, for example: instead of the Federal Government talking for ten units in the British Guiana rice deal there were three separate conferences with British Guiana in the spring of 1962 to fix the prices of rice; one with the 'Eight', one with Trinidad, and the last with Jamaica.

Through the Oils and Fats Agreements, the governments had encouraged the development of the coconut industry and by offering area - wide protection to local manufacturing, had also encouraged the production of processed oils and fats.
in the region, but Trinidad and Jamaica are opposed to its operation.

What probably emphasizes the break up more boldly than anything else is that not even a token permanent Common Services Organization was left. The three areas of regional action — the University, Shipping and, until this year (1963), Meteorology — will each have its own policy-making body. There is nothing like the Federal Government which, despite its weaknesses, at least spoke for the entire region. These three remaining common services may nonetheless continue to form a bridge among all the territories that were in the Federation.

Jamaica's Location and Problems:

For a time Jamaica may be able to stay on her own. By virtue of her distance and tradition, when Jamaica looks outside she turns to Britain, America, and Canada, not to the other islands with which it has had very insignificant social and economic ties.

Certainly Jamaica, satisfied with its recent economic progress, is pleased that its development plans are now safe from possible federal intervention. Its primary concern is defense and raising the standard of living.
Jamaica is in close proximity to Cuba and in an uneasy neighbourhood with the Dominican Republic and Haiti. To maintain effective security by herself, she needs to strengthen her defences — but this project is expensive, and this factor would perhaps force Jamaica into close association with the other islands. But the Jamaican government has been promised a defense treaty with the United States, so that integration through defense is again far-fetched.

Relieved of the financial involvement with the even poorer islands of the West Indies, Jamaica has now to find ways of raising the island's standard of living and reducing its dependence on outside assistance. Her banana industry faces a serious competition in both Britain and North America from bananas obtained elsewhere. Perhaps this is compensated by her increased trade in sugar and cigars since the United States no longer imports these from Cuba. In spite of this, Jamaica, like Trinidad, is straining under the financial burden of its independence; she has found it imperative to 'freeze' the salaries of the Civil Servants. Her problems of unemployment (at an approximate rate of 18 per cent a year), are so high that many Jamaicans are emigrating to Canada. Some of these emigrants are technicians
or professionals who would be a great asset to Jamaica herself. Many Jamaicans are working in Cuba and in the Panama, and Jamaica will have to watch developments -- sometimes unhappy -- in both these areas. Jamaica will also have to find means of expanding her settlement schemes which may be mixed in economy -- dairy, beef, and agriculture -- for both home consumption and trade.

Trinidad's Location and Problems:

Trinidad's relative wealth may enable her to stay away from the neighbouring islands but she has become involved with the Eastern Caribbean by proximity, trade, immigration, and inter-marriage; many of Trinidad's politicians have families living in the smaller islands. Trinidad is therefore less able than Jamaica to detach herself from the worries of the smaller islands.

Trinidad is close to Venezuela in geography and in trade. But the closer the links between the two, the more closely Trinidad will be involved in the political affairs of Venezuela. Revolution and Civil War in the latter may affect the Dominion. In case of attack there is nothing to guard the Trinidad shoreline but marine police and a few launches. In view of this, Trinidad needs some sort of
defense re-organization to protect her prosperous oil industry, especially in San Fernando. It is possible to form an Eastern Caribbean Treaty Organization consisting of Venezuela, Trinidad, and the 'Eastern Caribbean' Dominion including also the Netherlands Antilles and the British Virgin Islands. Trinidad should not rely on Britain for defense, because during World War II when Australia and New Zealand were both attacked by Japan, they could no longer rely on British forces, hence the formation of a defense treaty with the United States of America. Further, Trinidad is now in control of her foreign policy and Britain is ashamed of the Chaquaramas Base issue. These facts point to Trinidad's reliance on herself with very little help from Britain, although there are Commonwealth ties between them.

At home, Trinidad's natural resources are limited. Oil industry is in foreign hands. There is a population increase of three percent each year. Unemployment is at the annual rate of ten percent and if economic development and job opportunities are not increased it may become explosive. Her other major sources of income apart from tax — sugar and cocoa — face competition on the world market, and their success depends on the people who own them. However, the government may gradually take over control as it has already done in regard to the British West Indies Airways and the
Telephone Companies. But the day of small nations is past and Trinidad's relative self-sufficiency is not merely a matter of material things. There are also trade and moral factors — such as realizing that people in Trinidad and even in Jamaica are not the only citizens in the Caribbean but they are part and parcel of the whole Archipelago. Their separate independence involves costs and responsibilities which at this time may be questioned. Their relative prosperity may be confronted by economic and political rivalries which may be intensive now that the Federation has broken up. However, the Government of Trinidad, under the able leadership of Dr. Williams has made approaches to the Governments of Jamaica, Barbados and British Guiana for steps towards closer integration.

