

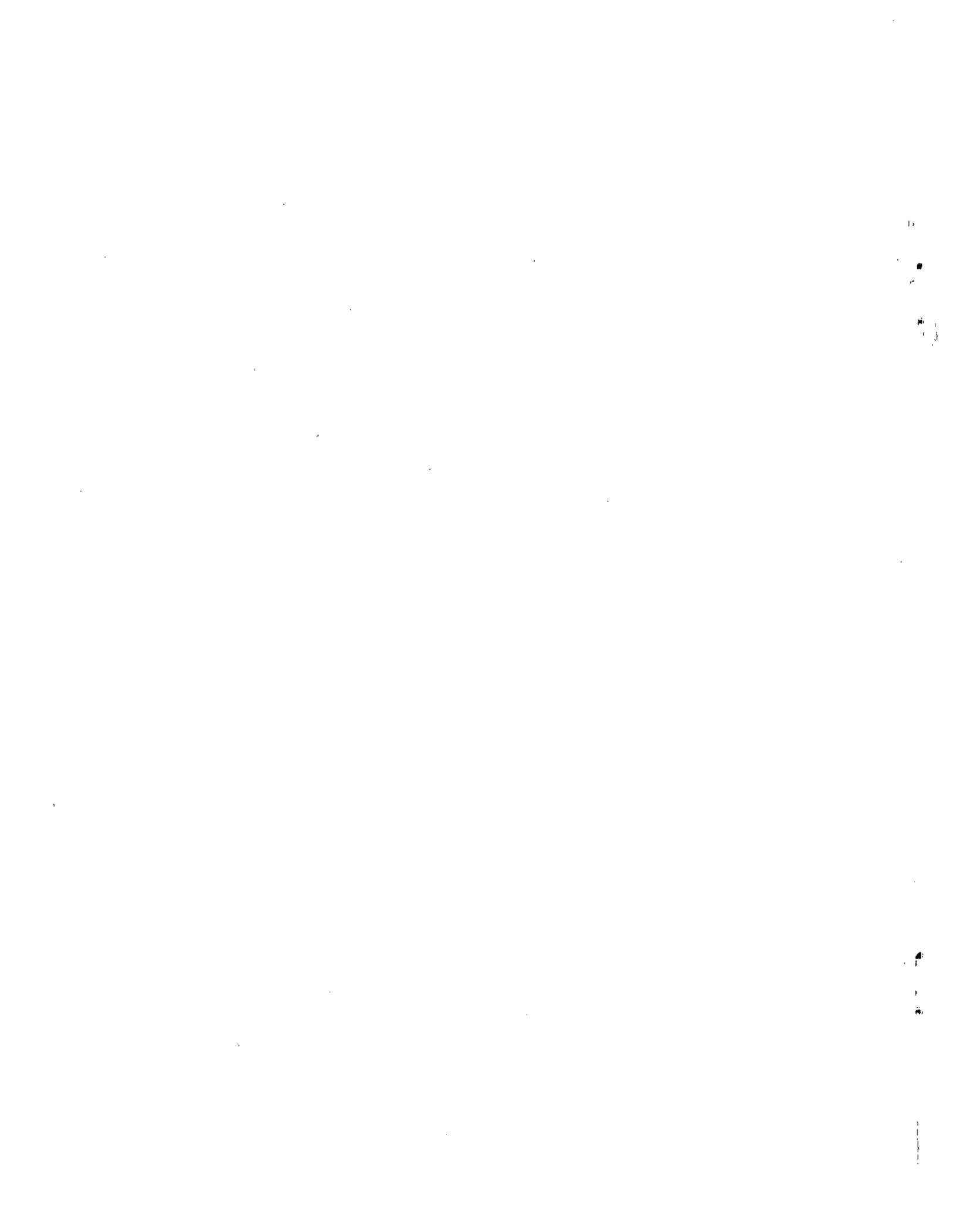


ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA
Office for the Caribbean

MAIN CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Introduction

The main development trends of the Caribbean sub-region and the social challenges to be reckoned with during the next decade have been diagnosed by the governments of the sub-region, and the corresponding action-oriented strategy designed. The Caribbean constitutes a political grouping of countries embarked on an integrated set of development-oriented activities, as an essential element in the nation-building processes. To understand the present issues of social development, due account must be taken of the recent accession to statehood of most of these nations, and of the peculiar political and economic structures they inherited.

The Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee (CDCC) was established by CEPAL Resolution 358 (XVI) in 1975, as a permanent subsidiary body at ministerial level, of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). Its constituent instruments, as endorsed by CEPAL and the United Nations Economic and Social Council, have assigned to the Committee the dual mandate of acting as a co-ordinating body for activities relating to development and economic and social co-operation in the Caribbean sub-region, and of serving as an advisory and consultative body to the Executive Secretary of CEPAL in respect of Caribbean issues.

The Constituent Declaration of the Committee, whereby the member governments have proclaimed their political will and decision to strive for a self-reliant process of development, contains in its preamble the main concerns within the present worldwide context. The preamble can be summarized as follows: the relevance of the sub-regional dimension of Caribbean development is recognized in view of the common historical legacy; linkages between social and economic development; the need to increase the bargaining power of the grouping and to rely on local potentialities for complementing

the economies and achieving joint policies; as well as the importance of the sea and its resources for self-determination. Closer harmonization of the sub-regional components is conceived as a form of participation within regional programmes.

The Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) superseded by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) initiated this process, and is one factor contributing to Latin American unity, at which level the Latin American Economic System (SELA) offers a framework for common actions and positions to be implemented. The Caribbean sub-regional strategy emphasizes mutual respect among the participating member states, which due to their economic vulnerability seek to maintain solidarity, for example, in the marketing of their products, while paying special attention to the interest of the lesser-developed and very small countries of the sub-region. The strategy is based on the inalienable right of the countries to sovereignty over their natural resources and economic activities, which they will mutually defend. Transnational corporations, where they are operating, must be subject to the national interests. The experience of CEPAL is called upon in assisting in these integration efforts. The governments of the sub-region are determined to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the peoples for development and progress.

The main trends of social development in the Caribbean are contained in the reasons why the governments have found it necessary to make certain statements and omit others. A summary of their policy decisions will highlight the social challenges which the sub-region faces in the forthcoming decade. Since the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), and beyond that the United Nations system as a whole, are conceived by the member governments as a key element in assisting their pursuit of development, the challenges that face these institutions will also be included.

I

TOTAL EXTROVERSION

National states are emerging in the Caribbean in a constant challenges to the internal and external forces which consolidated themselves during the expansion and diversification of the plantation system, and which to a large measure are still maintaining the polarization effects of external relations on political, economic and ideological practices within the local societies.

The settlement of plantation-Caribbean was initiated through the seaports, and the projects of expansion and diversification originated abroad, were implemented in close relation with the administration of the harbour. The plantation and supporting institutions were a creation of mercantile capitalism, and their dynamics a function of external connections.

