

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
OFFICIAL REPORT

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SECOND SESSION (1959—60)
OF THE FIRST LEGISLATURE OF THE WEST INDIES,
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE WEST INDIES
(FEDERATION) ORDER IN COUNCIL, 1957.

11th Sitting

Monday, 7th December, 1959

HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

The House met at 2.30 p.m.

Prayers

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Mr. James Nathaniel Edwards, Alternate Member for Montserrat, took and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and was welcomed to the House by Mr. Speaker.

WINDWARD ISLANDS

Visit by Prime Minister

The Prime Minister : Mr. Speaker, I wish to inform hon. Members that, subject to the business of the House being completed in time, I shall be visiting Grenada on the 17th December. I shall proceed from Grenada to St. Lucia on the 20th and return to Barbados on the 23rd. I shall arrange a visit to the Leeward Islands as soon as possible in 1960. I wish to add that I am fitting in all these visits as early as possible consistent with my other duties.

Dr. Radix : With your kind permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to reply to the statement of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Speaker : You want to make a remark ?

Dr. Radix : Yes, Mr. Speaker.

I must heartily welcome the statement of the Prime Minister that he intends to visit my Constituency shortly. I am one who believes that this visit is long overdue. I believe his visit to the smaller Territories will go a long way towards selling the federal idea.

Mr. Sinanan : Have you asked the Prime Minister if he is travelling in a banana boat ?

DEFENCE (AMENDMENT) BILL

To "amend the Defence Act, 1958," presented by the Prime Minister and read a First time.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH

Debate on the Address

Order read for resumption of debate on the following Motion moved by the Deputy Prime Minister on the 18th November, 1959 —

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"That a Message of Thanks be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Gracious Speech delivered to both Houses of the Legislature.

Archdeacon Lennon (Middlesex, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, on our side some of us seem to be silent Members, but I would like to say it is not so much that we are silent but that we are not supposed, or prepared, to say anything without orders. We are under orders and when anyone has said something already, then we need not say anything more whether he be an Archdeacon or anything else. We are orderly people and take orders from him who gives them.

It is good to listen. It is good to listen, for if we listen we learn quite a lot. Many of us say quite a lot and don't take time to listen. I believe in listening, and I believe there is no need doing anything that anyone can do for me, and so I save my time and energy to do something that he couldn't do for me.

This afternoon we are here to give thanks for the Gracious Speech from the Throne. First of all, I want to say a big "thank you" to His Excellency the Governor-General for the marvellous Speech he read so nicely to us. It is full of food for thought and we hope that it will be put into action together with suggestions which we will put up here this afternoon. I am going to speak a bit generally. Others will speak most specifically. I want first of all to say something about the West India Regiment.

Sometime last month the Governor-General was in Jamaica to see the passing-out parade of the first batch of recruits of

the West India Regiment — the wonderful deportment, efficiency and smartness of those men and all that went with that Parade was a wonderful exhibition of what we can produce in men.

I would like to see more men from different Territories being recruited for this great venture. There are many more young men around — I see so many lusty, strong, fine-looking young men who have practically nothing to do, wasting their time which could be better used in being trained for military service. I would suggest not only that more men be recruited from the different Territories but that better military training be given our scholars in schools and colleges.

When we see the slackness of discipline in some of our schools, the disorder and so on, we seem to think that it would be better if many of these young people were trained from their childhood, in the way they should go, for we know that when they grow older they will not depart from it.

And so I would suggest that in The West Indies, military training be given to more of our young men —

The Prime Minister: So that they cut one another's throats!

Archdeacon Lennon: — so that they would be more orderly in time to come.

I would like to say something about education. Education in The West Indies is not stressed very much; I didn't see much of it in the Throne Speech, though I think it is embodied and we are very glad to see the activity of our Minister for Social Affairs whose Portfolio embodies

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education. I know she is interested and I know that everything will be done to further this subject. We should like to see it embodied not only in Social Services but we should like to see a special Ministry of Education and we would like to see in our Federal Parliament a Minister of Education.

I would like to ask what is being done about the Federal Education Adviser: Is he doing the job that he came down here to do, or is he more like a clerk without an opportunity of going around giving all the necessary help that can be given and that is so much needed in this Federation? Is he being used in that way? He could go around and give much wonderful help; special students could be selected for Colleges and for our University. I think if we use him in that direction—free to go about, free to act, free to carry out the great work which we thought he came down here to do, I think he would be making a wonderful contribution to the Federation as a whole.

We talk a lot about education in The West Indies. We think of the other places of the world, we think of Ghana and Nigeria and of the other places that have gone forward. We think they have paid better attention to education than we pay today. Speaking from experience gained in Africa for many years, I know of the way in which students have been gathered from different tribes and sent to the different parts of the world—United States, United Kingdom, India, and other places. Today we see the result of that. Ghana has received independence, a young country comparatively to some of the West Indian islands.

It was West Indians who went out there and helped them to become what they are, and I am speaking from experience. Take Nigeria: Nigeria in a very little while will become an independent nation—this time next year. West Indians have helped to make them what they are or will be. I think men like Blackett from Barbados—it was in the Ibo country in Nigeria that Blackett was the founder of education. Then take men like Binger, Brown and Llewellyn. We think also of Thompson, Hart, Jones, Simpson and others. I can tell you that these people, with some of us, have played a wonderful part to put Nigeria and Ghana on the map.

I think if we would give more space, more time to education, to help the young promising youths so that they may go not only to be trained by other people, but as Unit Territories in the Federation to send out promising students to be trained, then they would be able to come back to us and help us to prepare this great nation.

I wish also to touch on the Federal Capital. I touch on it because it seems to have been put in abeyance and we do not even know where we are. It is time that the people of the Federation know where this capital is going to be built, when it is going to be built, so that we may live to see the Capital established if we cannot have it in Trinidad in connection with which there seems to be some difficulty. We love Trinidad; we are here. Is this the Federal Capital, Port-of-Spain? Or are we going to have a place in Trinidad that we can say is the Federal Capital? And if we cannot have it here in Trinidad, well then Trinidad and Tobago are considered one Territory, and I understand that Tobago is as beau-

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[ARCHDEACON LENNON]

tiful a place as Trinidad, and from the fact that from a tourist point of view, much land has been acquired there to make that place more important, I think Trinidad would not hesitate, would not begrudge the fact that Tobago has the Capital. We want to see the Capital somewhere, some time and right now as early as possible. If we cannot have this, let us try a place like Antigua. Antigua is more central for the Capital, and I will say, Mr. Speaker, that we would not care where the Capital is to be built, but we want to see the Capital, and let it be built in Trinidad or Tobago or anywhere else—we would not be very keen to have it in Jamaica because Jamaica is the Capital of The West Indies already.

With regard to the coming visit of the Princess Royal. We want to say that we welcome it. So much has been contributed by these Royal visits to The West Indies that I think the visit of the Princess Royal would be a great asset, and we look forward to it with pleasure, and hope that she will have a real royal time.

With regard to the Federation, I would like to read again the opening words of this great Speech from the Thorne:

"Federation as an institution is a challenge to the ingenuity and tolerance of a people, and the young Federation of The West Indies is no exception to that challenge. Since my Government assumed office 19 months ago, I and my Ministers have concerned ourselves with establishing the Federal idea both at home and abroad."

I say this, Sir, because we hear so much today about Federation, both for and against it. But whether we are for or against, let us remember that this Federa-

tion is something new, and many of us are looking forward very much to seeing the fruits before we do some sowing.

This is a great venture, so let us have faith in this venture because it is not only something which concerns man or something conceived by man but also something in the nature of a God-planned arrangement.

We as Members of the Federation are sometimes inclined to think that we are here on our own effort and we give very little thought in this new movement to the big part God has to play. Even at the beginning of a Sitting, such as we began this afternoon, we have prayers, conducted by the Speaker. Without God we can do nothing. I want to make this point very plain and strong because if we set a better example while we are here and let everything be done decently and in order, we would be making a better contribution to the Federation.

I want to say something about the visits of our Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition to Australia. We are very pleased to see that they have been able to come back to us in peace, and we are sorry that the Prime Minister was not very well. But I would like to make note of an article that was published in Saturday's newspaper which was a report of what the Leader of the Opposition has written and said in Australia. It was something worthwhile, and he made a wonderful contribution to Federation.

Let us have faith in this great venture, and let us not talk about small or large island because whether we are small or large, we are one people. England is a

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comparatively small country yet we have seen the greatness they have gained for themselves. When I was in Africa some years ago, and spoke about Jamaica, people used to ask me, "Where is Jamaica?" They would take me to a map of the world, and I would look for the Western Hemisphere, and then Cuba, and then under Cuba I would see a little dot. That was Jamaica. Then there would be laughter. On those occasions I would be speaking to people from a country with 35,000,000 people. In Jamaica we do not have 2,000,000.

Today we talk about small island and say this one is large and that one is small. Let us cease to talk about this and give everyone its due. From the small island of St. Lucia we have the first West Indian Principal of the University College of The West Indies and I think we have had in Jamaica the first West Indian-born Chief Justice, Sir John Carberry.

Whether it is Jamaica or St. Lucia, or that island or the other, we are in for a wonderful Federation. Let us make it a success. I say thanks for this great Speech. God save the Queen.

3.05 p.m.

Mr. Carrott (Antigua): Mr. Speaker, I want first to congratulate the Federal Government because no one can doubt the Federation is definitely gaining international status. From the very moment we said, "Go", if nothing else has been done, the Federation was recognised abroad.

I come now to the Ministers who took part in the Commonwealth Economic Conference. I think this House will agree

with me that a naked political Federation would be of no use to the people of The West Indies. It must go hand-in-hand with economic development. I think we have to congratulate the delegation that went to London to take part in the economic exercises. I think we have seen signs of progress. A team of industrialists came to The West Indies to discuss matters of importance to the Federation. I sincerely hope that the Mission will bear fruit.

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to the Constitutional changes that are taking place in other parts of The West Indies, moreso in the smaller Islands of the Federation. It is my opinion that the further Constitutional changes forthcoming in the Leeward and Windward Islands will bring greater responsibility to the people of those areas. I sincerely hope that the people of the Windward and Leeward Islands will live up to their responsibilities and give the people of these areas proper Government in action.

I am deeply disappointed with the Grants that have been obtained so far. I am moreso disappointed that the Federal Government did not press for a grant for itself. The forty-three million dollars which has been given to the Federal Government for the 10 Unit Territories of the Federation, is, in my submission, totally inadequate. I feel that, as a gesture, the British Government should have given at least \$50,000,000 to the Federal Government —

Dr. Duhaney : Coming near to us !

Mr. Carrott : — in addition to the \$43,000,000 given to the Units of the Federation.

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[MR. CARROTT]

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government are in need of their own funds to carry out experiments, etc., in the Unit Territories. I was hoping that within the first 5 years the Federal Government would have so made an impression on the Units as far as economic development is concerned that the people themselves would have a feeling that they were federated for a purpose. But instead we see the Unit Territories are responsible for their own development. There is no reason why the Federal Government should not have funds at their disposal to go into a Territory or Territories and carry out certain experiments, *i.e.*, putting down a factory, etc. That, in my opinion, would be a means of building up the confidence of the people in the federated area.

Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who feel that the British Government is doing its utmost.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Hear, hear!

Mr. Carrott: They have forced these Territories into a kind of mono-culture for years, and no one can doubt—

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Hear, hear!

Mr. Carrott:—that it is the British Government themselves who have set the kind of economy that our people should live on—

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Hear, hear!

Mr. Carrott:—and it is their duty, at this time when we are laying the foundation of our Nation, to assist us.

Mr. Speaker, just a few months ago there were disturbances in Cyprus, and the British Government came across with £38,000,000.

Mr. Sinanan: What about the Middle East?

Mr. Carrott: However, the people of Cyprus did not accept the amount. They were fighting for their independence and no amount of money could induce them.

I feel at this stage that the Federal Government still has it in its power to put up a militant fight for additional grants from the British Government. If for over three hundred years we are going to be afraid to demand our equal rights, then we are not fit to be in this Parliament.

Mr. Hill: Hear, hear!

The Prime Minister: You are the only person who said "Hear, hear"!

Mr. Hill: Anything he says is right. Antigua cannot be wrong!

Mr. Carrott: I hope that in the future we would be able to demand those rights. And I repeat that if we are not sufficiently influential to put up a militant case for additional grants to help these impoverished Territories, then we are not fit to be in this Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad that the Federal Government has also paid attention to the Labour Movements—

Mr. Hill: What are you doing over there?

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Mr. Carrott: — because, after all, whatever political prosperity we are enjoying in this House and elsewhere has been brought about by the Labour Movements in the Caribbean.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Hear, hear!

Mr. Carrott: For it was they who pioneered the way; they are the ones who have broken the bottle-necks. I am glad that the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is taking cognisance of that fact. I am glad that in some of the islands we are carrying out courses where employers and employees can meet together on one common ground. Because I feel that the days are passed when employers should talk at employees; the time has come when employers should talk with their employees and not at them. If that could be assured, Mr. Speaker, Labour in The West Indies would be finding its true position.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Hear, hear!

The Prime Minister: All those employers over there are cheering.

Mr. Carrott: Mr. Speaker, when it comes to the question of Tourism, we are grateful to the Minister of Trade and Industry that in such a short time he discovered that it was essential for him to make a complete survey of the tourist potentials in the Caribbean. But, Mr. Speaker, while we are building up the Tourist Trade we should always realise that Agriculture still forms the basis of our economy, and we should not for one moment overlook the part Agriculture played

in the past. Extensive research is most necessary if we are to produce more from our lands.

Mr. Speaker, before I take my seat —

Mr. Hill: Oh no! Talk on.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches): Yes, talk on. Let us hear you.

