

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.

*18th Sitting*

*Wednesday, 18th May, 1960.*

**HOUSE OF  
 REPRESENTATIVES**

*The House met at 2.30 p.m.*

*Prayers*

[Mr. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

**ORAL ANSWERS**

**Garden Allowances to Ministers**

**Mr. Cargill** (St. Mary, Jamaica) asked the Minister of Finance to state how much money had been paid to Ministers by way of garden allowance and upkeep of grounds from April 1958 to October, 1959.

**The Minister of Finance (Mr. Bradshaw):** Mr. Speaker, the reply to that Question is as follows :

\$14,960 from 1st June (not April), 1958, to 31st October, 1959.

**Travelling Allowances and Expenses of Ministers Outside Federal Capital**

**Mr. Cargill** asked the Minister of Finance to state how much money had been spent by way of (a) travelling allowances to Ministers and (b) travelling

expenses of Ministers outside the Federal Capital from April 1958 to October, 1959.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** The reply to this Question is that the information is contained in the reply given to a question by the Member for St. Catherine on 10th December, 1959, which is reproduced at Page 1248 of the Official Report for that date.

**Mr. Cargill:** May I ask the Minister of Finance to repeat the figures ?

**Mr. Bradshaw:** Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlemen for the question, but I am afraid that I can only repeat the reply I have already given.

**Funds for Sittings of Legislature**

**Mr. W. B. Williams** (St. Catherine, Jamaica) asked the Minister of Finance to state how much money had been earmarked for Sittings of the House of Representatives and how much money had been saved by having only two periods of Sittings in 1959 and, further, for what purpose the money thus saved would be used.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** Mr. Speaker, the answer to the Question is as follows : No funds are specifically provided in the Annual Estimates for meetings of the

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House of Representatives as such. Expenses in connection with Sittings of the Legislature (*i.e.*, House of Representatives and the Senate) are charged to Sub-Head 2, Travelling and Subsistence, of Head III of the Estimates. The amount provided under this sub-Head in the Approved Estimates for 1959 was \$192,310, as the hon. Member will be aware. The actual expenditure incurred is estimated (subject to any final adjustments before the accounts are closed) at \$142,216 — a difference of \$50,094.

All savings on expenditure votes revert to general revenue and are automatically reflected in the balance on the year's accounts.

#### C. D. & W. Funds (Allocations)

Mr. Hill (Surrey, Jamaica) asked the Minister of Finance to state the date or dates on which the Government of Jamaica and other Unit Governments were informed by the Federal Government of their allocations out of the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds provided by the British Government for 1960 - 64.

Whether the Federal Government had been informed or had ascertained if Jamaica's unspent balances out of C. D. & W. funds were committed to a programme of forward planning;

Whether the Government of Jamaica or any other Unit Government had expressed dissatisfaction with the allocations made by the Federal Government.

Mr. Bradshaw: The reply to this Question is, to paragraph (1)—by telegram dated 12th October, 1959, followed by savingram dated 13th October, 1959.

To paragraph (2), the answer is "Yes, Sir". To the last paragraph the answer is, "Yes, Sir".

#### Denominational Schools in Grenada

Dr. Radix (Grenada) asked the Minister of Finance to state whether the Federal Government was in any way responsible for grants made to denominational schools in Grenada, and, if so, whether grants have been reduced.

Mr. Bradshaw: Sir, the reply is that the responsibility for this matter is constitutionally that of the Government of Grenada. The role of the Federal Government is limited to determination of the amount of the annual grant-in-aid to be paid to the Government of Grenada in respect of its budgetary operations as a whole, and to the approval of that Territory's annual estimates.

#### CLOSER ASSOCIATION

Mr. Densham (St. Elizabeth, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I would like to get the approval of this House on the Motion standing in my name —

BE IT RESOLVED that a Select Committee of this House be appointed to consider and recommend plans for bringing the peoples of the Federation into closer and more regular association with the object of developing a West Indian trade and culture and so strengthening the Federation.

The greatest need that I see in this Federation at the moment is to serve the idea of a successful Federation. A successful Federation means we want, among other things, to get each Unit providing a suitable climate for investment so that in the end not only some Units but in all

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Units there will be available opportunities for investors and also an investment trust in every island. Our part in Federation is to advise the channelling of such developments so as to avoid disastrous competition between the Units. In other words we should be regarded as the "Uncle" figure rather than take on the "stern father" complex. But before we can do that, Sir, I think that the islands have got to know a great deal about each other before they are in a position to be able to encourage investment.

To show how extraordinary ignorant one island is about another, only two years ago there was a big incitement in Jamaica by some man who is not a politician, he was a half inch politician — he was not a full-fledged one — who said that the only cure for the sad state of affairs in Trinidad at that moment was to provide that country with an agricultural society based on the one in Jamaica known as Jamaica Agricultural Society, so as to meet the wants of the many small farmers. He did not know, as I am sure that many of us who have now had the opportunity through several Sittings in Trinidad did know, that Trinidad contains a minimum of small farmers. A lot of people who casually speak about Jamaica as pandering to the wants of the most expensive tourist in the world, its people receiving six dollars a day, and half of the population who work for \$1.25 a day do not realise that between these two, there is a fringe of the inhabitants living very nearly on the margin of hunger.

It is unfortunate the way some speak of the smaller Territories generally as though we were patronising them. I think

that those of us who have travelled throughout the islands as I have will realise that that is a completely erroneous idea.

For instance, during my travels to Dominica I was most surprised and was privileged to travel on what I consider the best engineered roads in The West Indies. They had succeeded in engineering their roads through the mountains and coming up with the best that I have travelled on in these parts; there was a gradient of one in four or one in five. The roads are wider than you have here in Trinidad, and that alone is to say something. I do wish we had them here in Trinidad, and on this I speak very feelingly especially when I look at that very narrow road from Piarco Airport.

Mr. Speaker, there are to me, two ways of achieving this that could be recommended — a way through the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which this Federal Ministry of Trade and Industry might try and another through the Ministry of Culture. Taking the idea of trade, it seems the easiest way to introduce the people of one island to the people of the other. The Ministry of Trade and Industry of The West Indies has already most commendably taken that step by the introduction of "Standards", because each man making a product will have to know the standards of the other men of the other islands.

As you go around you are presented in some islands with some grapefruit that are like enormous footballs. Though they are lovely to look at, they are not much good to eat. In Jamaica we get a very compressed sort of grapefruit, which are very tasty. By combining the two we somehow

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achieve what I hope will be the standard grapefruit.

In doing that it is necessary that farmers in one island get to know what the farmers in other islands are doing, otherwise they cannot adapt their fruits. Thus the Ministry of Trade and Industry, through the setting up of "Standards" is gradually bridging that gulf, which so badly needs bridging, between island and island.

This can be done in the same way through trade. I don't think it is quite realised what an enormous amount of internal trade goes on between islands. At the request of the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry, I delved into the figures, but I don't think I delved hard enough. I have got a mass of figures which I have not added up; I am particularly bad at adding. All I can say, Sir, is that there are three or four times the amount of internal trade than any of us suspect and such internal trade means that somehow people move about between islands.

And so again, it is through trade and industry that we are gradually learning the islands. In the case of onions in Montserrat, I believe they are still being marketed in spite of the Government — and it is a wonderful thing in Montserrat to see the new industry of tomatoes. That will entail, I think, a visit to Jamaica where we have learned, to our cost, that tomatoes cannot be grown without a sufficiency of water. That sort of thing produces visits between islands automatically.

There are many other industries like that, Sir, which are growing up and which

result in movement of people from island to island. I don't want to go through the list of industries, but there are startling new ones such as the provision of roof-spans for houses. When a house or a workshop is going up, costly frameworks are made for the roof. These can be made in each island very simply, and undoubtedly, each island will be able to supply roof-spans. A small welding plant to pre-fabricate steel-work is used. There again, there is a chance of going around from island to island. And so the story goes with trade. If you take trade to the uttermost point you will find that we are having things like commercial fishing, which I am afraid is one of my pet subjects, although I promised not to talk too much about fishing on this occasion. Here an anomaly occurs because the hon. Minister of Natural Resources, like myself, probably goes out and catches masses of fish but, unlike myself, he is unable to dispose of them because the marketing officer belongs to the Minister of Trade and Industry. Even so, I think both the Minister and I are getting on very well with fishing.

**Mr. Bradshaw :** Does the Minister go fishing too ?

**Mr. Densham :** I hope he does; all the best Ministers, I am told, go fishing, even Mr. Macmillan, so I think he will be in extraordinarily good company if he goes fishing.

I will continue along the lines of Trade, Sir —

**Mr. Bradshaw :** I thought all the best people went racing as well ?

**Mr. Densham :** They do. I think they possibly fish in the morning and race in

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the afternoon. I think there was a directive on that on the one o'clock news from an eminent fisherman.

Continuing, Sir, I would say that as a part of Trade there should be included "animal breeding". There again, from Jamaica we can supply all the foundation stock that is needed for the Federation to start up animal husbandry everywhere. When that takes place people will move automatically to Jamaica to buy their stock. I have already put more than one Government in touch with breeders in Jamaica. And so it is through Trade that we will get an interchange of ideas.

I come now to things like handicrafts, cottage crafts and so on. Those border so closely on culture that we can deal with it under the heading of culture. Talking about culture, Sir, certain islands, I think, owe their predominance and prominence to culture quite as much as to Trade. It therefore shows its importance. For example, a very small island owes something to culture at the present moment, unless it owes it to the Member who is its representative. I refer to the Member for Tobago. It was the Robinson Crusoe Island and now it really is the leading Island in the world seeing that it has attracted the most sought-after couple. I think that has happened through what can be called culture. Culture cannot be dismissed as just something else.

When we come to culture, I think that the two are both wrapped up together in such things as The West Indies Trade Fair, which is going on at the moment and which I hope all Members have taken the advantage of visiting. Might I suggest, Sir, to the correct Minister — I suppose it

is the Minister of Trades and Fairs — that we have —

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no such Minister.

**Mr. Densham:** No, Sir; we have a Minister of Rose and Works, I suppose we can have one of Trades and Fairs. I suggest that the next time we should have a West Indian Trade Fair. Although the present fair has undoubtedly a West Indian outlook it could be supported even more by the smaller islands. It is interesting to go there and take a census of the people — I don't mean the people selling there but those who are going around. You will find you can count up to fifty and only one of them will be from a small island. In other words, we only attract 2 per cent of the islanders to that Fair. If we had a Trade Fair with a definite West Indian outlook we would get the small islands coming together more and more.

That Trade Fair has done a wonderful amount of good in spreading the idea of Federation around. It has done more than that. I don't know if certain Members were here a week or two ago when the lion lay down with the lamb in one of those restaurants — Dr. Williams and Mr. Manley. It did a very good job there.

I see that in turning over my notes so rapidly, I missed a little bit about the tourist trade. The tourist trade in one island I went to is quite noticeable. When a tourist ship comes in the visitors are received just as royally as the Princess Royal when she arrives. The entire island seems to go on fete and a special beach is marked off where the products of that island are displayed. For three hours the

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tourist from that ship feel as though they are Royalty. That again I class as culture; it may be an interesting form of culture but I am told by the inhabitants of Dominica — and it is just not hearsay, because I was lucky enough to see the film which I hope the hon. Member from Dominica will be able to see if she hasn't done so already. It is a little 16 m.m. film which I saw at the same time that I saw the film presenting the arrival of the Princess Royal.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** Was it in that island that a deportation order was made against you?

**Mr. Densham:** I don't think so. Another Member will take that up in due course, a Member who is perhaps not so interested.

By a West Indian Trade Fair we might get a bit of moving around. May I suggest also, if I can find another Minister, perhaps a Minister of West Indian Carnivals, that we could possibly have a West Indian Carnival in Trinidad. I did mention it to an hon. Minister last year and I understood it was on the way but that owing to the C.P.A. Conference and various other things, the date slipped by.

**The Prime Minister:** We had a carnival already with the Opposition.

**Mr. Densham:** That is how we are thinking, because in one fell swoop we would get all the islands coming in for carnival, and coming not only for carnival but for other things such as football, dancing and other sports. I have deliberately left out cricket because the views of the gardener of one of our Ministers is a bit

too violent on cricket, so I think we had better leave that out.