The predominance of foreign trade and of the productive activities it generated was the concomittant to the determining role played by the political and administrative apparatus, in relaying dependency relationships in the political, economic and ideological ladders. The seaports, as host of local decision-making centres, became both the seat of public and private administration and the garrison town. Other relevant units of settlement copied this basic model.

In this setting, wealth was produced by total monopolization of all available human and natural resources to meet projects of development formulated by external metropolises. Whenever some difficulty would arise in the supply of provisions and services for outward-oriented operations, independent pursuit could be tolerated either on provision grounds (subsistence agriculture) or in the offering of maintenance services and handicrafts.

Such extroversion of the productive apparatus could establish itself in the economic geography only with a colonial state to implement and administer it. The Caribbean was conceived during the golden age of the plantation system as a set of colonies of exploitation. Projects of development were put into practice without the consent of the bulk of the population, and metropolises lacking military power to impose these projects would lose their colonies.

On the economic scene the predominance of trade interests created a special context for the interplay of elements involved in productive enterprises. In fact, management and employment were the only factors under the control of these enterprises. Plantation economy operated either with slaves, indentees, or very cheap labour. In any one of these cases, the bargaining power of the labour force had to be maintained at its lowest possible levels and relationships between labour and management could not be purely economic.

Salary, as an economic relation between employer and employee, appeared in the Caribbean within the frame of public administration, management of import-export activities, management of plantations and enforcement of law and order. During this process of underdevelopment, wages had been limited to non-manual activities, even though it would also appear in the hiring of the most qualified tradesman. Nineteenth century indentureship, as a provision of cheap-bonded labour force, emerged precisely in an effort to obstruct the development of a labour market and corresponding economic bargaining between workers and employers. It was not related with the unavailability of salaried work.

Manual and non-manual labour played different roles in a plantation society. The first one was concentrated in the production of material goods. The second one was located in the service sector, and more specifically in the public and private administration of outward-oriented activities. Their normative and ideological context also varied. Originally, the legal framework of manual labour was

given by specific colonial codes, while non-manual work tended to respond to norms and regulations also valid in the metropolises. Manual work, being mainly a rural activity, was carried out in scattered settlements away from the surveillance of law enforcement officers; non-manual activities concentrated in urban milieux implied some form of participation in decision-making and law enforcement. Normally, civil authorities dealt with offences of urban employees, while colonial military and para-military groups took care of workers' offences to rural codes. Finally, official languages would be used in the fulfilment of non-manual activities in view of their constant linkage with the outside world, while manual activities would be executed in vernaculars, apart from any negotiations with outsiders.

Outward-oriented practices of the colonial apparatus constituted the components of public life. Military and political relations, plantation activities and activities within the plantations, communication with the metropole and the metropolitans, formal and on-the-job training for the maintenance, ruling and expansion of the colony, in one word, the whole public and private administration of external relations was consistent with the demands of mercantilism and the set of norms and values which ruled the empires.

Satisfaction of local needs such as food, housing and clothing, family relationships, community intercourse, communication among peers, dealing with constant and overt imposition, the whole day-to-day living of colonized people were practices based on the availability of local resources. More exactly, those resources which escaped the monopoly by the metropole and the metropolitans were harnessed at this level to ensure some form of orderly survival.

Therefore, while governor, merchant, planter, overseer, and slave, behaved according to codified official regulations in the fulfilment of their public duties, the way they lived their private

lives, even though institutionalized, would run parallel to accepted colonial behaviour. A domestic slave would have found it very difficult to live like a planter, in spite of being eventually quite knowledgeable of such a way of living. His actions as a slave and say a father, corresponded to different rationales, which he manipulated constantly.

In the larger territories of the Caribbean, efforts to meet locally the needs of the population started in the framework of maroon societies before and alongside the establishment of plantations. Their subsequent development either in the same context or on provision grounds granted to the slaves, preceded the peasant economy. Then, the entire sub-region experienced an intense development of these inward-oriented activities as the transition from mercantilism to free enterprise capitalism provoked the loosening of the economic hold of external powers on the area. It resulted in a strengthening of the cultural framework regulating the private lives of the population.

Family pursuits in the agricultural sector still had to reckon with the monopoly of land resources, and in several cases they did not evolve beyond some forms of métayage system. The state machinery worked to protect the landlords ensuring their control on the natural resources, through a series of laws and regulations preventing the upsurge of a market economy. By legitimizing the concentration of the original set of natural resources, the colonial state set up by the same token, the frame for the productive use of available human resources. Absorption of the labour force for viable economic enterprises remained possible only within the outward-oriented relations or to service such relations. The rationale of socio-economic relations concerned primarily with local demands, preserved its operability within the range of efficacy allowed by the monopolistic/estate sector; and most particularly, within the limits of the income distributed in the countries and not applied to imported goods.

In these circumstances, agricultural unemployment and under-employment developed as a structural element of Caribbean economy, and in direct consequence to the seizure of both human and natural resources. Various forms of production started to intermingle, under the burden of extra-economic constraints: self-subsistence economy supplemented with the collection of edibles, multi-crop peasant economy closely linked with both national and international markets, and several institutionalized arrangements, to transfer to more and more archaic forms of production some of the hazards of productive ventures. Inward-oriented activities initiated with own-account family ventures and self-employment, had to evolve towards a more and more complex integration with the market economy; while legal impediments were ensuring only the minimum development of a labour market.

The cleavages between outward and inward-oriented activities, public and private lives, are a consequence of the relative autonomy of the political structures within colonial societies. A colony is a territory where a metropole dictates what economic and political practices are to take place. With the decline of plantation economy and the new strategic role bequeathed to the sub-region, the relative autonomy of the political structures was further consolidated.

To occupy a territory for basically strategic reasons implied the enactment of specific formulae of social and economic organization and its development. Growth of the extroverted economic apparatus could take place according to the relevance of products offered on the international markets. To alter this situation by introducing economic structural changes would create linkages between sectors and branches, accompanied by a closely-knitted system of social relations, oriented towards an internal control of government. A colony held for strategic reasons could cease, in this event, to be a loyal group of subjects, i.e., subjects who are controlled from the metropole. Colonization or occupation cannot be compatible with intense social cohesion and the setting up of local parameters for the development of public life.

II

EXTROVERSION MODIFIED

A series of violent conflicts took place all over the sub-region during the second and third decades of this century. The state and the social forces with a manifest participation in determining its policy - that is to say the import-export merchants and other businessmen including owners of the local press, the army, the civil servants, the planters and other landlords, intellectuals, trade unions and political parties - were forced to negotiate new social arrangements, whose outcome would be total or gradual self-government.