Mr. Carrott: — let me say that while we are planning let us not just plan for the present, but be concerned with the rising population in our country. In planning, see to it that everything we are going to do must have relation with future population growth.

It would be unfair if I did not say something about the Ministry of Communications and Works. All of us are aware that without proper communications, whether in road transport or air services or on the sea, a Federation of this kind, where we are not in one land mass, would be impossible to operate, and I think that the Ministry of Communications and Works did a very good job. As a Minister, he has visited every Unit of the Federation and I think that his discussions with fellow-Ministers of the Territories have been a source of inspiration to them.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform Members of this House — especially the Jamaica Members — that through the cooperation of the Minister of Communications and Works, on their way to Trinidad for the next Sitting, when they land in Antigua they will be landing at the new air terminal building. As one of the small Units of the Federation we are concerned about the Federation being self-supporting and I think it is the opinion of all of us that it

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[MR. CARROTT]

must be self-supporting as quickly as possible. I hope that wherever we on this side of the House can use our influence we would try to make our influence felt for the good of the Federation.

Mr. Speaker, I want this to go home to the Government, which is our Government, and I am repeating myself at this stage by saying that it is their duty at this stage of the Federation to put up a fresh case to the Colonial Office for more C.D. & W. grants. Further disturbances are in sight because of the small amounts which are handed out to the Units; and let me say that many of the Unit Territories balancing their budgets are doing so at the expense of human suffering. Poverty is still raging in The West Indies. We are still in need of more houses, more roads and, lastly, which is more important, a militant economic plan for The West Indies.

Mr. Joseph (San Fernando-Naparima, Trinidad): Mr. Speaker, if I were a stranger to this House I would have thought that the speech made by the last speaker (Mr. Carrott) was one on behalf of the Opposition. He has so clearly and concisely outlined our views that we are apt to feel that the hon. Gentleman is planning a transfer of seats. Nevertheless, I would like to congratulate him on what is undoubtedly a level-headed speech. To me this debate is an anti-climax. It is unfortunate that we have to debate the Throne Speech so early after the debate on the Budget, because so many Members of this House like to exercise themselves in the art of repetition on ordinary matters that this gives them an excellent op-

portunity of saying what they have said on the Budget Speech about eight or ten times.

I am speaking now not as a Member of the Opposition—I am speaking as a Member of this House, and when I say a Member of this House, I mean both sides of the Table. But since custom and tradition require us to debate the Throne Speech, there are two points on which we should either say very little or nothing at all or repeat ourselves.

In debating this Speech I think it is fitting for us to review what transpired during the past year, and to see what has been planned for the future. This Speech from the Throne was similar in many respects to the speech made by the Minister of Finance, and indeed it is similar to the speech made by a few of the hon. Ministers when they replied to speeches made by Members of the Opposition.

The Prime Minister: What's wrong with that?

Mr. Joseph: I want to take this opportunity of extending my congratulations to the Archdeacon who, I think, today made his first real speech in this House. He has kept his reputation high and made a most brilliant speech—not surprising, since it was by a Member on this side of the House. I am reminded that it is his second speech. I think it is an excellent speech and one for which we ought to congratulate him very sincerely.

The Prime Minister: Congratulate Jamaica.

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Mr. Joseph : Mr. Speaker, in his Speech from the Throne, the Governor-General started by saying —

“Federation as an institution is a challenge to the ingenuity and tolerance of a people, and the young Federation of The West Indies is no exception to that challenge.”

We have accepted that. We, the people of The West Indies, have accepted that challenge and I say in all sincerity that the Federation of The West Indies has done exceedingly well during the 19 months of its existence.

Hon. Members (Government Benches): Hear, hear!

The Prime Minister : Tell that to Densham.

Mr. Joseph : I am not one of those who would set out to criticise the Federation merely to score a political point on the Government. I feel that this is our Federation, as I said in the debate on the Budget Speech. A failure of the Federation is not a failure for the governing body or the Government; it is a failure for the people of The West Indies and we on this side who believe in Federation feel — and we think that the Government side must feel — that we have made a useful contribution in assisting the Government in making the success that has been made of the Federation during the last 19 months.

As the Archdeacon —

Mr. Speaker : Who is the Archdeacon, the hon. Member for Middlesex?

Mr. Joseph : As the hon. Member for Middlesex so rightly said, we should try to do away with this small Island talk, because each of us is as large

Hon. Member : As Barbados?

Mr. Joseph : May be large in intelligence, may be large in area compared to the other Colonies. But, Mr. Speaker, I believe we should try and get away from this insularity. Let us forget completely what race you belong to and set out to work and to bring this Federation to the success we would all like to see it.

No Federation — I say so with all the seriousness at my command — has started off with more goodwill and more friends on its side than this West Indies Federation; and if we are to exploit that goodwill and that friendship which are being shown us on all sides, and if we are to conduct our business as we have been conducting it in the past 19 months, I am sure we will record points much faster than any of the Federations that have been created before us.

One part of the Governor-General's Speech which pleases me very much is the reference to the improvement of the Migrant Services in the United Kingdom. Mr. Speaker, this is a most worthwhile service. It is appalling for us to know that in the United Kingdom there are so many West Indians standing in need of advice, assistance and guidance. The strengthening of the Migrant Service is something which will bring more happiness to the people resident in the United Kingdom, who have gone there for employment or for studies. But more than that, this service will bring a considerable amount of goodwill towards the Federation, and the strengthening of the Service is a most noteworthy thing on the part of the Federal Government.

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[MR. JOSEPH]

The Member for Middlesex will be happy to learn that very often representatives of this Service see to it that West Indians do not only get employment and State assistance but that they also attend religious services regularly.

During the early part of this year, I was away from the Territory but I understand that at that time an appointment was made. I do not know what the post is — a Consular officer of the Federal Government. I think the Governor-General said— "I and my Ministers have concerned ourselves with establishing the Federal idea both at home and abroad."

I would like to feel that this Government is prepared to collate the ideas of all Members of this House, to federate the talent to be found on both sides of the House; in fact, the entire Caribbean, in order to make Federation the success we all want it to be. I believe I can take a very appropriate part in the success of Federation by giving the lie to the rumour which has been circulating for too long a period of time. Some people have given the outside world the idea that there is a particular section of people in Trinidad who are anti-federationists. I have been associated with the people referred to in this rumour for over twenty years in my public life. During that time I remember the late Captain Cipriani whom both sides of this House recognise as one of the greatest federationists The West Indies has had; and Captain Cipriani's three most able lieutenants were the late T. Albert Marryshow, the late Timothy Roodal and the late Sarran Teelucksingh. I know that both Mr. Roodal and Mr. Teelucksingh gave valuable service to the cause of Fed-

ation as leaders of the Indian community in Trinidad especially by instilling Federation in the hearts of their people. It is therefore unkind for any individual, for the sake of scoring a cheap political point, to say that the East Indian community of Trinidad is against Federation.

A few days ago one of our Members was asked, "Are the East Indian people in Trinidad still against Federation?" That was asked by a foreign journalist. I was asked the same question three or four times when I was in the United Kingdom — whether it is a fact that the East Indians in Trinidad are against Federation. We are trying to forget the question of whether you are East Indian or Afro-West Indian. I do not want to know that anyone refers to me as a Syrian or my friends as Chinese or Indian. I am against even being referred to at this stage as a Trinidadian. I am West Indian and the colour of my skin or the texture of my hair has nothing at all to do with it.

The Governor-General said in his Speech —

"The first consular officer of the Federal Government assumed office in June as a member of the staff of Her Majesty's Embassy in Caracas, and with a special responsibility for West Indian affairs."

I would like to know, Mr. Speaker, whether this appointment was made by The West Indies, whether this officer is responsible to The West Indies Government, the Territorial Government or the British Government? I would like to know whether, as our representative, he will submit annual reports to this hon. House, whether he would take up the case of all West Indians in Caracas and whether he has been advised to take steps to see

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that the Immigration laws of Venezuela are relaxed to permit West Indians to go to Venezuela to seek employment. I would like to know something of his terms of employment.

The Member for Middlesex touched on a point which I had hoped to speak on — the question of the visit of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal. I am very happy that the Princess Royal is returning to The West Indies for a short stay. I am not at all surprised. I recall on the occasion when I had the privilege of entertaining her in my home town, Mr. Speaker, that I was surprised to find how much Her Royal Highness knew of The West Indies and what a keen interest she took in all the Territories of The West Indies. Now that we are federated —

The Prime Minister : Her husband is a Barbadian.

Mr. Joseph: — I am sure that Her Royal Highness is taking a greater interest in The West Indies and I feel that The West Indies Government should take steps to see that Her Royal Highness is given a real royal welcome and that she enjoys her stay in The West Indies.

Mention was made in the Throne Speech of a change in the Constitution, moving towards independence, and to the two Committees that are sitting. This is all very important in the life of this Parliament. The views of Members have already been heard on all these questions. The only thing I want to say is this: I am not one of those who want to run too quickly. I hope we do not make the mistake of running too quickly, for it is

strange that people should talk about independence on the one hand, and go begging on the other.

I think I would be failing in my duty if I did not offer a word of congratulation to the Minister of Trade and Industry. I want to congratulate him on the stand he took and the help he gave to our West Indians in the Nottingham riots in 1958. Moreover, I want to congratulate him on the Citrus Agreement which he got for The West Indies. This is an important industry, and as much as we would like to see the Territories industrialised, we cannot forget that agriculture is our basic economy. Reports which I had in England from people of the Colonial Office, satisfied me that our Minister — not their Minister — our Minister of Trade and Industry, the Minister of the Federal Government, played a most important part and created a very favourable impression.

I would like to congratulate the Government on a plan to establish a Standards Division. If we are going to take our place as a nation among the nations of the world, we must have standards, and the establishment of this department will be of tremendous assistance.

The College of Tropical Agriculture is now to be amalgamated with the University College of The West Indies. Mention was made of this in the Budget Debate by certain Members, but I would like, Mr. Speaker, to give credit where credit is due. The question of amalgamation of the College of Tropical Agriculture and the University College of The West Indies was first mooted by the Hon. Victor Bryan, now a Member of this House —

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The Prime Minister : Who is he? I only know him as the representative for the Eastern Counties.

Mr. Joseph : — when he was Minister of Agriculture in the Trinidad Government. It is to his credit that this has come about. Others have worked — naturally there will be others to finalise plans. But it is to the credit of the Member for the Eastern Counties, and I think that I ought, in fairness, and as a Colleague of his, to say that he was responsible for bringing about this amalgamation.

It is not necessary for me to say anything about ships, the ships which we expect in 1961.

All the Members of this House are unanimous in the view that we cannot really become federated until we get close to each other. Our limited air service cannot bring us as close as we would like to be. If these ships are brought to The West Indies and regular services be planned and carried out, many of us would like to visit other Territories in the Federation. I am confident that once we visit these Territoires and see the way of life of the people, we see their needs and learn of their aims and aspiration, the more we will understand the representatives selected by those Territories when they come here and speak on any particular matter. I think these two ships will play a most important part in cementing that friendship and unity between the peoples of the Territories and make for a more successful Federation of The West Indies.

The Speech from the Throne, somewhat like the Budget Speech, does not give a lot of scope for a speech unless you want

to repeat yourself. During the Sittings that we had in 1958 — in November and December — I was absent from the Sitting in May this year — and I can see the change in the atmosphere in this House. I see the difference in relationship between the Members on both sides of the House. In the earlier stages, I didn't know which side was attacking which — but suffice it to say that they are now both living as they ought to live. Speeches were more vitriolic in the early Sessions; they were more personal and more destructive, but as we are moving along, we find a better relationship between Government and Opposition. We find a different relationship existing between Members on both sides of the House. This augurs well for the future. I would like to suggest to some hon. Members of this House that we cease our attacks on others by referring to them as representatives of this clique or class, or type of people, or representatives of bureaucrats or anything like that.

Mr. Speaker, I have elected to come to this House, and perhaps you will be surprised to know that one of the leading persons to succeed in getting me to decide to come into public life was the Deputy Prime Minister — and also the Minister of Finance. They pointed out to me that the country must put forward people who are interested in Federation. They wanted all the talent they could possibly find and said that I should offer myself for service, and if people thought I was fit enough, well then I would have the opportunity to serve. I have come to this House with the Federal idea uppermost in my mind. I have come here because I believe in Federation and I want to see it succeed.

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I want to find that we do not refer to this individual as a representative of a clique or a class. Nobody in any class is better than I, and I don't think that I am better than anybody else. I would like us all to think that we are the equal of each other. I have been elected by the people of San Fernando-Naparima, but I don't want to be known as the representative of San Fernando-Naparima, or of Trinidad; I want to be known as a representative in the House of Representatives in the Federation.

I would make this final appeal to hon. Members: let us try to remember that there should be only two schools of thought. You belong to one Party with a political philosophy and we belong to another. We must not impute improper motives to other Members; we must not suggest or feel that others come here to represent a particular class or a particular group. We want to feel that we have all come here with one view and that is to carry the Federation forward and to see The West Indies get on the map.

Mr. LeBlanc (Dominica): Mr. Speaker, like the hon. Member who has just resumed his seat, I also would like to be termed a West Indian. I entirely agree with him that we should travel a bit more and learn as much as we can about our people. And I think the only way we can start is by our representatives in their individual Territories doing their bit to bring out Federation into sharp focus. When I do that, as I propose to do now in dealing with matters affecting Dominica, I hope I will not be considered insular.

I think that the only way we can begin to know each other and to know the vari-

ous conditions existing in the areas is by bringing the individual problems of the Territories to this House.

In reading part of the Throne Speech, I see it is stated that negotiations will soon be made in connection with the Oils and Fats Agreement.

