

# SECOND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Constituted under the British Guiana (Constitution) (Temporary Provisions) Orders in Council, 1953 and 1956).

Friday, 17th February, 1961

The Council met at 2 p.m.

## PRESENT:

Speaker, His Honour Sir Donald Jackson

Chief Secretary, Hon. D. M. Hedges

Attorney-General, Hon. A. M. I. Austin, Q.C.

Financial Secretary, Hon. W. P. D'Andrade.

The Honourable Dr. C. B. Jagan	—Member for Eastern Berbice (Minister of Trade and Industry)
" " B. H. Benn	—Member for Essequibo River (Minister of Natural Resources)
" " Janet Jagan	—Member for Western Essequibo (Minister of Labour, Health and Housing)
" " Ram Karran	—Member for Demerara-Essequibo (Minister of Communications and Works)
" " B. S. Rai	—Member for Central Demerara (Minister of Community Development and Education).
Mr. R. B. Gajraj	—Nominated Member
" W. O. R. Kendall	—Member for New Amsterdam
" F. Rowman	—Member for Demerara River
" L. F. S. Burnham, Q.C.	—Member for Georgetown Central
" A. L. Jackson	—Member for Georgetown North
" S. M. Saffee	—Member for Western Berbice
" Ajodha Singh	—Member for Berbice River
" Jai Narine Singh	—Member for Georgetown South
" R. E. Davis	—Nominated Member
" A. M. Fredericks	—Nominated Member
" H. J. M. Hubbard	—Nominated Member
" A. G. Tasker, O.B.E.	—Nominated Member
Mr. I. Crum Ewing	—Clerk of the Legislature
Mr. E. V. Viapree	—Assistant Clerk of the Legislature.

## ABSENT:

The Hon. B. S. Rai	—Minister of Community Development and Education—on leave
Mr. S. Campbell	—Member for North Western District—on leave
Mr. R. C. Tello	—Nominated Member—on leave
Mr. E. B. Beharry	—Member for Eastern Demerara.

The Clerk read prayers.

## MINUTES

The Minutes of the meeting of the Council held on Thursday, 2nd February, 1961, as printed and circulated, were taken as read and confirmed.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS LEAVE TO MEMBERS

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, I wish to make the following announcements: The hon. Minister of Community Development and Education (Mr. Rai) is absent, on leave, from the Colony attending a meeting of the University College of the West Indies. He left on the 13th and will probably be away until the 19th February.

The hon. Nominated Member, Mr. Tello, applied for leave from today until the 21st February, as he is out of Georgetown.

The hon. Member for North Western District (Mr. Campbell) who was on leave, has asked for an extension of his leave to the 23rd February, this year.

## ORDER OF THE DAY

## DEATH OF MR. PATRICE LUMUMBA

**Mr. Speaker:** The only business for today is a Motion by the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr. Jagan, which reads as follows:

"Be it resolved: That this Council records its profound regret at the tragic death of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, elected Premier of the Congo, and directs that an expression of its sympathy be conveyed to the people of the Congo and to his widow and family.

And be it further resolved: That the United Nations be requested to make every endeavour, to restore order and to re-establish Parliamentary Government in the Congo."

**The Minister of Trade and Industry** (Dr. Jagan): Sir, normally, in dealing with such a Motion about the death of any

individual, one tends to speak very briefly, but I think that on this occasion, it is important that we should relate the tragic circumstances which led to the murder of this great nationalist leader. We should do so because what is happening in the Congo is of particular significance not only for the people in that country but, indeed, for the people in the whole world.

Patrice Lumumba has certainly been a victim of circumstances—a victim of imperialist intrigue—and for us, particularly in this country, there are some sharp lessons to be learnt, some sharp parallels to be cited. We heard, quite suddenly, that the Belgian Congo was to be an independent territory. Two years before that, it was said that the Belgian Congo cannot hope to become free until the next 50 years. Such a view was expressed by a Liberal journalist who was then attached to the United Nations. The pace of events, however, was so fast that the Belgian forces - the imperialist forces would be a better term - had to agree to concede to the Congolese people their independence.

But, Sir, sometimes for the imperialists, independence does not always turn out as they desire. For during the time that conferences were held in Belgium, it was not expected that Lumumba would emerge as leader of the Congolese people and, indeed, as we saw later on, as Premier. Soon after the declaration of independence, elections were held and the Party headed by Lumumba won a majority of seats. True, it did not win an absolute majority but, nevertheless, because of Lumumba's dynamic personality—some say magnetism—and because of his statesmanship, he emerged as leader and was able to command a majority in the Assembly and thus was made the first Premier of an independent Congo. Why, then, very shortly after, we saw that the same Belgian forces who had, a few days before, granted independence suddenly deciding to create confusion and disorder in this African territory? Sir, the answer is to be found in the fact that Lumumba, who had emerged leader, was

not prepared to play the role of a puppet as the Belgians had expected that some leaders would play whom they hoped would have emerged after the Elections.

I say that there is a parallel to our situation in that in 1953 British Guiana also had an advanced Constitution. In fact in those days it was said that the Waddington Constitution was one of the most advanced in Colonial territories, but we also know that one of the major premises of the Constitution Commission was that no single party would emerge with the majority of seats and hold a commanding position in the Government. This prognosis, however, did not materialize. Contrary to expectations, the P.P.P. won an overwhelming victory at the 1953 Elections. We know that because the party wanted to implement its policy and programme, after 4½ months in office gunboats arrived here and the party was kicked out of the Government.

Here, we see in the Congo almost an exact parallel. The imperialists are prepared to give power, so long as it is not used to make significant changes in the economy of the country. On the first day after the declaration of independence and Lumumba was declared Premier, he made the following remarks in his opening speech which I shall quote from page 6 of a magazine called "Stand By Congo," written by R. Palme Dutt:

"We have endured contempt, insults and blows endured morning and night. The fate of the political prisoners was worse than death. Who can forget the hangings and shootings in which perished so many of our brethren? Who can forget the gaols into which were flung those who had escaped the bullets of the soldiers?"

Belgium's propaganda machine said that in the Congo they had the highest material standards, that the people did not want to sit in parliament and debate; this was not necessary, for Belgium had so ruled the country to make it a magnificent province; the Congolese were content with being ruled from outside. When the explosion occurred, it was only then that

we realized what had taken place in the country. How much training had the Congolese? Very few of them had attended universities, and very few of them held any leading position in the government of their country.

We know that exploiters generally come from abroad in the name of civilization. In 1885 when the Belgian Congo was first occupied, it became the personal estate of King Leopold II. He said that he wanted to bring civilization to the Belgian Congo. In bringing civilization to the Belgian Congo he invested a sum of nearly £1 million, but in the period 1885-1908 he was able to extract from this country about \$20 million (U.S.). The country became a vast prison; the population was decimated, and some people in England whose consciences were aroused raised tremendous objections.

Mr. E. D. Morel in quoting the report of a Belgian merchant states:

"There is not an inhabited village left in four days' steaming through a country formerly so rich: today entirely ruined... The villages are compelled to furnish so many kilos of rubber every week... The soldiers sent out to get rubber and ivory are depopulating the country. They find that the quickest and cheapest method is to raid villages, seize prisoners, and have them redeemed afterwards for ivory. ...."

Ivory and rubber were the booty which was required. To get ivory and rubber, the Congolese were turned into slaves.

Here is another quotation from a Scottish missionary, Mr. Dugald Campbell:

"The crowds were fired into promiscuously, and fifteen were killed, including four women with a babe on its mother's breast. The heads were cut off and brought to the officer in charge, who then sent men to cut off the hands also, and these were pierced, strung and dried over the camp fire. The heads, with many others, I saw myself. The town, prosperous once, was burnt, and what they could not carry off was destroyed."

[DR. JAGAN]

Mr. Morel quotes an American missionary, Mr. Clarke, as saying:

"It is blood-curling to see them (the soldiers) returning with the hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery.... The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives, and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I were dead.... The rubber traffic is steeped in blood, and if the natives were to rise and sweep every white person on the Upper Congo into eternity, there would still be a fearful balance to their credit."

It was as a result of protests by people like these liberal-minded persons, missionaries, and others, that eventually the Congo was converted from a personal estate of the King and put under the control of the Belgium parliament. This, however, did not change conditions very much. What we saw later on was exploitation in a different form. There was no longer the crude, bloody methods used by the concessionaires or the King's soldiers.