In view of the cleavages already mentioned between manual and non-manual workers and between private and public life, the bulk of the Caribbean population had until that period scarcely been exposed to administration and management. While self-government was becoming politically unavoidable, the need to prepare public administrators and private managers had to be met. In fact, newcomers to public and private administration had even to learn the language of these activities, not to speak of the legal instruments through which they were co-ordinated. The dissemination of these norms and instruments through schooling, known as "education", was initiated under colonial rules.

The replacement of the metropolitan administrators, managers and military personnel by locals, the increase in the service sector accompanying the establishment of foreign military bases, new plantations and activities in the extractive industries allowed for a gradual absorption of school graduates and the expansion of the "educational" system. The bi-polar division of the societies became a national feature.

National states succeeded colonial ones. The main element which differentiates them is obviously government and its alter-ego opposition. In the Caribbean, as in any context, there is need to distinguish between state and government. The state inherited political forces

deeply rooted in the extroversion of the local social systems, and having come into being, grew and strengthened themselves through segmentation and disarticulation of the economic apparatus, and through cultural and political/ideological dependency. The dealers in products with monetary value - the import-export trade and the banking system - still constitute the cornerstone of most successful political alliances. Public administrators and private managers of outward-oriented relations - civil and military servants - are other relevant legacies of colonial times.

National governments emerged with the challenge of satisfying local demands within a frame set up by outward-oriented relations. Whenever any of the social forces established since colonial or occupation times, raised the problem of self-government, the issue of the local needs moved ipso facto to the forefront of their preoccupation. Historically, social domination in and of the Caribbean, having abused extra-economic forms of coercion, has left unattended important ideological aspects and most particularly those dealing with legitimization of states and governments. With the accession to political autonomy, government and forces striving to control this position required some form of legitimacy, that is to say, an accepted process of development geared toward the satisfaction of local needs.

It must be understood in this connection that the issue of unemployment and underemployment comes into focus with self-government and political autonomy. Large surpluses of labour force have been fostered by rulers of colonized or occupied territories to satisfy the requisites of outward-oriented economic ventures. Its opposite, that is to say full employment, is a matter of meeting local needs.

The political ladder is therefore the only dimension from which a switch from outward to inward-oriented economy can be promoted, such being the prevalence and the relative autonomy

of power relations in the area. Usually and according to patterns inherited from colonization and occupation, relations of power evolve beyond the influence of local economic and ideological practices; in the present scenery the freedom of action of political leaders also profit from their hinge-like role between traditional (inherited) forces and emerging popular sovereignty. They are chief negotiators in the nation-building processes and can be considered as real and rather stable institutions. In contexts where efforts are being made to localize main political parameters of statehood and to lessen the hold of economic dependency on inward-oriented ventures, their manoeuvring facilities are increased.

Nevertheless, in view of the strength of external influences and the risks involved in capitalizing upon emergent political awareness and social mobilization to meet local needs, the referred freedom of action of the Caribbean leadership may either go stale in daily petty conflicts or resort to practices common during colonial and occupation times. Disruptive outbursts of historically oppressed or 'marginal' masses have already endangered what was achieved through self-government. Political leaders, eventually with their parties, are innovations within the Caribbean political structures, in as much as they require some form of internal support. But this support demands in turn immediate inward-oriented actions, the effectiveness of which is higher whenever the outward-oriented relations are not affected.

The need to satisfy urgent demands in order to secure acceptance of popular forces competes with long-term policies aiming at structural changes. The inherited structures of power in which government are located are not conducive to an internal control of the political and economic environment, and long-term strategies are therefore vulnerable. Those who aim at the control of the administrative machinery of the state have a difficult choice between paternalistic clientelism and institutionalized social mobilization.

The belated political independence in the sub-region had been negotiated by groups of intellectuals, supported by urban middle classes or organized trade unions. But self-government, as achieved during this century, does not mean the government of activities primarily geared by local demands. This circumstance increases the efficacy of political clientelism by obstructing the channels for the legitimization of political power. Progress and drawbacks in the efforts towards self-propelled development have to be evaluated against the conditions in which the Caribbean nations acquired control over a public administration basically structured for promoting outward-oriented activities.

The instruments to implement strategies formulated by governments are all designed along the lines of institutions typified by E. Braithwaite as "those derived from the European or initiating segment of the society (legislature, courts of law, police systems, the established christian churches, press/mass media, banks, commercial organizations)." ^{1/}

The proceedings of these institutions are done in official languages which even though understood in most cases by the masses, are scarcely used for discussion and vivid dialogue. Overt political bargaining takes place in these idioms whose degree of mastership becomes an unmistakable indicator of social distances.

This fact stimulates dependency by locating the criteria for correction beyond the control of the local population. Thus, definitions and concepts which do not reflect the sub-regional

^{1/} "(The creole) institutions may be divided into two main groups: those derived from the European or initiating segment of the society (legislatures, courts of law, police systems, the established christian churches, press/mass media, banks, commercial organizations), and those peculiar to the inner plantation: friendly societies and co-operatives that reveal themselves in sou-sou, gyap, landship (Barbados), la rose (St. Lucia), and the spectrum of religious organizations from pentecostal and revival, right through shango, vodun and cumfa." E. Braithwaite: Caribbean Man in Space and Time.

circumstances are being smuggled into the processes of reflection, hampering the development of knowledge and hence efficient planning.

It follows that while the intellectual élites have generated the social criticisms which made colonialism and occupation unacceptable, they do not readily possess nor produce the necessary instruments of knowledge to design an inward-oriented policy, let alone to create the mechanisms to discuss it with the population and implement it.

The difficulties for the intellectual élites and the academic community as a whole to seize local circumstances through cumulative cognitive processes, make it nearly impossible to arrange an adequate location for their fulfilment within the national societies. Out-migration of professionals, irrespective of their political loyalties, appears to be an uncontrollable trend. The divorce between the different creole and official languages is functioning as an apparently normal and natural form of control. It prevents dialogues and negotiations within the nations; implementation of plans and projects clashes against lack of popular participation and of highly qualified resources.^{2/}

^{2/} "Certainly, from the perspective of the total society, such a vocationally heterogeneous and inwardly turned population segment creates problems in administration and development. Action programs, aimed at the socio-economic amelioration of such people but based on uni-occupational models developed in modern Western countries, start with limited chances for success. Occupational pluralists in Jamaica will not reject the material aid that often accompanies such schemes but they do reject, as evidenced by their behaviour, the objectives and the intent of these programs. By their own logic, they find it impractical to develop fully one aspect of their economic life to the detriment of the others. The results of the action program, designed to improve the Jamaican fishing industry through technological and organizational assistance, are significant. In settlements such as Duncans, where fishing is balanced with or subordinated to other pursuits, newly introduced fishermen's co-operatives - one element in the development program - failed to provide economic cohesion and stimulus and, therefore, died stillborn. In settlements such as Whitehouse, where fishing is more important because of land scarcity, new co-operatives when adapted to local conditions proved more viable and performed relatively substantial services for its membership. The error made by the central authorities was that they introduced one co-operative model designed for full-time fishermen in other parts of the world to all varieties of Jamaica "fishermen". Agricultural development programs on a national scale sometimes suffer similar results for a very similar reason - an incorrect assessment of the pertinent conditions of rural life." L. Comitas: Occupational multiplicity, p. 172.