Now, the problem in Dominica is this: We produce quite a lot of coconuts and copra and — I am speaking for the majority of Dominicans — the copra, after it is manufactured has to be shipped out of Dominica to be converted into oil, and in turn that oil has to be shipped to other people, thereby increasing the high cost of living.

I think, if we are being federated, that wherever the raw material is obtainable, small factories should begin to thrive right on the spot. Particularly in the case of copra, I think Dominica should be given the opportunity to put up its very first factory in oils and fats.

Dealing with tourism, Mr. Speaker, I observed that when Mr. Issa of Jamaica was asked to visit the various Units and assess the tourist potential of the Units, I did not see Dominica, Montserrat or St. Vincent included. I drew the matter to the attention of this hon. House and asked whether Mr. Issa would be persuaded to visit Dominica. I still hope he would be able to find the time to visit Dominica, St. Vincent or Montserrat, or one or two of these Territories. You may not know it, but Dominica has been termed the Cinderella of the Caribbean. I think it is time she put on the magic shoe.

The Prime Minister: Dominicans do not wear shoes.

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Mr. LeBlanc : What I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, is that Tourism is a subject which concerns almost every Unit, and all the people of The West Indies are looking to the tourist industry to help bolster their economies. Since I have not found anything about Dominica in this very well prepared pamphlet, I would like to see Dominica spoken of in these terms, as far as tourism is concerned.

Every visitor to Dominica is impressed with its wealth of natural attractions and scenic beauty. I would like to see Dominica, that beautiful sunny isle, which has been termed the Cinderella of the Caribbean, being given the opportunity to claim her coveted shoe.

Prospective visitors to this region would also like to hear of her lofty, gigantic mountains, in whose bosoms lie two large fresh water lakes — enchanting, poetic and serene. Her active volcano which for a while remains dormant, like a sleeping beauty, surrounded by rocks and lava tintured by a variety of colours of all descriptions, magnificently blended and, when her peace is disturbed, belches forth sulphurous fumes from the bowels of the earth, presents a challenge to the most vivid imagination.

Her hot springs in the Trafalgar area and elsewhere force one to contemplate some of the many wonders of the world. Her water-falls, also in the Trafalgar area, gurgling down the precipitous slopes above the hydro-electric plant, exemplifies the wonderful combination of the natural and the artificial. Her botanical gardens, with its decorative and economic sections, artistically plumed and carefully labelled, with a wealth of exotic and indigenous

plants have been best described as being second to none in the Western Hemisphere.

The famous Rodney's Rock, which played a prominent part in the defeat of the French General, de Grasse, by Admiral Lord Rodney, the Cabrits, more popularly known as the Fort, with underground tunnels used by both French and English in their fight for supremacy of the third largest Island of The West Indies.

Mr. Speaker, if I may observe, some of us who believe and lead others to believe that we are the be all and end all of our Unit Parties, are making a sad mistake. I think self-knowledge is a far better asset than self-esteem.

The tomb of Prince Rupert, from which the Portsmouth Harbour has derived its name — the Carib Reserve — a large area with its own Chief and Councillors — up to recently they had a King but now they have a Chief —

Mr. Sinanan : Have they got a Queen ?

Mr. LeBlanc : — working under the guidance and supervision of the Government. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that because of the historical background of that Aboriginal group, there is a lot of interest both for the pleasure-seeker and the researcher.

Having said my piece for Dominica on the matter of tourism, I will say — and I'm saying it for the benefit of this House — that since 1925 we had been ruled by a particular set of individuals who had a particular attitude towards life and development. Thanks to the Labour Party of

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Dominica we have opened the eyes of most of the people, and even the eyes of some of the older representatives.

Mr. Sinanan : Who opened your eyes?

Mr. LeBlanc : I think that a more comprehensive development programme could be submitted by that Government.

Mr. Hill : Which Government ?

Mr. LeBlanc : I feel that it is the duty of the Federal Government to send the respective Ministers to a Territory whenever that Territory submits a development programme. I don't believe that it is proper for Ministers only to meet Members of the Government; I think it is necessary that they also meet Members of the Opposition as well in order to get the views of the people. Because right now although I am the representative of of Dominica in this House my Party forms the Opposition in that Unit Territory, and we do not always subscribe to the programme or the approach towards development.

I do not think it would be proper to go into details, but I feel that the only way the Federal Government could arrive at a conclusion for development, in any aspect whatsoever, of the smaller Territories is to have a survey on the spot and together with the case presented by the Unit Territory representatives in this hon. House, the wishes of that Territory be strongly represented to the Colonial Office, letting them know that more monies must be obtained for the development of the particular area. The monies available now are entirely insufficient.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches):
Hear, hear!

Mr. LeBlanc : If ever the Units are to develop at the rate of progress which we have envisaged, I think more monies should be spent in assisting them to develop in order that all of us can indeed one day take our rightful places — again I would say it — as independent Units in this Federation.

Mr. Sinanan : I think that that back-bencher should be on the front bench.

Mr. Swabey (Westmoreland): Mr. Speaker, in offering my contribution to this Debate, I think I should confine myself to a particular subject, and my subject is agriculture.

Listening to the last speaker caused me to say this before I begin my speech. I would like him to know that I do not share his views on Tourism; because all the Territories in the Federation cannot embark on one development.

Mr. LeBlanc : Why ?

Mr. Swabey : Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out to the hon. Gentleman —

Mr. LeBlanc : I wonder if the hon. Member would give way, Sir?

Mr. Swabey : Of course.

Mr. LeBlanc : I would like the hon. Member to explain why he feels that as far as Tourism is concerned, it should be restricted only to the "haves" and not to the "have nots", despite the fact that the "have nots" may be very attractive. Because I called Dominica "the Cinderella"

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and it is true. Why should hon. Members feel that other places should be given opportunities as far as Tourism is concerned while there is beauty in some other places?

Mr. Hill : He never said that.

Mr. Swabey : Mr. Speaker, it is simple to answer. No. 1—lack of communication; No. 2—no roads. You can't invite people to come and enjoy the facilities of your Territory if you have no roads for proper transportation. The beauty might be there. We are not disputing that. But they cannot see them, and I think that my worthy Friend's Territory should embark on agriculture more.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches) : Hear, hear, hear!

Mr. Swabey : When the other Units are developing in Tourism we must have some Units to take care of food.

Mr. LeBlanc : You want a vegetable garden!

Mr. Swabey : Mr. Speaker, I would like more emphasis to be put on agriculture, and I am very much surprised at the casual mention made on that subject in the Throne Speech; because agriculture is the foundation and the backbone of every progressive country.

Mr. W. B. Williams : Tell them about President Roosevelt.

Mr. Swabey : In the good old days when the economy of America was low and the people had to be fed by the little monies that America had, it was agriculture that restored the United States to the

economic position it now enjoys, enabling it to find employment for our surplus agricultural workers.

Mr. Speaker, in The West Indies today we suffer first from lack of finance. Speaking about finance reminds me that even if the Federal Government is not in a position to offer any financial aid, it should be its business to use its Technical Advisers to give advice to the Unit Territories, to establish an agricultural loan bank and make loans available to the farmers on a long-term basis and at a small rate of interest.

Mr. Speaker, I think that Agriculture is such a wide subject that it could well be placed on an equal footing—in order to soothe the heart of my worthy Friend from Dominica—with Tourism. We here should not be interested in the Queen or the King on that little throne. We should be interested first with the economy of our Federation and so pay more attention in order to get more from the land. I would like to point out that we have already taken too much from the soil and it is time that we put something back. Twenty-five or thirty years ago the soil gave very high production and it was to the benefit of the older people who used up the fat of the land, and now it is exhausted. I think if we take out of the soil it is time that we put something back into it. It is time that we make up our minds to put back the necessary things to enrich the soil.

4.10 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, take our cattle industry. The population of The West Indies is growing and the amount of cattle is decreasing. Some years ago—I have to

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compare Jamaica — we had more cattle and more beef than we could utilise and today although Jamaica is producing a lot of beef we still have to import beef from New Zealand. If more encouragement, more help, more loans could be arranged for the small farmer I am certain that they would produce enough food for The West Indies.

I notice in the Budget Speech mention of the revision of the rice agreement. I still feel that we in The West Indies can grow more rice and although it may be a means to be friendly with British Guiana, I feel that love begins at home. We should try to help the people of the Federation before we look to make such a big contract or agreement with a Territory which is outside of the Federation; and I am saying that when the adviser or the expert from the Federal Government visits the Unit Territories — especially Jamaica — he should not only get in touch with the head of the Government in Kingston but should take a trip out into the country. We would take them around ourselves and let them see what can be done in the various Territories. They should not get a long list of figures from the Government — because anybody could put together a list of figures — but get expert advice on the project that is being embarked upon.

Mr. Speaker, coming back to the rice industry. It is a serious question in The West Indies today, because if we are looking for nationhood and we embark upon our own regiment, suppose an emergency arises that we have got to use up our regiment and we cannot get supplies from abroad, how can we feed our soldiers? And I am particularly asking my Friend,

the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources, not to take these viewpoints lightly — as lightly as he took the promise for West Indian Agricultural Societies. I am also disappointed that I have not heard anything more about West Indian Agricultural Societies, because it is there that the farmer gets his ideas; it is the small farmer's parliament where he can go and air his views, where he goes to make his complaints to the Federal Government. I think the time has come when we would embark on having a Federal Agricultural Society and bring the Units much closer together in agriculture.

I would like also to add my quota of tribute to the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry. He has made a very good start and I hope he will continue, because what is affecting the Federation is that we want more guaranteed markets. We want more guaranteed markets for rice with a fixed price. In Jamaica the Pimento Industry is well taken care of because it is one of the industries where, if the price falls for five or six years, with our surplus in the back we are in no trouble; and it has a guaranteed market. But the farmer today is advised to plant more peas, or to grow more citrus; and because there is not a long-term agreement that is made to protect the interests of the poor, unfortunate farmer, you find that the farmer's son is deserting the farm.

We must do something — it is a very serious thing; because the farmer's son, the young farmer, is leaving the land. Why? Because he is working hard but the market facilities are very poor. He cannot make a livelihood, and I am calling upon the Federal Government, not for financial

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aid—because I see the Minister of Finance is just waiting to see if I am going to ask for financial aid, and to inquire where he is to get the money from. I am saying that more emphasis should be given to agriculture — it is one of the biggest, one of the surest, one of the best policies to adopt — so as to get the farmer into full production. And again, I am asking that farmers of this country, the farmers of the Federation, the farmers of this new nation that we are building, be given an opportunity to take their rightful place. There is a place for them. They are hard workers, hard thinkers and they are serious. And I am positively certain that if you establish Agricultural Loan Banks, put more help at the disposal of the farmer, he will help to build the economy of our Federation.

Mr. Lloyd (St. Kitts): Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to associate myself with the speakers on the Throne Speech, and to say how much I welcome hearing the points tackled and those to be tackled in due course.

I may add, Mr. Speaker, in my humble opinion, much more could be done if the spirit of insularity could be decreased, and there be more co-operation.

Sir, I would suggest that we bury our troubles. It is true that the existing problems tended to hinder progress and this, to my mind, is only history repeating itself as examples to be followed of the United Kingdom, United States and other nations for that matter.

I notice, Mr. Speaker, that items have been taken from the Throne Speech and a newspaper, so I have itemised them here.

An outline was given of the historic friendly relations with Canada and those relations with the United States and the part played by the Ministers of our Government at the Commonwealth Economic Conference in Montreal in September 1958 and 1959. Consular Officers, Mr. Speaker, is another item. Nothing could take the place of training in all walks of life in this new nation.

Reform for Units. Mr. Speaker, while the people are so anxious to welcome an increased measure of local responsibility, let me hope that the political leaders will preach Federation in its proper sense and not in any way to profit on the ignorance of the less fortunate.

Mr. Speaker, I am saying that only to say this: At an early stage of the Budget Debate, Members circulated an accusation alleged to have been made by the hon. the Prime Minister and I feel, Mr. Speaker, that was on political grounds which to my mind is very dangerous. I am warning against that if harmony and unity are to exist. I feel we should make it our duty to teach those people who are less fortunate than we are what is the right way of thinking instead of engraving on their minds things like greed, hatred and insularity.

Mr. Speaker, to say something more, there is one word that I feel which is only made up of four letters in the alphabet that covers the whole world. That word is news. So far as I know, not one person in here or in any other place was able to manage the word because it is to my mind, the whole world. N-E-W-S: N for North, E for East, W for West and S for South and for that reason, Sir, I feel we ought to be very careful in dealings with

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things, moreso in this House, because of the news that will be carried out to the people.

I concur with the words spoken by the hon. Member for Middlesex who spoke with reverence of the islands of the Caribbean as dots. I believe that I belong to one of the smallest islands in the whole of the Federation but I feel that we are as large as any of the other islands of the Federation. And, I feel that when we come here we should come with something in our minds so that we would feel we are going forward in one common cause of doing our part to build this new nation.

Insularity is a thing which the faster we can cut its root out the better it is for us. I do not intend to prolong the Debate because I understand that there are dozens of us who intend to say something this evening. However, I say finally that we are approaching a new year and with my best wishes, Sir, I would like to hope that there is a prosperous New Year for all the Members of this House and of the Federation. I hope that in the new year we shall return with renewed thoughts and spirits in the interest of building this new nation of ours.

Mr. Densham (St. Elizabeth, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, with regard to the Throne Speech, I feel first of all that it was only the presence of His Excellency the Governor-General that saved the Speech from being a stick with which we could have belaboured the Government.

On my side, the object is, first of all, to speak of the Social Services which are so often likened to the moth in the twilight, rather than to the butterfly emerging into the Elizabethan age full of colour, a colour that begins to penetrate into the drab lives of all our Island people.