In the surrounding territories of Haiti, Cuba, and also in the Latin American republics, riots and revolutions are as common as hurricanes in the West Indies. Their influence on the islands cannot, at this stage, be dismissed completely. In Trinidad, racial tensions are "quiescent rather than extinct."(1) The educated entrepreneurs are still small in number and most of the inhabitants of the islands are poor and illiterate. A Federation of the West Indies, especially between the Eastern Caribbean and Trinidad would, in the long run, have had better and far-reaching effects on the economy of the Eastern and Southern Caribbean.

(1) Elizabeth Wallace, "The West Indies Federation, Decline and Fall," op. cit., p. 286
The Eight:

With the possible exception of Barbados, the smaller islands cannot 'go it alone'. Barbados has a relatively viable economy, but even that is uncertain because of its dependence on sugar, rum and molasses and its adverse factor of population pressure.

The main hope for the future of the small 'Eight' lies in the proposed Federation of Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands; but even this union should be discussed carefully or it will share the fate of the previous federation. "The eight territories, strung out across five hundred miles of sea and with a combined population of under 700,000 (650,000), all erect tariff and immigration barriers against each other." (1) In fact, it is too early to forecast the prospects of the Eastern Caribbean Federation.

At first, there had been a proposal that the 'Eight' should join Trinidad/Tobago in a unitary state since she had already had some connections with four of the islands: Grenada obtained loans from Trinidad for its water conservation; many people from Grenada and St. Vincent live in Trinidad; Montserrat also obtained a loan from Trinidad.

(1) Ibid., p. 287
The other islands were opposed to the idea for fear of being brought to the same political status as that of Tobago. Out of this the decision to form the 'Little Eight Federation' emerged. But reasons for its formation are the same as those of the dead Federation, although these today are more urgent. The failure of the previous federation necessarily encouraged the smaller islands to come together.

The prospects of Britain's entry into the European Common Market may materialize in the near future and this European Club will be a common enemy to such tropical products as sugar and bananas, which have a preferential trade in the British market. Bananas will compete with those from Martinique and Guadeloupe. The Sugar Preferential Trade itself may not be renewed after 1968; these hard times together with the banning of West Indians from Britain may force the islands to come together. Britain will have surrendered most of her responsibilities over them.

"No one can believe in this day and age that small units of authority are better than large groupings. After all, Britain is considering to integrate her economy in a wider European Union and therefore to relinquish some of her sovereignty; much smaller and weaker countries can scarcely
afford to ignore the meaning of such a wind of change."(i)

There was no other alternative after the dissolution of the four-year old federation. All territories are small and are neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently wealthy to assume all responsibilities and financial obligations inherent in complete autonomy. Their best hope lies in a federation which will survey what each island is able to produce, e.g., citrus (Dominica), bananas (St.Lucia), sugar (Barbados)(St.Kitts), tomatoes (Montserrat), cotton (Antigua), and try to integrate all these. Admittedly this will take time because that feeling of parochialism still prevails. "Each territory feels that its further economic and social progress depends to some extent upon local initiatives. It is not willing to have its fate entirely in the hands of Federal personnel, whether political or administrative. Locally elected representatives of the people, living in the territory and concerned primarily with its interests must have the power to take measures for its improvement on their own initiative, without waiting for inspiration from distant centres and without fear of frustration by the

(i) Lord Hailes, Governor-General of the Federation of the West Indies from 1958 to May 31st, 1962. From broadcast message on the eve of the dissolution of the Federation.
opposition of a distant authority. This feeling is a natural consequence of the great distances which separate the extremes of the West Indies. But it also springs from recent experience that Federation politicians are still insular in their outlook and cannot always be trusted to treat all the islands with equal affection and impartiality.\(^1\)

In spite of this, the islands should federate because through union they will be helped to develop their agriculture and industry by irrigation (Antigua and Barbados), by artificial manure (Barbados), and by organized settlement schemes (Dominica and St. Lucia). If financial aid is obtained from outside, and is used with better judgement, then within a decade or two no more external aid may be necessary.

