

Smith sheds more light on several long-standing historical debates about Price on the road to independence. Perhaps the most significant revelation is that Price did not dispute the long-standing allegation that he and the PUP had received financial assistance from elements in Guatemala in the 1950s. Price brushes this off as just another justifiable tactic in the struggle against the British. Price's often controversial belief that Belize's economic destiny lay more in Central America than in the Commonwealth Caribbean also comes off as more logical and forward thinking in Smith's assessment. He also confirms intriguing aspects of Price's personal life. Price, who went to mass every day and lived an austere existence in the same family house all of this life, never married, remained celibate, and never let anyone too close to him. He was the consummate populist and clientelistic politician. Although not an authoritarian leader, he 'did not suffer slights easily' and had a revengeful streak under his humble exterior.

Compared with the depth of attention given by Smith to Price's pre-independence life, that given to the post-1981 period is thin. This is understandable. As achievements go, leading Belize to 'political freedom' with full territorial integrity is difficult to top. Price lost his first election in 30 years in 1984, when he and the PUP lost to the United Democratic Party. Although Price was returned to power in 1989 at the age of 70, Smith correctly assesses that 'he was a politician of the colonial liberation struggles, not a new age politician' (p. 287). As the PUP was modernising around him and younger leaders vied for control, Price lost his grip on the party. After the PUP lost again in 1993, Price finally resigned as party leader three years later, but served in parliament until retirement in 2003.

Smith's biography has just a handful of stylistic shortcomings. One unfortunate oversight, especially for students and historical readers, is the total absence of referencing in the text. Citations of the archival materials and of the informant interviews would have left a more enduring historical record and quickly resolved some of the ensuing revisionist debates that inevitably emerge. In terms of thematic treatment, Smith gives perhaps too little attention to the significant role played by Price in Belize's exceptional achievement of avoiding ethnicised party politics in a diversely multi-ethnic nation. Also, some would have welcomed more of Price's views on why the PUP botched a real opportunity in the mid-1980s to build on its progressive origins, and instead evolved into just another Tweedledee in Belize's political duopoly. However, if such debates are sparked by the biography, they are further testaments to its success. Overall, Smith has made an invaluable contribution not only to the political historiography of Belize, but also to that of both the Caribbean and Central America. I am sure that many readers will agree that this biography, as Smith foresaw, is indeed a historical necessity.

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### **Green Jobs from a Small State Perspective: Case Studies from Malta**

Saviour Rizzo (Ed.) *Brussels, Green European Foundation and Ceratonia Foundation, 2011, pp. 64.* Freely downloadable as pdf from: [http://gef.eu/uploads/media/Green\\_jobs\\_from\\_a\\_small\\_state\\_perspective.pdf](http://gef.eu/uploads/media/Green_jobs_from_a_small_state_perspective.pdf)

In an age of heightened environmental awareness and high energy bills, the litany of woes that is usually associated with the status of a small state has grown even longer. We are now also reminded that small, often island and often developing states and territories usually lie off the main electricity grid and must therefore provide the full infrastructure required for their own energy needs; this typically implies very expensive per capita conventional energy bills. What this also means—even if rarely articulated—is that small island states and territories may have very strong financial incentives to wean themselves away from fossil fuels and switch to alternative and renewable energy sources (wind, solar, tidal, geothermal, etc.) for their energy requirements. The relatively small population size and land area of most small states may make the effective and efficient provision of such alternative power much more feasible than in larger, continental states.

This transformation of small state vulnerability into a business opportunity is an underlying feature of this handy little volume that explores attitudes to the creation of new skills and job opportunities in the so-called ‘green economy’, which is intended to produce goods and services that ‘prevent, limit, minimise or correct environmental damage to water, air and soil, as well as problems related to waste, noise and ecosystems’ (p. 13). These concerns are fleshed out in the context of the smallest member state of the European Union: the island state of Malta, with its 417,000 residents perched on a land area of just 316 km<sup>2</sup>, and still almost 100% dependent on expensive fossil fuel.

What are the main perceptions accompanying this major switch from carbon to green? This booklet provides us with some indicative—and encouraging—results, drawn from various methodological pursuits: elite interviews with the top officials of the two largest trade union organisations (General Workers’ Union and Union of United Workers) and two environmental non-governmental organisations (Nature Trust Malta and Friends of the Earth); informal interviews with six artisans engaged in craftwork; 14 semi-structured interviews with older persons engaged in volunteer work with eco-friendly non-governmental organisations; and a SWOT analysis and scenario planning exercise meant to identify the prospects for eco-innovation in a small country such as Malta.

The optimist in me is overjoyed to see some serious talk in Malta about ‘green jobs’, especially in the context of a steady decline in the island’s manufacturing sector and a definitive turn to what should be more eco-friendly service industries. Malta (and its sister island, Gozo, even more so) joins a growing list of jurisdictions that aspire to become ‘green islands’: touting carbon neutral (or even carbon negative) strategies for others to admire and possibly emulate. Small populations—even smaller than Malta’s—may have an easier time to get their green act together. This, in itself, is a welcome piece of news for some of the world’s smallest nations: there are at least 15 countries and subnational jurisdictions with populations of up to 90,000 people—among which are six Commonwealth countries. Various island regions, constituent parts of larger countries, are also strutting their green credentials. Among the best known are Samsø, in Denmark (population: 4,300), and El Hierro, in the Canary Islands, Spain (population: 10,000). May many others follow.

This transition will not, however, be effortless: and it is in the critical recognition of the implications of change that this publication is most seriously lacking. Established

power elites will not be easily swayed to switch enthusiastically to green energy production, even on small islands; all the more so where conventional energy providers enjoy a ‘natural monopoly’ status, with no competitive market forces in place. For those small island economies dependent on tourism from distant source countries and/or on carbon-guzzling ferries and airlines crucial to maintaining the islands’ links to significant mainlands, any green label will remain an elusive or, at best, a partial accomplishment. Moreover, while green entrepreneurs seek to develop artisanal products that are made from locally sourced material, there is an inherent danger of assuming a protectionist stance that discriminates actively against imports. This is not a clever strategy for islands, which often depend crucially on export markets to survive. One country’s slow food strategy is easily another country’s loss of export revenue. The road to pursue, achieve and expand ‘green jobs’, like the goal of sustainable development that is today championed by practically everyone, is riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. Indeed, can there ever be a sustainable island? The devil, as always, lies in the details.

The Green European Foundation, which published this study, has national European Green foundations, the Green Group in the European Parliament and the European Green Party as its main stakeholders.