Proof of that is the conference which the hon. Minister for Social Services called this year, and which adopted a programme of social services to form the background of Federal thinking in this respect for the first five years of Federation.

If I may refer to my notes, the things that struck me about this conference, and what this side of the House feels about it. The first thing is Recommendation No. 4 on the interchange of personnel among the units. There we have struck at the very root of federation: civil servants going from one unit to another. If this comes into being they will carry a certain amount of their island's good with them, and by their interchanging like that, we will get the people coming together more and more. The objection, to most people, is that the salary scales are too different between the islands, but that is what we want despite the objection—to aim at the people getting together. On the other hand, we want to get the salary scale and the cost of living the same throughout by bringing the less developed Territories up—

The Prime Minister: Bring down Jamaica to Montserrat!

Mr. Densham: This is a small way in which we can get that—by interchanging civil servants. We found that during the elections in Jamaica, the civil servants were very eloquent—

The Prime Minister: Civil Servants at election time, and you did not fire them out of the D.L.P.?

Mr. Densham: Recommendation No. 5 is an increased grant. But there, I think, C.D. & W. will have to take charge of

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that, because it is the Units who will have to provide the social services.

That would be one grant that we could certainly do with more money. At present it is the responsibility of the Units, and each Unit feels quite differently towards Social Services.

In my trip around the Units I found that certain islands set great store on social services, others where they have hardly started yet. We want to get that more unified, and this idea of sending round Civil Servants to unify the whole set up, will help.

The seventh—I am reading from this Report on the Social Services. The seventh recommendation is for the mentally handicapped people

4.35 p.m.: Sitting suspended.

5.05 p.m.: Sitting resumed.

Mr. Densham : Mr. Speaker, I will leave the last number—7—which you remember secured the tea interval, and go on to the next one in that Report—the needs of youth. On this I am fully with my opposite number, the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs. We feel, on this side of the House, that the needs of youth are of paramount importance in this new nation and we have already, fortunately, a very virile association—the Boy Scouts—which I think is known throughout The West Indies. There is also an association called the Boys' Brigade, and with those two I suggest the Federation give a subvention to start even more work throughout the Islands, because our experience in Jamaica is that boys who have passed through even one stage of the Scouts, and more particularly the ones we get early who start as Cubs and go up

through to Scouts, have a greater advantage when they grow up and meet their fellow-men. Anyone can recognise a Scout because he is easy to get on with, and he has been taught the social virtues—which we seem to want more than anything else when we are coming together like this. So I am suggesting, Sir, to start with, that a subvention be given to the Boy Scouts because they are a virile association—they are known in all the islands—and after that the Boys' Brigade be actively pursued. Being a member of the Boys Scouts myself

Hon. Member : How about the girls ! You only like boys ?

Mr. Densham : I can't speak for them, unfortunately. I am afraid that is one of the handicaps that I suffered during the elections, being a single man. But I can assure the House that on the part of the Boy Scouts Association, we are perfectly ready to move further in The West Indies, and to increase our efforts to bring the boys up in the way that we all want them to go, so that when they grow up they can take their places, not only as members of the community, but I suggest, as leaders of the community, because it is in leadership that The West Indies is rather deficient at the moment. What is the idea of this unified organisation ? Not only to make citizens but also to try and pick out leaders, as the Royal Navy does, in order to train them from their youth so that we will have ready-made leaders when the time comes for them to take their rightful places in the world.

The next point is the Prison Services : No connection between the two. The conference has suggested that the Prison Service is the first service to be federated. It

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is only a step from there to federate the Police services of The West Indies. That will be a wonderful step, any way. There is no need to go into any examples as the whole matter of police is fresh in most people's minds. We do feel—and I say "we" because up to the time I was elected to this House I had the honour to be well up in the Special Constables, and had been there for upwards of 25 years; so I say, we the Police feel—that Federal Police is one of the best ways to improve the services of the people in the Federation. You could have two or three training schools. Today the Police from Jamaica are trained wholly in Jamaica. Similarly in some of the other islands. If we had a federated police we could have one or two schools for special portions of police work instead of the present system where Trinidad trains all her own, Jamaica trains her own and Barbados trains some of the other Territories' together with her own. Having a federated police force we would have officers getting a chance to move from one island to another and the same way with the higher ranks of NCO's. I am endorsing the hope of this Conference that the Prisons Service could be federated and, as a further point, that the police services will be federated.

Community Development: I hope that this will be one of the things soon to be worked out by the Government. Like some of the things we say here, this is a matter on which I spoke last year and I have to repeat it again. It seems that it is the things we talk most about that we get action on. For instance, we have had one result such as the intended visit by the Prime Minister to the other islands. That we spoke on last year. So, if the Minister of Social Affairs talks about Com-

munity Development, possibly the Unit Territories will seek help from Federal sources, and move onwards to what would be a perfect village or perfect town in their communities. In The West Indies there is no central focal point in the village or town, except in the very big towns. A person going into a village for the first time is quite unable to get the feeling, or to be able to meet the village head-man or to know what the public opinion of the village is. You are unable to know how the village thinks or feels. What we want to have in each village is a village hall or village institution. This will have to be considered by Governments. I have asked the Governors in Jamaica about this question for the past twenty-five years, and all I could hear from each of them through the years, is that we have not got the money.

It could be started by Governments. I think that all that is needed first of all is a roof and a floor, and gradually, as the people understand the institution, they will increase the amenities in the place by getting up the walls, a game of dominoes and so on. They can go on that way until it is a working proposition, and that way the people could be left to manage their own institution exactly as is done in England up to this day. Up to this day, every village there has an institute, and the institute has a committee, and that committee has a leader. In The West Indies this is lacking.

Those of you who have gone around among the islands of the Federation will have found that, in each village, there may be a rum shop which can tell you something, and that is just about all that there is. I think that we are at the stage where we can go forward from using the

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rum shop as a centre of each village. We, in turn, can put the Units through to UNESCO. I think the Minister of Social Services will agree that they are experts in this field of village development and it would be in their province. We can use them, but it seems to me that all of us have got to be concerned and be sort of missionaries until the Units get to know about this. In the same way the hon. male Member for Dominica thinks that each man has to go back to his Unit and talk about Federation, the same way we have to be missionaries in this field.

The next head I have in my notes is Social Insurance. Under this social insurance, we know that in countries in Europe you have a system where you pay so much, I do not know what the rate is now but I think the rate was ten pence when I was an apprentice, and that was many years ago. I think it is probably a few shillings now, and out of that you get all sorts of things like free medical attendance, and so on. We have got to think of moving forward towards that, remembering as we do, that there are certain islands like the island from which the Member to whom I just referred—the male Member for Dominica—comes, where the people only work two days a week for the employer and the rest of the week they work for themselves.

Mr. LeBlanc : I wonder if the hon. Member will give way ?

If, as representatives, we go to the various Units and if, when we get to them, we go to a table and drink some cocktails with some indigenous people who tell us what they get from other indigenous persons — I think the should have gone to Dominican and —

Mr. Densham : I accept the rebuke because I talked with Mr. Archibald.

Mr. LeBlanc : Who is Mr. Archibald ?

Mr. Densham : I did not look enough to see for myself and learn conditions. However, Sir, there is that trouble that would arise in an insurance scheme. We have it in Jamaica where you do not get the people working the whole time. They work more for themselves and so some one will have to work out a detailed proportion of what the employer should pay and what the employee would pay. That is the only thing I see as a fault in the insurance scheme—that most of us like to work half time or part time like hon. Members in this House. We cannot even say we work full time, we are not full-time workers.

You can't possibly say that we are full-time Members. Well, Sir, we do want insurance because there is that lack of security, of a feeling of security, in the whole West Indies. As one moves around, one feels that people may have their little houses, in some cases a little shed, somewhere, but there is not that same sense of security that one gets in older parts of the world where people feel that if hard-luck suddenly catches up with them they have every hope of getting some benefits. I think that we have to work toward that sort of thing.

Just in the same way that I mentioned the Village Halls and Institutes and things like that just now, I would remind Members that in The West Indies we have not got quite the same problems, because for our meeting places we can use beaches, communal beaches, swimming baths. We can use the open-air very much more—and I am yet to see anywhere where the

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countries are really developing. Let me be insular for a minute: we have a community-beach in Jamaica near the Airport. It is one of the few ventures that we have started where people can go and bathe and change and meet and dance—this sort of open-air community meeting place, that might quite possibly be started in a very small way in a lot of the other islands. Their beaches are even prettier than some of the beaches in Jamaica.

Mr. LeBlanc: Such as Dominica's!

Mr. Densham: Yes, as in Dominica. If they get enough money to pay for the roads they can get the beaches developed. We must remember that is our job—to get the more backward communities going forward, as soon as we possibly can, using as much of their own resources as they can. That is where I hope they will come to us for advice. When I say come to us, I do not mean any particular island, but surely amongst the Members of the House, there are people who have great experience, and we number amongst our Members people of all sorts of trades, categories and professions. We are very representative. It is our job to help them, but their job is to come to us for advice. They can get it.

The same thing applies to the University of The West Indies. I think we should press on, with the help of the Minister for Social Services, so as to get degrees for Social Services instituted at the University College of The West Indies in order that our men, boys, and girls may be trained in social services, and with their West Indian background be sent out to do the sort of work that will be increasingly necessary in the years to come.

To conclude, the part about this Conference of Community Development—I join with other people in thanking the hon. Minister for Labour and Social Services. I hope I have got it right now—

Hon. Members: Social Affairs.

Mr. Densham: — Social Affairs, because she put in a great deal of homework before the Conference took place so that she was able to steer it to a successful conclusion.

That, Sir, is the way this side of the House sees Social Services. It is a very very important part of the work of The West Indies, but a part that few people know about, and all of us want to know more of the actual working of it. At the same time we mustn't lose sight that the first job on this side of the House as I see it, Sir, is to get the communications of The West Indies going. As we have already seen, in this Debate particularly, nothing can be done; the beaches cannot be opened up; tourists cannot be brought in; and later on business men will not want to go to islands where they have to spend an hour and a half on the road from the Airport.

If the hon. Minister of Communications and Works will do something about it, we are hoping that the Units will co-operate with him in these schemes. First of all for harbours, and then for Airports; and bearing in mind that when we are considering airports, it is as well to look for the latest developments in this business and find out whether we cannot stop building ever longer and longer runways just for flights of twenty minutes, forty minutes and sixty minutes, because I am certain those flights can be undertaken by some of these new vertical-lift aircraft.

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In doing that we could bring the aerodromes right close to the centres of population and also to the centres where tourism may be practised later on. We feel that communication development is a prime necessity of the whole West Indies, and the air-services come a very close second to the development of harbours.

With the harbours is bound up this lighting service—I am not exactly certain what to call them—in the mercantile shipping service. The lighting should be taken on by the Federal Government in the same successful way that the Meteorological Service has been taken over. All the lighting buoy systems of The West Indies should be taken over as soon as the Unit Governments themselves ask the Federation if they could do it, and not only that, but the Units themselves should pay for it. In some cases the Federation has taken on services and the Units are possibly not paying their share as we thought they should be doing. For example the Airport at Piarco—there are certain services which we expect to get there, such as the Meteorological Services.

I can say it once again for the last time in this year—I have had a chance of speaking to commercial fishermen here since the Sessions began, and it is more and more obvious that commercial fishing is still one of the most important things in the Federation. They can start to make it pay. The Units, as far as I can see, if the hon. Minister for Natural Resources will agree, are getting more and more anxious to come into some federal scheme by which we can co-ordinate all fishing, and get fishermen moved around when the local fishing season is bad. And when they move around, the hon. Minister for Social Affairs will have to step in

because they will want social services when they move. It is the same idea of getting people in the Federation to know each other better and better all the time. That is the aim, to make Federation self-sufficient as soon as possible and let the people know each other better.

Mr. Cooke (St. James, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, if I rise with diffidence it is because I am not sure that I understand the true position today. I had anticipated a little parrying of words with Members of the Opposition but apparently they have had a change of heart. As a matter of fact the Speeches have been less vitriolic and less puckish and there has even been a little constructiveness about them. For that reason I wish to congratulate them.

I have often noticed that my Friends opposite have a predilection for saying the wrong things, but I say, Father forgive them for they know not what they do. You should ask me then what is my claim for standing to speak because I had anticipated something to answer and there is nothing. My only claim for standing is that I feel more strongly today than ever before that I belong to The West Indies. I want to make the pronouncement here and now that I have greater faith in The West Indies today than I have ever had in the past. That is because I notice there is a new social climate, even among Members here. There is a new atmosphere in which people are not thinking so much of undoing the work of others but rather of making others do the best they can. I am so sorry that in the past there has been a tendency to speak of the disabilities of the Federation and say how it is so difficult to have it work. I was happy to hear one Member from the Opposition

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Benches say the difficulties were more psychological than real.

I agree with that, but there are still difficulties which we have to overcome. I think that in The West Indies today we have the resources to make a good Federation. In the first place we have the resource of man-power. In The West Indies we have many men and women whom we can call upon to do the work of the Federation.

Some emphasis has been placed on the need for economic stability. Some people doubt the viability of a good Federation without economic stability. Personally I am very happy. And when I say this I hope I am not going to be accused of being a breaker of images. I believe it is a pity we do not have more financial resources at the moment, but if we had them people would be so egocentric and cocksure they would not want to get together.

It is a great pity that there is no real great external force to make us come together. There is no threat of war. As a matter of fact each Unit is basking in the sunshine of the political advancement they have got. Some of the local political leaders would prefer to hold on to the positions and advancements they have reached rather than think of the greater future. Because of the political advancement they have reached they cannot think of higher and wider horizons.

