

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

FJM-13 Trinidad and Tobago.

Doctor Politics: Eric Williams and the P.N.M.

Chaconia Inn,
Saddle Road,
Maraval,
Trinidad, W.I.

July 15, 1969.

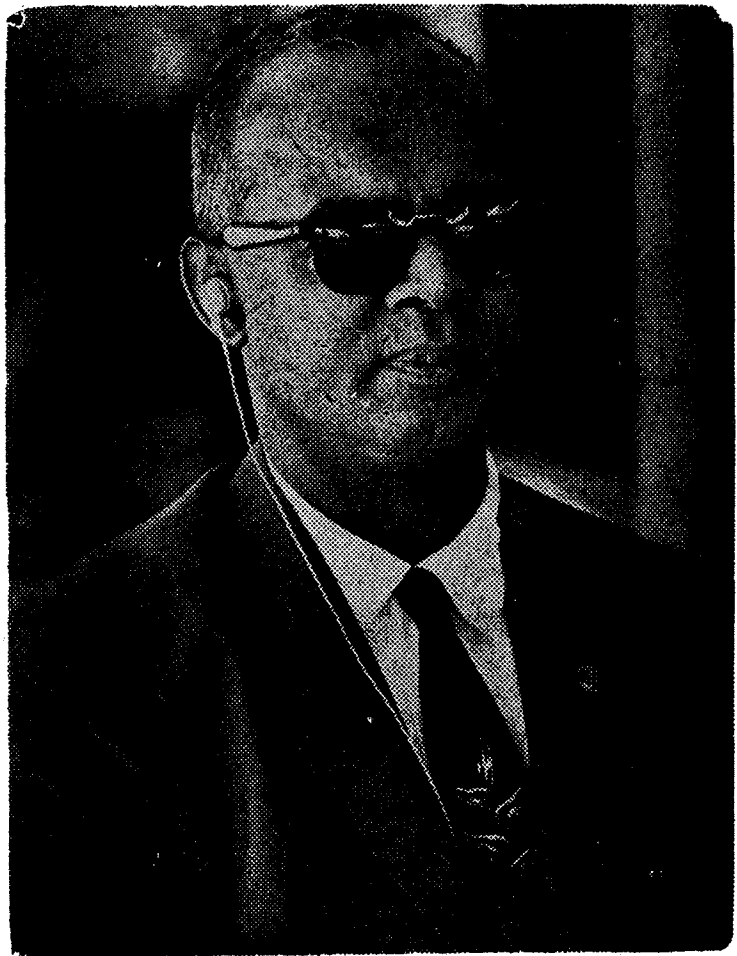
Mr. Richard Nolte,
Executive Director,
Institute of Current World Affairs,
535, Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10017.
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Nolte,

Trinidad is an 1800 square mile island mini-state, the most southern of a chain of Caribbean islands strung between the southern tip of Florida and the northern coast of South America. Seven miles separate Trinidad's west coast from the mainland of Venezuela; and due north, Grenada is ninety miles away.

Tobago, a few miles off the north east coast, is Trinidad's sister island, and together they form a single nation of just over a million people. The Tobagonians have close ties with Trinidad, although there is some agitation for secession which does not get much local support. In truth, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago have made substantial efforts to develop the infrastructure of the smaller partner.