In the period after 1908, exploitation took a more devious and indirect form. From then on we saw the whole economy of the Congo dominated by one Belgium company. The Societe Generale, which is a large company registered in Belgium, controls or has controlled up to 90 per cent of the Congo business, and this business is rather lucrative.

The Congo is a large producer of many of the important raw materials required in the industrialized centres of the world. It produces copper, cobalt, gold, radium, manganese, silver, coal, uranium, etc. Eight per cent of the Western World's copper comes from the Belgium Congo. Sixty-nine per cent of the cobalt which is used with jet engines and missiles comes from there. Seventy-five per cent of the industrial diamonds comes from there. This is the prize which the imperialists were seeking to preserve. They were not only losing the loot, but the control of the raw materials.

Sir, "The Economist", a conservative journal in the United Kingdom, states that during the five-year period 1955—1959 Belgium investors made a profit of 422 million or 84 million a year. "The U.S. News and World Report" which is also a very conservative journal, gives a slightly higher figure. It states that for the same five-year period the amount of profits was 750 million or roughly 150 million a year. It is necessary to note this aspect of the matter, if we are to have a proper understanding of subsequent events.

It was not only the Belgians who were primarily tied up with what was taking place economically in the Belgian Congo, for associated with them was the British Imperialist firm known as Tanganyika Concessions (also called "Tanys"). This Company owns 14½ per cent of the shares of the principal Company called Union Miniere, Union Miniere being the principal subsidiary of the Societe Generale. The Tanganyika Concessions made a profit in 1959 of 4.4 million. This amount came not only from the Belgian Congo, but from shares held in the Union Miniere from mining royalties together with shares held in a railway. It controls the railway which operates between the Belgian Congo and the West Coast of Africa.

Incidentally, it should be noted that in this company, the Tanganyika Concessions, the British Government up to 1950 held 1,677,961 ordinary shares, equivalent to nearly half of the total ordinary shares of that company. In 1950 the British Government sold those shares which it held in the Tanganyika Concession to an American group associated with the Rockefeller monopoly interests in the U.S.A. So we see that financially and economically we had dealing with the Congolese people not only Belgian imperialists, but associated with them were British and American imperialists also, and herein lies the tale of what took place subsequently in the Belgian Congo.

As I said, Lumumba was not only interested in restoring the civil rights of his people but, as other African leaders are today realizing, he knew that if the African people are to enjoy real and full freedom, they must break the back of imperialist domination of their countries. We read of statements being made by African leaders wherever they meet nowadays---at Bandung and Accra where the first African Conference was held, and more recently in Tunis, where the second All-African Conference was held. The last Conference in Tunis passed a Resolution urging the independent African States to wrest their countries from economic dependence on the imperialist countries, and to refuse to enter into any undertaking with foreign powers which might either directly or indirectly prejudice the movements for the liberation and the unity of Africa.

That is the language which African nationalist leaders are today speaking. They are no longer concerned merely with the question of political independence. Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Economic Minister, warned the Conference that Africans "must not allow the colonial exploiters to grant faked independence", and that "the imperialists were now adopting new strategy and tactics." In forthright terms he urged the delegates to "defeat all manoeuvres of the colonial powers which still strive to maintain their domination under the various new forms of repression, divisions, paternalism, and deceptive modifications of ties imposed upon their victims."

Lumumba was one of the new breed of African politicians who were schooled in this new school, who were accustomed to seeing freedom not merely in political terms but in economic terms, and who realized that their country will not be liberated as long as it is dominated by a few monopolists from outside. This explains why, very soon after independence was achieved, the imperialists launched an open attack against the Congolese people. They sent paratroopers and caused dissension within the country. They set up

puppet leaders who began to talk in separatist terms, who began to create new factions and breakaway territories, and who called in the help of the Belgian imperialists.

There are some who, unfortunately, look at the situation in the Belgian Congo as one between black and white, but it is not a question of black and white; it is a question of economic domination and exploitation. For what is Tshombe but an African like Lumumba? What is Mobutu but an African like Lumumba? What is Kasavubu but an African like Lumumba? They are all Africans but they belong to different worlds. They represent different forces, and that is why there has been all this trouble in that country. Lest there be any doubt about what Tshombe represents, let me read a few extracts from sources which cannot be regarded as anything but the most reliable. I refer to "Time" magazine, the "Daily Telegraph" and the "Observer", well known and well respected organs of information in the West. I quote from "Time" magazine of July 19, reproduced on page 8 of the pamphlet:

"The power behind Tshombe is the potent Union Miniere which financed his election campaign and supplied Tshombe with an adviser when he attended the Brussels Conference last February."

An interesting parallel again with 1953. The hon. Member for Georgetown Central (Mr. Burnham) and I had the greatest difficulty passing through the West Indies. We had to charter a Dakota plane from here to Surinam merely to make connection to Europe, and we had to pay \$800 for that flight. Also bound for the United Kingdom at that time were the hon. Member for New Amsterdam (Mr. Kendall), Mr. John Carter, Mr. Lionel Luckhoo, Mr. John Fernandes and Mr. John Dare---according to the leader of the United Force, quite an integrated team!

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us keep to the subject.

**Dr. Jagan:** I merely mention this to show the parallel.

**Mr. Speaker:** When you start like that other Members will follow. Let us keep to the subject.

**Dr. Jagan:** The "Daily Telegraph" of July 13 says:

"Mr. Tshombe, political head of state, must take orders from this broad-shouldered young soldier (Col. Weber). Col. Weber commands all military forces in Katanga. He placed the province under a state of emergency last night several hours before Mr. Tshombe declared the region independent."

The "Observer" correspondent stated that the Tshombe Government would not last a day if Lumumba were able to address a public meeting in Elizabethville, the capital of Katanga. But Belgian paratroopers went, declared a state of emergency and put up puppets who were put in high positions to run the country. That is what the Belgian troops did, as it is reported in "The Times" of July 23. Instead of restoring order which they were supposed to do; instead of helping the Congolese Government, they acted in precisely the opposite way. "The Times" of July 23 says:

"Sixteen Congolese soldiers and two members of the Belgian parachute forces were reported killed today in what is believed to be the biggest military encounter since the Congo's post-independence struggles broke out.

Belgian parachute troops, who had surrounded a camp in which 250 members of the Congolese Force Publique had entrenched themselves about 200 miles west of Elizabethville, sent in an aircraft firing rockets—after the battle in which twenty Africans and six Belgians were injured, the Belgians took about 200 prisoners."

So much for the background to this brutal murder of a great African nationalist leader. What was the United Nations supposed to do in all this? Immediately after these puppets were being set up by the Belgian imperialists, soon after paratroopers landed in the country, the Government, headed by Kasavubu and Premier Lumumba, appealed to the United Nations for assistance. The United Nations on July 14 passed a Resolution

which was re-affirmed on July 22 and August 9. I would like to read that Resolution because it is very significant, and it is necessary to have a proper understanding of the situation. That Resolution, unfortunately, has not been given sufficient coverage in the world's free Press generally, and as a result there is general confusion about what the United Nations Organization was supposed to do in the Belgian Congo. The Resolution states:

"Considering the request for military assistance addressed to the Secretary-General by the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo:

1. Calls upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo;
2. Decides to authorise the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary, until, through the effort of the Congolese Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks;
3. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as appropriate."

In other words, the request for assistance was made by the legitimate Government of the Congo, and the Security Council's Resolution provided that United Nations forces must go to the Congo to help the Congolese army to kick out the Belgian troops and restore order. But what happened instead? The United Nations forces became embroiled in political questions—as to who constituted the legitimate Government of the Belgian Congo.

They got embroiled into deciding whether Lumumba should be recognized, whether any puppet in the Kasai Province should also be recognized instead of implementing the resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council. In other words, putting the U.N. forces at the disposal of the legitimate head of the Bel-

gian Congo. This explains why the Secretary-General today is on the carpet in the United Nations. That explains why he is being seriously criticized for not using his position to see that the U.N. Command carried out the instructions of the Security Council. As a result of the failure of the U.N. Command to carry out the order of the Security Council, many Afro-Asian nations which were supporting that very Command, got fed-up and some of them have withdrawn their forces.