The technical services are expensive and undoubtedly cannot be run by single units. The answer is to have a system by which all the services should be run by Federal Government. The islands should associate themselves with

the destiny of the functionally geographical area. A Barbadian community, for example, should not compete with Antiguan products in order to protect its own local products. An oil refinery to be introduced in Antigua will definitely compete with the already established refinery in Barbados just as there was competition between Trinidad and Jamaica in the recently dissolved Federation. So will the deep water harbour in Antigua tend to work against the prospects in Barbados. On the other hand, both harbours may try to alleviate unemployment and help in boosting the economy of the area — but only if there is a centralized planning which will require both politicians and economists to come together more often than ever before.

The Eastern Caribbean islands are heavy importers of manufactured goods and food (flour, fruit, fish, wheat, butter, cheese) although the latter is their main industry. There are vast stretches of untilled land in Dominica (ca 2/3), in St. Lucia, Grenada and Nevis. These have to be utilized for food production, and a strong Federal Government of the Eastern Caribbean would try to stimulate agricultural production and also expand dairy and beef industry.

After all, inter-island trade already exists in the
Eastern Caribbean. Barbados, for example, imports fresh fruit, vegetables, charcoal, copra, coconut oil, and arrowroot from both the Leeward and Windward Islands, and exports sugar, rum, biscuits, margarine, lard, animal foods, limestone (crushed and whole), furniture, batteries, mattresses, yams, and sweet potatoes to the same (See Chapter III C. Inter-Island Trade).

Inter-Island trade among the Eastern Caribbean islands is greater than their trade with the other units in the Caribbean (with the exception of Trinidad and Grenada) and also greater than the same with the outside world. This factor emphasizes the need for the islands in the Eastern Caribbean to come closer together in a federation.

As has been already mentioned in Chapter Two, the Canadian Government gave the people of the West Indies two ships which provide an opportunity twice — that is, one to the islands southward and the other to the islands northward — each week for passengers and cargo although facilities are not generally fair for the West Indians. (1) There are also frequent opportunities each week by small motor vessels and schooners sailing from the Careenage in

(1) Figures from "The Financial Post", December 8th, 1962, p.56.

ON-SEASON FARES (ONE WAY) BETWEEN JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Fare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>De luxe</td>
<td>C$310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer cab</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner cab</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, reductions for round-trip passengers and children.
Barbados to the other islands.

**Caribbean Common Market:**

The agricultural economies of the eight smaller islands and the growing industrialization of Trinidad should offer scope for the development of a two-way trade within the Eastern Caribbean area as a whole. The most significant element in Trinidad's exports to the other islands is the petroleum products which account for almost half of the value of the islands' shipments to its neighbours. Over another quarter consists of manufactures—building materials, clothing, paper products, machinery and equipment, glass ware and consumer goods including soft drinks and cigarettes.

In return, the islands sell alcoholic drinks and food largely vegetables from St. Vincent and ground provision from Grenada. Since all the islands still maintain tariffs against one another, the creation of a free trade area or a customs union of some kind should widen substantially the scope for inter-Caribbean trade. Even then, however, one problem would still remain: Trinidad sells to the other islands many times more than it buys from them. In 1960, Trinidad's exports to the Eastern Caribbean were worth nearly $16 million (B.W.I.) against imports from the same area of under $2 million.
Industrialization in the smaller islands may be hampered by the inadequacy of local markets and its attendant problem of the competitive position of industries in it; by resistance encountered from interests in developing countries and from the local commercial community; by consumer prejudices and lack of resources, skilled labour, and industrial knowledge; by insufficient capital, and by the weighty and time consuming administrative procedures. Even Trinidad, with a population of 800,000, is not sufficiently large to support factories of an economic productive size. Industrialization must depend on the development of export markets. It is in this connection that the implementation of a West Indies Customs Union, including internal free trade, was to become an essential requirement and its effect would have been to enlarge the home market within which the existing manufacturers could expand with consequent increase in employment opportunities.

The need for regional economic association and integration still exists. "In an age of common markets, free trade areas, and trade liberalization the agricultural industries may perish if the 'Little Eight' governments and producers find no road to regional co-operation." (i)

It is only through a federation that these islands lacking natural resources would be able to make economic progress and also have sufficient military protection. After all, the Central American republics of "Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Nicaragua have signed conventions establishing a Central American Common Market with uniform tariff duties for more than 95 per cent of all products entering the area. The conventions also provided for a uniform law for industrial development applicable to the entire Common Market area." (1)

The United States had, some time back, proposed to incorporate Australia, New Zealand and Canada into a Pacific Economic Community which would also include Japan and Latin America. This would leave the islands out of any association. However, this move is as remote as Britain's prospects for entering the European Common Market.

