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PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA
- BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS -

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Foreword

This paper, which is part of the study on the State of Planning in Latin America and the Caribbean, represents an attempt to compile any background material that might be useful in analysing the present position of and prospects for planning in the subregion.

It begins with a short consideration of the world and the regional economy as a framework for examining the most relevant characteristics of the situation of the Caribbean countries.

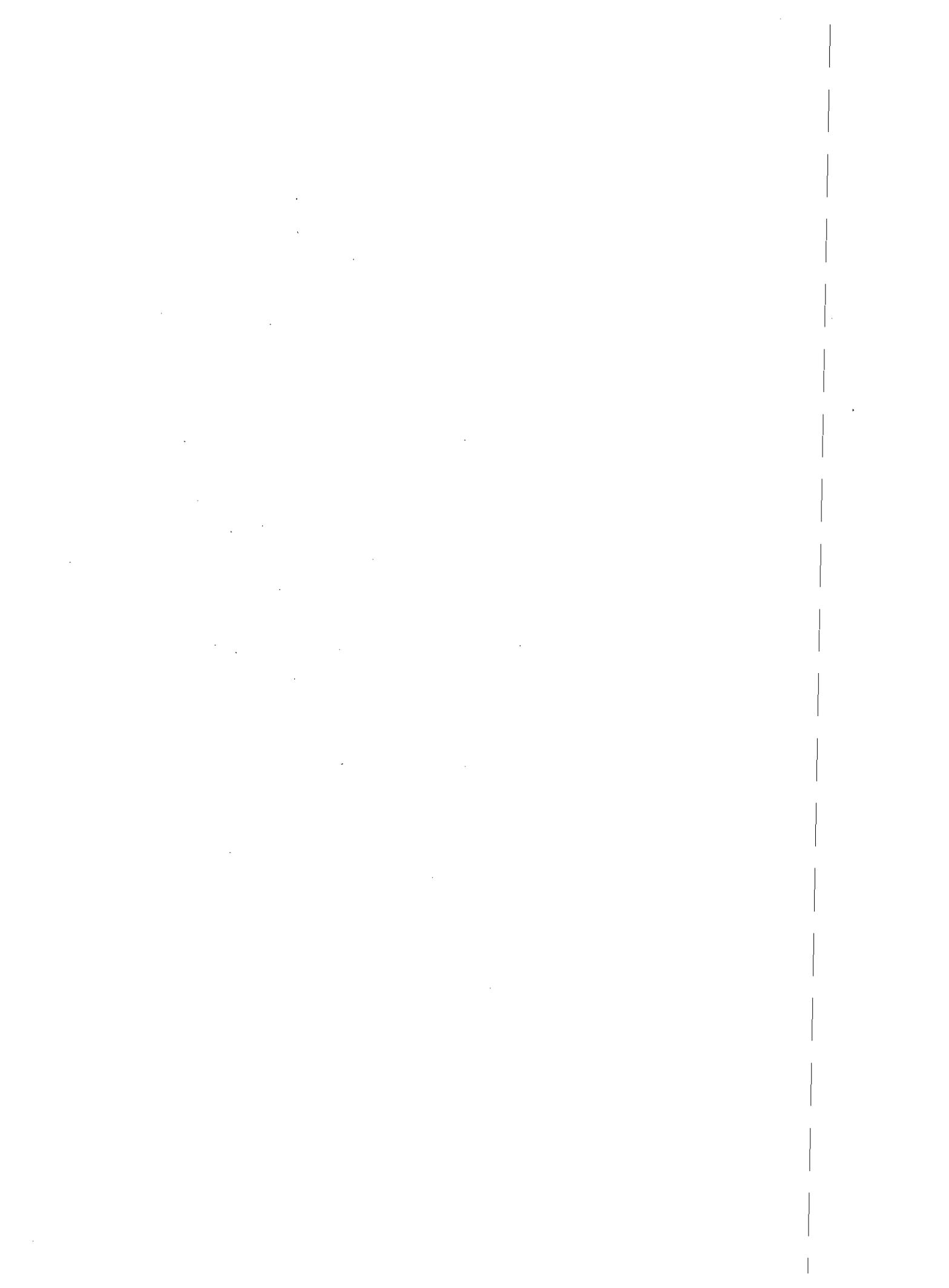
There follows a comprehensive survey of and comments on some of the most pertinent studies in connection with the definition of base lines for a subregional development strategy. In the following section reference is made to a number of studies which have emerged from the operation of the system of Caribbean planners, an important mechanism set up within CDCC to promote mutual co-operation in planning in the subregion. This section also contains some views on the role of and challenges to planning in the subregion.

The study continues with a summary description of the countries of the subregion. Finally, some central lines of action for strengthening planning in the Caribbean are suggested.

As has been pointed out, the objective of this study is to compile information on the work being done in the region, to promote the exchange of ideas and experience in connection with the tasks of planning in the Caribbean and to show how they relate to the region as a whole.

The document is therefore intended for purposes of information and does not necessarily represent the official position of ILPES on the subject.

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I. OVERVIEW OF THE ECONOMY OF THE CARIBBEAN IN THE
1980-1981 BIENNIUM

A. Central features within the world and the
regional context

The countries of the Caribbean as a whole suffered the same as or more than other countries from the effects of the deep recession which affected the world economy during the years 1980-1981. The majority of the available economic indicators show that the situation was similar to that following the War.

According to the preliminary balance sheet prepared by CEPAL, the real growth of the gross national product of the 24 member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation Development (OECD) amounted to just barely 1.2% during the years 1980 and 1981. The rates of unemployment for these countries as a whole rose to 7.2% with 25 million unemployed. The restrictive monetary policies adopted, in particular in the United States and the United Kingdom, brought the interest rates down to levels which hovered around 16%. Similarly, there were marked imbalances in the balance of payments on current account of the oil-exporting and the non-oil-exporting countries, with decreases in the surpluses of the former and increases in the deficits of the latter. Within this context of recession and the various protectionist measures which characterized it, the volume of world trade showed one of the lowest indexes in recent decades.

The situation in Latin America reflected this picture in that it was equally discouraging. In 1981 the combined global domestic product grew by only 1.7% -the lowest growth rate in 45 years. This meant that the per capita gross domestic product showed negative growth of -1.3%. In 1980 and 1981 the region experienced the highest rates of inflation in its history, with annual variations close to 60%.

As regards the external sector, the deficit on current account reached the unprecedented amount of US\$ 39.2 billion, with a balance of trade which was also US\$ 11.7 billion in deficit. The global balance of the balance of payments also closed with deficits, the one in 1981 being close to US\$ 1.6 billion. However, the adverse circumstances notwithstanding, the volume of exports increased substantially at a rate of 11% between 1980 and 1981, which was not enough to offset the drop in the terms of trade. The price of the leading export commodities fell significantly between 1980 and 1981. To mention a few cases, sugar dropped by 38%; coffee, by 20%; wheat, by 12%; cocoa, by 21%; beef, by 10%; copper, by 19%; tin, by 17% and iron ore, by 10%.

To complete the picture of Latin America, the global gross disbursed external debt grew from US\$ 205.3 billion in 1980 to the record amount of US\$ 257.2 billion in 1981. As a result of this, the high debt servicing coefficients rose in the majority of the countries and reduced the possibilities of investment in key sectors of the economy.

B. Leading features of the evolution of the Caribbean countries

As was pointed out at the start, the Caribbean countries were not excluded from the context of recession experienced by the rest of Latin America at the beginning of the 1980s. In addition to the adverse conditions in the world market, there were special factors, such as size, availability of capital, limited natural resources, transport and communications difficulties, a high risk of natural disaster and a fragile and not very diversified economic structure. In addition to all this, these countries are characterized by a very wide range of economic and social systems which generate special relationships based on integration, solidarity and co-operation.

On the basis of the factors mentioned above, the Caribbean subregion may be divided, for purposes of analysis, into two entirely differentiated subgroupings; the first of these would include the islands whose relative size and level of development makes them a special group. This grouping would include Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados and would also comprise the continental countries such as Suriname and Guyana. The second group would include the eight islands in the Eastern Caribbean (the Leeward and the Windward Islands) and would also include the Netherlands Antilles and the Bahamas. This is because the islands of the Eastern Caribbean are highly homogeneous geographically and share a common history, language, culture and traditional links of political and commercial affinity within the Caribbean Commonwealth. In any case, the ideas expounded below relate to the subregion as a whole, with emphasis placed on the central development and planning problems.

Following the same trend as Latin America, the evolution of the global gross domestic product is uneven, the situation in 1980 and 1981 being one of stagnation and regression. With the rare exception of a few countries which recovered rapidly, adverse external conditions had a negative effect on the growth rate. In addition to the widespread international recession, there were the devastating effects of hurricanes Frederick, David and Allen which affected the main export commodities during the past three years.

As shown in figure 1, for various reasons, Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Haiti and Suriname experienced negative growth rates, some of them associated with the low growth rate of leading sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing and tourism. As for Trinidad and Tobago, Belize, Grenada, Montserrat, the Dominican Republic, Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis, they showed decreases in their annual growth rates. By contrast with this situation, Jamaica staged a significant recovery, and the material product of Cuba showed a high growth rate as a result of the technological innovations introduced

in the production of cane sugar, the increase in tobacco exports and the efficacious reorientation of the economic management system.

In the external field, the net effect of the persistent deficit in the trade balance and the high disbursements for interest and profits was an across-the-board deficit in the balance of payments on current account. The figures in table 2 show a pronounced increase in the persistent negative balances, except in Trinidad and Tobago, which showed a positive balance of US\$ 532 million, owing to the fact that it is a net exporter of petroleum. Within this picture, in 1981 Cuba also experienced a negative trade balance of US\$ 822 million Cuban dollars as compared with one of US\$ 542 million in 1980.