I have a few more quotations I would like to read before I sit, to show what some of these independent leaders and nations thought. This is from a pamphlet called "Congo Survives Operation Great Divide". This was published by Theja Gunawardhana in Colombo, Ceylon. On page 22, General Victor Lundula, the Army Chief of the legitimate Government of the Belgian Congo, speaking of the U.N. Command said, and I quote:

"It is trying to humiliate us and is putting pressure on us by blocking Congo airports. The behaviour of the U.N. command mission amounts to crass interference in the affairs of the Republic. We want to co-operate with the U.N. command, but they replace co-operation by pressure. We do not want to see the dignity of our country and our country and our people insulted by anyone. The master of the Congo is not the U.N. but the Congolese people."

Tibu Tunkara, head of the Guinean Mission in Leopoldville, said:

"Our troops cannot continue in the U.N. force until the U.N. force command ceases its flagrant interference in internal Congo affairs and starts resuming following the Security Council decisions on the Congo."

"The UAR decided to withdraw her troops because 'developments have revealed that the U.N. forces have deviated from the mission entrusted to them which was to supervise evacuation of Belgian Forces from the Congo and assist the people and Government of Congo in protecting their independence'. Seizing airports and the broadcasting station and preventing the Congo government from using them is a flagrant violation of the Congo's sovereignty."

Sir, no wonder this pamphlet says "Operation Great Divide". The imperialists, after they saw that the legitimate Government intended to bring about not only social but also economic justice, decided by intrigue—by open force—to divide the country so that they can maintain their power for a long time. In this activity, we saw where, at first, Premier Lumumba was arrested, later taken from his place of imprisonment, brutally beaten and subsequently murdered.

I think it is the duty of this Council to speak in strong terms condemning what has been done in the Belgian Congo and, particularly, what has been done to the Congolese people's leader. Such things must not be allowed to continue. We are not sure of what is going to happen in the future. Let us hope that the democratic forces of the world will insist in seeing to it that the United Nations take the course which was first proposed way back in July and August, last year.

This resolution, very innocuous, asks:

"That the United Nations be requested to make every endeavour, to restore order and to re-establish Parliamentary Government in the Congo."

Let us hope that this country will not take the path of reprisals or civil war because we know what this can mean in terms of suffering for the ordinary people. Let us hope, also, even though we do not want to see bloodshed, that at the same time we do not want to see imperialism putting back its shackles on the Congolese people; and let us hope, therefore, that order would be restored so that the legitimate people and their legitimate leaders will become the rulers of this tragic country.

**Mr. Burnham:** I beg to second the Motion and reserve my right to speak at a later stage.

**Mr. Bowman:** Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the resolution which has been put forward in this Council by the Minister of Trade and Industry. I wish to say that

[MR. BOWMAN]

the Lumumba family has my heart-felt and profound sympathy. I wish to say, too, that I am opposed to any such action regarding the manner in which Mr. Lumumba met his death. I, too, like the mover of the Motion, am opposed to imperialism, but there are two types of imperialism in the world today. I support all the things he said with the exception of the points made about Western imperialism.

Unlike the mover of the Motion, who seems to be stressing one sort of imperialism, I know there are two sorts of imperialism, in existence. He is steering clear of one and is belabouring the other. I feel he has made a terrific blunder in doing so. I want to be fair. I do not want to take sides at all. I know that there are two kinds of imperialism in the world. [Mr. Ram Karran: "Again"?]

Mr. Speaker I must call your attention to the Minister of Communications and Works who is interfering with my speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** Please give him a chance. If there is anything you are objecting to, do it in the right way; that is, by rising.

**Mr. Bowman:** I noticed the Minister of Trade and Industry who has introduced this Motion read a lot of quotations. I know that most of these quotations were written by people who think as he does. For example, the first quotation was written by Palme Dutt. He is a well-known communist. I have read a few of his books. The Minister also quoted from the *Time* magazine. Let us take it for granted that all he said is true, but why I disagree with the leader of the Majority Party is because of this fact that, while he was belabouring the Western imperialists, he has left out the Eastern imperialists—Russia. I know the Russians are imperialists, also. Why has he not mentioned them?

Let us go back to the Treaty of Versailles. I know that Poland, Finland, Latvia, Eastonia and Lithuania were given home rule Governments in 1918. What has happened to them? Where are they today? Are they independent countries? We hear of the "milking" of the Congo people and of their exploitation and so forth. I have no doubt that the Congolese are being exploited, but there are countries which are exploited by the Russians, also, and not a single word is said about that.

I deplore the action taken by those responsible for the death of Lumumba, am sorry that the United Nations did not move in the way most of us expected. If they had, what happened might not have happened; but coming here and only belabouring one side is rather unfair. I remember, three or four years ago, the terrific Russian onslaught on Hungary. At that time, I was a member of the People's Progressive Party, and it ached me that not one word was said. The Prime Minister was removed by force from office and murdered. Not a single word was said. Complete silence! It did not trouble anybody. No demonstration—nothing of the kind was done. They held a meeting on Tuesday night as a protest against the murder of Lumumba. Why? Because they are birds of one feather. If I have a friend and anything of the kind happens to him it will hurt me. Lumumba had my sympathy when he first started his struggle for independence and it was given to him.

I believe that what happened to Lumumba is similar to what took place here in 1953. What took place in British Guiana in 1953 was the result of impetuosity and over-zealousness on the part of the members of the then Government—that is why the Constitution was taken away. I presume that something similar happened in the Congo. I say that what transpired should not have transpired. **Everyone** of us is acquainted with what happened in British Guiana.



The main point I want to make in this Council is this: I cannot remember the exact year, but I am sure hon. Members will remember the time when the Hungarians, with the exception of the few puppets who are still there, rose against their oppressors for independence and several of them were slaughtered. Russian guns, tanks and planes went to Hungary and slaughtered the people. There was no meeting of protest here, and nothing was said.

Only last week we read where three trade unionists, men who fought side by side with Castro in Cuba, men who felt that Batista was a tyrant and there should be a better leader—the very men who helped Castro into power were shot because they stood up for their trade union rights. Nothing was said by any member of the P.P.P.; no Resolution was brought before the Legislative Council regarding the matter, and it would appear that certain people are only looking at one side of this picture. I look at human lives as something precious. How can certain Members stand in this Council and take umbrage when others talk of the people who have been shot? Are they reasonable human beings? Who are they trying to fool?

A lot has been said about exploitation and murder. ...I am an African and, despite the fact that some people may call us puppets and all sorts of names, I know that within my heart I am a Guinean nationalist and a patriot. I would like to see this country free tomorrow; I would like to stop exploitation, but I want it to be understood also that I am a liberal-minded nationalist. I want to see fair deals for every section of the community. I am not a racist, but I know that many of those who sit in this Council are more or less racialsists—they are more communists than nationalists, and they wish to establish communism in this country. They share the views of Lumumba. If Lumumba were not a puppet of the Russians, what happened in the Congo would probably not have taken place.

Although I sympathize with the way in which he was murdered, I want to say that he is responsible for whatever took place in the Congo. I sympathize with him, because I feel that no matter what a man does he should not be murdered. If a man commits an offence, I feel that he should be tried by a Judge and jury. I do not think that one should take it upon oneself to murder a man because one does not agree with what he has done. I cannot condone that.

I am supporting the Motion, but I am opposed to some of the views expressed by the Mover because he has taken sides. He has tried to show Members of this Council that these people are bad, regardless of what they may have done; regardless of what improvement they may have made in the Congo. I am sure that the improvements recently made in the Congo were not there before.

In every country in the world where foreigners go, they go for one purpose. They go to extract whatever profits they can. When my ancestors were slaves the same thing took place. I have no bitterness in my mind for those people. I am one who look forward to the future. I am quite advanced in age, but I may live longer than others who are younger than myself in this Council. I think we should plan for tomorrow. What has been extracted or exploited is something of the past. Let us think of today and tomorrow. I feel that recriminations based on hate will get us nowhere.

I know there is supposed to be another Motion coming up to deal with this question—

**Mr. Speaker:** Please deal with this Motion.

**Mr. Bowman :** I feel that this Motion should have included the three Cubans who died defending their trade union rights. However, they are not referred to here but, perhaps, I will be given a chance to say something about them when the other Motion comes up.

[MR. BOWMAN]

In spite of what I have said, I am supporting the essence of the Motion because I feel it is a good one. I am in agreement with some of the sentiments which have been expressed, but I feel that the leader of the Majority Party has taken a one-sided view of the matter. He should have taken into consideration also the lives lost in circumstances similar to those under which Lumumba lost his life.

