

## ABSTRACT

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THE IMPACT OF LEADERSHIP ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN ST VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES UNDER EBENEZER THEODORE  
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This study examines the contributions of Joshua and Cato as government and opposition political leaders in the politics and political development of SVG. Checklist of variable of political development is used to ensure objectivity. Various theories of leadership and political development are highlighted. The researcher found that these theories cannot fully explain the conditions existing in small island nations like SVG. SVG is among the few nations which went through stages of transition from colonialism to associate statehood, to independence. This had significant effect on the people and particularly the leaders who inherited a bankrupt country with limited resources and

persistent civil disobedience. With regards to political development, the mass of the population saw this as some sort of salvation for fulfillment of their hopes and aspirations. Joshua and Cato led the country for over thirty years. In that period, they have significantly changed the country both in positive and negative directions. These leaders made promises of a better tomorrow if their followers are prepared to make sacrifices. The people obliged with sacrifices, only to become disillusioned because they have not witnessed the promised salvation. The conclusions drawn from the findings suggest that in the process of competing for political power, these leaders have created a series of social ills in SVG. Discourses and other issues are centered on personality and political party loyalty. This has stifled loyalty to the state and helped to maintain an authoritarian system.

THE IMPACT OF LEADERSHIP ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN ST VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES UNDER EBENEZER THEODORE  
JOSHUA AND ROBERT MILTON CATO

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
CDWF	Colonial Development Welfare Fund
DEVCO	Development Corporation
EC	Eastern Caribbean
FIAWU	Federated Agricultural Workers Union
MNU	Movement for National Unity
NDP	New Democratic Party
OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
PPP	People's Political Party
SIDS	Small Islands Development States
SVG	St Vincent and the Grenadines
SVLP	St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labor Party
ULP	Unity Labor Party
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
WI	West Indies

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The objective of this study is to highlight the nature of some fundamental problems of politics and political development which emerged in the small multi-island nation state of St Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG), under the leadership of Ebenezer Theodore Joshua and Robert Milton Cato. It is a descriptive and analytical investigation into the effects of their leadership on politics and political development in SVG between 1951 and 1984. A checklist of development variables which was adapted from Gordon was used to ensure objectivity of this study.

This study covered the period beginning with the emergence of these leaders on the political scene to the end of their political careers. To fully understand the leadership of Joshua and Cato, it was necessary to undertake a short exploration of the politics and political development in SVG during colonial rule in which these men emerged. There were various constitutional changes that took place under the tutelage of these leaders. It is necessary to understand these transitions because they formed the basis of the new political culture which developed after political independence. There is an analysis of the contributions or lack of contribution by these first two major political leaders of the country. It is intended to enlighten us as to why SVG has remained relatively stable compared to most of the other island nations in the region. This is despite the fact that constant political confrontation and civil disobedience has now become a regular feature

of the nation's political culture. Various reasons were given for this state of affair which does not seem to fit within the established concepts of political development. If this is the case, then there must be some unique variables that need to be investigated and highlighted to cultivate a better understanding of the politics of St Vincent and the Grenadines.

This archipelago was specifically chosen because of the writer's personal involvement in the politics and administration of the country. There are concerns over the current divergence in political machinations. These involves a daily media barrage of incitements to cultivate fragmentation, polarization, hatred, victimization, discrimination and a series of social ills. Problems have emerged such as widespread drug usage, trafficking, homelessness, and significant increases in violent crimes. The advent of nationhood and failure to satisfy the rising expectations of the masses has exacerbated tensions among the meager population, causing a shifting of attention and resources from meaningful development.

There was a minor uprising on Union Island which forms part of the St Vincent/ Grenadines chain of islands. This was blamed on neglect of the Grenadines by the mainland. This led former Premier and later Prime Minister James Mitchell to proclaim a Grenadines Declaration which is a document supporting a breakaway of the Grenadines islands from the mainland. The nation of SVG has become polarized and political activities have become centered on hostile and confrontational activities.

SVG is a member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) which is an umbrella organization for all the small Eastern Caribbean Islands. It is a member of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). It is also a sovereign

nation, member of the United Nations and member of the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) which is an ad hoc lobby and negotiating voice within the United Nations for Small Island Developing States (SIDS). This coalition of small islands and low-lying coastal countries share similar development challenges and environmental concerns. The size is a material factor in modernization; it determines various social, economic, political, and environmental outcomes. The island nation is only 150 square miles with a population of 115,000 people.

The leaders over this period of study were Ebenezer Theodore Joshua, and Robert Milton Cato. They both dominated the island nation's political stage for over a thirty year period. This period is significant because it spanned a very important era in the country's political, institutional and constitutional changes and development. This change started with the institution of universal adult suffrage, associated statehood and then independence. This era also saw the emergence of mass political parties under the leadership of Joshua and Cato. They were the first local leaders to emerge with mass followings and support. This period is also a bridge between the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Robert Milton Cato, was Chief Minister (1967-1969), Premier (1969-1972), (1974-1979) and Prime Minister (1979-1984); Ebenezer Theodore Joshua, was Chief Minister (1956-1967). These men were both pre and post-independence political leaders. They founded and established trade unions and political parties in their endeavors to displace British colonialism, the inequitable plantation and Crown Colony systems.

Most Third World countries were trying to overthrow the shackles of colonialism during this era. The worldwide anti-colonialist movement coupled with the growth of

Creole-Nationalism in the Caribbean region created a situation where the people were looking for a savior to lead them to the promise land. This hope of a savior propelled Ebenezer Joshua onto the political stage. He took advantage of the opportunity and established the People's Political Party (PPP) in 1952 after breaking away from the Eighth Army of Liberation which he thought was not radical enough. Milton Cato later emerged as the co-founder of the St Vincent and the Grenadines Labor Party (SVLP) in 1956. They led 'their parties' as unchallenged revered leaders and dominated the politics of the island while becoming household names. In time, these leaders became bitter political rivals. Nevertheless, they forged a short-lived unity alliance government to the dismay of some party supporters. This is said to have subsequently ended the political careers of Joshua and his wife. They were rejected by the same masses that had held them in veneration.

These leaders departed the political scene without cultivating any successors. This created a serious dilemma in continuity of the party. It caused "their parties" to suffer indignities at the polls and consequential demise. It also paved the way for the emergence of new parties exacerbating a situation where politics has become extremely divisive and confrontational. Despite the legalistic instruments of democratic institutions, the reality is that SVG along with the other Eastern Caribbean small island nations practice a form of democracy that is unique to the area.<sup>1</sup> Today, SVG is divided into block areas of political party support. All the constituencies in the Windward area were won by the ULP government. All the Grenadines and Kingstown constituencies were won by the NDP opposition; and the Leeward constituencies with one exception were won by the

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<sup>1</sup> Donald C. Peters, *The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press. 1992), 2.

opposition.<sup>2</sup> Very little is written about these leaders with the exception of the occasional newspaper article. Hence, this study will not only focus on the activities of these leaders, but recognize their contribution or lack of contribution to politics and political development of SVG.

Most writers on the area have mistakenly used the same models or theories which are applicable to larger entities to encompass these islands.<sup>3</sup> These are identified where necessary in the literature review. In this one size fits all approach, they have failed to take into consideration that the developments of these islands while appearing to fit within the ambit of Latin America are unique in their institutions, political culture and behavior.

Peters noted that “political independence did not bring about major political changes. Caribbean leaders have not sought to make any changes in the governmental or political systems that would reflect the pluralism of the society.”<sup>4</sup> This is an indictment of the leaders who continued the fundamental character of colonial rule which was a “top-down” system in which the colonial imperial representative, the governor, maintained a level of superiority over the inhabitants of the islands.<sup>5</sup> It was believed throughout the English-speaking Caribbean including SVG, that self-government would bring freedom, equitable distribution of wealth, prosperity, and empowerment to the local people. Hence, this expectation propelled the masses to embrace these leaders whom they hoped would

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<sup>2</sup> Sylvia Findlay, *Results of the 2010 General Election in St Vincent and the Grenadines*, (Kingstown: Electoral Office, SVG, 2010). 4

<sup>3</sup> Peters, 26,

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

satisfy their desires after independence.

There are prolonged verbal debates and confusion over the roles played by these leaders. Nothing beyond the occasional mention, blog, newspaper article, pamphlet or eulogy at their death by Kenneth John, Michael Joshua, Ralph Gonsalves or Caspar London, et al is written about the role these leaders played in guiding their country toward statehood, then independence and the dilemmas they encountered in trying to create a better future for the impatient masses.

These leaders emerged at a critical juncture in their country's development; including the expansion of governmental structures to encompass the new functions which had to be undertaken due to associated statehood. This is a semi-independent political status of internal self-government and independence. It is also necessary to take into consideration the problem of poverty in these islands, their meager available resources and the role this may have played in final outcomes. There is also the issue of how useful was their leadership in the overall development of their nation's governmental structures and political system? There is the unanswered question of whether or not their leadership had chartered their island nation on a positive course of development. Are they responsible for leaving their country polarized, corrupt and partially bankrupt, lacking essential services and infrastructure? It is also important to understand why, or at what point did their leadership faltered or progressed; thereby becoming obstacles or facilitators of developments.

The actions of these SVG leaders, their leadership roles and contributions to the island's development processes are the subject of investigation. Accordingly, one of the most important methods through which political leaders contribute toward development

is by choosing appropriate policies and programs, implementing them effectively and by creating/reviving/ adopting the required institutions for hastening the pace of development.<sup>6</sup> A final assessment is made to determine whether their contribution had a positive or negative effect on the politics and political developmental process.

Both leaders dealt with constitutional changes, strikes, civil unrest, mass demonstrations, crisis, conflict, civil disobedience, and the establishment of new governmental structures to cope with the changing constitutional forms of government. Joshua was initially involved with trying to break the stranglehold the planter class had on the country, the rising Creole nationalism and the hegemony of the British colonial masters. According to John, Cato was seen as being in complicity with the planter class and the rising elite. He even represented the planter class as their retained lawyer. Nevertheless, he offered olive branches to the masses.<sup>7</sup>

These interesting variables have heightened the interest in wanting to undertake a formal study of Robert Milton Cato and Ebenezer Theodore Joshua for whom I had worked and who were the first two local leaders to guide these islands from colonialism to associated statehood, through independence. These leaders had the best opportunity to fashion the political development of SVG seeing that they were practically unchallenged and were both in and out of power for over thirty years.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ralph Gonsalves, *Ebenezer Joshua: His Ideology and Style* (Kingstown: Beacon Publishers, 1975). 2.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth John, *Ebenezer Theodore Joshua, A Thumb-Nail Political Biographical Sketch*, Eulogy 1991 (Kingstown, St Vincent, 1991). 3.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Pilgrim, "Joshua – A Shrewd Politician", *Daily Nation Newspaper*, Bridgetown, Barbados, 20 March 1991, 7.

### Statement of the Problem

Joshua and Cato were at the forefront of SVG politics. They have stated that their objectives were to free the islands from British rule and provide a better future for the people of the island nation.<sup>9</sup> Whether or not they have fulfilled their promises is still open to debates. They were said to have mobilized the masses and encouraged the development of an aspiring small elite. In so doing, as Peters claims, they have continued the divisive controlling instruments of colonization that was evident under the crown colony system, when criticism of government was not tolerated.<sup>10</sup> Hence, today the island nation is in a constant state of tension due to the behavior of the government, opposition parties and their supporters. They are ready to resort to violence at the inkling of their leaders. To have an opinion contrary to the government could spell the end of your way of life, even the destruction of your family. You are likely to be thrown out of a job and members of your family and relatives refused scholarships, employment, student loan, mortgages or a business permit and so forth. At the same time, others less qualified or deserving individuals flourish and may be managing enterprises beyond their capacities.

It is evident that both leaders carried out projects and programs that have contributed to political, social, economic and institutional development which are variables of political development. However, it is appropriate to assess the extent and motives behind these actions. This is to determine whether they were meant to promote these leaders' political agenda or were designed to promote the development of the

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<sup>9</sup> Karl Eklund, "Nominee for National Hero", Reprinted from *The Vincentian*, Kingstown, St Vincent. 13 March 2006, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Peters, 22.

nation.

There are various approaches in the study of the politics of the Caribbean islands. These are discussed in the literature review. The smaller islands of the English-speaking Caribbean islands are usually linked with the geographic region of Latin America. This is erroneous because the development of these islands is unique; “and prevents us from fitting them within one of the established developmental models, as we could parts of Central or Latin America.”<sup>11</sup> On this basis, SVG development is representative of the other small islands of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) which consists of Grenada, St Lucia, Dominica, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Kitts/Nevis, Antigua and the dependent colony of Montserrat. The odd digression will take place, but this is unlikely to invalidate any generalization. Conventional concepts and theories are difficult to apply to these small nations because of the uniqueness of political, social and economic attributes in these islands. Movements for change in the area bring into question Huntington’s theory that political change can only occur when the middle class decides to assume leadership and becomes advocates for that change.<sup>12</sup> In these small islands, movements for change were instituted by the working class led by the new elites. In the Eastern Caribbean, the peasants and workers maintained political power throughout the transition from colony to independent state.<sup>13</sup>

The problems of leadership’s contribution to political development emerged due to the unique historical development of SVG. SVG is part of the Lesser Antilles and was

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1968). 279.

<sup>13</sup> Cynthia Mahabir, *Crime and Nation-Building in the Caribbean: The Legacy of Legal Barriers* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co. Inc, MA, 1985). 44.

ruled under various systems of government with profound effects on their efforts to modernize. In SVG, the majority of the population was settled through slavery and indenture labor. These new settlers overwhelmed the indigenous Caribs who had a structured socio-political system. Due to their refusal to submit to colonial powers, they were involved in a series of wars with the French and British. The Caribs were eventually forced into exile in Belize and Honduras after signing a peace treaty with the British.

A notable feature of the Eastern Caribbean is that they are among the few countries in the world where the majority of the population were transported from countries outside the area as slaves or indentured workers. Initially, they had no part in the administration of the country where they found themselves. However, they were later given the responsibility to administer these countries. In this respect, all institutions and structures of government including political behavior were imported.<sup>14</sup> Hence, a culture has developed where personal gratification on a “now basis” became the norm.<sup>15</sup> There were very little thoughts about the long-term development of these islands.

Regrettably though, there are limited available models, scholarships or previous study on the topic which can shed some light on this investigation apart from A. W. Singham’s work on Grenada which was very limited in its scope as well as Allahar on Caribbean Charisma. Most scholarly writers on the Caribbean have mainly focused on the larger islands. The smaller island nations and specifically SVG were either brief mentions through travel accounts or colonial archival records.

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<sup>14</sup> Peters. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

### **Research Questions with sub-question**

The important research questions of the study are: In what ways have the leadership of Joshua and Cato impacted upon the politics, political behavior and political development of St Vincent and the Grenadines? To what extent is the political course chartered by Joshua and Cato a contributory factor in the current confrontation among political parties and supporters?

### **Hypothesis**

The investigation and analysis provide an acceptable framework in which theories and variables of leadership and political development have occurred. These can interact and give some indication as to what extent have the leaders contributed to various developments in SVG. This is partly due to the fact that they have carried out various programs spanning developmental variables. They were effective in mobilizing the people and were revered in the process. However, their political defeats indicated that they may have failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people through the expectations they may have raised and championed. Finally, this research showed that the inherited colonial structures and institutions, lack of a coherent ideology, lack of resources, historical developments, the personality and charisma of Joshua and Cato, the small size of SVG and the personalization of politics have all contributed to the outcome in leadership, politics and their impact on political development in SVG.

### **Assumptions**

There are several assumptions in this study. They all sought to shed light on the research question. Most writers on the area assume that due to common colonization and

imposed institutions, politics in the area islands are all the same. Hence, they applied the same theories and assumption as one size fit all criteria for most research on the area. The politics of SVG has led to various assumptions. Among them, is that the bitter rivalries between Joshua and Cato and their supporters were more political grandstanding rather than substantive differences in ideology or policies aimed at attaining their political objectives. This study has produced some definitive conclusions on the matter.

Various assumptions that are applied to larger Caribbean or Third World countries cannot be adequately applied to small Eastern Caribbean states like SVG.<sup>16</sup> These islands like SVG firmly believe in the British political system with all its underpinnings of constitutionalism, democracy and legitimacy. Hence, they exhibit peculiarities and characteristic that is somewhat legalistically authoritarian in that they followed the path of the colonial system which adhered to legal tenets when necessary that were not commensurate with freedom or democracy.<sup>17</sup> This is mainly due to faulty constitutions imposed upon these islands during their development and subsequent march to independence. Peters claimed that the constitutions were written and handed down to the local governments. However, they fail to address issues concerning human rights, separation of powers, or the separation of church and state. Sections of the constitutions on the fundamental rights and freedoms are vague and ambiguous thereby providing loopholes that allow governments to severely restrict those freedoms if they choose.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Mahabir, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Peters, 85.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study is very important because the investigation is intended to fill a void in the scholarship on small island nations especially those of the Eastern Caribbean. Information is also provided that was absent on the dilemma faced by these small island nations and leaders in moving their country forward on the road to modernization. This work is specifically intended to lay the foundation for future studies. It provides necessary political and historical information on the roles played by these leaders in meeting the expectations they aroused among their supporters and the nation as a whole.

This study will benefit the general public, research scholars, governmental or other agencies interested in the country and its development. It is also designed to generally increase the knowledge and scholarship on small island nations such as SVG.

This is significant because it highlights the limitations and weaknesses of inappropriate theories which can lead to misleading conclusions about these small nation states. No specific prior work exists on these leaders with respect to their influence or role they have played in the politics and political development of SVG. Furthermore, there is no existing scholarship on the political development of SVG. Hence, this is a pioneering work which is intended to set the framework for further studies.

The paper further examined the various theories attributed to leadership and political development. Their variables particularly as applied to small island nations like SVG was explored. This process helped to clarify ambiguities in existing theories. An overview of relevant theories of political development commensurate with this paper and relative to SVG is presented. Additionally, the study is also expected to enhance knowledge of the area and particular island nations. Finally, the study is expected to

contribute in fostering an understanding of the political dilemma faced by colonial and post colonial mini-states which were left impoverished as a result of extremely limited resources as they struggle to pursue their own modernization agenda.

### **Definition of Terms and Concepts**

*Political Development:* Political development, like leadership, is not simple to define.

Although there is extensive literature on the subject, not much has been said about development in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines; except for mentions by Patsy Lewis'

*Surviving Small Size: Regional Integration in the Caribbean Mini-states*, Donald C.

Peters' *The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean*, and various journal articles on

political and economic issues faced by these states. Lewis' work focused broadly on the political and economic challenges small states experience in achieving independent

survival.<sup>19</sup> This in itself has created a problem of benchmark against which small

countries may be measured to assess progress in the development of the political system

and the country as a whole. Alternatively, according to Somjee, political development is

about the capacity of humans and their ability to build self-governing communities under

the rule of law in the pursuit of the ideals of justice, equality, participation and the

common weal.<sup>20</sup>

*Political Leadership:* Leadership is a very difficult concept to define. Gallie claimed that

conceptual confusion has long been a source of difficulty in both theory and empirical

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<sup>19</sup> Patsy Lewis, *Surviving Small Size: Regional Integration in the Caribbean Ministates*, (Mona, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press 2002), 61, 64.

<sup>20</sup> A. H. Somjee, *Political Capacity in Developing Societies*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1982), 189.

analysis in the study of politics.<sup>21</sup> In the context of political leadership, it appears to mean different thing to different people Stogdill pointed out in a review of leadership research that leadership is much like the words democracy, love, and peace. That is, although each of us intuitively knows what we mean by such words, the words can have different meanings for different people. Stogdill further contends that as soon as there is an attempt to define leadership, it is discovered that leadership has many different meanings. Burns definition states that, “the process of leadership must be seen as part of the dynamics of conflict and of power; that leadership is nothing if it is not linked to collective purpose; that the effectiveness of leaders must be judged not by their press clippings but by actual social change measured by intent and by the satisfaction of human needs and expectations,”<sup>22</sup> is appropriate for this study.

*Charisma*: There is no single definition of charisma, however, Weber is considered the foremost authority on the subject, and hence, his definition is widely used throughout the social sciences. In practice the word is frequently used as a vague synonym for “personal magnetism.” Max Weber defined charisma as resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.<sup>23</sup> People vary in their ability to attract others, and their attraction depends in part on inherent traits, in part on learned skills, and in part on social context. Followers are more likely to attribute charisma to leaders when

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<sup>21</sup> David Collier, Fernando Daniel Hidalgo, & Andra Olivia Macieuceanu: Taylor and Francis Online: “Essentially Contested Concepts: Debates and Applications”, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11, no. 3, (2006): 211-246.

<sup>22</sup> James Macgregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper, 1978), 7.

<sup>23</sup> Max Weber, Peter Baehr, Gordon C. Wells: *The Protestant Ethics and the “Spirit” of Capitalism and Other Writings*, (NY: Penguin Twentieth-Century Classics, 2002), 93. 119.

they feel a strong need for change, often in the context of a personal, organizational or social crisis.

*Plantation System:* In the sixteenth century, Europeans began to establish settlements in the Americas including the Caribbean. The land was divided into large units under private ownership. This became known as the plantation system. There are claims that the system was started in Virginia then spread to the New England colonies.<sup>24</sup> However, there is evidence that the system was first developed by the Portuguese in Brazil, adopted by the Spanish in their empire in the Americas, and copied by the Dutch, English and French. Crops grown on these plantations such as tobacco, rice, sugar cane and cotton were labor intensive. Slaves labored in the fields from sunrise to sunset and at harvest time they worked an eighteen hour day. Women worked the same hours as the men and pregnant women were expected to continue until their child was born.<sup>25</sup> Macmillan claimed that the Plantation system was perhaps a misleading description of the agricultural practice followed so long. The term 'system' is being unduly flattering for a routine depending on tradition and the brawn of numerous slaves.<sup>26</sup>

*Bureaucracy:* Bureaucracy is the administrative arm of government. It is a continuous professionalized and rule-governed form of administration.<sup>27</sup> It is crammed with controversies and debates because of inconsistencies. The definition of bureaucracy will

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<sup>24</sup> Editorial, *Plantation System*: [www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASplantation.html](http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASplantation.html) (accessed April 29, 2012)

<sup>25</sup> Sidney W Mintz, *From Plantations to Peasantries in the Caribbean - Caribbean Contours* ed (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 134.

<sup>26</sup> W. M. Macmillan, *Warning from the West Indies*: (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., England, 1938), 65.

<sup>27</sup> Joel Krieger, *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, UK, 2001), 902.

be based on Max Weber's portrayal of a civil service which plays a pivotal role in governance. Bureaucracy is supposed to be the most competent, rational and independent administrative arm of government. Without bureaucracy, the system of government is likely to collapse. Weber claims that bureaucrats are both powerful and pernicious administrative policy group of government which has specific functions and follow set roles in a hierarchy manner.<sup>28</sup> Some of the unique characteristics are: selection by competence and qualification; centralized authority; following set rules to ensure impartiality; and financial and social rewards. Career officials are civil servants who spend their life perfecting their skills to produce results efficiently for the public good.

*Constitutional Reform:* According to Peters, this refers to the changes in constitutions due to transition from crown colony government to associate statehood to independence. Each stage required a new type of constitutional relationship.<sup>29</sup> According to Krieger, the term refers both to the institutions, practices and principles that define the structure and changes of government and to the written document that establishes or articulates such a system.<sup>30</sup>

*Social Structure:* This is the distinctive, stable arrangement of institutions whereby human beings in a society interact and live together. Social structure is often treated together with the concept of social change, which deals with the forces that change the social structure and the organization of society.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>29</sup> Peters, 85.

<sup>30</sup> Krieger, 173.

<sup>31</sup> A.W. Singham, *The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1968). 31-32.

*Power Structure:* This is the organization of people at different ranks in an administrative body. The power structure usually consists of a singular/group of power at the top with subsequent levels of power holding beneath them. This is the dominant mode of organization among large organizations; most corporations, governments, and organized religions are hierarchical organizations with different levels of management, power or authority.<sup>32</sup>

*Political Conflict:* Political conflict exists whenever people are in disagreement and opposition in the political system. It is related both to the political process and to an environment in which there is competition for scarce resources. Since resources with which to address social, economic and political problems are always scarce, winners and losers in the political process inevitably emerge in a competitive conflict situation in all political systems. According to Tsurutani, politics is the resolution of conflict. Hence, political conflict is the process which usually emerges with the failure of consensus or adherence to rules or the maintenance of order in the political universe.<sup>33</sup> Confrontation is an important aspect of conflict. Confrontations can be negative exacerbating conflicts, especially if participants are angry and express that anger in hurtful accusations.<sup>34</sup>

*Patronage:* Political patronage is the dispensation of favors or rewards such as public office, jobs, contracts, subsidies, prestige or other valued benefits by a patron (who controls their dispensation) to a client. In return, the client supplies the patron with some valued service, such as voting for the patron's party or providing money or labor for

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 189-99.

<sup>33</sup> Taketsugu Tsurutani, *The Politics of National Development: Political Leadership in Transitional Societies* (New York: Chandler Publishing Co, 1973), 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

electoral campaigning. The relationship between patron and client is typically unequal, selective and discretionary; the patron does not generally grant favors to all potential clients but picks and chooses among them.<sup>35</sup>

*Ideology:* The concept of ideology is a highly contested notion according to Seliger.<sup>36</sup> It is accepted as a certain ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group that explains how society should work, and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used. Some parties follow a certain ideology very closely, while others may take broad inspiration from a group of related ideologies without specifically embracing any one of them.<sup>37</sup>

*Political Participation:* Political participation covers an extraordinary range of activity.<sup>38</sup> It can take many forms, ranging from voting for representatives at regular intervals, lobbying, strikes, demonstrations, or voting on policies in referenda, forming political groups, and engaging in legal or illegal protest. Political participation can also be action by private citizens seeking to influence governmental decisions. The individuals engaged in such participation likely expect that these actions will have some impact on the content of government policies. However, the effects of political participation might not be

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<sup>35</sup> Singham, 202-203.

<sup>36</sup> John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*: (Cambridge: U.K., 1990), 382.