The Government of Trinidad has also pointed out that continued fragmentation of the Caribbean can only mean continued poverty for many of the territories and that failure to reconstruct and re-align the economies of these countries can only result in continued dependence on the will of more powerful countries everywhere. Feelers for closer co-operation

(1) "Challenge to the West Indies", The Guardian 1:8, 1962.
have already been put out with Surinam (Dutch), with the
French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and with the
island of Puerto Rico. The question of forming a
Caribbean Common Market has been raised because it is only
through eventual federation and economic reconstruction
that the Caribbean can overcome its inner problem of economic
vulnerability.

A Caribbean Common Market, on a wider economic
grouping embracing the French, British, and Dutch territories
in the area would be a timely response from the European
Common Market -- especially if Britain is admitted in the
future; it will also be an answer to similar international
situations in Malaya, Indonesia, Africa and the whole of the
Western Hemisphere. To do this, however, the smaller islands
should first of all group themselves in a federation so that
they can meet on an equal basis with the already sovereign
states -- Trinidad, Jamaica, and others in the area. The
'Eight', on the other hand, face a major difficulty in their
proposed Eastern Caribbean Federation. The main barrier is
the stand taken by Grenada to join Trinidad in a unitary state.
Grenada-Trinidad relations are chiefly based on economic and
social factors.
Similarity of Agricultural Pursuits between Trinidad and Grenada:

One of the strongest arguments against Grenada's joining the 'Little Eight' has been its agriculture which is different from that of the other territories, where it is strikingly similar. From Barbados to St. Kitts (except Dominica) there is a sugar economy. In Grenada the sugar crop is moribund, and bananas and cocoa are its main industries, with nutmegs as an important secondary crop. Whenever Grenada needs expert advice on cocoa and even nutmeg, it turns to Trinidad where there are facilities for it. Both cocoa and nutmeg are shipped from Grenada while the former is also shipped from Trinidad. Both Grenada and Trinidad bananas are shipped to the United Kingdom.

Trinidad has an agricultural bank which offers various aids to peasant farmers, and if Grenada joined it would be much easier for the Grenada peasants to obtain help in developing their own products. For all agricultural products in Grenada, an additional export tax is paid -- which is not the case in Trinidad. If Grenada joins Trinidad, she may have a preferential trade relation because Trinidad is independent. The other islands (St. Vincent, St. Lucia and
Dominica) in the Windward Banana Association would be saved by joining as associate members with the leadership of Barbados on the part of the 'Little Seven'.

Every Tuesday, scores of people hustle around the schooners tied up alongside the Careenage. "A man with a bag of sour sops wants it to be delivered to his daughter in Laventile (Trinidad), a woman with a bag of ground provision wants the captain to make sure and hand it to her sister in Rosslands (Trinidad), and a father dashes aboard and hands somebody an envelope to deliver to his three children going to school in Port-of-Spain. The sour sops, and sapoillas and the bananas are all sold in Trinidad to keep the Grenada peasantry alive." (i) In addition to the schooners, the inter-island motor boats (e.g. the Carib Clipper) and the two federal boats all do heavy business between Trinidad and Grenada.

Bread, ice cream and shirts all come from Trinidad. The contention is that unity with Trinidad would perforce mean lower cost of living. Milk now at 36 cents a tin would come down to Trinidad's 26 cents or may be a cent more for freight,

while the other items that send up Grenada's living costs to large proportions would be more on the Trinidad plane as Trinidad would be responsible for taxation and customs duties. It is also claimed that Grenada workers would enjoy better living standards because while the cost of living would go down, the wages of labourers would go up to Trinidad's standards. This, they reckon, would improve prosperity of Grenada. If Grenada joined Trinidad, it is assumed that tourism will be shifted from Trinidad and Tobago to Grenada, a heavy forest country and one of the loveliest islands in the Caribbean. Each island of the Unitary State would therefore have an economic role to play for the interests of all.