The tourist industry, a leading source of foreign currency for the majority of the countries, suffered a decline both in the total number of arrivals and in income. As shown in table 3, in a sample of 11 countries, the number of tourists fell from 4 285 000 in 1980 to 3 664 000 in 1981. Similarly, during the same period the total earnings from tourism of all the countries mentioned fell from US\$ 1 429 million to US\$ 1 215 million, so that both of these variables suffered declines of close to 15%. Salient features of this sector include the recovery by Jamaica, the sustained dynamism of tourism in the Dominican Republic and the increase shown by Cuba, which received 2.4 million tourists per day in 1981, a figure 3% higher than that recorded in 1980. The price of sugar, one of the main export commodities and a basic source of foreign currency, fell sharply in 1981 to close to 7 US cents per pound, or 40% lower than the production costs, after having risen above 40 US cents per pound in 1980. This situation was aggravated by the decline in the price of bananas, which was also pronounced, and the destruction of a large number of the plantations by hurricanes David and Allen.

Exports of bauxite, a basic commodity in the economies of Jamaica, Guyana and Suriname, encountered difficulties in the international market

and did nothing to reverse the stagnation of non-traditional exports. To complete the picture, attention should be drawn to the high energy dependence of the Caribbean countries and to the fact that in spite of the estimable co-operation programmes undertaken by Trinidad and Tobago, Mexico and Venezuela, petroleum imports remained one of the main factors responsible for the deterioration in the balance of payments.

With respect to the per capita gross domestic product, the subregion is highly uneven, as a result of the differences in the resource endowment and the lack of diversification in the productive system. For all the member countries of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee (CDCC), the per capita product amounted to US\$ 365 in 1970 and 10 years later had risen to US\$ 888.

In 1980, which we are using as our base year, while Trinidad and Tobago had a per capita income of US\$ 3 731, Haiti's was barely US\$ 227 (see table 4). Suriname's was US\$ 2 471; Jamaica's, US\$ 1 323; Barbados', US\$ 2 523; the Dominican Republic's, US\$ 756 and Grenada's, US\$ 612. Only five out of a total of 17 countries managed to exceed the subregional average.

With regard to unemployment, the available information for the year 1980, which is based on household surveys and population censuses, shows high indexes of open unemployment. As is shown in table 5, in Jamaica there were 270 800 unemployed out of a labour force of 991 200 people, which is the equivalent of 27% unemployment. The same percentage was recorded in Grenada, but there are indications of a downward trend in 1981. In Trinidad and Tobago, the percentage of unemployed was 11%; in Haiti, 15%; in Antigua, 20%; in Barbados, 10% and in St. Lucia and Suriname, 14 and 17%, respectively. In the other countries the rates of unemployment also remained relatively high, and there is good reason to believe that the indexes of underemployment or hidden unemployment were also high, especially in the services sector.

Finally, so as to give a full picture of the state of employment and because of the importance of the manufacturing industry in this respect, it seemed advisable to us to draw attention to some pertinent facts. In a study prepared by the CEPAL Office for the Caribbean, it is pointed out that concentration in respect of the generation of the gross manufacturing product is much more pronounced than it is in connection with the gross domestic product. The Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago contributed 84% of a total product of US\$ 2 453 million at current 1980 prices. This high degree of concentration has persisted for a number of decades and clearly shows the magnitude of the challenge to generate sources of employment and investment outside of the traditional agricultural sector.

The average level of industrial growth, which was close to 16% in 1980, was exceeded only by the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, with 22% and 16%, respectively (see table 6). In spite of its rich petroleum deposits, Trinidad and Tobago was under the average, with 14% industrial growth, which would appear to show the need for a greater effort to promote domestic processing within a policy of gradual import substitution and export promotion.

In addition to the factors to which attention is drawn above, the share of the agricultural product in the gross domestic product is, as was to be expected, notably higher than the share of the manufacturing product. As shown in table 7, in Dominica it was 38%; in Grenada, 34%; in Guyana, 30.5%; in St. Lucia, 14%; in St. Kitts-Nevis, 19% and in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, 7.8% and 6.9%, respectively. In confirmation of these significant shares, it should be noted that agricultural exports represented 61% of total exports at the beginning of the 1980s. By country, agricultural exports as a percentage of total exports was 93% in Dominica, 98% in Grenada, 62% in Guyana, 19% in Jamaica, 83% in St. Lucia, 98% in St. Vincent and 4% in Trinidad and Tobago.

On the basis of the picture given above, we can now describe the action or the collective project to be adopted in meeting the challenge of the 1980s within the difficult scenario depicted above. We wanted to begin with the harsh reality of the indicators so that the ideas presented later on will be seen in proportion not only with the effort which must be made but also with the goal of a self-reliant and prosperous community.

II. BASIC DATA ON THE SUBREGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

In the Caribbean countries, ever since their recent accession to political independence, there have been many efforts made by various bodies, institutions and individuals to define global or national development strategies. In this connection, one of the characteristics of the region is its abundant but in many cases scattered and incomplete literature on economic and social development. In the past decade, a new outlook and approach has been used in producing valuable technical, methodological and political contributions to the identification of development projects which increase well-being and allow for the full use of the available resources. From this point of view and in consideration of the role which economic and social planning is expected to play within the development process, the following suggestions represent an effort to summarize the central ideas contained in the most recent contributions made in connection with the adoption of "the subregional strategy" or strategies and are followed by an attempt to define, identify and select the central topics which could appropriately be submitted to the planning exercise within this development project.

1. Strategy for the Caribbean countries in the third Development Decade 1/

On the occasion of the Fourth Session of CDCC, held in Suriname from 21 to 27 March 1979, the member countries asked the Executive Secretary

of CEPAL to prepare a report showing the main characteristics of the economic and social development of the Caribbean. This report was to supplement the effort made by the countries in the definition and application of the new International Development Strategy. In accordance with the wish of the governments, the report was presented and discussed in Barbados from 19 to 21 May 1980. Unfortunately the strategy proposed has still not been adopted officially by the CDCC member States

In its key section, the report referred to emphasizes that a central problem consists in the need to raise and improve the efficiency of the economic system, intensify and disseminate economic growth and reduce the external vulnerability of the region within a framework of self-reliance and self-determination. Within this general context, it is suggested that if the objectives and instruments established are to make sense, there must be an appropriate planning component which contains concrete participatory elements.

In commenting upon some traditional geohistorical factors, such as the plantation system, "Balkanization", as a form of political and administrative control, and the fragmentation of the Caribbean society, the report points to the existence of internal forces within the countries which are conducive to change as reflected in high school enrolments, a decline in migratory flows, insertion in the international community and, basically, the gaining of control over their own destiny, which is the inherent right of any independent nation.

In conformity with the features described above and against a background of the main challenges confronting the Caribbean countries, five big goals are identified for the 1980s. All of them attach equal importance to social and economic factors for purposes of designing a more prosperous and equitable society.

These goals include:

- (i) an increase in the social efficiency of the economy;
- (ii) an improvement in the quality of life of its peoples;

- (iii) more participation by the people in decision-taking;
- (iv) the achievement of a more self-reliant and a less dependent economy;
- (v) an appropriate balance between objectives and available resources.

The options available for meeting these objectives fall basically under two main headings: the strengthening of bargaining power and the full exercise of planning. In other words, it is for the entire community to strengthen the regional, subregional and national co-operation agencies so that concurrently with the establishment of a flexible planning system adapted to the size and structure of the Caribbean economies, it will be possible to make efficient use of the available resources and achieve an effective balance between domestic and foreign activities.

2. The Caribbean Community in the 1980s - Report by a Group of Caribbean Experts

On the occasion of the sixteenth meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) a group of high-level experts was established for the purpose of preparing the "Integration strategy for the Caribbean during the 1980s". The basic objective of the group was to review the progress made by the integration movement and make the necessary recommendations for achieving greater dynamism and efficiency in the implementation of various sectoral agreements and of the economic policy in general. Similarly, the terms of reference of the group included the task of analysing aspects relating to the balance-of-payments deficit, harmonization of tax incentives and policies, options for coping with the energy and food crisis and the redrafting of the instruments relating to co-operation within and outside the region. On the basis of the list of objectives, top priority was assigned to the promotion and identification of joint action for strengthening the integration process.

The quality of the report in question is undeniable. Thus, in view of the great effort made by CARICOM, attention should be drawn to some of its main ideas.

In the first place, it points out that the integration process is more than a mere trade arrangement, being, on the contrary, a collective undertaking to provide the inhabitants and the countries concerned with more opportunities for development, while at the same time increasing the bargaining power of its member States. In summary, it provides that integration makes the feeling of unity viable and constitutes one of the main means of achieving self-reliance. Perhaps in no other area of the world is the concept of integration as valid as in the Caribbean area. The essence of the Caribbean countries lies in the size, geographical isolation, scale of production, ideological pluralism, productive structure and geo-political location, the level of their human resources and the diversification of their natural resources. These characteristics are, as stressed in the report, through an integration and co-operation effort, provide a framework for development which is superior to that which would result from the sum of efforts made by individuals acting in isolation and without co-ordination.

As provided for in the Treaty of Chaguaramas (1973), the report evaluates the progress of the process and identifies the main achievements but also draws attention to failures and delays in the implementation of some of the points agreed to. It provides a full discussion of the recent development experience, lists goals and obstacles by order of importance and finishes by concentrating on the main possibilities for joint programming in consideration of the different resource endowments of the islands.

Finally, the report includes a summary of results and recommendations, which must be consulted in the preparation of future studies relating to the development problems of the Caribbean. Rather than being a list of aspirations, these recommendations are a collection of ideas, concepts and affirmations of a technical and operational nature concerning the best way to tackle practical matters in the realm of integration and

co-operation for development. In connection with these recommendations attention should be drawn to those concerning the role of integration, the challenges of development, the agro-industrial sector, energy, tourism, transport and science and technology. The report also includes an evaluation of the main integration machinery in use and the changes which must be effected if the relatively less developed islands are to receive equitable and effective treatment. It evaluates and suggests the modifications needed to extend the integration process to the rest of the region and ends with a number of suggestions for the smooth implementation of the decisions adopted.