**Mr. Burnham:** Mr. Speaker, it was on Monday last that I heard over the radio that Patrice Lumumba, the democratically elected Premier of the Congo, had been murdered. Great was my disgust, but slight my surprise, because many of us who have been following the events over the past year realized that the day that Patrice Lumumba was thrown off the Belgium plane as a piece of cargo, those who were opposed to him and all he stood for would never have been satisfied until they had made an end to his life.

There are some hypocrites who, in the circumstances of the atrocious murder of Lumumba, emphasized the fear that according to the release from the so-called Katanga Government of Tshombe, he was murdered by African tribesmen. I shall assume, but not accept the fact, that he was murdered by African tribesmen. But to emphasize that allegation by Tshombe is to be as naïve as he who would say that if A kills B with a knife, the murderer is not A but the knife.

There is no doubt about the fact that from the time the Belgians were forced to give up the richest jewel in their crown; from the time the industrial barons of Belgium recognized that the Congo was no longer there to be exploited, that their machinations were innumerable. When the Belgians withdrew, they did not withdraw because they were filled with any sense of democratic duty towards the people of the Congo. As Frank Barber, a correspondent of the "New Chronicle" observed: "When the Belgians withdrew,

they withdrew too late, and they withdrew with an absence of grace and generosity." From the time they were forced to withdraw, they planned to re-enter directly or indirectly.

It is not for me to be repetitious and to repeat how much The Societe Generale and Union Miniere got out of the Congo. It is not for me to repeat what everyone in British Guiana now knows: that the Belgium regime was brutal in the extreme. It is for me to observe in supporting this Motion—I have no qualms; I have no over-sensitive feelings of propriety — that if there is any criticism of this Motion, it is that it is not forthright in its condemnation of the United Nations.

Of course, we were entertained by so-called atrocities after the Congo independence. We were told how many civilized Belgians were raped and murdered, but we were not told about the millions of Africans who have been raped and murdered in cold blood over the last 80 years. And the most disgusting thing about it is that when the Afro-Asian countries, which ought to know more about Africa and ought to be more deeply interested in the basic welfare of Africa, attempted a solution, those who pretend to know better what was good for the natives, rejected the solution offered by Ghana, Malaya, Libya and Egypt.

When North Korea forces invaded South Korea, what happened? An army was sent by the United Nations. When the Belgians re-invade the Congo, what happens? The Secretary-General of the United Nations goes to negotiate, and those are the same people who talk about the atrocities in Hungary. But who can point a finger at the atrocities in Hungary when the West stood by and allowed the brutality in the Congo merely because Belgium is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There are some Guianese, obviously misled, to whom we must offer our most profound sympathy, who talk a lot of nonsense about Lumumba

committing himself. How did he commit himself? Lumumba was democratically elected.

On the 14th of July the Resident-General, sent to the Congo by the Belgian Government, called him in and asked him to form a Government because his party held the largest number of seats. He was told that he had until 6.30 on the 17th July to form his Government, but on the morning of the 17th the same Resident-General sent for Kasavubu and asked him to form a Government. But Lumumba, perhaps more trusting than many of us who are more seasoned would have done, in spite of the suspicion which he felt when on the morning of Friday, the 17th, several hours before he was supposed to form a Government, he was called in and told he was no longer required to form a Government, did not say much and accepted the formation of a Government later the next week when it was obvious that Kasavubu could not form a Government.

When the difficulties started in the Congo I heard one hon. Member talking about "stooge of the Russians." My comment is that they are "six of one and half a dozen of another." They have one complex whether they are Left or Right, East or West. They believe they know better for everyone than the people concerned know for themselves. But I am a little disgusted hearing an hon. Member talking here about Lumumba being a stooge of the Russians or committing himself. When the difficulties started in the Congo where did he go? He did not go to Moscow, he went to New York. When he left New York what did he say? He said "I have no use for the Russians." And that is the man whom some ill-informed, some uninformed people would describe as a stooge of the Russians. It was after the West had rejected him that in desperation he sought aid from the East. And why did the West reject him? This is an indictment which the West will have to answer. It is no sense talking to us colonials about Democracy and honouring it in the breach.

It is no sense telling us how Krushchev murdered Imre Nagy, the Premier of Hungary, when you sit by and connive at the murder of Lumumba.

African bases are important. There is a base in the Congo, and as General Georges Revers said at the Seventh Congress of the European Centre of Documentation and Information held significantly in Spain, "Africa is the logical base for the defence of Europe in the context of missile war", and Belgium is a member of N.A.T.O. Therefore, anyone, like Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana, who feels that his country, or the Continent in which he lives, is not to be a base in a war between two sides, neither of which is particularly interested in the particular territory, like Carthage, he must be destroyed, and that is how Lumumba came to be destroyed.

After all some of the Western powers could not afford to let down their good friend, Belgium; they could not afford to let down a member of N.A.T.O. After all, who is Lumumba? According to them he was just an ex-criminal who wanted to get power after independence. He did not matter in the larger scheme of things. As they saw it, the retention of Belgian control of the Congo was more important than the right of the Congolese people to be free. The rights of the Congolese people as expressed by Lumumba, the deep patriotism of African leaders — these things were unimportant. More important was that Belgium should be supported. Can one imagine, in the second half of the twentieth century, that those who prate about Democracy will actually connive in the reinvasion of the Congo by the Belgians, and advertise a few atrocities which are minuscule in comparison with the atrocities perpetrated by the Belgians up to last year?

It is important for us to accept the fact that a man like Tshombe allowed himself to be used — a despicable character if ever there was one. It is important for us to recognize that

[MR. BURNHAM]

General Dayal, the United Nations representative in the Congo, sat there bargaining and pussy-footing whilst the leader of the elected Government of the Congo was thrown out by a two-by-three corporal, Mobutu, raised to the rank of General. It is important for us to recognize that we, colonial peoples, as we move on to independence, and as we achieve our independence, must rely upon our own devices and do not become caught up in the propaganda of one side or another.

We hear talk about the killing of trade unionists in Cuba. It is wrong, but what relevancy has that to the particular situation which is being debated now? What relevancy has it to the rape of the Congo by Belgium and the use of the tool, Tshombe, who has been discovered to be a handsome man, a man of nobility. When people like those describe a man like Tshombe as handsome you may rest assured that he has an unhandsome heart.

I have been disgusted to see a remark in the local Press. I sent a cablegram immediately as I heard the news of Lumumba's murder, and I was shocked when it was suggested by the local Press that Guianese did not necessarily accept the revulsion which I felt and expressed at this dastardly act which was done with the connivance of the United Nations by the Belgian Government. Which Guianese of any humanity or any sincerity, or any intelligence will not be revolted by what has happened in the Congo? It is time for us to clear the air of all this cant and nonsense. It is time for us to understand that we cannot go creeping on our knees. It is time for us to understand that you cannot overlook the sins of one side and recognize only the sins of the other side. It is time for us to understand that we cannot be apologetic for the sins of one side. Cowards cannot get any place.

What is all this claptrap about Lumumba being a stooge of the East?

What is the fear in people's breasts to come out and say there has been a wrong? If my mother did a wrong I hope I shall be fearless enough to say she has done wrong. We are carrying our politics a little too far. I am not uncritical of those who permitted the murder of Imre Nagy, but I am equally critical of those who would seek to gloss over the enormity of the crime which, according to some reports, was committed in the Congo since last week. Imagine a man escaping in a police car with petrol for 60 miles, and the car being found overturned but the men not being found, allegedly having started on a 200 mile trek through the forest.

It does not matter what may have been Lumumba's personal idiosyncracies. He is not a man alone; he is a symbol. What he stood for was the recognition of human dignity, and there are lots of hypocrites who speak in support of Lumumba but in other circumstances do not recognize the human dignity of people like Lumumba. He was a man who stood for the right of people to run their own affairs. He was a man who stood for a strong Congo, and those things for which he stood are sufficient to recommend him to people like me.

The United Nations Organisation has proved in this instance a hopeless failure. A little country like Belgium it could not control, and it is because of the same sort of petty politics at another level that we are finding in this Council. The United Nations Organisation is supposed to establish peace. There was a Resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly, and then it went into technicalities as to whether one Government or another was the legitimate Government of the Congo. It is stated in the preamble to the Resolution of the United Nations Security Council that it had been approached by the President and the Prime Minister of the Congo for military assistance. That being recited in the preamble it means that they were accepted as the lawful Government of the Congo, yet the U.N. indulges in the technicality of who was

the lawful Government while the agents of destruction and reaction have a field day in the Congo. General Dayal is no better than the rest.