Social Ties:

But the wish to join Trinidad is not only based on economic ties but also on social facts. Most of the people in Grenada have relatives in Trinidad and for every three Grenadians in Grenada there is one Grenadian in Trinidad. Nine out of ten Grenadians met in St. George's (the capital of Grenada) have been to Trinidad either to work, holiday, or to shop. Trinidad is the Mecca for the Grenadians. There are also Grenada politicians (Butler and Alexis), a Grenada
lawyer (Hudson Philip, Q.C.), and a Grenada musician (Sparrow), who have lived and prospered in Trinidad. There are, in addition, hosts of Trinidad civil servants and businessmen who have helped to boost the prosperity of Trinidad but whose birth certificates would show a Grenada address. Grenada athletes are always invited to the sports tournament in Trinidad and all their expenses are paid. The Trinidad newspaper - the Guardian - is received daily before the 'West Indian', a locally published paper, is out. Almost 500 copies of the Guardian are sold each day in St. George's as opposed to approximately 35 copies of the Barbados Advocate.

Free secondary education has had a long trial in Trinidad, and Grenada parents would prefer sending their children to Trinidad's institutions rather than to Barbados, which is farther away than Trinidad and still on a trial basis.

It is further maintained that if Grenada joined the 'Little Eight' federation, she would still be an outcast socially, just as she is economically at the moment. Grenadians do not delude themselves that they are liked in the northern islands. For some strange reason, the Grenadians are not
popular in those islands in the North, even with other Windward Islands, with whom Grenada is often engaged in sport, banana trade and telecommunications. The 'Join Trinidad' protagonists further contend that Grenada's joining the 'Little Eight' would only serve to send Grenada from poor to poorer, because every one of those islands (with the possible exception of Barbados) is poorer than Grenada and it would mean Grenada's living in perpetual poverty. Unless, of course, it is prepared to continue receiving grants-in-aid from Britain (Grenada, which was self-supporting until Hurricane Janet damaged the island and its economy in 1955, is looking forward to getting out of that stage). Only one out of every 15 persons asked in St. George is in favour of joining the 'Little Seven' in a federation. The joining of Grenada with Trinidad, so the Grenadians maintain, would be the beginning of a Caribbean federation. The advantages, however, are basically economic.

The main argument of the detractors is that Grenada would lose its identity and become like Tobago -- a lonely, forlorn, backward place with most of the people preferring to rush to Trinidad than to stay and develop their own island. Some politicians argue that there will be no legislature in Grenada and, therefore, the glory that was once Grenada's
will be lost. More pressing difficulties include: racial tension in Trinidad's political life which does not exist in Grenada. If Grenada joined Trinidad, the East Indians in Trinidad would, as they did in the last Federation, try to block any influence on their affairs from the majority negro population.

Unemployment in Trinidad is already serious, and any addition of people from Grenada would aggravate labour and housing problems, especially in Port-of-Spain. It is easy to see that these arguments cannot stand up against the pro-Trinidad ones, but there is still an element which had to be considered in the Trinidad-Grenada link, and that is the people of Trinidad. With last year's reports of misuse of public funds in Grenada and Grenada's grant-in-aid nature, the Companies, Chambers of Commerce, and Unions, and professionals in Trinidad, are not happy over the Grenada situation. They are hence opposed to any unitary form of government between Trinidad/Tobago and Grenada.

Moreover, Trinidad gets her capital by borrowing, and there is no reason why Grenada, through the 'Little Eight' Federation, cannot do the same. Trinidad
has not got any technical notion of its own. Grenada could also get her technical assistance (through the above-mentioned federation) from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United Nations, Jamaica and even from Trinidad if, of course, Grenada asks for it. Cocoa, maize and nutmeg economies are competitive; Grenada's bananas go to Britain. Trinidad takes only a few items of Grenada vegetables and, at the moment, she is encouraging local production and receiving the rest from Denmark. Under these circumstances, it is hard to see any possibility for Trinidad to open her market more than she is doing for Grenada ground crops. Eventually Grenada will suffer economically. The only possible solution at the moment is to have Grenada remain in the proposed 'Little Eight' Federation, because through it Britain will be in a position to provide money for a basis. From Canada "there is (already) $4,000,000 left from 1958 grant on behalf of the dissolved federation...this is earmarked for the use of the Little Eight." (i) If Grenada joined Trinidad/Tobago she would depend largely on Trinidad's capacities for borrowing foreign capital.

The local industrialists are also attracted by the new venture because the restricted customs union, if it is encouraged, may "give them a chance to exclude Trinidad manufactures from the markets of the area. A new feature has also arisen in that air services might be improved in the smaller (e.g., Barbados) federation, since BWIA would lose its monopoly, becoming a foreign airline on the same footing as Air France, KLM and PAA."(i) Nevertheless, the federation would try to collaborate with Trinidad on regional institutions (the University, shipping...) but the formation of an Eastern Caribbean federation itself would be a preliminary step to an eventual closer co-operation with Trinidad, and not for Grenada to join Trinidad when the former is still very poor. It is quite conceivable that Trinidad would also welcome this idea, although she has left doors open for a Trinidad-Grenada link.