<sup>37</sup> Krieger, 381.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 667.

limited to outcomes. Political participation might also affect individual life satisfaction and happiness.<sup>39</sup>

*Associate Statehood:* This is the semi-independent political status of several former British colonies in the Caribbean from 1967 until each became an independent state in the British Commonwealth. In this arrangement, Britain retained responsibility for defense and some aspects of foreign affairs but otherwise permitted the territories to complete internal self-government. This was modeled on the relationship created by New Zealand for its Cook Island and Niue dependencies in 1965.<sup>40</sup>

*Political Culture:* This term involves both the ideals and the operating norms of a political system. Political culture includes subjective attitudes and sentiments as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behavior and give structure and order to the political process. Particular regional, ethnic, or other groups within a political system with their own distinctive sets of values, attitudes, and beliefs were referred to as subcultures. A greater awareness developed over time in the literature of the importance of studying elite political cultures, given that the influence of individuals in the political process varies significantly.<sup>41</sup>

*Black Power Movement:* This is an important part of American and African-American history and the history of the African Diaspora more broadly. It refers to a period during the 1960s when black people in the United States and elsewhere in the Diaspora, changed

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<sup>39</sup> Singham, 227-230, 288-291.

<sup>40</sup> Margaret Broderick, "Associate Statehood - A New Form of Decolonization Volume", *British Institute of International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 17, no. 02 (1968): 368-403.

<sup>41</sup> Singham, 93-98, 145-148.

their views about the manner by which they should achieve economic power, political power, and civil rights.<sup>42</sup>

*Crown Colony:* Refers to a British colony in which the government in London exercises both executive and legislative power; usually it is administered by a governor or administrator appointed directly by the British government.

*Political Machine:* An organization dedicated to mobilizing votes or demobilizing opposition for the purpose of winning elections and the spoils of office. In machine politics, material inducements such as jobs are exchanged for the votes of low-skilled citizens, lucrative contracts for projects such as road construction and repairs, and housing construction are exchanged for financial support from entrepreneurial class, and favors in the administration of law. They can range from a fixed traffic ticket to changes in zoning ordinances are exchanged for votes is characteristic of party systems in countries where the state does not provide much in the way of welfare.<sup>43</sup>

*Economic Development:* This is the institutional change made to promote economic betterment. It is the social organizational change made to promote growth in an economy. According to Walter Rodney, a society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), on the extent to which they put that understanding into practice by devising

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<sup>42</sup> Mahabir, 9-12.

<sup>43</sup> Krieger, 666-667.

tools (technology), and on the manner in which work is organized. This embodies the ability of people to control their environment to live a more satisfactory life.<sup>44</sup>

*Party Manifesto:* A plan presented by a political party outlining its program of policy which would be implemented if they won the election. Included in the document are the principles and goals of an organization. Typically, a manifesto is designed to be widely distributed to the public, and it serves as an official declaration of the party's intentions.<sup>45</sup>

*Planter Class:* This was composed of the white colonists who owned plantations growing sugar, cotton, tobacco, etc., initially by slaves; then by indentured laborers.

*Political Independence:* The state or quality of being independent; having autonomy; freedom from the influence, guidance, or control of another state.

*Spiritual Baptist:* This is a religion started by the Caribs in St Vincent and the Grenadines which spread throughout the Eastern Caribbean and is now established worldwide. It was banned by the British colonial government. The ban was only removed after independence in 1979.<sup>46</sup>

*Alliance Government:* An alliance government is one in which several political parties must formally cooperate in order to run a country or region. These types of government are often considered quite weak because there is no majority party. In such cases, the only way policy gets approved is by making concessions in order to form a coalition and

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<sup>44</sup> Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*: (Washington DC: Howard University Press. 1981), 4.

<sup>45</sup> Krieger, 531.

<sup>46</sup> Bradford Keeney, *Shakers of St Vincent* (Pittsburgh PA: Ringing Rocks Press, 2002), 17.

gain power.<sup>47</sup> This is different from a coalition because coalitions are less formal arrangements.

*Political Party Organ:* A newspaper or periodical which promotes the views of a political party or movement.

*Authoritarian:* A political system where the administration of government is centralized.

Although the system may have legitimate power, authoritarian regimes are associated with arbitrary illegitimate authority. These regimes are usually non-democratic and in most cases those governing are sometimes self-appointed, and even if elected cannot be displaced by citizens' free choice among competitors. There is no freedom to create a broad range of groups, organizations, and political parties to compete for power or question the decisions of rulers. The ruler's personality may play an important role in maintaining the system and advancing the notion and practice of extreme authority as a political virtue.<sup>48</sup>

*Legalistic:* The principles and practices of a school of political theorists advocating strict legal control over all activities, a system of rewards and punishments which should be uniform for all classes of a society.<sup>49</sup>

*Political Victimization:* Refers to the mistreatment, subjugation or discrimination against people based on political party or political affiliation. It involves the unwarranted singling out; and subjection of an individual or group to unfair treatment, or other wrongs due to their assumed political support or lack of support.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Krieger, 23.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 57-59.

<sup>49</sup> Singham, 240-253.

<sup>50</sup> Peters, 178-179.

*Modernization:* This is an expansive theory which encompasses various different disciplines. It set out to explain the progression of society and the variables that affect the progress including societies' reaction to that progress. There was specific focus on European modernization of the seventeenth century, which heralded a new technological breakthrough creating a new world era. The basic premise of modernization theory is the ability of humans to advance within a short time period. Today, modernization theory is more concerned with the role of technology and systems in shaping the contemporary world. Modernization theory also represents a broad framework within which one can examine globalization and the worldwide migration from agrarian societies to industrialized and technological societies.<sup>51</sup>

*Political Corruption:* There is no specific definition of political corruption. However, it embodies a broad spectrum of activities related to the misuse of public office, including extortion, bribes, procurement of fraud, related to kickback schemes, embezzlement of public funds. The modern concept refers to the abuse of public roles or resources for private benefit, and thus applies to specific actions or participants. Earlier functionalists argued that corruption encourages economic growth by reducing bureaucratic delays, adapting inflexible policies, and creating informal market processes and it builds political links between leaders and followers. Moralists on the other hand argue that corruption distorts politics and policy and diverts scarce resources. New data suggests that corruption is a problem in countries at all levels of development. It harms economic growth, discourage foreign investment, divert expenditures from social services toward

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<sup>51</sup> Krieger, 550.

large projects, such as construction that offer major bribes, and increases bureaucratic delays as officials contrive new ways to enrich themselves.<sup>52</sup>

*Political Behavior:* Consists of a particular area of political activity. It involves various kinds of political actions that are common to all politics. These activities are likely to occur in the formal, informal and legal organizations of government. These political activities can be of large and vague groupings like the community and public. These are then followed by the electorates, elections, constituencies, political parties, pressure groups, and conflict groups. Political behavior is also the behavior of individuals and groups outside the government who are striving to influence or take possession of the government. Leadership is also an aspect of political behavior.<sup>53</sup>

*National Development:* As a process, this is a series of complex and novel changes – economic, social, and political – to be brought about by the application of modern industrial and organizational technologies and, more crucially, by the skills, imagination, and resolve of political leadership. The result hopefully, is to institutionalize self-generative dynamics for further evolutionary change and self-adaptive capacity of politics and society to create the desired future state of affairs. Huntington argues that the essential feature of national development as goal is stability.<sup>54</sup>

*Clientelism:* This patron-client politics rests on the foundation of an exchange between actors of unequal power and status: the more powerful, or patron, offers protection and access to scarce resources such as land or jobs to the client. The client in turn provides

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<sup>52</sup> Krieger. 177-178.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 661.

<sup>54</sup> Huntington, 6.

support and services such as labor or votes for the patron. Underlying this concept is the competition for control of political and economic resources. It emphasizes distribution rather than production and encourages parasitic existence sometimes leading to conflict. It can be seen as a barrier to political development.<sup>55</sup>

*Populism:* Populist movements claim to represent the people as a whole: sometimes the entire nation, sometimes the majority of the people. They often begin as movements of protest against parties which they see as entrenched defenders of the existing social order. If successful, they end as political parties. Radical elements seek to mobilize the poor or the underprivileged masses. The term has also been loosely applied to any leader or movement able to mobilize support on a wide scale. People now regard populist ideology simply as rhetoric disguising the monopolization of power by a new class which ruled because it controlled the political apparatus of the state.<sup>56</sup>

### **Methodology**

The main focus of this study utilized various resources to assess the leadership roles of Joshua and Cato in SVG politics. A checklist is used to ascertain the positive or negative aspect of their actions as contributory or non-contributory factors to political outcomes. This approach encompassed descriptions of policymaking and implementation, political participation, socialization, institutional developments, justice, accountability, political behavior, equality and the common good. The study looked at whether there are visible signs of improvement in freedom, opportunities and participation in the political process which emanated from these leaders. Hence, there is likely to be a functional and

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<sup>55</sup> Krieger, 640.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 678-679.

historical approach. Human development indices will be used to assess improvement. Theories chosen are due to their effectiveness in clarifying ambiguities and creating the framework for investigation and analysis. This helped to create a study that is based on empirical assumptions which can be verified throughout the subject time period.

The study was conducted by using published material where applicable; articles from the Internet, newspapers, periodicals, official and unofficial reports, archives, scholarly and international publications and journals as resources. Various current key issues in political development studies are discussed and analyzed. These included the broad themes of political participation, leadership styles, charisma, development, education, labor unions, power and democracy, governance, and class, etc.

There is an overview and critical scrutiny of political development theory and development discourses in both historical and societal contexts. This research has also investigated the relationship between political leadership and political development. It identified the circumstances under which leadership affects efforts to achieve viable political development. In so doing, various approaches were used to ensure that there is a resourceful conclusion.

The literature on these men is sparse, because little has been written about them. However, they have espoused through various public meetings their version of development. Hence, a series of local Estimates, Budget addresses, speeches while in and out of parliament, conferences, and addresses to various organizations - local, regional and extra-regional and statistical reviews from international agencies contributed to the backbone of sources which helped to determine the impact these leaders had on politics and political development in St Vincent and the Grenadines.

Current literature, especially with regards to their relevance to small islands nation's efforts to develop or modernize was used as resources. Other available literature was utilized so that a series of useful indicators to assess the progression of developments within the political system were carefully integrated into the analysis. An appropriate working definition was formulated to the effect that political development is a process which is essential for a nation to operate sufficiently in today's world, and that process is more or less controllable to some extent.

Joshua and Cato's roles as political leaders were evaluated with respect to their contribution to politics, political behavior and political development of SVG. Key issues and problems of their leadership and applicable theories were analyzed based on a checklist of variables pertinent to political development.

The study is based on the Caribbean small-island nation of SVG, with a population of fewer than 115,000 people. However, examples where appropriate were drawn from the other islands due to commonality of historical developments. Ebenezer Theodore Joshua and Robert Milton Cato, the subject of study were the two foremost unchallenged leaders in this nation, covering a span from 1951 to 1984, who have fashioned the political, social and economic culture of the nation. In order to do justice to the topic, a general overview was given of the area in question which set the tone for the research. As leaders, it was their duty to contribute to the political development of the island nation of St Vincent and the Grenadines.

This period covered may have shaped the current and is likely to shape the future political behavior and political developments of SVG. This is due to the acquisition and nurturing of specific political traits which have developed throughout the colonial crown

system, and manifesting itself through the different stages of constitutional changes to the present. In these small communities, politics is very personal. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with variables that are contributory factors to political behavior and development. These variables covered attitudes and approaches to development. They include the use of ideology by these leaders, nationalism, and socialization, perspective of decision making, mass participation, role of the bureaucracy, education, modernization, law and order, societal norms, health and sanitation, physical infrastructure, political and administrative, and communications. In so doing, social and economic factors are complimentary variables in this study.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The limitations of this study are due to the present time availability and financial constraints. Most of the data and information are at source requiring travels to SVG which is quite expensive. Also, the data on these leaders during this era is very fragmented. They are scattered at various locations and are incomplete, making it very difficult to collate. An archive facility has only recently opened in SVG, and it is very difficult to find relevant data because they are yet to be effectively organized. It remains difficult to collect data on these figures.

This makes researching the various sources a serious task because records are not well kept due to limited resources and lack of skilled personnel. Despite the shortcomings, every effort was made to do exceptional justice to this study. The theories employed, though not all-embracing, will assist in forming an adequate conclusion. This makes it all the more important and creates the motivation to extend or develop this study further with time and resources permitting.

### **Organization of the study**

This paper covers various theories starting with leadership. The various types and kinds of leadership are touched on where appropriate. However, emphasis was placed on leadership and political development theories more relevant to this paper. An explanation of the concepts and variables which are relevant to leadership like charisma is dealt with due to the fact that subject leaders can be said to exhibit charismatic traits. Theories of political development are highlighted and a working definition developed based on current or available theories.

Finally, the importance of leadership in fostering development in island nations and developing countries on the whole are looked at from a relative and absolute perspective. A conclusion was formed, based on the overall impact these leaders had on their country's political development. This research has determined that its findings are applicable to other island nations and their leaders. The historical context in which these leaders emerged served as a determinant in assessing their impact. In short, how much has this historical context contributed to the actions, inactions, decisions, indecisions of these leaders? It is hoped that answers to the many questions raised will add to the general body of knowledge and specifically contribution in expanding knowledge on small island nations. A functional definition of political leadership and political development is presented for an understanding of the study.

Chapter 1 of the study dealt with the introduction of the topic; this was followed by its justification. The essential problems were addressed. There is a definition of the research parameters along with assumptions and limitations of study. This is followed by a definition of terms which explained all unusual terms used in forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 2 is an extensive literature review of the theoretical framework and variables appropriate to this study. Chapter 3 is an outline of the theoretical framework which assessed the behavior and contribution of these leaders to the island nation. The theories of leadership, politics, political development and charismatic leadership within the context of this study are expounded upon.

Chapter 4 presented an explanation of the model employed to provide an understanding of leadership roles in politics and political development and behavior in SVG. It can be argued, that these political leaders may have been acting within the

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS**

It is necessary to understand the theories/concepts relative to leadership, politics and political development when dealing with the issue of leadership in politics and political development in St Vincent and the Grenadines. The relative theories/concepts have always produced serious challenges to political scientists and students alike. Nevertheless, this research highlighted the different theoretical approaches which are well established by political scientists. In so doing, the research was not intended to catalog explanation. Although a single operational definition was sought through a synthesis and summaries, no new definition was necessary. With this in mind, the research is intended to be theory centered rather than anecdotal.

An understanding of the theories of leadership and political development was fostered through an investigation of Joshua and Cato's leadership. In this analysis, leadership approaches in dealing with politics and political development of SVG was highlighted and relationships between concepts pinpointed. This is intended to enrich knowledge of these conceptual relationships which are likely to be unique especially in a small island nation setting.

Any contrasts and/or consistencies between these concepts were defined during the analysis. In this approach, there is likely to be a critical point where there may be an

overlay of the concept of leadership with political development. Any such occurrence of divergence or fusion of these concepts will be highlighted in the analysis.

### **Political Leadership Theories**

There is nothing new in the leadership approach in the study of politics. It goes as far back as Plato who saw leadership as having a directive function. To Burns, a leader is one who gives directions to a collective activity.<sup>57</sup> A political leader can be defined as one who gives direction, or meaningfully participates in the giving of direction, to the activities of the political community.<sup>58</sup> According to Tucker, leadership is a fact of social life in all spheres, not only in politics. Tucker continues that wherever leadership is found, there will be the aspect of a relationship between the leaders and those who are led.

It follows then, that, leadership is a process of human interaction in which some individuals exert, or attempt to exert a determining influence upon others. This characterization shows that a theory of political leadership cannot be developed easily by elaborating on the relational aspect. Leadership differs from management in that management deals with routine direction while leadership deals with the directing of a group in times of choice, change, and decision.<sup>59</sup> Hence, according to Tucker, leadership is dependent upon times when deliberations and authoritative decisions occur which are followed by steps to implement decisions reached. Tucker also noted that the idea of building a systematic politics upon the foundation of a concept of leadership belongs

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<sup>57</sup> Burns. 7.

<sup>58</sup> Robert Tucker, "*The Theory of Charismatic Leadership*", in Rostow, *Philosophers and Kings* (New York: Braziller 1970), 75-80.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

primarily to the twentieth century. Weber in *Politics as a Vocation* defined politics as leadership, or the influencing of the leadership of a political association, today of a state.<sup>60</sup>

In his book entitled *Leadership*, Burns claims that leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth.<sup>61</sup> Burns further stated that there are two modes of leadership. These are Transactional and Transformational Leadership. Thus, according to Burns, the relations of most leaders and followers are transactional, that is, leaders approach followers with an eye for enhancing one thing for another such as: jobs for votes, or subsidies for campaign contributions. Such transactions comprise the bulk of relationships among leaders and followers, especially in groups, legislatures, and parties. On the other hand, transformational leadership is more potent and complex. This is because the transforming leader recognizes and exploits an existing need for a potential follower. But, beyond that, the transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.<sup>62</sup>

Seeing that there is no single definition of political leadership, most writers on the subject have given their take on what should constitute political leadership. Leadership studies always raise key issues about individual and group behavior.<sup>63</sup> To begin with, Paige in his classic study of *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* raised questions

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>61</sup> James McGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 13.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Glenn D. Paige, *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (Hartford CT: Free Press, 1977), 71.

about what makes a leader. He asks whether it is their character, abilities, personality, or some lucky breaks in their life. He went on to list the following six dimensions of political leadership:<sup>64</sup>

**Personality** – This is taken to be the aggregate characteristics that define a unique human individual. Included are biological, physiological, and psychological factors. Where more than a single leader is involved we may speak of shared personality characteristics. Personality is viewed as subject to change from birth to death and as the product of past learning, presents influences, and future expectations.

**Role** – The definitions range from the sweeping formulation of Linton ("the sum total of culture patterns associated with a particular status") through the expectation-based measure of Gross ("a set of expectations applied to the incumbent position"), to the more limited conception of Benton ("sets of rights and obligations").

**Organization** - in the broad sense there is social interaction among dyads, small groups, formal organizations, institutions, ad hoc collectivities, horizontal social strata, vertical societal segments, and whole political communities. Under this variable can be considered followers, opponents, and in fact all other members of a society whose behavior influences or is significantly influenced by political leaders, either directly or indirectly.

**Task** - A task is taken to be a problem to be solved, an occasion for decision, or a discrepancy between actual and desirable states of affairs. Tasks need to be viewed both as perceived by political leaders and as objectively given.

**Values** - As Alfred G. Meyer succinctly reminded us, "All political action demands choice, which is based on a system of values." Values are taken to be standards that influence choices among, and commitments to, "modes of conduct" and "end-states of existence."

**Setting** - Political leadership takes place in, is conditioned by, affects, and is affected by its environment. Thus, a major challenge facing political leadership studies is to determine which partial aspects of an environment or which total configurations of environmental characteristics are causally related to political leadership behavior. (Paige 1977, 71)

These six dimensions are a result of inputs from other writers on the subject.

Although they are very important, they appear to be a one size fits all dimension. They

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

are not all-embracing because there are components that may not be evident in some aspects of leadership, especially in the context of small island nation leaders.

Nevertheless, they cannot be dismissed altogether because they help in identifying certain important variables which will contribute to any analysis of the subject. The "Great Man Theory" raises the issue of whether it is the culture or the talent of key figures that allows historical epochs of greatness to occur.<sup>65</sup>

Since these are important but not all-embracing to define political leadership, a more appropriate construct for SVG may be found in a more widely accepted definition of political leadership which was championed by Burns. He states that, "the process of leadership must be seen as part of the dynamics of conflict and of power; that leadership is nothing if not linked to collective purpose; that the effectiveness of leaders must be judged not by their press clippings but by actual social change measured by intent and by the satisfaction of human needs and expectations."<sup>66</sup>

Burns went on to say that "the best leaders are those who inspire others to come together toward the achievement of higher aims."<sup>67</sup> Gardner proposes and supports with lucid illustrations his theories on leadership; which went beyond charisma to heightened motivation, trust, confidence, and shared values on the part of those in charge and their followers.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Leadership Theories: *Great Man Theory*:  
[www.changingminds.org/disciplines/theories/great\\_man\\_theory.htm](http://www.changingminds.org/disciplines/theories/great_man_theory.htm), (accessed April, 29, 2012)

<sup>66</sup> Burns, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> John W. Gardner, *On Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 65-74.

According to Stogdill, the literature shows that political leadership is a complex process by which persons in power influence their followers, civil society and the wider public to accomplish societal goals.<sup>69</sup> It follows then, that political leaders are necessary as initiators as well as catalysts for the process of change in any society. These changes can be social, economic, constitutional, or political according to Thimmaiah<sup>70</sup>. On this basis, it can be concluded, that political leadership plays a paramount part in all these change processes as expounded by Thimmaiah:

Political leaders carry out the process of change by applying their leadership attributes like politically relevant beliefs, socially adored values, generally approved character, wide knowledge and wisdom acquired through learning and experience. (Thimmaiah 1994, 7)

Thimmaiah claimed that the hopes and aspirations of the people and the goals of the society should be understood and identified by political leaders. This will then be an asset to them in formulating a vision of the country's future. Political leaders should be endowed with certain attributes that can be utilized to mobilize the people and show effective leadership to achieve the common societal goal. It is expected that political leaders should have unquestionable commitments to the cause or societal goal which they decide to fight for or achieve.<sup>71</sup> Selfless service to the people at large is required of leaders. Political leaders are expected to have the quality of inspiring their followers and even the mass of ordinary people. They should have patience and perseverance in pursuing the society's goals, maturity and wisdom for taking sound and timely decisions

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<sup>69</sup>R. M. Stogdill, *Handbook of leadership: A survey of the literature* (New York: Free Press, 1974 ), 150.

<sup>70</sup> G. Thimmaiah, *Power Politics and Social Change* (New Delhi India: Sage, 1994), 7.

<sup>71</sup> Thimmaiah, 10.

and exhibit strength of character by setting example and mental toughness to face criticism when found wrong.<sup>72</sup>

These are all ideal textbook attributes. Hence, it is difficult to find all of them even in an ideal leader.<sup>73</sup> The success or failure of a leader is determined by many circumstances of which lack of some of these attributes may also contribute.<sup>74</sup>

Political leadership follows several theories advanced by political scientists according to Thimmaiah. Four of these theories are relevant to this paper due to their attempts to explain political leadership in a worldwide context. To begin with, there is Traits Theory which claims that some personality traits may lead some persons naturally into wanting to be a leader. Ebenezer Joshua can be referred to as someone who possessed some personality traits which ultimately made him a leader rather than a school teacher. Conversely, was school teaching a catalyst for leadership? Similarly, was Milton Cato's military and legal experience a catalyst for leadership?

This is followed by the Crisis or Cause Theory, which outlines that an important social or political event in a society may throw up an opportunity for a person or persons to rise to the occasion. This brings out extraordinary leadership qualities as was seen in various areas of the world in the fight for independence including SVG. Various exceptional persons from the Caribbean emerged with leadership qualities which were brought out by the struggles for independence. Among them were Norman Manley,

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

Alexander Bustamante, Eric Williams, Grantley Adams, Errol Barrow, Vere Bird, Edward Le Blanc, Robert Bradshaw, John Compton, George Charles, Joshua and Cato.

The theory of Transformational Leadership was evident in the region because some of the leaders in the forefront of Creole nationalism in the Caribbean faded into obscurity after their mission were fulfilled. It shows that given equal opportunities, people may choose to become leaders by learning leadership skills. This is called Transformational Leadership and is widely prevalent in most of the democracies.<sup>75</sup>

The Dynastic Theory of leadership claims that leaders who emerge outside one or the other type of leadership mentioned above will try to groom their siblings to become successive leaders. This is evident in various traditional societies but has also occurred in some Caribbean islands and even in some mature democracies where children succeed their parent as leaders. This was evident in Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua.

There are many ways of conceptualizing leadership. Fleishman et al claim that in the past 60 years, as many as sixty five different classification systems have been developed to define the dimensions of leadership.<sup>76</sup> Bass, on the other hand, used a classification system which is directly related to this research. He suggested that some definitions view leadership as the focus of group processes.<sup>77</sup> In the case of island politics this tend to occur because very little seem to get done without the approval of the leader. Hence Bass has a different definition of leadership which is as follows:

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<sup>75</sup> Burns. 74.

<sup>76</sup> E.A. Fleishman, M.D. Mumford, S.J. Zaccaro, K.Y. Levin, and A.L. & M.B. Hein, "Taxonomic efforts in the description of Leader behavior: A Synthesis and functional interpretation", *Leadership Quarterly* 2, no.4, (1991): 2, 245-287.

<sup>77</sup> Bernard Bass, "From transactional to transformational leadership: learning to share the vision" *Organizational Dynamics* 18, no.3, (Winter 1990): 19-31.

The leader is at the center of group change and activity and embodies the will of the group. Another set of definitions conceptualizes leadership as a combination of special traits or characteristics that some individuals possess. These traits enable those individuals to induce others to accomplish tasks. Other approaches to leadership defined it as an act or behavior- the things leaders do to bring change in a group.

In addition, some define leadership in terms of the power relationship that exists between leaders and followers. From this view point, leaders have power that they wield to effect change in others. Others view leadership as a transformational process that moves followers to accomplish more than is usually expected to them. Finally, some scholars address leadership from a skills perspective. This viewpoint stresses the capabilities (knowledge and skills) that make effective leadership possible. (Bass 1990, 19)

From the various conceptualization of leadership, the following themes can be identified as central to the concept: (a) Leadership is a process; (b) leadership involves influence, (c) leadership occurs in groups, and (d) leadership involves common goals. On the basis of these components, this definition is also very useful and is likely to shed some light on this research. It can complement Burns, who see leadership as a process which is comprised of and dependent on different component and variables. However, Burns clearly states that being trained in leadership is not considered within his definition. Leadership is seen as a process that is not considered as a trait or characteristic that resides in the leader. It is a transactional event that occurs between the leader and the led. This process shows that a leader affects and is affected by followers. It emphasizes that leadership is not a linear, one-way event, but rather it is available to everyone and is not restricted to the formally designated leader in a group. Leadership involves influence. It is concerned with how the leader affects followers. Influence is the sine qua non of leadership. Without influence, leadership does not exist. Leadership occurs in groups. Groups are the context in which leadership takes place. Leadership involves influencing a

group of individuals who have a common purpose. This can be a small task group, a community group, or a large group encompassing an entire organization. Leadership is about one individual influencing a group of others to accomplish common goals. Others or a group are required for leadership to occur. Leadership training programs that teach people to lead themselves are not considered a part of leadership within the definition that is set forth in this discussion.<sup>78</sup> Burns exclusion of trained leadership from his definition may be due to his emphasis on influence in leadership. Although it is true that leadership cannot exist without influence, one can be trained to acquire the techniques of influence.