3. Problems, needs and priorities for consideration in planning development assistance for LDC's of the Eastern Caribbean 2/

It is possible that this paper may not have been analysed as fully as it should have been and received the attention it merits because although it refers exclusively to the countries of the Eastern Caribbean, it contains everything needed to grasp the situation and prospects of all the countries under consideration here. In the first place, it identifies the basic problems of the micro-States of the Eastern Caribbean and, secondly, it proceeds step by step to consider possible facilities or mechanisms for solving them. In this consideration, attention is drawn to those problems which are due to natural resource limitations, the small size of the domestic market owing to low per capita income levels and the scarcity of available capital as a result of the limited possibilities for increasing public, private or external savings by reducing expenditure, increasing the tax base or setting up a heavier flow of capital. In addition to drawing attention to these restrictions, it points out that it is difficult to make the islands less isolated because the air and maritime transport infrastructure is inadequate or non-existent, and finally it draws attention to the fact that the scarcity of traditional energy resources means that the operation of that infrastructure depends almost entirely on imports of hydrocarbons.

Although the report makes many contributions, we shall concentrate only on those which are most relevant to the purposes of this document. Thus, in the first instance, mention should be made of the restrictions which keep the micro-States from receiving more assistance for development. These include (a) inadequate absorptive capacity, which restricts the identification, evaluation and implementation of development projects; (b) difficulties in providing the financial and staff counterparts demanded by the projects; (c) shortage of technical support personnel for the implementation of the projects.

Where planning as such is concerned, the report draws attention to the administrative difficulties due to the small size and large number of projects usually contained in the development plans of the micro-States. These projects require enormous institutional support, disperse resources, promote dependence, parcel out at governmental support sparingly and give priority to short-term objectives with an inadequate level of participation by the donor countries in aspects of a microeconomic nature. In addition to all this, the report mentions that in and of itself this situation counteracts efforts to integrate the subregion with a view to enjoying the rewards offered by economies of scale. Furthermore, although external per capita aid is relatively high, it has had little impact partly because the resources received have been widely dispersed on short-term micro-projects.

Another positive aspect of the report is that it analyses the sectoral development strategies and the main changes which should be introduced in each one of them in order to improve and increase the results from external development aid. Finally, as in some of the reports already mentioned, the study prepared by CIDA stresses the need to reverse the trend followed in past decades by promoting co-operation and regional planning in three ways: (a) establishing regional programmes to tackle needs which are common to more than one sector; (b) generating regional projects in order to take advantage of economies of scale and (c) supporting regional organizations which offer services of common interest.

III. PLANNING VIS-A-VIS THE CHALLENGES OF CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

A. Co-operation in the subregion: notes on some of the studies produced

During the second session of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee (CDCC) (an intergovernmental body which is a subsidiary of CEPAL) held in the Dominican Republic in March 1977, a mechanism was established for grouping the planners of the Caribbean area. CEPAL performs the functions of technical secretariat with the assistance of ILPES. To date two meetings of Caribbean planners have been held, the first one in Havana and the second, in Kingston, Jamaica.

In these meetings and the preparations for them, it has been possible to draw attention to the progress achieved in some countries in dealing with topics such as regional development planning and planning of the agricultural, tourism, energy, science and technology and transport sectors. Countries such as Jamaica, Cuba and the Dominican Republic demonstrate significant progress in regional development. In spite of the size of these countries, a number of regional development plans have been prepared, and the institutional support provided connection is commendable.3/ 4/

The Dominican Republic has tremendous experience with regard to physical planning, and regional planning includes the implementation of the public investment plan, which is evaluated periodically for purposes of introducing the necessary adjustments which lead stability to medium- and long-term planning.5/

In Cuba, balanced development, which is achieved through the co-ordinating facilities of the Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN) and the Physical Planning Institute, plays an important role.6/

The papers submitted to the planning officials in the fields of energy, environment, tourism, transport, rural development, employment and science and technology for consideration during their most recent

meetings show that there has been a systematic effort to tackle the policies concerned integrally and at subregional level. In all these studies stress is laid on the need for a multisectoral approach; the necessity of establishing a balance between resources and needs; the need to face up to the problem of limited capacity, as in the case of tourism; the need for regional co-operation in defending the ecosystem and the urgent need for accelerating the implementation of the Caribbean Food Plan by raising the levels of productivity of the agricultural sector and by using the available land more intensively. With regard to food, it should be borne in mind that at present food imports exceed US\$ 700 million a year and that they have been expanding considerably in terms of volume.^{7/}

In addition to the sectoral studies mentioned above, the planners are provided with good reference documents, surveys and sectoral strategies advanced by specialized international bodies such as FAO, UNEP and UNCTAD. Similarly, these meetings provide an opportunity for drawing attention to the effort made by the CDCC secretariat working through the CEPAL Office for the Caribbean in promoting the dialogue between the countries of the region and periodically providing substantive studies in support of government action.

1. Studies prepared for the meetings of Caribbean Planning Officials

(a) Survey of National Planning Systems in Latin America and the Caribbean ^{8/}

As was pointed out within the CDCC plan of activities, the periodic meetings of planning officials provide significant support for the countries of the region. Within the valuable documentation submitted during the Second Meeting of Planning Officials was a report which centered on the analysis and evaluation of national planning systems in the Caribbean. This report, which received technical and institutional support from ILPES and the CEPAL Office for the Caribbean, constitutes a pioneer effort in that it attempts to evaluate the significance and dimension of the "planning" concept in small island States which are coping with the challenges of recent political independence.

Using a special questionnaire prepared for this purpose on the basis of official missions to the countries, the report is objective concerning the various ways of putting planning into practice and the high degree of risk involved in transferring techniques and methods into a different historical and institutional context unless there has already been a gradual process of adaptation and adjustment. As the report postulates, in the Caribbean, planning has three characteristic traits: first, it has been associated with the management of external development funds. Secondly, it is thought to be directed towards the restructuring of the economies, and, third, it is still unclear how it fits into the institutional framework of the countries. As can easily be seen, these concepts and limitations show that planning still has a long way to go before it becomes the perfect tool for achieving development in the medium and long term.

Any attempt to squeeze the many ideas and suggestions contained in the study prepared by Mrs. Noel Boissiere into a few lines would be doomed to failure. However, the following points may be mentioned as being among the most important: first, the tasks of estimating and allocating available resources with a minimum degree of administrative organization, are performed within the confines of the budgetary system. This appears to be insufficient and inappropriate in terms of proper harmonization of medium- and long-term objectives. The situation is all the more worrying in view of the fact that short-term factors acquire great importance due to the high degree of vulnerability caused by the fluctuations in the international scenario and because the countries are dependent for their projections on the price of a few highly competitive and unstable commodities. One of the most basic points made by the report in question has to do with the undeniably difficult challenge faced by planners in the Caribbean countries. On the one hand, from the theoretical point of view, planning requires that the traditional concepts and

techniques be reviewed, adjusted and made more flexible. On the other hand, in view of the geographical characteristics of these countries and the fact that their economic structure is not very diversified, planning requires a proper balance of domestic and external factors. If this kind of balance is not achieved with at least a minimum amount of consistency and efficiency, the goals of development will be increasingly more likely to meet with failure than with success. The achievement of this kind of balance requires the use of physical and human resources and the design of a strategy for collective insertion in the world market.

In addition to the ideas mentioned above, the report also points out that the problem of the islands is not a dearth of four-or-five-year plans or projections -almost all of them have broad experience in this kind of bureaucratic exercise-, but frequently has to do with the political and institutional support available.

Finally, the report on the state of planning in the Caribbean mentions one point which a number of people and institutions have been stressing.^{9/} This is connected with the role which planning will be called upon to play in order effectively to co-ordinate and integrate macroeconomic policies and objectives with sectoral project planning based on cost-benefit techniques and making indiscriminate use of fiscal, monetary and tariff subsidies and incentives. In this connection, the report concludes that planning may fill a great need and ensure that the development tasks at both levels are better integrated.

(b) How to plan -AFROSIBER- the method for planning new points and its application in development planning 10/

In this study theory and practice are well mixed. According to its author, it presents a clear and coherent method of dealing with development planning systematically for use by field planners, theoreticians and teachers. The method, which is described after an extensive analysis of

the existing literature in both the capitalist and the socialist systems, is not intended to solve the various planning problems encountered everyday; it simply makes provision for the components, steps or minimum inputs needed by any planning effort. The merit of this paper, in addition to the fact that it can be rapidly grasped, lies in its being oriented primarily towards the Caribbean countries where planning is an innovative tool. Basically the method proposed consists in the following steps:11/

(i) Analysis and evaluation of the context in which planning is to be carried out. This first stage will include not only evaluation of and familiarization with the prerequisites for the planning exercise, but also a complete diagnosis of the economic, social, political and demographic situation and of the physical context in which production is carried out. This diagnosis should also include "non-economic" factors of a sociological, historical, cultural and institutional nature.

(ii) Prognosis or forecasting of the scenarios as a way of predicting trends, future bottlenecks and the impact of certain policies.

(iii) Evaluation of the resources available.

(iv) Establishment of objectives.

(v) Identification and explanation of the strategies. This covers the questions as to how to achieve the strategies, at what cost, in how much time and what the radius of action of the variables (instrumental, endogenous or exogenous) might be.

(vi) Breakdown of the strategies. At the operational level, this step would call for information concerning the impact of the strategy at sectoral, urban, rural and local levels and the way in which the main macroeconomic levels might be expected to behave.