But this proposed federation may also fail if its people are not bound together emotionally. "One reason for the failure of our attempt at federation with Jamaica was the fact that the peoples of Jamaica and the Southern Caribbean knew little about each other and felt little affection for each other."(ii)

(i) W. Arthur Lewis, Eastern Caribbean Federation, op. cit., p.l. (ii) ibid., p. l.
People of the Eastern Caribbean, on the contrary, have close links among themselves, and even with Trinidad from where they get their cargo, news, novelists and also political excitement. The decision of Trinidad to leave the Federation came as a tragedy among peoples of smaller islands and Trinidad because of their long history of economic and social contacts.

Can general co-operation be expected to develop in the Caribbean through the activities of the Caribbean Organization which watches over the area on behalf of the metropolitan powers -- Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States of America? The Organization associates Puerto Rico with the British islands and this link may assume importance in time; but it is significant that the Trinidad government has no great regard for the Organization.

The Department of Trade and Tourism of the Organization, for example, disseminates information on supply and demand of goods and services, manpower availability and tourism. The best future hope for this organization would be the creation of new trade opportunities, tourism potential, and fishing throughout the Caribbean area, where these economic activities and especially tourism and fishing are still on
poor traditional basis rather than dependent on economic necessity. The second hopeful factor is the link which may be provided by the Commonwealth ties; both Jamaica and Trinidad/Tobago became members of the Commonwealth soon after their independence.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

From the standpoint of geography, economics and culture, the birth of the West Indies Federation in 1958 was premature. The future of both Jamaica and Trinidad/Tobago will definitely not be better than that of Cyprus. They may do well if they insist on going it alone but their influence would have been far greater in the long run if they remained members of the West Indies Association.

The 'Little Eight' have started off on the same foundation as the dead Federation — they have not surrendered their unit powers to the central government. Economically too, the smaller islands are faced with a grim future. They are all agricultural and with a fluctuating world market, the agricultural production may exceed demand. They can only exist by first forming a federation and surrendering most of their powers to the central government, and also by accepting the idea of a Regional Economic Association, possibly a Caribbean Common Market which will include Trinidad, Jamaica and other interested islands. Yet certain prerequisites should be considered before any political federation materializes among the islands in the
Eastern Caribbean. There should be a uniform currency among all the islands in the union. The future establishment of an independent currency by Trinidad — resulting from her secession and independence, and the break-off by Jamaica may facilitate the matter for the smaller islands. A common tariff policy should be introduced for all the islands in the federation. Air and other inter-island communications should be improved in order to facilitate trade, commerce and movement of people. Industrial development should be in the hands of the central government which should have the exclusive rights of borrowing capital from outside and disseminating external aid. By its information service and contacts with other countries it should be in a better position to attract foreign capital. The Federal Government will have to plan ways of improving the general standard of living in the area and also to offer employment to the unemployed and underemployed by expanding garment and shoe factories in Barbados, by introducing a juice factory in Dominica, a guava factory in St. Lucia instead of buying the guavas from Martinique. The Federal Government should also help the peasants by opening up large tracts of uncultivated land in Dominica and St. Lucia. There should be more emphasis on self-sufficiency rather than on economic stability.
Tourism is also linked with the activities of any federation in the Eastern Caribbean, especially in terms of Customs Union and freedom of movement. But its development may be affected by the protective tariff walls which the islands have erected against one another. The proposed federation has superficially agreed on free movement of goods and people, and also on industrial development being taken over by the central government. Since the islands are divided by water, each unit will certainly have a local structure, but the federal government must have superstructural power to regularize enterprises.

Another handicap in the development of tourism or any other industry in the West Indies is the reluctance of local investors with appreciable resources to invest in their own islands. Tourism may develop if there is a central planning, which means that Barbados and Antigua, both of which withdrew from the Caribbean Tourist Board in 1962, will have to rejoin. The local investors and the government could stimulate interest in this important industry. Through strict economy and proper enforcement of tax, customs, and tariff laws, the Eastern Caribbean Federal Government should maintain viability as their first necessity.
Only when the standard of living has thus been improved in the islands could approach for a realistic confederation similar to the Canadian, be made. This may embrace Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and the Eastern Caribbean Federation. They would then be more or less on equal terms economically with the other independent, and non-independent, West Indian territories.