And even if we don't get these things, I suggest that the hon. Members could find time to speak on the radio, even though they cannot do so in the other islands. I think that they could speak on the radio just as an hon. Member spoke just a few minutes ago, and say something about their own islands. Eventually, we would spread the idea around that we are just one collection of islands where it is essential to know what each one is doing. It can be done with a tape recording machine, and the tapes can be taken back to the islands and people there informed that this is a speech from another island. I don't mean a speech from Parliament, because we don't broadcast here, but a speech from some meeting.

Finally, Sir, and I come to the end of this somewhat disconnected speech, my idea is that we, the Members of the House of Representatives, teach the idea of Federation to the ten independent islands and try to get them to seek to obtain their own development fund and at the same time to work together as a team for the good of The West Indies, over which we hope to rule with a sort of "uncle complex". Thank you.

3.00 p.m.

**Dr. Duhaney** (Clarendon, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in seconding this Resolution.

**Mr. Bousquet** (St. Lucia): Is there a Motion before the House, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** The Motion proposed is: — that a Select Committee of this House be appointed to consider and recommend plans

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for bringing the peoples of the Federation into closer and more regular association with the object of developing a West Indian trade and culture and so strengthening the Federation."

**Dr. Duhaney :** Thank you very much, Sir. We begin by saying, Mr. Speaker, that poets, authors, lecturers and artists all through the years have been the people who have brought new ideas and talked about them, spread them out, and explained them in every growing community in the civilized world. It is impossible to see how culture cannot influence trade and industry in every way. As a matter of fact it is so important a subject that I thought that I would get up and speak about it this evening.

Culture is the be-all and end-all of progress. Progressive thought, progressive ideas —

**Mr. Sinanan** (Victoria, Trinidad): You will get that in which Government?

**Dr. Duhaney :** — will enter even here in this House from the people if it is explained by a Select Committee, and if the facts can be mustered and put before the people in the several islands.

As a country grows the culture becomes habit and the habit becomes behaviour patterns and you have a growing out and an adult approach to everything important in life.

As we look back over the West Indian islands in their developments we come across, in every instance, the big power that these cultural movements have introduced. We see the big land owners hiring workers; we see the small workers becoming landed proprietors; and finally

we see a larger and larger educated group setting forth their "behaviouristic" pattern in a cultural drive for nationalism.

These three circumstances have been developed in The West Indies. All the time movements have been associated with their development; in the first group we have had labour unions to control the masses, to control the labourers on this system.

The second, the landed proprietors, are in a cultural pattern that changes the economy from the big sugar plantation to the smaller landed proprietors, planting their bananas and things like that. That cultural pattern had to be studied and had to be overhauled by associations and co-operatives in order that the people should get the best prices for their primary product and to maintain them in a state of flux.

The third circumstance, the educated people, form the movements called the Peoples' National Movement — [*Laughter*] — formed the Peoples' National Party, so that the big idea was to protect the people, the educated people, the professionals, and find them jobs in a Government that would be expanding and a Government that would be using up their brains as civil servants.

So the cultural pattern of man in The West Indies can be easily understood to be a most important item under this development programme. Because the greatest thing in man's make-up is fear. We have three million people in The West Indies, three million people who are living in fear, three million people who are like little atoms in a cell, a cell whose floor is

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made up of economics — they have to work; whose ceiling is political science — they have to be governed; whose walls are race, religion habits and education.

Now there you see our little citizen of The West Indies, and the citizen of every country in the world is indeed in the same predicament. He has to work — economics; he has to be governed — politics; and race, religion habits and education will get him a job. His main endeavour is to have money to live and support himself and his family and therefore he is in fear, and as he is in fear he tries to get a job and there we see the walls begin to close in. Not the right political party, not the right race, not the right religion, he did not get a certificate in education, he has not got the right habits, he has not got the right birth certificate; these things come under habits and customs.

So there is my little West Indian man living in fear with the walls coming in, the ceiling coming down and the floor coming up, just like old man "Tantalus" of old trying his best to live, trying his best to have the good things of life, to have a better standard of living and fear, eternal fear, is closing in on him keeping him down and keeping him squashed.

Mr. Speaker, the only thing that can help that little man is Government; and he is appealing to you as his Government to help him, and we are saying that a Select Committee formed here to carry back cultural patterns to that little man in his "closing-in cell" will help. We are saying that we should take back ideas, we should take back a new pattern of living to give that little man so that he can understand how to do better, how to live

better, and by living better he will make his country better, because culture will introduce discipline, training, and teaching, and he will learn to produce more labour for the trade and industry. Trade and industry that is looking for a good political climate, the trade and industry that is looking for good, efficient labour force, and the trade and industry that is looking for a better labour and management relationship, which can only come about by this new impetus through this little man — three million of them in The West Indies — if the proper cultural pattern is put forward to the people.

Every island has a different cultural outlook and a different cultural pattern. You have always heard that the culture of the United States of America is the worship of the almighty dollar; you have always heard that the culture of Mexico is manana. Every nation has its cultural pattern.

**Hon. Member** (Government Benches):  
What is the culture of Trinidad?

**Dr. Duhaney**: Calypso! And there is nothing wrong with that. Calypso was the queen of an island on which Ulysses stopped and she sang so nicely for seven years that she kept him right there. He couldn't move. And the Calypso custom of Trinidad is a good thing because it brings in the conversational ability and that is something to be admired. If you can explain yourself in conversation you do not have to fight.

And so you have it; these cultural patterns run your country whether you know it or not; and I am telling you that we are not afraid now because it is the year 1960; but towards the end of 1962 each one of us will become a little afraid —



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**Mr. Bousquet :** Really !

**Dr. Duhaney :** Because then we would be facing the election to bring us back here. My Friends, nearly all of us will be living in our little cell of fear and we will appreciate it then, so let us try to appreciate it now.

We want, through these cultural patterns, to explain to these three million people in The West Indies that the type of authority today being expounded by Government is the authority of numbers. There are eight different patterns. You can rule people by muscle, you can rule people by brains, you can rule people by money, you can rule them by lot, you can rule them by talent, you can rule them because of the divine rights of kings, you can rule them by numbers and you can rule them by know-how. Today we rule simply by numbers. I am here because I got more votes than the other person who contested my seat; and I am on this side of the House because more of them that came into this House are Members of the Party on the other side of the House. So we are the Opposition.

How do you think you are going to explain that to people who thought that it was brains running the country, that it was brains governing them, but who found out that in fact it is only numbers. Break it on them gently. Set the cultural pattern moving before election time so that they can understand how big a Party you are. Take what you can to brag about, take it back there but don't go there idly expecting to come back again if they once understand that it is only numbers, only that you are in the majority while you are governing them.

Mr. Speaker, the big idea of democratic government has escaped the hon. Members. The big idea is that majority rules as government. Numbers, numbers, twenty-one to eighteen. Everything sensible we put up is rejected 21 to 18. And it will always be that.

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

**Dr. Duhaney :** Everything we say is 21 to 18 and the cultural pattern will tell these three million people that everything that the Opposition brought forward, whether it was good or bad, numbers put it to flight. That is the fault, but irrespective of the fault the people must know. You must set the cultural pattern a-going because only politics can take it to the people. Nothing else. Nothing else can withstand the hard work, the irritating circumstances of public life but politics and politicians.

We come now to a little explanation of the politician and this must be explained to them in this culture that you are going to give them. A politician is two things — an irritant — [*Laughter*] — and a palliative. The politician must find things that are irritating the people and come back and irritate the House. The politician must forever be doing that or otherwise he is not going to be in here long. The politician must find things that are making the country run smoothly and bring it to this House and explain it and maybe we, from another place, could take that back and it might work in our place. You are an irritant and you are a palliative. You are a smoother and a "juka". And, Mr. Speaker, the politician who does not understand that, is not worthy of the name. You

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sit down here and laugh, but it will come in 1962 to those of you who have done nothing and done it exclusively, but to the politician who has gone out and "joked" and "joked", and smoothed and smoothed everything is just waiting for 1962 or '63, whenever elections are going to be held, for he has no fear.

Culture, education, discipline, training are what we need more than anything else.

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

**Dr. Duhaney**: If we can put it across to our three million people they will begin to live in peace, they will begin to live in co-existence. But how to do it? How can you, a Jamaican — big giant Jamaica — explain to little Montserrat? How can you do it? What you must do is to get a Select Committee from this House to examine what you bring, discard some, reject some and use the best and send it to Montserrat. Send it to Barbados, send it to St. Vincent and in turn get from St. Vincent, get from Grenada the things that are working there and send them to Jamaica, send them to Trinidad. Mr. Speaker, there it is. The only thing that can affect everything in the population of these West Indian Islands must come through discipline, education and training.

Take the new idea of industry. When the bell rings you must be there; so that is punctuality. If you are not there twice, you don't have a job. Then you will go to the politician, you will go to the Minister, you will go to anybody and say: "Look what happen to me, Sir, I don't have a job again. I don't know what happen". But if you understand that now

industry is ruling the economy and that industry depends on punctuality you will be there. So there is a new approach. You can no longer go to work at 10:00 o'clock when you are supposed to be there at 8:00. It is a new practical approach. Punctuality. Honesty. Standards, values. All of these things are coming back again. Why? Because in an agricultural economy when that is the dominant, or sometimes the only economy of the island, time doesn't matter and in the agricultural economy the emphasis is on larger families, plenty children to do the work that you should do. You have plenty children so that you can sit down and they have to do the work. That is the agricultural economy, but today that is giving way to the industrial economy and the industrial economy says, "Let us have as few children as possible because Mamma and Papa have got to go out to work and who is going to look after the children?"

**The Prime Minister**: Get a baby-sitter.

**Dr. Duhaney**: There is a new cultural approach coming in today and we don't even know about it. Baby-sitters are more expensive than the little money that the wife gets and then she might complicate matters in the house so much that you have to get a lawyer to do divorce business.

In any motivational research of the complications in everyday life you will find that in order to raise the gross national product of your island, to bring in more and better standards of living without raising the cost of living too high, the thing that is going to help you most is efficiency in production, better trans-

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portation and marketing facilities. Those things can only be studied through approach, new ideas and new cultural patterns. For too long it has been said about us here in The West Indies "that every prospect pleases and only man is 'wild'. Every prospect pleases and only man is 'wild'".

**Mr. Pierre :** Explain.

**Dr. Duhaney :** And the proper thing to do is to get the Select Committee. Let them iron out the things that are sent to them, the proper approaches, and let us scatter the news all around the islands, so that it will come back to us in flow because there is only one thing that the little man in his cell is fearing and that is fear itself. If we can remove that, if we can do something about that, supply him with a job, supply him with a purpose in life, it will help considerably to iron out our problems here.

**The Prime Minister :** Oh no, you shouldn't stop yet.

**Mr. Cato (St. Vincent) :** Mr. Speaker, may I crave your indulgence to congratulate most sincerely the hon. Member who introduced this Motion and no less so the hon. Member who so very strongly gave it his support. The hon. Member has succeeded at the outset in restoring the smiles to the faces of the Gentlemen on the opposite side of this House. It is quite a contrast to the gloomy expressions which we saw as they retreated out of this hon. House yesterday. And if no other success attends this Motion these Gentlemen can at least be credited with that particular accomplishment.

I would like to disillusion the minds of the Gentlemen opposite and in particular

the worthy Member who supported and seconded this Motion by making it clear to them that we on this side of the House are at all times prepared to support any Motion which we feel has got substance in it and which we feel is likely to contribute towards the success of the Federation. For that reason we are today supporting most wholeheartedly the Motion which is at present engaging the attention of this House.