Lumumba is dead. Lumumba, however, will live because the things for which he stood are deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of many of us. Fellows like Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu, even if they do not meet physical liquidation, will leave behind them names to adorn a special book that must be written concerning the traitors of the twentieth century.

Mr. Speaker, may I finally observe that Lumumba was a suspect to both East and West because he wanted to follow a policy of strict neutralism, which was the very antithesis of people whom General Georges Revers would have wanted. And let me finally make an observation that comes to my mind. There are many parallels in this country, and one of them is or one parallel can be drawn to the attitude of Tshombe who refused to accept the decision of the electorate. This is no time for us to indulge particularly in our own domestic politics. I am not interested in the sincerity or otherwise of those who support a strong protest being sent on the death of Lumumba. I am hopeful that we will have learnt our lesson; and I am hopeful that the eyes of some of us will be opened. I am hopeful that we, in Guiana, when we will have achieved independence within the next few months, will not allow ourselves to be fooled or duped even if we had to die like Lumumba.

One of the contradictions of this situation is that some of the best thoughts, in a different context however, have been uttered by supporters of the imperialist system, and there springs to my mind some words by Rudyard Kipling — an imperialist if ever there was one. What he attempted to say about those who conquered the world for the Union Jack I should prefer to adopt in thinking of people like Lumumba: "They shall not grow old as we that are left grow old. At the going

down of the sun and in the morning we shall remember them."

**Mr. Ajodha Singh:** Mr Speaker, some years ago, a South African pilot made use of these words. He said that whenever a group of coloured people get together to see a new day dawn for the coloured peoples of the world, there is always a willing one to sell the right of those people. In that category I place men like Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu. They are coloured people who are prepared to sell the rights of the coloured people of this world. I also blame the United Nations for the murder of Patrice Lumumba because if it were not for the United Nations, today Lumumba would have been among the people of the Congo. Because of the N.A.T.O. pact—the nations that represent N.A.T.O — war mongers — that this leader of the people was murdered. Yes, Lumumba was murdered because he refused to be a stooge of the imperialist nations. He was not —

**Mr. Speaker:** The word "stooge" is banned in this Council.

**Mr. Ajodha Singh:** He refused to be a lackey of the imperialist nations. It is oftentimes said that the imperialists believe in democracy—the democracy that serves their interests. We have seen it throughout the world. We have seen it in Africa where Kenyetta was imprisoned. We have seen it with the Mau-maus. Whenever people fight for their rights we have seen them imprisoned and all sorts of things happen to them. These people feel that they are the only people in the world who should be in the ruling position; that they must be allowed to exploit the coloured people of this world and continue without opposition. They forget that this is a new day. This is the day when man has awakened. They taught us that in the sight of God all men are equal, and since in the sight of God all men are equal—it is written by them in the Good Book, the Bible—it should be practised by them.

[MR. AJODHA SINGH]

My hon. Friend, Mr. Bowman, in his contribution to this Motion said that the leader of the Majority Party spoke of only one side and forgot to mention that the Russians were exploiting colonial people. He mentioned Hungary; but if the hon. Member had tried to understand what had happened in Hungary he would have realized that what the Russians were doing there was preserving Hungary's independence, for the people whom the Russians were fighting against were people who were out to exploit the people. He failed to mention what happened and is happening in the entire African continent. Some people change. In this case I am surprised, but time will tell. I am one of those who feel that the United Nations, Belgium, America and England—all members of N.A.T.O.—had agreed to kill Patrice Lumumba and other leaders of the Congo.

We saw what happened in India in the early days of her struggle. According to Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, nearly half a million people were killed when India was fighting for freedom. We have seen it in British Guiana in 1953. We have seen the Elected Members thrown out of the Government; we have seen charges concocted and men placed in detention camps without doing anything. These things were done just to please the exploiters.

The imperialists criticize the ordinary people. They say we are rebels. They say we should allow them to ride on our backs; but if they are prepared to keep the ordinary people starving, in misery and in filth, what else can we do than to rebel against our masters? This is not a recent situation, but a situation that existed for sometime now. In order to get power, they have to ride on the backs of the ordinary people and when the people throw them off, they take up arms against them and slaughter them.

I am in sympathy with the Congolese people and I am very sorry at the death of Lumumba. I hope that the United Nations and the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization realize that the day has come when they cannot destroy the national feelings of the coloured man any longer. Destroying Patrice Lumumba will not destroy the Congolese.

I am sure that in the event of another Election in the Congo, Patrice Lumumba's party will be returned with a majority. I know that will happen, and I hope that the people will stand behind his party because his death has opened the eyes of other leaders in the world. It has opened their eyes in the sense that they will know what to expect from those people and will be prepared for them whenever they decide to destroy them.

Mr. Speaker, I beg to support the Motion moved so ably by the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr. Jagan.

**Mr. Jai Narine Singh:** I must congratulate the Leader of the Majority Party, who has requested the convening of a meeting of the Legislative Council for the purpose of placing on record this Council's condemnation of what took place in the Congo, culminating in the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

The Leaders of two political parties have indicated what took place in the Congo. What happened there will happen in British Guiana, if Britain does not take steps to heal the breaches here. We know that Mr. Patrice Lumumba was murdered. Instead of holding a united meeting in the hope that the people would move in a certain way, we saw meetings by different factions trying to protest in the same way. In this country we want to avoid this "divide and rule policy" that has been used from time immemorial by the imperialist powers of France, Britain, Holland and Belgium. They have practised it in the Congo where the Congolese are dying and fighting for a myth.

Britain followed the same practice in India by setting the Hindus against the Muslims, and millions of people have been killed. That is the stage which the European imperialist powers have set in the Congo, and it has resulted in the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, who appeared to be the man to unite the Congolese.

This Council has met for the purpose of showing in no uncertain terms that it protests the death of this great man. Mr. Patrice Lumumba was a mere human being; he was born and he had to die, but he represented a new social order. He represented a state of affairs where men could stand against other men; where one man stood up for his people and nation against the imperial forces that have been exploiting them and would like to exploit them under a different guise. It was a great change.

When Belgium withdrew from the Congo, she left 20,000 soldiers behind. She also left a large number of people behind to see how they could endeavour to exploit the Congolese, but this great man who rebelled against the old social order is what we admire. Since they have made him a great martyr, the European imperialist powers have realized that their time in Africa is doomed. As in all other Colonial territories, they will have to go back to England and live in a little hole where they can scarcely find food to eat. Their markets will be gone, and there will be no more exploitation.

In Nigeria, still a Colonial territory, Britain has all of the markets she wishes. Britain told France, "As long as you are killing Algerians in African territory, your planes cannot land here." God created men equal regardless of race or colour and every man should have a decent living. He never created one nation to exploit another nation, or one set of people to be masters over other people. Mr. Patrice Lumumba represented the one force in the way of the Belgians. He did not want them to control the economy of the country.

The moment the Belgians were forced to leave the Congo, the immediate reaction was austerity in Belgium. Why? Because they could no longer live off the sweat and blood of the coloured people. It was Patrice Lumumba, not Tshombe and Mobutu, who desired that. They wanted to live hand and glove with the Belgians. We want to see independence in our country based on the equality of the people, not based on superiority and inferiority. I fear the tremendous repercussions the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba will have in Colonial territories and wherever coloured people are living. It will have tremendous repercussions because it has shown how the European imperialist powers have been continually fighting coloured people for generations.

While the Europeans have a high standard of living, the people in the Congo and coloured people in other Colonial territories are living in misery. While we live in misery, they live in luxury and happiness. Some people speak of Russian imperialism. The hon. Member for Demerara River (Mr. Bowman) spoke of Russian imperialism, but now many Colonial territories are there under Russian control? Let us forget the political side of things for the moment. Where is the direct control or exploitation of man to man? As I see it, the theory of man's exploiting man's labour cannot go on indefinitely. There must be a stop put to it at some time.