It is, however, difficult to foretell the future. The economic foundation of the West Indies (except Jamaica and Trinidad) is precarious in that there are no natural resources. Mechanization of cultivation and the use of heavier equipment for example, affect manual labour. This presents a problem in the islands where the average annual employment rate is approximately twenty per cent.

The geographical arrangement of the islands also presents another difficulty. The Netherlands islands lie among the British Lesser Antilles Islands, while the British Windward Island of Dominica is sandwiched between French Guadeloupe and Martinique. The region is set in a framework of mainland and island countries and to bring this kaleidoscope of nationalism closer together will require
statesmanship triumph over insularity and policies over personalities. If the ill effects of geography and "West Indian agrarian economy are to be remedied, and employment and better living standards are to be secured for the large group of destitute people of the islands, much will depend on the co-operative efforts of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada."(i)

Role of Britain:

The 'Little Eight' Federation, if it is formed, will need plenty of money and it can only come from Britain, Canada, and possibly from the United States. The Colonial Office must first of all insist on a national structure of the federal government, otherwise this new federation will also fail -- especially when one realizes that Britain has, for years, not supported actively the economic development of the islands, particularly Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

True, Britain wants the colonies to be on their own, but it would be unrealistic again for her to permit the islands to stand alone with a constitution as weak as the one in the previous federation. What is needed now is a

strong action by both the Colonial Office and the West Indian government to produce a constitution guaranteeing a strong central government with unit legislatures reduced more or less to regional councils. Any alternative will result in another failure. The departure of Jamaica and Trinidad, although there is everywhere in the West Indies an emotional regret for their loss, makes it possible for the Eastern Caribbean islands to form a much more effective and practical federation.

It is in this respect that Canada can offer some help, and offer she must. There is no use saying that the 'Little Eight' cannot be, probably never will be, self-supporting, anymore than could Canada with the possible exception of Ontario and Quebec. For a long time the 'Eight' will have to receive economic aid of one sort or another. Canada must take up some of these economic responsibilities through more trade, aid, and training.

Canada's Role:

Canada and the West Indies are both in the western hemisphere and they (to the disadvantage of the West Indies) tend towards the North American way of life as opposed to the
European standards. Both are Commonwealth countries in the West and, therefore, have another outlook in common. The two nations have an historical trading link, the one complementing the other, although, because of the sterling exchange rates, their trade partnership has suffered a setback in recent years. But there is always a possibility of a two-way trade being re-strengthened. After all, the small Eight islands produce tropical and semi-tropical goods that Canada needs: fruits, cocoa beans, arrowroot, spices, cotton, and in turn, Canada sends wheat, temperate foodstuff, fish, and manufactured goods. Even in these, Canada is not selling as much as she could. One cited drawback is the distance between the islands and Canada, and also the distances among the islands themselves although the latter are no farther apart than major Canadian cities.

West-Indies-Canadian Trade Links:

Canada's trade connection with the Caribbean dates back to the reign of Louis XIV who hoped to weld his possessions on the St. Lawrence into an economic coherence with the Caribbean settlements. The scheme failed because while the St. Lawrence was ice-free, the West Indies was hit by hurricanes -- a factor which together with General Wolfe's military leadership contributed to the final surrender of
French Canada in 1763.

After the American War of Independence, loyalists who had moved from New England to the Maritime provinces of Canada, particularly Nova Scotia, tried to recapture the British West Indian trade. The cod fisheries of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland provided the staple proteins of the West Indies diet in exchange for sugar and rum.

In 1898, Canada did establish unilaterally a 25 per cent Commonwealth preference on her trade with the West Indies. Similar favours granted by the United States to Puerto Rican and Cuban sugar diverted still more of the British West Indies trade from the United States to Canadian markets.

By the agreement of 1925/6, Canada awarded preference to sugar and its by-products and also other products from the British West Indies. The Agreement lasted until it was merged in the general Ottawa Agreements of the next ten years.

There is already a substantial Canadian-West Indian commercial link. The West Indies (including Jamaica and Trinidad) import less than 10 per cent from Canada and export
between 25 and 33-1/3 per cent of their products (especially sugar) to Canada. In value, the balance of trade favours the West Indies, for in 1960 Canada exports were valued at $39,522,000 and imports at $56,112,000 (i) with much of the difference accounted for by Jamaica's bauxite industry which has been developed by the Aluminum Company of Canada. The amount of Canadian investment, approximately $150 million in West Indian enterprises, also explains why Canada is not selling as much to the West Indies as she could.