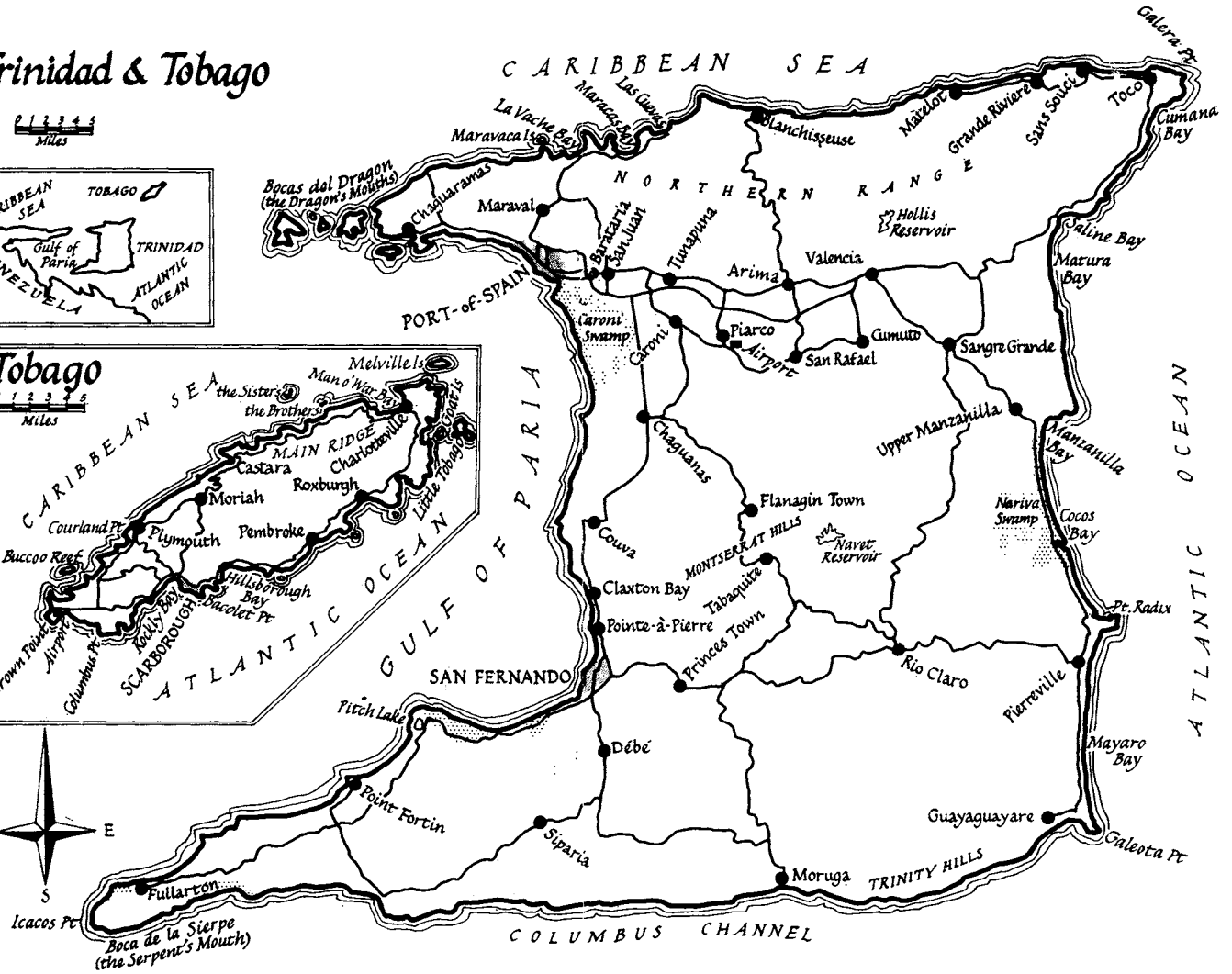
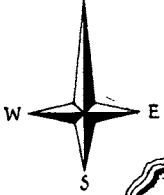
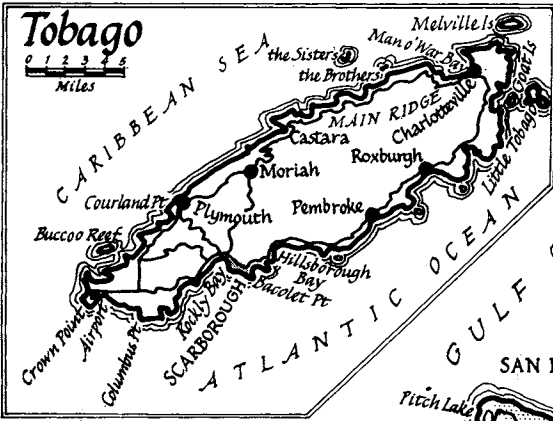
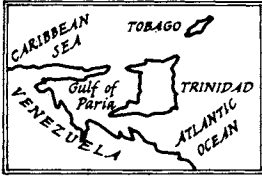
The people of Trinidad and Tobago, once British colonials, are now independent, in the normally accepted sense, and have had membership in the United Nations since 1962.



The Prime Minister, Dr. Eric Williams

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Trinidad & Tobago



The racial composition of Trinidad is extremely heterogeneous -- consisting of six ethnic groups, none of which are indigenous to the Caribbean. The negro population was first imported to Trinidad as slave labour, the East Indians as indentured labour. The French, Portuguese, English, Chinese and Syrians came as immigrants in search of new wealth or better opportunities.

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The most recent census calculates 358,588 Negroes who comprise 43% of the population; East Indians number 311,946 or 37%; a mixed population (an official census category which recognizes the racial 'mix' of many Trinidadians) numbers 134,946 or 16% of the population. The remaining three categories include White (English, Portuguese and French 15,718 or 2%); Chinese (8,361 or 1%); and Syrian (2,000 or 0.2%). It is also important to know that soon the Indian population will be numerically even with the Negro since the Indians are reproducing at a faster rate. This has political consequences which will be noted in FJM-14.

Generally speaking, for historical reasons, the Negro is an urban oriented individual who is a professional man (lawyer, teacher or doctor) or a worker in the industries and urban, business sector of the economy. The Indian, however, lives for the most part in the rural areas and works the land. The whites tend to occupy the top posts of business management, while the Chinese and Syrians have traditionally owned and operated the small but critical shops in the larger cities - Port of Spain and San Fernando.

These, of course, are stereotypes and such characteristics will change, particularly the functional role of the whites. Yet these factors are important in the political life of Trinidad, for development of one sector of the economy to the neglect of another usually produces racial divisions which are eventually reflected at the polls.

Essentially, the economy of Trinidad is based on oil and sugar. There are three major refineries which handle both local and imported crude oil, the greater part of the imported coming from Venezuela. Oil accounts for 30% of government revenue, 30% of G.N.P., 80% of total exports but only 5% of total employment. The Texaco refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre is the sixth largest oil refinery in the world. The ammonia-urea petrochemical complex at Point Lisas -- is the largest of its kind in the world.

Sugar is the major agricultural product of the island. There are 90,000 acres under cultivation which employ one fifth of the total labour force. Caroni Limited, a subsidiary of Tate and Lyle of Great Britain, owns 74,000 acres (Caroni presently has 52,000 acres under cultivation). Sugar accounts for fifty million dollars worth of exports which is about 10% of the country's total. Great Britain buys most of that export sugar under terms of the British Commonwealth Sugar act. Other industries include cement, textiles, soap, furniture and Angostura bitters, for which Trinidad is famous.

Tourism, outside of Carnival time (see FJM-7), is not a major aspect of the economy, although Tobago's beaches are some of the most beautiful in the Caribbean. In some respects, the government is happy that it doesn't have to depend on tourism; and from time to time, the business community, which would like to place more emphasis on tourism, charges the government with lagging in this respect.