Mr. Speaker, I happen to represent a particular Territory which has for some time boasted a form of Federation — the Windward Islands — and as I understand it, this Motion seeks to have a Select Committee appointed to consider ways and means of bringing the peoples of the Federation into closer and more regular association. We are supporting that, Mr. Speaker, because we feel that it is bound to achieve the objects suggested in the words of this Motion. It is bound to help to develop West Indian trade and a West Indian culture. We in the Windward Islands have noted, and I believe those hon. Members who come from the Leeward Islands, will have had the pleasure and the opportunity of noting the success which attends such closer association. For a very long time now, people from St. Vincent, Grenada, Dominica, and St. Lucia have been closely associated in various ways. There have been various bonds and ties which brought us together. We have boasted for many years — and you will pardon my mention of cricket which one Member sought to avoid — we have been associated in what is known as the Inter-island Cricket Tournament whereby the people of the Windward Islands came together year after year for the purpose of

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playing cricket. But we found that the benefit which ensued extended far beyond merely playing cricket. Ties developed of a cultural nature, marital ties developed, trade ties developed and we see benefits accruing such as the hon. Mover of this Motion anticipates by the Motion he has proposed.

3.30 p.m.

We have had similar effects from frequent excursions throughout these particular Territories. We have seen, even in the relationship between St. Vincent and Trinidad and between Grenada and Trinidad a close association between the peoples of these Territories which has made their business and trade relationships far more easy.

I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that if a Select Committee is appointed, and I do not wish at this stage to encroach upon the province of this Committee so I would not go into the details of the various matters which at any rate must come up for consideration before such a Committee, but I am sure that if that Committee can devise ways and means to bring the people closer together, greater benefits are bound to ensue.

The people of the Territories of the Federation which formerly comprised the Leeward and Windward Islands found it far easier to come together in this Federation than did the people of Jamaica and Trinidad because of the closer relationship which had developed over the years between them. For this and other very obvious reasons, we on this side are prepared to support this Motion before the House.

**Mr. W. B. Williams** (St. Catherine, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to speak for long. I would just like to make a few observations with respect to culture.

Quite recently, Sir, Montserrat sent a strong netball team to Jamaica, the largest unit of the Federation, and to our surprise we had to fight hard to beat them — the smallest Unit of the Federation. I was very happy to see how they conducted themselves and how well they enjoyed themselves.

We are happy in that we have a foresight of the things to come. That is to say, we think of the two ships to be placed at the disposal of this Government by way of a gift from the Canadian Government. I remember well in the old days when I worked for the United Fruit Company, there were special rates of fares for the employees of that Company to travel about in the Company's ships. One of the things facing this Federation, especially, and moreso the people of Jamaica, in travelling to the Federal Capital is the cost of that travel. I would like to take this opportunity to make this suggestion to the Government that during the rest of the period of five years of this first constitution left to the Federal Government, (and since the ships will be in service by next year), this Government should consider the advisability of having special rates placed at the disposal of our West Indian people because it will assist, particularly the Jamaicans to get familiar with the various islands of the Federation.

I wish to support the views expressed earlier by one of the speakers before me and to add this — so as to mark the third anniversary or the fourth anniversary of the Federation, (providing the Prime Min-

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ister and his Cabinet will agree to do some hard work for the success of Federation during the next five years and not allow Jamaica to secede) I suggest that a West Indian Fair be instituted which would be a good gesture of goodwill to the nation.

One of the things affecting not only the smaller territories of the Federation but Jamaica as well is that sufficient has not been and is not being done to provide roads for the farmers in the islands. In Trinidad there is a natural gift peculiar to the other islands and that is asphalt. The Federal Government and the Unit Governments should come together and work out some subsidy or plan or some other type of arrangement on an all-West Indian Road Programme particularly directed to the benefit of West Indian agriculture and trade.

It is time we developed not only a political but an economic Federation as well. It is time to stop jumping about the Territories trying to find out who has the best favour in The West Indies or whose pound of flesh is worth more. What we want in The West Indies, if the Federation is to last in order to convince the people of The West Indies who are making sacrifices by their taxes, of the future of the Federation, is that we in this House, irrespective of what Unit leaders say, should begin to think of proving to the world that we can make this Federation last.

**Hon. Member :** Tell Busta.

**Mr. W. B. Williams :** I am telling everybody. I have committed myself to this Federation and we are all here to work as a team for the success of the Federation.

**Hon. Member :** What about Busta? He's on the team?

**Mr. W. B. Williams :** He is our leader and he fought for everything. All responsibility has been placed in our hands and we must convince the people because the life of our Federation is comparatively short when compared with the life of the other Federations of the world.

I am not afraid of my leader. He has done much for Jamaica and the other leaders to seek their islands' interest. You, Mr. Minister of Finance, said on one occasion in this House that you would die before seeing anything done to affect the interests of St. Kitts. It is incumbent on us here to satisfy our leaders in order that we can provide for the generations born and even those yet unborn. — [*Interruption*]

Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Finance who holds the financial purse of the Federation is bothering me. If he would keep quiet I would be able to give him some hints as to how to increase the revenue of the Federation or to assist him to spend his funds wisely. But instead of doing that he is depriving this Opposition, Her Majesty's Opposition, in his capacity as Leader of the House, from having proper meetings of the House, of having proper meetings he finds himself, like the other day, in St. Kitts and Montserrat to fight elections for his Party and as a result we lost a wonderful opportunity to show the Commonwealth Parliamentary people what the West Indian people can do. However, time will deal with him in the proper place.

While we are discussing trade, between the islands, which is a good thing, I think the primary thing needed to build West Indian economy is not so much the establishment of trade relations between the islands since the crops grown in the islands are similar; what is really vital to West

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[Mr. W. B. WILLIAMS]

Indian economy is to get specific industries into The West Indies and to prepare proper marketing facilities. Remember, the time will come in this House when we are going to be confronted with something that is now running Trinidad and Jamaica from the Federation — the need for something to compensate these Territories for the revenues they will be losing through Federation. Believe that! The Premier of Jamaica came back home and said recently that £5,000,000 will be the total of Jamaica's loss because of Customs Union. With what are you going to compensate Jamaica for that loss in revenue?

**Hon. Member :** Speak on the Motion.

**Mr. W. B. Williams :** Mr. Speaker, I hope that in trying to bring our culture together we would be able to get better communications between the islands and cheaper fares for the people of The West Indies. As I understand it, a Working Party is meeting now and I hope they will be able to prepare a proper document for the people of The West Indies Federation in this respect.

**Mr. Wall (Montserrat) :** Mr. Speaker, I rise to make my maiden speech before the Members of Government and the Opposition of this House. I crave your indulgence, Sir, to say how honoured I feel to be here under your guidance from the Chair. I also feel very proud to be led by the hon. the Prime Minister. I have known him for many years and have served with him on many commissions and I am pleased to see, also in front of me, a former colleague of the former Federation of the Leeward Islands on the Legislature of which I served as a representative in Antigua. I am speaking of the Minister of

Finance who has made a statue for himself of statesmanship in this area.

**Mr. Joseph :** A wax statue or a statue of stone?

**Mr. Wall :** I think that this is an excellent Motion brought forward by Members on the opposite side. I appreciate the manner in which the Seconder made his discourse on culture.

Mr. Speaker, trade is the fundamental basis on which these islands can build their economies and relations. In my experience I have often thought of our loss of profit and trade because of the lack of proper marketing facilities in the places to which we send our products. Furthermore, I feel that this Select Committee could be very useful in making recommendations whereby we could have a proper marketing organisation for receiving goods in The West Indies.

I want to make it clear that we in the little Unit of Montserrat which I have with pride come to represent in this House, have had our experiences in marketing our products. It has never been our trouble to grow our crops. The problem has always been to get them properly marketed. Until we get that system established in the biggest units, the smaller units will never get themselves on a proper economic basis.

There is also concern for trade about which so many people know so much and which is called the "huckster trade", in the Windward and Leeward Islands. This is an important trade because a great number of travellers go out of the Windward and Leeward Islands. There is a continuous flow to and from Grenada, Dominica and St. Vincent to Barbados and there is also movement in the Leeward Islands.

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Now the Federal Steamship Service, which we know was established for that purpose has been very useful, but it has also been necessary to get as much inter-island trade as possible at other times. I am very proud to tell Members today that my company has a ship, which is regarded as the complementary ship to the Federal Service, which is doing its duty in the huckster trade throughout the Islands.

Now, Sir, I would like to mention the fact that when we come to culture, we must never cease working, because if any places are to be judged by their standards, it is surely by their cultural standards. We have a good educational system throughout The West Indies and it is gradually being built up. We have our elementary and secondary schools and our great institution, which is making a name for itself, the University College of The West Indies.

I will be very pleased to say to those Members who think that Montserrat is a small place and very insignificant, that we are very proud to say we have had a Compulsory Education Act for forty years and the attendance of young people is 90 to 92 per cent of the young children population. I do not think the bigger places can boast of a Compulsory Education Act, much less of such an attendance.

While that is good, we feel that we have a duty here in the Federation to perform and it is this: that the Education system we have must also combine a system whereby we train the young people of the Federation for the life that is going to be most suited to the economy of The West Indies. Too often I think that is forgotten. Therefore, I am really supporting this Resolution whole-heartedly hoping that we

are going to produce new ideas and set into being the necessary facilities and services that will improve this Federation.

Now there is one thing I would like to say about culture and it is this, Mr. Speaker: the Federation has been brought into being by whom? By ourselves. Who is to take care that it is not torn to pieces? Are we going to maintain the respect of the people of the outside world? We shall realise that only by unity; we shall achieve our purpose by not tearing each other to pieces.

Now, Sir, when we hear statements being made by statesmen or politicians in various units, to the effect that some of them do not think the Federation is going to last, one is taken aback and one is aghast, because if our leaders do not themselves set the example, and if they do not themselves witness the disadvantages that now exist and correct them and strengthen the Federation, we can achieve nothing. We become the laughing stock of the world. I am going to say right here and now that if we are to lay the blame on Colonialism or any other ism, we will get no where. Every man and woman must endeavour to work, because there are a great number of people in this Federation who are just bystanders, who are just like ostriches with their heads in the sand.

I think the time has come when every leader and every man who holds himself up as a true torch-bearer for the Federation must get up and say, "Get your heads out of the sand and those of you who are just standing by get up and get to work". This is our Federation. We in The West Indies alone must get it to work; we alone are going to command the respect of the outside world. I would like to say this, that

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[MR. WALL]

we have a great motto for this Federation, "To dwell together in unity". Words are one thing but I say "By Almighty God let us have action".

**The Minister of Labour and Social Affairs (Mrs. Alfrey):** Mr. Speaker, I am supporting this very worthy, reasonable and somewhat amusingly-proposed Resolution by the Member for St. Elizabeth. When I first read it and saw the juxtaposition of culture and trade, or "trade and culture" as it is put on the Order Paper, I could not help thinking that those were rather extraordinary bed-fellows or cabin-mates.

Culture is a very terrifying word; in fact we may ask ourselves what the word "culture" means — and it irritates some people very much to hear that word; for instance, Hitler used it so often that another politician of a slightly higher calibre used to say "Whenever I hear the word *culture* I reach for my revolver." [Laughter] I know this word "culture" irritates some people, and that is why I give this little preamble. I know it irritates them right now. After all, penicillin is a form of culture and so is a poisonous fungus. And what does the word "culture" mean? Is it something applied or something which naturally evolves? I am going to accept the word as implying a traditional cultivation of our own innermost talents, and I do believe that the proposer intended something like that when he moved this very healthy Resolution.

**Mr. Densham:** Yes.

**Mrs. Alfrey:** Now, Sir, all the speeches I have heard — and unfortunately I had to take a telephone call from Dominica and left the room when one of our speakers was

talking — in all those speeches, I heard far more talk of politics and industry and trade, and even of poverty, than I did about culture in its true sense.

Our ingenuity in The West Indies in regard to culture, our main *genius* lies in taking over qualities inherited from the four corners of the globe and subjecting them to our scrutiny, to our rhythm and other influences, until they become entirely and originally our own.

The Mover of the Resolution very wisely pointed out that he didn't know until recently — he was a bit taken away from his theme — that there is a fringe of poverty still existing in some of the Islands. Nobody will deny this. The Member for Clarendon also spoke of poverty once in a while. Of course, he was quite right about one thing: culture does not flourish on empty stomachs. But let us remember also that politics is an even stranger cabin-mate for culture than trade is. I don't think we should wander too much into politics when considering this matter of purely cultural and industrial import.