To Rost, leadership includes attention to common goals. Leaders direct their energies toward individuals who are trying to achieve something together.<sup>79</sup> Hence, common in this context means that the leaders and followers have a mutual purpose. Attention to common goals gives leadership an ethical overtone because it stresses the need for leaders to work with followers to achieve selected goals. Stressing mutuality lessens the possibility that leaders might act toward followers in ways that are forced or unethical. It also increases the possibility that leaders and followers will work together toward a common good.<sup>80</sup> Leadership in any setting is difficult to define according to various social scientists. This is more so the case in the setting of an island nation with a very small village population. Nevertheless, various theorists have offered insights into their formulation of a definition. They have provided a series of variables which are very important in creating a working definition of leadership; especially for this paper.

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<sup>78</sup> Burns. 74

<sup>79</sup> Joseph C Rost, *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 22.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

Gardner proposed and supported with lucid illustrations his theories on leadership. These went beyond charisma to heightened motivation, trust, confidence, and shared values on the part of those in charge and their followers. According to Stogdill, political leaders are necessary as initiators as well as catalysts for the process of change in any society. These changes can be social, economic, constitutional, or political.<sup>81</sup> On this basis, it can be concluded, that political leadership plays a paramount part in all these change processes. This is in sync with Thimmaiah who claims that political leaders carry out the process of change by applying their leadership attributes like politically relevant beliefs, socially adored values, generally approved character, wide knowledge and wisdom acquired through learning and experience.<sup>82</sup> Leaders and followers are intertwined in the leadership process. Leaders need followers and followers need leaders<sup>83</sup>. Burns contented that although leaders and followers are closely linked, it is the leader who often initiates the relationship, creates the communication linkages, and carries the burden for maintaining the relationship.<sup>84</sup>

### **Charismatic Leadership Theories**

Charismatic leadership was prevalent during the decolonization processes among emerging nations. This was illustrated by Allahaar in his book *Caribbean Charisma*; and Singham in his book *The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity*. They argued that in order to mobilize the masses against the colonial masters, a crisis situation developed

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<sup>81</sup> Gardner, 72.

<sup>82</sup> Thimmaiah, 10.

<sup>83</sup> Trudy Heller and Jon Van Til, "Leadership and Followership: Some Summary Propositions", *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 18; (1982): 405; <http://jab.sagepub.com> (accessed May 21, 2011)

<sup>84</sup> Burns, 81.

which gave rise to exceptional leaders. These leaders were instrumental as vanguards in their struggle to create a new order through gaining independence for their countries. Within the context of Caribbean Creole nationalism, some leaders exhibited behavior that fell within the scheme of charismatic. Both Ebenezer Joshua and R. Milton Cato had significant following in their political careers and were at some time revered. Upon close analysis, both can be deemed charismatic as per definition. Hence, it is worthy to give a brief synopsis of the theory in the context of the study.

Again, there is no definitive definition of a charismatic leader. This is so because of the small personal societies under review and the political culture of the region. In the definition of charisma given by Weber, various elements of the perceived savior are highlighted. With the advent of adult suffrage most West Indian leaders were treated as divinely sent as described below. As a result, they can be safely included under the category of charismatic leader. Weber discerned that to be charismatic, the leader must have a certain quality of personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These include not being accessible to the ordinary person, being regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary and on the basis of them the individuals concerned are treated as a leader. In primitive circumstances this peculiar kind of deference is paid to prophets, also to people with a reputation for therapeutic war. It is very often thought of as resting on mystical powers.<sup>85</sup>

Although this description is appropriate for the purposes of this study, some clarification is necessary. Charisma is said to embody religion, superstition, and is awe-

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<sup>85</sup> Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: The Free Press. 1957), 78.

inspiring. This embodiment involves pure charm or a greatly attractive personality. In studies of leadership, we are cautioned to be very careful when dealing with charisma. This is because temporary enthusiasm for something can mistakenly be misconstrued as charisma.

Friedrich along with other notable writers believe that charismatic leadership can evolve only in a setting of a belief in a divine being. This notion was further reflected by Dronberger who sees Charisma as the extraordinary quality of an individual, regardless of whether this quality is “actual, alleged, or presumed...to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person...belief in magical powers, revelations, and hero worship.”<sup>86</sup>

Allahar claims, that Weber can be used as a point of departure in dealing with the concept of charisma. However, Allahar was more concerned with “the relationship between leadership, charisma, and politics in the Caribbean.”<sup>87</sup> Despite the difficulty in defining charisma, Allahar felt most people are prepared to attest to its existence as having definite consequences for social organization, power and domination. In other words, because charismatic leaders have a greater hold on their followers than non-charismatic leaders, their charismatically oriented followers seem not to mind if they bend or break the rules. This gives such leaders greater flexibility in realizing their political wills and renders them very relevant to any study of power, politics, social movements and social change.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ilse Dronberger, *The Political Thought of Max Weber*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1971), 304.

<sup>87</sup> Anton Allahar, *Caribbean Charisma: Reflections on Leadership, Legitimacy, and Populist Politics* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publisher, 2001), xi.

<sup>88</sup> Allahar, xi.

Singham claims, that there is very strong temptation for many scholars to succumb and label all leaders who emerge from crisis conditions in colonial or ex-colonial situations as charismatic leaders. Hence, it is essential to distinguish between the qualities of charisma and the actual possession of these qualities.

Some literature on charisma has placed emphasis on its religious, mythical, and magical foundation as its basis. This is illustrated through the following examples found in various literatures according to Gerald L. Gordon.<sup>89</sup>

M. Weber- The bond between the leader and the led endures “only as long as the leader’s charisma is verified by miracles... only so long as he is the ruler by the grace of God.”<sup>90</sup>

M. Weber- “This recognition is a matter of complete personal devotion...”<sup>91</sup>

R. Tucker- “...the charismatic leader is one in whom deliverance from stress appears to be embodied,”<sup>92</sup>

M. Kilson- “He and his claims are legitimized by his ability to draw on himself the mantle of myth.”<sup>93</sup>

A.W.Singham- “Charisma in this sense can be described as the possession of the gift of grace, a quality which is easily recognizable in certain personalities.”<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Gerald Gordon, *The Impact of Charisma on West African Political Development* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, USA, 1981), 2.

<sup>90</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, “Political Leadership and Charismatic Power”, *The Journal of Politics*, (February 23, 1961), 14.

<sup>91</sup> Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: Oxford University Press, NY, 1947), 329.

<sup>92</sup> Tucker, 80.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>94</sup> Singham, 310.

This leads to the question why someone can be charismatic in certain situation and not in others. It is evident that there are many persons laying claim to the charismatic personality. Among these were various leaders active during the movement for independence against colonialism according to Singham.<sup>95</sup> Joshua and to a lesser extent Cato in this respect can be listed in this group because of the mass following and activities which they had generated.

Tucker was very aware of the link between Creole nationalism and the emergence of leaders with charismatic tendencies. He stated that, "the state of acute distress predisposes people to perceive as extraordinarily qualified and to follow with enthusiastic loyalty a leadership offering salvation from distress."<sup>96</sup> However, this statement may be appropriate for any leadership offering a better deal to the people.

According to Wallerstein, in the period immediately after securing political independence for their country, the charismatic leader plays a different kind of role. This role is of the hero who first of all is readily available with easily understood symbol of a new nation, "someone to incarnate in his person its values and aspirations...He legitimizes the state by ordaining obedience to its norms out of loyalty to his person."<sup>97</sup>

It seems that the charismatic person is one who can, in a crisis situation represent the collective will as a result of his endowed perceived divine gift, so that, he can, for a time, relieve the masses' fears and anxieties. This is essential to create a mood which is likely to eventually lead to fostering unity. In so doing, the charismatic leader is able to forestall hostility by having the masses become more amenable. However, as a crisis

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Tucker, 80.

<sup>97</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *Africa: The Politics of Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1961), 99.

situation worsens, the receptiveness of the masses to the charismatic leader is likely to ease “the pressures and the fears of some situations of change”. Blondel referred to this as, “a short-cut to legitimacy.”<sup>98</sup> It follows then, that the charismatic leader is likely to contribute to a transitional structure.

Manifestations of charismatic rule are not clear-cut due to the fact that charismatic leadership tends not to adhere to institutions. This is so, because it is likely to lead to structures that will impede the personal character of authority, the following of rules and regulations or standard procedures which are not in the psyche of the leader. Eldridge concludes that, “Charismatic authority is specifically irrational in the sense of being foreign to all rules.”<sup>99</sup>

Charismatic leadership has a tendency to restrict institution building and interfere with the emergence of groups that are willing to challenge their authority.<sup>100</sup> This creates a situation of instability because of the leader’s desire to have unchallenged authority.<sup>101</sup> Various tactics are used to find “scapegoats” according to Wallerstein; but any highly personalized rule has the effect of distorting the information received by the masses. This is done of necessity in order to protect the leader’s image. Much of what is true is not filtered through and much of what passed through is either invented or exaggerated.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Jean Blondel, *An Introduction to Comparative Government* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 117.

<sup>99</sup> Eldridge, Weber, 232.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

Most writers on the subject conclude that charisma is a short lived phenomenon. Some indications to support this were noted by Palmer, Dronberger and Bendix and are listed below. These provide clues signaling when a leader's decline will start. This fall seems to be precipitated based on some problem emerging from unfulfilled expectations.

T. Dow- "...charismatic leadership, functioning within an institutional base and face with the problems of social and economic institutions capable of meeting mass demands could be developed." <sup>103</sup>

M. Palmer- "The major problem...one of maintaining mass solidarity and support until such time as political and economic institutions capable of meeting mass demands could be developed." <sup>104</sup>

I. Dronberger- "Technological progress increases in population, and intensification in the bureaucratic trend in combination bring rationalization to bear upon almost all aspects of life, decreasing the survival chances of... charisma". <sup>105</sup>

Most writers see charisma as a matter of perception by followers. Hence, when leaders are no longer perceived as being charismatic by their followers, they are likely to become less of an effective force heralding their demise.

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<sup>103</sup> T.E. Dow. "The Role of Charisma in Modern African Development", *Oxford University Press: Social Forces Journal* 46, (1968): 337.

<sup>104</sup> Monte Palmer, *Dilemmas of Political Development*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed (Itasca IL: A.F.E Peacock Pub, 1989), 146.

<sup>105</sup> Ilse Dronberger, *The Political Thought of Max Weber: In Quest of Statesmanship* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Meredith Corporation, 1971), 304.

## Political Development Theory

The theoretical constructs of political development is pivotal to this study. Various literatures on the subject encompass several different approaches. Some of these approaches are useful; while some are in direct contradiction to the variables whereby a leader may be gauged to determine the effectiveness in achieving political and developmental objectives within the theoretical constructs. The danger of subjectivity which must be avoided at all cost.

Therefore, various variables of political development will be elucidated to present a comprehensive empirical analysis of the contribution of the subject leaders. Although it is a very difficult concept to define in this regard Black was convinced that political development is the result of an attitude, “a belief that a society can and should be transformed, and that change is desirable.”<sup>106</sup> Various writers such as Gabriel Almond, Lucian Pye, La Palombara, and S.P. Huntington tried to formulate and conceptualize the process, characteristic and dynamics of political development of Third World countries. They all had varied outcome with a diversity of meanings. This led Pye to identify eleven meanings of political development based on the work of different scholars. These are as follows.<sup>107</sup>

- 1) “Political development as political prerequisite of economic development - Paul A. Baran, Bruchana, and Barbara Ward

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<sup>106</sup> Cyril E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975), 7.

<sup>107</sup> Lucien W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1966), 37.

- 2) Political development as politics typical of industrial societies - W.W. Rostow
- 3) Political development as operation of nation states - K. H. Silvert and Edward A. Shills
- 4) Political Development as Political modernization - James Coleman, S.M. Lipset and Karl Deutsch
- 5) Political development as administrative and legal development - Joseph Lapalombara and A.M. Henderson
- 6) Political development as mobilization and participation of people – Esenstadt and Rupert Emersons
- 7) Political development as building of democracy - J.R. Pennock
- 8) Political development as stability and orderly change - Karl Deutsch and F.W. Riggs
- 9) Political development as mobilization and powers - James Coleman and G. Almond
- 10) Political development as one aspect of multi-dimensional process of social change - Daniel Learner
- 11) Political development as a sense of national respect in international affairs - Myron Weiner and James Coleman.”<sup>108</sup>

Jain and Bajpal also summarized some definitions by other writers of political development which are considered important in any discussion on the topic. These definitions are as follows:-

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

1. Joseph La Palombara - "Political development may be understood as a movement towards political system which is capable of handling the load it confronts, characterized by significant differentiation in structures and specificity of functions, increasingly centralized and able to maintain itself."
2. S. N. Eisenstadt - "The concept of political development involves the ability of the political system to absorb varieties and changing types of political demands and organizations. It also involves the skill to deal with new and changing types of problems which the system produces or which it must absorb from outside sources."
3. Alfred Diamant- "Political development is not defined as a process which aims at a particular condition, but one which creates an institutional framework for solving an ever widening range of social problems."
4. Mackenzie - "Political development refers to the capacity (of political system) to adapt to a higher level of adaptability."
5. F.W. Riggs - "By political development we refer primarily to the process of popular control over government, but in other sense, political development refers to the process of politicization: increasing participation or involvement of citizens in the state activities in power calculation and consequences." <sup>109</sup>

On the basis of these definitions by Pye, Jain and Bajpal, the process of political development is characterized by increasing capacity of the political system, differentiation in political structures and greater democratization and political

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<sup>109</sup> F.W. Riggs, *Language and National Development*: (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1970), 29.

participation of people.<sup>110</sup> However, in a small island setting, political development is rarely seen as institutional changes or the transformation of political structures. It often runs concurrent with economic development which is the ability of the state, leaders and governments to improve the standard of living of the masses and fulfilling their aspirations.<sup>111</sup>

In order to produce a comprehensive investigation and analysis of the study, it is necessary to utilize a checklist of dependent variables to ascertain the level of contribution or lack of contribution to politics and political development<sup>112</sup> These variables include: attitudes, ideology, nationalism, rural/urban shift, socialization, mass participation, order/disorder, health and sanitation, education, modernization, infrastructure, communications infrastructure, physical infrastructure, traditionalism and integration.

### **Political Development Variables**

#### ***Attitudes***

Attitudes are the conventional ways of responding to people and situations that we have learned based on the beliefs, values and assumptions we hold. Our response to situations and our conduct can reflect our attitude. Our behavior can be controlled in a manner that does not reflect our beliefs and values. However, positive attitude and

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<sup>110</sup> A. Bajpal, "Concept of Political Development, Political Science Article", *The Leadership Quarterly* 3, (Spring 1992): 43-54.

<sup>111</sup> Frank Rojas, "Eulogy of E.T. Joshua", *The News: Kingstown*, St Vincent, April 28, 1991.

<sup>112</sup> Gerald Gordon, *The Impact of Charisma on West African Political Development* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1981), 31.

behavior is necessary for adaptation and successful diversity and implementation of any program.

It is very important that a country and its leaders adapt the right attitude towards development according to Finkle and Gamble. This is necessary to motivate the masses and the country as a whole, by encouraging them to participate in their drive to develop their country. This becomes even more critical in countries where the struggle is greatest and the immediate sacrifices required are more substantial.<sup>113</sup> While some attitudes need to be developed, others must be opposed because they run counter to the development process in general.<sup>114</sup> According to Bauer, some attitudes need to be eliminated. These are: “lack of interest in material advancement; resignation in the face of poverty; lack of initiative, self-reliance, and a sense of personal responsibility for the economic future of one’s self and family.”<sup>115</sup> Pye and Verba cautioned about the need for people to feel they belong and to foster peaceful changes “unless those individuals who are physically and legally members of a political system...are also psychologically members of that system...orderly patterns of change are unlikely.”<sup>116</sup>

All attitudes must be actively received for it to be an effective instrument of change. It must first be actively pursued by the leader and his government so that

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<sup>113</sup> Rojas, *Joshua Eulogy*

<sup>114</sup> Jason. L. Finkle and Richard W. Gamble, *Political Development and Social Change* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 1968). 117.

<sup>115</sup> Peter T. Bauer, *Dissent on Development* (Cambridge MA: The Harvard University Press, 1972), 78.

<sup>116</sup> Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds. *Political Culture and political Development* (Princeton NJ: The Princeton University Press, 1965). 529.

followers can emulate. Gerald Heeger warns that if this fails, “underdevelopment threatens to become a permanent condition rather than a transitory stage.”<sup>117</sup>

Planners are confronted with difficult issues in trying to formulate and implement long-term plans. Without the right receptive attitudes of the implementers and society-at-large the popularity in the implementation of these plans “which require immediate sacrifices in the name of future advantage will be low”<sup>118</sup> according to Apter.

There will always be a degree of uncertainty regarding the rate of change and direction of the future which will make the selling of the necessary short-term investments and sacrifices more difficult. According to Apter, attitudes must be encouraged to help counter this difficulty.<sup>119</sup> But any development in the third world is fraught with serious problems due to the fear engendered by an unknown outcome. Apter claims, that it is “like hurtling through a tunnel at frightening speeds without knowing what waits at the other end. Fear creates serious political problems.”<sup>120</sup>

### *Ideology*

According to the Krieger, political ideologies are indispensable to appreciating the role of political thought within social, temporal and spatial contexts. Ideology in this context is associated with the establishment and preservation of a proper attitude for development. This is due to the fact that it is necessary over a period of time to help the spread of supporting ideas to aid in development and to have a functional definition of

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<sup>117</sup> Gerald A. Heeger, *The Politics of Underdevelopment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), 1.

<sup>118</sup> David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), xiii.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

ideology which will be valuable to the development process.<sup>121</sup> According to Ilchman and Uphoff “an ideology is a statement, more or less explicit, about a preferred allocation of resources or valued political, social, and economic stratifications. It may approve of the ‘status quo’ or it may seek more or less far-reaching changes, but in any case, it involves a statement of what ought to be distribution of resources.”<sup>122</sup>

It follows then, that any ideology must support the instrument it was designed to promote. Therefore, any established ideology must not conflict with the sacrifices being asked of the people. This is due to the fact that the ideology is an essential element in conditioning followers to prepare to or accept any sacrifice that is necessary. Apter went further, stating that:

An ideology can set priorities, simply choices, create unity of purpose, coordinate actions, dictate behavior and responses, and mobilize the masses. It can be an explanation, a rationale, a conduit of change- of development. To do so, it must be consistent with the desires of the masses of the people. One weakness of an ideology, oddly enough, lies in its strength. An ideology prescribes given reactions to given stimuli. It is, therefore, somewhat restrictive. The flexibility of a people (or a leader) to react based on the circumstances is limited. Reactions are confined to the bounds of the ideology. To step over those bounds in one situation would be to call into question the entire pattern of beliefs. Another way of viewing this paradox is to consider the diminished authority of the leader. The accepted ideology, then, must be both related to development and broadly touch upon every other contingency. This is an admittedly difficult task and one which, Apter has noted, has not been accomplished in Africa in the sense of a comprehensive system of consistent beliefs. (Apter 1967, 65)

Ideology can work both ways: it can threaten the authority of the leader or be used by the leader to legitimize his rule by generating support. To Heeger, it can “link elites to

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<sup>121</sup> Krieger, 381.

<sup>122</sup> Warren F. Ilchman and Norman T. Uphoff, *The Political Economy of Change* (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1974), 238.

the masses.”<sup>123</sup> However, danger exists in allowing a leader to manipulate an ideology for the purpose of building authority. Although some writers such as Apter suggest that this is the proper role for an ideology,<sup>124</sup> most believe, as does Jordan, that this would allow the leader too much flexibility and lead to repression.<sup>125</sup>

Apter further claims, that ideology can be employed to create “non-essential undertakings”<sup>126</sup> which in itself is dangerous. He continued that this can be done by directing ideological support away from the needs of the vast majority. Leaders of underdeveloped countries have tended to “fritter away their small initial political capital of legitimacy.”<sup>127</sup> They then turn and consciously use ideology as a means of diversion to smooth over certain crises. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to observe how these leaders use ideology.

### ***Nationalism***

One of the most important variables to shape the contemporary world is nationalism. It is essential in creating national pride. According to Kilson, nationalism is one of the “most pervasive and persuasive themes of modernization and development.”<sup>128</sup> To Pye, political development is “the politics of nationalism.”<sup>129</sup> The theme of

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<sup>123</sup> Gerald Heeger, *The Politics of Underdevelopment* (New York: St Martin Press, 1974), 55.

<sup>124</sup> Apter, *Ideology and Discontent*, 22.

<sup>125</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Government and Order in West Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing Corp, 1969), 258.

<sup>126</sup> Apter, *Ideology and Discontent*, 156.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, 72.

<sup>128</sup> Martin Kilson, *New Sates in the Modern World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975/6), 103.

<sup>129</sup> Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* (Boston MA: Little, Brown, and Co. 1966), 37.

nationalism can be used to create a spirit of citizenship among segments of the population which are most highly diverse and traditionally autonomous. Heeger sees nationalism as a largely negative force, creating a break with the old order, hastening the death of that order; it does not spread any particular set of ideas.<sup>130</sup> However, there is also the positive aspect of nationalism which can be beneficial in the process of political development. According to Rostow there is reactive nationalism which is “an important and powerful force in the transition from the traditional to the modern society, at least as important as the profit motive.”<sup>131</sup>

Wallerstein and other writers claim that nationalism can also be used for diversionary purposes by unscrupulous leaders. They use assumed outside threat to draw the people together in a common cause which often, “divert attention from other conditions of life.”<sup>132</sup> He continues that this is often a necessary ploy used to maintain the fervor created by the drive to independence and override feelings of disappointment and non-fulfillment of promises and expectations. The danger inherent in utilizing an outside threat to legitimize is that it can only be effective in the short run. The benefits to be derived from creating unity by the threat of constant danger must be viewed as short-term. Other means of creating unity must be quickly identified. As reported in a United Nations

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<sup>130</sup> Heeger, 57-61

<sup>131</sup> W. W. Rostow, *Politics and the Stages of Growth*, (Cambridge MA: The University Press, 1971), 21.

<sup>132</sup> Wallerstein, *Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa*, in Dora and Stultz, *Governing in Black Africa: Perspectives on New States* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970), 10-14.

study, “utilizing an outside threat for obtaining legitimate power is costly in political and economic terms and cannot be sustained for long.”<sup>133</sup>

It can be concluded that the proper role of nationalism in the development process is to establish the state in the minds of the people as the largest unit which can demand their loyalty. This was reinforced by Emerson when he claims that the “nation is the largest community which, when the chips are down, effectively commands men’s loyalty, overriding the claims of the lesser communities within it.”<sup>134</sup> Hence, the integration of society has become the pivotal role of nationalism.

### ***Rural/Urban Shift***

In the context of this paper, considering this small island with a population of fewer than 120,000 people, urbanization should not be deemed an overriding concept in nation building or development in SVG. This is due to the fact that these islands are so small with very limited space that the rural villages are sometimes larger than the urban areas. There is still a higher population growth in the rural areas than the urban areas. The limited urban areas are less attractive than the rural areas. The people prefer to have land with fruit trees and distance from their neighbors. The few towns have never developed into sprawls.

There is a village culture which is more prominent than the urban or town. This is where most of the affluent members of society traditionally reside. In larger countries, it is an important variable due to the pressures it engenders for the government to provide

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<sup>133</sup>The United Nations, *Popular Participation in Decision Making for Development* (New York: The United Nations Press, 1975), 13.

<sup>134</sup> Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of African and Asian People* (Cambridge MA: The Harvard University Press, 1960), 95.

social services and so forth. It is very difficult to escape eyesores of shanty towns in these tiny islands. With the growth and dependence on tourism successive governments of SVG are carrying out a policy of beautification, where villages compete annually for prizes based on upkeep. They discourage any urban sprawl to try and keep the islands attractive as a source of tourist revenue. Hence, it becomes necessary for leaders of these tiny underdeveloped nations to de-emphasize continued urbanization.

The sources of instability for a regime can be found in the advanced, more populated areas. As politics becomes more urban in its base; there will likely to be less stability. The leaders must insure, therefore, that the masses accept a new national, rural or urban political culture.<sup>135</sup> With regard to small islands, there are suburban areas which are hardly any different from the rural villages, hence, the issue of urban areas being a breeding ground for disaffection or challenge to the status quo does not hold fast in SVG. This is because no serious dichotomy can be made between the rural and urban residents' attitudes, behavior or culture. Rural residents can be just as or even more radical than urban. This is due to the fact that the rural areas usually bear the brunt of deprivation due to significant infrastructural development and decline in agriculture. Hence, they are more likely to be the precursor of strife to protect their livelihood.

### ***Socialization***

The socialization process has a significant effect for leadership on the development process. Social mobilization is defined as the process in which major clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments are eroded or broken

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<sup>135</sup> Trading Economics, <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/st-vincent-and-the-grenadines/rural-population-growth-annual-percent-wb-data.html> (accessed on April 29, 2012)

and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior.<sup>136</sup> Deutsch and Almond see socialization as “the process of induction into the political culture. The end-product is a set of attitudes- cognitions, values, standards, and role incumbents.”<sup>137</sup> It follows then that developing countries governments must instill this variable of attitude amongst the population. These beliefs are essential for the development process especially during “the transitional period... when the nation-building process is in its initial phase, may be a highly traumatic one for the new state.”<sup>138</sup>

The newly politicized masses are faced with very painful experiences due to conflict inherent in the transfer of loyalty. In the smaller islands of the Caribbean like SVG, where there are very small urban areas, there is a shift of focuses on the villages as the major unit of agitation and socialization. The issue of urbanization during the development process is not very pronounced. Nevertheless, socialization is very useful in individuals and society overall transition process.

There is the issue that any post-independence will be faced with transition problems. These problems will be to varying degree depending on the level of socialization. Some transition will be smooth while others will include some conflicts. The transition objectives should be designed to reduce tensions in the overall socialization process. Every country is faced with the dilemma of socialization during their march to independence. The supplanting the colonial system with an indigenous

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<sup>136</sup> Peter J. Wilson. *Crab Antics: A Caribbean Case Study of the Conflict between Reputation and Respectability* (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, Inc. Illinois, 1995), 72, 89, 203.