The Docks and center of Port of Spain, Trinidad
(Courtesy, Public Relations Department, Office
of the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago)

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These, then, are the bare facts of Trinidad's international status, size, population and economic condition. The fuller story, however, begins with Dr. Eric Williams.

Dr. Eric Williams is the chain smoking, hard working, very brilliant Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. Never without his dark glasses (which symbolize his anonymity) and hearing aid (which he says "is an effective weapon against an Opposition in Parliament one can always turn it off), he is a master politician, a famous historian, a prolific writer (several books and hundreds of lectures) and an effective speaker. He is accepted as the senior statesman of the Caribbean, a possible successor to U Thant as Secretary General of the United Nations, and a leading spokesman for the people of the third world.

For the average Negro Trinidadian, Williams is "The Doc", the man who brought independence and the only leader who has the ability to "ease up" the country. The Opposition see him as "a political genius", but also as "a dictator, a tyrant who would do anything and already has to remain in power". The businessmen and for the most part the white community describe him as "someone with whom we can work the best man we could have under the circumstances". Labour leaders, at least those Williams has not somehow neutralized, call him reactionary; and the more radical ones believe that "a change must come either one way or another". Among journalists and in the University, there is strong opposition to Williams, and the phrase "Doctor Politics" is a term of derision.

Williams describes himself as a "pragmatist". His Minister of West Indian Affairs, a Muslim, derides terms such as "left" or "right" and says that Williams and the People's National Movement (Williams' party) is neither communist, nor socialist, nor capitalist. "We are pragmatists".

The use of the word is, of course, purposefully vague, allowing for maximum political and economic manoeuverability. Some call it zig-zagging. And in reality this is what Williams has done: zig-zagged through thirteen years of political and economic impasses. He has accommodated his economic nationalism when, in his judgement, he could not do without foreign capital; and he has employed political nationalism when he had to straight-arm his opposition. Aspects of this "pragmatic zig-zagging" will be outlined below and in FJM-14 and 15.

Eric Williams was one of twelve children from a lower middle class, Negro family. His father was a postal service employee, earning \$180 a month, who insisted that nevertheless his son would have the best education available. Although a Catholic, Williams was educated at non-sectarian schools -- "My father drew a distinction between religion and education" -- always placing first in the severe competition for scholarships.

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When Williams became an island scholar (there was one selected each year), he opted to read history at Oxford. In five years, he read for both his B.A. and Doctorate, writing his dissertation on the relationship between capitalism and slavery. This dissertation became the basis of a book he finally published in 1964 entitled Capitalism and Slavery. About this, Williams recounts an attempt he made to have this book published in 1939. One publisher in London told him: "Mr. Williams, are you trying to tell me that the slave trade was abolished for economic and not humanitarian reasons? I would never publish such a book, for it would be contrary to the British traditions".

From Oxford, Williams travelled to the United States and obtained an appointment to teach social sciences at Howard University. To him it was a "Negro Oxford" where the "courses were still dominated by an articulated premise that civilization was the product of the white race of the Western World". While there, Williams tried to correct that premise and organized several courses on West Indian history, African history and in effect began what we now know as Black Study programmes.

In 1948, Williams was asked to join the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, a quasi-governmental organization founded in 1942 as a result of an agreement between the British and American governments. The aim of the Commission was "to encourage and strengthen social and economic co-operation between the two governments in the Caribbean". With the Commission, Williams says he developed five major "fields of activity": research in West Indian history; lecture programmes on West Indian affairs; staff work for the Anglo-American Commission; proposals for a West Indian University; and research into colonial questions generally.

Each of these activities greatly influenced later developments in the Caribbean. Williams' research in Caribbean history resulted in several books and hundreds of lectures which would later be given for the benefit of the West Indian peoples, who, until that time, had never fully appreciated their own origins. Because of Williams' proposals for a University of the West Indies, there are now three campuses of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad. Work for the Caribbean Commission and on colonial questions in general effected significant changes in Williams himself -- so much so that after a series of clashes with the General Secretary of the Commission, Williams was dismissed from it and returned to Trinidad. All this confirmed in his own mind the conclusion, carried into politics with him: that in a crunch, the metropolitan power would always favour its own, that is, "would accept the inferiority of the national to the expatriate".

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So the Commission's loss was Trinidad's gain. Williams recounts: "On the very day on which I received notice of dismissal by the Caribbean Commission, I held my first discussion about the formation of a political party in Trinidad and Tobago." This was the P.N.M.

The P.N.M. evolved out of a series of informal, secret meetings held in the homes of friends in Port of Spain. The individuals present were, for the most part, middle class Negroes, many of them teachers, who saw in Williams a man around whom they could develop a political movement. The basic strategy "was to reach the people"; and it was decided that the Doctor would give a lecture on his relations with the Caribbean Commission in Woodford Square, the Hyde Park Corner of Port of Spain. The night was fixed: June 21, 1955.

That night there was an estimated ten thousand people in the square; and they stood attentively while Williams "took them through" a lecture of fifty-one pages. Williams began:

"I stand before you tonight, and therefore, before the people of the British West Indies, the representative of a principal, a cause, and a defeat. The principal is the principal of intellectual freedom. The cause is the cause of the West Indian people. The defeat is the defeat of the policy of appointing local men to high office."

It concluded with the famous "let down my bucket" theme:

"I was born here, and here I stay, with the people of Trinidad and Tobago, who educated me free of charge for nine years at Queens Royal College and for five years at Oxford, who have made me what I am I am going to let down my bucket where I am, right here with you in the British West Indies."