Secondly, I am of the opinion, from what I have read and what I am still reading, that it is not so much a matter of political leaders that has led to the murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, but it is a matter of political manoeuvring by the great powers—the powers who wanted to continue with the old ideas in the Congo. Roosevelt, Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln stood for "liberty or death", but some people seem to have degenerated to the degree where they have joined forces in Europe today to keep the people in the Congo and other African territories sub-

[MR. JAI NARINE SINGH]

jected. I am one of the great admirers of the U.S.A., but, where condemnation in an issue like this has to be made, I must state my view. Let there be no doubt about it that the great powers have conspired and manoeuvred things and done great harm to the people in the Congo. They will soon start a Third World War.

When Japan walked out of the United Nations in 1932, the whole world was shocked. When the U.S.A. kept out as Red China is keeping out today; when Germany was not allowed to be a member of the United Nations; they were only setting the stage for war. When Mussolini embarked on war in 1936; when the Pope blessed him to kill Africans, they were setting the stage for war. The war started in 1939. It was what Mussolini and others did that caused the war in 1939.

It will be remembered that in 1936 Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, but the nations of the world did nothing about it. That gave Hitler a chance to show the League of Nations what a weak body it was. The League of Nations no longer exists today. During the war thirty million people were killed. In this very Chamber we have men who have suffered in concentration camps. Today men and nations have no respect for human dignity, and they are now setting the stage for the Third World War.

The last war ended with the atom bomb. The atom bomb is what they will start with on the next occasion. They will not start with submarines and guided missiles. No country will be safe during the next war. A country like Britain will be wiped out in five minutes if atom bombs are dropped there. Yet, they sit at the United Nations and conspire against humanity. I have attended the United Nations, and I am ashamed at the manoeuvring that goes on there. We now have people with ideas like Patrice Lumumba who have been fighting for the freedom

of nations, right and justice. God is on their side. People can kill and exploit for a time, but not indefinitely.

I understand that certain technicians of the United Nations have already been ordered out of Africa. What respect can people have for the United Nations? What can they say regarding the behaviour of the Secretary-General of the United Nations?

The Member for Georgetown Central made mention of General Dayal, that he stood by peacefully while the great Lumumba was taken prisoner; that all these things happened while the troops of the United Nations stood by quietly. Troops must carry out the orders of those who give them. If the Secretary-General, the executive officer of the United Nations, has not given his orders correctly, or has failed to carry out the orders given to him, then the responsibility must lie at his doorstep, and when I read of steps being taken to have him removed I thought it was time somebody did so.

The United Nations Organization was not created for the purpose to which it has now been subjected. Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland have been able to persuade the U.S.A. and so control the number of votes, so that when matters affecting colonial countries are raised they are termed internal matters and therefore cannot be dealt with at the United Nations, no matter if people in those countries were being shot at sight. That is how the manoeuvring takes place at the United Nations. The great hope of the world is centred in the coloured people who have been oppressed for generations. It is the coloured people who are now emerging as independent nations. It is the voice of those people who know what is oppression and what is exploitation; who are the master races and who are the inferior races. That is what is going to tell in the long run. Either justice will be done or there will be a massacre in the world. It is indeed a very



serious matter, and I fear what the rebound will be.

The death of Lumumba is indeed tragic—tragic not for himself, because he was a man who has died as others will. It is what he stood for and the principles for which he fought. It is the manoeuvring of the imperial powers that bothers people who know that Britain is losing her colonies but is creating a Commonwealth, making people feel that they are independent, but in truth and in fact they continue to be colonials. Compare India with China and you will see the difference—China with over 600 millions and India with 400 millions still grovelling in the dirt. India cannot rise because she is tied up with Britain in such a way that she has not been able to get out. The whole world is today afraid of China.

I recently heard a talk on the radio in which it was said that the U.S.A. was manoeuvring to keep China out of the United Nations, but that there could be no disarmament unless China was inside the United Nations. The same thing happened at the League of Nations in 1936. They could not control Germany because Germany was the backbone of the League. Mussolini walked out of the League of Nations, so I feel that the time is moving fast when the attitude of man to man must change. The imperialist powers do not care or do not seem to realize the change of time. They are living for the moment. They do not want to give up what they have enjoyed for generations, and do not care what misery they create.

The Belgians left the people of the Congo practically destitute when they left the country. The Treasury was left empty, and when the country became independent there was not even money to pay the soldiers and the civil servants. Inasmuch as one should condemn, must condemn and do condemn people like Kasavubu, Mobutu and Tshombe, and those who have allied themselves with imperialist Belgium for the murder of Lumumba, we cannot forget that the United Nations

itself, because of its weakness and the manoeuvring to which it has been subjected, should also be blamed in equal degree. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is to be blamed as much as Tshombe and Mobutu.

No nation and no country can ever hope to be free as long as it is within the tentacles of the imperialist system, and it is only hoped, if we may be able to write a new charter for the United Nations, that a much stronger United Nations may be able to uphold human dignity in all the colonial territories and semi-colonial territories. I think it was the President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, who said that the only imperialist he could ever trust is a dead imperialist, because he has been manoeuvring for generations. That is how it has been and will ever be. I think it is an old saying in monarchist countries: "The King is dead. Long live the King." So we say that Patrice Lumumba has been murdered, but long live Lumumba and his ideas.

**Mr. Fredericks :** I heartily support the Motion before the Council and trust that it will have the unanimous support of all the Members present. My only regret, however, notwithstanding the remarks made by the Secunder of the Motion, is that the Mover, in his peculiar wisdom, did not see fit to associate with his Motion the brutal shooting of three trade unionists of Cuba whose only sins were the promotion of trade unionism in Cuba.

In these tragic occurrences, separated thousands of miles from each other in different parts of the globe, a cardinal principle of our democratic way of life was flagrantly violated. One of the greatest of all freedoms under the English common law—the freedom to live unhampered by the Police, to live unmolested, to live free from intimidation and personal annihilation was transgressed. Irrespective of whatever may be our personal opinions about the person or persons involved; whatever may be the circumstances, we

[MR. FREDERICKS]

must not, we cannot condone violence or brutality in any form. It is meet, therefore, that this Motion should have the unanimous support of this Council.

There is little doubt that the history of the Belgian Congo up to 10 years ago was one of exploitation and repression of the natives by Belgian capitalism. In 1950 the Belgian Colonial Government introduced elaborate and extensive economic measures to raise the standard of living of the people of the Congo. They built roads, hospitals, schools and provided many other facilities in all spheres of the country's development. However, there is one thing that they failed to do. They neglected to educate the natives for leadership and to be administrators for the time when they themselves would not be there. They neglected to train the natives to assume leadership in their own country. The result of that was that while there was great economic advancement no political progress was made.

Both political and economic progress are absolutely necessary if a country is to advance in the proper way, but the Belgians made no sincere attempt at all to face up to the realities of an independent Congo within a few years. With the awakening of African nationalism and the clamour for independence by the Congolese leaders, including Mr. Lumumba, the Belgian Government was forced to act unwisely and to grant immediate independence unconditionally. In a country like the Congo, or for that matter in any country similarly placed, the granting of immediate independence without the training and the leadership necessary for a smooth transition is always very difficult, because independence under such circumstances oft-times creates more problems than it can solve.

The situation in the Congo is very much unlike that which obtained in Nigeria where the British Government

made a positive effort to encourage and train native leadership to take over when independence came, with the result that, today, the Nigerian Government is a stable and capable organization qualified to deal with all the problems that may arise.

Mr. Lumumba was in the forefront of the Congolese leaders who clamoured for immediate independence, and was accordingly elected the first Premier. While we may have different opinions as to the role Mr. Lumumba played in the recent Congo crisis, we must, and do, regret his tragic death; more so as the U.N. was in charge and had moved troops into the country.

Whether or not anyone feels that the present sitting of this Council has been communist inspired; however much we disagree with the remarks made by the hon. Mover of this Motion as they relate to the role of the United Nations; or however much we were disappointed that no mention was made of the Russian tanks, trucks and planes that assisted Mr. Lumumba, yet we cannot condone violence in any form, and we lament the tragic death of Mr. Lumumba.

I agree with the hon. Mover of this Motion when he said that the happenings in the Congo are of particular significance to us in British Guiana and that we should learn some sharp lessons from what is happening in that country. We will have to realize and face up to the fact that independence is no panacea for all of the political or economic ills of an undeveloped country as this. Like Tanganyika, let us make haste slowly towards independence so that like Nigeria, we can attain nationhood with honour and with dignity. Unlike the Congo, independence for British Guiana should usher in the dawn of a new era of hope, of unity and of progress for all the races of this country.