(vii) Preparation of balance sheets. By comparing the supply and demand of available resources, it is possible to estimate needs, adjust measurements, reallocate resources and prevent bottlenecks.

(viii) Implementation, i.e., how and with whom the plan is to be developed. This step basically includes all aspects of the participation of the people in planning.

(ix) Evaluation. Here the author suggests that the approaches to the follow-up and evaluation of the plan should be made explicit within an ongoing process of adjustment and review.

There can be no doubt that planning is to a large extent a task requiring imagination, creativity, intelligence and common sense. However, it cannot be interpreted as being an exercise in good intention, lacking realism, knowledge and method. In this connection Farrell's study is an excellent contribution and a useful methodological reference for understanding the different phases involved in any planning effort.

(c) Six development planning problems of the small Caribbean States 12/

As a by-product of the work mentioned above and using the English-speaking CARICOM countries and the Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries as reference points, T. Farrel begins by identifying four basic prerequisites for planning: (i) At least a minimum amount of control over what is to be planned; (ii) will and commitment to plan; (iii) technical and philosophical understanding of the planning method and techniques; (iv) organizational machinery of planning.

In the light of these prerequisites, the author considers that there are six priority problems related to development planning in the Caribbean: (i) lack of control; (ii) lack of real commitment to development planning; (iii) lack of appropriate organizational structures and lack of popular participation; (iv) inadequate information; (v) lack of human resources and technical offices; (vi) inability to formulate effective strategies.

Although the six problems mentioned are not exclusive to the Caribbean, their identification is relevant in that it pin-points the areas or aspects which are keeping planning from fulfilling its objectives

and contributing to the development process in the region. The validity of the problems is a permanent challenge in the design of future plans, and given enough political will and technical ability to overcome them, it will be possible to begin to talk about effective and participative planning rather than enunciative and technocratic planning.

(d) Report on Survey of Training Needs for Planning Officials in the Eastern Caribbean 13/

At the request of ILPES and as a reference point for future planning activities in connection with training, this study of characteristics and proposals other than those referred to above also contains its own evaluation of the institutional structure for planning and suggests a number of changes in the present approach to planning, which it may be worth drawing attention to and commenting upon.

The report covers seven countries of the Eastern Caribbean (Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia and St. Vincent) and is divided into two main sections. The first relates to institutional problems, the most common problems in the field of planning and existing opportunities for training in planning in the region. The second section relates to the planning experiences of each of the islands with emphasis laid on the tasks and technical infrastructure involved. In the first section the report draws attention to the shortage of qualified technical personnel capable of performing the tasks which are characteristic of planning. Mention is made of a fact which faithfully reflects the situation -that the central planning offices of all seven micro-States employ only 51 people to attend to all the tasks of an economic and social nature. Although external aid is accompanied by the advisory services of foreign technical personnel, this has not resulted in greater institutional capacity owing to the lack of a national technical counterpart component so that the transfer of know-how and on-the-job training is blocked. As a direct result of this situation, the available personnel is concentrated in tasks related to the formulation and monitoring of

the public budget or the formulation of projects instead of being engaged in tasks of a macroeconomic nature. Such tasks and the technical details associated with policy-making are left in the hands of foreign experts.

With regard to opportunities for training, the report mentions the many scattered activities carried out by institutions (ECCM, CDB, CARICAD, USAID, UNDP, OEAS, the World Bank, CIDA and CEPAL) in highly diversified fields, including the substantial aspects of public administration, social development, sectoral policy and, basically, anything related to the techniques involved in project formulation and evaluation. According to the report, one central theme runs through the picture of training in the Eastern Caribbean: in addition to the fact that the planning activity is widely dispersed with little inter-agency co-ordination, no clear understanding exists of the way in which national planning or macro-planning relate to the formulation and implementation of micro-projects. This makes it impossible to gear the action of the State to central development objectives or to give projects the importance they deserve by virtue of their contribution to major planning objectives.

In the section devoted to national experience, mention is made of the fact that in all the islands, with the exception of Grenada, planning is not co-ordinated and there is a relative shortage of personnel for plan design, execution and evaluation. A final observation, which bears on nearly all the countries of the Eastern Caribbean, is that the excessive concentration of efforts on project planning without any clear framework of objectives at national level may present difficulties.

B. Role and challenges of planning

In part II an attempt was made to provide an overview of the Caribbean situation in the light of the main economic features of the world scenario. In part II that situation was used as the basis of an attempt to group the main ideas expounded in numerous studies and reports on development planning

in the region. In part III the aim was to select and focus attention on the most urgent priorities to be tackled by planning in fulfilling its basic objectives. These objectives, as defined by ILPES may be said to consist in the achievement of a situation in which there is less uncertainty, less inconsistency and less diversity.^{14/} The first of these goals relates to the orientation which planning must provide by establishing guidelines or guideposts for immediate action and for the economic and social projection of the main macroeconomic variables in order to provide appropriate measures for the correction and adjustment of future scenarios. The second goal is to suggest options allowing for greater compatibility between the ends and the means, and the third objective is to try to make State action within a participative society less fragmented and scattered.

(a) It is important to point out from the beginning that these objectives are equally valid at national and at regional level, and in the Caribbean the compatibility of national and regional action is of vital importance because of geographical factors, the size of the market and the existence of shared characteristics at both the economic and the social level. Perhaps in no other region or countries is the need for compatibility at the national and regional levels so vital as it is in the Caribbean. This is the reason which underlies the need to break with an approach taken in the past, which was based on the geographical fragmentation of the area into islands and on the aforementioned Balkanization of captive markets designed basically to supply and satisfy the needs of the metropolitan areas.

The situation described above suggests, in the first instance, that a big task for planning during the present decade will consist in the compatibilization of development policies at national and regional levels. Within the framework of ideological pluralism, in which each nation has a sovereign right to opt for the best policies, planning can mitigate the

tendency to lose sight involuntarily of the idea of working together or to try to resolve national problems in isolation. Thus, planning must be used to bring development policies into harmony, and to ensure that they are carried out within flexible categories of common objectives.

The foregoing does not mean that the plan must be designed for the entire region or that all the plans at national level must be co-ordinated in advance. What is suggested is the identification and implementation of joint programmes and the implementation of projects in key sectors within a coherent regional perspective.^{15/}

(b) There is another field in which planning might be useful and effective. The Caribbean enjoys the privilege of full membership in the North-South system, with the United States and Canada representing the North and Latin America, the South. But the Caribbean also belongs to and participates in the European Economic Community, representing the North, and the Africa and Pacific Group, representing the South. Within this framework, the Caribbean is in a strategic position and is called upon to play its very unique role of link, connection or bridge between the two systems. However, to capitalize on this situation, a concerted planning effort at the external level is needed. A positive example of the form this new approach might take may be seen in the Lomé Convention, the General Agreement between Canada and CARICOM and the Mexico-CARICOM Agreement in the Field of Energy. This means that a collective decision must be planned in such a way that all the countries participate in the benefits and contribute to the success of the policy to the extent of their abilities. This is the essence of integration, but in order to achieve it an objective must be identified; the means to that objective must be determined; the instruments, specified; responsibilities, designated and forces, joined. But more than anything else, there must be the political will to carry the policies out. Never before has the principle which guided Eric Williams in his struggle for the independence

of Trinidad and Tobago -"Separation and Fragmentation were the Policy of Colonialism and Rival Colonialisms. Association and Integration must be the Policy of Independence"- come so close to fulfilment.16/

In harmony with this ideal and as an example of the role which planning can play in the development of the Caribbean, some data on the foreign trade situation will be noted. In accordance with a recent study by the World Bank,17/ trade among the member countries of CARICOM amounted to US\$ 47 million in 1967 and to close to US\$ 370 million in 1978. However, this trade was basically conducted with the United States and Europe. Only 7% of the total import trade was conducted among member countries. A similar situation was recorded in connection with interregional exports, which represented a bare 7% of total exports in 1981. Two countries, however, are an exception to the present trade structure, one of them being Barbados, whose exports to the region constitute 30% of the total exports, and the second being Guyana, whose imports from within the region amount to 29% of the total imports, the majority of Guyana's imports consisting in petroleum from Trinidad and Tobago (see table 8).

A number of reasons are given to explain the situation described above. Some say the causes are structural, laying the blame on such factors as a lack of complementarity in production, while others blame the situation on instrumental factors such as the high degree of protection accorded to durable goods, the overvaluation of exchange rates and the existence of a broad and disperse system of tariffs, exemptions, subsidies and quantitative restrictions. All this has resulted in markets and policies with no clear conception of unity, coherence and foresight -the objectives par excellence of planning.

(c) A third task of planning at regional level is related to what Jean Casimir calls total "Extroversion" and "Limited extroversion"18/ The former is characterized by the type of economic and sociopolitical relations practiced during the colonial period, and the second, by

those practiced by independent national States. Within the latter category, the CDCC secretariat considers the main problem confronting the Caribbean countries to be the "Lack of experience, resources and adequate institutions for formulation and implementation of economic and social development policies designed to attain full and productive employment of the labour force".19/

Thus, in evolving from colonization or dependence towards their present state, many of the characteristics of the old socioeconomic structure were preserved without any change at all. This situation was aggravated by the emergence of the new expectations and the urgency of laying the foundations for collective self-reliance based on the use of resources available locally. In other words, in the passage from one stage to another, internal and external forces were generated which favoured the insertion of the region into the international community and into the world trade flow, but this new situation could not be taken advantage of fully owing to the time it took for the economic structure and the internal institutional apparatus to become adapted. Consequently, the countries still retain the characteristics of agricultural or mining countries with mono-exports, a manufacturing industry concentrated on durable goods with little technological intensity and a service sector geared to tourism as a net generator of foreign currency. As the statistics show, the passage from one stage to another was not at all or only a little favourable to the creation of productive employment, the gradual elimination of unemployment, the reduction of unemployment in the agricultural sectors and, in particular, in trade and services. "Limited extroversion" therefore encounters restrictions in absorbing a rise in the supply of manpower available and in increasing the rate of participation of the labour force. This diagnosis is clearly explained and commented upon in the recent study prepared by Dr. Ralph Henry on the occasion of the First Meeting of the Ad-hoc Group in Manpower Planning 20/ (Grenada, 17 and 18 September 1981).