In reading that speech, Williams clearly projected himself as the offended party -- a man "morally, mentally, legally and intellectually right". His opponent in the Commission was "a snake a weak creature who trembled in every limb." This of course endeared him to the crowd in Woodford Square who appreciated his sharp tongue, his intelligence and his rebuke of the metropolitan power.

As one commentator described him, Williams' style was unique. "He had that all important quality..... which Trinidadians most highly value --- style." With his dignified bearing, his ever-present trinity of props -- hearing aid, dark glasses and cigarette drooping from his lips -- "The Doc" was a sharply etched, unique public figure".

Dr. Williams during one of his Lectures to the People of Trinidad (right). Below: Dr. Williams is acclaimed at the "University" of Woodford Square, as he walks to the stand to address a PNM election victory December 1961. (Courtesy: Trinidad Guardian)



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Williams and his group continued to organize these lectures, which continued into January of 1956. They were repeated all over Trinidad while the crowds turned out in the thousands to attend what later became known as "The University of Woodford Square". This use of an educational framework was intentional on Williams' part:

"The lectures were based on the strategy that if war was a continuation of politics by other means, politics for me was a continuation of education by other means ... The University of Woodford Square has for the past twelve years been a center of free university education for the masses, of political analysis and of training in self-government for parallels of which we must go back to the city state of ancient Athens. The lectures have been university dishes served with political sauce. They have given the people of Trinidad a vision and a perspective; an understanding of their own problems in the context of a larger world of which they form only a small part; and they have reinforced their own aspirations by placing them in the context of a world struggle, past and present, for human freedom and for colonial emancipation. They have taught the people, what one French writer of the eighteenth century saw as the greatest danger, that they have a mind."

Many of the lectures were university lectures. One example was a lecture on race relations in the Caribbean. It began with Greek and Medieval conceptions of race and went through Hume, Jefferson, Las Casas, Froude, Kingsly, Lord Olivier, and Jose Marti to the present. Even Pericles came to Woodford Square:

"The P.N.M. will hold up to you the ideal of the ancient democracy of Athens which, limited though it was by slavery and the subordination of women, still represents one of the greatest achievements of man ... I leave you tonight with a tribute to this small democratic state handed down to us in one of the simplest and yet profound historical documents, the funeral oration of Pericles..."

By January of 1956, Williams and the P.N.M. had decided to contest the general elections to be held in September of that year. They held an Inaugural Party Conference in January and announced their "Peoples Charter" which had to significant demands. In it, they called for "immediate self-government" and then proposed that Trinidad support the establishment of a new, West Indies Federation.



The PNM: In Parliament, Eric Williams and his PNM representatives listen to Karl Hudson-Phillips (PNM) as he addresses the Speaker of the House. Hudson-Phillips is one of the PNM's younger and brighter leaders.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT

ELECTION MANIFESTO

General Elections -- September 24, 1956

VOTERS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO:

You have had six years of

- CORRUPTION
 - MISGOVERNMENT
 - MALADMINISTRATION
 - EXTRAVAGANCE
 - IGNORANCE
 - INEFFICIENCY
 - INDIVIDUALISM
 - PARTY ACROBATICS
- in Public Affairs

We know you are tired of the mess, therefore you must vote

**P olitical Education
N ationhood
M orality in Public Affairs**

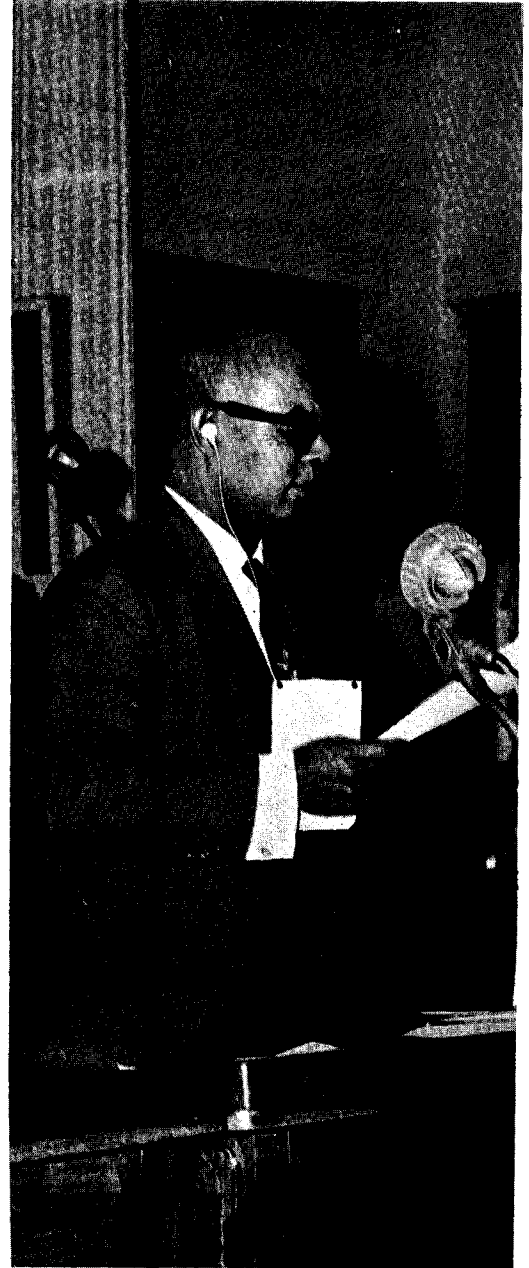
PNM is *THE ONLY PARTY* in Trinidad and Tobago which is

- ★ NATIONAL IN SCOPE
- ★ DEMOCRATIC IN STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE
- ★ DISCIPLINED IN METHODS
- ★ DEDICATED TO THE PROMOTION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE
- ★ BASED ON A CLEAR CUT PROGRAMME
- ★ PROUD TO ADMIT ITS INTELLIGENCE AND CAPACITY FOR THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT

=====
VOTE PNM

on Emancipation Day, September 24, 1956

An early PNM Manifesto and the Prime Minister today



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These two demands became the key issues in the campaign of that year, issues which were to be popularized by Williams in a marathon series of 152 lectures delivered from one end of the country to the other in just over an eight month period.