<sup>137</sup> Gabriel A. Almond, *Political Development: Essays in Heuristic Theory* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1970), 108.

<sup>138</sup> Charles W. Anderson, et al, *Issues of Political Development* (Englewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 113.

system is usually emulated; requiring systems and structures to perform the new roles of the state. In this respect, political leadership is critical in this endeavor. Leaders are required to use their political acumen to lead the people in the right direction. Although Dawson and Prewitt claimed that “at no time can one say that an individual has been completely socialized or that his political self cannot be altered.”<sup>139</sup> At least, efforts have to be made to help overcome disappointment, hostility, or opposition, due to the lack of achievement and failed fulfillment of promises.

### ***Mass Participation***

Political participation according to Binder is, “any voluntary action, successful or unsuccessful ...intended to influence the choices of public policies, the administration of public affairs, or the choice of political leaders.”<sup>140</sup> The advent of adult suffrage in the West Indian islands encouraged the masses to participate in the political process. It has also encouraged participation in the decision-making process, thereby adding more resources to assist in the development of the country. This can also help engender support in the allocation of resources and decision outcomes. Binder claims, that an authoritarian leader will forego any advantages rather than surrender any degree of decision making authority.<sup>141</sup> This is counterproductive as per Huntington who claims that “the inability

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<sup>139</sup> Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt. *Political Socialization* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1969), 41.

<sup>140</sup> Binder, Leonard, et al: *Crises in Political Development* (Princeton, NJ: The Princeton University Press, 1971), 163.

<sup>141</sup> Harvey G. Kebschull, ed., *Politics in Transitional Societies: The Challenge of Change in Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), 26.

to adapt to broadened political participation eventually limits the ability... to innovate social reforms.”<sup>142</sup>

It is very important to encourage participation in the political system according to Almond. In the absence of legal means for the expression of mass opinions and desires, the masses will resort to extra-legal means.<sup>143</sup> According to Uphoff and Ilchman, “when individuals and groups are deprived of the right and opportunity of exercising power to express their demands, they have no choice but to submit to force or use it themselves to express their demands.”<sup>144</sup> Joshua stated that the presence of conflict in the society is an indication that there is a political culture where people are not allowed to fully participate in the governing of their own lives.<sup>145</sup> Hence, the existence of conflict may be a sign that meaningful participation is absent.

### ***Political Behavior***

A corollary to political participation is political behavior; which according to Alfred de Grazia explores the various ways citizens can influence government. These include voting, joining interest groups and political parties, and running for political office, all are forms of political participation which is one of the fundamental necessities of democracy. The participation activities are of particular relevance because political

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid. 167.

<sup>143</sup> Almond, 108.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua, *The Voice of Saint Vincent*: PPP Party Organ 9, (1969): 7.

behavior is based on making rational calculations of other people's power and acting accordingly.<sup>146</sup>

According to Donald E Watson, as a species, humanity expresses its undeveloped mentality through its political behavior, which does not differ significantly from the social behavior of other animals. That is, human political behavior is driven by the same instincts that guide the behavior of sheep, wildebeests, and other herding animals. For example, the majority of humans stampede to join the herds, or "bandwagons," of charismatic leaders. There, they delight in winning decisive victories, though it isn't always clear exactly what they win. Nevertheless, having won, the majority regards minorities as losers, unfit to participate in the activities of the herd. That is democracy as we know it.<sup>147</sup>

### ***Order/Disorder***

The advent of independence has created a series of anxieties and troubling situations for the new nations. To Samuel Huntington, a typical slowly emergent nation is likely to be unstable because:

...once exposed to modernity; disrupted socially from the traditional patterns of life; confronted with pressures to change their ways; economically, socially, of producing economic goods and services; and, frustrated by the modernization process generally, and the failure of their government to satisfy their ever rising expectations. (Huntington 1968, 46)

Gordon contends that it is essential to the successful pursuit of political development for the government to create the necessary atmosphere. This refers not only to order and security "vis-à-vis" the ruler, but also the masses as well. As per Gordon,

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<sup>146</sup> Alfred de Grazia, "Elements of Political Science", [www.Gravian-archive.com](http://www.Gravian-archive.com) (accessed October 1, 2011).

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

most social scientists have concluded that society needs order and security in order for it to promote valuable development. Without this “there cannot be effective education, socialization, health programs, orderly urbanization, social integration, mass participation, or the development of a sense of nationalism.” Unfortunately, disorder and conflict present real barriers to the development process according to Uphoff and Ilchman.<sup>148</sup>

Palmer, on the other hand, highlighted other development dilemmas. To him, “developing areas have struggled to attain substantial records of economic growth only to see their economies stagnate because of their inability to cope with the conflict and social disorganization precipitated thereby.”<sup>149</sup>

Any disorder places pressures on the available scarce resources of the country to be diverted for the creation of security services. In some small Caribbean islands like SVG, the police force has equaled one percent of the population.<sup>150</sup> Occasionally, the mass of the population has to resort to civil disobedience to let their voices be heard.

These points tie in with Almond and Powell’s observations that:

In some instances, violence is a sporadic occurrence an expression of individual need. Mass violence, on the other hand, may be viewed as “...a means of articulating demands... Characteristically, violence has been employed by those groups which feel they have the least to gain from chaotic upheaval, and which face an enormous gap between possessions and expectations.” Violence can, then, be viewed as a rational strategy for expressing demands when other channels are unavailable or closed. The government must provide for accessible channels for input as well as the mechanisms with which to deal with disorders that do occur. (Almond and Powell 1966, 73)

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<sup>148</sup> Uphoff and Ilchman, 110.

<sup>149</sup> Palmer, 10.

<sup>150</sup> Ralph Gonsalves, “2008 Annual Budget Estimates to the Legislative Council”, (Address by the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance to the House of Assembly Kingstown, St Vincent, December 2007): 2-15, National Archive, St. Vincent.

To Gurr, the extent to which the socially deprived expectations are violated will give rise to violence and disruption of the political order. Hence, the development process itself is a catalyst for disorder. Coleman claims that “rapid economic growth has politically destabilizing consequences... the revolution of rising expectations.”<sup>151</sup> He is in effect claiming that the whole political system can be negatively affected by rapid economic growth. The issue is in defining rapid economic growth. However, Kautsky noted that there are other arguments that “the hopes aroused by the modernizers can be fulfilled either not at all or certainly not very quickly. Bitter disappointment and frustration are thus virtually inevitable.”<sup>152</sup> As a result, leaders encounter dilemma when trying to make the society more equitable by bridging the gap between the rich and poor. This situation could also be a breeding ground for political disorder.

### ***Health and Sanitation***

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) stated that “if development is to succeed, the poor countries must overcome the formidable challenges of debilitating disease and malnutrition.”<sup>153</sup> This is regarded as a pre-condition for the satisfactory operation of the political system to provide minimal or better health and sanitation standards to the population. Without such standards, urbanization, education, order, and other aspects of the development process will be hindered.

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<sup>151</sup> James S. Coleman, “The Resurrection of political economy,” in Uphoff and Ilchman. *The Political Economy of Development*, 37.

<sup>152</sup> Kautsky, *Political Change*, 30.

<sup>153</sup> Agency for International Development, *Introduction to the FY 1974 Development Assistance Program Presentation to the Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), 10.

However, in the island nations of the Caribbean, efforts are being made to facilitate this goal. These islands have a daunting task to combat the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in their respective islands. Malnutrition still exists to some extent throughout the islands. This is more a dietary problem than the shortage of food. The people seem to prefer to consume excessive starches rather than use the readily available variation in vegetables and fruits to supplement their diets. To this end, the governments of SVG implemented a host programs to educate citizens about the numerous benefits that can be derived from doing so as well as provide ways for them to use the foods. Despite the fact that there has been an increase in life expectancy rates, there are more pressure on the social services because of the increases in sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancies. The provision of adequate healthcare remains a major challenge to development for these small nations. According to Meier, “health considerations need to be taken into account early on in all development planning, rather than having health regarded as a matter of giving more money for a new hospital, or adding a clinic to a development project.”<sup>154</sup> Throughout some of these islands, the lack of resources and failure to attract skilled medical specialists and services has created fear in citizens to even enter their general hospitals as patients. The more affluent usually seek medical attention abroad.

### ***Education***

This paper will only be concerned with education as a variable in political development and leadership. Many writers on the topic are unanimous that the purpose of

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<sup>154</sup> Gerald M. Meier. *Leading Issues in Development Economics* (Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 1964), 499.

education should be to advance societies socially, economically and politically.<sup>155</sup> This was either seriously lacking or limited during the colonial era. Education was designed to satisfy the demands of the colonial masters or the religious establishments.<sup>156</sup> The interest of the colonies or the ruled was never part of the agenda of the colonial power education policies. Education is seen as a catalyst for a country's development. Hence, sound education policies are necessary for the development of skills to propel the nation on its objectives. As a result, great emphasis is placed on the expansion of education.

Education is an instrument in all the variables relative to leadership and political development especially in the socialization process. Gordon claims that education can be used as either an ideological, propagandist, or integrative tool because it can teach better habits of health and sanitation. It can commute the skills necessary to obtain employment and personal and national development.

Nevertheless, education is a very important variable in both leadership and political development because it can influence outcome in a significant way. Education is a tool of mobility and a valuable outlet for the poorer classes. However, great care must be taken to ensure that education is not used or seen to be used to promote elite interests.

### ***Modernization***

Social scientists claim that developing countries are on a mission of modernization. As with leadership and political development theories, the term

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<sup>155</sup> Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (NY and London UK: The Continuum Publishing Group Inc, 1970) : 20-34.

[http://books.google.com/books?id=sJFXFD414ioC&printsec=frontcover&dq=pedagogy+of+the+oppressed&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9sN5T\\_nVDomW2QWkx8i1Bg&ved=0CEUQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=pedagogy%20of%20the%20oppressed&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=sJFXFD414ioC&printsec=frontcover&dq=pedagogy+of+the+oppressed&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9sN5T_nVDomW2QWkx8i1Bg&ved=0CEUQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=pedagogy%20of%20the%20oppressed&f=false) (accessed April 29, 2012)

<sup>156</sup> Ebenezer Duncan, *A Brief History of St Vincent with Studies in Citizenship* (Kingstown, St. Vincent: Reliance Printery, 1967), 38.

modernization is itself a complex topic. It does not have a single or all embracing definition. However, Gordon cataloged the following insights of writers on the subject:

- R. Jordan- “Modernization encourages man to look forward rather than backward.”<sup>157</sup>
- R. Jordan- “Modernization is the creation of new institutions and ways of living due to the application of scientific and technological knowledge.”<sup>158</sup>
- L. Binder- “By modernity, we mean the historical conditions or patterns of observable social behavior and characteristic ideas which prevail in our era and did not at some determinable period in the past.”<sup>159</sup>
- C. Black- “Modernization is a continuous series of changes accompanying the growth of knowledge.”<sup>160</sup>
- D. Apter- “Modernization is a special kind of hope.”<sup>161</sup>
- D. Apter- “Modernization is the process of consciously directing and controlling the social consequences of increases role differentiation and organizational complexity in a society.”<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Jordan, 231.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 318.

<sup>159</sup> Binder, et al, *Crises in Political Developments*, 16.

<sup>160</sup> Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization*, 55.

<sup>161</sup> Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*, 1.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 56.

- M. Palmer- “Modernization is an idealized pattern of social, economic, and political arrangements that is yet to be achieved but is approximated by the world’s more economically developed states.” <sup>163</sup>
- S. Huntington- “Modernization involves the... multiplication and diversification of the social forces in society.”<sup>164</sup>
- S. Huntington- “Modernization is associated with a marked redistribution of power within the political system.”<sup>165</sup>

It is difficult “to capture fully all the complexities of this subject in one short sentence.”<sup>166</sup> Huntington offers a viable working definition when he stated that modernization is “a multi-faceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity...and involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes, and expectations.”<sup>167</sup>

In the contemporary world, it is readily accepted that modernization is the ultimate goals of developing countries. Nevertheless, there is no concrete decision about what constitutes modernization. However, there are certain variables which are prevalent in any discussion of the subject. Most theorists see modernization as the progression from a traditional way to a more advanced situation. Black was emphatic when he claims that modernization can be “simultaneously creative and destructive.” <sup>168</sup> In effect, it follows that modernization is destructive of traditional attitude, beliefs, and practices. Far from

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<sup>163</sup> Palmer, *Dilemmas of Political Development*. 24.

<sup>164</sup> Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 8.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.* 144

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>168</sup> Black, 27.

being adverse to traditional ways, Finkle and Gable propose that it “attacks head-on traditional ways of believing and acting.”<sup>169</sup>

Hence, Gordon claims that society and individuals are affected by modernization likewise. Some effects on the society may include:

1. A new respect for innovation and industriousness;
2. Differentiated political functions;
3. Increased participation by a wider range of groups;
4. The centralization and nationalization of authority to replace local, religious, and ethnic authorities;
5. A shift from subsistence production to production for profit and exportation; and,
6. A shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial based economy

Some effects on the individual include:

1. A growing concern for one’s future welfare;
2. A greater desire to participate in the political decision-making process and a heightened desire to benefit there from;
3. A growing desire for upward mobility;
4. An increase in the mobility of the family;
5. A growing sense of being able to demand a certain standard of living of one’s leaders; and,
6. A tendency to join new groups, and social clubs.

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<sup>169</sup> Finkle and Gable. 74.

Respect for individual rights and freedom can be added to the definition.

Modernization is seen as a change agent. It is usually accompanied by forces wanting changes and forces resisting changes. Some groups are steeped in traditionalism and are suspicious of any attempt to change to the unknown hence; they resist changes of any sort. There are other groups that are determined to have their way and spearhead change in the society by moving with the times. Sometimes conflict ensued because of the failure of these groups to forge compromises. Hence, leaders must provide the necessary institutions and administrative links so that it can be properly directed and managed by the government. "It must provide the impetus for social change and employ the resultant energy for its development goals."<sup>170</sup> It must help its people to reconcile new ways with longstanding patterns of beliefs because "modernization creates new social and political consciousness in old groups."<sup>171</sup>

For Black modernization is a never-ending process which offers both positive and negative outcomes. Hence, leaders have to be mindful of the fact that it is a movement for social change.

However, due to the pressures on the system to change, there need to be significant flexibility to accommodate any new developments. Political parties and leaders must be able to adapt to the demands of change agents. However, some leaders fail to encourage participation in the political process fearing challenge to their leadership. Some political parties in small islands only recognize their followers when there is a need to mobilize them for an election or important event. With regards to the need for inclusion, Black noted that "...societies are never in equilibrium. They are constantly in the process of change...the immediate impact of which bears on the functions that institution perform. (Black 1975, 47)

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<sup>170</sup> Gordon, 124.

<sup>171</sup> Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 167.

### *Infrastructure Development*

This is a very important variable in every aspect of development including political development because it influences every aspect of the society. It is necessary to have political and civic infrastructure, to direct the physical infrastructure. Infrastructure refers to all the generally useful things that make our lives work so well: water, sewer, railways, ports, airports, public spaces, libraries, energy pipelines, schools, public safety systems and transportation networks. It is necessary to have political and civic infrastructure, to direct the physical infrastructure. Infrastructure shapes how a region develops. Infrastructure can also be categorized as social which includes the major institutions of the state, such as the legal system, the form of government, or the economic system.”<sup>172</sup> According to Erie and Chase, the governance of that infrastructure fundamentally matters to a region and its ability to engage in long-term planning, governance and prosperity.<sup>173</sup>

On a deeper level, it represents the entire stock of physical and systems frameworks within which the political development process occurs. It requires resource allocations designed to increase production as well as the output of services. As Uphoff and Ilchman pointed out, these resources are no longer “immediately available for use in coping with present social and economic change or remaining in authority in the present.”<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Jordan. 315.

<sup>173</sup> Steve Erie and Carolyn Chase, “The Importance of Infrastructural Development,” *San Diego Earth Times*: [www.cdchase@sdearthtimes.com](http://www.cdchase@sdearthtimes.com) (assessed January 20, 2011).

<sup>174</sup> Uphoff and Ilchman, *The Political Economy of Change*, 233.

Infrastructure developments benefits will show long term returns. Hence, governments are to persuade the masses to forgo present sacrifices to reap future rewards. In small islands, infrastructure projects are the province of leaders, some even personalize these functions; especially when elections are forthcoming. They name the airports, community and resource centers and other government facilities after themselves.

We ought to look at the infrastructure from the political/administrative, physical and communication perspectives to understand its impact on political development. Political and Administrative Infrastructure includes political parties, elections, local governments, long-range development plans, interest groups, legislative bodies, constitution, and the judicial system. Here is where the needs of the people must be fulfilled through the political system (Black 1975, 47)

In some respects, opposition political parties become valuable instruments as outlets of frustrations by offering alternatives. In so doing, they become elements of stability within the system through the lessening of tensions. In some cases these actions avert disturbances through compromises in the common interests. However, many variables contribute to the outcome; chief among these are the level of resources available to the political parties and the mood of the people. According to Uphoff and Ilchman, the outcome of an election may offer positive or negative insights to the leader:

Elections may hinder his achievement of a more desired state, since if a statesman is re-elected by a reduced majority, this evidence of reduced support will diminish his power to implement programs. Observers of politics in developing countries agree that, by and large, elections strengthen local and often parochial sectors; yet even so, they may yield more to a regime than they cost. (Uphoff and Ilchman 1971, 235)

If this is the case, then the system must be able to accommodate others within the decision making process. In so doing, there will be an expansion of participation and the likelihood that conflict will be reduced. There must be an efficient functioning bureaucracy to accommodate the functions of the state. This is necessary in the interest of the larger body politic which is dependent on impartial government services. Inevitably,

the capacity of the state apparatus will also improve to process the demands of citizen as a result of these actions. According to Gordon, in order for the development process to proceed smoothly, institutions must be evolved which permit participation in decision making and facilitate the implementation of decisions. In the absence of such an institutional framework, political leaders must anticipate the possibility of civil unrest.

### *The Communications Infrastructure*

According to Almond and Powell this provides the political elites with “a tremendous potential for arousing the interests and influencing the attitudes of the citizens.”<sup>175</sup> It can be used for a variety of functions from mobilization of the population to propaganda. Bretton claims that, “it has the ability of a government and an administration to improve, to innovate, to modernize, in all spheres of responsibility depends on the extent to which information is received by the decision-makers, the quality of that information, and the extent to which it is blocked or lost as it passes through the channels of communication.”<sup>176</sup>

According to Almond and Coleman, all the available media ranging from newspapers, journals, films, television, and radio are engaged in the spread of ideas throughout the country.<sup>177</sup> Some are manipulated by the political system while some are in contrast opposition. Nevertheless, the communications system contributes to debates and discussions on every aspect of activities within the society. Communications can

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<sup>175</sup> Almond and Powell. 129.

<sup>176</sup> Henry Bretton, *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Praeger, NY, 1966), 140.

<sup>177</sup> Almond and Coleman, 131.

broaden the outlook of citizens about their environment, and in so doing; it helps to shape the attitudes of the people.

The media's function as a form of infrastructure is to generate the flow of information both upward to the leaders downward to their followers. Communication is a tremendous and all-encompassing force in the political development process. All the functions performed in the political system are performed by means of communication. (Almond and Coleman 1960, 129)

To Almond and Coleman, the role of the media in development is like the circulation of blood in the body. They noted that:

It is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system. The blood is the neutral medium carrying claims, protests and demands through the veins to the heart; and from the heart through the arteries flow the outputs of rules, regulations, and adjudications in response to the claims and demands. (Almond and Coleman 1960, 47)

Gordon carried this human analogy one step further. He postulated that the absence of that blood (information) to and from the heart (the political leadership) could cause the body (the nation) to black out. He asserted that if the blood only flows to and from certain parts of the heart, it destroys the system's ability to ward off diseases. It creates atrophy at both the top and bottom of the political system.

### ***Physical Infrastructure***

Although physical infrastructure is encapsulated under infrastructure mentioned earlier, it is necessary to delve into the topic to highlight some key points. Physical infrastructure incorporates every facet of the society; both natural and manmade. It is essential to promote the development of every facet of the society as well as the development of other areas. It includes roads, waterways, railroads, airlines, port facilities, markets, dams, sewage facilities, and production of sources of energy. Paden

and Soja in relating physical infrastructure to the African experience added that it must also comprise certain essential services. These include geographical services to map and explore resource bases which involve testing the soil, locating surface and sub-surface water.<sup>178</sup>

In small mountainous island nations like SVG, the problem of feeder roads access exists. Hence, agricultural production becomes neglected resulting in declining agricultural production for both the local market and export markets. In these small island nations, sometimes there is an abundance of water. However, there is the problem of inadequate supply of pipe borne for consumption especially as some micro-industries utilize the same water sources. Water is also needed for hydro power generation. In nations where resources are limited, the development of physical infrastructure has a significant impact on policies and political development.

All the foregone concepts and variables are extremely useful in this study. However, an additional but critical instrument to measure political development a checklist developed by Gordon. This is essential to assist in the determination of outcomes. Gordon claims that the checklist can be used to ascertain the effectiveness of a government or its leaders in their pursuit of political development. He insists that the positive and negative aspects represent a continuum. Where the indicators are primarily extremes it is reasonable to expect that a leader will fall between those two extremes in most cases. Again, positive and negative refer to the effectiveness of political development efforts. It does not refer to the relative worth of development or modernization versus more traditional ways.

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<sup>178</sup> Paden and Soja, *The African Experience*. 516.

Table 1 is a Political Development checklist of indicators adapted from Gordon. This checklist fully complies with significant political development variables. In this regard, it will assist in illustrating the development reasoning. The table assessed the negative and positive impact of political development based on a series of indicators which ranged from attitude to nationalism. According to Gordon, these types of impact will facilitate the formation of conclusions regarding the effect of leadership on politics and political development. However, it is not all-embracing because some positives may interchange with negatives and the extent of positive or negative will vary. Nevertheless, it provides comparative variables which are important tools in enhancing the study's theoretical approach.

TABLE 1

TABLE OF ADAPTED POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT CHECKLIST

Indicator	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
1. Attitude a) The desirability of change b) The government's role in influencing	a) Viewed as desirable b) Encourages positive attitude c) lead the way in fostering good attitudes	a) Apprehensive or fearful b) Negative or Passive c) Discourages the promotion of new positive attitudes
2. Ideology a) The government's role b) Applicability c) Flexibility d) Flexibility	a) Active efforts to develop one b) Directly related to internal development c) Broad enough to meet all contingencies d) Able to change as needs change	a) Discourages development b) Related to things not directly related to the internal development process c) Narrowly focused on a few critical areas d) Fixation on certain

		elements
3. Nationalism a) The government's role b) Applicability of use c) Effect on sub-nationalism d) National symbols	a) Encourages nationalism b) Directly related to the internal development process c) National overrides sub-national d) Developed and encouraged	a) Discourage it or is passive b) Diverted for purposes which are not strictly developmental in nature c) Lacks coherence d) Failure to promote the state ideals
4. Integration a) The government's role b) Scope	a) Active efforts to integrate the society b) All Sub-groups included in the effort	a) Indifference b) Key groups c) Marginalize the Grenadines and Carib Country
5. Urbanization a) Housing b) Employment and training c) Rural living	a) Increases in quality and quantity b) Increases in quantity and applicability to market c) Positive action to improve rural living conditions	a) Inaction b) Inaction c) Neglect
6. Socialization a) The government's role b) Moderation of new with old c) Role Restructuring d) Institutional re-structuring	a) Efforts made to ease the transition b) Transition is seen as slow, gradual c) Roles redefined to meet new needs d) Institutional re-defined to meet new needs	a) Inaction b) Transition is seen as rapid c) Roles allowed redefine themselves d) Institution allowed to re-defined themselves
7. Participation in the		

<p>decision making process</p> <p>a) The government's role</p> <p>b) Eligible participants</p> <p>c) Channel for participation</p>	<p>a) Full participation is encouraged</p> <p>b) Universal</p> <p>c) Fully developed and open</p> <p>d) To promote development</p>	<p>a) None is permitted</p> <p>b) Restricted by artificial requirements</p> <p>c) Either underdeveloped or kept closed</p> <p>d) To promote leaders agendas</p>
<p>8. Order/Disorder</p> <p>a) Resource Allocations</p> <p>b) Incidence of crime, rioting, and attempted secession</p>	<p>a) Sufficient for polices, fire, and military protection</p> <p>b) High</p> <p>c) Citizens feel secure</p>	<p>a) Insufficient funding</p> <p>b) Disrespect for Law and Order</p> <p>c) Lawlessness and corrupt practices</p>
<p>9. Health and Sanitation</p> <p>a) Sewage and refuse removal</p> <p>b) Water supply</p> <p>c) Infant mortality rate</p> <p>d) Average life expectancy</p> <p>e) Food supply</p> <p>f) Dread disease</p> <p>g) Physician, Nurse, midwife training</p> <p>h) Age-old habits</p>	<p>a) Increases in quality and regularity</p> <p>b) Increases in quality</p> <p>c) Healthier society</p> <p>d) Higher</p> <p>e) Increases in quality, quantity, and variety</p> <p>f) Efforts made to eliminate effects</p> <p>g) Increased allocations of resources for training</p> <p>h) Efforts made to change habits</p>	<p>a) No change in standard</p> <p>b) No change in health facilities</p> <p>c) No change in patient care</p> <p>d) Lack of medical equipment</p> <p>e) No increase or change</p> <p>f) Little efforts made</p> <p>g) No allocations of resources</p> <p>h) Inaction</p>
<p>10. Education</p> <p>a) Resource allocations</p> <p>b) Enrollment rates</p> <p>c) Applicability</p>	<p>a) High level</p> <p>b) Increases at all levels</p> <p>c) Professional and technical studies</p>	<p>a) Low level</p> <p>b) No change</p> <p>c) General Studies</p> <p>d) Not used for other</p>

d) Uses other Education (cont'd.)  e) Accessibility  f) Incentives for graduates	d) To aid the processes of nationalism, integration, and socialization  e) Open to all or all those deemed capable  f) More jobs, higher wages, greater access to the decision-	purposes  e) Restricted by factors not related to ability  f) Greater opportunities elsewhere attract graduates
11. Traditionalism  a) Blending of the old with the new  b) Rate of elimination	a) High degree  b) Transition is seen as a manageable gradual process	a) Reject adaptation  b) Transition is seen as a rapid process, confrontational
12. Modernization  a) Inevitability  b) Attitudes toward innovation  c) The nation's  d) economic base  e) Production goals  f) Concern for future welfare  g) Upward mobility  h) Physical mobility  i) Clubs and association	a) Modernization is seen as inevitable and is actively pursued  b) Growing respect  c) Trend toward industrialization  d) Profit, exportation  e) Growing demands placed on government  f) Increased opportunities  g) Increases in voluntary movement  h) Increases in number and membership; governmental non-interference	a) Modernization is viewed with contempt; viewed only as a problem  b) Viewed with traditional skepticism  c) Remains largely agrarian  d) Subsistence  e) Complacency, non-approach to government  f) Unknown  g) No increases  h) Membership discouraged or disallowed; governmental interference
13. Infrastructure  a) Party accessibility  b) Opposition	a) Channels for input well-developed and open  b) Free expression of	a) Channels either not developed or closed  b) Opposing views not

	opposing views within or outside the ruling or opposition party structures	permitted in any forum
c) Local and regional government		c) Networks are non-existent, closed, or operated independently of the central government
d) Interest groups	c) Networks are vast, open, and tied directly to the central government	d) Membership not allowed or groups have no influence
	d) Membership encouraged	
e) Constitution	e) Upheld by the government	e) Either discarded or distorted by the government when convenient
	f) Free of governmental interference	f) Governmental interference exists
f) The judicial system	g) Free of government interference	g) Coercion used to influence voting; outcomes are ambiguous and do not affect policies
g) Elections	h) Freedom is relatively great; provides information both up and down	
h) Media	i) Increases in quality and quantity	h) Government controlled or influenced. Propaganda machine
i) Roads	j) Increases in quality and quantity	i) No advances made
j) Feeder Roads	k) Increases in quality and quantity	j) No advances made
k) Airline facilities	l) Increases in quality and quantity	k) No advances made
l) Port and shipping facilities		l) No advances made
m) Production of energy	m) Increases in quantity and accessibility	m) No advances made

Source: Adapted from G Lewis Gordon, 1981, *The Impact of Charisma on West African Political Development*, 1981, 77-80.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review used various methods to investigate the areas of performance commensurate with leadership theory and its relationship to politics and political development. The leaders' influence on organizational, infrastructural and other developments including the personal outcomes of followers will be analyzed. Leadership and development theories and variables will provide the theoretical framework for examining these outcomes. The literature review will address the research question. It will conclude with the implications for further research, the validity of theory and practice in the area of leadership and its organizational and personal outcomes on political development in the small island setting of SVG.