There follows a succinct breakdown of the main conclusions of this study. To begin with, it is observed that the total population of the Commonwealth is 5 million and if to this is added the 10 million inhabitants of Cuba, the 360 000 inhabitants of Suriname, the 5 million inhabitants of the Dominican Republic and Haiti together and the 250 000 people in the Netherlands Antilles, the population would total close to 25 610 000 people and would resemble that of Argentina or Colombia. The fact that 2 million of the people over 14 years old in the Commonwealth Caribbean neither attend an educational centre or are seeking work means that approximately 40% of the population belongs to the labour force with a global participation rate of close to 60% for all age groups, but with a higher concentration of adults due to the increase in the enrolment indexes. If we also take into consideration the reduction in emigration, the increase in the rural-urban migratory flow and the increase in the participation of women, it may be seen that with a population growth rate of close to 1.5% a year, the economy in general has been incapable of raising employment at a rate comparable to the increase in the labour force, which is growing at 2% a year. The study considers that in these circumstances there is no single solution; ideological factors come into play, and everything depends on the style of development advanced in the various policies adopted. However, it is obvious that in addition to the need to identify policies for improving the operation of the market, it is essential to design policies for reducing underemployment and generating new productive jobs.

Without going into further detail concerning the problems related to employment in segmented markets, it would be a good idea to carry the analysis out at two different levels. At the first level, the role of planning is associated with knowledge concerning the macroeconomic factors which determine employment and their correct insertion in the development plan. This also includes the impact of the policy instruments

and their proper harmonization in the strategy which it is finally decided to adopt. Experience shows that this is the most viable way of approaching the employment problem and is better than resorting to hypothetical categories concerning the demand and supply factors which affect the labour market. A case in point is that mention is frequently made of the tourist activity as a good source of employment. However, very little is known concerning its real contribution to the economy of the difference between its contribution to the national income and to the income received by the population of the country; little is known concerning its direct or indirect multiplier effects, the type of employment it generates, the seasonal factor in that employment and the permanence of the jobs created. Nor is much knowledge available concerning the preferences of the demand and the possible combinations of factors for determining the real possibilities for generating employment. Note would also have to be taken of the lack of knowledge concerning the effectiveness of a full package of fiscal, monetary, tariff and tax subsidies in the generation of employment.

The case cited above and many others like it show the futility of attacking the employment problem in the absence of a global development strategy encompassing specific sectoral policies.

The second level of analysis is aimed at acquiring additional knowledge of certain areas which would be needed to explain the employment strategy and predict what results it might have. In this connection, it has proved crucial to promote mobility and intersectoral linkages to achieve the objectives of employment. In line with this view, the priority areas of research proposed in the study by Ralph Henry would be as follows:

(a) Contribution of the export promotion policy to the generation of employment.

(b) Characteristics of the segments of the labour market.

(c) Present situation of agriculture and possibilities for creating employment within it.

(d) Characteristics of intra- and extra-regional migration and its impact on the labour force.

(e) Primary and secondary participation of women in the labour force.

(f) Selection of technology and manpower training.

(g) Comparative analysis of wage structure and "competitive" industrialization.

A brief attempt has been made to identify three fields in which Caribbean development planning has helped to strengthen the structure of the area, improve the technical level of operation in it and solve some of the most immediate problems in the medium and long terms. An attempt will be made below to elucidate the ways in which planning might help the State to make significant progress towards the realization of the strategies chosen.

IV. STATE ACTION AND PLANNING

1. General background data

Planning in the Caribbean is difficult to define. There is an abundance of styles, and the differences between one State and another are significant in the generalization and definition of an image-objective within a rigid pattern. Some people think that the central problem is related to size and to the difficulty of applying valid techniques, methods and concepts in respect of different sizes. Other people believe that planning calls for complicated institutional arrangements within which decisions of an indicative or mandatory nature can be carried out. It is thought that both of these views are invalid since the concept of size is independent of the objectives of foresight, coherence and unity to which any modern State can aspire, and, moreover, it is the various combinations of factors which determine how small the country is and not merely a relative dearth of one fixed factor.

In any approach which is to be consequential for the Caribbean island system, stress must be laid on the need to establish a flexible and adaptive system of planning which can respond dynamically and promptly to the changing situations in the internal and external scenario. In this connection, techniques such as those involving the use of input-output, econometric models for numeric experimentation, sophisticated estimates of the capital-product production, supply and demand models which require high levels of break-down and data and attempts at planning via global or sectoral simulation of the economy would be of little practical use and would boil down into mere "exogenous" exercises, whose likelihood of orienting State action would be minimal.

Similarly, concepts such as those of rural and urban development and their usual socio-economic connotations in Latin America are different in the Caribbean context. The same thing might be said of the conventional theory of regional development and the development poles concept, except perhaps in so far as Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica are concerned.

With regard to statistical data, short-term indicators and the availability of data, the situation varies from country to country, but in general, except in the case of the larger islands, the quantitative data base for planning is limited and in some cases non-existent. These are some of the many reasons for insisting on a flexible and adaptive approach.

2. Institutional support for planning

In keeping with the ideological orientation of its governments, a wide range of systems and combinations thereof are to be found in the Caribbean. Attempt will be made below to draw attention to the most salient institutional characteristics in a global comprehensive effort.

(a) Cuba. The Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN) was established in the period prior to 1965. In 1962 work was begun to put together the yearly economic plan and at the same time to effect the mass dissemination of the concepts and procedures involved in the tasks related to the plan. 21/ In the period 1967-1970, planning activities related mainly to the direct administration of material resources, and after that period, the first five-year plan, that for the period 1970-1975, was formulated, in the First Congress of the Communist Party approval was given to the System for Managing and Planning the Economy on the basis of State ownership of the means of production and the formulation of a single plan. Significant progress was made not only in the sectoral development plans but also physical planning based on the construction plans of the revolution and the first phase of industrialization. All this has resulted in a new political-administrative division of the country which is appropriate for the purposes of State management and supervision. Gradually the system for managing the economy by expanding and reorganizing the systems for distributing and marketing goods and services has been reoriented. Among the most significant advances made recently, mention might be made of the role of free peasant markets in the production of goods in the private sector and the wage reform of 1980 which operates on the basis of individual and collective

rewards for exceeding the established goals. The rise in the minimum wage, the introduction of certain material incentives, the reform and updating of the wholesale and retail price system affected in 1981 and the adaptation of the various productive units to the possibilities of self-financing are reforms which have raised the level of participation and production and consequently made the plan more viable. 22/

(b) Grenada. In the changes introduced in social and economic structures since the people's revolutionary government came into power, a leading role has been given to planning. Within a mixed economy system, the functions of the State, private and co-operative sectors have been defined and delimited. At the beginning the State sector will be the dominant one, responsible for steering the development process. Discussions are now underway concerning an "investment code", aimed at identifying those areas of economic activity in which the participation of both the national and the foreign private sector is promoted and given impetus. 23/

In the short term, the Government, basing its work in a draft prepared by the Planning Ministry and widely discussed by all the agencies involved, produced the plan for 1982. In the medium term, work is being done on the triennial plan 1983-1985, and in the long term, once the plans for manpower training and adaptation of the institutional system have been concluded, planning will be the key link in the reconstruction of the country.

The 1982 plan basically concentrates on three economic areas or categories: the first includes the labour force, wages and productivity. In this connection the plan attempts to determine how many workers must be employed in the various activities contemplated, how much will be needed for wages and what the desired level of productivity is. In this exercise the needs will be evaluated by occupation and the financial implications and the available options will be analyzed the conjunction with the Ministry of Finance within a simple but effective "Balance of Resources" system. The second area in which the 1982 plan will be concentrated is investment. In this connection, each Ministry, State enterprise or institution is under the obligation to submit an investment plan. The information contained in

this plan will be integrated, evaluated and adjusted on the basis of the central objectives and priorities of the plan. Finally, the third area covered by the 1982 plan centres on the "technical and material requirements" of the social and economic activity of the State. In this connection, each Ministry or State enterprise is responsible for supplying the Planning Ministry with information concerning the raw materials and inputs required for carrying out its activities. Finally, the Planning Ministry together with the Ministry of Commerce will evaluate the needs and work out an internal supply-and-demand balance to determine the additional resources needed at external level. In addition, and for the purpose of ensuring that the land resource is used rationally and efficiently, the Government recently created the Physical Planning Unit, one of whose main tasks will be that of preparing physical development plans at the national, regional and local level.

The importance and significance of planning in Grenada can be shown by citing the following paragraph taken from the report on the economy in 1981 and the outlook for 1982:

"Any process cannot be meaningful if it is done in the Confines of an Office. Furthermore, planning is not and cannot be a bureaucratic exercise. Planning must be the means of ordering the socio-economic process occurring in the country. Then what is absolutely necessary is for planning to be linked directly and concretely with increasing the living standards of the people. We must always remember that planning cannot solve all of our problems. A plan does not run an economy or a factory, or a farm. People do. People make the plans and people implement the plans. So that, the people must be involved at all stages of the plan. From early stages of the plan -the preparatory stage- right through to the implementation stage, the masses of the country must be involved. All sections of the society must become part of the process". 24/

(c) Jamaica. With a market economy which is relatively well developed by Caribbean standards, Jamaica's institutional arrangements for planning are complex but rich in terms of experience and contributions. Since 1955, when N.W. Manley, the Prime Minister, set up the Central Planning Unit, four national development plans have been drafted. The first covered the period 1957-1967 and the other three, which covered the five-year periods 1963-1968, 1970-1975 and 1978-1982. Other plans formulated, in addition to the foregoing, include the National Physical Plan, 1970-1990 and the Emergency Production Plan, 1977-1978, and many sectoral and budgetary plans prepared by various ministries in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance.