I hope the time will come when we would be able to have more than threats. I want to say here, Mr. Speaker, there is a tendency for some people to think of the particular island to which they belong, not giving much consideration to the other Units.

I am happy to know I am a West Indian, more than that a Socialist. If I am concerned about the people of Kingston or the people of Hanover or the people of Clarendon or the people of Manchester there is no reason at all why as a Jamaican I should not be concerned about the people of Dominica or Anguilla. Therefore, I wish we would address ourselves to the task of providing that economic viability we speak of, not for any particular island but for the whole of the Federation.

Now, I have said that to make a point because it has been brought to my attention, and no doubt the Minister of Finance would be able to put us right, that there has been a distribution of C.D. & W. Grants that was not equitable and in accordance with the practice which obtained in the past. It has been brought to my attention by the Press and by letters from Jamaica, that people there are a little upset. I myself am greatly concerned. If I am a little insular today it is because I wish to express this fact, that when one visits Jamaica today and observes this social climate and notices the economic growth there is a tendency to come to the conclusion that Jamaica does not need anything.

Let me say that Jamaica has made great strides in the past ten years or so. When the present Government came into power

Mr. Sinanan : 20 years.

Mr. Cooke : I am prepared to say that. I am prepared to say since 1938 some people have been forced to have a change of heart. Even in 1938 there was exploitation and the Colonial yoke we had to fight to put away. Since 1938 we have not been able to put away that Colonial

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yoke. We have not done so yet, but I know the day will soon be coming.

I will not deny that at one time some of the great leaders of The West Indies realised they had to do something for the unfortunates. If Sir Alexander Bustamante is mentioned here, his name should be mentioned with reverence. I am not afraid to say that. In those days he had vision.

In these last days—let me say this—when I heard some of the expressions he made, I wonder if he has gone to the category of a buffoon.

Hon. Members : No, no. Take that back. Shame. You let down Cornwall.

Mr. Cooke : I say, Sir, if my hon. Friends would allow me to develop my argument, they would not be so vociferous in their expressions. I am saying, when a man gets up and makes statements, and does not understand the present state of affairs—I am not calling any names—or if he has reached the point in his life where there is a sign of senility, his friends should observe that and at least give him guidance in the pronouncements he makes. But, Sir, I have digressed, and I want to return to the point I was making before, that is, that Jamaica today has reached an excellent point in its economic growth. But we are not out of the woods. But for the fact that we have a capable Government, with men of integrity, we would not have reached that point at all. But because we have a role to play there and know there is so much more to be done, we are committed even greater to the task and need all the funds we can get. That is why I was distressed and concerned that Jamaica was denied the sum of money that should have been given to

her. I have no doubt at all that the Minister of Finance would be in a position to enlighten me. I wait for that moment.

Reference was made to Constitutional development in the Throne Speech and I wish to make brief reference to that here. As a matter of fact, it was promulgated that we should have an almost new form of Government—

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches) : Hear, hear !

Mr. Cooke : —and there would be a change when we would not have that sort of external influence on the Ministers when they meet in Committee. Now, Sir, that is a good thing—it is a very good thing, and we hope that the time is going to come very soon when we would have full Dominion status, and I know that the time is now when we should strike forth.

I do not want to repeat myself, but I want to say again that the time is now when we must show some imagination; the time is now when as a Government we must show to the people that we want to get somewhere. If there has been doubt the doubt has been expressed because some people want to see a more positive approach made by the Government. That does not mean that the present Government has not achieved anything. It has achieved a lot, and I wish to congratulate the Ministers for the excellent job they have done.

Mr. Sinanan : Don't spoil it now.

Mr. Cooke : I would even be generous enough to extend my compliments to Members of the Opposition though I would like to express it this way: *Sub specie aeternitatis*.

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Mr. W. B. Williams : Your Latin is bad.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches) : Remember Debates must be in English.

Mr. Cooke : I am prepared to explain it to my Friends who wouldn't understand: "We would have to put on the spectacle of God to see the good that comes from them". Nevertheless, I am prepared to say that some good has come from the Opposition, and I have no doubt at all that we are going forward and doing well. But, Sir, I am not conscious of the driving force which will make the people of Jamaica and the people of Montserrat, Anguilla and all the people say: Now this is what we want—Nationhood. And today if I can do nothing else I would wish to ask all the men here to become dedicated to the cause of Federation.

Mr. Hill : What about the ladies?

Mr. Cooke : Well, when we say men here we also mean women.

And so, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Sinanan : A lot of scientists are making that mistake today.

Mr. Cooke : Now I am prepared to say, Sir, that I have no pretensions to being a scientist. As a matter of fact, not having the forensic ability of the Leader of the Opposition, not having his sort of perspicacity, I would not try to predict the future; but this I say, Sir, that we have reached a state in our development when we could be proud of the foundation we have laid, but now that we have laid that foundation let us not rest there too long.

Let us realise that this is the time to put the next foot forward. How can we do that?

Hon. Member : By putting the *next* foot forward!

Mr. Cooke : What are the real factors that must be contributed? And, Mr. Speaker, let me say that if I make reference to the Education systems, it is because I want to underline some of the facts I mentioned here the last time we debated that Motion on Integration. I have not discussed this with the Minister and so I do not know exactly what steps have been taken and what suggestions have been made, but let me say this: that good education is a necessary prerequisite to any kind of Federation.

Mr. Speaker, it is all well and good for somebody to get up and say: "Well how are you going to handle Dominica as they are all Catholics; how are you going to handle Trinidad for Trinidad is predominantly Catholic". But I am not concerned with people who want to indoctrinate anybody; I am not concerned with anybody who says that all people should belong to the Roman Catholic Church or the Presbyterian Church—as a matter of fact they might want them to reach the high standard of Presbyterian Church as my Friend of the Opposition would say—I am not concerned with the attachment of any individual to any organisation. What I am concerned with is the fact that there is such a disparity—as somebody expressed it—between the standards of education all over the various islands. I am saying that if the Education in Barbados is so excellent—and I use Barbados just as the name comes to me—

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Hon. Member : As the criterion.

Mr. Cooke : If you wish to say so — as the criterion—and where the people are almost one hundred per cent literate, then there is no reason at all why the people of Trinidad and Tobago should not be one hundred per cent literate; and why the people of Jamaica, for that matter, should not also be one hundred per cent literate. But unless this Federal Government recognises the importance now of good leadership in education, then it would have failed in doing its job.

I know that the usual answer is “We are bound by the limitations of this Constitution”, but if we are bound by the limitations of a Constitution that prevents progress, then let us break up the Constitution and get a new one.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches) : Hear, hear, hear! Come over here!

Mr. Cooke : The merger between the School of Agriculture and the University College of The West Indies is really a good thing, but your University will only be good — and I speak as a man who has some pretensions to being a sort of teacher —

Dr. Duhaney : Speak, teacher.

Mr. Cooke : — you cannot have a good University if you don't have a good infant school. If the people of Dominica—and again I am just using this name hypothetically—wish to have their sons and daughters coming to the University College of The West Indies and being able to profit from what is being taught there, then they must start out in the pre-adolescent stage and give them a strong foundation. Therefore there is no need

saying that you must have money to do that. Money is not necessarily the criterion which you should use to judge the possibilities of this Federation; and that is what we have been doing.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that there should be conferences called for Education Advisers, school teachers, Ministers of Education, Ministers of Social Affairs, and so on. Let them get together; let it be an academic exercise where they could work something out and produce a good plan; then leave the individual Governments to apply that plan. That is how I see it, Mr. Speaker. Forgive me if somebody does not agree with me.

Now, I want to make a little reference to the question of piers in the course of speaking. Now, Mr. Speaker, there is a little fight on. You will realise that in Jamaica we do not only fight with the outside world but we fight among ourselves as well so that we may have progress. You will find that for instance some people in Kingston would say they want a deep water pier, but we in Montego Bay feel that because of the need for development there should be a deep harbour pier in Montego Bay.

I would like the Minister of Communications and Works, privately if he does not wish to do so now, to tell me if any investigation has been done there.

Hon. Members (Opposition Benches) : Answer, answer now.

Mr. Cooke : I am saying so because it is my feeling that you should not only have development in the smaller Territories, but also in the big Territories, and in sections of the big Territories also.

Mr. Sinanan : Answer now!

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Mr. Cooke : I sympathise with my friend; and I agree with my hon. Friend from Westmoreland who is an agriculturist of note. I see that he has made some remarks here and I will try to elaborate on them.

Mr. Sinanan : If you can.

Mr. Cooke : Yes, if I can. I do not know that all of us here realise that most of the people of The West Indies are gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits. They are now, but do you know that it is a fact that there is a tendency for the greater number of the people to leave the rural areas and gravitate towards the town? I have seen it. It is not only because the people don't want to work. It is because too often we ask people to produce and when we produce we can't find markets. I wish to congratulate the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources because I know that he has addressed himself to the subject.

Mr. Hill : Who?

Mr. Cooke : But I have to say to him that he has attended to the matter as a whole but there is necessity for a little more attention to details. And, knowing him as I do, I know that he will attend to the details soon.

I do not want to speak on tourism at all as I know that there is no person here who knows more about the tourist industry than I do. I agree that the time has come when we must exploit the tourist possibility of The West Indies but let me warn that tourism carries with it certain dangers. Yes, I know . . .

Mr. Sinanan : What about green-back dollars?

Mr. Cooke : It is a fact that you get dollars if you do well but those of us who have studied tourism will remember that there is a little town called Las Vegas in the United States whose tourist industry disappeared overnight leaving the people poorer than they were before. It is a nice arc coming from Jamaica right down to Trinidad and you can build up a great tourist industry here; but alongside it, let me warn the Minister of Trade and Industry, make sure to have other industries growing up.

I do not want to say much more, Sir, but I wish here and now to point out something that nobody has ever said. Time and time again Jamaica has been severely criticised because of the Jamaican's attitude to Federation.

Mr. Hill : No insularity here.

Mr. Cooke : But let us examine the situation and see the reason why Jamaica has taken the attitude she has taken.

There was a movement from 1936 which expressed itself openly in 1938. A great movement.

Mr. Sinanan : Where was Manley then?

Mr. Cooke : In his law office practising.

Mr. Bradshaw : And drafting the rules for Bustamante!

Mr. Cooke : There was a revolution—and I would like to remind my Friend who does not know the true history—and this revolution came about, not inspired by any individual, but because there was an awakening in the hearts of the people

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who said: "We have been exploited for too long". There were many before Sir Alexander who said it was time for the people to be treated better—radical unions and what not. I could mention Hon. A. G. S. Coombs and other people like him—Marcus Garvey—

Mr. Sinanan: Ricketts and Marcus Garvey!

Mr. Cooke: Even in this House, today, Sir, you will find among us some of the people who recognised the movement then. And when the people said, "Let us go forward", thank God there was a leader. There was a leader. And there were several leaders. So it is not only food that we are asking for, we are asking not only for better housing, not only for better living conditions, not only for bread—for man shall not live by bread alone. But there was a spiritual awakening that our people should be free, unencumbered by the Colonial yoke. And that more than anything, Sir, caused the people to move forward and so in those early days we felt that we should go it alone. It was a great time, Sir. If you were there you would have caught the inspiration. It was a great time for those of us who were fighting together.

As knight of the chalk and duster I worked by day but by night I too was a labour leader, and I am happy that there are people in this hon. House who bore me company then—I bore them company. And we walked together. Unfortunately strange things happen and people lose the love they had before but the point I want to make is this: that the people of Jamaica said: "We want self-government" and they were working towards self-government. Unfortunately, there was a stage when even among us there were leaders—

and I don't call his name now to embarrass anybody over there—who were against self-government. "You people can't have self-government, nothing like self-government" and they fought me, and they fought Mr. Manley, and they fought somebody else over the other side—he knows it—in the forward move to self-government. Because we held forth and we recognised that there was a call, all the people of Jamaica said: "We must have self-government"; and we marched forward. So now, Sir, when we have just reached there and when we recognised our strength, and when we didn't need anybody to help us to fight and we fought alone it is a natural thing now that we should just stand at that point and rest on our oars. And that is the cause of the attitude of the people of Jamaica. There are among us those who know and recognise that it is time for our people to come together. It has been demonstrated in Western Europe, it is being demonstrated in Nigeria, in Africa. We have an Nkrumah, a man who has vision and Nkrumah will one day, I know, unite Africa. I look forward to that day and I know that the day is going to come when probably I might be dead and gone—or we might all have passed away—and there will be a force that will unite not only the British West Indies as they are now but will unite Cuba, Haiti and Puerto Rico—that day will come.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I want us now to realise that the time has now come when all of us—from the different benches—must walk hand in hand pursuing the course of enlightening the people of The West Indies about the viability of a Federation.

I am sorry, Sir, that my Friends have become extremely overburdened, and incapable of seeing the point I am making.

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Mr. Hill : Your history is very sketchy.

Mr. Cooke : Mr. Speaker, I could have given a full history today, but I would not give any history to embarrass my Friend, for we have walked together before. I got tutelage from him, Sir, but the scholar outstripped the teacher.

I think we should all go out in the various Territories and literally preach the gospel of Federation. I, as you know, Sir, am a silent partner in this House and rarely say anything; but I wish to thank you for allowing me to say these few words.

Mr. Afflick *rose* —

Mr. Sinanan : You will receive the affliction now.

Dr. Duhaney (Clarendon, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, my hon. Friend, the Member for St. James (Mr. Cooke) laid the foundation—spread out a level foundation—and now we are going to put up the superstructure—a nice building on top of it, because education is the only thing that is going to help the people in this Federation. And when I say “people,” I mean everybody starting from down at the bottom to the very top. We have no specific group—it is the one thing for everybody that is going to do this enormous job. It is a big thing.