On the one hand, one observes obstacles to central planning in economies with few relationships of complementarity between the integrant parts, while international donors and transnational corporations on the other hand are progressing steadily in their planification, implementing strategies which may strengthen the sub-regional extroversion and postpone the use of available local resources for self-propelled ventures.

These circumstances, while consolidating the freedom of manoeuvring of rulers and opponents, do not stimulate the emergence of indigenous mobilization, and raise the question of the frontiers of social dialogue within the Caribbean as the main obstacle to development.

The frontiers of social dialogue have not yet fully caught the attention of the nations, and the problems raised in the framework of the Western concept of freedom of speech monopolize the awareness of the public in view of several constraints inherited from recent history of colonization and occupation. Worldwide campaigns in favour of freedom of speech have created the habit of focusing attention on the opponents to established regimes, and legitimate concerns have been voiced on the matter. Nonetheless, it is striking that in Caribbean countries which are not known for contravening international norms of free speech, and where a very high level of literacy is already achieved, the reach of the media is still alarmingly restricted. Official opposition and independent media, while polemizing with respect to the population, have not been able to create an audience in the masses. It would seem that the media is not able or not interested in communicating with the nation as a whole.

It would therefore appear that the relative autonomy of the political forces may be bordering on isolation. Parallel to segmented economic relations, one seems to find clusters of social dialogues;

and most initiatives or changes in a given sector of national life do not provoke easy reactions of the society as a whole. Solidarity operates at limited levels and on limited issues, so the political élites already vulnerable in relation to social forces operating since colonial and occupation times cannot readily utilize the potential of responses theoretically at their disposal.

III.

LABOUR AND WEALTH IN A DEPENDENT CONTEXT

Caribbean countries, with the exception of Cuba, have evolved gradually from colonization or occupation to their present status. Many of the characteristics of colonial or occupation times are still prevalent in their socio-economic structures and condition their alternatives for social development. There have been no cases of noticeable economic dynamism. Growth derives from the exploitation of new mineral products or from favourable modifications in the prices of traditional exports. No very significant change has been observed in the predominance of external trade, in the set of traditional buyers and suppliers, nor in the volume and value of intra-Caribbean exchanges.

Manufactures and assembly plants have multiplied. Enclave industries are making use of cheap labour. Tourism continues to expand, most of the time through foreign investment, and in certain cases to the detriment of land-ownership by locals. Inter-sectoral and inter-industrial relationships have not become significantly more integrated; fragmentation and extroversion of the productive apparatus continue to characterize the economy, together with their correlative underemployment of available manpower.

In countries where national governments are rich enough or possess the necessary political strength, public enterprises have been created in key infrastructures and energy-based branches. Nonetheless, in spite of the gradual formation of a rather large group of technocrats skilful in the management of public investments, the entrepreneurial activity of the state has not overcome the obstacles to an inward-oriented and self-propelled development.

Public administration and private management of Caribbean economic resources are still closely framed by parameters located in the international scenery and operated by local groups. This

is reflected in the structure of external trade. In 1974, the value of total external trade was estimated at approximately US\$11143 million, while the gross domestic product for the same year totalled US\$6339.2 million.^{3/} Intra-regional trade, which is more intense among the CARICOM countries,^{4/} has not exceeded 8% of the external trade of these countries. Data for Haiti show that its trade with the Caribbean is minimal, not exceeding US\$0.4 million in 1974, but covers a wider Caribbean market than the Dominican Republic which has only traded with two CARICOM countries: Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. (See Table I).

^{3/} Figures are derived from data provided for 1974. Economic Activity - 1977 - in Caribbean Countries (CEPAL/CARIB 78/4). The figures refer to all countries of CARICOM plus Bahamas and Suriname.

^{4/} Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) Intra-regional Trade, i.e. Trade among the West Indies Associated States (Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent), Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada and Belize.

Table I

Caribbean Countries:^{1/}
Intra-Regional Trade

Country	I M P O R T S (US\$Mill.)					
	1970	% ^{2/}	1973	% ^{2/}	1974	% ^{2/}
Barbados	13.5		21.8		35.2	
Belize	2.4		3.6		3.7	
Grenada	5.0		5.9		5.7	
Guyana	18.9		38.7		67.3	
Jamaica	9.1		35.3		71.5	
Trinidad and Tobago	13.4		20.5		30.1	
West Indies Associated States	19.3		25.1		33.8	
Total CARICOM	<u>81.6</u>	5.5	<u>150.9</u>	7.4	<u>247.3</u>	7.1
Dominican Republic ^{3/}	1.7		2.6		n.a.	
Haiti ^{4/}	0.3		0.2		0.4	
Grand Total	<u>83.6</u>	4.6	<u>153.7</u>	6.1	<u>247.7</u>	6.8

^{1/} CARICOM Countries, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

^{2/} Percentage of total imports.

^{3/} Figures for Dominican Republic represent imports from the only CARICOM countries with which a trade relationship exists, i.e. Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

^{4/} Figures for Haiti represent only imports from CARICOM countries and cover the periods 1970/71, 1972/73, and 1973/74.

Sources: Economic Activity - 1977 - in Caribbean Countries
(CEPAL/CARIB 78/4).

Dossier de candidature. Soumis à la Communauté et au
Marché Commun des Caraïbes - Government of Haiti
(CEPAL-March 1976).

UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1976
Vol. I, Trade by Country. United Nations Publication,
Sales No. E.77.XVII.14, Vol.1.

The pattern of external trade is indicative of the region's outward orientation. The sub-region tends not to produce in connection with its own demand, and to consume according to external supply. The reality of this is stark when one refers to the alarming increase in food-import bills. Data for CDCC countries reveal that between 1965 and 1970 the food-import bill increased by approximately 60% and between 1965 and 1971 by 83%. (See Table II).

Table II

Caribbean Countries:^{1/}
Total Imports, Food Imports and Relative
Contribution of Food Imports to Total Imports
1965 and 1970-71
(EC\$Mill.)

	<u>1965</u> ^{2/}	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total Imports	3,361	6,684	7,769
Food Imports	641	1,034	1,172
Percentage Food Imports as percentage of Total Imports	19.1	15.5	15.1

^{1/} CDCC Countries - Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname.

^{2/} No data available for Haiti.

Source: CEPAL/POS 76/5 - Agricultural Statistics of the Caribbean Countries 1976.

Distribution of income in the region is generally weighted towards the services offered in public and private administration and management. The qualitative and quantitative importance of white-collar and other non-manual occupations therefore remains significant. The proportion of white-collar in the total of paid employees is indicative of the

persistence in this prevalence of administration and management over productive activities. Data available for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago show that 52% and 43% respectively of paid employees are non-manual. In other cases, published tables do not allow this distinction. The total number of non-manual workers, paid or otherwise, represents 30% in St. Lucia, 34% in Grenada, and 48% in Barbados, for example. (See Table III).