In order to facilitate a coherent analysis of the leadership of Joshua and Cato in politics and political developments or behavior in SVG, it is necessary to first understand the initial conditions that existed in SVG that give rise to the emergence of Joshua and Cato and subsequent developments. In so doing, a brief essential background of St Vincent and the Grenadines and the subject political leaders Joshua and Cato is necessary as a basis to understanding and carry out this investigation. No doubt, that the political climate at the time may have been a contributory factor in their emergence and subsequent performances. But to what extent is this statement valid has to be justified. The significance of this claim has been the subject of many debates.

Most people see the West Indies today as tourists' destinations in the sun. They may be correct to some extent because most if not all of the nations, flaunt their "sun, sea and fun" as major resources. However, these islands are rich in history and adventure. The subject island of St Vincent and the Grenadines had sizeable indigenous inhabitants who were prepared to go to war against the French and British during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century to protect their independence.

SVG along with the other small islands were subjected to Crown Colony government. Peters claims that in this arrangement, it is not contradictory to judge these islands as insular, unique and functionally authoritarian.<sup>179</sup> This is because, in West Indian setting, the minute size and culture of these territories requires some modification of the governance structure that would not be possible in larger countries.<sup>180</sup> Hence, the crown colony government in these islands practiced a form of authoritarian rule based on a paternalistic top-down approach.<sup>181</sup> This is an aspect of colonial heritage where the governors had absolute power and ruled with supreme authority, backed by the ultimate power of the absent British monarchy. This is illustrated by the following quotation:

The governing structure that dominated these islands from occupation by the British until independence was one in which one man was always the decision-maker, irrespective of any parliamentary body. He could override legislation and impose decrees at will, all in the interest of the imperial majesty. When suffrage was finally granted to the territories, this same governmental apparatus and structure was transferred to the local political leaders in toto. The fundamental character of this colonial rule was a "top-down" system in which the colonial imperial representative, the governor maintained a level of superiority over the inhabitants of the islands. (Peters 1992, 24)

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<sup>179</sup> Donald C Peters, *The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 24.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

This shows that within this colonial structure, there was very limited participation in the decision making process and freedom of political expression. The existence of this situation was likely to be a precursor to conflict and malady in society. Hence, during the colonial era, there were a series of endemic disturbances between the colonial rulers and the subjected people. It is obvious then, that the colonized people did not fall within John Locke's framework of governance. Locke's social contract theory holds that citizens consent to be governed by a civil society to protect their rights and to resolve conflict. In the absence of such, according to Locke, the people had a right to revolt.

West Indian small islands' societies such as SVG were highly structured by class and color. At the top of the societies were the colonial overlords, which were always white. They were followed by the administrators or bureaucrats; the planter or settler class, then the working class or masses. The black society was structured on similar lines except for the sectionalizing of this group based on the color or shade of one skin.<sup>182</sup> In SVG, there was a diamond shaped societal structure and at the bottom were the Taino and Black Caribs.<sup>183</sup> In this hierarchical structure, the Caribs were treated as troublesome nonentities, labeled cannibalistic, warlike and accorded no social value.<sup>184</sup> Added to these structures were the elements of class which patterned itself on the rigid British class system then in practice in Great Britain and throughout its colonies. The class and status division helped to maintain a divide and rule strategy compliant with techniques

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<sup>182</sup> M.G. Smith. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies* (Los Angeles CA: University of California Press, 1965), 10.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Klaus de Albuquerque and Jerome L. Mc Elroy, "Race, Ethnicity, and Social Stratification in three Windward Islands," *Reports from St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Caribbean Amerindian Centre* (September 1999)

developed to maintain order for the benefit of Britain.<sup>185</sup>

Most changes occurred after World War I, when Britain began to look at its colonies as liabilities. As a result Britain gradually began integrating a few favored subject people into the ruling structure of the society. Britain financial constraints coupled with a new consciousness gave rise to the birth of proto-nationalism or Creole Nationalism among of ex-servicemen who returned to the various islands. They demanded greater participation in the decision making process. This is distinct from self government. These demands subsequently encouraged the emergence of groups agitating for change. In some islands including SVG, riots broke out, forcing the British government for the first time to look more constructively at the problems of these islands. This led to the establishment of a series of commissions culminating in the West India Royal Commission of 1938-1939. This was established specifically in response to labor revolts of the 1930s and was launched to investigate the causes of disturbances in the West Indian colonies.<sup>186</sup>

After World War II, Britain became more financially strapped and felt the burden of maintaining colonies which they felt were no longer profitable. Hence, Britain began to look for ways of withdrawing from these colonies. They tried various quick fixes, including uniting the islands into a West Indian Federation but this was short-lived. However, this fostered the establishment of the colored and black Creole elites as the appropriately trained successor to the British raj. F. S. J. Ledgister claimed that this was done by connecting the aspirations of the middle class to lower class concerns by

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<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>186</sup> *Report of the Royal West Indian Commission 1938-1939; on the State of the colonies, Cmd., 6607, (1945).* 1-4

challenging colonial rule and white racial domination.<sup>187</sup> Some leaders emerged and found their way into the mainstream of the Caribbean societies and politics.

An educated class was being cultivated to replace British officials as administrators. The majority of these replacements were not local but came from the other islands. Hence, a situation developed whereby the local island people saw these other islanders as implants to serve the interests of the colonial masters.<sup>188</sup> Meanwhile, a local elite was also emerging which was mostly of mixed race. This reinforced correlation of color, class and status<sup>189</sup> and led to the creation of exclusive clubs where the Black people were not welcomed. Moreover, the darker-skinned blacks were excluded from the best jobs and opportunities. This was the situation in every British Eastern Caribbean island.<sup>190</sup>

The advent of universal suffrage in the Caribbean islands, including SVG in 1951 ushered in significant changes in both the structure of government and participation of the general population in politics. Local leaders who were previously disenfranchised began to organize trade unions and political parties agitating against the plantocracy and colonial overlords. Blacks began to gradually break the class/color status monopoly through the acquisition of professions and education. Participation in the political process was instrumental in propelling them into upward mobility. Today there is a more pluralist society in terms of influential groups, politics and administration. However, since 1984 SVG has not had a Black prime minister with the exception of Arhnim Eustace who was

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<sup>187</sup> F.S.J. Ledgister, *Only West Indians: Creole Nationalism in the British West Indies*, (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2010). 23.

<sup>188</sup> Peters, 51-53.

<sup>189</sup> Smith, 96.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 35.

appointed and served in this capacity for a couple of months. This is despite the fact that over 90 percent of the population is Black. It is the only West Indian island where this has been the case.

The citizens at large seem to be more concerned about a rich/poor dichotomy rather than color or class which had always held the sway. This situation exists because of the fact that within one family there are likely to be siblings of varying shades of color and there are many poor whites in the society. Some are sometimes discriminated against by both blacks and whites. Hence, there is more focus on class or rich/poor. Some writers claim that this helps to create some sort of stability, peace and tranquility in the society.<sup>191</sup> The old social structure of white domination has been significantly eroded.

Central in the administration of colonies was the role of the British colonial bureaucracy which was organized to administer the colonies in the interest of Britain. The main bureaucratic functions were the collection of taxes and the maintenance of law and order. Secondary to this, was the provision of purpose services, which is providing services at the discretion of the administrator or British overlord so that he can effectively carry out his functions. This has always been an element of conflict in terms of the functions of colonial administration; due to the fact that there was no clear demarcation between the political and administrative roles of the bureaucracy.<sup>192</sup> Likewise, the bureaucracy still plays an important role in SVG politics and political development. The

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<sup>191</sup> Smith, 35.

<sup>192</sup> S.A. DeSmith, "Commonwealth Governments", *Journal of Commonwealth Studies* 1, no.1 (November, 1961): 3-12.

structure and activities of the colonial bureaucracy continued this operation into the various transitional eras culminating with independence.

The post-colonial bureaucracy has evolved to a situation where after an election; the bureaucracy becomes subordinated to the winning party which usually claims that, “they have a mandate to govern the country.”<sup>193</sup> In reality, the civil service is forced to take a back seat to the winning political party and governing party machinery. In every department of the civil service the governing political party is involved in the execution of administrative matters.<sup>194</sup> Civil servants are hampered from carrying out their specified duties and responsibilities. The wishes of the political machinery are given precedence. Civil servants who fail to comply are invariably accused of stonewalling and frustrating government policies which may cause the government to lose votes.<sup>195</sup> Some civil servants often lose their jobs or find themselves being transferred to less desirable positions. Hence, during election periods, civil servants become ineffective out of fear or other personal agenda and are otherwise not allowed to do their jobs professionally.<sup>196</sup> This creates serious ethical problems for senior civil servants. Instead of being public servants serving the interest of the public, they become political party servants doing the bidding of political parties and their inner circle of supporters.<sup>197</sup> These types of behavior were manifested during and after Joshua and Cato’s leadership. It will be interesting to see how their leadership was affected by this state of affair.

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> DeSmith, 3-12.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Kenneth John, *Ebenezer Theodore Joshua, A Thumb-Nail Political Biographical Sketch*, Eulogy 1991 (Kingstown, St Vincent, 1991). 1.

According to Kenneth John et al, Joshua's political life began in 1951 when he returned to SVG after a failed attempt to gain a foothold into the politics of Trinidad and Tobago where he taught for some time, contested election and lost. On his return to SVG, he joined George Charles' Eighth Army of Liberation political movement and the Trade Union arm, the United Workers and Rate Payers Union (UWRPU). Joshua became the first treasurer of this movement. He contested the first general election for the movement which was held under the newly established adult suffrage in 1952.<sup>198</sup> The party was victorious and Joshua won his seat, but the movement split into two factions within weeks of the party's landslide election victory.

The more radical elements of the breakaway group were led by Joshua. Within weeks of the breakaway, Joshua formed the People's Political Party (P.P.P.) and the Federated Industrial and Agricultural Workers Union (F.I.A.W.U.) in April 1952.<sup>199</sup> Joshua was labeled by both the British authorities and the local planter and business class as an extremely militant political activist. He was twice expelled and evicted from membership of the executive committee of the House of Assembly on the grounds of fostering communism.<sup>200</sup> He was subsequently charged with public mischief and sedition in 1950s. He won his cases at the Privy Council in London.<sup>201</sup>

Joshua travelled throughout SVG holding public meetings, visiting workers at their places of work and recruiting members to his political party and trade union. He

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 12.

initially refused to purchase a vehicle and was known for riding his bicycle and mingling with the poorer people. Joshua led a series of strikes and demonstrations both against the British and the planter class. These activities also led him to being labeled as lawless and a demagogue by Cato. He was detained on several occasions for inciting the masses to rebel. Joshua had mass following and hero worship. He looked at himself as the savior of the masses who composed songs of praises to him.<sup>202</sup>

Joshua's P.P.P. lost the general election in 1954 but he won again in 1957. In 1960, he became SVG first chief minister.<sup>203</sup> He won successive elections in 1961 and 1966.<sup>204</sup> In 1972 both the PPP and SVLP political parties tied at the polls winning six seats of the thirteen seats. The other seat was won by independent candidate James Mitchell. Joshua, to the dismay of his followers, formed an alliance government with James Mitchell who was the only independent to win a seat in the parliament.<sup>205</sup> Two years later, he abandoned this coalition government with James Mitchell, and joined another short-lived alliance with his archrival Milton Cato's St Vincent and the Grenadines Labor Party. Joshua was made Minister of Agriculture, but protested that his authority was being undermined by his Labor Party junior minister. This created problems which led to the eventual breakup of this coalition which forced the Cato's government to call an early election in 1979. In the 1979 election, Joshua's P.P.P. party failed to win a seat. In the process, Joshua and his wife lost their deposits. This ended

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<sup>202</sup> *Joshua – A Shrewd Politician*: The Daily Nation Newspaper, Bridgetown Barbados, March 20, 1991, Editorial Section

<sup>203</sup> *Affairs Background Note: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*, Bureau of Western Hemisphere, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2345.htm> (accessed August 12, 2011)

<sup>204</sup> *Digest of Statistics, Election Results* (Kingstown, St. Vincent: Government Printery, 1984). 4.

<sup>205</sup> Edgerton Richards, *Joshua Formed Alliance with Mitchell*, The Vincentian Newspaper, Kingstown St. Vincent, 1972, 3.

Joshua's political career. He retired from active politics soon after the election defeat in 1979. He then dissolved his party in 1984.

Rojas claims that Joshua's primary concern was the poor people of the SVG. His early political career and leadership was spent fighting for the poorer classes.<sup>206</sup> Joshua would bellow "let me hear what these comrades have to say, then I will come and discuss the matter of state."<sup>207</sup> However, in later life he reneged and turned his attention to the very capitalist class he had castigated.<sup>208</sup> Joshua was also an advocate for independence; however, when independence was in sight, Joshua began opposing independence bitterly; claiming that the islands were not ready for independence.<sup>209</sup> This stance confused many of his supporters and led to serious confrontation with the Labor Party and to the decline in his political fortunes.

In 1941, Robert Milton Cato joined the First Canadian Volunteer Army attaining the rank of Sergeant. He served in France, Belgium, Holland and Germany and was awarded the Canadian Volunteer Service Medal and Clasp; the France and Germany Star, the Defense Medal, and the War Medal. This training may have later impacted his approach to political issues. He was called to the Bar in England and became a lawyer in 1948. In 1951 he won a landmark case after successfully defending the Spiritual Baptists

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<sup>206</sup> Rojas, Joshua Eulogy

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

(Shakers) right to worship freely. This resulted in the subsequent legalization of the religion. He then became chairman of the Kingstown Board in 1952.<sup>210</sup>

In 1955 the St. Vincent Labor Party was launched with Cato as co-founder. In 1957 he officially entered national politics by contesting the South Leeward Constituency which he lost. He conducted a 1958 Commission of Inquiry into the Dominica Banana Industry. He was elected as one of two representatives from SVG to the Parliament of the West Indies Federation. With the collapse of the Federation, he returned to national politics and was elected to the House of Assembly as a representative in 1961. From 1961 to 1966, he was leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly. Cato defended teachers and civil servants from political victimization.<sup>211</sup> He advocated a Commission of Inquiry into corruption at the Public Works Department.<sup>212</sup> Ivy Joshua, the wife of Ebenezer Joshua, the Minister responsible for this department of Government, was charged with corruption.<sup>213</sup> Some party supporters and the general public saw this action as witch hunting and victimization by Cato. It resulted in widespread civil disobedience and confrontation both in and out of parliament. Cato also championed the integrity and preservation of the Kingstown Board which was claimed to have been eroded by Joshua. Cato opposed the abolition of income tax for ministers of government which was proposed by Joshua's government. Cato agitated for the democratic rights of citizens to engage in protest marches, demonstrations and civil disobedience. However, while he

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<sup>210</sup> "Milton Cato". *The Searchlight Newspaper*, Vol.3 No.8, Kingstown, St. Vincent, February 21, 1997, Biographical Notes section

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Malcolm Rutherford, "Mr. Joshua Finds the Walls too Strong", *The St Vincent Scene Publication*, (July 15, 1968.)

was Premier, he authorized teargas to be used against teachers who were demonstrating for back pay.

The Labor Party formed the government in 1967 and Cato became chief minister. In 1969, on becoming the country's first premier, he led the State into a new status of Associate Statehood with Britain. In 1972, after losing another election, Cato once more became leader of the opposition. However, in the 1974 election, he won and became premier again. In 1979, he led the country into independence and became the first prime minister of SVG. He was appointed a privy councilor in 1980. Then in 1984, he lost another general election, whereupon, he resigned as leader of the opposition and retired from active politics; putting an end to his long political career.

Both Cato and Joshua claimed they were concerned with the development of SVG. They entered politics on opposing sides.<sup>214</sup> Joshua declared that he was on the side of the poor and underprivileged.<sup>215</sup> Cato had represented the privileged planter and business class initially as their lawyer. He claimed he was on the side of law and order.<sup>216</sup> On the other hand, Cato had opened the way for accusations that he was against the poor; because the poor were seen as the lawless element in the society due to their penchant for strikes and civil disobedience.<sup>217</sup> Joshua was also seen as a lawless agitator and savior. He was fondly referred to as "Papa Josh". Cato claimed that the basis of his Labor Party

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<sup>214</sup> "Joshua – A shrewd Politician", *The Daily Nation*, Barbados, (March 20, 1991), Newspaper Editorial section

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

was law and order to counter the lawlessness he witnessed in the society.<sup>218</sup> In this regard, the confrontational antics which were inherited from the colonial system continued with the advent of party politics in the island led by these two men and their opposing views. This confrontation has not abated and is evident even today with the polarization of the society. Political activities are based on party support culminating at times to extreme tactics which leads to violence and subsequent loss of life.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Milton Cato, "On Law and Order", *The Searchlight Newspaper* Vol.3 No.8, Kingstown, St. Vincent, (February 21, 1997).

<sup>219</sup> Kenton Chance, "Confrontation in Parliament", *I-Witness News*, Kingstown, St. Vincent, (April 22, 2011).

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **SUBSTANTIVE EXAMINATION OF DATA**

It is necessary at this stage to evaluate the checklist adapted from Gordon for a substantive appraisal of data that is applicable to political development. Hence, all the variables on the checklist will be assessed against the recorded performances of these leaders in line with development theory. These variables are attitudes, ideology, nationalism, integration, socialization, participation in the decision making process, order/disorder, health and sanitation, education, modernization and infrastructure. They were proposed to assess the efficacy of the government or leaders in their political quest for social, economic and political development. This will allow a more definitive summation of the impact of their leadership on development of SVG.

#### **Application of Political Development Checklist/Variables**

Ebenezer Joshua was a shrewd politician who dominated St Vincent and the Grenadines politics for over thirty years.<sup>1</sup> He was once beloved and venerated by the masses, which reverently refers to him as “Papa Josh” only to be rejected in the end by the same masses. Some of whom had rallied with him for over 30 years. At the end of their tenure, St Vincent and the Grenadines was left an impoverished, unstable, polarized, confrontational society by Joshua and Cato. The country still lacked a coherent program for development and opportunities for its citizens.

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<sup>1</sup> Joshua, “*Joshua – A Shrewd Politician*”

Confrontations existed between Joshua and the planter class, Joshua and the colonial authorities and between Joshua and Cato and their followers.<sup>2</sup> The initial confrontation emerged from the desire to end British colonial rule and the domination of the society by the planter class. Joshua was instrumental in organizing the peasant plantation workers against the planters and the British colonial power.<sup>3</sup> Joshua also organized other workers into a trade union and agitated for better working conditions and wages.<sup>4</sup>

Joshua's attitude toward development was initially about sacrifices, through the struggle for a better tomorrow. This later turned to confused despondency, as he backtracked on his earlier positions and zeal to promote the wellbeing of the dispossessed and exploited classes. His political career began by encouraging people, especially the masses, to prepare for and make sacrifices in order to break the stranglehold of the colonial government and the planter class. This was well received by the masses and gained tremendous following from the majority of Vincentians which he relished. People journeyed from throughout the islands to hear Joshua speak at his weekly market square public meetings. Although constrained by the size of his island domain, appeal and mass followings placed Joshua in the mold of a charismatic leader.<sup>5</sup> There was regular news throughout the Caribbean region about Joshua attesting to his persona. Kenneth John wrote:

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<sup>2</sup> Kenneth John. "National Hero Essay", *The Vincentian Newspaper*, Kingstown St. Vincent, July 23, 1991 E.T. Joshua nominee for National Hero, reprinted (March 3, 2006), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

During the 1950's Joshua was in his element. He was the tribune of the people, championing their every cause, real and imagined. Living the simplest of lives, he rode his bicycle around the town and, with wife Ivy walked from village to village preaching the gospel of anti-colonial politics and spreading the word of militant trade unionism. In thunder, lightning or in rain, Joshua held his regular Wednesday night meetings in Kingstown, and on other nights where two or three were gathered in his name. Hammering home his message by constant repetitiveness fired from a voice-box of gravel. For their part, the masses enjoyed every minute of it, as on their behalf, Joshua challenged the might of the Plantocracy, stood up to the colonial authorities and defiantly twisted the tail of the establishment. (John 1991, 3)

Cato on the other hand was very staid; he believed that stability, peace and tranquility were necessary in order to encourage investors into the country which was necessary to promote any meaningful development to the benefit of the country and people. Hence, he emphasized law and order as a precursor to any progress or development.

### **Attitudes about Development**

According to Cyril Black, development comes from the belief that "a society can and should be transformed, that change is desirable."<sup>6</sup> The various statements and actions of both Joshua and Cato have shown that they were bent on changing the inherited society of SVG. From their speeches, we can deduce that they intended to institute something specifically Vincentian. However, there was no specific outline or plan relating to their attitudes toward development of the island. They made a series of statements, both official and unofficial and give many addresses to the nation of their intentions. In these pronouncements, one can make certain deductions that can be termed as attitudes toward development.

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<sup>6</sup> Cyril E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), 7.

During the Joshua/Cato era, they focused on creating awareness, expressing anti-colonial sentiments, the upliftment of the working masses, developing infrastructure, improving education and social services, preaching the need for sacrifices in trying to foster some sort of nationalism and development. Due to the fact that the state was cash-strapped, impoverished, lacked human, social, political and economic resources for development, it was necessary to focus on different phases and types of development.

Joshua and Cato sought to deal with injustices done to the masses first. They then turned their attention to rallying the people to participate in their concept of nation-building. This was done by having regular public-meetings throughout SVG. The focus of these meetings was denouncing the machinations of colonialism and their planter class aiders and abettors. Joshua was able to marshal support among every strata of society, especially the masses. Cato on the other hand, drew more support among the rising black elites and some members of the business and plantocracy class.

It was evident that both leaders had devoted most of their energy trying to cultivate national awareness or a new political order which was meant to galvanize them into the struggle for independence.<sup>7</sup> The appeals of these leaders reinforced the fact that at least they had shared some charismatic characteristics. Joshua in particular definitely had charismatic appeal which he utilized to the fullest. This was due to his mass unquestionable following and accorded reverence, which he used skillfully. These events often culminated in candlelight marches and the compositions of songs glorifying his

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<sup>7</sup> Ralph E. Gonsalves, *Ebenezer Joshua: His Ideology and Style* (Kingstown, St. Vincent:: Beacon, 1975), 19.

perceived achievements. These actions are characteristically associated with the concept of a charismatic leader.<sup>8</sup>

Cato on the other hand, was very legalistic and somewhat calculating in his efforts to win over the support of the masses. Unlike Joshua whose supporters were emotionally engaged and expressive manifested through the composition of songs and marches which proved effective in promoting Joshua's agenda. Cato resorted to less emotional appeals in galvanizing political support. He stoically maintained that his objective was to curtail lawlessness and maintain stability to promote development.<sup>9</sup>

Both Joshua and Cato saw development as desirable and made it their major goal or objective. Hence, they both made serious efforts to convey this to their followers and the country as a whole. Every project undertaken was followed by fanfares to draw the people's attention to the fact that something positive was being done for "their" wellbeing.<sup>10</sup> Cato's overall attitude to leadership, politics and development can be summed up in his message to the Vincentian people as follows:

I send you this message in all humility, fully conscious of the heavy burden of responsibilities which must now fall upon my shoulders as we take on the mantle of full internal self-government and proceed on the hazardous march along the road to complete independence. I am greatly heartened and strengthened in this undertaking by the demonstration of goodwill and practical support which is in evidence everywhere throughout the state. There are clear indications that the people are becoming more and more involved in this forward march, and in the final analysis it is the people that matter. A government for the people must depend for its success on the intelligence, the morality, and the sense of justice and the interest of the people themselves.

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<sup>8</sup> Singham, 14-16, 192-193, 309-311,

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Robert M. Cato, "Statehood Address", (Statehood Address by the Premier to the Nation, October 28, 1969, Kingstown St. Vincent), National Archive, St. Vincent.