Williams was aided by an effective organization which the party mobilized -- the first of its kind in Trinidad. In some ways it was patterned on the Jamaican model with a party group, constituency group, central executive, women's league, youth league and a party newspaper, The Nation. Even today, there is no political organization so well structured and disciplined as the P.N.M. The Opposition, The Democratic Labour Party is very badly in need of re-organization.

So it was a personal triumph for Dr. Eric Williams when, in September of 1956, the day before his fortieth birthday, he and the P.N.M. carried thirteen of the Legislature's twenty four seats -- a total victory when considering the fact that there were nine other parties contending in the same general election, and that the P.N.M. obtained thirty eight percent of the total popular vote.

As for the two campaign pledges --- independence and federation --- the first came six years later, when at midnight, on August 31st 1962, the Union Jack was lowered and the red and black flag of independent Trinidad was hoisted to the cheers of thousands of onlookers; the second was a reality for only five years, from 1956 until 1961, when the conflict between national and federal interests resulted in first Jamaica, then Trinidad's withdrawal from the now defunct West Indies Federation.

In the thirteen years since those dramatic elections of 1956, Williams and the P.N.M. have had several crisis, fought many political battles, had many successes and a few failures. The successes are recounted often. For the most part, the failures have been well hidden and are mostly forgotten.

In thirteen years' time Williams has never lost an election. He has quietly neutralized potential enemies and eliminated his real ones. He and his economic advisors have drafted and written three Five Year Plans and delivered thirteen budgets. Williams himself has visited every secondary school in the country and most of the hundreds of villages in what he describes as "Meet The People Tours". Right now, he has embarked on a "Meet The Farmers Tour" since agriculture has become this year's development theme.

Throughout these years, the P.N.M. has retained a strong hold over the country. There have been three general elections since 1956 -- the last in 1966 -- and Williams' government still holds two thirds of the House. The Opposition is thoroughly demoralised, so much so that in the most recent debate over the third Five Year Plan, Williams referred to them as "that spectacle over there".



Flag Goes Up: April 1960. The Flag of Trinidad is hoisted by Eric Williams in Woodford Square following his speech on the issue of Chaguaramus in which he demanded the return of the American base to the people of Trinidad (Courtesy of the Trinidadian Guardian)

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For the most part, the top leadership positions in the P.N.M. have remained as they were in 1956. There have been some changes, several shifts and a few resignations; but on the whole, those men who met with Williams during the early months of the party's formation may still be found in influential positions today. Many are in the Cabinet, and those that are not might be found in the Senate.

The consequences, therefore, are tendencies toward oligarchy. Thirteen years of power, the complete disintegration of the Opposition and the personality of Eric Williams himself have re-enforced this tendency to the point where Williams and perhaps one or two individuals (never the same two since the Prime Minister has never allowed any one advisor to have too much influence) make most of the policy decisions.