Table III

Number and Proportion of Non-Manual
and Manual Workers in Selected Territories

Country	Non-Manual (white-collar and service)	Manual	Other	Total Number
Barbados	48%	50%	2%	82,486
Grenada	34%	64%	2%	25,799
Jamaica	52%	48%	n.a.	424,600
Trinidad and Tobago	43%	57%	n.a.	369,600
St. Lucia	30%	68%	2%	26,068

Sources: Jamaica: Labour Force 1976, Department of Statistics.
Trinidad and Tobago: Labour Force, CSSP. Publication
No. 36, Central Statistical Office.
University of the West Indies: 1970 Population Census
of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 4, 1976, Economic
Activity Census Research Programme.

The proportion of the labour force absorbed by the primary sector is relatively high. The proportion of the labour force working in the agricultural sector in comparison to those employed in the

overall economy varies from one country to another. It ranges from 16.3% in Trinidad and Tobago to 35.6% in the ECCM countries. The proportion for Jamaica is 34.1%(1970). (See Table IV).

Table IV

Employment Structure by Country: 1960 and 1970

Country	Year	Total Employ- ment	Agri-	Industry	Services
			culture		
			%	%	%
Barbados	1960	84.6	27.0	36.6	36.4
	1970	84.6	17.9	28.6	53.5
Guyana	1960	160.3	37.1	28.6	34.3
	1970	159.4	29.6	25.7	44.7
Jamaica	1960	569.7	40.4	23.9	35.7
	1970	495.8	34.1	24.6	41.3
Trinidad and Tobago	1960	259.9	21.6	29.7	48.7
	1970	232.2	16.3	31.9	51.8
ECCM Countries ^{1/}	1960	121.0	48.0	22.6	29.4
	1970	109.7	35.6	22.7	41.7
Total Region	1960	1,195.5	35.7	26.6	37.7
	1970	1,081.7	28.5	26.4	45.1

^{1/} The East Caribbean Common Market (ECCM) countries included are: St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis.

Source: N. Abdulah, The Labour Force in the Commonwealth Caribbean: A Statistical Analysis, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Institute of Social and Economic Research. 1977.

Patterns of agricultural production which have evolved in the sub-region are the result of forms of adaptation to the historically persistent monopolization of land resources.

Recent census data and agricultural statistics show that there is a high percentage of agricultural exploitations covering less than 5 acres each. These occupy only a minimal amount of cultivated land, while exploitations of 500 acres and above are very few in number but cover extensive areas of cultivated land. The trend is consistent throughout. The data for the English-speaking Caribbean illustrates that holdings of 5 acres and less represent between 75% (Dominica) and 89% (Barbados) of the total number of holdings, yet these units occupy approximately 15% of all cultivated land. The situation is similar in Haiti in which holdings of 6 acres and less occupy 25% of the cultivated land and represent 89% of the total number of holdings. (See Table V).

Table V

Agricultural Exploitation Units:
Size and Percentage of Cultivated Land

Country	Percentage of All Farms		Percentage of Farmland	
	Less than 5 acres	Over 500 acres	Less than 5 acres	Over 500 acres
Antigua	91.1	0.3	26.7	42.2
Barbados	98.3	0.2	13.4	31.3
Dominica	75.2	0.3	13.2	32.2
Grenada	89.7	0.1	23.9	15.0
Guyana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Haiti ^{1/}	89.0	n.a.	25.0	n.a.
Jamaica	78.6	0.2	14.9	44.9
Montserrat	92.7	0.7	n.a.	n.a.
St. Kitts	94.5	0.4	15.0	56.6
St. Lucia	82.5	0.2	18.0	33.8
St. Vincent	89.0	0.1	27.0	24.2
Trinidad and Tobago	46.5	0.3	6.9	31.1

^{1/} Less than 6 acres.

Sources: CEPAL/POS 76/5, Agricultural Statistics of Caribbean Countries 1976.

Caribbean Economy, Editor-George Beckford, University of the West Indies, ISER Publication 1975.

With the persistent concentration of available land resources in very few hands, the basic arrangements for agricultural production has remained relatively unchanged. Several organizational modifications have taken place, but they do not seem to favour an increase in employment nor a more equilibrated distribution of income. While multi-crop subsistence agriculture, production of staple commodities for local markets, and production of export commodities by small landholders, are progressing and intermingling, one does not observe the emergence of a strata of small independent farmers among the original group of self-employed agricultural workers.

On the contrary, available data seem to indicate a serious stagnation in the situation of inward-oriented agricultural ventures. The Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean (January-April 1966), states in relation to Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands:

"At present agriculture is almost entirely orientated towards the production of export crops. There is a highly organized institutional framework serving these crops, while nothing comparable exists for foodcrops and livestock. The most critical deficiency in this field is normally in the marketing arrangements in sharp contrast to the export crops, which are usually also supported by schemes supplying fertilizers, spraying, research, extension services and credit facilities. Foodcrops receive little or none of this type of support." 5/

In Montserrat, the same report registers an interesting involution: from hired labour which followed emancipation to sharecropping systems, which gave place during the 1950's to cultivation on plots rented for short periods. It is rather common to observe the resurgence of new

5/ G.V. Doxey et al., Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean, January-April 1966 - Summary of the Report.

forms of plantation, through disguised dislocation of the original productive unit and effective control of the marketing processes. In certain countries, monopoly in the marketing of the export staple allows the transference of all operation risks to a myriad of apparently independent and autonomous producers, who become in fact 'salaried workers providing for their own salary'. The situation in St. Lucia is a case in point.^{6/}

In other areas, rural labour force has been involved in a variety of economic practices which brought them sometimes during one single day from one type of organization to another: from typically self-subsistence peasant economy, to family exploitation linked with the national market, and to salaried work on plantations (or in urban trades). Each member of this segment of the labour force combines economic behaviours corresponding to different models of production. Such cases have been studied in Jamaica and

^{6/} A report prepared for the Caribbean Development Bank registers in the case of St. Lucia, for example: "It is clear that this sector (small-farm sector) operates not simply at a distinct disadvantage but at the mercy of the estate sector, in terms of the availability of land, capital, farm inputs such as fertiliser and irrigation facilities, and infrastructural facilities such as roads. (...) Given the long history of exploitation and of poverty within the small farm sector, the current exodus from Agriculture in general and Bananas in particular, it is not surprising. (...) It can be said that this decline is to be explained (at least immediately) by the poor marketing arrangements, low returns in relation to costs, communication gaps and blockage in the relationship of the small farmer to Geest Industries and the Banana Association, and finally the powerlessness (real and perceived) of the small farmer vis-a-vis the above two organisations."