I am very happy indeed to have the opportunity to address these remarks to so many of our young people and children. My Government recognizes the fact that we owe our greatest responsibility to the young people. The majority of the citizens of our country are young people, so in a very real sense it is your country, this is your state, this is your world, and we who have a special responsibility for running the government owe it to you to ensure that we make the state a worthwhile one for you to live in and for you to inherit. I would like to remind you however that good government must begin in the home. If the home is lacking discipline, if the children get out of control, if the parents are unconcerned with the welfare of their children, then it follows as the night, the day that the state will be lawless and corrupt. It is useless to make good laws for bad people. Public sentiment is more than law, in fact it is public sentiment which conditions the law makers and creates the law by which we are governed, and so it has been rightly said that a people get the government they deserve. (Cato 1969, 1-4)

This message showed that Cato was cognizant of his responsibility to the people, especially the youth of the nation, and his leadership role in the development of the state. However, he was very aware of the need for the people to join him in cultivating a new attitude in his development objectives.

Joshua tried to live as simply as possible, to portray the image that he was a man of the people. He rode a bicycle and walked most of the time, rain or shine. Cato on the other hand maintained an affluent and elitist lifestyle commensurate with his legal profession income and privileged standing in the society prior to his entry into politics. Neither leader claimed total success. Although they were political rivals, they formed a coalition government and were members of the same government and cabinet for a couple of years. They were both eventually rejected by the electorate.

These leaders' attitudes towards development were brought on by various factors: an embodiment of the incoherent fight against colonialism, the quest for independence, a better life for the masses, the opportunity to chart their own destiny, the mobilization of the society, infrastructure development and an appeal for sacrifices to be made. Joshua

tried to verbalize his attitude through his party's weekly publication - *The Voice of St Vincent*,<sup>11</sup> as follows:

The people were told that this could never happen unless the people by their silence and consent gave an unwitting consent. The People's Political Party was prepared to shake the streets of Kingstown and out-lying districts and answer to Cato's fascist and enslavement plan...the leading people of the State apparently condemned to be ...on the graves with issue confronting our people at this time. This was blamed on the "well to do" and a callous and indifferent middle class looking for the fascists table. In two issues past, we highlighted the Lawyer class, ambassadorial positions and means of getting to the UN to talk, that's the most. So boys must behave to catch the eye. Never before has such a challenge in defiance of democracy ever handed to the broad masses of this State. Not only has any form of development been betrayed but has a Draft Constitution hanging over their heads like the 'Sword of Damocles' which the Premier was trying to railroad and deal with Independence unilaterally. (Joshua 1979, 3)

Joshua obviously intended to do whatever was necessary to achieve his objectives. He was very harsh in his accusations against Cato and his followers. This speech was an incitement to his supporters to challenge Cato and the Labor Party.

The promptings and encouragement of these leaders have often led to successes in some areas, especially in social services development. However, there was the steady decline in agricultural development. This can be attributed to both internal and external factors, especially the decline of the sugar, cotton, and arrowroot industries. This can be attributed to both internal and external factors. There was also the constant barrage of hateful and antagonistic rhetoric which set the tone for confrontation and polarization within the society.<sup>12</sup> An article which commented on Cato's leadership appeared in the editorial in Joshua's political *Bulletin* of October, 1979:

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<sup>11</sup>E. T. Joshua, "Speech by Joshua", *The Voice of St Vincent, PPP Party Bulletin*, (February 1979): 3.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Best, "The Long Arm of Politics", *The Barbados Advocate Newspaper*, Bridgetown, Barbados. May 16, 1967.

people of St Vincent and the Grenadines due to their confused development objectives and took the loyalty of their followers for granted.<sup>15</sup>

### **Ideology of Joshua and Cato**

In St Vincent and the Grenadines as in most developing countries, ideology was a central element in the developmental process. However, this ideology was not a clear-cut collection of ideas that was promoted by either leader. As a matter of fact, there were a series of inconsistencies in their rhetoric, pronouncements, actions and inactions. Joshua in particular was never consistent. He would preach socialism, capitalism and reactionary sermons on the same political platform, or be caught accusing, praising and castigating the British government, administrators, planters, business community or his opponents in the same (speech) vein.<sup>16</sup>

Neither Joshua nor Cato presented a coherent system of thought or belief that animates social or political action. This resulted in the ideology of the period becoming the personal ideology of Joshua and Cato, based on whatever they said and where they went. There was an initial emphasis on a socialist mode of development with emphasis on state involvement in any development efforts. Also, they both supported the principle of the role of government in fashioning development by taking an active role in the provision of goods and services.<sup>17</sup>

However, there were divergences in the implementation of development, sometimes their governments would reach out to the business sector and overseas

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<sup>15</sup> Gonsalves, *Joshua Ideology*, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Robert M. Cato, "Public Service Address" (Address by Prime Minister to the Caribbean Public Service Union, August 8, 1983, Kingstown, St. Vincent), National Archive. St. Vincent.

investors. Joshua was adamant that every aspect of colonialism must be eliminated from the island. This was to be followed by the state acquisition of the planters' estates for disposal to the dispossessed masses under land reform and housing schemes.<sup>18</sup> Cato also supported the acquisition of estates and the distribution of land to the landless and housing schemes but in a more structured manner. They both tried to expand social services, promoted infrastructure development, and increased access to education through the building of new schools and promoted health and sanitation. Hence, they both adhered to aspects of socialism in cooperation and alliance with the business class. According to Gonsalves, Joshua from 1950-1957 Joshua articulated a brand of populism which incorporated socialist ideas and a concern for workers and peasants in their struggles against the plantocracy. But from 1957 onwards he gradually moved toward a more orthodox free-enterprise position which encompassed reforms directed at the level of material living of the workers.<sup>19</sup>

In a 1956 Parliamentary address, Joshua declared he was a leader of labor and hoped to be a leader of socialism.<sup>20</sup> In a speech to his followers, he declared that:

The Government could afford to tie up the lands of this State owned by it indefinitely, for there was no regard for people or any policy or development plan. We will however fight to the death so that no Cato with his mad vaulting ambition further enslaves us here. (Joshua 1956, 5)

Joshua voiced his desire for a social program for the marginalized indigenous Carib people. Having represented the area for over 20 years, he was cognizant of the fact

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Gonsalves, *Joshua Ideology*

<sup>20</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua, "1956 Budgetary Estimates", (Address in the House of Parliament, January 12, 1956, Kingstown, St Vincent), National Archive, St. Vincent.

that the Caribs were disadvantaged and he intended to do something at last for their benefit. He went straight to the point in his letter to the people of the Carib Country when he proclaimed his intention to ensure the development of the people and area.<sup>21</sup>

In his later years, Joshua reneged and became more conservative; alienating himself from his base by embracing the very capitalists he fought against in the early years of his political development.<sup>22</sup> Joshua saw Cato as the defender of privileges and the privileged class, while Cato saw Joshua as a political activist without any coherent agenda.<sup>23</sup> Joshua lamented that:

This was a clear indication that the British Government has long since prepared to abandon the Eastern Caribbean to despots and tyrants approved by them. This was the only method Britain could have used in the circumstances by the people whom the British knew were serving the wills of Mafias establishing offshore banks in interest of the individuals running the St. Vincent Government and not in the interest of the State. (Joshua 1979, 8)

Joshua and Cato saw regional unity as the most probable way forward. Hence, they were committed to Caribbean integration and supported the West Indian Federation. Cato was elected to the Federal Parliament as one of St Vincent's two representatives. They both subscribed to the idea that there was a necessity for regional integration as the best prospect for the development of the West Indian islands. Cato was emphatic when he stated that:

It is generally recognized today that there is a great need for regionalism if there is to be any form of economic and social advancement, the more developed countries of the world recognized this and have been effectively putting it into practice in this hemisphere and elsewhere. (Cato 1969, 3)

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<sup>21</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua, "Letter to the People of Carib Country", *The Voice of St. Vincent* 18, (October 2, 1979): 5.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Rutherford, 9.

However, Joshua may have used ideology to promote his own personal development or personality cult and what he perceived as aspects of the state. In so doing, he failed to produce a coherent development plan for St Vincent and its people.<sup>24</sup> He seemed to have spent considerable time in creating bogeys, countering, or accusing Cato's Labor Party and the planter class of some sort of misdeed or incompetence.<sup>25</sup> Neither Cato nor Joshua gave credence to each other; instead they promoted antagonism which hindered the unity of forces to develop the island. A "winner-take-all" situation developed whereby when the party you support is in power you are likely to get work. Conversely when your party is in opposition, you are likely to wait out the time until your party comes to power again.

Citizens became more concerned with their particular party attaining power so that they can reap some benefits at the expense of the opposition party. This forced the more qualified people to become frustrated causing them to migrate in search of better opportunities. Maybe a more amenable political atmosphere would have at least slowed the brain drain and utilized the human resources for development purposes.

Administration and social development were not stated priorities for these leaders. This resulted in the maintenance of the inherited colonial system that was so abhorred. With the advent of statehood and independence, Joshua did an about-turn. He began to vehemently oppose the same independence he fought so hard for at the

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<sup>24</sup> Gonsalves. *Joshua's Ideology*, 38.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

beginning of his political career.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, they both remained consistent in their opposition to colonialism and imperialism.

### **Nationalism of Joshua and Cato**

Initially, Joshua in particular was very active in promoting nationalist sentiments. He fostered an endless barrage of agitation, first against the colonial masters, then against the plantation owners, then the business class, then the Labor Party or the minute growing middle and professional classes. He regarded them as instruments of colonialism that had no love for their country.<sup>27</sup> He later commented that Vincentians should take action against both Cato and the British government to ensure freedom and survival in the following extract:

We must from the very out start attack the British Government for its open complicity in abandoning people whom they have used for centuries to develop a vast colonial empire. Now they trade us off to the wolves and have secured their Mafia types agents to seek our blood in their take over, the State of Saint Vincent was now run by an errant dictatorship which was seeking openly to fight the unarmed people of Saint Vincent. Cato, the Premier for the time being in office has been able to use the British agents on the spot to broadcast false information exclusively controlled by a “dictatorship” and was giving false information concerning the acts of government. (Joshua 1979, 7)

This was one of Joshua’s outbursts designed to rally supporters to his cause. It showed his contradictions. Cato on the other hand also used the nationalist’s sentiments to galvanize support for his putsch against Joshua and British colonialism and promote development. These leaders tried to encompass the Grenadine islands and the area known as the “Carib Country” which has been habitually marginalized. As a matter of fact, the Grenadines felt so neglected and marginalized that James Mitchell felt compelled to write

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

a Grenadines Declaration calling for these island dependencies to secede from mainland St Vincent. Eventually, Union Island attempted to secede through an uprising in 1979 which was successfully put down by the mainland government of Milton Cato with the assistance of Barbados.<sup>28</sup>

Both Joshua and Cato challenged their followers to be constantly vigilant to protect their freedom. Cato stressed the importance of maintaining stability and unity in the quest for a better tomorrow. He tried to focus Vincentians' attention on nation building during the following independence speech:

Ladies and Gentlemen it has been brought to my notice that there is a minority group which considers that no benefits have been derived from independence, in fact, they would have preferred to retain their colonial status rather than have the present Government lead an independent country. Unfortunately for them, the vast majority of the people have decided, not only on independence, but on the competence of this Government to manage the affairs of the country. We have established an impressive image abroad which has been extended since Independence. We have the experience of democratic government based on several years of Association with Britain. We have since extended our diplomatic relations and have opened up the possibilities of new trade links and lines of credit with friendly and well disposed democratic countries. We know the pitfalls and wherein the path to progress lies. What we wish to avoid at all cost is the division of our State into factions which can only disrupt the steady progress we are already making. Independence will be really meaningful when all people put aside or are made to put aside their petit jealousies and selfish ambitions and stand prepared to work for the greatest good for all our people. This can only be achieved if an end is put to the malicious propaganda which is constantly being spread by frustrated little groups or individuals who will fail to convince the people of our State who witness the steady progress, though they may give very false impressions to some people overseas and in one way or another slow up the pace of progress in our beautiful State which is still an exemplary democracy in the Caribbean. My appeal in this third year of Independence is that we all work towards the true fulfillment of this year's Independence slogan "One Flag, One People, One Nation." (Cato 1981, 14)

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<sup>28</sup> R.M.Cato, Address to the Nation, October, 1979.

Surely this speech was meant to renew commitment to the ideals of nationhood which is very important in the sphere of political development. Joshua had championed independence later opposed independence on the premise that these small islands are incapable of maintaining any sort of meaningful independence.<sup>29</sup> Hence, Cato was left with the task of promoting independence and reassuring nationals that with their compliance and support Vincentians could achieve a primary goal of unity of purpose. He also tried to galvanize support for his governmental policies which hinged on the appeal to patriotism. According to Wilson, this call for national unity could act as a measure for limiting the freedom of dissenters or perceived enemies of the status quo.<sup>30</sup>

Although Joshua and Cato supported West Indian Federation, they were reluctant to join forces with the remaining islands in a new endeavor with the breakup of the federation.<sup>31</sup> This was contrary to the wishes of most of the other West Indian island leaders. Although they were aware of the need for regional integration, they were reluctant to relinquish their local island power and support base for participation in a larger entity where they are likely to lose their political clout.<sup>32</sup> This went against the establishment of Conventions, Committees and Sub-committees to promote regional co-operation. This does not negate the fact that all West Indian islands are members of a larger regional body. In this arrangement, there is no implicit loss of sovereignty.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Joshua 1979. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Peter J. Wilson, *Crab Antics-A Caribbean Case Study of the Conflict Between Reputation and Respectability* (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1995), 226.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Cato, and Joshua to a larger extent, failed to cultivate leaders to succeed them, hence with their demise followed the demise of their parties. This was especially so in the case of Joshua where the once dynamic People's Political Party (PPP) which dominated the political scene for decades disappeared with the demise of Joshua.<sup>34</sup> This demise created a vacuum in the national leadership, symbolism and direction of the party. These leaders had significant support that was asset in fostering nationalism. However, they squandered it causing it to wither and subsequently be replaced with confrontational politics under various guises, rather than cultivating love of country.<sup>35</sup> Crichlow claimed that the political appeal of the postcolonial elite was one of nationalism or nation building which embraced the rejection of (white) Europe and played on populist sentiments of ethnic and national purity.<sup>36</sup>

### **Integration**

Unlike some of the other small islands which speak French patois and English, Vincentians only speak English. This is an indication of colonial historical development. The indigenous Carib language became extinct in St Vincent. In its place, they have adopted the colonizer's language. This was despite the fact that they had warded off colonization for a significant period of over two centuries. Despite the fact that the islands are inhabited by different races, there was never any significant racial, ethnic or

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<sup>34</sup> "Founding Father of Political Independence Robert Milton Cato", *The Vincentian Newspaper*, Kingstown, St. Vincent, October 24, 2003, Editorial Section

<sup>35</sup> Wilson, 221.

<sup>36</sup> Michaeline Crichlow, *Negotiating Caribbean Freedom- Peasants and the State in Development*, (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2005), 10 .

language problem.<sup>37</sup> The majority of the population is descendants of Black Caribs who are very proud of their heritage of defeating the British in Carib Wars and starting a religion which is now established in the region and abroad.<sup>38</sup>

Joshua and Cato transformed a united country into sectional support areas through their divisive politics.<sup>39</sup> The country eventually became very polarized and the people became equally confrontational. The people resident in the Grenadines islands were neglected and were treated with indifference as a hangover from colonial times.<sup>40</sup> The indigenous Caribs were also neglected and marginalized. They were forced unto reservations in the northern part of St Vincent in the vicinity of an active volcano. This area is contemptuously called “Carib Country”.<sup>41</sup>

Both Joshua and Cato started their political career in this Carib Country constituency. However, Cato withdrew and Joshua took his place. Hence, Joshua was initially more in tune with efforts to integrate the Caribs into the fold of the society. However, it was Cato who was instrumental in having the first Carib descendant from this area elected to Parliament under his party banner.<sup>42</sup> Joshua contended that his objective was to ensure development of the area and people and this objective should be enshrined in the country’s constitution in the following remarks:

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<sup>37</sup> Ebenezer Duncan, *A Brief History of Saint Vincent*—*With Studies in Citizenship* (Kingstown, St. Vincent: Reliance Printers 1957), 23.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> James Mitchell, “Political Campaign speech”, (Speech delivered by Mitchell during Political Campaign Speeches, Bequia, St Vincent, General Election Campaign 1984)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Duncan, 35.

<sup>42</sup> SVLP Manifesto General Election 1974, 12.

More than anything else, a development program for the Carib Country designed to eliminate unemployment, poverty and disease and the establishment of a meaningful system of education for the rapid development of the Carib People should be enshrined Chapter and Verse in any Constitution for St. Vincent. (Joshua, 1979)

Joshua and his wife were parliamentary representatives of this area throughout their political careers. However, they have never forged any meaningful integration of the Caribs into the mainstream of politics beyond serving their ends as dependable voters-supporters.<sup>43</sup> Peters pointed out that one of the failings of leaders in these small islands is that they do not build the necessary loyalty to the state.<sup>44</sup> Instead, leaders like Joshua and Cato promoted loyalty to their political parties. In so doing, the party usurped the functions and instruments of the state. The result was that the state was identified as an impersonal instrument, viewed with suspicion by its citizens and given no loyalty as such. Peters noted that this in effect is a carry-over from the colonial experience.<sup>45</sup> This was manifested in SVG with the Grenadines islands that still look at themselves as distinct from the mainland.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, the nation remains intact due to the Grenadines lack of economic resources and their interdependence with the mainland. Cato left no room for doubt, having dealt swiftly and firmly with the Union Island attempt at rebellion. He made it clear, that he would not tolerate any breakaway from the mainland. Overall, in their efforts to mobilize the country against colonial domination,

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<sup>43</sup> Gonsalves, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Peters, 201.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>46</sup> Mitchell, "Political Campaign Speeches at Bequia 1984".

Joshua and Cato may have inadvertently fostered aspects of integration of the country in a single purpose which was to get rid of the yolk of colonialism.<sup>47</sup>

### Urbanization

In the context of these small islands, urbanization takes on different connotations from larger countries. The whole island itself is tantamount to a small city in larger countries. However, there are areas established as towns or urban areas. These towns are all on the coast and are only appendages of the main town where most commercial and governmental activities take place. This was very conveniently located for colonial administration. In these small island nations everything seems to revolve around the small central town. With the decline in agriculture, some of the country dwellers have little option but to travel or relocate to the small urban area or migrate from the rural areas in search of employment.<sup>48</sup>

In general, there was a drive to create new suburban residential areas mostly for returning migrants. These were either returning residents or workers who were recruited yearly either for cane cutting in the United States or working on cruise ships. Most of these socially mobile groups of people usually reside in areas where they can identify with fellow residents or mostly returned travelers.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, Joshua and Cato's governments built housing schemes throughout the islands to accommodate the low income families. In this regard, both Joshua and Cato subscribed to this aspect of development. The building of these suburban housing schemes had little or no

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<sup>47</sup> Peters, 124.

<sup>48</sup> Richards, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Carlton Williams, "The Loss of Agricultural Lands to Housing", *The Star Newspaper*, March 1986, Kingstown, St Vincent. 4.

significance for the little towns because they were neither the centers of industries, employment or trade.<sup>50</sup> In the process, prime agricultural lands were transformed into housing areas which reduced the more productive arable lands and has negatively affected food production.<sup>51</sup> It has also caused the price of lands to increase significantly out of the reach of the poor due to land speculation.<sup>52</sup> Hence, there were no plans to use this avenue to help solve the serious unemployment problem.

In these small island nations, everything revolves around the small central town. Very little seem to have changed over time. However, the subject leaders took some positive actions to improve the lot of the rural population.<sup>53</sup>

### **Socialization**

Joshua and Cato may have used the socialization progression of the state to promote their own objectives. Unwittingly, they have channeled the masses into a new political culture of confrontation and corrupt practices.<sup>54</sup> Some commentators have lamented that the main objectives of these leaders were to use the masses for the maximization of state power, and by default to catapult their party into power and enhance their personal power in accordance with colonial practices.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>51</sup> E Joshua, "Public Meeting Held at Sharpes by the P.P.P", *The Voice of Saint Vincent* 5, (March 10, 1979): 4.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Malcolm Rutherford, "Mr. Joshua Finds the Walls too Strong", *The St Vincent Scene*, July 15, 1968, Kingstown, St Vincent, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 3.

These leaders have adopted the same power structure they so denounced under colonialism. They embraced the colonial policy of divide and rule. They used various instruments to undermine parental and family authority; thus creating a culture of lawlessness and corrupt practices. They went to the extent of trading personal favors for government jobs, and practice victimization and discrimination in the dispensation of government contracts and jobs.<sup>56</sup>

The transition and post-colonial era started with various attempts by both leaders to destroy each other in their quest for state power.<sup>57</sup> The masses and state were unwittingly used as tools to maintain Joshua and Cato's personal agenda.<sup>58</sup> In so doing, they abdicated any attempts to make a peaceful transition from an old colonial system to a new system that is uniquely Vincentian. Very little efforts were made to educate or socialize the masses into the new system. Joshua in his own words claimed that:

We have seen how our liberty was ensnared; who therefore wants to criticize or impute improper motives let them go ahead for time was the healer of all wrongs. In the very Voice of Saint Vincent, an article was written showing the radio restriction of the State and how the radio was being used. The people, some of them who are educated, need explanation from a legal person in cases as a Constitutional document. (Joshua 1979, 5)

Joshua did not compromise in his language. He continued to decry the machinations of Cato and his government. If things did not go the way Joshua intended, he retorted with an outburst in the harshest and crudest language.<sup>59</sup> Here again, he was

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua, "Independence", Voice of Saint Vincent, Organ of the PPP, (September 10, 1979): 5.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 6.

berating politicians who were most likely members of the Labor Party for their “unworthy” conduct.

Some politicians in power do whatever they feel like. They behave like a common little thief while in high positions and those types pretend not to care once I am rich enough to buy votes by breaking every election law at the next elections. (Joshua 1979, 8)

Victimization and marginalization became tools used against anyone who dared to cross the path of these political leaders. Witch hunting and defamation overrode any rational thought about socialization. Some offenders lost their jobs and livelihood for doing what was right in their sight, but which was not in the interest of the politicians. Integrity was relegated to the dumps. This all happened in the name of promoting development of the state.<sup>60</sup>

### **Mass Participation in the Decision Making Process**

With the advent of adult suffrage in St Vincent and the Grenadines, mass participation emerged in the political process. But this participation was limited to either voting, mass support at political rallies and campaigns. The political parties and their leaders limited participation in the decision-making process which is a carryover from the inherited crown colony system. Neither leader was open to the views of the masses. Any input was designed to further these leaders’ ambition despite pronouncements to the contrary. This was reinforced by Joshua’s reference to the state of affairs in St Vincent during the volcanic eruption of 1979 in which he claimed:<sup>61</sup>

These merciless Ministers who fail to subjugate these people to their political will were taking advantage of the people whom “this Labor Party” will never

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<sup>60</sup> Wilson, 57.

<sup>61</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua, “The Abuse of Power by Cato”, *The Voice of St. Vincent, Bulletin of the PPP* (1979): 8.

represent, and now have the opportunity of wreaking vengeance upon them because of eruption. (Joshua 1979, 8)

Cato on the other hand decided to reach out to the nation as a servant of the people. He did this by joining in championing the causes of the Spiritual Baptist and labor unions.<sup>62</sup> However, this did not manifest itself as concrete action and was in stark contrast to the tone of Joshua's approach to problem solving or nation building. However, Joshua felt slighted and marginalized by being ignored on important matters of state as leader of the opposition. This was the political culture in these small West Indian islands where winning an election is tantamount to owning the state. The governing party calls their win a mandate which gives them the authority to act at their pleasure in the formulation and implementation of policies or decision- making.<sup>63</sup> Cato's presentation of the 1967 Estimates to the Legislative Council on the 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1967 supports this idea:

You the people have given us a strong mandate to govern and we propose to do so. We will have to introduce measure of all sorts, some pleasant, some unpleasant. We shall not shirk our task. Right now I shall be dealing with some of the unpleasant measure – the taxes we have imposed. (Cato 1967, 3)

It is often claimed that small island governments operate on a consultative basis with business, unions and other important groups and organizations in these societies. However, this is only done when the groups are appendages of either the party in power or election contributors or in serious crisis situations.<sup>64</sup> A political leader of the party in power in these small islands does not necessarily embrace ideas or inputs from the masses in any decision making activities. As a matter of fact, there are no structured

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<sup>62</sup> Cato. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Rutherford, 7.

organizations to represent the interest of the masses. Some political leaders go as far as to declare publicly to the nation that they will not be advised by the untutored and uncultured.<sup>65</sup> The masses are only turned to when needed, mostly when the political leader or members of the government or opposition feel their position is being threatened; when they have to counter some scandal; or prepare for an election.<sup>66</sup>

During the Joshua/Cato era, after an election was won or lost, party members or supporters were sidelined until the next election. This occurred unless the members or supporters have some clout in the party hierarchy. These leaders have failed to cultivate their successors for various unknown reasons. Some pundits claim that this is due to their distrust of their followers and their own personal insecurity.<sup>67</sup> Leaders lose successive elections but still held on to the leadership of the party rather than relinquishing to someone who may be able to lead the party to win an election. This behavior is still evident today where the leader of the NDP has failed to win four elections and still remain leader of the party.<sup>68</sup>

Political leadership in these small islands is highly personalized. In this regard, it is accepted with a measure of humor that the leaders decide and the followers endorse the decisions of the leaders, giving way to a kind of “I-man” politics.<sup>69</sup> These small island countries, including SVG, pride themselves on democratic institutions and legitimacy.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>69</sup> Bassy Alexander, “The Love Vine Local Opinion”, *Searchlight Newspaper*, March 2005, Kingstown. St Vincent.

Therefore, most governmental decisions should be made within the formal structure of government. However, decisions are made on a personal level based on the inputs of various political commentators. In some cases, friends at street corners are likely to be more listened to than some Cabinet Ministers.<sup>70</sup> These informal participants in the decision-making process are seen as a personal power base where contributors “ears are on the ground.”<sup>71</sup>

These personnel were used by both the PPP and the Labor Party and are still being used by current political parties and leaders. These street corner pundits also try to harness support for their respective party. They encourage mass following and help to mobilize people for large rallies and demonstrations. They are usually picnic atmospheres with some freebies thrown in, devoid of genuine participation in the political process. These followers were not integrated into any decision-making process beyond their “yes, Comrade” at these rallies and demonstrations.<sup>72</sup> Very little input was even allowed from the loosely organized constituency councils which operated under the loose direction of the parties’ general secretaries. Caretaker candidates were not even given the privileges of using their own initiatives to make contributions to the central decision making process. Few may be members of a strategy committee which tends to be dominated by the party elites.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Bassey Alexander, “The Love Vine - Man on the Street”, *The Searchlight Newspaper*, January 13, 2010, Kingstown. St Vincent.