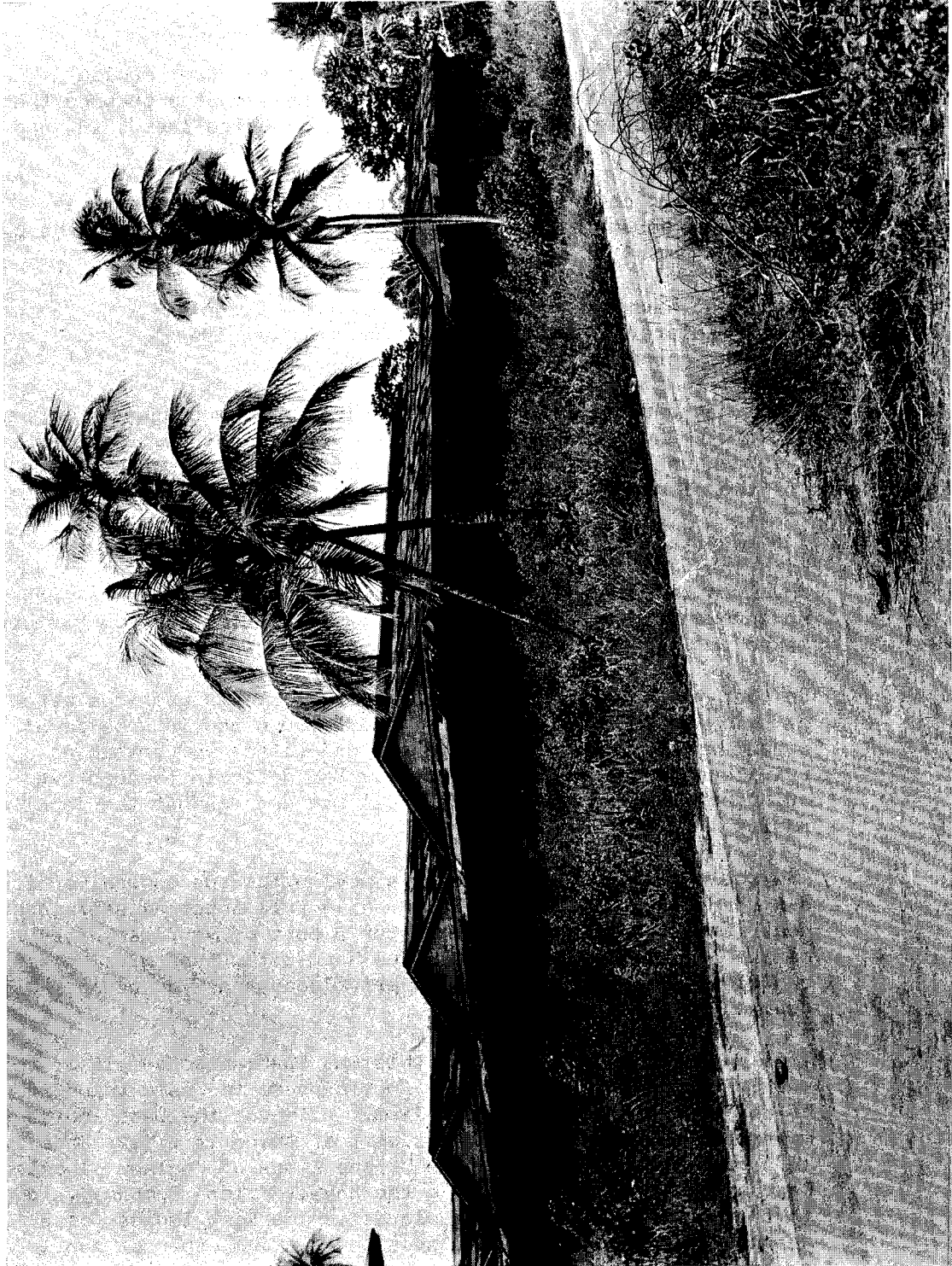
The most recent example of this was when Williams, in England last week, announced that Trinidad may take on the responsibility for the defence and foreign affairs of St. Vincent and Grenada. This, a major policy decision, was taken without consulting the Legislature or the Opposition and took many government officials by complete surprise.

Trying to pinpoint the political and economic ideology of Eric Williams (and by extension the P.N.M.) is a difficult task. As outlined above, the leader considers himself a "pragmatist"-- which in effect allows him, as one student of the P.N.M. interpreted, "to rise above the major interest groups of a divided society ... to rise above disputes between capital and labour, between East Indian and Negro, in order to create for the first time a secure center of elective political power with sufficient authority to arbitrate between the contending ethnic and economic factions within the country."

It might be even more helpful to examine Williams' "pragmatism" in light of four key crisis which forced him to take a position for or against those "contending ethnic and economic factions". The first of these was the issue of Chaguaramus.

Chaguaramus is a 36,772 acre land mass which is situated on the north west coast of Trinidad. In 1941, these lands were leased by Great Britain to the United States Government for 99 years in return for 50 over-age destroyers worth about \$240,000 U.S. The area became one of the largest U.S. bases in the Caribbean, originally to be used in the event Venezuela allied with the Germans and later used as a tracking station in the cold war during the fifties.

When Eric Williams came to power, he reviewed the agreement and initiated a campaign for its return to the government of Trinidad, a campaign which began in 1957 and brought upon him all the pressures the Pentagon and the U.K. government could muster. Williams says today: ".....the U.S. Government was prepared to exert pressure on the West Indian Governments as well as on the British Government. Their attitude indicated that American Service interests were put first, second and last with disregard of West Indian political conditions, constitutions and outlook."



Chaguaramus Today

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There was also "hostility from a section of the press and from public opinion, both in the West Indies and the United States, on the grounds that the request for the release of Chaguaramus would antagonise the U.S.A. and scare US capital away".

As the issue grew, commissions were formed, delays and pressures developed and Williams became more nationalistic, taking his case to the people. Chaguaramus became a symbol of colonialism:

"I did not have the honour of becoming the Queen's Chief Minister of Trinidad and Tobago to preside over the perpetuation of Colonialism".

So Williams began what one critic called "pin-pricking with Chaguaramus morning, Chaguaramus noon and Chaguaramus night". In one of his most famous speeches, delivered in Trinidad on July 17, 1959, Eric Williams addressed himself to the larger issues of the dispute. He called this speech From Slavery to Chaguaramus:

"I am just, in the course of discussion tonight, that a country with the first stirrings of self-government ... now has to be involved in extensive loss of revenue in terms of crown lands or in exemptions from customs and excise duties or from various taxes to which the local population is subject.

"So that you come in now to a territory that has been dominated by colonialism for generations, and through and international agreement about which you were not consulted, you set up a privileged class in the society ... You do it in the context of discrimination against the local man and against the local regime.

"The whole West Indian movement is moving towards control of its own affairs ... But how could you have full internal self-government if you don't have control over a part of your territory, if people are allowed to land a plane here without permission, if they can claim all sorts of economic privileges that you cannot guarantee your own population?

"This was British colonialism, this was Spanish colonialism, this was French colonialism, if the Americans do the same thing it can be defined as American colonialism. All over the West Indies this movement is breaking out. What sort of thing is this? What is so sacred about 99 years? One of the Kings of England, I believe, Charles II, gave a contract to the Royal African Company, a contract to the monopoly of supplying slaves to the West Indies for a 1,000 years. We should still be slaves today. The contract should come to an end in the year 2,663.