In The West Indies, we islanders are cultural individualists. Forgive me for confining my few remarks to culture, because it is a subject I understand more than trade. We have, for example, our poets — some Member mentioned poetry. From the great country of France, as well as from England, has come a language in which certain of the best West Indian poets have written. There was a man named Daniel Thaly, born in the then British West Indies, a poet who wrote in French and was famous in France. Walcott comes from St. Lucia, which like Dominica is a patois-French-speaking land. Let us not sweep aside the influences which have created our



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art and the traditions that have gone on for centuries.

Art is thriving in Jamaica and in Trinidad, literally thriving. It has become "snob value" now to buy paintings in Trinidad. Art is definitely popular, and so is music. Our music lies not in serious composition, but in song and in dancing. Beryl McBurnie has been described to me by a distinguished Canadian as the best West Indian ambassador ever to have gone to Canada.

There is also our great natural gift of writing. New books are coming out by West Indian writers overseas and by West Indian writers at home. We have the spontaneous gift of words, though it is sometimes debased in the House of Representatives.

Now, when the Mover of this Resolution, the Member for St. Elizabeth, spoke about an "uncle complex", I assumed he was referring to trade, and thought he meant "uncle" in the sense of a pawnbroker, because I have always been led to understand that this is the synonym for pawnbroker.

**Mr. Cargill :** Uncle Tom.

**Mrs. Allfrey :** Well, as a small islander, I am not in a position to be patronising. I don't even belong to the circle of the best people, because I do not go fishing. The Mover made a very interesting suggestion about a framework for houses, and wandered all over the range of Ministries, from Agriculture to Communications. Nevertheless, in his wanderings he showed what he really wanted to effect. He wanted to effect a journey in time and space from one Island to another and an accumulation of ideas and achievements, whether they be

of trade (of which I know so little) or of learning, of which I only have a crumb or two. Nevertheless, I commend the Mover of this Resolution, and though it is a fact that if trade and culture are coupled together one is the loser, just the same as if culture and politics come together one is also the loser, I think that we can really and truly say that we are glad the Mover has brought the Resolution, and from my side of the House we support it wholeheartedly. Thank you.

**Mr. Densham :** Mr. Speaker, before I answer the hon. Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, I crave the indulgence of the House to compliment the hon. Member for Montserrat for what all of us on this side of the House thought was a most worthy maiden speech. May we have many more of them.

Referring to the Debate, I can take a point from my opposite number who said that West Indian culture consists of gathering different forms of culture from the ends of the world. I thoroughly agree with her there but I would like the House to realise that gathering those cultures and forming our own, entails certain critical faculties. I think one of the most important faculties that we have to create in The West Indies, where we are too easily pleased, is to develop this critical faculty. I think it is going to be a great advantage to The West Indies. I am thoroughly in agreement with other remarks. I feel that we have got a culture and a trade, and by means of those two we can gradually get the islands closer together. If I may say so, I thank the hon. Minister for her assurance that the Motion will be favourably received. Thank you.

*Question put and agreed to.*

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4.00 p.m.

### WEST INDIANS ABROAD

#### Minister's "Imputation of Laziness"

Order read for the following Motion:

"BE IT RESOLVED that this House deplores a statement made by a Minister without portfolio in another Place imputing laziness to labourers from the territories of the Federal West Indies who go abroad in search of work and requests the Federal Government to repudiate this stigma on the West Indian labourer and to call upon the Minister for a public withdrawal of these obnoxious observations."— [MR. JOSEPH]

**Mr. Joseph** (Naparima, Trinidad): Mr. Speaker, there are two Members on the other side of the House who would like to speak on the Motion which the Member for Surrey is to propose and which comes after my Motion. They are unable to remain until after my Motion has been debated and they have asked me to have my Motion deferred. I would like to accommodate those two Members, so I am now asking formally that my Motion be deferred.

**Mr. Speaker**: The hon. Member would like to have his Motion deferred. Is the House agreeable to that?

*Assent indicated.*

### SHOOTINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Order read for the following Motion:

"BE IT RESOLVED that this House records its horror and the justifiable anger of the West Indian peoples at the tragic shootings in South Africa and expresses its sympathy with the bereaved relatives of those who lost their lives in this most regrettable incident."— [MR. HILL]

**Mr. Hill** (Surrey, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, the Motion which I have the honour to propose speaks for itself. I believe that hon. Members would have sanctioned

and indeed welcomed an emergency sitting of this hon. House so that we (on both sides) could have expressed our convictions and our strong views and opinions in this matter, when the subject was most topical throughout the entire civilised world.

We here in this little corner of the universe have very little natural resources. We are not bountifully blessed with those materials which go to make up vast enterprises and vast major industries. But in addition to abundant sunshine and the natural assets of scenic beauty, The West Indies, without boasting, have been able to point, with justifiable pride, to the fact that we have a multi-racial society which can be a lesson to the rest of mankind, and for this reason more than any other perhaps, in a world disturbed by tensions, crises and problems beyond our competence and abilities to solve, we, for this very reason of our example of a multi-racial society, were more than outraged by the culmination of a racial policy which, fortunately, has received condemnation throughout the world.

We bring this Motion, and I believe that it is in the same spirit that this House will endorse it, not out of a spirit of rancour or recrimination looking back in perspective, however tragic, however unfortunate, but because we wish to lend our voices and to record our participation in the resolution of the civilized world and the determination of civilized peoples to bring to an end a racial policy which can only have disastrous effects upon the history of mankind. For it would be one of the greatest tragedies of the human race if, unfortunately, the world should be divided, not only by conflicting political ideologies and conflicting

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economic ideas, but it would be one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the human race, if the world were to be divided on the grounds of race, as a precedent to the embarking upon armed hostilities.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we could take pride, not only in the fact of the example which we have set as a multi-racial society in the West Indies, but also in the fact that our voices are now being followed, our example is now being sought after, being held up to the world and being followed by nations, by Governments and the peoples who, but yesterday, had ignored, in international organizations and agencies, the call for condemnation of the racial policy in South Africa, that has aroused so much indignation and caused so much in the free society to which we belong.

I believe that there can be no controversy, there can be no division of opinion in so far as this hon. House of Representatives is concerned. I believe that our people in this region, whatever their racial origins may be, are bound together by a common respect of the rights of all races and of all peoples of every colour and every creed to enjoy equality before the Law; and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I regard it as a duty, not pleasurable, but a duty born out of a sense of responsibility to this Federation—on behalf of the Opposition—to propose the adoption of this Motion which I shall move in an amended or modified form, for the reason that before notice of this Motion reached the appropriate authority entrusted with the responsibility of presiding over our Parliament, the Federal Government had energetically and promptly despatched a telegram of protest concerning the very subject-matter and

expressing, formally and in similar terms, its condemnation of the serious tragic events which had transpired in South Africa.

I would only add, Mr. Speaker, that it is the wish of the Opposition that, in all matters of equal or similar importance, the Federal Government will be equally conscious of its responsibility to the Federation and be motivated by a similar rate of speed and alacrity.

Mr. Speaker, may I read the amended form with your permission? It says:

"BE IT RESOLVED that this House records its horror and the justifiable anger of the West Indian peoples at the tragic events in South Africa and expresses its sympathy with the relatives of those who have suffered and endorses the prompt action taken by the Government in having forwarded the following protest to the Secretary of State:

"This Government views with profound disgust and horror the tragic occurrences in South Africa resulting in the callous treatment and loss of life of Africans in their homeland, and requests Her Majesty's Government to make formal protest on behalf of the West Indian Governments and people."

Mr. Cooke (St. James, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I have very great pleasure in seconding that Amendment. I too want, at this stage, to congratulate the Government for moving with some expedition. I come from a community where we feel very strongly about any sort of racial discrimination. I am very proud today, as I stand here and examine this House to see that here we have a people well integrated, and despite the fact that sometimes we differ in expressions and ideology, and in the way of life, we are all bound in the bundle of life.

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[MR. COOKE]

In the community from which I come, we have had many protest meetings. I have had the duty to speak at these meetings, and when I speak here I am representing the views of the people there.

We have seen the manifestation of ungodliness in this apartheid in South Africa. We see that this manifestation culminated in the massacre of people, some of whom come from the racial group to which I belong. If I were to express feelingly what I dislike about the situation there, I am sure that Members here would sympathise with me. But let me say this: in as much as the Government here have taken prompt action and in as much as they have spoken for all of us I am satisfied; but let me say—and I want to speak strongly—that unless the people of the world realise that this sort of wickedness and anti-social conduct ceases, unless those people who think they are strong because they possess financial strength and arms and because they think they can hold down people by power, unless they realise that the day is coming when the strong will destroy each other and the weak shall inherit the earth, unless they realise that, then their doom shall come sooner than they think. In South Africa, I am told, eleven million peoples are denied the privilege of freedom in legislation. I am told that they are denied the freedom of education. I am told that our people there are living in squalor and conditions not fit for human beings. That is a pity. It is a great pity that at this civilised time in our history there are so many people who feel that they must exploit. It is a great pity that there is still a group in the world which feels that one set of people belongs to a certain racial group that must always be hewers of wood and drawers of

water. We look on their action with disgust. Mr. Speaker, we haven't got arms and I don't believe in achieving social equality by force. I do not believe that I should have to go out there and fight but let me say this: we are a multi-racial group in the West Indies and have shown that despite differences in racial origin and differences in ideology we are living peacefully together. Let me say this: that this is the surest way of teaching the world to live together. I am very happy that today we are living happily together here but if we are content to stand by and not raise our voices in protest against the action of the minority group in South Africa, then we would have failed in our duty. I know that there is a tendency in the world for people to be pragmatic and there is a tendency for people to accept what works and they say that what works is right. "What works is right" led to Communism. I warn the people and I am warning them now as a prophet . . .

**Mr. Rocheford:** Which one? Moses or Elijah?

**Mr. Cooke:** The time is going to come when the coloured peoples of the world will realise that there is a place for them in the sun and I predict that whereas some other groups have not been tolerant we will show that we possess not only the strength of character to do right but we shall do right when the time comes because then we will be masters of the world. I warn the people of South Africa as a voice in the wilderness that the time has come for them to do good by those eleven million people who are living in squalor and degradation, denied education, denied the social privileges and social amenities,

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denied freedom. I warn them that the hand of God shall rise up and those people shall be free. And so when I speak here today I regret that there are some communities in the world where people have not yet learned that when God made this beautiful world with the trees and the birds and the fruits, he made enough for all people to live together in equality, not necessarily equality in intellectual attainment, not necessarily equality in worldly goods but there is no reason at all why we, the people of the world, should not live together in that peace and equality and unity which God intended.

**Mr. Joseph :** Amen.

**Mr. Cooke :** And so, it is our job here, even in our Parliament to wear away and to break down prejudices. I know that many people will say that we inherit no global Utopia, make no pretence at all that it is possible for everybody to live in affluence and plenty but this I say, that God has placed a world in which it is possible for men to have more of what he has provided for us. Consequently I trust that as a Federation which is growing stronger and stronger from day to day — despite what some people say elsewhere — let me say that we will only create a solid Federation if we realise our responsibility to help all these people to live together in unity.

I join with those who protest against those people who ill-treat the weak. I join with those people who would help the weak, to be strong so that all peoples may inherit the earth.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Government, we wish to accept the amendment moved and we trust that not only those of

us here, but all peoples throughout the West Indies will realise that we think with the people of South Africa, we feel with them and we know that our dream of freedom will be in the near future.

*Sitting suspended from 4.25 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.*

*On resumption*

**Mr. Gomes :** Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that hon. Members on both sides will welcome the situation this Motion has produced. I am very happy, Sir, that there has been a compromise between the Government and the Opposition on this matter, and I hope that it will not be necessary to take a vote on this matter, but that we will show our approval by acclamation. This is a Motion that transcends all party considerations, and it is absolutely essential that there should be unanimity in support of it.

Having said that, Mr. Speaker, let me say that I believe that a mere pious expression of disapproval of the policy of the South African Government, and of recent incidents in that country, will not suffice. I appreciate the considerations that are responsible for the rather moderate tones of the Resolution; I fully approve of them; but recently we have had all the evidence we need that those persons who comprise the Government of South Africa at the moment are adamant in their determination to pursue the policy upon which they have embarked. It is quite obvious from all the reports of the recent Prime Ministers' Conference in London that the South African Government are almost self-righteous in their assumption that they have every reason and every right in the world to do what they are doing.