Small Farming Study in the Less Developed Member Territories of the Caribbean Development Bank, by Weir's Agricultural Consulting Services Limited, Jamaica, Vol.I(a), Country Reports. pp.76-77. Edited by the Caribbean Development Bank.

Barbados,^{7/} and are common in most countries.

One also observes on a same piece of land, combinations of different economic organizations operated by distinctly different entrepreneurs. In certain flat lands of Haiti, planters would establish sharecropping contracts with independent peasants, if they agree to produce sweet potatoes. The furrows which separate the beds prepared for receiving the stems of sweet potatoes are utilized by the planters to plant sugar-cane shoots.^{8/}

^{7/} "A functioning peasantry, in any rigorous sense of the term, does not exist in contemporary Jamaica and perhaps never existed in the past. Over the years, following Emancipation, large numbers of poor, rural Jamaicans found it necessary to combine several economic activities in order to subsist. Affected by the insecurities of own-account cultivation on minuscule, sub-standard fields, by the labor demands of plantation and large farms, and by the irregularity of other wage employment, these people developed a way of life based on a system of occupational multiplicity which maximizes as well as protects their limited economic opportunities and which in turn influences the nature of their social alignments and organizations." L. Comitas pp.163-169.

In the case of a Barbadian community, one reads in J. Handler: "Aside from small-scale cane farming, many people are likewise engaged in other cash-producing activities, including the raising of income-producing livestock (...) the cultivation of minor cash crops, wage labor on the lands of other small farmers, and even occasional employment in the village's small pottery industry. People also follow a number of other occupational pursuits, some of them are not directly associated with land use. (...) Chalky Mount is a community consisting neither of a landless rural proletariat nor of a peasantry." J. Handler, pp.97-98.

^{8/} Serge Larose, L'Exploitation Agricole en Haiti, Guide d'Etude, Martinique, Centre de recherches Caraïbes de l'Université de Montréal 1976.

These examples, as well as the fact that large proportions of paid employees are non-manual workers, stress the need to investigate forms of absorption of the labour force which escapes the institutional mechanisms which rule salaried relationships and collective bargaining. The demand for manpower in the Caribbean is satisfied through channels located beyond the reach of the institutions designed to ensure some form of income distribution. Vulnerability of agricultural entrepreneurs in relation to external and outward-oriented socio-economic forces is worsened on the one hand by the availability of agricultural products originating in industrialized countries, and on the other hand, by natural disasters such as droughts, inundations and hurricanes. The economic geography of the Caribbean is becoming increasingly punctuated by food shortages, and recently, cases of famine have occurred in some countries.

The inherited outward-orientation of public and private administration of available resources creates a context for the development of labour relations, whereby the working population is forced to have recourse to a number of stratagems to survive. The scope of internationally accepted concepts and of traditional labour organizations does not embrace new occupational categories which have appeared. The present methods and techniques of manpower planning are not suitable to deal with the present problem of unemployment and underemployment.

The satisfaction of local needs in the Caribbean is originally met through independent own-account activities, whose purest expression is peasant forms of production. These patterns of activity with characteristic mechanisms for absorption of the labour force are not only prevalent in the countryside, but have spread to the urban areas giving rise to what is known as the informal sector. Moreover, the evolution of inward-oriented economic patterns, under the stringent conditions laid down by the asymmetric relations between developed and underdeveloped

countries, have fostered the multiplication of traditional forms of employment, and provoke the emergence of unknown relations between archaic and modern enterprises.

Nowadays, most self-employed workers are persons available for any agricultural, industrial or service activity. Their employment situation is typified by L. Comitas in the following terms:

"Affected by the insecurities of own-account cultivation on minuscule, sub-standard fields, by the labor demands of plantations and large farms, and by the irregularity of other wage employment, these people developed a way of life based on a system of occupational multiplicity which maximizes as well as protects their limited economic opportunities and which in turn influenced the nature of their social alignments and organization."^{9/}

Cases studied in Barbados by J. Handler^{10/} put into evidence that own-account activities and occupational multiplicity are intimately linked with wage labour. In other words, insufficient remuneration together with the restricted number of wage earners are stimulating the constant renaissance of traditional forms of employment and making it impossible for embracing the whole labour force in relations typical of market economies.

Further indicators reveal the disparity of employment and remuneration in the various sectors. A comparison of wages highlights not only the wage differentials by sector, but also by types of work, whether manual or non-manual. Data showing occupational skill wage indexes for the English-speaking Caribbean indicate the great disparity in some territories; the wage of a professional (accountant) is as little as three times (Jamaica) that of a manual worker or as much as twenty times (St. Kitts-Nevis) that of the latter. (See Table VI).

^{9/} L. Comitas "Occupational Multiplicity in Rural Jamaica (1964)", Work and Family Life - West Indian Perspectives, L. Comitas and D. Lowenthal, Ed. Anchor Press/Doubleday 1973, pp.163-164.

^{10/} J. Handler "Some Aspects of Work Organization on Sugar Plantations in Barbados (1965)", op. cit., pp.95-126.

Table VI

Occupational-Skill Wage Indexes: CARIFTA States 1973

Wage of General Labourer = 100

Country	General Labourer	Mechanic	Accountant
Jamaica	100	213	328
Trinidad and Tobago	100	172	589
Guyana	100	227	731
Barbados	100	174	577
MDC Mean*	100	196	530
Belize	100	158	1,167
St. Lucia	100	333	1,250
Grenada	100	299	690
St. Vincent	100	429	842
Dominica	100	259	844
Antigua	100	299	690
St. Kitts-Nevis	100	239	2,041
Montserrat	100	282	658
LDC Mean*	100	273	974
CARIFTA Mean*	100	238	772

* Unweighted

Source: ILO Report of the Preparatory Assistance Mission for vocational training in the Caribbean Region. Table 3.1. ILO Caribbean Office 1977.

The increase in the number of enclave industries and the development of extractive activities do not seem to modify the employment problem while they do accentuate the wage differentials. This disequilibrium between manual and non-manual work may well increase through their impact, since they are concomitant with the development of modern services like banking, consultancy, auditing, advertising and mass communication, and the like.

From these data, it appears that a most significant innovation has been introduced in the mechanisms for absorption of manpower. Own-account ventures being embryos of economic enterprises offer concomitantly material goods and labour services. This flexibility allows the smooth deployment of seasonal and cyclical variations in the demand for salaried labour force particularly in the agricultural sector. The correspondence of real wages received during a given period to the total amount of goods and services necessary for subsisting from one cycle to another is obviated. This increase in the alternatives of economic practices further defuse the bargaining power of manual workers by demanding their attention on different issues, apparently inconsistent one with each other, and hampering the formation of institutionalized instruments of income distribution. The unit for the analysis of the labour force became dual, which left common economic theories and labour legislation completely at a loss to understanding and regulating labour relations.*

Furthermore, separation between production units and marketing enterprises gives to the last ones a favourable position to protect their rate of returns. The persistent predominance of commercialization not only increases the precariousness of productive activities so polarized, it also influences the mean rate of profit capable of attracting local investments as well as the level of risks an entrepreneur is ready to face. Lucrative activities become those which offer rates of return and security similar to those of commerce. Long-term projects, capable of modifying national

productive structures are not attractive to private enterprises, and the state machinery becomes the instrument responsible for a change in the economic environment.