<sup>73</sup> Allahar, 24.

In the smaller West Indian islands, there is very little provision outside the institutional structures for participation in the decision-making process.<sup>74</sup> Various bodies like the churches, voluntary organizations, etc., are usually too busy trying to “mind their own business,” or tied to the status quo, rather than seeking to mobilize the populace against ‘unjustified’ policies. However, informal influences tend to be more effective because of the old boy network.<sup>75</sup>

### **Order/Disorder**

Order/disorder plays a central role within the concept of political development. The issue of order and disorder is nothing new to SVG. The archipelago was seen as settled by very aggressive and warlike Caribs who waged war against the British and French to preserve their independence. The emergence of the Black Caribs did not make SVG more orderly. Wars followed wars until they were overwhelmed by the British. The majority were exiled to unknown land called Roatán off the coast of Honduras in Central America in 1796 after a peace treaty was signed.<sup>76</sup> Hence, most of the Blacks in SVG were seen as averse to colonization, and they maintained a tense relationship with the British and other Europeans. Conflict had become a way of life in St Vincent and the Grenadines politics under Joshua and Cato’s leadership.<sup>77</sup> There were endemic confrontations in their competition for power. As a matter of fact, the Labor Party was

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<sup>74</sup> A paper presented by the author at the London School of Economics and Political Science in July. 1967 on: *Perspective of Decision Making in the Caribbean*, London University, 1967, 52.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>76</sup> St Vincent History: *The Caribs*: [Svganecstry.com/index.php/st-vincent-history/](http://Svganecstry.com/index.php/st-vincent-history/) (accessed on April 28, 2012).

<sup>77</sup> Caspar London, “Joshua’s struggle for Freedom and Independence”, *The News Newspaper*, May 30, 2008, Kingstown St Vincent.

formed to counter the perceived lawlessness in the country.<sup>78</sup> Joshua was seen both by the colonial authorities and the estate owners as an instigator of violence through demagoguery.<sup>79</sup>

According to Caspar London, Joshua was arrested and charged for sedition and creating public mischief for two speeches he made on November 26, 1952 at Georgetown and one speech on January 4, 1953 at Kingstown. He was fined \$100 and put on a two-year bond to keep the peace. Although the conviction was squashed by the Privy Council, his supporters kept up the momentum of civil disobedience. They interpreted the actions of the colonial overlords as victimization and an attempt to get rid of Joshua with the complicity of Cato. Despite limitations to the decision-making process, there was always a vociferous segment of the population who were prepared to spontaneously challenge the status quo for more meaningful participation.<sup>80</sup> Hence, these leaders were immersed in historical developments that expanded the role of the state and by default participation in the political process which are variables of political development.

### **Confrontations and Conflicts**

There were regular newspaper publications during this era with headlines reporting on tension within the society of SVG. The *Barbados Advocate*'s of March 18, 1967 headline read "Fears of Violence in St Vincent." The article reported that "a government crisis caused by the resignation of the Social Service Minister yesterday, ... sparked fears today that a new seven-month old battle for constitutional

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

power may develop into political violence...police leave was cancelled and Chief Minister Ebenezer Joshua said that all party supporters have been advised to keep calm.”<sup>81</sup> On October 16, 1967 Joshua claimed that “the situation in St Vincent is very explosive...only party supporters in the government get work, people are being deprived of positions after many years of service and directives are sent to the Public Service.”<sup>82</sup>

This specific conflict persisted for quite some time. The *St. Vincent Scene* article by Malcolm Rutherford reported that “Mr. Ebenezer Joshua is threatening to make serious trouble on this island if there are no general elections before the end of the year...In the past, Mr. Joshua vowed to make the St Vincent sugar factory a graveyard and did just that.”<sup>83</sup> Cato continued his stance on law and order, which had formed the basis of the foundation of his Labor Party.<sup>84</sup>

We cannot afford to condone a breakdown of law and order and that stability which is so essential to orderly development. We know that there are subversive elements in our midst and the police have evidence of their activities in their possession. At the proper time, appropriate action will be taken to deal with these agents of subversion. In the meantime, my Government will give every protection to the law abiding citizens of our State and will continue to exert every effort for the upliftment of all the people of our State. Those who are in a hurry to assume the reins of government through the back door will be compelled to observe the democratic processes and not just talk about them. My Government will carry out the mandate given to it by the people of our State. (Cato 1969, 7)

These initial reports gave some indication of Cato’s approach to development. He was prepared to state the he would be steadfast in his development objectives and was not

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<sup>81</sup> Frank Pilgrim, “Fears of Violence in St. Vincent”, *The Barbados Advocate Newspaper*, March 18, 1967, Bridgetown, Barbados.

<sup>82</sup> Frank Pilgrim, “Joshua: They Want to Drag us Back”, *The Barbados Advocate Newspaper*, October 16, 1967, Bridgetown, Barbados.

<sup>83</sup> Rutherford 1978.

<sup>84</sup> R. Milton Cato, “1969 Annual Budget Estimates” (Address delivered by Premier Cato to the Legislative Council to the House of Assembly, Kingstown, St. Vincent, October 27, 1969), National Archive, St. Vincent.

going to tolerate obstructions from any quarter. However, the reality was a different matter. In the *Dilemmas of Political Development*, Palmer, referring to Africa claims, that the problems of conflict within developing countries have prevented them from developing, effectively causing stagnation.<sup>85</sup> This was evident in St. Vincent where constant conflict hampered the society from its goal of national development.<sup>86</sup>

This was caused by both parties where followers behaved as if they were above the law by disrespecting the upholders of law and order when they are in power. Through a series of corrupt practices, they become disruptive in the society. Cato was very concerned about excesses. He introduced a series of laws which were directed at curtailing excesses.<sup>87</sup> However, these laws were perceived as threats to the freedom of the masses. The people rose up in demonstrations against Cato's government forcing him to withdraw the proposed legislations. This action has eventually started the beginning of the demise of Cato's in 1984.<sup>88</sup>

Joshua and Cato both led or incited strikes and civil disobedience.<sup>89</sup> The Parliament yard was a constant battle ground for both parties to galvanize their supporters against or for their governments. Both leaders spent more time decrying each other and causing polarization and conflict within the society than they spent trying to unite the people. Hence, a culture developed where social discourse depended on which party one

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<sup>85</sup> Monte Palmer, *Dilemmas of Political Development*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed (Itasca IL: A.F.E Peacock Pub, June 1989). 24.

<sup>86</sup> Caspar London, "People's Participation" *The News Newspaper*, May 23, 2008, Kingstown, St Vincent.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Caspar London, "Cato and the SVLP did not make a Contribution to the Social and Economic Development of the Country" *The News Newspaper*, May 23, 2008, Kingstown, 6.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

supported. This occurred even among families and relatives. It was not unusual for people to be thrown out of work because they support or did not support a party in power.<sup>90</sup> Coleman claims that these changes within the society can create disorder.<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, the people in these small islands are very impatient with slow changes. They were quick to create civil disobedience to get some attention or action. Especially, since they were hyped up about the benefits of independence including a better tomorrow which was not evident. To make matters worse, the masses witnessed a new class of privileged people developing in the society at their expenses. This further created bitterness among the masses whose frustration was met with abuses by political parties and their leaders.<sup>92</sup>

Joshua was a shrewd politician who thrived on sensationalism.<sup>93</sup> He was responsible for two coalitions and fell out with his partners causing splits in these governments.<sup>94</sup> He failed to use his leadership and party as a uniting force in the country beyond his party.<sup>95</sup> Joshua was alleged to be responsible for instigating a violent strike in Georgetown which led to the destruction of the sugar industry and landed some of his supporters in jail.<sup>96</sup> Cato on the other hand, was more interested in cultivating an elite

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Almond and Coleman, eds. *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton NJ: The Princeton University Press, 1960), 47.

<sup>92</sup> E.T. Joshua, "The Horrors of Cato's Independence-Period of Unity 1974-1978", *The Voice of Saint Vincent, Bulletin of the PPP, St Vincent*, (October 21-27 1979):4.

<sup>93</sup> London, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Weston Lewis, "The Disturbances at Mt Bentinck", *The Vincentian*, May 1962, Kingstown, St Vincent.

base with which he and some of his group could be identified.<sup>97</sup> However, Cato was unable to control his corrupt ministers who felt that they could break the law with impunity.<sup>98</sup> This forced him to call an early election leading to his party's defeat by the newly formed New Democratic Party led by James Mitchell. These political fights were not solely about the development of the country, but also for the politicians' personal riches and survival.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, despite their shortcomings, they have both made efforts to redefine institutions to encompass the new functions of the state, thereby expanding state institutions compatible with aspects of political development theory.

### **Health and Sanitation**

Health and sanitation is a major variable in political development. This remains a major concern in developing countries due to the neglect in this area during the colonial era. It is a major variable in political development. During this period, citizens were afflicted with various types of diseases and SVG was no exception. Health and sanitation were rudimentary at best with a lack of any meaningful efforts by colonial governments to modernize or update facilities or resources for the majority of the population.<sup>100</sup> With

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<sup>97</sup> R.M. Cato, "1974 Annual Budget Estimates to the Legislative Council" (Address by the Premier to the House of Assembly, Kingstown, St. Vincent, March 27, 1974), National Archive. St. Vincent.

<sup>98</sup> E T Joshua, "The Fate and Balance on which St Vincent Hang", *The Voice of Saint Vincent*, (January 27 1979): 3.

<sup>99</sup> "Joshua – A Shrewd Politician", *The Daily Nation*, Bridgetown, Barbados, March 20, 1991.

<sup>100</sup> W. M. Macmillan, *Warning from the West Indies*, (Harmondsworth: Middlesex. England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1938), 111-113.

statehood then independence, these islands including SVG, were left almost bankrupt and unable to provide medical adequate facilities for their people.<sup>101</sup>

Having lived abroad, Cato and Joshua were exposed to developed facilities and realized that health and sanitation are important indicators of development. Hence, they set about to undertake improvements in health and sanitation for SVG citizens. During the Joshua/Cato era, some important strides were made in health and sanitation development. With assistance from the British Crown Agents, developments of water schemes where pipe-borne water was made available to a larger segment of the society were completed.<sup>102</sup> In successive budget addresses, and especially during elections, these developments were lauded as vote getters.

A sewerage project was implemented in December 1973. This improved the facilities in the capital to lessen the spread of diseases.<sup>103</sup> In this respect, both Joshua and Cato made use of resources available from funding agencies to promote this development.<sup>104</sup> They both established health clinics throughout the islands, improved nursing education and training for medical personnel. They implemented programs in schools which promoted health education and deal with all aspects of personal and social hygiene.<sup>105</sup> Cato and Joshua made serious efforts to expand the water distribution system

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<sup>101</sup> Robert M. Cato, "Address to the Nation", (Address by Premier and Minister of Finance delivered to the Nation, Kingstown, St. Vincent, November 18, 1975), National Archive. St. Vincent.

<sup>102</sup> Joshua, 1974 Annual Budget Address, 16.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

through a policy of providing potable water supply to all parts of the mainland. They also established water catchments in the Grenadines because these islands are semi-arid.

There was an endemic problem of malnutrition which was overshadowed by successive governments. However, with the aid of international agencies, programs were implemented to help curb this problem.<sup>106</sup> It was also clear that among Cato's policies was the promotion of better health care as stated in his address to the nation.<sup>107</sup>

Our efforts in the field of health infrastructure do not end here; they are not confined to the Kingstown district. It has always been part of our policy to bring services as close as possible to the people. Construction work has already begun on a Health Centre at Georgetown and one at Union Island. Cognizant of the fact that buildings and other forms of infrastructure are of little use without properly trained personnel to man them, we have continued to intensify our training program for the development of our man power, and so far, my government has sponsored a total of 72 persons who have gone overseas for medium and long term courses during the year. (Cato 1979, 3)

Cato's action was very effective in the eradication disease and the provision of public health services. The nation as a whole benefitted from the developments in health and sanitation.<sup>108</sup> West Indian islands as a whole have benefitted from inputs from international agencies trying to eradicate various tropical diseases. The drives to improve health and sanitation have led to significant increases in life expectancy rates and the eradication of waterborne and childhood diseases.<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, few statistics exists to convey an accurate picture of this situation. Nevertheless, people living through this

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> R Milton Cato, "Address to the Nation", (Address to the Nation by Premier Cato, Kingstown, St. Vincent, April 16, 1979), National Archive, St. Vincent.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, *The Digest of Statistics*, (Kingstown: Government Printery, St Vincent, 1979). 13.

period could definitely state that there are significant positive changes to health and sanitation. Almost gone are the pit latrines which are replaced by soak-away sewer systems. Mosquitoes were being sprayed regularly to avoid dengue fevers. Far from the cries of the 1960s where pipe-borne water was lacking at schools, with the aid of international agencies schools sanitation were improved significantly. These improvements had an internal and external dimension; because funds were available from international agencies to improve health and sanitation throughout the nation. Despite their shortcomings and limited resources, these leaders made inputs which benefitted the country commensurate with development theories.<sup>110</sup>

### **Education**

The approach of these leaders with regards to education policies and the resources they allocated was imperative to this study because education is a development variable. In St Vincent and the Grenadines, the educational system was instituted by the British colonial government and religious institutions. The colonial education system was not designed to uplift either the country or the mass of people. At one point, most of the schools were church- owned or supported. Few schools offered free tuition. This placed secondary education out of the reach of the majority of poor people. Hence, secondary and higher education was the domain of the privileged few. This policy remained in effect until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The majority of people in SVG like the other West Indian islands were functionally illiterate during the colonial era. With the advent of statehood<sup>111</sup> and

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<sup>110</sup> Peters. 149-152.

<sup>111</sup> Joshua, "1974 Annual Budget Estimates".

independence, there was widespread expectation that these leaders will expand educational opportunities to the whole population. Joshua and Cato set out to reverse this situation in SVG. However, it was a gradual process due to the constraints of resources.<sup>112</sup>

Joshua was a teacher and Cato a lawyer. Therefore it can be said they were educated persons of any period. However, both inherited a system that was not designed to benefit the majority of people and the country. These leaders were conscious that education open doors for personal and societal development. They have experienced the benefits of education. Attempts were made to establish alternative trade schools for those who were not academically inclined.<sup>113</sup>

Joshua was the first to assume power under the colonial system. He increased access to education by building schools and creating facilities to train teachers. He sought and obtained aid for a school nutrition program which was implemented throughout the country.<sup>114</sup> These actions were welcomed but they were also used as measures of propaganda which was part of the political culture in these small islands like SVG.

Cato also embarked on a policy of education expansion and making it more affordable to the masses.<sup>115</sup> Due to Cato actions most public school fees were abolished; and school enrollments were increased because education became more affordable to the masses. Cato also increased access by building schools and technical centers. He also

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<sup>112</sup> R. Milton Cato, "1979/80 Annual Budget presented to the Legislative Council" (Speech delivered by Prime Minister and Minister of Finance to the House of Assembly, September 20 1979, Kingstown St. Vincent), National Archive, St. Vincent.

<sup>113</sup> Joshua, "1974 Budget Estimates".

<sup>114</sup> E. T. Joshua, "National Address" (Address by Chief Minister: Delivered to the Nation by Chief Minister, the House of Assembly, July, 1961, Kingstown St Vincent), National Archive, St. Vincent.

<sup>115</sup> Cato, "1979/1980 Annual Budget Estimates".

created scholarships which allowed students to attend premier high schools free of charge. Under Cato, teacher training was improved and some citizens were able to travel abroad to further their education. Cato was clear about his education objectives when he spoke of his Educational Activity in his address to the nation in 1975.

In brief, the Division's educational activity has been concentrated in two main areas, training in the skills necessary to promote local development; for example the planning and implementation of local projects, and secondly in the development of income generating skills. (Cato 1975, 6)

Cato in his address to the nation on October, 1976 updated his achievement in education as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, you will permit me to quote from an address which I delivered to the Nation on November 6<sup>th</sup> last, and I quote: "In examining the state of our schools, 77 in number plus two colleges and six centers, and the form of our education and conditions of service, it is significant to note that during the period of four years and four months there was a massive upsurge in the construction of new primary schools and the renovation and extension of old ones. In addition for the first time, the concepts of Junior Secondary Schools were opened. One at Barrouallie, one at New Adelphi, one at Troumaca and a fourth at the time under construction at Union Island. It is evident that from 1967 to 1972 April, every effort had been made to improve school conditions by tackling the basic problem of overcrowding." He continued, Ladies and Gentlemen, to show our consistent interest in education and in spite of our financial constraints, we have since taking office repaired or have under active repairs schools at Brighton, Calliaqua, Sandy Bay, Layou, and Paget Farm in Bequia, Dubois, the Grammar School and Georgetown School. (Cato 1974, 7)

Cato expanded the development in education which was started by Joshua who also established a Development Corporation as an executing Agency for Government in the administration of a new Student Loan Scheme. Although resources were limited, he ensured that education was a priority.<sup>116</sup> However, it was not long before education became a political tool. A teachers' union was formed to promote the interests of

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<sup>116</sup> E T Joshua, "PPP Appraisal of the Island Development", *The Voice of Saint Vincent*, Bulletin of the People's Political Party 19, no.17, (September 1 1979): 4

teachers. Instead of focusing on the upliftment of education, the union often became involved strikes, public marches and protest rallies which often end in violent confrontation with the government constabulary forces.<sup>117</sup> At better times, the political parties vied for teachers' support because they were seen as political resources in the community or prospective political party parliamentary candidates.<sup>118</sup>

Despite the advances made in education, the quality of education needs to be aligned to the island's development needs and goals. The system of education was and still is not designed to promote the islands' development. The sparse resources of the islands were primarily based on agricultural crops. However, under Joshua administration, sugar and cotton industries were destroyed and replaced by bananas.<sup>119</sup> Cato reintroduced the sugar industry in 1979, but this was destroyed this time by James Mitchell who succeeded him as prime minister.

The present administration of Dr. Ralph Gonsalves, instituted an education policy called Education Revolution which created universal access to secondary education for all children under fourteen years. Regrettably, the educational system is still geared toward academia which does little to develop the country beyond creating a brain drain due to the limited opportunities available for jobs and advancement in small islands like SVG.<sup>120</sup> Joshua further agitated against child labor which was common practice under colonialism. He visited estates where children were employed and protested vehemently

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> R Milton Cato, "Address to the Nation on Education, Sports and Culture", (Speech delivered by Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, October 23, 1981, Kingstown, St Vincent). 7.

<sup>119</sup> Eklund, *Nominee for National Hero*

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

against the then practice of child labor. He also formed a trade union in the process to champion the interests of the working masses.<sup>121</sup>

Overall, both Joshua and Cato contributed significantly to educational advancement in SVG. They built schools and other facilities; they improved teachers' training, made secondary education more available and accessible to the masses, created more scholarships and university graduates. All of these actions on their part contributed positively to political development.

### **Modernization**

In the context of small island nations, the provision of a better life for the struggling people was and still is the motivation for development of any kind. This was the context in which modernization was promoted in these Eastern Caribbean small island nations including SVG. Cato and Joshua to a lesser extent, was very cognizance of the fact that development was essential for the future of the islands.<sup>122</sup> Cato claimed that:

Our development activities, however, have not been confined simply to the establishment of a sound frame-work for planning. My Government has been concerned with the whole issue of a small island not only surviving, but developing in a world in which small size can be inimical. We have come to the following conclusions that for a small island to survive and develop, it must be integrated at least economically with some other territories. (Cato 1979, 2)

In Cato's proposal for development, he stated that his government recognized that there could be no sound development without proper planning. He therefore established a planning and development component of the ministry of finance. He established the

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<sup>121</sup> London, 3.

<sup>122</sup> Robert Cato, "1979 Annual Budget Estimates", (Address to the Legislative Council by Prime Minister and Minister of Finance to The House of Assembly, September 20, 1979, Kingstown, St. Vincent), National Archive, St. Vincent.

Agricultural and Co-operative Bank of St Vincent with the main purpose of providing financing for small farmers and fishermen.<sup>123</sup> Cato took credit for efforts he made towards development. He claimed that his government remained faithful to its commitments and spared no effort in promoting the economic development of the territory. He also stated that he had made strenuous efforts to improve the arrowroot industry which was in decline under Joshua.<sup>124</sup> Cato was also instrumental in establishing industrial estates, reintroducing the sugar industry and building a Dairy processing plant. He also completed plans for the establishment of a fishery processing unit.

Joshua was also very cognizant of the need for development in every aspect of the society. He initially collaborated with the Arrowroot Association to try and revive the industry. He stated that his “government is actively seeking a way to revive the breeding and selection program to develop higher yielding varieties which can be more easily harvested both by hand and machine. In addition, efforts to restore the refining capacities of our factories to higher level of efficiency and to inject more efficient management at the level of field and factory will be intensified.”<sup>125</sup>

Joshua undertook various infrastructure projects. He established a Development Corporation (DEVCO) in 1972 to oversee industrial development. He also established small industry credit scheme to help local entrepreneurs establish and promote small industries. Joshua also established a Produce Laboratory where emphasis was placed on

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Joshua, “1974 Annual Budget”

the development of products from locally available fruits.<sup>126</sup> He announced his commitment to develop agriculture in his address.

A major effort is underway in the Department of Agriculture to re-organize and re-allocate staff and programs in order to promote more effective servicing of the farming community...the first direct attempt to change the inequitable structure of land ownership in the State was made by Government including a loan provision for small farmers...the government's policy is to promote a viable livestock industry in order to satisfy, as far as possible, local demand for eggs, milk and meat...the Development Corporation whose task it is to promote development has entered its second full year of operation in 1973...the small industry credit schemes is financed by the soft window of the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) and the Government of St. Vincent...the Government proposes to provide a limited concession for the construction of apartments under tourism development scheme. (Joshua 1974, 11)

It is evident that both Joshua and Cato sought to promote development or the modernization of SVG through various schemes. They built roads, airports, schools, clinics, hospitals, industrial estates and promoted import substitution and industrialization by invitation. Despite all these efforts, SVG remains a middle-income country due to various factors; including the lack of natural resources.

### **Political and Administrative Infrastructure**

In various speeches to the nation and before parliament Cato claimed he was very concerned with the stability of the nation.<sup>127</sup> He was firm in his response to what he termed lawlessness. On the other hand, the colonial administrators, business and planter classes saw Joshua as an agitator due to his constant challenges to the colonial system and its collaborators. They viewed his constant disparaging remarks as deliberate

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>127</sup> Cato, "Annual Address 1979".

attempts to incite the masses into rebellion. Nevertheless, they both placed great emphasis on stability as the foundation of effective administration of the state.<sup>128</sup>

Governmental functions in these small island nations like SVG are liable to become over-centralized and personalized. Here, employment of an office messenger is determined by a minister or by the Cabinet which in essence means the approval of the head of government.<sup>129</sup> As a result, nepotism and partisan preference becomes evident. In terms of selecting candidates for elections, party leaders are the final determiners despite what party constitution may deem.<sup>130</sup> Leaders are not overly concerned about the loss to the country of skilled or capable nationals. They are more concerned about their reputation and security by trying to eliminate all challenges to their privileged positions instead of tapping the best qualified or experienced people to assist in managing the affairs of the country or who can contribute to policy inputs.<sup>131</sup>

Both Joshua and Cato at some time have subscribed to this behavior and by default have encouraged the brain drain. As a matter of policy, most foreign educated people especially returnees complained that they were marginalized. This has contributed to the brain drain from these smaller islands like SVG either to the larger islands or abroad.<sup>132</sup> As previously mentioned, Cato and Joshua never focused on cultivating successors to marshal their parties forward. Instead, with the demise of Joshua, his party also floundered. Cato was not much different in the sense that he could

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Peters, 127-128.

<sup>130</sup> Constitution of the St Vincent and the Grenadines Labor Party, 1988, 6.

<sup>131</sup> Singham, 328-329.

<sup>132</sup> Peters, 32.

not be anything but first and even in the declining years, they both held on to their leadership position contributing to the destruction of what they built, rather nihilistic.<sup>133</sup>

Joshua and Cato were the final arbiters of the state and people. As government leader, whether Chief Minister, Premier or Prime Minister, the position of Minister of Finance was usually their domain; regardless of whether they had knowledge of finance. Treasury funds are entrusted to no other person. Such antics interfered with the building of institutions necessary for the effective modernization or development of the country.<sup>134</sup>

### **Communications Infrastructure**

St Vincent had always maintained a somewhat free press. During the Joshua period in power, there was a shared radio station with the other Windward Islands called Windward Island Broadcasting Station (WIBS). Hence, Joshua had no monopoly on the broadcast media. During Cato's government, however, the island had its own radio and television stations. These were manipulated by the government. The opposition parties were given airtime at the discretion of Cato's Government. There were only a couple newspapers but each political party had its own printed party organ. Despite the availability of print, distribution was very limited to the literate few and avid readers. Moreover, the same news may have been heard on the radio or BBC World Service which had a regular daily broadcast to the islands. Overall, there was limited communication because the physical infrastructure of the island was not fully developed.

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<sup>133</sup> Wilson, 227.

<sup>134</sup> Singham, 224.

Hence, these leaders had very limited control over communications. Nevertheless, Joshua protested the abuse of the media by Cato.<sup>135</sup>

### **Physical Infrastructure**

Physical infrastructure is extremely important in the political development of any country. With regards to these small island nations it is of no less importance. It is well documented that the colonial authorities only developed physical infrastructure that was appropriate for the administration of the colony and their economic interests. In SVG, most areas were without paved roads and electricity well into the 1960s.<sup>136</sup> On the mainland, electricity was introduced island-wide in the late 1950s under Joshua administration. Joshua also commenced work on the deep water pier which included reclaiming beach frontage at the capital city. This expanded the town seaward, ending in a deepwater port and extra commercial areas.<sup>137</sup> A sewerage scheme project costing EC \$1.8 million was also completed. This greatly improved the disposal of waste in the capital city. This was a substantial and fundamental development of St. Vincent.