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[MR. GOMES]

In the context of a debate of this nature mention must be made of the measures that ought to be taken by those nations of the free world that view with abhorrence and with disgust this policy of discrimination, to make South Africa realise that in the world in which we live today there is no place for any nation who violates some of the principles that have come to be enshrined in the policies of all free people; and that if they continue with their policy they must face the dire consequences of their deeds.

I have written and spoken on this subject in the past and I feel that I ought to express once again a view which I have expressed often concerning this matter. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that one of the most important methods to be adopted in order to bring the Government of South Africa to a realisation that they are courting disaster, is by giving support everywhere and by everyone to the boycott of South African goods which has been instituted by a few brave souls — thank God there are still many of them in this world of ours — in London. They are pioneers, and we, all of us, ought to feel extremely happy with the example that they have set and the lead that they have given to the world which has evoked wide-spread and spontaneous support from decent people everywhere.

South Africa is a fascist state of the worst kind and type that it is possible for anyone to imagine. What we are discussing today is a country that has become a warped and grisly anachronism in a world which, despite all the problems that it faces today, is at least striving to carry mankind to some sort of semblance of decency in whatever future lies ahead, and trying to

afford him all that is necessary to avoid some of the dangers that hang over him at the present moment.

What can we say of a country in which, not only are people punished because of their race or the colour of their skins, but those who dare to raise their voices in defence of the victims, irrespective of the race to which they belong, are themselves accorded similar treatment — and I must refer, Mr. Speaker, to the case of that very heroic English woman Miss Hanna Stanton, one of those great characters that make England great, irrespective of whether she ceases to compete as she did once with the other nations of the world in terms of nuclear weapons and armaments of war. So long as these virtues remain there would be greatness in that nation, and this is an example of that greatness. This English woman went to South Africa to do social work of a rather different character among the very people who are being persecuted by the South African Government. What has happened to her? She has disappeared because she dared to raise her voice in protest against the iniquities and obscenities being committed by the government. And another extraordinary aspect of the legal system of this completely lunatic and diseased country is that no one even dare raise a voice, no one dare even ask where Miss Stanton is, because that type of question renders one liable to punishment under the rather twisted and pathological system of these insane people.

Let me say that I admire most profoundly the attitude of humility and forbearance in the face of this evil. It is a marvellous thing to be able to resist evil, but I am afraid there is just that amount of sophisticated realism in me that inclines

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me to the view that when you are dealing with a particular type of animal unless your methods are firm and strong and occasionally punitive you will not get the results that you are after. I would be the last one to introduce an element of rancour or any sort of atmosphere that could be regarded as obstructive of the smooth passage of this Resolution, but I feel myself bound to make these particular statements. I realise that in the case of Governments there are certain considerations that must weigh with them which would not occur to the ordinary citizen; and I want very much to respect these considerations. I want to place them in their proper perspective, and their proper context, in a debate of this character. Yet this distinction must be made. Government support of the boycott is very different from government itself imposing the boycott. It is a distinction that has not been sufficiently made.

I should like all Members of this House, on both sides, to express their support of the boycott, because I believe it to be perhaps the only means by which it will be possible to bring home to South Africa the absolute disgust and revulsion of all decent and civilized people at their policy of racial discrimination, and their complete disregard of elementary human rights.

Perhaps I ought to end on this note, for which I must thank one of my very good Friends on this side of the Table: "Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad". Let us hope that we will see in the case of South Africa a most picturesque and dramatic fulfilment of this omen.

**Dr. Radix (Grenada):** Mr. Speaker, I think that my contribution to this Motion will take quite a different tone from what

I have heard. I for one believe that what has happened in South Africa can, to a great measure, be placed at the foot of the British Government. The British Government knew all along the facts; they saw the boiling volcano, and they did nothing about it.

Immediately after the Boer War, as you would remember, the Boers were granted their independence within six years after the British tasted the Boer guns. And what did they do? They gave them independence and in doing so placed the natives of South Africa at the mercy of their white enemies. And for good measure they gave the South Africans something like three million pounds which they said was for compensation. We had the same thing here in the West Indies around 1834 when slavery was abolished: the slavemasters were paid in compensation something like twenty million pounds while the slaves in rags were not given a single penny.

Mr. Speaker, the Negroes as an exploited race have never had any compensation paid to them whether it is in South Africa, in the West Indies or the United States. We have always had the dirty end of the stick and that is well known. I ask this question, Mr. Speaker: can South Africa remain unchanged in the face of the world when all else changes? In 1935 when Mussolini went to Abyssinia and we had the Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin Government, what happened? We know that they did nothing while the Negroes were being slaughtered in Abyssinia. Today we have the same parallel. Mr. Macmillan's Government stands and does nothing, while negroes are being slaughtered in South Africa. It is known that the League of Nations then, as its counterpart today, the

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Security Council, did nothing; the Security Council does nothing today.

The South African Government makes it known that what happened in South Africa is the business of South Africans. It is their private and internal business and we hear that Prime Minister Macmillan agrees with that statement.

I have spoken of what happened in Abyssinia and we know that Mussolini is dead and he is in hell. We know where he is — [Laughter] — there is no doubt about that and there is no doubt that Haile Selassie is right back on his throne.

Mr. Speaker, not so long ago there was much talk about the case of Caryl Chessman in the United States and we heard of protests and petitions from everywhere, even from Queens. Have we heard of any such protests from those people who made the protests and made the petitions for Caryl Chessman? Have those people made any protest about what has happened in South Africa? The answer is, no. Mr. Speaker, it is known that we had a big demonstration in Grenada and that we strongly protested against the happenings in South Africa and today I am happy to join here in protesting against the action of the South African Government feeling assured that some day my people will be free, everywhere in the world.

**Mr. Richards (Minister without Portfolio):** I would like to contribute a few words to the expressions on this Motion. We in the West Indies have a great tradition of racial tolerance. Colour of the skin is anathema to us. I, for my part, Sir, respect a man for his ability, his intelligence and his integrity, not for his colour. I think that goes for all West Indians. If I

have to use a cliché, Sir, I believe in the human race. Not long ago a great neighbour of ours — the United States of America, by legislation, removed by law a serious blot which really tarnished the reputation of that democratic nation. The question of equal but separate no longer exists as far as the Government of the United States of America is concerned, and it is an awful condition that the Government of South Africa can find it possible to go to the extreme. It is said, Sir, that all men are equal under the law. I think it was George Orwell who said: "Some are more equal". If I add to that I would say that the South African whites are all equal under the law but the natives are equal in their inequality to the whites.

5.30 p.m.

In the past fifty years every African state had been under the rule or protection of some European country. Today a different picture obtains. We have within the past years seen several independent African states and if you grant me the indulgence, Sir, I would like to just name a few of these states and the native population that exists in Africa. Lybia 1½ million people truly Arab but of African descent; Arabia 17,000,000 natives; Sudan 11,000,000; Morocco 10,000,000; Tunisia 4,000,000; Egypt 23,000,000; Ghana 5,000,000; and Somaliland, which will soon be independent, 1,000,000. Nigeria in a very short time will be independent too, 35,000,000; Swaziland 2,000,000; Belgian Congo 14,000,000. All these, Mr. Speaker, are native Africans. We have over 200,000,000 native Africans who will in a short time be free. It is inconceivable, Sir, that 3,000,000 whites in South Africa will be able to stand up to the force of



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200,000,000 joined together in one triumphant march to bring freedom to the fatherland.

I can see, Sir, the poniard of freedom ripping to shreds, the bloated bellies of apartheid. But freedom is not easily won. Most people who are free to-day have had to shed their blood for it and those men and women in South Africa who have perished within the past months would not have perished in vain if their suffering could mean the coming together of the peoples of Africa. We support the cause of the South African natives and I think, Sir, that what has happened there might be a blessing in disguise because the consciences of the world have now been awakened. For instance, all that has happened in South Africa has been aired in the United Nations; even in the Parliament of Great Britain strong condemnation of the South African Government's policies has been voiced.

For, how can a man die better  
Than facing fearful odds  
For the ashes of his fathers  
And the temples of his Gods?

**Mr. W. B. Williams :** Mr. Speaker, in making my contribution to this debate, I must as a Member of this hon. House congratulate the students of this nation, the students of the University College of the West Indies on their stand on the South African question. We saw in Kingston the other day the very backbone of the Federation, these students, marching in full force headed by the Vice-Principal of the University College of the West Indies, with their banners and placards waving their protest against South Africa.

It reminded me of somewhere in South America where I once saw University

students take the forefront as the men and women of tomorrow and showed dissatisfaction about various matters. I am extremely proud of our West Indian students and I wish here for the records of this House to express my sincere appreciation of the manner in which they came forward in the cause of their brothers and sisters in South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, this West Indian Parliament, if properly run and which we hope will be properly run, is the gateway of a nation of coloured people who will set the pace for the historians of tomorrow to write. In close proximity to The West Indies are millions of coloured people partially suppressed as South Africans are, who one day will get the spirit, wisdom and courage to join that strong arm which may be led by a West Indian people to join with their comrades in the Far East to free their brothers — the coloured people of America.

Last year I came here with a Motion asking for Afro-West Indian ties. The Member for St. James said he is a prophet but I shall be the second prophet here in this House today. I wish to warn those people of the world that we are marching on to nationhood.

As our culture advances and our people march forward towards nationhood — I read some time ago in the *Gleaner* that the Colonial Office will soon go — with independence throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth, the note throughout will be man for his ownself and equality of all.

I have risen on this floor this afternoon to condemn the expression of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd with regard to non-intervention by

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the United Nations on the question when it was raised at the United Nations Assembly in America. From what he said, I can only see he is trying to divide the Commonwealth into fractions. I can only hope that others who will follow him in office in the future will respect all other nations and that those within the Commonwealth who are now marching forward would believe in their respective nations and freedom and equality of all men.

I must congratulate the Minister, who spoke a while ago, on his foresightedness in bringing before this hon. House the figures of the great populations of the countries of Africa. One has just got to take up an atlas and look at the position of South Africa to see where they stand. To-day the people of Africa are realising that they must fight as one people for one common cause — freedom and liberty for all. I shall be a happy man when those people who are of the older kind, and who have not got the dynamic temperament in them to go forward for freedom, shall have gone from this world, and the younger ones like myself take up the cudgel and fight in the army going forward in the cause of our less fortunate brothers in the world.

Let us pray, Mr. Speaker, that the peoples of Africa will get together to fight these wicked acts of the South African Government.

**Mr. Carrott (Antigua):** Mr. Speaker, it is good to see that some people in the West Indies are interested in African affairs, because it is not all the people in the West Indies who are interested in it. I have watched this situation with interest until

it climaxed some weeks ago. Some of us who watched it took hope when the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. MacMillan addressed the South African Parliament. I think that Mr. MacMillan took the courage of his convictions when he said that 'the wind of change was blowing in Africa'. It was a very bold statement and I think that it was about that time that the African people began to have hope and took courage in themselves.

At that time, Mr. MacMillan, I think, was trying to undo the wrongs that were committed on the natives of South Africa. In 1909 the British people gave sovereignty to the Boers. They were wrong, because if democracy which all of us regard as being so pure, holds that the minority should never rule the majority, there was no question as to the justification of the British people giving sovereignty to the Boers then. I therefore think that Mr. MacMillan spoke at the right time and when he did so he was only undoing the ugliness that in the past the British had committed on the Africans.

When it comes to the question raised in the Security Council of the United Nations, some of us are aware that when there was abstention by Britain and France they could not have done any better because France had her troubles in Algiers and Britain had her difficulties in Africa where she still had many colonies under colonialism. That, I think, is the reason for this abstention.

I think that coming here in this House and making speeches is not going to end the atrocities taking place in South Africa. It is only a question of time and, as I watch the pattern of the Commonwealth Imperial

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Club, as I have been for sometime now, I see there is a complete change. I think that at the next Commonwealth Ministers Conference in Britain or elsewhere it will be a different picture. Nigeria will be there and I hope The West Indies will be in the club too. The South African question will be looked after then, I hope. But, one should go further now. The matter should be discussed on the floor of the United Nations Assembly.