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"If the P.N.M. and Trinidad are today the spearhead of the nationalist movement, the smaller islands are going to run into a lot of trouble if they want to sabotage the nationalist movement in the West Indies for the sake of picking up a little aid here, there and everywhere else. We are standing on our own.

"And we state that if there is any surrender of some parts of Trinidad's soil, it cannot be justified on the basis of a colonial agreement made 18 years ago, in which we had no part at all; you cannot be self-governing if the British control your external affairs. The British control of external affairs put Chaguaramus on our neck ... And mark my words, the Trinidad flag will fly over Chaguaramus before many of us are many days older.

On March 11, 1960, Williams wrote about Chaguaramus in the P.N.M.'s party newspaper, The Nation:

"Thus it was left to the P.N.M. to raise the crucial issue of independence -- Chaguaramus. Chaguaramus means the reversal of the deal imposed on us by colonialism. Chaguaramus means reversion of our soil and resources. Chaguaramus means independence in the sphere of foreign policy. Chaguaramus represents for us an acid choice between the alternatives -- an independent nation with a will of its own or a banana republic the satellite of a foreign power. The road to independence lies through Chaguaramus.

Finally, after a series of conferences held in London and Trinidad, the United States agreed to abandon 21,000 acres, to retain and develop the remaining area until 1973, when the agreement would be reconsidered in light of the world situation at that time. If the agreement were then terminated, the Americans would withdraw by 1977. In return for use of the remaining lands, the U.S.A. agreed to pay \$30 million US toward developing a new port facility in Port of Spain, a new road system in the southern part of the island, and a new College of Arts and Science which has just been completed. This, as far as Eric Williams was concerned, was a great victory; and on February 10, 1961, in what Williams describes as "an impressive and deeply moving ceremony, the Trinidad and Tobago flag went up side by side with the American at Chaguaramus". (In FJM-15, Chaguaramus will be re-examined from another perspective.)



A demonstration by Union members against the I.S.A., Williams' move to curb strikes and therefore a threat to the Unions.

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The second significant crisis was the Industrial Stabilisation Act of March, 1965. The I.S.A., according to Williams, was a Bill to provide for the compulsory recognition of trade unions by employers, for the establishment of an "expeditious system for the settlement of trade disputes", for the regulation of prices of commodities and for the constitution of "a court to regulate matters relating to the foregoing".

Essentially it was an effort by Williams to cut down on the number of strikes which he thought were crippling the economy, while the immediate cause was a state of emergency he had declared in the sugar areas, in which, he says, "subversive elements were at work".

In defence of the Act, Williams cited that there had been 230 strikes in Trinidad from 1960 to 1964. He said the number of workers involved were 74,574 and that man-days lost amounted to 803,899. Loss of government revenue was four million dollars as a result.

Opposition and Labour Unions, particularly the oil field workers, attacked the Bill as totalitarian, for it deprived them, by law, of the right to strike once the Industrial Court had given its ruling. It was passed anyway, over the heads of the Opposition, and the Industrial Court began operating the following month.

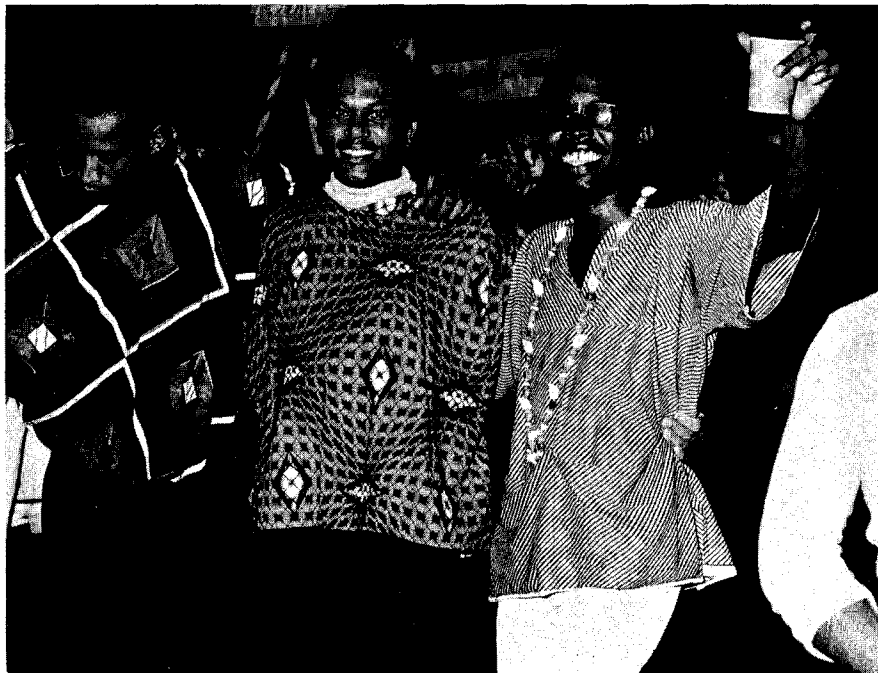
Williams and the Unions have never been reconciled over this issue. The ISA has been the source of un-ending debate in the country ever since. The controversy exploded into a full scale confrontation this year when the Transport Union workers went out on strike against the government owned Public Transport Corporation. The Industrial Court had, in the judgement of the workers, ruled unfairly, and continued what was then an illegal strike. Demonstrations began and the month of May in Port of Spain had overtones of the May uprising in Paris of a year ago. University students and professors joined the striking workers in week long, anti-government marches and protests.