My hon. Friend started to talk about how peaceful we are, and then he brought up the fact that he wished we could get an extraordinary stimulus to bring us together so that we could then see the light and see what unity could really do.

The hon. Member gave an illustration about Las Vegas. We would like to tell him that that is just what we would like to

see here. It is public opinion that brought about that change in that notable gambling area. It was public opinion operating through education and institutions like schools that have stopped Las Vegas from going further along that road, so that today we can see that the bikini bathing group—the bikini dancers have been thrown out and the sweet-mouthed Nelson Eddy of old can now come in to take the dancers' place. Public opinion through education has brought that about.

Mr. Hill : Are they coming to The West Indies now ?

Dr. Duhaney : I do not know where they are going now.

This is a matter of education. The University College of The West Indies comes under the Exclusive List, Item 17; so it comes well within our scope and we can talk about it here. We can do something about it here.

We have had one of the best reports on anything or any subject so far—the Cato Report—put out on this subject. I would like to see a debate on that Report. May be next session we will get a full-dress debate on that subject and should hear things that should have been brought out all this time. In Another Place the Cato Report was debated and it was such an occasion that for once the other House got two whole pages in the *Trinidad Guardian*—on account of the Cato Report.

Mr. Speaker, in this matter of education at University level, we would like to see a more positive approach made to both internal and external affairs, because it is written in this Throne Speech, and I quote :

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"... I and my Ministers have concerned ourselves with establishing the Federal idea both at home and abroad".

It is written right in there — 'internal and external affairs'. That is in the front. Then, in column 10, he says :

"My Government attaches particular importance to the raising of educational standards throughout the Federation and hopes that Territorial Governments will continue to use our advisory services in this field."

Mr. Hill : That is when they can get an Adviser to travel.

Mr. W. B. Williams : They only decorate Federal House.

Dr. Duhaney : In the front and in the rear you say what Government is doing about education in the Federation. We would like to see it more in the field. We would like to see an awakening and Advisers beginning to go out and not confine themselves to their desks at home, and by "at home" I mean right here in Federal House. A new positive approach to education must be made and that approach must set standards in teacher-training, in the training of experts, in training advisers and in training knowledgeable people so that they will—

Mr. Hill : You left out training of Ministers.

Dr. Duhaney : — get out and take up the positions now made possible by this Federation.

Technical people are now needed throughout The West Indies and we must begin at the University College level. I feel that if we could get them we would cut out such things as mis-statements by indigenous people.

We can no longer talk about that when we have our own experts and knowledgeable people giving advice where advice is sought, but we would like to set standards so that these people at University level would attain humility, tolerance, discipline and temperance. These standards have disappeared not only from public life but from private life as well, and we would like to see an emphasis put on it in the best place where it can emerge, the fountain-head, the University College of The West Indies.

These technical people will be returning to their Territories; they will begin to teach; they will begin to exchange ideas in their social life; and these standards can go with them to their Territories.

We have to say something about politics. Nowhere in this Speech do we find much about that, but the Federation of The West Indies is a big political endeavour, and the best person to talk about politics is a politician. Therefore, we must begin to talk more and more about it, so that even at the University College, it will be seen fit to put it down as a subject in the curriculum.

Politics must be explained; political science must be explained on a system of our past governments, our present set-up and our future hopes when our Federation reaches Dominion status. At the University College level, this can easily be done without any rancour. The students will be taught and will be sent out in turn to teach what kind of government existed before, what form of government we have at present and what kind we will have in the future. The differences will be explained; the difference between a dictatorship with one Party doing everything and a democracy like ours with a two-party

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system in which the majority forms the Government side; and the difference of a state of anarchy such as we had in nearly all the Territories where splinter Parties existed and where each Party would form a dictatorship if it happened to get the majority.

All of that must be explained so that people may understand where we now stand, where we are going and where we came from.

I now go from education to communications. Under communications we only mean to talk about verbal communications. We want a communication system properly organised under our educational system, which will give out information and persuasive arguments. The newspapers cannot do this without help, and we can do it under Public Relations, Item 12 on the Exclusive List.

I give you an idea of what this Public Relations, this advertising, this persuasive communication, can do. I would like to introduce into this House a supplement on Ghana in the "London Times" of November 9th. I would like to say right off what a wonderful thing it is, how beautiful and how educative. Parts of it I would like to read to this hon. House so that you can see what can be done by verbal communications getting strong enough to turn into airplanes and things like that carrying these news items throughout the world. This is written by Dr. Nkrumah. It is a message which reads in part :—

"As for the future, we are determined to create in Ghana conditions that will continue to attract all types of foreign investment, particularly those suited to industrial development. It is my hope that *The Times*, which is one of the most serious and well-informed newspapers known in Ghana will continue to present to

the world a true picture of conditions obtaining in this country, for we are very conscious of the fact that businessmen all over the world take *The Times* very seriously in view of the accuracy of its reporting, and are therefore tremendously influenced by it..."

I would like to go on and read from "The First Experiment". It gives three main factors about Ghana, and I read —

"... The first is that Ghana is rich in natural resources. Making due allowance for size and head of population, it is probably the richest territory in Africa, south of the Sahara except for the Union of South Africa. It is specially fortunate in being well balanced between agriculture and minerals..."

"The second factor lies in the unbounded energies of the Ghanaian people. They are great traders, ebullient, extroverts and reaching out for better things. Their leaders are men given to long and exacting hours of work. Thirdly, they are people not ashamed to make good the gaps in their own abilities and the state of historical development by working in harness with the British, who have had such a long association with the West Coast, and particularly with Ghana, in many and ever-changing roles."

Communications: things like that coming out in a paper like this and being spread all over the world, with everything itemised. Education: this wonderful University College of Ghana that has been paid for out of a cess on cocoa. And here we are forever bemoaning the fact that we cannot contribute 10% towards ours.

This type of communication, this type of education, the type of matter and this form of public relations that is going to wake up people and make them want to come to the Federation; make them want to come and set up industries, to come as tourists, make them want to see what is going on in the Federation.

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Mr. Speaker, we have always said a chain is as strong as its weakest link. For this big educational programme in the Federation we must have a list of our links. People must know the links so that they can talk about them. What are our links? They are links like Customs Union, for as such The West Indies is a big international structure more than it is comprised of little small Territories, and so it demands more attention and commands more respect. It is items like this that form the links we must spread out in our public relations, so that the world will know and people will talk and things happen.

These links build the chain. And we must also have the weak links. We must know that the link of population representation is a weak link. It is a weak link which is going to cause a lot of trouble. We must explain that.

How often have you gone around and seen a crowd, and a big man and a little man standing in the middle, squared off with each other? I am telling you, if the big man knocks down the little man the crowd will say he is a coward, shame! If the big man should receive a blow from the little man and he falls down, the crowd will say the big man is worthless.

Mr. Sinanan: The big man hasn't got a chance.

Dr. Duhaney: Mr. Speaker, if the big man, in his strength, should pat the little man, the crowd will say he is a coward. So the big man has not got a chance, until his entire position is explained to the crowd, and they get to know it. Then will they act. That is the position in this matter of representation by ratio of population. It is a serious thing. People must know the whole situation or they

might mis-judge. They must know the ratio now. That can be explained.

Another weak link, Mr. Speaker, is the cost of Government in The West Indies. The people must know that we have about 271 legislators in The West Indies. We have 58 Ministers, 50 without Portfolios. The amount of money involved is \$121,000,000. That is the amount spent on Governments. We have one of the most expensive Government set-ups in the world. One legislator to every 12,000 people.

You should know that, because you are going to have to explain these things. We must get at these facts through education.

Another weak link is the question of what, when, where and how are we ever going to have Dominion status. That must also be explained. You just cannot have no plans at all about it. Plan for the future and explain all your plans through public relations all through the Territories. Then, and then only, will we get the feeling in the people of The West Indies for Federation.

We would then get the psychological urge to do it; the gradual climate necessary for Federation. We would develop the Federal mind. That will depend to a large extent on hard work, instead of pompous do nothingness or demoralising immobilism: The Federal attitude of getting service rather than giving something; the attitude of tolerance rather than prejudice, of justice rather than chicanery or intrigue; the attitude of alertness, of pliability, of timing rather than careless stolidity, is what is needed. The Federal attitude of doing one's duty rather than forever demanding rights and privileges, is what we should foster.

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At times like these I wish that I really was versed in the art of persuasive argument. Because, Mr. Speaker, I would like with words to paint a picture of Federation, using the colours of the rainbow; using colours like that which we saw — those of us who were present upstairs in the Conference room — in the picture "The Bright Land" — a picture of integration, a picture of co-existence — a picture of living together in all these Territories washed by the waters of the beautiful Caribbean.

Hon. Members : Hear, hear, hear !

Dr. Duhaney : Mr. Speaker, we who have spent long years in other countries can really appreciate what is going on now. I remember attending the Caribbean Club founded in 1903 which was later changed to the International Club. I remember people like Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Padmore, Marquez, Olliviere and Nyabongo. I remember people like these talking and talking, and painting this wonderful picture that we see developing before us today. And, Mr. Speaker, it is annoying to see the negative approach which Government Members, in their official release of the Speech, take.

Mr. Hill : Remember the P.N.P. Members.

Dr. Duhaney : This, Mr. Speaker, should be a positive thing. This needs action. It is life, it is blood. It needs alertness and stimulating force. And when we sit down here and listen to the hon. Member from Middlesex telling us that the driving force that is in Africa today was inspired by West Indians who have lived there, then we wonder what has happened to them? What has really

happened to them? Why can we not push forward on our own in this Federation?

Mr. Hill : What has happened to us?

Dr. Duhaney : Yes, what has happened to us?

Mr. W. B. Williams : That's right, what has happened to us; the people are ready.

Mr. Hill : We just join with the English to cut each other's throat.

Dr. Duhaney : Mr. Speaker, I will have to bring some complaints to the notice of hon. Members.

Mr. Sinanan : There are many !

6.35 p.m. : Sitting suspended.

8.15 p.m. : Sitting resumed.

Dr. Duhaney : Mr. Speaker, before the suspension of the Sitting for dinner, I was dealing with complaints. The hon. Prime Minister made two complaints recently. The first one had to do with newspapers, but we would not trouble ourselves with that one because we were told by the hon. Minister of Finance that a school for journalism is going to be established next year.

Mr. Bradshaw : On a Point of Order, Mr. Speaker. May I repeat what I said? I said that the Federal Government has made an application to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to secure a Colonial Development and Welfare grant for the purpose of enabling a course in journalism to be organised at the University College of The West Indies. I did not say that a school of journalism is to be established, desirable though it may be.

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Dr. Duhaney: We thank the hon. Minister very much for his explanation, and I hope that will also satisfy the Prime Minister.

Now the second complaint had to do with the fact that industrialists were looking for a good political climate in order to establish their factories, regardless of how many other facilities were advanced.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to see our public relations set-up advertising our stable political climate. I would like to see them making statements concerning how nicely the Government Party and Her Majesty's Opposition get along here and in other places. A good stable political climate is the best advertising medium to bring industries in The West Indies. The next advertising medium is an efficient labour force. We have it here. The bauxite companies in Jamaica are still bragging and saying that the ordinary workers hired by them have proved themselves to be the best they have ever met in any country. A good efficient labour force. And the third advertising medium is a good labour-management relationship. Let the public relations people get busy on that. Spread it in newspapers. Don't pick at little faults about what is said by someone to another, but put it in the newspapers that we are ready for industrial development. We are ready for industrialisation. The political climate is stable; the labour force is efficient and the labour unions are well administered. Let that be the driving force. Go about it as if you are selling a motor car, as if you are selling building lots; it is a wonderful thing. My complaint is that we are all afraid; we are travelling on thin ice and too gingerly. Get out there, and if you walk on the ice other people will come out

there; but as long as you stand up on the brink, touching it, nobody else will follow you.

Mr. Rocheford: If the ice is thin we will all drown.

Dr. Duhaney: Well, we go down and sink together or we swim and get saved; we will all get saved.

Mr. Sinanan: They will attract sharks and we will all suffer.

Dr. Duhaney: These complaints can only be straightened out by information. Even if we have to use the Russian method. In Russia they have two: *Izvestiya*, meaning information; and *Pravda*, meaning truth. The information (*Izvestiya*) is used for propaganda. Even if we have to do that we must put across to the people that we are selling something. It is good, it is safe and they will buy it.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot close without bringing up two of the worst things that have happened to us in the whole idea of Federation. Nobody told me this — it is my psychic impression. The first big reason for the choke in Federation so far is Spanish Acres. It is impossible for a man to live in fear and be happy. It is absolutely impossible for a man to live in fear of loneliness, in fear of being shut in, in fear of bad water, in fear of bad roads and bad approach, in fear of snakes, in fear of fear itself and be a happy man. That one thing has put up a choke and I don't know how we are going to get rid of it. The whole choke of the hon. the Prime Minister has been directly traceable to Spanish Acres and we allowed him to live up there. We

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should have said, "No, Sir, go any place else, but not there".

The next more serious point is Chaguaramas. The ordinary people discuss, argue and talk about it. And to see that now in the second Throne Speech we still have no policy, no position to declare on Chaguaramas, and no Federal Capital — no policy has been discussed! In the United States the common man is now aware that Chaguaramas is an \$800,000,000 investment. Two hundred million of them have paid, say, \$4.00 each — their tax money — to build this place. And we want to take it away. We have no policy to express our purpose for it. It is the common man fighting the common man. Both are paying taxes and talking about it and there is no communication between the higher levels, no public relations to explain anything. There is going to be uneasiness if no policy is set down on Chaguaramas.

Mr. Speaker, If we are going to get ahead, if we are going to forge ahead, we will have to get a different and more progressive educational outlook and express it through our public relations and our University College of The West Indies.