In addition to the National Planning Agency, the Town Planning Department, the Department of Statistics and the Bank of Jamaica, there are specialized planning agencies in the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Housing, Tourism, Public Services and Transport, Health and Industry. The Town Planning Department, which covers the only planning areas supported by the law responsible for physical and regional planning, deserves special mention. There are also specialized planning institutes in the projects area. These include the Jamaican National Investment Corporation and the Project Analysis and Maintaining Company. In an attempt to deal with all the work related to science and technology, the Scientific Research Council was established in 1960, and for the purpose of handling all matters related to bauxite, the main export product, the Jamaica Bauxite Institute was created in 1976.

As may be seen, Jamaica has an extensive institutional network at all levels and sectors of economic and social activity. With the exception of Cuba and the Dominican Republic, it is the most advanced Caribbean country in the field of planning, the high quality of its techniques is widely recognized and the development of its institutions has been accompanied by worthwhile practical experiences. In all this a leading role has been played by the University of the West Indies.

In the excellent monograph prepared by Omar Davies and Michael Witter 25/ at the request of ILPES, a number of comments are made from the point of view of State action and planning.

In the first place, although there is a wide institutional base on which to exercise planning, this method has been called an "ad hoc approach". This means that each Ministry has met the demands created by the problems inherited from colonialism and the prevailing bureaucratic structure by creating a planning unit which is designed more to administer resources than to promote development. This characteristic has led to the mushrooming of agencies with no clear idea of cohesiveness and adherence to a national planning system. In addition, this lack of co-ordination has given rise to an excessive amount of intervention on the part of the State, but there is no clear global policy within which the institutions and public enterprises can operate. Moreover, the natural reaction of the institutions to the changing external scenario and the periodic short-term recessions is to make decisions from a purely individual, or at most, a sectoral, perspective but in the absence of any clear idea of what the State is doing.

As for the priorities and global orientation of the new government elected in October 1980, they are contained within a limited economic scenario. In this connection a global, export-oriented strategy which relies on the support of the private sector was established. In a first stage, an attempt was made to strengthen the most urgent financial links, to use the installed industrial capacity fully and to rehabilitate tourism and the bauxite, sugar and banana industries. Within these lines of action, additional incentives for private investment, domestic as well as foreign, were introduced;

inflation was reduced; wage rises were limited; public employment was frozen at its May 1981 level; monetary expansion was limited; the policy with regard to the interest rate was moderated; a more realistic system was established in so far as the exchange rate was concerned, and limits were placed on State intervention into activities which are strictly productive and strategic.

With regard to the second phase, the government has prepared a public investment programme for the period 1982-1984, which represents close to 14% of the GDP and whose primary aim is to promote the export sector, generate employment and develop domestic sources of energy.

(d) The Dominican Republic. Is another country with vast experience in the field of economic and public planning exercised through the National Development Council and the technical secretariat in the Office of the President, which is made up of four units, including the National Planning Office (ONAPLAN), the National Statistical Bureau (ONE), the National Administration and Personnel Office (ONAP) and the National Budget Bureau (ONAPRES). This system, which has operated without interruption since 1965, is responsible for deciding upon and orienting State action by formulating global and sectoral development plans. In addition, it is responsible for preparing the first drafts of the national budget and co-ordinating the execution of the budget. In the Dominican Republic the institutional framework in which planning is carried out is very similar to that which is used in the other Latin American countries, and at the sectoral level an attempt is now being made to organize institutional and sectoral project units to define priorities in the various Ministries.

(e) Haiti. In October 1976 the National Development and Planning Council (CONADEP) was organized, and in the same year the 1976-1981 five year economic, social and regional development plan was published. CONADEP is an independent technical body which operates under the supervision of the President of the Republic and whose functions include those of formulating central government policies and co-ordinating the tasks assigned to the State.

Working in co-operation with CONADEP are regional planning offices which are responsible for the progress made in connection with the policies envisaged in the plan at regional level. The Haitian Statistical Institute, the National Bank and the National Budget Bureau work closely with these offices. The Budget Bureau co-operates with CONADEP in studies in the fiscal field and in the operation and development of the national budget.

(f) Antigua. The tasks of planning come under the aegis of the Development Planning Office, to which the Projects Preparation Unit was recently annexed. Both these organs are part of the Ministry of Economic Development, Tourism and Energy. The planning staff, including the Director, consists in only six people, who, with help from an expert seconded by UNDP, prepared the 1980-1984 four-year development plan, which provides basically for the social and economic objectives and the basic strategies for obtaining them and ends with a list of public sector projects. Although this work is meritorious from every point of view, it has financial implications and there are problems in connection with both its internal and external sources of financing. It is to be hoped that future ventures will take account of the relationship between the plan and the budget. Among the advances made by planning, the growing attention received by the energy sector in so far as the design of conservation policies and the search for alternative energy sources are concerned, is worthy of note. To supplement this effort and ensure better co-ordination at the regional level, Antigua and Barbuda have initiated steps with a view to joining the Caribbean Council of Science and Technology.

(g) Dominica. The National Planning Office (NPO) has become the Economic Development Unit (EDU), and a large number of its tasks have been directed at national reconstruction. A total of 16 experts are distributed over three sections. The majority of them are engaged in the work of collecting and analysing quantitative data for use in planning, and two of them are working on project formulation and evaluation, training and co-ordination of external aid.

(h) Montserrat. The four experts working in the Development Planning Unit are engaged nearly exclusively in project preparation and execution. Currently their work is concentrated on the preparation of an investment programme for the public sector.

(i) St. Kitts/Nevis. There is a planning unit in the Office of the Prime Minister, in which a total of eight technicians are employed, who are distributed among the Economic and Social Planning, Statistics and Physical Planning Divisions. To date a draft plan has been prepared for the period 1980-1984, and there is some interest in establishing an agricultural planning unit.

(j) St. Lucia. The institutional arrangements in the field of planning have been radically restructured, and the Economic Planning Unit is now responsible for macro-economic planning, project preparation, formulation and evaluation and the provision of support for the Energy Division. In each Ministry co-ordinators or "links" with the central unit have been established, and guidelines for co-ordination in planning have been distributed. The central unit has been incorporated in the Finance Ministry and is also co-operating in the preparation of the national budget. In the near future the National Statistical Bureau will be incorporated in the Ministry of Planning and Finance, and it is hoped that the new structuring will help in the formulation of a five-year plan for the period 1982-1986.

(k) St. Vincent. The Central Planning Unit basically performs four functions: economic and social planning, physical planning and the collection of basis statistics. At the macro-economic level it is working on the preparation of the five-year plan, but basically its activity is concentrated on the formulation of projects, after consultations with the ministries concerned, and on the preparation of requests for external financing.

(1) Barbados. The main tasks of the Central Unit, which is located in the Ministry of Finance and Planning, are the formulation of global and sectoral policies, the evaluation and formulation of development projects and the preparation of a national plan. The first plans (1952-1957 , 1955-1960 and 1960-1965) placed great emphasis on efforts to diversify the economy, with industrial development being the key sector. All the sectors received less attention than the sugar-producing agricultural sector, the result being unbalanced growth in spite of the fact that more productive resources and an excellent tourist infrastructure were available. Considering that the country enjoys the services of qualified technical personnel and more budgetary resources than other countries, that planning differs from the case as in the other Eastern Caribbean islands.

(m) Trinidad and Tabago. The 1982 budget speech of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance and Planning shows the possibilities, intentions and limitations of planning. The most crucial challenges facing the Government include those of effecting a generalized increase in productivity levels, promoting the export sector, increasing the production of foodstuffs, making the housing and transport sector more dynamic, and last but not least, raising the efficiency of public enterprises. In addition, the Government is seeking to extend the coverage of the social sectors and to facilitate the participation of people in the tasks relating to development. The following functions are assigned to planning as such: (i) the preparation of a medium-term investment programme for the public sector as a first step in the formulation of a long-term multisectoral plan; (ii) the preparation of the global plan for government expenditure taking account of present financial restrictions.

The National Advisory Council established in 1976, which had prepared the five-year report covering the period up to mid-1981, was replaced by the National Economic Planning Commission, whose technical secretariat is the Ministry of Finance and Planning. In addition to performing the two functions mentioned above, planning has been assigned an important role in the administration and supervision of the public budget.

Although it is not a "book plan", the annual "Review of the Economy" constitutes the major source of material for use in evaluating the performance of the economy and studying the Government's main action lines.

In this connection, it may be noted that there is growing concern to correct the inefficient generalized subsidy policy and the present harmful dependence on petroleum as the main source of resources and the only driving power of development.

In summary, it may be seen from the information noted above, that the planning units of the Caribbean form part of a complex institutional arrangement and that most of them do not have the technical personnel they need. In addition, the tasks of project formulation and evaluation frequently absorb a good deal of the time available. These drawbacks make it difficult to devote sufficient thought to the best national development strategy, and the tasks assigned to the planning component relate more to administration than to the management and promotion of development.

V. CENTRAL LINES OF ACTION

A. Final suggestions concerning basic components of the development strategy

Arthur Lewis in a pioneer study (which was, however, widely criticized) suggested one of the most widely commented upon Caribbean development strategies. ^{26/} The central thesis of this study is that in view of the high level of rural unemployment and the overpopulation of the Caribbean, governments of that region should first and foremost develop the industrial sector. However, in view of the shortage of domestic resources the governments should attract foreign capital by establishing all kinds of incentives. In the long run, the local entrepreneurs would learn the techniques of commerce and with the advent of new capital, the growth rate and the levels of employment would rise, and there would be ample opportunity for diversification in the national economies.