The Government anxiously responded with a series of arrests and threatened to fire any worker who did not return to work. The buses began running again, the strikers returned to work and by mid-June everything was again quiet. Meanwhile the Government has promised to review the Act and make some changes in it. This could be regarded, depending on how one views it, as another victory, perhaps a temporary one, for Eric Williams.

The Third crisis was the Finance Act of 1966. This Bill was drawn up and submitted to Parliament by the Minister of Finance, Mr. A.N.R. Robinson, representative from Tobago and one of the youngest (and brightest) of the P.N.M. leaders.



A.N.R. Robinson: Former Finance Minister who attempted to legislate against loopholes in tax structure, in Parliament and in lighter moments. Robinson was, at one time, considered a popular alternative to Williams--particularly with the young and more nationalist--but he has remained loyal to the PNM after his removal from the Finance Ministry to the Ministry of External Affairs. He may be the next PNM leader after Williams departs.



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Essentially, the Finance Act of 1966 was an effort on Robinson's part to restructure what he thought to be a very porous tax system. Too many companies were repatriating their profits abroad and not enough flowing into the Trinidadian Treasury. Robinson complained that 75% of the 640 companies operating in the country were paying only \$2 million in taxes.

A corporation tax was introduced, set at 44%. A Capital gains tax and a withholding tax were also part of the same legislation -- the idea being to tax income that was made in Trinidad.

The reaction on the part of the business community was, to say the least, unsympathetic. The Chamber of Commerce blitzed Eric Williams with a series of reports put together by several consultants hired especially for that purpose. The lobby was strong, and finally succeeded in having the Act amended. Robinson was sacrificed (he had grown in popularity around the country, too popular it was said as far as Williams was concerned) and demoted to the Ministry of External Affairs, where he remains (or languishes) today. The Prime Minister himself is now in charge of the Finance portfolio.

The fourth, and most recent policy decision has been a combination of events: The Ammended Aliens (Landholding) Act of 1969 and recent expansion of government's participation in the private sector.

The amendment to the Aliens Landholding Act came as a swift government response to a foreign (English) bid to take over one of the older, larger Trinidadian firms. Within forty-eight hours of the announcement of the bid, Williams had a bill read in Parliament which made it mandatory for any alien to have government's permission to take over a local company. In this case, the Englishman was refused government permission.

Public ownership of key industries has also recently been on the increase. The latest is government's purchase of British Petroleum's assets in a local oil refinery. With this purchase of one of the three refineries in Trinidad, Williams has established the National Petroleum Company (NPC), effective July 1, 1969. This is significant when viewed in relationship to the other enterprises government also owns.

Government has half ownership of the national airline, BWIA; half ownership of the Trinidad and Tobago Telephone Company; owns the Trinidad Electrical Company, the Public Transport Corporation, the Point Lisas Deepwater Harbor Development, the Port of Spain Docks, the Hilton Hotel and soon a satellite communications system now operated by Cable and Wireless of Great Britain.

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In perspective, these four policy decisions made by Williams show him to be a nationalist over the Chaguaramus question; accommodating to the expatriate-controlled, private sector over the I.S.A. dispute; once again moving in favour of the private sector over the Finance Act of 1966; but then again nationalist in an effort to increase public ownership of the critical industries of the nation's economy. This, I presume, is "pragmatic zig-zagging".

Williams and the PNM are attempting to attract as much foreign investment as possible while still trying to retain for Trinidad a unique national identity coupled with as much domestic control over the economy as such "welcoming" policies allow. This, of course, is the aim of most states operating within the western-capitalist system. Some succeed at it better than others.

For the Caribbean mini-state, the task is much more difficult. Underdevelopment, unemployment, lack of human and material resources, over-population and a legacy of colonial rule make the economic development of the state difficult enough. Autonomy is, at times, a luxury too dear to afford.

Considering the context in which Williams has decided to operate (the world of giant, international corporations, capital markets and big power politics) he has accomplished a great deal in retaining as much autonomy for Trinidad as he has.

In the Caribbean, people like to talk about "models" of nation building. There is the Puerto Rican model: The "orthodox" economic development pattern, ideologically sympathetic to the American political and economic system, which entices development capital with such devices as "Pioneer Status", the tax haven, and above all assurances of political stability. For the mini-state, the cost is apt to be a loss of national identity. Williams and most of the other Caribbean heads of government employ one form or another of this model.

There is the Haitian model: A state with its own national identity, but so politically mis-managed and economically alienated from the rest of the Caribbean that it remains in stagnant isolation.

There is the Cuban model: The "unorthodox" economic pattern, a socialist, revolutionary state out of the capitalist orbit, sympathetic to the Soviet system, yet still basically nationalist in meeting its economic and political problems. The Cuban pattern is becoming more acceptable to many radical West Indians who are seeking a replacement for the Puerto Rican model. Eric Williams is not one of these. He refers to the Fidelistas as "middle class misfits directing guerilla bands and claiming to act in the name of farmers and workers. He thinks Castro has made "a mess" of the Cuban economy.

FJM-13.

Meanwhile, Dr. Williams is on his second tour of Europe within the space of a month. He is travelling to England, France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany in search of European businessmen who might be interested in investing in Trinidad and Tobago. Williams thinks that more balanced, international investment is better than relying on one or two countries.

What the Democratic Labour Party, the Opposition party Williams regards as "that spectacle over there" thinks about all this and what they hope to do about it, will be the subject of FJM-14. Radical alternatives to both the P.N.M. and the D.L.P. will be examined in FJM-15.

Yours,

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