I hope that all of my criticisms will inspire the Government because I have offered them in a constructive rather than destructive way. I believe in Federation, because from earliest days I have been taught that unity is strength; but I believe it is only possible if we shake up ourselves and push it forward to where it should go. No one else can help us. We have to do it.

Mr. Speaker, we want the Government's public relations officers to tell us the true facts. If we get those facts, we can explain them to the common man and he will be able to talk about them. This day to day,

man-to-man talk is the greatest moving force in any Government in the world. When they meet and talk, discuss and argue, that is public opinion—the irresistible force that will break down any barrier. The Throne Speech, so far as education is concerned is absolutely devoid of any facts at all. We well realise that the most we can do is to offer advisory services, but we have not even got any advice.

It is up to us to seek and find that advice. We can put out pamphlets and send them around. People are interested in Federation. They want to know. For instance, we have got 80 to 90 people up at my little place every day asking me about Federation, asking what they are to expect from Federation. I would like to tell them something. I would like to give them something they could carry home and read. I would like to give them some literature with your heading, the heading of the Federal Government on it; but up to now I can't; all I can show them is newspaper reports and clippings.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to keep this hon. House any longer. I commend these criticisms to the Government benches and we hope in the near future something constructive, something pliable, something alert, something positive might be put into Government's policy so that next year when we have another Throne Speech, that might be incorporated into it as Government's policy.

Mr. W. B. Williams: Two hundred runs on the board, man!

Mr. Afflick (Portland, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I have to congratulate His Excellency for preparing a Throne Speech out of Government's inactivity. We, on this side

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of the House, expect to offer constructive criticisms which, if adopted, will allow the Throne Speech next year to be full with something progressive, something accomplished.

From time to time, Sir, we have been labouring in this House trying to instill in the minds of the Government that it should not come here and sit and talk power politics: Government is more concerned with power politics in this House than with constructive policies.

The Member for St James justly said that when the name of Sir Alexander Bustamante is mentioned in this House it should be mentioned with reverence. I want Members of the Government to remember that it was Sir Alexander Bustamante who in 1938 created the political incentive—

Mr. Ricketts: That is untrue. You mean it was Manley?

Mr. Afflick: It was Bustamante whose political awareness created the progress we are enjoying today not only in Jamaica but in the entire West Indies.

Hon. Members: What about Cipriani?

Mr. Afflick: I commend the hon. Member for St. James, Jamaica, for being bold enough to stand up on the Government side and make a statement like that.

His Excellency said:

"... Meanwhile, my Government proposes to raise the question, during this Session, of the constitutional status of the Federal Government with a view to providing for full Cabinet responsibility".

May I ask, Mr. Speaker, whether this Government has provided the nucleus for

further responsibility? I can remember the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs saying some time ago, 'Give us the tools and we will do the job'. Mr. Speaker, this Government has been fast asleep. The same Speech last year, the same this year — stagnation.

Mr. Ricketts: You are quoting.

Mr. Afflick: Only the Minister of Agriculture has been blossoming into silviculturing. What we have been trying to tell this House from last year is, that we want the Ministers of Government to be more responsible. No example, in my opinion, is being set by the Prime Minister. He is like a petulant child. You can't create confidence in this House or outside of this House by adopting that attitude.

Mr. Ricketts: Ken wrote your speech for you.

Mr. Afflick: Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Agriculture forgets the behaviour of the Prime Minister in this House over the last couple days and now he goes so far as to tell me that Ken Hill wrote my speech; but I would like Members on that side of the House to be able to write a speech like Ken Hill.

Mr. Ricketts: Ken tricked you.

Mr. Afflick: No hon. Minister, except, probably, the Prime Minister, can do it.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that when the Prime Minister was selected by the Premier of Jamaica to lead the Federal Government, it was at least thought that he (the Prime Minister) would have

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provided that leadership that would strengthen the Federation and the Federal Government; but, in my opinion, this Government, this Cabinet is weak, very weak.

I take it that the Council of State is in a position where there is consultation before a decision is taken

Hon. Members : Consultation ?

Mr. Afflick : Yes, consultation; I did not say 'boujay'. There should be consultation before policy is determined. From the behaviour of Members of this House, it does appear to me that Members on the Government benches are told by the Prime Minister to sit down in their places.

Hon. Members : Discipline.

Mr. Afflick : We are speaking of agriculture. They say that the Agricultural Ministry is advisory. I agree when they say that the Federal Government is supposed to advise Unit Governments, but they should not stop there. They should not only advise; they should go to those Unit Territories and ask the Governments to let them give advice, because some of these Governments are tardy in asking Ministers for advice.

I would ask the Minister of Agriculture to tell us the different prices of produce in Jamaica — where he belongs — now, and the prices that existed ten years, five years and two years ago. We want an agricultural policy that can be adopted throughout the Territories.

He knows that the agricultural policy in Jamaica today is in chaos, because loans are obtained through the Agricultural Loan

Bank, yet two-thirds of the farmers in Jamaica are people who farm rented lands. I would like anybody to deny that. Two-thirds of the farming community in Jamaica work on rented lands, and up to now the Government has not formulated a policy to give these people assistance in working the lands that belong to other people.

Those are some of the things we want this Government to go into and to suggest to other Governments how best to care for these people. —[*Interruption*]. The Minister of Agriculture seems to be in a very jocular mood tonight.

Mr. Ricketts : What about the amount of land you have in Jamaica ?

Mr. Afflick : We are not concerned with just a policy for part of the farming community. What we want is to see this Government keep on suggesting to other Governments how they can best serve the interests not of the few, not of certain portions, but of all the farmers in the Federation. It is on that question that we speak out.

We want tourism; it is a means of earning dollars and all that, but in the case of a protracted war, that industry would flop. The West Indies today are mainly agricultural, and too great an accent cannot be placed on agriculture because there lies the backbone of the West Indian economy.

Mr. Ricketts : Hear, hear !

Mr. Afflick : I am happy to hear the hon. Minister say "Hear, hear", because what we are doing is to advise and teach Members of the Government benches that this is not just a place where you meet and

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discuss matters and crack jokes, as the Prime Minister does when he gets into difficulties. We want a policy formulated in order to assist the majority of the people in the Federation, and because of that we are giving as much advice as we can to assist the Ministers.

I would like the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources to know that the prices of agricultural produce in Jamaica, the country from which he comes, are declining. When they decline, stagnation sets in; they never rise again.

I asked the Minister of Trade and Industry last week what was the position where honey was concerned? The Minister cannot advise me — [*Interruption*]. I am not talking of Ministers now, I am talking of a particular Minister. I asked what was the position where the honey industry was concerned. I take it that this Government is here to investigate the policy of creating export markets. They should be in a position, once a question is asked, to tell us just what the position is in X, Y or Z Territory. You have been nearly two years in power. It is time for you to have made a certain amount of provision.

Mr. Ricketts: Where did that word come from?

Mr. Afflick: We are offering this advice for the future. Let us bury the past. What has been achieved in the past would be achieved by a Parish Council. Let us, as from now on, come to the realisation that we must take ourselves to that stage of Federal responsibility — not Unit responsibility, not Jamaica or Trinidad or Barbados. We must realise that they are here to create a Federal policy. The Government is not doing that now. It is only concerned

with power politics. They say let us bring down the Opposition. Let us keep them from saying anything.

Mr. Rose: Let us put them in their places.

Mr. Afflick: The Minister of Communications is the chief means—

Mr. Ricketts: He is now reading page 5.

Mr. Afflick: The Minister of Natural Resources seems very amused, but the people in St. Anns are not amused. The people in St. Anns want to hear something from him, Mr. Speaker. They want to know what is really his position here. He is in charge of a Ministry. What they want to say is that the hon. Minister from Jamaica is not winning his spurs; but winning his spurs does not mean coming here to heckle. He should leave that to the back-benchers. What we want is action, and a policy that will show that this Government is alive to its responsibilities and will make the Units satisfied.

Last week, Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister said there was too much talk of Manley, the Prime Minister of Jamaica. There is too much criticism of Bustamante. The Member from St. James has just told you that when Sir Alexander Bustamante's name is mentioned here it should be with reverence. Yet we are hearing all sorts of gibes. Sir Alexander is the man who has created the incentive.

Mr. Cooke: For what?

Mr. Afflick: For West Indian nationhood. It was in 1938, as the Member for St. James, Jamaica, has said, the Caribbean woke up one morning to realise that the inhabitants were not prepared—

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Mr. Cooke : Mr. Speaker, I am being misquoted to such an extent that I must appeal to you. I don't think the hon. Member from Portland should trust his memory. And I would advise him to wait and get the records and quote me correctly.

Mr. Speaker : If he waits for the printed record, he will be back home.

Mr. Cooke : That is a pity, Sir.

Mr. Afflick : Mr. Speaker, will the hon. Member enlighten me as to what he actually said ?

Mr. Cooke : As I did not have anybody to give me tutelage, I spoke extemporaneously. I did not have any speech written.

Mr. Afflick : The situation in this hon. House, I am happy to see, is becoming a little less antagonistic. I was happy to see the Member for Antigua speaking as he did, also the Member for Dominica.

It is clearly seen that there is frustration existing on the Government benches. The speeches we have heard tonight from the Government benches prove conclusively that something is wrong, and we, therefore, expect a new policy. The Prime Minister is not here. Apparently he was so disgusted with his back benchers, he had to quit.

Mr. Speaker, as I said, we have been advising this Government since last year, every day without avail. We are satisfied that today their poor understanding is being enlightened, because we have never seen back-benchers on the Government side getting up and speaking so outright on policies that this side has always been putting forward. I hope, Mr. Speaker, it

will be the beginning of the end of power politics in this House and that cooperation and progress will ensue.

What we would like Government Ministers to do is get themselves acquainted with the ills of the 10 Units of the Federation, and not just sit down and wait until a Unit Government say, "we have a dead here and a sick there."

This Government was created for what purpose? Only to advise the Unit Governments? It was created to hold these 10 Units together. To do that they have got to know what is actually taking place in the other Units and, to the best of their ability, rectify those wrongs. That does not require money. The Unit Governments have already decided that they should cooperate with the Federal structure. And if proper advice is given to them, I feel they will be happy to implement those plans they have of cooperating with the Federal Government.

I would like this Government to declare certain policies, and when they have advised Unit Governments on them, to say that it has done so. And let the public know. There is nothing to prove a Government like public opinion. A thing is very good for a Unit and yet the people know nothing about it.

I am asking this Government, Sir, as from this Session, to interest themselves not only in the Federal House but also in the 10 Units by going there and seeking information; not only through the Government Ministers but also by other Members making visits to the different Territories to get the information required in order for progress to be made in these individual Territories. Not until then will we see some progress.

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The Minister of Labour and Social Affairs said money was needed. Money is a very good thing. The Ministers like to speak about money. We agree. But it is not money we are talking about. There are lots of things which are not done with money; things that are done with zeal and courage. There are many things that are done without money; things that are done because we make up our minds to do a job. And we find the means to do them without money.

I would humbly submit, Mr. Speaker, that the Ministers in particular should use some of their travelling allowances to do just what I have asked them to do — visit these Territories; have discussions with their Governments and later issue a White Paper, whatever they want to do, make notes when the people make suggestions.

We are not concerned with the few but with the masses of the people in the areas, the people who have been frustrated through the years. These people, who have now heard a Federal Government is in being, are expecting the blessings denied them in the past. They hope it will now reach them by having a Government above Governments. That is the duty we are here to do. I commend to the Government for their consideration the things said by this side of the House.

9.00 p.m.

Mr. Robinson (Tobago): Mr. Speaker, before the hon. Member for Portland (Mr. Afflick) spoke I was beginning to feel rather reluctant to disturb, even slightly, the end-of-term atmosphere which seems to be prevailing in this House today. Indeed I must remark — it has been said on previous occasions — that there is a certain

amount of realism and sobriety which has not been present on a similar occasion in the past, and that of course, Mr. Speaker, is welcome.

I most graciously acknowledge the compliment which has been paid to my constituency by the Venerable, or shall I say the hon. and Venerable Member for Middlesex. I would like to assure him, on behalf of the people of Tobago, that we accept whole-heartedly the decision of the West Indian leaders in respect to the siting of the Federal Capital, and we will give them every support, of which we are capable, in their endeavour to secure that site which they have freely chosen themselves. I, of course, refer to Chaguaramas. I entirely agree, Mr. Speaker, that it is the only site in Trinidad which compares with sites which we have in Tobago. So much for the compliments which have been paid by the other side.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of the amiability and the charm that have been displayed in this Debate, I have still been looking and waiting for some statement of policy from the alternative government. An Opposition, Mr. Speaker, in a democratic parliament, is expected not only to criticise the Government, not only to hold the Government up to task for what the Government has done, or what it has not done, or has done badly, but to present some alternative to the voters; some policy which is different from that of the Government's, between which the voters must choose. If one were to gauge from the speeches which have been made, it would appear that there are only little differences: a little hen-pecking here and there. For no pattern, no consistent coherent system of thought has emerged; no ideas from which one can gather what

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is likely to be the policy of the Opposition if it ever has the good fortune of coming into power. And so, however I might appear to disturb the honeymoon atmosphere which has been prevailing so far, I am forced to take the hon. Gentlemen opposite to task for not performing their constitutional and political duty so far.

Mr. W. B. Williams : As yet.

Mr. Robinson : I said "so far". Perhaps when the hon. Member for Surrey rises to speak we might hear the first authentic expression of policy which so far has been lacking on the benches opposite.