There are people in The West Indies — and among those of our pigmentation, too — who, when it comes to the African question, would rather die than hear the question discussed. If we are not careful in The West Indies, we are going to be in a worse stage than South Africa. That is the very reason why, in Central Africa, Dr. Banda and his colleagues are sticking out.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the British people will pay cognizance to the wishes of Dr. Banda and his colleagues, or the same things will surely happen in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is my duty and pleasure to support this Motion.

Before I take my seat let me say this: it is nothing but fear that is operating in the minds of the Government in South Africa — three and one-half million whites as against 11 million natives etc. The Indians are in it too.

**Mr. Sinanan:** They are getting the worst of it.

**Mr. Carrott:** I hope and trust that we in the West Indies will give our moral support.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** Financial support too.

**Mr. Carrott:** Financial support, if it is necessary. I hope we will give our sup-

port in all ways that are helpful to the Africans.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** And if necessary, physical support.

**Mr. Carrott:** Mr. Speaker, I repeat that the matter should be taken up on the floor of the United Nations. I think the Prime Minister of Ghana has hinted it quite recently. That is why I said that it was only a matter of time, and when Nigeria and the West Indies become members of the United Nations the question of South Africa would be properly looked after.

**Mr. Gibbs (Grenada).** Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak a few words. I have the greatest pleasure in supporting this Motion, but before doing so I would like to give a word of advice to this hon. House. It is an old adage that action speaks louder than words. I have heard some very fine speeches; I have heard from hon. Members very eloquently-spoken words. But that alone will not do. A Member of the Opposition says we must show positive action, that is to say, let us work together, let us move together to show the white Africans our abhorrence of their actions and the effect on people like ourselves.

I think this is the most fundamental matter that could face us. In Grenada we had a monster demonstration in protest against the horrible actions of the South Africans and we have given the merchants there an ultimatum telling them that they must try to dispose of whatever South Africans goods are in their possession before the end of June, and that after that we are going to boycott all goods from South Africa. That is the only thing that can make the South African feel that we

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are in sympathy with what is happening there. I think that is the attitude that this House must adopt.

Let us march together and let us make the White South Africans feel that the unfortunate people there have the sympathy of this part of the world. Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Bousquet** (St. Lucia): **Mr. Speaker**, if these few words which I am about to say prove most discursive it is because I am one who has on several occasions been to the Union of South Africa, and one who has had first-hand experience of what is happening there.

Having said so, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the previous speakers in condemning the action of the undemocratic Government of South Africa where the policy of apartheid dies hard, where the so-called master-race subjects the indigenous people to all sorts of wickedness and to a state of squalor and venery, and now to plain cold-blooded murder.

I think it was an error on the part of the Government at Westminster to have granted South Africa independence — by South Africa I mean the minority racial group of South Africa who rule over the majority with no safeguards whatever for the majority. Be that as it may, the undemocratic Government of South Africa instituted a policy of divide and rule.

They segregated the majority into three sections of communities, the African, the Indian and the coloured. Then they began to subject these people to all sorts of indignities. The Bantu, which is a disparaging name for the African, has been the main sufferer. All sorts of segregations are directed against him. A coloured doctor may

not attend to a white patient. A coloured sergeant in the Police Force has to salute a white private. A coloured Minister may not preach to a white congregation.

**Mr. Bradshaw** : Parson, please.

**Mr. Bousquet** : A coloured, cultured professor may not sit in the same Park as a bulbous-nose, sore-footed white man. A coloured lawyer may not defend a client before the Court. There is segregation in Churches. So far as South African whites are concerned there are two Gods, a God for the white man and a God for the black. Perhaps there are four; perhaps there is also one for the Indian and one for the coloured. There is segregation in schools. A coloured child may not attend the same school as a white child. The University of Witwatersrand, which once operated under a policy which they called separate but equal, now closes its doors to coloured students.

There is segregation in buses. Coloured people have to climb up the steps and sit at the top of the bus and white people sit below. In fact, there is a little rod and on entering the bus a coloured man only passes through on the left side of the rod, while the white man must pass to the right.

There is segregation on the elevators. In every big building into which one goes, one sees two elevators, one marked "Europeans Only" and the other "Natives Only". If perchance the elevator for whites were jam-packed and there were other white people who had not got into that elevator, they could go to the one marked "Natives Only" and the black people there would have to go out and let them come in. On the other hand, if the elevator for the blacks were jam-packed and the other one was going up

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or down empty, no coloured man would dare go by that white man's elevator.

That is the sort of thing that is happening in South Africa to a coloured person living there, and I use "coloured" in the very wide sense and not in the narrow sense in which the South African uses it. A coloured person living in the jungle may not have firearms to defend his person from the wild beasts of prey. If he is found with firearms, the penalty is death.

That Bantu may not buy liquor from any rum shop as a white man does, but the Government carries on a very thriving trade with them, by selling them, in markets run only by the Government, a kind of potent liquor made from the palm kernel and called palm wine. The Bantu provides a source of cheap labour. Under the flimsiest pretext he is arrested and herded into prison and forced to work on the roads in chain gangs or to work on other public projects on which the Government wants to spend little money.

This is the sort of thing that is happening in South Africa. The Bantu is a victim of the pass laws; he has to carry about his person several pass-books for which he has to pay. He has to carry a pass to say where and when he last worked; one to show that he has been submissive, or otherwise, to his employers; another permit to be outdoors in his compound after sunset; and still another to permit him (if he is a good boy), on a specified date and at a specified time to visit the city. There are passes and passes and passes. And remember he has to pay for all these passes from his meagre wages. He does not enjoy equal rights before the law.

Sometime last March in the township of Sharpeville a number of Africans feelings

that they could no longer endure the indignities imposed upon them by the murderers in South Africa, went toward the Police Station to protest against the iniquitous pass laws. Instead of parleying with them the Police opened fire at point-blank range. Those who did not fall turned to flee but they were shot in the back.

6.00 p.m.

Then there began in the whole of the dis-united Union of South Africa a campaign of oppression and suppression, a campaign of wilful murder unparalleled even in the darkest catalogues of human crimes. People in their thousands were sent into concentration camps and are still held there without, I hope I am pronouncing the word properly, *habeas corpus*. Children were beaten with bicycle chains and arrested. The African National Congress was proscribed and other African organisations disbanded. The victims of these atrocities are still held in concentration camps, and no one dares ask a question about them. The Bishop of Capetown who dared to open his mouth had to flee the country. Others have also fled.

The conscience of the civilized world received a sharper shock than had been administered to it even by the atrocities of Belsen and Buchanwald. The citizens of the civilized world protested against this inhuman treatment of human beings.

I am pleased to see, Mr. Speaker, that the Government of the Federated West Indies was one of the first, if not actually the first Government, to have protested against these human atrocities. Today this hon. House is being asked to endorse the action of the Federal Government and also to pro-

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test in its own right against those atrocities. I for one do so with alacrity.

Sir, quite recently there was held in London a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers and one of the leading Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth said that South Africa would not be treated as a prisoner at the bar or as a defendant, but that she would be treated as a member of a club who had spoken too loudly. The Communique issued after that Conference seemed to me to suggest that South Africa was indeed treated as a member who had spoken too loudly at the club instead of branded as a murderer and a highway-man who had committed fratricide and genocide.

The West Indies is now on the threshold of independence within the Commonwealth, and the thought that inevitably arises in our minds is whether we should find it fit to become a Member of a Commonwealth of which South Africa is a partner. This grave and serious consideration will certainly receive the scrutiny of those who have been entrusted to arrange the future status of our country, and I as a back-bencher, I'm not entitled to say a word on the matter. The least, however, that we can do is to take note of a Resolution passed by the Dominica Labour Party in which they offered asylum to a limited number of persecuted South Africans and to say to our respective Governments that it might be a good thing to emulate this Christian and kindly gesture.

So far as St. Lucia is concerned, so far as the party to which I have the honour to belong and the Government of St. Lucia, and the Trade Union of which I am the First Vice President, and the other Trade Unions are concerned, they have done their bit. We have demonstrated in our thous-

ands ; the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Trade Union have decided not to touch anything coming from South Africa and we have succeeded in persuading the merchants to remove from their shelves all goods which are of South African origin. The people of St. Lucia in their thousands have also agreed to boycott South African goods, and although the volume of business between St. Lucia and South Africa is but little, I feel that at least we in St. Lucia have contributed our widow's mite.

Sir, realising that tyranny anywhere is a threat to liberty everywhere, I spent five precious years of my youth fighting Hitler and all he stood for, and I am today prepared to spend what ever time is left to me in this world and to give up my life itself to bring about the downfall of that South African usurpation, that monstrous abortion of soul-destroying hatred that regime that is bastardised in blood. And so long as they carry out their present policy of racial oppression so long will this remain inly flexible resolve.

This is not a struggle between white and black ; this is a struggle of peoples and of causes, a struggle between darkness and light, between Christianity and barbarism, There are many who have done very much, who have rendered very valuable service in this struggle, but whose names would not be known ; for this is a struggle of the unknown struggler, but I can mention the names of illustrious men like the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, like Field Marshall Ayoub Khan of Pakistan, like Kwame Nkrumah, and like Tunku Abdul Rahaman of Malaya, who have shown in no uncertain manner that they are not prepared to tolerate this nonsense taking place in South Africa.

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The time has come when we in the West Indies must show that we are prepared to do everything in our power to liberate our brothers in South Africa. Because slavery anywhere is a threat to free men everywhere, and whether the oppressed people be Africans, Tibetans or Hungarians this fact remains unchallengeable. If we love freedom as we profess to do, we should stand by the oppressed people of South Africa and at the same time pray that the day will soon dawn when liberty, sweet liberty, will go to them as it must inevitably do to those who pin their faith in Almighty God.

**Archdeacon Lennon** (Middlesex, Jamaica): Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to prolong this debate on this Motion which is about to be passed unanimously. We have heard quite a lot ; our feelings are high, but, as has been said, let us prove our feelings by action. I am one of those who have done pioneer missionary work for thirty-six and one half years in Africa, and I know the treatment meted out to Africans, and about which I am not prepared to say very much here. But what I would say, Mr. Speaker, seeing that we all deplore and we are all going to vote unanimously for this Motion, is, let us put our feelings and our vote into action. It is all well to talk.

Years ago when Africa was in darkness and when people subscribed to its evangelization, the West Indies gave a wonderful contribution. Today many who were in darkness are emerging into light. We talk of Ghana, we talk of Nigeria, and we talk of many other places. Much has been done, not only by the British people, but also by West Indians ; and I think today if we want to show our feelings in this West Indian Parliament towards the people in South

Africa who are suffering and whom we have heard about, then let this Parliament do something tangible, let us give sums of money towards their freedom. I know you are going to say you have no money ; but we have the money, and if we have not got the money we have the will, and where there is a will there is a way.

It is all well to sit here and talk. We have been doing that for a long time ; but let us turn that talk into action. The evangelization of Africa, it is known, is coming about. Ghana is independent and others will soon be free of their shackles, for they are being made free by the subscriptions of poor people. I have been to England and other parts of Europe and I have seen what the poor people are doing by their contributions towards the evangelization of Africa in order that many of the poor sons and daughters in Africa can become doctors, lawyers, engineers and so on. Let us then, as Members of the Parliament, tax ourselves and give some sort of subscription so that the Federal Government may do something on behalf of those Africans ; and let us also vote unanimously and show how much we deplore the happenings in South Africa. It is action we need, not only words. Thank you.

**Mr. Mathura** (Caroni): Mr. Speaker, if this was a mere matter of measuring abilities I would have indeed considered myself as being presumptuous to undertake matching words or feelings with distinguished Members of this hon. House on a Motion of this sort. Yet, Sir, my one consolation is that the humblest citizen of this youthful and aspiring nation of ours, clad in the armour of a righteous cause is stronger than all men put together. And this Motion is a righteous cause. This Motion is not only a righteous

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cause but it is a cause as holy as the cause of liberty. This Motion is based on the touching question of suffering humanity. My one regret about this Motion is that it is being considered rather late in the West Indies by the highest political body in The West Indies. From every nook and cranny of the world men, women and children, through legislative assemblies, municipal bodies, social organizations, even religious organizations, His Holiness the Pope and other outstanding personalities have expressed their sentiments on this very important issue, and because of the irregular sitting of this House and because of the powers behind the West Indies Federation, only now, each and every Member of this House of Representatives is afforded the opportunity to express his sentiments on the situation.