Many Canadian tourists visit the West Indies every year, making this one of the links. Many Canadian banks are operating in the West Indies. But the ties can be made stronger if Canada can promote and join in a western form of 'Colombo Plan'. It is being done for Asian Commonwealth countries, why could it not be done also in the Caribbean? This becomes more necessary especially in view of the gradual withdrawal of and the passing of the Immigration Bill by Britain -- two facts which are helping in the creation of a new series of problems...especially unemployment. Canada spent $50,000,000 through the Colombo Plan for Southeast Asia in 1962. In the same year her budget for the West Indies Assistance Program was $2,452,000 although, there is also

$4,000,000 left from a 1958 grant on behalf of the dissolved Federation. (i) This sum is earmarked for the use of the 'Little Eight' Federation. The Trinidad/Tobago government received a gift of academic scholarships worth $10,000 (annually) from the Canadian government when the former achieved independence in August, 1962.

What the West Indians need urgently is some form of organized technical training to absorb native skills. Canada could help the islands not by a mere straight-forward Canadian-dollar investment, but by investing the money in a tangible form of light industries which would in turn help to absorb the large number of the unemployed.

An example of an industry, which, if planned on a long-term basis will benefit both Canada and the 'Little Eight' in particular is veneer wood, a small industry which a Canadian firm has been asked to work on in Dominica.

One quarter of the land in Dominica is forest. 470,000,000 board feet with approximately 28 per cent of merchandisable timber in the 70 square miles of forest out of the island's 305 square miles, is Gomier.

(i) Ibid.
The only possible large scale operation in Dominican lumber would be the use of Gomier for the manufacture of veneer -- thinly shaved wood used as a finishing facing for cheaper woods. This will entail the peeling of thin veneers from Gomier to be manufactured in a mill which will be situated at the mouth of Layou River, close to Roseau. Layou area is centrally located to the forests and has good soil and topographical characteristics suitable for a saw mill site. Admittedly the economic value of veneer materials will, by and large, depend on a satisfactory result after the testing of Gomier logs.

However, in the long run, the industry will augment the banana industry (especially in Dominica) although it may at the same time decrease the present size of the peasant holdings which are now in the area to be exploited. Since Dominica is sparsely populated for her size, the industry may offer employment to Barbadians but only through central government planning. Undoubtedly the industry will necessitate the construction of motorable feeder roads (in spite of the difficult terrain and heavy rainfall) and by programmes of housing, schools and churches, settlement may eventually
result and this will help to relieve an island like Barbados which has no more living space.

A United States firm is also introducing a pumice industry for the construction of sky scrapers, but the West Indians are not overfond of the United States because of the latter's southern coloured problem and also what is often considered in the West Indies as "American economic imperialism."

This leaves the Canada/Little Eight project stronger. A program based on teaching either on a Peace Corps level or bringing more students (for special training) and sending more Canadian professionals, could be started. The former project is undoubtedly expensive, and in regard to the latter, there are approximately 1,000 students from the West Indies studying at different Canadian universities. Some Canadian technical experts, missionaries, doctors, and teachers, are currently serving in the Caribbean. But what should be more emphasized is the fact that the West Indians should receive the basic training which will enable them to work toward the development of their islands when they return home.

Should Canada, at some later date, include the 'Little Eight' islands in her own federation? Her own
domestic trouble with Quebec and to a lesser extent with the Maritime Provinces militates against any thought of political association. An obstacle to communication between them is time in sea-travel and cost of air travel, but this same fact also applies to east and west in Canada. The only difference is that Canada is a continuous landmass and has developed means of transport and communication which can be utilized by the average Canadian. Ottawa is, on the whole, not enthusiastic about any political association with the 'Little Eight', although some member units of the 'Little Eight' -- St. Lucia and Dominica -- have shown some interest of joining Canada should their own federation fail to materialize.

"Today it looks increasingly as though the world was developing into a series of great continental blocks. To the Canadians, whose windows are on the oceans, and whose life has been shaped very largely by the contacts they have made across them and with their neighbours in the Caribbean, it is not possible to envisage such a future. They exist only in virtue of the world-wide mercantile system which has developed through their trans-oceanic connections, and surely that must also be part of the inheritance of the Caribbean islands. They do not really fit into any continental block, but have grown upon the basis of international mercantile system which was founded on Britain's maritime supremacy in the 19th Century. So Britain and Canada and the Caribbean face a worrying period in the present re-orientation of the world." (i)

This fact enforces the idea of a Federation among the smaller islands first and later a Common Market in the Caribbean and also a continued and greater aid, training and trade from Canada and Britain to the West Indies.
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