Although some of his assumptions are still valid after two decades of experience, the original problems persist, albeit latently, and contradictions in the system make his objectives unfeasible. In essence, this failure was due to the fact that to a large extent the industrial development process was externally induced and was not the result of domestic factors or of the use of resources available within each country. In spite of the criticism levelled against it, this strategy had the virtue of at least at the theoretical level, identifying all the measures for achieving a given objective within a relatively valid diagnosis. The fact that the results were not those which had been hoped for is another problem all together and has nothing to do with the formal structure of the strategy. We are not concerned here to delve into the problems of industrialization. We have mentioned A. Lewis merely as a preamble to provide a frame of reference in respect of what might be the basic components of the Caribbean development strategy in the light of the many studies commented on above.

To begin with, the countries still undoubtedly suffer more or less intensely from development problems, shortage of capital and natural resources and lack of dynamism in the industrial sector. In these conditions the promotion of job mobility or the generation of new sources of employment are difficult goals to achieve. However, there are two basic facts which cannot be overlooked by the planning function: first, there is an urgent need to raise the levels of productivity in the crop-raising sector. This is the only way to guaranteeing self-reliant and viable growth. Because the region is still a net importer of food, it is next to impossible to say that any development plan will enjoy permanent success. If, in addition to the stagnation of the tourist sector in the region and its high degree of dependence on foreign energy sources, its most valuable productive resources were underutilized and abandoned, the outlook for well-being and growth would be even dimmer.

Secondly, in addition to meeting the need described above, the Caribbean countries must orient their economies to foreign trade within a regional dimension in such a way that not only will the process of import substitution be stepped of, but the regions traditional and non-traditional exports will also be promoted. Intra-regional trade is at a minimum, and interregional trade needs to be extended and diversified. The solution does not lie in making the policy of the past more explicit, but it is necessary to identify the instruments for solving the problem, define the role of the agents responsible for applying the solution (public, private and foreign), select the most advantageous options in terms of complementarity (multinational enterprises, joint ventures, market integration), co-ordinate incentives so that they are effective and chose the technology which is most appropriate in terms of the conditions within each country. At bottom, we are remphasizing the need to strengthen both the domestic and the external market by setting up interrelationships between the exporting and the primary sector. In

the Caribbean context, the strengthening of these interrelationships presents a number of additional advantages: it promotes job mobility, reduces the likelihood that in the tertiary sector the only job opportunities will be found in the tourist area and the "informal sector" and generates value-added by raising the level of transformation of raw materials.

If the latter two advantages are to be within reach, question immediately rises concerning the most appropriate and efficient style of industrialization in its role as link driving force between the domestic and the external market. One of the tasks of planning, is to define and clarify this style of industrialization. However, we are taking the liberty of suggesting some of the forms it might take as a guideline for discussion:

(a) The region has recognized comparative advantages in certain industries with economies of scale, which could perfectly well provide the foundations for a dynamic process of transformation and generation of employment. Industries which might be mentioned in this connection include those related to sugar cane and its products, the production of minerals, paper and furniture, tobacco, fish, cements, alcoholic beverages and others.

(b) With the present resource endowment and a suitable balance of factors, there are good options for selecting inputs which make it possible to meet the demand for consumer goods and for intermediate and capital goods by engaging in effective regional co-operation and by taking full advantage of economies of scale.

(c) In view of the high degree of dependence on external financing, foreign investment and technology, the style of industrialization chosen to strengthen the primary exporting sector must be based on an effort to recognize the basic components of all industrial planning -selection of sectoral priorities, the most suitable production techniques and regional projects in which two or more countries can participate. From this point of view, it is possible to modify what has been called "industrialization

by invitation", 27/ a term which has been used to refer to that style of industrialization which is promoted, to the exclusion of virtually all other forms of industrialization, by foreign capitalists through the use of an inefficient system of subsidies. With regard to such subsidies, it is useful to bear in mind that the financing of industrial development includes much more than the mere provision of fiscal, tax or tariff incentives. Concepts such as capital formation (investment) and, most important of all, the level of efficiency, productivity or competitiveness which industry possesses internationally also come into play. Such a style of industrialization could be achieved in the Caribbean provided that a minimum prerequisite of planning, co-operation and integration exists.

In addition to the industrial sector, where integrated planning is required at both national and regional level, the other three priority sectors where the same type of planning is also required are energy, tourism and maritime and air transport. In the first of these sectors, regional co-operation is a necessary requirement in all the tasks related to exploration, exploitation and marketing. The support needed by the countries to preserve their traditional sources of energy is as vital as the possibilities for non-traditional energy are promising. At present a number of countries enjoy conditions in which hydroelectric power can be profitably exploited, but to do so they need support and additional resources from other countries. There again the contribution which planning would make would consist in the extension of the present diagnostic study and the formulation, after careful evaluation of the available resources, of a consistent policy at national and regional level.

Conditions in the tourism sector are similar to those in the energy sector. Knowledge concerning the way in which this sector operates is very limited, and before ambitious projects are formulated, it would be a good idea to give detailed consideration to the magnitude and impact of the results expected in terms of employment, land cost, foreign currency,

demand for imported inputs and supply limitations; but above all, it would be advisable to have an approximate idea of the social and environmental impact. In the light of recent experience, it may be said that some of the negative effects of tourism or its "external diseconomies" are partly due to the lack of adequate planning or of a national plan within which tourism can be properly integrated into all the sectors which are interrelated with it. Finally, the problem of the small, fragmented Caribbean system are aggravated, and the region is frustrated by the absence of an integrated maritime and air transport network. In the majority of the studies, this sector is always identified as one of the main bottlenecks, and tourism and integration efforts in general will be strongly affected by the failure to organize, plan and develop foreign trade. This is a highly typical example of the case in which a regional consensus constitutes vital supports for any attempt at development beyond the boundaries of national economic.

We shall conclude with some comments on the equally important topic of social planning in the Caribbean. It is not the intention of this study to go into social problems in depth or to spend a long time diagnosing them but merely to reiterate their systematic nature in that they are intimately related to the rest of the economic system and to the basic needs of the population. Unless they are seen in this perspective, the principle that self-reliance should be sought by all the countries of the Caribbean without exception has no validity whatsoever. Consequently, mention should be made of some the prerequisites which go along with this approach:

(a) The macroeconomic effect of any strategy finds its practical expression in its redistributive impact as measured by the increase in general well-being, and in particular in the well-being of the poorest groups in the population.

(b) Planning is essentially participation and therefore the fact that in immense proportion of the population is marginated from the tasks of development is a contradiction which in the end makes any planning exercise futile.

(c) Finally, it is not going too far to say that although the net effect of planning is that it helps to improve the levels of efficiency or to increase the availability of resources, these effects do not in themselves solve the social problem, which is basically linked to the distribution of wealth. Thus, on the basis of the three premises expressed above, it is possible to give structural content to social development planning in the Caribbean.

B. Conclusions

On the basis of the previous chapters, some points may be stressed by way of conclusion:

1. The fact that the Caribbean island system is based on a fragile and dependent economic structure means that there are only a limited number of intersectoral links and multiplier effects, which gives rise to the need for a flexible and adaptive planning system with a perspective which is regional but at the same time consistent and integrated at the national level on the basis of national development strategies.
2. Because the institutional structure for planning is weak and there are few technical resources to carry out the tasks required by it, the planning exercises should rely primarily on the design of global development strategies and not on a scattered collection of projects at microeconomic level.
3. At the sectoral level, the "diseconomies", or costs observed in some plans is basically due to the lack of a national strategy in which sectoral policies can be coherently and clearly included.

4. In the light of the experience observed, planning needs to cut back on some of its administrative tasks and stress those which are related to the promotion and management of development.
5. Although one can be relatively clear as to what the development priorities are, this is not true of the instruments and resources needed to realize them. In this connection, there is an urgent need to raise the operational capacity of planning.
6. Because the region is highly fragmented geographically, planning exclusively at national level gives rise to severe limitations at the operational level and in terms of scale. Planning needs to be supplemented and supported by integration and regional co-operation, and in this connection, the progress made at the level of theory points to the need to review concepts and techniques before deciding in favour of an automatic transplant.
7. The technical and institutional bodies which come between the project (micro) and the plan (macro) need to be harmonized and integrated so as to keep external aid from being dispelled and prevent the dispersion of State efforts into activities with little impact on global development policies.
8. Although it may seem strange, the Caribbean is a region where the political and institutional typology is such that it is possible to define development or planning styles accurately. The variety ranges between the socialist countries, countries with centrally planned economies, mixed economies, market economies and economies where the interaction of the State is secondary. This political pluralism is one of the great resources of the region although it presents planning with new challenges from the point of view of conception and application.

Table 1

CARIBBEAN: EVOLUTION OF THE GLOBAL GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

(Annual growth rates)

Countries	Year	
	1980	1981
Antigua	6.0 ^{a/}	4.0 ^{a/}
Bahamas	4.0 ^{c/}	-2.0 ^{c/}
Barbados	4.0 ^{b/}	-2.6 ^{b/}
Belize	3.0 ^{b/}	1.0 ^{b/}
Cuba ^{d/}	1.4 ^{b/}	12.0 ^{b/}
Dominica	8.7 ^{b/}	9.0 ^{b/}
Grenada	3.1 ^{b/}	2.6 ^{b/}
Guyana	2.0 ^{b/}	-1.0 ^{b/}
Haiti	5.2 ^{b/}	-3.0 ^{b/}
Jamaica	-5.4 ^{b/}	2.0 ^{b/}
Montserrat	7.0 ^{c/}	3.4 ^{c/}
Dominican Republic	5.2 ^{b/}	3.4 ^{a/}
St. Lucia	-4.5 ^{c/}	3.1 ^{c/}
St. Kitts-Nevis	3.3 ^{c/}	0.0 ^{c/}
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1.1 ^{c/}	9.0 ^{c/}
Suriname	2.3 ^{a/}	-9.3 ^{a/}
Trinidad and Tobago	4.2 ^{b/}	-1.0 ^{b/}

Sources: ^{a/} Ministry of Finance and Planning. Survey of the National Planning Systems of Latin American and the Caribbean.