It is true that the Government issued a Dispatch. This is not really a matter of individuals. This transcends party politics. I compliment the Mover of this Motion and I feel proud and happy to see that this is one instance in the short and inspiring life of this Federation that hon. Members on both sides of this distinguished House are joining hands and hearts in their expression of sympathy to the mass-murdering of human beings in another part of this world. The individual does not matter in this. An individual is an atom, so to speak. He is born, he acts and he dies; but principles are eternal and this is a matter of principle. This is a matter where in March this year over two hundred men, women and children were wiped off the face of the earth. The words "South Africa" taste bitter in my mouth. Ever since I was a boy, I read and heard of South Africa and what they give. We as a youthful nation

are adding our quota to the displeasure and distaste at the dastardly, cowardly, and most disgusting action by a Government in another part of the world associating themselves with a Commonwealth of which we boast to be a part and parcel.

Throughout the ages the masters of the past have taught us to live and to encourage human beings to live according to the teachings of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. May I enquire where this question of the texture of the skin of a man has come from? You have heard a very moving speech from the Member for St. Lucia, you have heard an extremely moving, short and precise talk by the hon. Archdeacon, and when I heard the hon. Archdeacon, I reflected my thoughts to four years ago when travelling with a coloured couple in the United States of America. Then I tasted my first and bitter experience of what racial discrimination is. But here is no place to express my feelings; the question is that this matter erupted the very foundations and very roots of the democracy that we boast about throughout the Commonwealth. But you have heard all the leaders of all the various nations of the world, from India, from Pakistan, from nook and cranny. You have seen marches, you have heard protests. What really made me worry was that from the very Colonial Office and the heart of the Commonwealth very little was heard.

Let me issue a challenge. We are going to be part of a Commonwealth. I am no Communist. Looking around this building we see that it is comfortable in atmospheric conditions, its painting and lighting effects, and it is fully representative of every race of this universe. This hon. House of Representatives could teach not only the world



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but the United Nations as well how to live. We could teach them the common understanding and appreciation of various questions confronting various races. We here in the West Indies boast of not having two types of peoples, the Eskimoes — and I believe that it is because it is too hot here — and the Russians, because I believe we don't like seeing red. The challenge that I am issuing to this West Indian nation is that I am not a Communist and I don't think in terms of Communism and I don't think I will ever think in terms of Communism; but the members of the Commonwealth of Nations and the leaders of the Commonwealth of Nations and those leaders throughout the world who boast of democracy should pull up their socks and tighten their belts and meet in secret conclave or otherwise and discuss this without sleeping at nights or even having their dinner or lunch during the day in order to solve the racial problem on the face of the earth today. If efforts are not made to solve this most outstanding problem, the time is not far distant when Communism will sweep the face of the earth, capitalising on the point that all races should be treated equally. That is the challenge left to this youthful nation. I am telling you; I am not asking you. It is raising its ugly head in every nook and cranny of this earth of ours.

Mr. Speaker, most of us believe in religion. Most of us are either Catholics, Anglicans, Seven Day Adventists, Baptists, Muslims and otherwise. Every man, woman, and child must believe in some faith and the teachings of the masters of the past have laid down certain principles for mankind, principles by which we live. We will progress and learn to understand

what is suffering humanity and why human beings were placed on the face of the earth. The white bearded Moses, leader of the Hebrews, carried one of the Commandments to his people on the face of the earth and he told them this: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour". Several centuries later what did we find? Confucius in China told his millions of followers: "Deal not unjustly with others and you shall not be dealt with unjustly". Gautama Buddha in India told his millions of followers: "Journey from place to place throughout the world, preach for the benefit of God and man out of compassion for the world". And even in the Arab world the holy prophet Mohammed said in his own simple way: "Do not do unto others what you would not like done unto yourself". And in Palestine, when it was part of the Roman Empire, a youthful Nazarene left a simple message. His name was Jesus Christ. His message in three words: "Love thy neighbour".

If the various races of the world would reflect their thoughts and would accept the teachings of these masters of the past, there would be no South Africa, there would be no victimization of human beings in the world.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to prolong this debate. I wish to thank you, Sir, for the opportunity to speak and to add my quota on a Motion of such importance. I wish to congratulate the hon. Whip of the Opposition for having thought of bringing this Motion before the House and I extend not only my heart but my very hand to the Members of the Government for the manner in which they expressed themselves, joining hands with the Members of the Opposition, joining hands across the seas with all vic-

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timized peoples preaching one common lesson for the benefit of suffering humanity. I record my own personal sympathy to the suffering relatives of those people who have been murdered in South Africa and I wish to assure hon. Members of this House that every single member of my constituency is behind me one hundred percent as they are behind you.

**Mr. Cato** (St. Vincent): Mr. Speaker, this is one occasion on which I feel it is completely and entirely justifiable to have a full-scale debate on the Motion before the House. Quite frequently we are a little bit inclined to be irritable at lengthy speeches but I think it is absolutely important that it should be written into the records of this House that the Motion which is about to be passed here, unanimously, is not a mere formality. This Motion has not been introduced merely because we feel it is a nice thing to do. I think we ought to make it absolutely clear that we, as representatives of the various West Indian peoples, feel strongly on the subject. I do not intend, Mr. Speaker, to go into the gory details, the awful and shameful details of discrimination with which the South African people have been burdened. Perhaps enough has been said on that particular score, but I certainly want it recorded that the people of the West Indies — even in the remotest corners — are at one on this subject and that they are rendering more than lip-service to the cause of the South African people.

I am particularly proud and happy today to join in endorsing the action taken by the Federal Government in being among the first to express their abhorrence at the action and behaviour of the South African Government. It has been suggested

that the subject is perhaps no longer as topical as it might have been, it has been suggested that we are perhaps late in taking certain action. But let me bring to the notice of Members of this hon. House that the people of South Africa are engaged in a struggle which is going to occupy their attention and their energies for a considerable time yet, and it is not by any means too late for us to throw in our weight with all the means and resources at our disposal. It has been wisely drawn to our attention that it is not sufficient to render lip-service, that we must do something more tangible than passing nicely-worded Resolutions.

6.30 p.m.

Twenty years ago, Mr. Speaker, the people of the West Indies without the slightest reluctance, indeed with urgent energies, came out as one man to fight oppression. I would be very surprised and very disappointed if the people of the West Indies today were not quite prepared to come out to fight oppression in more ways than just passing nicely — worded resolutions. I am myself prepared, even more so than I was 20 years ago, to come out and make my contribution in whatever way I can.

It has been suggested that the people of South Africa need more than our sympathy, that they need financial aid. We in the West Indies, regardless of our grant-aided position and the sacrifice that any financial assistance to South Africa will mean are quite prepared to make the sacrifice. We would be happy to sacrifice something and indeed we all should be proud to do so.

In addition to financial contribution we are prepared in St. Vincent and the Grenadines to make every sacrifice possible to

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bring justice to the oppressed peoples of South Africa to the extent that we are prepared to join in the fight which these people have got to face today. I am very happy to say that in that Territory which I serve as a Member of this House today, the people are prepared to make sacrifices. In addition, they have passed resolutions and resolved to boycott all South African goods as a preliminary step. I know that they are prepared to go even further. It has been suggested we are too late. It has been suggested that hon. Members have only had this first opportunity to express their points of view. This debate should however give them stimulus to go back to their constituencies and raise the people behind them in the cause of the South African people.

The people in whose interest we pass this Resolution will take great courage in knowing that we here in this remote part of the Empire are behind them and prepared to support them. Their salvation is going to lie, not in the United Nations as it is comprised today. They will have to turn to the newly emancipated peoples. They will have to turn to Ghana, Nigeria and soon, we hope, to us in The West Indies. I am happy to see we are putting our shoulders to the wheel and making our contribution. I am happy to have had this opportunity of making my contribution and to give my support on behalf of myself and of St. Vincent and the Grenadines which I have the honour to represent.

*Sitting suspended from 6.35 p.m. to 8 p.m.*

*On resumption—*

**Mr. Wall** (Montserrat): **Mr. Speaker**, this is the second occasion that I must add my quota on behalf of the territory I represent, no matter how small; because it is

not the size of a place that matters, it is the size of the minds that live in it. I can assure you, Sir, that as small as my little island is, it is ready to fight for what is right. We are known as the Irish people of the Caribbean and we never give up a fight; and this Motion is one that fights for the right of human principles that a man should live free to do as he likes and live as he wants.

Now I would like to support all that has been said, Mr. Speaker, and my speech is going to be very short. I would like to say that we are now earning the fruit of appeasement. Appeasement started in Munich and for some reason the whole world has got to a stage where we will always look to condone a measure instead of wholly condemning it. I say tonight that this Federation, representing a young nation, must go down on record as showing that we are not going to be one of those countries which are living on appeasement.

The peoples of the Federation have got a lesson to learn from this South African issue and the lesson is that when you are not united there is no strength. Divided, we fall; and we must learn, everyone of us, throughout the islands big and small, to rise and maintain unity among ourselves so that we can show a united front to the outside world.

**Mr. Shah** (St. Patrick, Trinidad): **Mr. Speaker**, I consider it a distinct privilege to have this opportunity to raise my voice, not only on behalf of myself, but especially on behalf of the people of my constituency, against the very shameless atrocities which are being committed by the South African Government against the native Africans in that country. I believe, Sir, that it is very fitting that this young nation, the West

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Indian Nation, should not only raise its voice, but, I agree with those other speakers, should also advocate that something tangible and active be done if only to show to the world that we stand against atrocities; we stand against racial discrimination and that we stand on the side of those who are unjustly persecuted.

Mr. Speaker, one would have thought that after the children of Israel had been persecuted by the Egyptians purely on the grounds of race, and enslaved for so many centuries when only by the intervention of the Divine Hand they were saved, that humanity would have learned its lesson. But, Sir, only in 1939 during our own lifetime, we saw that in Germany a similar situation arose, when purely on the grounds of race thousands, nay millions of people, were murdered in cold blood. It took many thousands of lives, many millions of pounds in cash and many heart-breaks to destroy the power of Germany and to save, up to a point, many more millions who would have been destroyed but for the victory of the Allies. Even after this lesson of Germany we were certainly justified in thinking that the very men who are today perpetrating those atrocities in Africa, having been alive in that very time, and experiencing the very things which the world experienced then, one would not have seen such a thing enacted again in our life-time. But today, Sir, we find that the White South Africans, who at best are immigrants into South Africa—they are not natives of Africa, because they migrated into and adopted that country because it suited them to do their business, and because of their long domicile, because of the power they wield and the influence they have — are recognised as the rulers of that country; they have taken advantage of their position to commit the

atrocities which we all know about, and many of which have been recounted by the hon. Member for St. Lucia. It is indeed a very black page in our history.

I think, Mr. Speaker, references have been made to the Prime Ministers of India and of Pakistan, and I think that it is fitting for me to say that the late Mahatma Gandhi must turn in his grave at this time, because it was this very Mahatma Gandhi who, as a young Oxford scholar, was the first man to notice even in those days the serious crimes, the inhuman atrocities, which were being perpetrated upon the South African natives by the South African Government. He not only raised his voice against these acts but took active steps and protested, criticized and condemned these things in his fight against the Government until he was thrown in an African prison on more than one occasion. But that did not deter him; he continued his fight inside prison, and he was humiliated to the extent of having to walk with the prisoners' slop pail up and down the streets of South Africa. So that, I think that while we may give praise to those who join in the fight today in their condemnation of these acts, it is only proper that we should give praise to the man who first started the struggle, to the man who first gave encouragement to the Africans and the man who advocated freedom in Africa for the black Africans.