**Mr. Hubbard:** Mr. Speaker, we live in an age in which violence, as a creed,

has been lifted almost to the status of religion. It is not quite 16 years since an abstemious little Methodist from Missouri, in association with an equally abstemious little Anglican from London gave the orders which perpetrated the greatest acts of carnage on non-combatant human beings that the world has ever known. Since that time, science in the great nations has been vying, nation against nation, to perfect the greatest means of conducting even greater carnage.

Since August 1945 — since the Nagasaki and Hiroshima events—there have been many acts of carnage; there have been many acts of brutality by man against man. In this age you might almost expect us, against the background of those two terrible events, to have acquired so great a sense of the *blasè*, that an act such as the rubbing out of a patriotic leader like Lumumba should leave us quite cold.

The murder of Patrice Lumumba is significant to me because it underlines what I have always felt—that the path to independence for a people is not an easy one. The path to independence to control of a nation's own affairs by that nation's own people is not an easy path. We know that from our experience in our own lands. We have had our massacres here, the most recent being in 1948, and I am not persuaded that we will not see yet more massacres before we see our own people in control of our affairs. We have trod this path to independence. We have reached the stage where incarceration without trial had become quite commonplace. We now live in the age where an ugly name is found for every patriot, and we are at the political point where some advance will come to us this year.

My friend, the hon. Member for Georgetown Central, has said that this year we will get independence; but, Sir, all that we have been promised—and it is a promise—is that if certain things hap-

pen after August, 1961, a conference will be held, the principle of independence having been agreed upon. But there is the longest possible distance between the point of acceptance of the principle of independence and the conceding of the right of our people to govern themselves. The same people who have to preside over our destinies until the fact of independence is conceded, have been associated in one way or another with the management of the operation in the Congo which has led to the murder of Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was one of those intractable colonial politicians who would not accept a shadow for substance. He wanted independence for his people and he would take nothing less. The usual method of dealing with colonial politicians is, first, to try to buy them. If that fails, you try to intimidate them; and the last resort is to rub them out as was done with Patrice Lumumba.

I have said that the path to independence is a difficult one. It is not a path that every colonial is prepared to tread; and since in the suborning of a national movement there is plenty of cash, it is easy to understand that there will be colonials, some who have found the road too hard and others who have refused to go on the road, ready to act for those who will pay them. That is what Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu have done for the Belgians and their allies in the Congo.

Across this Table and at this Table are people who are walking the road, determinedly, to independence and have felt the heavy hand of reprisal. Some have wearied on the way, others are still on the road. I wonder, as I look around, how many of those who now sit on the opposite side of the Table may be marked down for the fate of Patrice Lumumba. I do not know; only time will tell that. But this I will say to the opponents of the people's struggle for freedom: self-interest is a compelling master, but patriotism is a slave driver. There will be other Patrice Lumumbas before all men are free. We may see the execution of some of our own

[MR. HUBBARD]

patriotic leaders before we ourselves are free; but, let there be no doubt about it, we shall be free because as a people we will it.

**Mr. Jackson:** Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the Motion which is being debated today will be passed unanimously, for it is difficult to conceive of anyone, knowing the circumstances, voting against it. But it takes an occasion like this to bring out fully the extent to which hypocrisy can be conceived and concealed in the hearts of men. Today we have listened to several utterances. Amongst them is the statement that "God has made all men equal". I wonder why it has to take an occasion like this to make men recognize the fact that all men are created by God as equal.

In this country there are people who deny the value and truth of that statement which has been made here today. We know that, in many instances, some of the very people who talk about "God making all men equal" have acted to the contrary. We know that some people have threatened to shoot others, because occasions arose when love came between two people of two different racial groups. If God has made all men equal, then why should some people believe otherwise? Some people hold this view: if you do not touch my family, you can do as you like.

In this country the denial of the fact that God has made all men equal is being demonstrated day after day. In this country there are people who are imperialists—people who do the same degree of exploitation of their fellowmen as those they condemn. It is not that anyone of us agrees with the exploitation of man by man. Those who live in glass houses should never attempt to throw stones. So when we come to discuss a matter of this sort, we must be very wary when we know that we ourselves can be accused of a crime of the same nature.

Patrice Lumumba has been brutally murdered. Some people would say that it makes no difference for, though murdered, he lives, for his spirit remains a living testimony of his faith and actions. In Egypt there are his three children, all of very tender ages. When they realize and recollect what has happened to their father as they grow older, it is to be hoped that his spirit will remain with them so that they, too, will carry on the struggle for the emancipation of their own people, as well as people all over the world, from exploitation and other actions which spring from the evil hearts of human beings.

It is to be hoped also that they will be steeled by the realization of what has happened to their father and not be made cowards by it. Acts like this, concerning which we speak, lead men to higher thoughts and activities. When the history of Patrice Lumumba is written, it is to be hoped that his sons and daughters will feel a sense of pride and be moved to a very high degree of inspiration. May they become great men and women of their age.

Throughout the course of this debate we have heard several expressions of opinion which, perhaps, were better left unsaid. We have heard that great economic advancements have been made by the Belgians in the Congo. We have heard that the Congolese have benefited considerably, but what are those benefits worth when you compare them with the brutalities which have been perpetrated for so many years? I understand that while there has been great economic advancement, there has been no political advancement.

Sir, I shall crave your indulgence to permit me to read an article in the "Voice of Kamerum". It is dated September—October 1950, and I shall read from page 9.

**Mr. Speaker:** I hope you will leave the magazine with the Official Reporters,

because they experience difficulty in getting documents.

**Mr. Jackson :** I shall let the Official Reporters have the relevant documents, Sir.

I quote:

"Moreover (and for us this is the important thing) if the Congolese are incapable of governing themselves, who is to blame? Because if after 80 years of Belgian domination the Congo today has no capable leaders, we must draw the conclusion (and there are no proofs more striking) that the colonial system is a failure—something that does not surprise us, as its purpose is the pursuit of profits and nothing else."

When we take this view, we must conclude that anything which has been done in the Congo is something which the people would have been glad to have all their lifetime. Some people have been endeavouring to make it appear that the treachery found in some parts of the world cannot be found in other parts of the world. In every nation and in every generation people have been found who have been treacherous to their fellowmen. In India, Indonesia, and Belgium they have always been found those who have been ready and willing to do the dirty bidding of other people.

Let it be recorded that in such circumstances the selfishness of individuals is something which must be deplored, for those who do the bidding of other people are seeking personal gain of one kind or another. That is the behaviour and history of people all over the world, they allow their own individual desire and aspiration to take the place of the aspirations of the people as a whole and of mankind as a whole.

It has been said that, in the Congo, it is Dayal who has been responsible for the failure of the United Nations to take the situation well in hand, and so avoid what has now become the blackest day in the history of the United Nations.

It has been said also that Dayal had to await orders before he could take action, but it must be remembered that Dayal was there as the representative of the United Nations—he took the place of Dr. Ralph Bunche. Therefore he cannot be excused for failing to take the situation in hand, and to prevent what is now recorded as one of the most brutal murders in the history of mankind. Had he been true in the cause he would have reported truly, favourably, and honestly to the United Nations everything that was taking place. It was his charge and responsibility to see that Patrice Lumumba was protected against those people who pursued and murdered him.

It is true that when an occasion like this takes place we see parallels, make comparisons, and take steps with a view to preventing recurrences or repetitions. It is unfortunate that some people have made a statement here this afternoon that what has happened in the Congo will happen in this country. It is unfortunate that men are seeing it in that light. One wonders whether they are going to be the means by which this will be brought about; one wonders whether they are going to be the instruments by which terrible circumstances and conditions are going to be brought about in our own country, this country of ours which we love so very much and so very truly.

I shall ask your permission, Sir, to quote again from "Africa South In Exile" at page 95, to show that even though independence is granted rather reluctantly to countries which were once colonies, what has happened to the Congo need not happen to all of them, and need not happen to this country in which we live. I quote:

"It would seem that the Belgians were guilty not of granting freedom too soon, but of withholding it too long; of giving only when they were forced to give, and then giving without generosity or grace."

So even if in our own circumstances we are not being given independence as

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quickly as we think we ought to have it, even if it may be withheld too long and there is not the generosity and the grace with which it ought to be given, those circumstances need not bring about the conditions which have been brought about in the Congo, and which we are today deploring. I share the view that if the United Nations had acted as they ought to have done this would not have been the result. Therefore, with the Tshombes, the Kasavubus and the Davals must be joined the United Nations, for they, more than any other persons or any other group of people, took on a job but did not do it as it ought to have been done. They stand accused and, I say, accused before the entire world. This will be the record. It will stand as part of the history of the life of the United Nations, for they have brought about the death of a man who was known for his honesty and his integrity.