Since stable and well-paid employment is to be found among white-collar workers involved in public and private administration and management, industrial ventures which aim at servicing the local market are geared towards satisfying the white-collar sector of the labour force, which controls the core of the local purchasing power. A structural impediment to the multiplication of productive employment geared towards satisfying local needs arises then from the total income distributed to the white-collar sector of the labour force. The amount of money earmarked for payment of wages in inward-oriented productive sectors must be less than the total income of white-collar workers, less the profit of these enterprises and the money transferred to foreign-based owners of patents and technologies.

So even in cases of state-owned enterprises geared toward the local consumers, there is a limit to their absorption of the available labour force. An excess of monetary resources owned by the state and managed by governments cannot easily be invested in productive ventures, without disrupting the whole scale of salaries and jeopardizing the outward-oriented activities, which sustain daily socio-economic practices. Excess of state-owned monetary resources calls under the present circumstances for an extension in the social services, i.e. a further increase in the service sector.

The mechanisms which concentrate most of the income distributed within the urban areas and the subsequent difficulties to expand inward-oriented industrial activities leave then very short margins to accommodate other economic initiatives. Own-account productive activities, maintenance services, and all forms of retail trade remain, with the public services as the main channels of income distribution.

The difficulties to multiply the employment of manual workers, together with the complete lack of dynamism of own-account agriculture on the one hand, and on the other the impossibility to expand white-collar employment at a pace similar to the production of school graduates, conjugate themselves to produce an uncontrollable movement of out-migration. De-population is reaching levels quite embarrassing in the poorest countries. It is urgent to assess the number of nationals living abroad, for it seems that some countries of the area have more salaried labour force outside of their national borders, working in conditions which escape the control of national institutions. The Caribbean has partly or totally become a net exporter of both qualified and unqualified labour force.

The conditions of living of Caribbean workers outside of the country of origin is an object of concern. It is known that the bulk of Caribbean migrants is far from entering the middle strata of their host country. Yet their salaries are severed of a substantial part which is remitted to their families at home for consumption purposes. So pauperization abroad or at home is a serious threat.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the major role played in the internal economic processes by the social groups responsible for the activities of the Caribbean seaport is an indicator of the distance to be covered in an effort to meet local needs with local resources. Collective self-reliance is a formidable challenge for the sub-region. Its political and intellectual élites have emerged or strengthened themselves with accession to self-government and independence. Their search for legitimization is hampered by institutions and instruments for social dialogue inherited from recent colonization or occupation. Long-term policies aiming at social structural changes and re-orientation of economic activities are limited in their implementation due to the resistance of traditional administrative practices framed by long-standing outward-oriented relationships. On the contrary, short-term measures consistent with the dependency structures have an efficacy which indeed reproduces the segmentation and low level of cohesion within the sub-region, but offers respite in cases of conflicts and crises, while knowhow and planning for self-reliant development remain embryonic.

Within this frame, it suffices to read the CDCC Overall Work Programme to have a prospective view of the main challenges for social development during the next decade, as diagnosed by the political leadership of the sub-region. The Secretariat of the CDCC is circulating for comments by the member governments a document entitled 'Social Profile of the CDCC Work Programme (E/CEPAL/CDCC/31/Add.1)', which tries to unearth the set of changes implied in the different chapters of the Work Programme. Some aspects of the document will be summarized.

There is need to recall that the representatives of the member governments have stressed during their second session at Santo Domingo in March 1977, that horizontal co-operation, that is to say mutual assistance among the Caribbean countries, is the cornerstone of their strategy. It follows then that the greater challenge for the years to come relies on the implementation of such innovation in the art of governing underdeveloped countries. The onus for social development devolves on the governments and their ability to make the sacrifices required by both granting to and receiving assistance from neighbouring countries. Common denominators which were defined at the creation of the CDCC will have to continue to be articulated alongside the variety of political and ideological standpoints in the sub-region, and be gradually expanded.

The principal problem affecting the majority of Caribbean countries emphasized by the Committee was 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". (CDCC Work Programme). The fate of the Caribbean during the 1980's is linked to its success in mobilizing its resources and most particularly its labour force in productive ventures through "adequate institutions". It is in fact a question of reverting the whole process of extroversion and therefore the problem of bargaining power within and outside the countries.

The first chapter of the Work Programme deals with technical co-operation among the Caribbean countries, where a policy of sharing the capacities and experiences of the countries themselves is viewed as "an essential prerequisite for collective action aimed at substantive changes of mutual benefit." Preliminary steps toward implementation of this mandate have been taken with the creation of the Caribbean Documentation Centre; and other measures such as programmes for the Removal of Language Barriers, and the creation of Caribbean Councils for Science and Technology, and for Social

and Economic Development, are being studied. Scientific ideas geared toward the local circumstances should be diffused throughout the sub-region and its balkanization should gradually be cancelled. Emphasis is laid on four specific areas of prime concern in the inward-oriented development process: housing, food production, public health and education.

At this level of concreteness, difficulties arise in view of the number of specific vested interests that are affected. The same problems of compatibilization among the Caribbean governments alluded to earlier has to be solved in each case, which clearly means that it has to be tackled at the level of the society at large. In the 1980's the Caribbean has to become the basic frame of reference of the populations. Advances in this direction are noticeable among countries which have been occupied by the same colonial powers. The challenge consists in crossing these traditional boundaries.

The set of modifications aimed at in the agricultural economy of the sub-region implies active participation of the rural populations in the development process. Taking into account the traditional position of the countryside dwellers within the Caribbean societies, social mobilization of that strata seems far more difficult to achieve than any other goal. Governments will not be able to enlarge the span of measures favourable to the rural populations without profound changes in the ideological structures of the sub-region. Institutions and attitudes inherited from colonial and occupation times conceived of the non-urbanites as ignorant or irrational human beings. Discrimination against the countryside adults is not perceived as an issue, such is the prevalence of these outward-oriented ideologies. To destroy the paternalistic approach and to infuse into the national societies respect for the rural populations - incidentally, the bulk of the Caribbean people - and to ensure their accession to the status of valid partners for development would be a major achievement.

Beyond much needed projects of economic structural changes, such as land reform, employment, up-grading of agricultural outputs, etc., on the one hand, discrimination must cease against languages, religions, family organizations, patterns of co-operation pertaining to rural dwellers; and on the other, programmes of formal and life-long education must systematically teach to the urbanites not only the validity of rural standpoints, but the very existence of such standpoints. Before the end of this century, reciprocal exchanges of ideas between the two segments of Caribbean societies, and communication between the different peasantries of the sub-region, must materialize if development is to be achieved at all.