Mr. Speaker, this occasion, as it is almost unnecessary to remark, marks the second year in the history of this Federal Parliament, and on occasions of this kind it is often useful, and not merely an academic exercise, but one which is stimulating, one which is helpful, to go back into the fundamental purposes and objects of the Federation which we have brought into being. And here may I refer to a document in which is to be found what I consider the most succinct and the most apt description of the fundamental purposes and objects of this Federation that I have seen anywhere. I refer to a Party document, but the ideas which it expresses transcend party. It is the Election Manifesto of The West Indies Federal Labour Party, and it was published for the election which took place on the 25th March, 1958. And the second paragraph goes like this, Mr. Speaker, in a way which I said crystallizes better than I have ever seen, the fundamental objects and purposes of the Federation. Speaking of the election which was then about to take place, the document says :

"This occasion will be one of historic significance for the people of the area, for it will mark the end of centuries of existence as individual Units each looking to its own affairs to the exclusion of the affairs of the others. It will mark the commencement of an era of co-operation, when these Islands whose existence in isolation as individual Units, can no longer be justified economically or otherwise, in the modern world, will now seek by unified action to improve the conditions of the area. They will seek to speak with one voice, so that the Federation will be able to play a full part as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations and as a participator in the councils of the nations of the world."

So there you have, Mr. Speaker, very beautifully crystallized, the economic and political objects of the Federation. And then there came into being the Federal Parliament; and there was elected the Federal Government; and since then the Federal Government has been pursuing a policy. I would be very happy, Mr. Speaker, to hear from the hon. Gentlemen opposite, what is the alternative policy that they would have pursued in the circumstances.

So far, we have been subjected to different voices from the hon. Gentlemen opposite — sometimes inconsistent, sometimes incoherent, sometimes inaudible. We are still entitled to expect, even at this stage, some statement of where they differ from us, and what they would do if they came into power.

I hope that by now — and the hon. Member for Surrey may be particularly interested in this — all talk of secession is going to be banished from the political atmosphere of The West Indies. I say so in all seriousness, because of the tremendous task of development which lies before us. The moment there is the impression in the outside world that the future of the Federation is uncertain, the moment prospective

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investors, looking forward to invest in the hope of having a West Indian market, are told that the idea of that market is in jeopardy, you are jeopardizing the economic future, not of one island, but every Unit in the Federation.

Mr. Hill: That is the Jekyll side of The West Indies Federal Labour Party!

Mr. Robinson: Whether you like it or not, whether Jamaica likes it or not, whether Barbados likes it or not, all these Units—

Mr. Hill: What about Tobago?

Mr. Robinson: I will tell you about Tobago in a while. All these Units are together in this Federation which has created a great deal of interest, which has aroused even enthusiasm in some quarters of the world. I have absolutely no doubt that the activities of those who guide the Federation and of those who profess to lead the people in the area — their words, their actions, the concept that they have of the future of The West Indies — all of these are going to play a very important part in determining what attitude people in the outside world will have to us in The West Indies. So that any talk of secession, which gives the impression that the future of the nation is uncertain, that the question of a West Indian market is in jeopardy, or in some way imperilled, any such talk is damaging to the entire Federation.

Mr. Speaker, I would not for a moment attempt to give the impression that there are not very grave difficulties confronting this Federation. Indeed any young Federation has its difficulties — we probably have in terms of distance, in terms of lack of communications — which the hon. Minister of Communications and Works is now

endeavouring to remedy — difficulties which other Federations did not have to the same extent. But we also have the good fortune of the experience of other Federations by which we can be guided. And once we are determined — and hon. Members opposite have time and again expressed the determination — to preserve the Federation, there is no point in looking back. One has to adopt a positive attitude. Once you are determined to preserve the Federation, from there, there can only be movement forward and not a looking backward. We will have our conflicts, we will have our quarrels — they may sometimes border on the violent — but let all of them be conducted within the context of the national welfare, within the context of the national interest. You do not, because you disagree, try to divide the country in half, carry off one half and leave other people with the rest. What you do is to get together, like rational men, iron out your difficulties, arrive at solutions or at any rate attempt to arrive at solutions—

Mr. Hill: Wrangle for nine days.

Mr. Robinson: I think I can say something of the Inter-Governmental Conference since the hon. Member has mentioned talk of wrangling for nine days. As I see it, the most significant feature of the Inter-Governmental Conference, so far, has not been the wrangling or anything like that; it has been the introduction of principle and the acceptance of principle in the debate as a basis of discussion. And once you begin to talk about principle in the sphere of representation it is going to be very difficult to repudiate principle in other matters. If you want to be represented on the basis of principle you also have got to think of principle in terms of

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Customs Union — in terms of freedom of movement of people and goods. I don't know if the Member for Surrey had any hand in it but if he did perhaps he didn't intend the result which has ensued, but what it means is this : that the whole discussion has now been lifted from the level of self-interest to the level of principle and we hope that the hon. Members opposite —

Mr. Hill : On both sides of Jamaica.

Mr. Robinson : On both sides of Jamaica, I quite agree I don't see any reason why the hon. Member should be so happy about it; he is a Member of the Federal Parliament and even though he may not think it, even though many of us in this House may not appreciate it, we are here not to represent a Unit interest. I don't know on what basis the campaigns of some hon. Members opposite were conducted but what I do know is this, Mr. Speaker : in the campaigns of which I am aware, and in the Party to which I belong, it was made quite clear to the electorate that when you elect a Member to the Federal Parliament he goes there to represent a Federal interest and not a Unit interest. So it is one thing to come here and to talk about the Federal Government having to gain the consent of the Unit Government before it does this and before it does that; and when I hear hon. Members opposite speak they sound like Members nominated by the Government and not elected directly by the votes of the people. You will expect a nominated Member of some of the Units to talk in the way that some of these Members have talked. "You must not act without the consent of our Government." Why not say that you must not be elected without the consent of a Government? Federal systems, Mr. Speak-

er, with the greatest respect, do not operate that way. If you have two governments and a federal system, consisting of governments which are co-ordinate in power, both operating directly upon the people, if you have such a system of government each of those governments — the federal government and the unit government — must have the power to tax; must have the power to carry out services. Time and again hon. Members opposite have risen and demanded action from the Government — and of course they are entitled to demand action, the people of The West Indies are entitled to demand action from the Federal Government. In every country of the world today people are demanding action of the Government — but the curious thing in The West Indies today, the curious thing in the world today — is that the latest government which has been formed has the most backward philosophy underlying its Constitution. And it is a philosophy which not one of the hon. Members opposite would apply to their own Unit Governments. Time and again you hear the Members opposite from Jamaica get up and talk of the dynamism of the Jamaica Government, of the positive action of the Jamaica Government, of the interventionist policy of the Jamaica Government and yet they don't want the Federal Government to interfere, they don't want the Federal Government to be positive. On the one hand they demand action from the Government and on the other they seek to deprive it of any means of effective power whatsoever. Obviously that must have been the effect of the Motion put forward by the hon. Member opposite if ever it was passed. And that is the trouble, Mr. Speaker, I suggest, not only in this House, it is the trouble in the Federation. Hon.

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Members opposite, some of them not all of them—I use the expression of the Prime Minister, there are one or two ardent Federationists on the other side—but the trouble is that hon. Members opposite—most of them—are blowing hot and blowing cold. Approbating and reprobating the Federation all at one and the same time. You can't do that if you want to build up a Federal Government and if you want to destroy the Federal system then why get elected to the Federal Parliament? Why, may I ask, Mr. Speaker, does one accept a seat in the Federal Parliament if one is going to undermine the Federation in one's own Constituency? We have reached the stage where we must declare as Members, once and for all, what is our attitude towards the Federation. Your attitude towards the Federation is not the same as your attitude towards the Government and a distinction must be made between the two. I hope hon. Members opposite, I believe all of them, are aspiring to be a Minister or even the Prime Minister of the Federation at some time or other. Their aspirations may be frustrated . . .

Mr. W. B. Williams: Very soon.

Mr. Robinson: I seem to hear the voice of frustration coming from down below.

Mr. Hill: You are talking about the post of Attorney-General in the Trinidad Government.

Mr. Robinson: Mr. Speaker, if the hon. Member desires, I can talk about the post of Attorney General in Trinidad.

However, if you are an alternative government, then you do not destroy the very basis on which you sit in this House. You

pursue a policy by which people can accept you as an alternative government. And that is not too much to expect from Members opposite. Time and again I have heard them say "We represent a Territory in which there are people who are opposed to Federation". A large section of their constituency is anti-Federation. Presumably the logic is because a large section of the constituency to which they belong is anti-Federation those representatives must be anti-Federation. What then is the object in coming to the Federal Parliament?

Let me emphasize what I have said a while ago — that in my opinion the time has come for a definite and honest attitude towards the Federation. If you are a Federalist you try to influence opinion, you try to convince people of the benefits, of the necessity of Federation. For instance, I was questioned about this while I was in Jamaica: 'How do you expect us to have any sense of brotherhood towards you in Trinidad when we have not known you for so long? It is only now we have begun to know you and to hear about you. How do you expect us to have a sense of brotherhood towards you when in the past we have been closer to the people of the United States of America and Canada and even West Africa?'

My answer was this: I have never known Jamaicans until very recently but I have known about the idea of Federation and studied the idea of Federation; I have considered the logic in Federation, I have considered the purpose, I have considered the object of Federation and I have come to the conclusion as many other persons have come — that there is no future for The West Indies except by the Federal system of Government.

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Hon. Members : Hear, hear !

Mr. Sinanan : Who disputes that ?

Mr. Robinson: It is difficult to imagine at this stage in the history of The West Indies and of the world, any one can think of any of these islands going it alone. And, the pessimism that prevails, it is difficult to imagine why. Often we are disturbed and distracted in this House and elsewhere by certain noises emanating from the absentee leadership of hon. Gentlemen opposite in Jamaica. It is difficult to understand how people can feel that these islands can pursue their independent existence. Even if this were possible and progressive Governments came into power in all the Territories, we are going to experience before long a great deal of clashing of interests and cutting of throats to the detriment of everybody in the area. Probably St. Lucia could go it alone, Barbados can, even Tobago can — remember Tobago once ran her own affairs — develop separately. But, we do realise that if we attempt to do that the methods we would have to use would result in harm not only to the Territories individually but to the area as a whole.

Some, indeed several Members, have been mentioning the matter of small Islands. I would like to refer to the attitude which prevails in some quarters in respect of the smaller Islands, the attitude of people who proclaim that they have more money in their pockets than other islands have revenue.

Mr. Sinanan : It was Williams who said so.

Mr. Ricketts : It was Bustamante.

Mr. Robinson : It is significant that that very attitude to the smaller Islands is the very one which some Members opposite and their leaders have been complaining about from the British Government. They used to be told they have no money, they cannot develop, they do not have the resources, they do not have the man power, they do not have the human material. My hon. Friend opposite does not like to hear about the effects of colonialism, but one of the effects of colonialism is that it instils in the minds of the people a feeling of inadequacy, a feeling that they can do nothing without the colonial power. It propagates the view that whatever is to be done must be left to the businessman. That philosophy prevailed throughout The West Indies until Jamaica woke up. This philosophy of *laissez faire* which has been rejected by every leader in Jamaica and in the entire world is being preached by the DLP today in Trinidad and Tobago. This is the result of Colonialism which some hon. Members opposite do not realise.

Jamaica is doing now what countries like Puerto Rico have been doing before. It ought to be obvious to anyone who has been looking at the political developments and the economic developments in the world today that a Government in the 20th century cannot produce results when it is being restricted by a 19th century constitution.

9.30 p.m.

Debate interrupted in accordance with Standing Order 9(2): to be resumed tomorrow (Tuesday, 8th December).

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**INTER-GOVERNMENTAL
CONFERENCE
(Report)**

The Minister of Trade and Industry (Dr. LaCorbiniere): Mr. Speaker, I should like, on behalf of the hon. Prime Minister, to name tomorrow (Tuesday) for proceeding with the Motion standing in his name on today's Order Paper.

Motion —

“Be it Resolved that this House takes note of the Report of the Inter-Governmental Conference on Review of the Federal Constitution which was laid on the Table of the House on 30th November, 1959”.

**ORAL ANSWER TO QUESTION
Governor-General's House
(Furnishing)**

Mr. W. B. Williams (St. Catherine, Jamaica) asked the Minister of Communications and Works to state for the information of the House whether the amount of money provided for the furnishing of the Governor-General's residence has been fully expended and accounted for.

Will the Minister further lay on the Table a statement showing the total provision made and details as to how this money has been expended?

The Minister of Communications and Works (Mr. Rose): Mr. Speaker, the answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative.

It follows from the answer to the first part of the Question that the information requested to be laid on the Table cannot be so laid until the necessary reconciliation has been completed.

I, however, wish to assure the hon. Member and the House that such reconciliation has been and is continuing to receive the attention of my Ministry. Its completion has been unavoidably delayed by the fact that some of the transactions involved relate to the period prior to the establishment of the Federal Treasury when payments were made by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago on behalf of the Federal Government.

Mr. Hill (Surrey, Jamaica): Will the hon. Minister answer a supplementary Question? Will he say whether the reconciliation is between the money that has allegedly been spent on the furnishing of the Governor-General's House and the furniture? Is it a reconciliation between the money and the furniture?

Mr. Rose: Mr. Speaker, if the hon. Member wishes me to answer the supplementary Question, I would ask him to give me due notice.

Mr. Hill: I agree, Sir, but, in the meantime, will the hon. Minister take the necessary steps to get some aged, retired policewoman to investigate the matter for him?

DEFENCE (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Finance (Mr. Bradshaw): Mr. Speaker, with your per-

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mission I would seek the authority of the House for taking the Second Reading of the Defence (Amendment) Bill tomorrow.

Agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.—[Mr. Bradshaw].

Adjourned accordingly at 9.40 p.m.