**Mr. Tasker:** I had not intended to speak on this Motion, with which I am in entire agreement; but having heard what has been said here this afternoon, I would like to speak briefly, if only to range myself on the side of the liberals and against the chauvinists. It seems to me that the horrors of the Congo—and I am thinking no less of the deaths by starvation than of the deaths by weapons—go very much deeper than the death of Mr. Lumumba. What Mr. Lumumba's death has done is to shock the world with the enormity of the horrors that are being perpetrated in the Congo, and a large portion of world opinion is now mobilising itself in a vigorous demand that something should be done. The tragedy, of course, was that a similar amount of world opinion could not be mobilized against hunger and death by famine. But this is human nature.

The degrading and apparently sordid circumstances of this man's death have at last succeeded in shocking a large number of the world's population. This is

good, but I do not think it is good enough just to talk about the evils of imperialism—from either East or West—or of the United Nations. Surely it goes much deeper than that. Members have spoken this afternoon as though the situation in the Congo had been a straightforward proposition with which the United Nations could have dealt with ease. Not a word has been said of the appalling lack of communications in a still barely federated tribal society, where man is set against man for tribal and racial reasons. The Congo is a big country, where, as in Nigeria, all the people do not even speak the same language; and in Nigeria, until a few years ago, the intelligent observer, the honest observer would have thought it would be impossible to bring about a federation of such a disparity of peoples, language, culture and religion.

This seems to me to have a lesson for British Guiana: that in similar circumstances you cannot expect anything less than extreme actions to maintain what passes for order. On top of everything else, there was no administration. Surely we in British Guiana have some concept of what it means when we see an Administration breaking down. You cannot overnight remove the head of an existing Administration and expect the trunk to function. Probably, in those circumstances, it would have required a man of superhuman talents, surrounded by a group of imaginative and highly efficient people, to have brought anything out of the chaos that was bound to result; or else it would have required a totalitarian approach which, no doubt, some people would have preferred, and which, no doubt, would have been on the surface highly successful. Law and order, so-called, would have been restored.

What happened? For the first time, the United Nations was called upon to do a unique job, a job which it had never been asked to do before, and which, so far as I know, is certainly not written into its Charter. I hope one day the history will be written of the United Nations'

work, the work of the technical agencies and the specialist agencies working in the Congo during these last tragic months. Unfortunately, however, the United Nations was asked to do a great deal more than that, and I think we should recognize squarely that it was not equipped to do the job.

Is it, as someone has suggested, because the wrong man, or his personal representative in the Congo, was in charge at a moment of extreme crisis; or because the pressures and the tensions in the United Nations itself are such that we are asking the impossible of any chief executive to carry out the declared policy of that world body? So often has this world body failed to stand behind the instructions given to its chief executive. I suggest that the real problem is that the United Nations, like every other institution in the world today, bears the strains of a society in ferment. And these things are going to happen more frequently from now on. I do not mean things like the murder of Lumumba in the Congo. I mean the problems of emergent countries, and the conflicts between countries, which cannot be resolved except by wisdom and forbearance.

My only regret is that this Motion does not include a prayer for the future of the United Nations, because that seems to be the one vital thing needed today. [*Laughter.*] If I seem to amuse one of the Members on the other side of the Table, I can assure him I do not intend to do so; but if he is amused, I will leave it at that.

**Dr. Jagan:** Sir, I have requested the Minister of Natural Resources, to reply on my behalf.

**The Minister of Natural Resources** (Mr. Benn): Sir, I shall not be long if you will permit me to reply, at this time, to the observations of certain hon. Members on the other side who spoke to this Motion. Some filled me with disappointment and the last speaker filled me with amusement,

It has been suggested that there should be a prayer for the United Nations in the Motion. Well, the United Nations Organization, from what the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry has read this afternoon, has not carried out the mandate which was given to it by the Security Council; and if the United Nations Organization is to remain with its constitution as it is, with the same persons in the Secretariat who are only tools of Western—let me not use the word “imperialists”, but let me use the words—“monopolists” and “big business”, then no prayer on earth can save it, for it will fall like a pack of cards.

The next point I make is to refer to the confusion of thought of the hon. Nominated Member, Mr. Fredericks, and the hon. Member for Demerara River who could not have missed the analysis of the situation given here both by the mover and seconder of the Motion. For people to talk as they did, is a great disappointment to this Council and a great pity on the occasion of such an important debate. To say that Patrice Lumumba was a tool of the communists and, therefore, there should be less pity, to speak of communism in this context, is, I would say, carrying one's jokes too far.

The hon. Member for Georgetown Central reminded the anti-communists in this Council that Patrice Lumumba appealed to the West—he went to New York first—and he did not get assistance; but the hon. Members, especially the hon. Member for Demerara River has to cloak himself in a new guise to suit those whose whims he is serving today—those who believe in big business, who will like to dominate the lifeblood of the country and who have dominated the lifeblood of all colonial territories. So that those who are afraid of the word “imperialists”, let me repeat—“big business” and “economic dynamism”.

One hon. Member said that one of the cardinal principles of the English law is

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that one should not be subjected to police persecution. The hon. Member must have read of the spying by the Police a few months ago on the People's Progressive Party's office, trying to bribe the office secretary. He did not talk about cardinal principle for the Cuban Government or the Congolese Government, but he talked about it for British Guiana. Some of them are mouthpieces for big business so they have fallen into this confusion on such an important Motion as this. Some of them are so accustomed to stooping that they have forgotten the art of standing straight. [*Laughter.*]

One hon. Member spoke of the question or attempted to discuss the question of the difficulty in the Congo and mentioned "tribalism." Well, they tried the same thing in Ghana. They wanted to use the chiefs as tools because they wanted to set up separate territories. They wanted to divide the country into small pieces, but the will of the Ghanaian people was against it and they are developing a strong country. It is not only tribalism. Tribalism cannot be divorced from any other related problem in Africa. If the hon. Members understood the Minister of Trade and Industry they would have realized that it was caused by "big business"—the "monopolists"—NATO. All the tribal problems are made worse by "big business" who want to keep the people in these tribal countries in backwardness, for the purpose of exploitation.

I shall refer, now, to Mr. Dayal, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We, perhaps, did not read the same thing, but I remember that Mr. Dayal was so hated by the Belgians, Tshombe of Katanga, and Mobutu, that they demanded of the United Nations that he should be removed. As a matter of fact, he sent a very strong report describing the troops of Mobutu as "a mob". So I was surprised to hear that Mr. Dayal stood pussy-footing, as one hon. Member said, and not

trying to help the situation. Mr. Dayal was not carrying out the wishes of this august body. They tried to do the same thing in China, but the Chinese were too much for them and they had to run out.

Unfortunately, sufficient friendly nations were not near enough to the Congo to give the people the necessary assistance, otherwise the U.N. Forces would have had to run from the Congo as they did from Korea. This is not an occasion for quarrelling. This is a sad and serious occasion when we should look at the problems that have arisen in this country as a result of the intervention of persons who want to live forever on the sweat and blood of the peoples of Africa. Indeed, Africa is going to be the last resting place -- the last bastion for the Colonialists and Imperialists.

As the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry has mentioned, the Resolutions that were passed at Colombo, Accra, and Addis Ababa by the African and Afro-Asian countries on the question of Colonialism, show quite clearly that a definite stand is going to be taken to get those who want to live on the working class out of the country. In Latin America they are running, and they are going to run faster from Africa.

Some of us have mentioned a few traitors who have been shot. Lord Haw-Haw was a traitor, and I believe he was hanged. Whether you hang them or shoot them you can still execute them. I hope hon. Members will not try to waste time by bringing in other issues. The situation demands a Resolution such as the one put before this Council by the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry. I should like to mention that Government is very grateful to those hon. Members who have supported this Motion without hedging or bringing in irrelevant and extraneous matters.

Question put, and agreed to.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Motion is carried unanimously.



ADJOURNMENT

**The Chief Secretary:** I beg to move that this Council do adjourn to a date to be fixed.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, the Council is adjourned to a date to be fixed.

*Council adjourned accordingly, at 5.20 p.m.*