The goals set up for the industrial sector - a substantial manufacturing growth, correction of external disequilibrium through import-substitution, and sub-regional trade - call for re-allocation of social groups traditionally involved in other activities like commerce and speculation. A renewal in the Caribbean economic élites is in sight, and the role played by the state as an entrepreneur is not unrelated with the corresponding trends which will have to be accelerated. Parallel with this, several modifications will affect the labour market and most particularly the remuneration of manual workers, if the purchasing power of the population is to evolve along with industrial development.

Maritime transportation and exploitation of marine resources are another important area where innovations in social relations will have to be faced. Fishermen and seamen in general constitute one of the most deprived strata in the sub-region. Betterment in their living and working conditions, as well as up-grading their skills ought to take place during the next decade. Implementation of a Caribbean-wide policy of development is not conceivable without their involvement.

In the international scenery, the constituent documents of the CDCC refer to four different contexts within which the patterns of social relations entertained by the member countries will be re-oriented and intensified. The Committee's work programme is compatible with common interests pursued by -

- (1) the developing countries in general;
- (2) Latin American countries, with special attention on relations with countries in the sphere of action of the CEPAL Offices in Mexico and Bogota;
- (3) Caribbean countries, with special attention on relations with less-developed countries affected by their limited population and territory; and
- (4) due consideration will be given to the diversity of situations within the countries themselves.

New terms of social negotiations are necessary to modify the weight granted in international relations to the traditional partners of the Caribbean, and to curb asymmetric processes of development within any given country. The negotiations of the CDCC member states with others and the negotiations between the integrants of each member state, translated into policy formulations and political activities implied in the work programme, are based on the awareness of specific interests and the sharing of knowledge, norms and values by the population at large. Social cohesion within the Caribbean determines the orientation of governmental activities and the extent to which advancement is feasible. Significant changes in the traditional system of international loyalties have to be accompanied by the emergence of self-reliant citizens capable of supporting national foreign policies.

In their present state, Caribbean social sciences would never be able to meet these challenges. The next decade should witness a complete reform in these sciences. Research will have to unearth the rationale of the local forms of living, and teaching be subject

to relevant findings on the local societies. Progress has to be made in the study of the labour force and manpower planning; the role of women in development; migration and other population trends have to be clarified. Moreover, the social scientists will face the need for finding for themselves a proper place in the Caribbean societies, controlling thus, their own out-migration process.

The educational system has been the main vehicle of cultural dependency. The years to come will reap the results of on-going efforts aiming at enhancing the relevance of formal education to the specificity of the sub-region. Conflicts may arise with the mass media if the approved CDCC Work Programme of Life-Long Education is not implemented. It comprises, presently, proposals for a Caribbean-wide production of printed and audio-visual materials, and the creation of a sub-regional network of centres for cultural retrieval and animation, which would contribute to the process of mobilization and participation by the mass of the population. The main avenues and instruments of dialogue should exist then during the next decade, and hopefully less obstacles should stand in the way of social mobilization and cohesion. The urgency for a greater involvement of the populations in the series of issues raised by the Committee will probably provoke a higher rate of expansion in life-long education as compared to formal education.

The use of local languages for discussing and negotiating local problems could be institutionalized during the next decade and the problem of teaching official languages as second languages solved. Retrieval of oral literature will assist in the fight against illiteracy and the mass media will have to consider a re-orientation of their messages in view of the formidable increase in their audience. The capability of the countries to harness their potential to combat cultural dependency will be a major issue of the ideological conflicts to come. There will be need to create adequate institutions to prepare the countries for these ideological conflicts.

Some Implications for CEPAL

Since the basic policy strategy of the Committee, in its capacity as a subsidiary body of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) is based on horizontal co-operation, the challenges faced by the Commission in fulfilling its Secretariat role, have to be considered a major issue in the social development of the Caribbean. New functions are added to the traditional duties of the international civil service and the ability of the Commission to adjust its structure to these demands will be tested during the next decade.

The Work Programme of the Committee spans all the major development sectors, and the Secretariat is not primarily requested to elaborate policy studies, but to foster the collaboration of existing local institutions in policy formulation and implementation.

The main responsibility of the CEPAL Office for the Caribbean as the focal point within CEPAL for the co-ordination and implementation of the Committee's Work Programme, is to ensure that the contribution of the United Nations system as a whole to the CDCC Work Programme is progressively strengthened and systematized. The role of the Commission together with the other components of the UN family of organizations is a catalytic one. Their contribution should be viewed as part of the expanded effort being sought from the system in support of Technical Co-operation among Development Countries (TCDC) and Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries (ECDC) programmes, and within the policy framework set by the General Assembly in its Resolution 32/197 on restructuring, particularly its guidelines concerning the strengthening of inter-agency co-operation and co-ordination at the regional and sub-regional levels.

Since the Committee's inception, constant consultations and contacts have been maintained between the Office's sectoral staff and agencies' technical personnel, both at headquarters and in the sub-region. These contacts, particularly when established at the initial stages of programme formulation, have been instrumental in ensuring that duplication was avoided and that appropriate use was made of available facilities and expertise, and in securing the active collaboration of specialized agencies in several CDCC projects, particularly the many feasibility and other studies which have characterized and the first three years of the Committee's work.

The implementation of the CDCC Work Programme is now entering a new and more operationally oriented phase. During this phase, activities in support of the work programme will have to be greatly expanded and the agencies' inputs as well as their financing placed on a firmer and more secure basis than heretofore. This will require more systematic co-operative arrangements with organizations at the programming and inter-agency levels and the search for innovative mechanisms of collaboration.

The governing bodies of the United Nations have already approved new resources to assist the Commission in this endeavour. Nonetheless, much of the resources foreseen to stimulate the implementation of Caribbean development are already on board. The crux is how to harness and co-ordinate the governments' participation in the concrete day-to-day implementation of their sub-regional objectives.

On the one hand, the international civil servant will have an increased exposure to the political bargaining among member governments and between them and foreign states. Each individual staff member of the Secretariat will then fulfil his duties in constant awareness of the evolution of the institutionalized compromise which defines the Committee.

On the other hand, since the Secretariat cannot operate independently from the local resources, the achievements of individual staff members in any specialized field, imply an understanding of the rationale of the whole Caribbean context and an integrated approach to development has to be translated into practical work.

It follows that the Secretariat's role during the next decade will have to be reflected in its effort to progress, not towards a given image of the future Caribbean society, but toward a given mechanism of consultation, in which it is granted an obviously modest, even though important, role. CEPAL's role is to enlarge the range of feasible actions, which the governments themselves will implement. It is therefore asked of the Commission and of the UN family of organizations in general, to be during the 1980's, as effective and inconspicuous as they can be, if they are to effectively assist in the social development process of the Caribbean.