Joshua spared no opportunity to remind the citizens that he was instrumental in securing lands to build the mainland airport. According to Joshua, people who forget quickly are unmindful of the entire occurrence which took place in the purchase of the entire Casson Estate at Arnos Vale on which the present Arnos Vale Airport was constructed. He often reminded citizens that this purchase was done under a wave of

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<sup>135</sup> Joshua. "1974 Annual Budget"

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

criticism from the opposition Labor Party about buying too much land.<sup>138</sup> He also commenced work on the Canouan airport.

As premier and minister of finance, Joshua undertook various infrastructure projects. He established a Development Corporation (DEVCO) in 1972 to oversee industrial development. He also established small industry credit scheme to help local entrepreneurs to establish and promote small industries. Again he established a scheme to grant students loans to pursue higher education. He established an industrial estate where factory shells were built to encourage investments in manufacturing. He had a project to have hotels built at Ottley Hall. Joshua acquired lands at Richmond Vale to start a land reform project to diversify agriculture.<sup>139</sup>

Joshua further outlined his development plan for the infrastructure of the entire state. He was instrumental in greatly improving the roads and main thoroughfares in SVG. He also built factory shells to encourage investments in manufacturing. He constructed three and a half miles of feeder roads in 1973 and commenced work on the Leeward Highway under the Crown Agents Management Team. Over EC \$1 million was spent on special road works, river control measures, bridges, culverts, retaining walls and maintenance of roads throughout the state. Under Joshua's leadership, the government became part owner of the electricity services which it hoped will lead to development of electricity throughout the state.<sup>140</sup> Construction work was carried out on a Teachers'

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<sup>138</sup> Ebenezer T. Joshua. "Casson Estate Purchase". *The Voice of St. Vincent, Bulletin of the PPP*, (June 2 1979): 2.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

Training College, government workshop and schools along with the maintenance of government buildings.<sup>141</sup>

Cato in his presentation of the 1967 estimates to the Legislative Council outlined his infrastructural development program utilizing funds received from C.D.W. This included the construction of eleven and a half miles of paved roads, in various parts of the territory by the end of March 1968; rehabilitation of a number of neglected roads, the installation of a new automatic telephone system to cover the entire country. He made specific reference to the construction of the University of the West Indies Extramural Centre with grant funds from Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (CDWF) as well as many social services projects including health and education, communications and works, training and agriculture.<sup>142</sup>

It can be concluded that both Joshua and Cato contributed significantly in all aspects of infrastructure development in St Vincent and the Grenadines. They were continuously engaged in the development of the islands by implementing a variety of projects. When Joshua and Cato entered politics in the 1950s, these islands were mostly without piped water. Electricity was limited to a small area of Kingstown, the capital. Most of the roads were unpaved, few schools or public clinics existed, sewers and hygiene were rudimentary. So it is clear, that Joshua and Cato contributed significantly to develop these infrastructures in the islands.

The checklist of variables is evidently commensurate with economic, social services and infrastructure development. However, these leaders have failed to ensure

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Cato, "1967 Annual Budget"

meaningful participation in the political process by the masses. They adhered to the constitution which was inconsistent with citizens' rights. As a result, they limited mass participation to voting or agitations when necessary.<sup>143</sup> The system remained unreceptive to the views of elected opposition members of parliament. Decision making revolved around the favored few government ministers.<sup>144</sup> Directives were usually in the form of downward flows.<sup>145</sup> The Constitution gave extensive powers to the prime minister who can exercise absolute power over every facet of society.<sup>146</sup> This was/is due to the powerless symbolic role of the governor general as head of state and the unrepresentative system of first past the post. One of the major problems is that there are cases where every member of a party that wins an election is appointed as a government minister and by default a cabinet minister. Dissentions are not allowed within the cabinet due to the convention of ministerial responsibility in the parliamentary system. Hence, the government was/is free to pass any laws or conduct any programs they see fit unless there is some spontaneous uprising of civil disobedience by citizens.<sup>147</sup>

With regard to human rights, there were various instances where governments manipulated the constitution to preserve themselves in office or to deny citizens their rights.<sup>148</sup> In these small islands, discretion and respect for the law was not a given. This was a system where peoples' rights were determined based on their social standing and

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<sup>143</sup> Peters. 85.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> These observations were made over the years by the author as a police officer, police prosecutor, politician, and senior civil servant.

<sup>148</sup> Peters, 86.

political affiliations. Hence, citizens' ability to maneuver the political terrain can be very personal. Since the justice system was at the dictates of the prime minister, citizens had to tread carefully not to be too offensive to ensure they got justice.<sup>149</sup> Both leaders accused each other of power abuses. However, the main differences between them stemmed from their approaches to government and leadership.

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<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

Politics in SVG is a very serious business; this has always been the case since the establishment of adult suffrage. The people are very enthusiastic about their commitment to a leader or political party. They are prepared to endure sacrifices to see their leader and party in power. This can determine their families' fortunes or misfortunes. Hence, they become zealous and open themselves to exploitation by political leaders and party officials.

In these small islands it is very difficult for politicians to escape the harangue of their constituents. The problems of the country and people are constant daily reminders to politicians due to the proximity of access. Joshua and Cato exacerbated the culture of dependency. The majority of people, especially the masses relied on political patronage for their survival. These leaders both used this situation to their political advantage. They created a paternalistic relationship with the masses and assumed the reverence of "Papa Joshua" or "Daddy Cato" which are terms used in deference to a revered figure.

Joshua was active in radical politics in Trinidad where he contested election. So, he brought this radicalism back to SVG and restarted his political activities. He won a seat to the national Assembly. As party leader, Cato won a seat to the Legislative Council. From thence, St Vincent and the Grenadines politics became dominated by both men for over thirty years. They head of government or opposition leader. Despite their

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retirement from politics and their subsequent demise, the core of their parties still exists today under different guises. Most PPP supporters joined with NDP and most Labor supporters joined with Movement for National Unity (MNU) under the banner Unity Labor Party (ULP). Joshua and Cato's influences were significant upon this tiny archipelago nation because they have set the groundwork for social, institutional, economic, political, infrastructural and cultural development and discourse from their venture into politics.

### **Inherited Conditions**

Both leaders promoted activities that were commensurate with political development theories and variables. They became leaders of a small island archipelago which had limited resources and was controlled by a planter class whose major concern was to profit from cheap labor. Very little effort was made to develop SVG beyond the immediate interest of the British.

Joshua and Cato emerged at a critical historical juncture, led agitations for self government and quickly became national political figures. They both formed new rival political parties under their leaderships.

### **Raising Expectations**

Joshua and to a lesser extent Cato raised the hopes of the majority of Vincentians by promising them a better tomorrow. This was attained through activism against the British colonial masters and the planter class. Joshua presented himself as savior of the impoverished exploited masses and worked tirelessly to this end. As political leader, Joshua undertook many projects commensurate with development theories which have all contributed to development of SVG. He expanded health, education, infrastructure, and

built plan houses for low income families. However, he was blamed for the destruction of the sugar and cotton industries and the decline of the arrowroot industry.

### **Joshua's Politics**

Joshua often fostered and promoted constant antagonism through his many speeches and actions. His lawless agitation was beloved by the masses that saw this as macho, which is part of the islands culture of respect for the “badjohn” or rough and tough men revered in calypsos as unrepentant fighters. He was convicted of sedition and incitement to cause riots. He was suspended from holding office but this conviction was later quashed by the Privy Council in London and he resumed his political activities.

Joshua started out as a radical fighting against capitalism and the ills of the colonial government and the planter class. However, later embraced the very capitalists he had so eloquently told his supporters to fight against and hate. His actions seemed at best contrary, with most hinging on his personal political survival. Nevertheless, he fought for the masses and created some enlightenment or consciousness about their rights as workers. The masses adhered to his every command during his early political career. This is in keeping with variables of charismatic leadership theories.

His base was the Spiritual Baptist religion and the trade union he formed. These ensured that he had ready support that he can rely on in any eventuality. Joshua later ditched his base and embraced the Mormon Faith. His followers felt betrayed, and withdrew their support. This led to his demise. He dismissed the Black Power Movement with contempt. He resisted challenges to his leadership, and became rather repressive in order to maintain his leadership of the party and forestall his opponents. He failed to cultivate a successor which is also consistent with charismatic theory.

### **Volatile Politics**

The period of the leadership of Joshua and Cato can be considered as very volatile. They spent most of their time trying to score political advantage manipulating their supporters, creating factions through violence, victimization and discrimination. A political culture developed where physical and verbal abuses, confrontations and civil disobediences became the norm in political discourse; that is evident to the present day. This was the foundation of political discourse laid by Joshua and Cato.

Cato and Joshua collaborated when warranted especially to thwart the aspirations of emerging leaders or to maintain self in power. On reflection, it is questionable whether these leaders had the interests of their country at heart. They failed to channel the support they initially received to develop their country.

Rehabilitation programs for natural disasters were performed based on political considerations which sometimes resulted in relief materials being squandered or underutilized. Developments in some areas were left unfinished or unrepaired because people in that area were not seen as supporters of the government. Hence, in the distribution of resources, families who were not identified as supporting the government or governing party will not be given materials to repair their damaged property. Conversely, party supporters without damages will be given abundant materials that they can sell. This practice continues up to the present day.

Families were and are still being divided due to party loyalties. This still dictates who gets employed. Still, appointments to even the lowest level jobs were on the basis of

political appointees. Workers hired by government officials were not disciplined by their superiors fearing political reprisals. Hence, these employees became loyal to the party rather than the institution or state. This hampered development due to improper utilization of manpower resources. This problem continues to this day where people are appointed to positions based on family ties or political affiliation rather than skills and qualifications.<sup>1</sup>

### **Fashioning a New Society**

Joshua and Cato created a post-colonial society where people become very insecure. Government employees are forced to toe the line of “their” government. Any digression was seen as disloyalty and subjected to demotion, dismissal, victimization or accused of trying to sabotage “their” government. Members of the public are verbally abused either in parliament or public political forums without any legal recourse because the government is and above the law. Initiatives were stymied and everyone must follow the status quo in unworkable repetitive tasks. This hampered development because it discourages efficiency and creativity which are needed to develop SVG.

Joshua and Cato distrusted policy makers within the civil service. Hence, they usurped the functions of the senior civil servants. Based on their notion that they have a mandate to govern as they think necessary. Senior civil servants were relegated to the role of minor administrative functionaries. The underutilization and loss of skilled personnel impacted negatively upon the development of SVG. This negative practice is still in place in SVG.

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<sup>1</sup> The writer was an active politician, diplomat, and Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Development of SVG reporting directly to the FS and Prime Minister. He has witnessed many of these developments over the years.

Government ministers with specific skills were seldom appointed to a ministry commensurate with his or her skills. The leader of the party becomes the leader of the government and minister of finance, whether he has experience regardless of more qualified ministers. This is an instrument of control which has usually led to corrupt practices. No one dares to question the acts of the “first among equals” as prime ministers are referred to.

The power of leaders to appoint, dismiss or allocate funds to other ministers and parliamentarians, have made others lose their seat in an election due to withholding funds to be spent in a constituency. Hence, a minister offending the prime minister is tantamount to political suicide. This state of affair still exists where the machinations of the prime minister can destroy the political careers of others.

### **Era of Constitutional Transition**

The study confirms that in the checklist of leadership and political development variables and theories, it is evident that both Joshua and Cato were engaged in some form of political development throughout their leadership span. These leaders had the greatest opportunity to fashion the development of SVG because they had entered an uncharted course. They had the monopoly of power, citizens’ support and wherewithal to chart a course of sustainable development despite the limitation of natural resources.

### **Theoretical Outcomes**

Joshua and Cato’s greatest successes as leaders were in the areas of social services where they developed and expanded education and health facilities and services. They also succeeded in the expansion of physical infrastructure. They built and

resurfaced roads; deep water pier and reclaimed lands from the beachfront thereby extending the capital city seaward. All these improvements were neglected by successive colonial governments. These successes have been overshadowed by significant failures in moving the country forward in a united manner.

Through their political actions, Joshua and Cato have caused widespread divisions in the country which to this day hinders any type of meaningful reconciliation among the different social and political groups. This is illustrated in this 2010 Christmas message to the people of SVG by current Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves, entitled “Reconciliation and good neighborliness”<sup>2</sup>. He declared that:

Our nation has just emerged from a bruising, divisive, and even hate-filled general election. Preceding these elections was a decade of lies, innuendos, defamation, scurrilities, and hatred spewing forth from talk-radio especially on one radio station. All of this has been motivated by a partisan political quest for power laced with an unnecessary malice. This campaign of vilification has not succeeded in accomplishing its political goal. Surely, it is high time for its perpetrators to grasp the futility of their strategy and tactics and take a different tack. The mass of Vincentians are fed up with all their poisonous rhetoric. The Christmas Season for the year 2010 is an opportune time for the excessive partisan bickering, libel and slander by some political elites and their associates to give way to reconciliation and good neighborliness in the nation’s interest. . . In announcing the Cabinet recently, I allocated to a Minister, Maxwell Charles, the portfolio of National Reconciliation, among other subjects. This is a clear indication of my government’s seriousness in engendering a lessening of harmful political partisanship and character assassination. (Eklund, 2010)

In honesty, the opposition could have made the same speech because both parties are guilty of continuation of this state of behavior emanating from the Joshua/Cato era.

Joshua and Cato failed to build meaningful institutional structures to accommodate mass participation in the decision-making political process. They

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<sup>2</sup> Karl Eklund, “Divisive SVG as per Ralph: Reconciliation and Good Neighborliness”, Friday, December 31, 2010 [http://svgblog.blogspot.com/2010\\_12\\_01\\_archive.html](http://svgblog.blogspot.com/2010_12_01_archive.html) (accessed November 15, 2011)

maintained a system either inherited from the colonial era or of necessity due to the increased functions of the state. As Cato led the state to independence of 1979, the state took on various new functions. Most of these functions were performed within the confines of the old associated statehood system. This restricted the state from carrying out the tasks to be undertaken effectively as a newly independent state. At the same time, local politicians found themselves in a position to act as they saw fit without being answerable even to the electorate.

They frustrated the Public Accounts Committee in its function to audit government spending by failing to provide information of government financial activities. This left the Civil Service with poor work ethics due to their personal interference in the system. Administration became a matter of social standing with government ministers relying on their social circle for policy advice rather than from civil servants. This frustrated civil servants who found themselves with nothing to do apart from sitting at an empty desk. This state of affair still exists in SVG. No serious efforts were made especially during Joshua's era to update or modernize the administrative system. In fairness to Joshua, he had limited powers in this respect because most of his leadership in government was during the colonial era where his hands were tied.

Joshua in fact tried to encourage new ideas which caused him to shift from championing socialism to championing capitalism. This shift was welcomed by the business class and rising elites, but not by his supporters. But political development and leadership theories encompass the modification of ideas or changes in institutions if it can be beneficial to the society. Hence, Joshua's shift in ideas may have been appropriate at the time to solve some political problems though limited in scope.

There were some changes in terms of the evolution of the structures of the state, because there were changes to accommodate the new roles taken on by the state during Statehood and Independence. These changes were not at the initiative of these leaders. One can say they were the result of historical development or constitutional changes. However, the issue may be the appropriateness of the changes made.

In terms of political behavior these leaders personalized the political process. They created a situation whereby party members, voters or supporters of a political party will be at the representative's doorstep seeking personal favors. In this vein, politicians are expected to continue repaying 'supporters' or constituents for supporting or 'voting for them.' Some people have gone to the extent of developing what can be called an entitlement mentality; others use various antics to get some sort of personal favor from politicians. This is quite different from clientalism or patron-client politics. This paternalistic behavior was encouraged by both parties as a measure to galvanize support.

Constitutional changes which came with independence, allotted the leader of government the office of prime minister which carries a monopoly of power. The parliamentary opposition in SVG is either treated with contempt or utter disrespect by the government. Every successive government treats the opposition parliamentarians as if they are not representing the people. Hence, members of the opposition are extremely ineffective. With a majority of one, the government always has its way. Governments seldom grant funds to spend in opposition constituencies. These actions usually caused constituencies and constituents which were not represented by the governing party to be neglected. Both Joshua and Cato started this behavior, aided by the Westminster-model constitution which has given the governing leader or prime minister unmatched power.

Based on the foregone analysis, we have seen that political leadership is a complex process by which persons in power influence their followers, civil society, and the wider public to accomplish societal goals. In St Vincent and the Grenadines, it is evident that both Joshua and Cato accomplished their goals. They implemented policies and projects that were beneficial to their party and power base.

Constitutional, social, economic and political changes took place under their watch. Some developments were of their own doing, while others may have been the results of historical forces beyond their control. Some of their actions yielded positive effects. Others needed more thought and planning. In any case, these leaders have used their leadership resources to instigate changes.

### **Joshua and Cato within the context of the concept**

Since charisma is conferred upon a man by virtue of the perception of his followers, we can then categorize Ebenezer Joshua can be referred to as charismatic. Joshua exhibited a series of theoretical attribute of the charismatic leader. He was surely in the forefront of the struggle for independence and societal changes. He had mass following, was revered and participated in crisis and conflict situations. Joshua instigated strikes and incited the destruction of the sugar industry by boasting, he will make Mt Bentinck into a graveyard.<sup>3</sup> Joshua formed and led a trade union and a political party. Joshua had allayed the fears of the masses by promising that he as their savior “will never let them fall.”<sup>4</sup> The masses chanted the battle songs:

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<sup>3</sup> St. Vincent and the Grenadines, “A Strike of Workers at Mt Bentinck Sugar Factory”. *St Vincent Government Gazette* 96, no.355 (November 12 1963): 333.

<sup>4</sup> Gonsalves, *Joshua Ideology and Style*, 43.

“We will never let Joshua fall,  
 We love him best of all  
 We will fight with our might  
 We’ll fight for our rights  
 And our children rights  
 We will never let Joshua fall”<sup>5</sup>

And

- 1 We shall overcome  
 We shall overcome  
 We shall overcome someday

#### CHORUS

- Oh, deep in my heart  
 I do believe  
 We shall overcome someday
- 2 We’ll walk hand in hand  
 We’ll walk hand in hand  
 We’ll walk hand in hand someday
- 3 We shall all be free  
 We shall all be free  
 We shall all be free someday
- 4 We are not afraid  
 We are not afraid  
 We are not afraid someday
- 5 We are not alone  
 We are not alone  
 We are not alone someday
- 6 We shall overcome  
 We shall overcome  
 We shall overcome someday

Cato’s Labor Party supporters would retort with:

We shall not, we shall not be moved  
 Just like a tree that is planted by the waters  
 We shall not be moved

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

It appeared that both Joshua and Cato were compliant with charismatic theories by playing to the hopes, fears and aspirations of their followers. They acted on these hopes and aspirations incorporating them into their wider vision of what the country's future course should be. Joshua's approach was through agitation and mass mobilization while Cato's approach was through intermediaries or the formal structure of government. They both exhibited special leadership attributes that kept them in leadership position for over thirty years. Through their paternalistic and charismatic leadership style, it is evident that they rendered some valuable service to the people and country. Joshua died an impoverished almost forgotten man. He was later nominated a national hero with the main airport bearing his name. Cato led a quiet life aloof from any political fray after his retirement until his passing. The general hospital was named in his honor.

Whether they succeeded as leaders is dependent on many variables. As per Lewis' checklist, many of these variables were evident, missing or at cross purpose. It is very difficult to pinpoint a single event or development to conclude that they were or were not effective leaders. Joshua and Cato exhibited some personality traits and leadership qualities that were in line with Burns, Weber, Tucker, and Gardner theories of leadership. Their leadership activities were in line with aspects of Stogdill, Thimmaiah, Bass, Rost, Heller and Van Till theories of leadership and political development. However, Tucker was more appropriate when he claimed that the people will follow with enthusiastic loyalty any leader they perceived to offer them salvation out of their distressful dilemma as the masses perceived Joshua and Cato.

Both leaders adhered to democratic principles when necessary; although there were elements of authoritarianism in some of their policies. Both tried to pass legislations

which were rejected by the masses and had to be withdrawn. Despite their confrontational styles, they recognized that stability was necessary to make any significant economic progress and were prepared to compromise to ensure stability.

Both Joshua and Cato encountered dilemmas satisfying the aspirations of the masses. Hence, they resorted to emotionalism which resulted in a fractured or divisive society. They courted the emergent local elites and promoted the emerging middle class to replace the entrenched colonial administrators. Cato had a power advantage in roles as premier and prime minister due to the constitutional development of the state. Cato had the power to create a new political culture based on a national identity. He only partially fulfilled his promises to the people. These leaders penchant for power caused them to descend to demagoguery to mask their inability to sustain their promises. In this respect, they have reverted to the maxim of divide and rule.

Although there were visible signs of freedom, there were still limited opportunities for participation in the political decision-making process. Hence, one can safely say that these leaders in particular Cato practiced the politics of the olive branch and the stick, so that they could maintain their hegemony over the island politic. This behavior is congruent with the island's constitution. It granted freedom to citizens in one paragraph then give the government powers to take it away and to make any laws they think necessary to maintain order in the society, thereby curtailing the freedom granted to citizens.

Joshua and Cato development aspirations seemed only partially fulfilled due to the constraints imposed by the inherited colonial structures. There is no evidence that they tried to institute something specifically Vincentian. Dismantling the inherited

colonial structures had significant effects on the actions and inactions of these leaders. The lack of any coherent ideology, small size of the nation and population, historical development, personality/charisma, lack of resources, the personalization of politics, and so forth, have all contributed to the outcomes of political development in SVG. However, the roles of Joshua and Cato in meeting the expectations they aroused showed that these leaders were not realistic in their aspirations.

Finally, this analysis made significant contributions to the void in scholarship about the dilemma faced by small developing islands especially SVG. There are limitations in the various theories regarding their application to small developing islands. These theories can be misleading because they deal with countries with more advanced development of state structures and institutions. Hence, when applied to small developing states like SVG, their conclusions may not be applicable. It is a fact that political development has created increasing capacity of the political system and differentiation in the political structure. Changes were mostly due to the constitutional processes dictated by the British colonial government and historical processes. This led to greater democratization and political participation of the people through voting and participation in political campaigns. Yet to date, no policy exist to incorporate the masses or interest groups in the decision making process apart from the free and fair election constitutionally due every five years or at the whims of the party in power.

Cato squandered most of the goodwill accorded him as the first prime minister of SVG. This set the tone for post-independence political office holders to this day. He also failed to discipline his ministers for overt corrupt practices which implied complicity similar to Cato's earlier accusation of Minister Ivy Joshua.

Despite their shortcomings, Joshua and Cato were determined to create meaningful changes. These changes were from their perspective in a downward flow similar to those of the colonial overlords which they inherited. The state was used to promote the agenda of these leaders. Regrettably, this situation also existed in most of the other small islands and still prevails today. The populace has developed a dependency complex and the majority depends on the government for some sort of patronage. Threats, violence, bribery and corrupt practices to obtain votes have become the order during elections.

Because of their personality, their impact on politics and political development of SVG was very erratic. The checklist made an important contribution to the understanding of political development in SVG. Hence, we can theorize that successful leadership and political development in small island nations like SVG is determined by the ability of leaders to appeal to the emotions of the people, through patronization and the presumed allocation of scarce resources on the basis of party loyalty and deference.

The analysis shows that Joshua and Cato emerged at a historical juncture when the old colonial system was in decline. Along with emerging leaders in the other British islands, they inherited a country where the colonial system was imbedded and had significantly influenced every aspect of the society. As pioneers in nation building, these leaders went through various trials and errors because they never had the groundings or tutelage in governance. To compound the problems, they had to be somewhat receptive to the demands of impatient masses that were eager to have their hopes and aspirations fulfilled. In this respect, they improved on every facet of society especially infrastructure, education and social services.

In the process of leadership, the dynamics of conflict and power was exhorted. These were evident in the actions of Joshua and Cato when dealing with the collective purpose of producing actual socio-economic changes. The fact that SVG remains a stable democratic country is evidence of the foundation laid by Joshua and Cato. Based on various theories of leadership and political development as stated in this paper, Joshua and Cato were engaged in activities which were for both their self preservation and the common good of SVG. Hence, their long political careers have made a lasting impact on the island nation and its people.

This study endeavored to satisfy its objective of highlighting the nature of some fundamental problems of politics and political development which have emerged in the small nation state of St Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG), under the leadership of Ebenezer Theodore Joshua and Robert Milton Cato. This was a descriptive and analytical investigation into the effects of their leadership on politics and political development in SVG between 1951 and 1984. In order to pursue an objective analysis, I have utilized a checklist of development variables which was adapted to ensure an objective analysis.

In this study, various analytical tools were used to test the hypothesis and research questions. The outcome of the study is commensurate with my hypothesis, assumptions, theories and concepts. The theories contributed to the study through enlightenment of how this coherency is achieved. The results showed that the above hypotheses were true and the leadership behavior of Joshua and Cato had significant impact on politics and the performance of political development in SVG.

After a thorough analysis, the research study achieved the objective I set out to prove in assessing the impact Joshua and Cato's leadership had on political development

in SVG. It complied with the parameters set, the empirical research was grounded in situations, perceptions and inputs of Joshua and Cato. The theoretical approach honored the ideas and contributions of researchers through acknowledgement of their contributions. A process of openness was created and designed to minimize biases and increase the findings acceptance.

The findings suggest that key roles played by these leaders in the political development of SVG were instrumental in creating new institutions of government. They set the benchmark for political discourse and behavior. The present political culture emanates from their actions or inactions. Their methods of dealing with the masses and the utilization of the state and state apparatus for their own self-interest are still in vogue today.

Finally, by studying the influence of Joshua and Cato during the society's transition process, my research contributes to our understanding of organizations within the intrinsically social science framework. My findings have implications for theory development and the design and implementation of administrative changes. As noted, these findings contributed not only to our theoretical understanding of the role leadership play in emergent change processes, but how coherency is achieved across diversity. The findings have implications for the design of future reform initiatives in complex institutions and organizations. It provides the foundation for studies of leadership practices and its impact on performances through the use of the checklist of variables.

We can conclude that the central theme in the achievement of political development in St Vincent and the Grenadines was the improvement of the quality of life of the people in peace and harmony. This is commensurate with various leadership and

political development theories. It gives insights into political behavior of various segments of the society. There is a clear correlation between the empirical and theoretical constructs which I set out to prove and is represented in this study. By the same token, the research study is a major contribution to a comprehensive study of Caribbean states, and provides insights of small island nation states, post colonial states and a valued contribution to theories of political development.

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