^{b/} CEPAL, preliminary estimates subject to revision.

^{c/} World Bank, Caribbean group: current situation and prospects, May 1982.

^{d/} In Cuba economic activity is recorded under the system of balances of the material product, which is the equivalent of the value of the gross product of the agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction and electric power sectors.

Table 2

CARIBBEAN: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ON CURRENT ACCOUNT

(US\$ millions)

Country	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981a/
Antigua	-9.6	-2.2	-23.3	-39.6	-56.1
Bahamas	59.6	33.3	4.7	-24.0	-67.0
Barbados	-27.3	-7.5	-25.2	-13.5	-93.7
Belize	-19.2	-15.8	-29.5	-12.9	-22.0
Dominica	-5.5	-6.2	-14.1	-33.9	-21.7
Grenada	5.3	-4.4	-15.1	-15.1	-21.6
Guyana	-98.8	-28.9	-81.9	-101.2	-198.4
Jamaica	-47.0	-90.0	-143.0	-209.0	-410.0
Montserrat	1.1	-0.9	-2.6	-5.9	-6.3
St. Lucia	-11.4	-23.5	-27.9	-33.3	-51.6
St. Kitts-Nevis	-1.2	-0.6	-3.2	-10.4	-11.5
St. Vincent	-6.4	0.0	-7.3	-9.4	-7.0
Suriname	-81.1	-46.0	37.0	-58.2	-110.0
Trinidad and Tobago	229.8	52.9	70.5	419.7	532.9
Dominican Republic	-264.5	-319.7	-341.1	-720.0	-370.0
Haiti	-38.6	-25.4	-60.7	-68.9	-115.0

As a percentage of the gross domestic product

Antigua	-15.9	-3.2	-27.5	-37.1	-44.7
Bahamas	10.1	4.9	0.6	-2.6	-6.7
Barbados	-5.6	-1.4	-3.8	-1.7	-10.4
Belize	-18.2	-12.9	-20.0	-7.9	-12.2
Dominica	-15.4	-14.5	-31.5	-68.2	-36.7
Grenada	10.7	-7.2	-20.7	-17.6	-21.7
Guyana	-22.4	-5.8	-15.8	-17.1	-32.1
Jamaica	-	-	-	-7.9	-13.8
Montserrat	13.5	-9.9	-23.5	-40.4	-38.2
St. Lucia	-16.3	-27.2	-27.6	-29.2	-39.5
St. Kitts-Nevis	-4.1	-1.8	-8.1	-21.8	-22.2
St. Vincent	-21.5	-0.0	-17.4	-18.5	-11.2
Suriname	-11.0	-5.3	-4.0	-5.9	-10.2
Trinidad and Tobago	-	1.3	1.5	6.5	7.6
Dominican Republic	-5.8	-6.8	-6.2	-	-
Haiti	-3.8	-2.5	-5.2	-4.8	-7.2

Source: World Bank, May 1982.

a/ Bank estimates.

Table 3

CARIBBEAN: RECENT EVOLUTION OF TOURISM

Country	Number of tourists (thousands)		Millions (US\$)	
	1980	1981 _a /	1980	1981 _a /
Antigua	205.0	208.1	42.5	46.4
Bahamas	1 900.0	1 670.0	596.0	488.0
Barbados	526.4	495.0	251.0	262.0
Belize	65.0	--	8.6	8.9
Dominica	24.8	25.8	3.8	4.2
Grenada	145.9	97.8	15.3	14.1
Guyana	-	-	-	-
Jamaica	543.0	586.4	242.0	262.0
Montserrat	20.5	20.1	4.3	5.4
St. Lucia	152.0	130.0	39.1	35.0
St. Kitts-Nevis	38.5	45.5	5.7	8.4
St. Vincent	78.0	71.2	24.0	23.4
Suriname	-	-	-	-
Trinidad and Tobago	279.8	-	-	-
Dominican Republic	-	-	133.3	-
Haiti	306.1	314.1	63.6	57.2
<u>Total</u>	4 285.0	3 664.0	1 429.2	1 215.0

Source: World Bank

a/ Bank estimates.

Table 4

CARIBBEAN: PER CAPITA DOMESTIC PRODUCT OF THE CDCC MEMBER COUNTRIES

Country	1970	1975	1980
<u>CDCC member countries</u>	<u>364</u>	<u>747</u>	<u>891</u>
Bahamas	-	-	2 322
Barbados	678	1 506	2 253
Cuba	-	-	-
Dominica	309	387	500
Grenada	340	406	612
Guyana	378	591	543
Haiti	89	159	227
Jamaica	750	1 414	1 323
Dominican Republic	328	688	756
St. Lucia	346	528	739
St. Vincent	227	333	459
Suriname	792	1 296	2 471
Trinidad and Tobago	844	2 429	3 731
<u>CDCC associated members</u>	<u>367</u>	<u>613</u>	<u>757</u>
Antigua	314	424	1 000
Belize	442	-	741
Montserrat	583	538	769
St. Kitts-Nevis	<u>246</u>	<u>515</u>	<u>522</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>365</u>	<u>744</u>	<u>888</u>

Source: CEPAL, Office for the Caribbean, May 1981.

Table 5

CARIBBEAN: LABOUR FORCE AND RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Country	1980		
	Labour force	Number of unemployed	Percentage unemployed
Netherland Antilles <u>d/</u>	89 500	14 200	15.9
Antigua <u>c/</u>	28 378	5 887	20.8
Bahamas	93 872	19 419	20.7
Barbados <u>b/</u>	114 300	12 400	10.8
Belize	-	-	-
Cuba	-	-	-
Dominica	-	-	-
Grenada <u>a/</u>	38 000	10 460	27.0
Guyana	-	-	-
Haiti <u>d/</u>	2 585 000	387 750	15.0
Jamaica <u>d/</u>	991 200	270 800	27.3
Montserrat <u>d/</u>	4 872	298	6.1
Dominican Republic	-	-	-
St. Lucia <u>c/</u>	36 500	5 100	14.0
St. Kitts-Nevis	-	-	-
Vincent and The Granadines <u>c/</u>	-	-	20.0
Suriname <u>b/</u>	83 461	14 229	17.0
Trinidad and Tobago <u>d/</u>	-	50 000	11.0

Source: a/ Employment, Unemployment & Household Survey, 1980.

b/ Population Census, 1980.

c/ World Bank estimates, 1980.

d/ Statistics Office, 1980.

Table 6

CARIBBEAN: SHARE OF THE PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURING
IN THE TOTAL GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (PERCENTAGE)

Country	1970	1975	1980
<u>CDCC member countries</u>	<u>14.1</u>	<u>15.9</u>	<u>16.1</u>
Bahamas	-	-	-
Barbados	6.8	8.9	9.6
Cuba	-	-	-
Dominica	1.0	3.4	5.0
Grenada	3.1	5.1	3.3
Guyana	11.1	15.2	13.7
Haiti	10.0	10.9	13.6
Jamaica	16.0	17.0	16.2
Dominican Republic	19.0	21.0	22.0
St. Lucia	2.8	5.3	7.1
St. Vincent	1.0	1.9	2.2
Suriname	4.1	5.0	6.9
Trinidad and Tobago	12.0	13.0	14.1
<u>CDCC associate member countries</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>8.8</u>
Antigua	1.8	3.2	4.1
Belize	7.5	12.1	10.8
Montserrat	1.4	1.4	2.0
St. Kitts-Nevis	<u>12.5</u>	<u>11.7</u>	<u>14.3</u>
Total	13.9	15.8	15.9

Source: CEPAL. For further details see Industrial Development Strategies in Caribbean Countries, May 1981.

Table 7

EASTERN CARIBBEAN: PARTICIPATION OF SECTORS IN THE GROSS
DOMESTIC PRODUCT (1978)

Country	Agriculture <u>a/</u>	Tourism	Mining	Exports	Imports	Inflow of capital from abroad
St. Kitts-Nevis	19	2	<u>b/</u>	53	76	18
Antigua	4	18	1	51	69	13
Montserrat	5	8	1	39	96	39
Dominica	38	1	1	52	76	14
St. Lucia	14	7	1	56	98	33
St. Vincent	20	2	<u>b/</u>	55	84	8
Grenada	34	4	<u>b/</u>	56	71	10

Source: World Bank.

a/ Includes stock-breeding, forestry and fishing.

b/ Less than 0.5%.

Table 8

CARIBBEAN: TOTAL TRADE AND REGIONAL TRADE a/
(In dollars)

	<u>1967</u>		<u>1981</u>	
	Millions	%	Millions	%
<u>Exports</u>				
INTRA-CARICOM	47	6.3	376	7.3
Rest of World	<u>705</u>	<u>93.7</u>	<u>5 130</u>	<u>92.7</u>
Total	752	100.0	3 506	100.0
<u>Imports</u>				
INTRA-CARICOM	47	5.0		
Rest of World	<u>892</u>	<u>95.0</u>		
Total	932	100.0		

Source: World Bank.

a/ CARICOM does not include the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Bahamas, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles.

Notes

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- 8/ Prepared by Noel Boissière.
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- 13/ Prepared by Dr. George Reid.
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- 22/ CEPAL, Notas para el Estudio Económico de América Latina, 1981, Cuba, p. 4.
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