I think that we today in this Federation, standing as we are in unity in a multi-racial nation, standing as we are to fight on principle against the iniquities based on race, colour and religion, wanting as we wish to set an example to the rest of the world of dwelling together in unity regardless of race, colour or creed, it is only proper that

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we should join with the rest of the world in condemning these acts.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the opportunity will come and come very early, perhaps this very year, for our own hon. and learned Prime Minister to sit among the Prime Ministers of this Commonwealth, champion of the masses as we know him to be. We hope that day will come when he will be able to go among the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, when we will be able to go, perhaps, to the United Nations with a mandate from this Federation and this Government to tell them in no uncertain language where we stand in this struggle and what we think and what we are prepared to do to encourage and assist these poor, defenceless people against persecution, not only persecution which is illegal, persecution which is criminal, but even against armed persecution; where we stand in this rape of Africa and where we stand against these criminals who are not satisfied with taking advantage, mean advantage, of a defenceless people but go to the extent of using force of arms to exterminate them, to destroy them and murder them in cold blood even for the mere effort of raising their voices and crying out for freedom.

**Mr. Sinanan** (Victoria): Mr. Speaker, without wanting to trespass on the time of the House, I wish to say that we are all indebted to the hon. Members who have spoken, and particularly to my hon. Friend from St. Lucia who gave us so much valuable information. I think, Sir, that I would be correct in saying that my hon. and learned Friend the Prime Minister himself has some knowledge of the behaviour of the South African delegation even in Australia

when we attended the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference over there.

On the question of taking practical action I think it would be relevant to point out that at the next meeting of the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association we should ask the Prime Minister to enquire about the payments by the South African Government in so far as the funds of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association are concerned. My information is, and I have already mentioned this to my Friend, that the South African Government contributes only on the basis of its non-coloured population. I believe the principle of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is based on a per capita contribution and I think that even though we were not represented at the Prime Minister's Conference we can certainly play our part in the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association by taking a definite and a firm stand against any Government which ignores the millions of coloured people by refusing to contribute on a per capita basis. It means that if we do not take that stand, that these people would not know whether they belong to the Commonwealth or not. We must know whether the coloured population in South Africa belongs to the Commonwealth or not, and I feel that, as a Parliament, when we meet under the banner of the C.P.A. we could very well make enquiries along those lines.

This is not a subject where one can really speak in a moderate fashion and it is for that reason, Mr. Speaker, that I would prefer not to spend a considerable length of time on this Motion, because it really strikes at the very root of our philosophy

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as a people. I was told by a very young South African that he is not going back to South Africa because he does not agree with those people who say in South Africa that the explosion is bound to come but it will not come in their life time. He feels that it will come in his life time and therefore he is not going back. And I believe that is bound to happen. I cannot conceive of the present South African Government continuing in office for much longer and I share the views of hon. Members of this House who have really made that point, because it seems impossible for us to have those things going on in South Africa against those millions of people especially as this "fair wind of change" is taking place on the African Continent. World opinion is against the doctrine practised by the South African Government and I want to give an assurance, following on the speech made by our hon. and venerable Friend the Archdeacon, that if at any time this Government initiates a drive for funds to be collected that every Member on this side of the House will join readily in contributing to send to those people in South Africa.

When we were in Australia, Mr. Speaker, one of the delegates from one of the African territories, Mr. Babiha, passed through South Africa. He was a very kind person, a very genuine sort of person and he was astonished when he went in to have a meal at one of the eating houses in South Africa that they threw him out. When he got to Australia he made mention of this to the newspapers and they published what had occurred. The next thing we had was the whole South African delegation — Opposition and Government — giving a very detailed argument against Mr. Babiha and attempting to justify the policy of apar-

theid. And I am very glad to record in this House that those of us who represented the West Indies — from the Territorial Parliaments and from this Federal Parliament — practised our own form of apartheid when one morning we refused — all the coloured people from Ceylon, from Africa, from India, from the West Indies and elsewhere — to go in the same bus with them. We insisted that they should go into another bus. — [Hear, hear !]. It had a very salutary effect on the Leader of the South African delegation and we were so astonished when he was so carried away that he promised to do something about apartheid when he got back to South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, we join with the Government in this protest and it is only right that this Federal Parliament should take this stand on a matter of such paramount importance, because as I have said before, we represent an entirely different philosophy, an entirely different approach to life, an entirely different form of culture and outlook. All the races in the West Indies have dwelt together in unity and will continue to do so, and that is why I find myself joining with others in insisting all along that we must get into those Councils of the World where these things are of importance — finance is not important in discussing the matter of apartheid; the ability of the West Indies to pay its way in the Commonwealth is not important when we see that the Commonwealth needs the inspiration of this multi-racial community which comprises the West Indian nation.

I am of the opinion, Mr. Speaker — I may be a dreamer — that in the United Nations, in the Commonwealth Councils, in the Prime Ministers' Conference, the impact of the West Indies would be such

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that we would make the most invaluable contributions in influencing world thought. That is my firm belief. That is a belief that I will never jettison, and I feel sure that we have done a great good to our peoples, we have done a great good to this Parliament; we will be doing a great good for the future when we join unanimously in condemning South Africa and in taking the stand that we are prepared to go further and actually undergo physical inconvenience and perhaps financial inconvenience in pin-pointing the fact that as a young nation and as a growing Parliament we resent any form of fratricide in any part of the globe.

**The Minister of Trade and Industry (Dr. La Corbiniere):** Mr. Speaker, I would wish to contribute a little bit to this Debate because I consider the matter of such great importance and I do not believe that time matters when issues of great principle are being discussed. I believe that this day will go down in the history of this hon. House, in the history of the West Indies and indeed in the history of the world as one of the most important days for the world, not only because of the substance of the Motion that is being discussed this evening but because the world stands to benefit by the detailed and refreshing discussion that has taken place here and the points of view expressed here today reaffirm our boast of a democratic way of life that proves to the world that it has something to contribute to mankind everywhere. These Debates should be given the widest publicity and publication throughout the world because we here have debated this matter in a very restrained, dignified, calm and unemotional manner. That may be very ominous because when the West Indian treats a matter as seriously as this

matter has been treated in this House, today, the world had better listen carefully and take note of what this hon. House has had to say.

Before proceeding any further, I wish to commend every single speaker on the restraint and dignity and the objectivity with which he has expressed himself on this fundamental issue facing the world today. I wish to commend, particularly, my Colleague from St. Lucia because I can say without any fear of contradiction that today I listened to one of the best speeches I have ever heard in any House from my Colleague from St. Lucia.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I will dwell, if I may, on one or two points which I believe can stand not only repetition but support. The first is that in this day and time a member of the British Commonwealth has elected to commit the future of its people irrevocably to revolution with all its concomitant ills instead of following the pattern of peaceful evolution to which other members of the British Commonwealth have dedicated themselves for the establishment of democracy and the preservation of civil rights and human dignity.

8.30 p.m.

The second is that we have been told that the policy of apartheid in South Africa is the domestic affair of South Africa. This House today has indicated that we reject that view and we reject it irrevocably. Let us remind the world that no single issue that is of fundamental importance to mankind everywhere, that can create a disturbance to mankind everywhere, no issue that can cause the loss of liberty, cause the loss of freedom, or cause the loss of civil rights or might lead to war or strife is

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something that is the domestic affair of any one country. It is because the repercussions of such fundamental issues will have world-wide effect upon mankind that policies such as practised in South Africa cannot be a domestic affair of South Africa; it becomes the business of mankind everywhere.

Let us never forget that there are many, many people, many millions of decent-minded people all over the world who are prepared not only to give their finances in this cause of the freedom of men but who are also prepared to give their lives on this issue where justice, righteousness and decency are at stake.

Mr. Speaker, it is all very well for us to condemn South Africa. We condemn her and she will be condemned until this policy ceases but whilst we must condemn her and continue to condemn her we must equally condemn those nations who tend to whitewash her attitude and tend to hide behind this phrase of its being her domestic affairs knowing fully well that the whole future of humanity is in peril.

Let us remember the things that took place in Europe during the 30's — appeasement was the order of the day, decency was thrown to the winds and the result was that the world was thrown into the greatest conflict of all times and 50 million people throughout the world perished in that carnage. It will take a brave man, Mr. Speaker, to predict what will happen when finally there is revolution in Africa. Never let us forget the thousands and tens of thousands of volunteers who fought in the Spanish Civil War, let us not forget the thousands that volunteered to fight in the French Revolution volunteering their lives for the principles that make man a superior

being. It is not a domestic affair in South Africa because it involves the very fundamental principles of the whole of mankind's behaviour and future existence in this world.

Every speaker here in this House today has condemned South Africa. My hon. Friend, the Member for Middlesex says, and one or two hon. Members said after him and quite correctly too, that the time has come for us to convert our words into action. Naturally, being a man of peace he suggests that missionaries will have to be sent to South Africa and we will have to ask Governments to contribute for that purpose. But, being a soldier, Sir, I see things not only in his way but I also see things through the eyes of a soldier. Not only must Governments subscribe but every decent person in the world and particularly in The West Indies must subscribe not only to the families that are bereaved by the recent calamity but we must also subscribe in any other form that might be decided upon in the future for fighting for liberties of all the South African peoples, Negroes, White, Indian or coloured.

I wish to remind this hon. House that there are tens of thousands of Africans in jail this evening while we are speaking here. There are also hundreds of white South Africans in jail who have dared to speak against this vile thing. Remember decency transcends colour, creed, race national boundaries or anything else. I wish to remind Members that there is one man who took it upon himself to demonstrate to the world that decency was in his heart and that he too was shocked at the treatment meted out to the African people. He fired the first shot that rocked the conscience of the world and thank good-



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ness that his act did not end in his being executed. He might, however, spend the rest of his life rotting in some jail as a monument to remind us that there is a man, and a white Englishman at that, who has already fired the first shot in the defence of the treatment of Africans and coloured peoples in South Africa. The crusade has started and many millions black, white, yellow or coloured will join it before it is over.

I recall that my Friend from Caroni said earlier in the Debate that it was a pity that this subject was brought up so late here. Let me remind hon. Members that the Federal Government took action for and on behalf of all its West Indians peoples by protesting a few hours after the news reached it. Even though this Debate is one month after the incident occurred I say thank goodness we are able to debate it. We must keep it fresh. We have got to keep debating it and keeping it alive until Africa becomes free. We must never sleep on this subject. We must talk about it in our constituencies for the rest of time if necessary. We owe it to ourselves and we owe it to our African brothers whether they be Indian, Chinese coloured or white. We are the ones they look to for comfort during these difficult and trying days. We are the ones they really depend on to justify the sacrifices they are making and their fight for freedom and liberty. We haven't got to fight for it. We have it here and we feel it is our right; we have inherited it. They are now beginning to fight for theirs. We take ours for granted. We can fully understand what it means to fight for freedom because we know what it means.

It is a fact that these people are suffering and it is a good thing to stand here and

talk. So that those suffering people will know that at least not all the world has forgotten them.

My friend from St. Lucia tells us he has had the personal experience of what happens in Africa. Once we just keep talking about these matters, world opinion will dictate that measures be taken for this solution. The papers have already forgotten it. We must be realistic. They rely on the free world and the free world owes them the responsibility to help, advise, agitate and to lead the movements for freedom in South Africa, and for that matter freedom anywhere else in the world that is not free.

Mr. Speaker, I said before that this Debate was free from emotion especially when the subject matter is one that could well have been one for emotionalism throughout the discussions today. This is a sign that not only is this Parliament progressing and that the Members of this hon. House realise the deep significance of their responsibility in this matter but that having considered and examined the issue over the month that has elapsed since it happened, West Indians throughout the world look upon this matter as one so grave and so grievous that they have to show the world that they must discuss it, not in the flamboyant attitude usually attributed to West Indians but in the sane and sober attitude of the West Indian prepared to do something about what is happening in Africa today.

**Mr. Bradshaw:** Tell them about the 400 workers in the South African mine.

**Dr. La Corbiniere:** Now, Mr. Speaker, I have just been asked to say something about the type of sacrifice that the African makes. We all know, and let us be frank

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about it, that the worth of Africa is being brought out of the earth on the shoulders of slave labour. We know that the 10,000,000 South Africans working in the coal mines and diamond fields are working under slave conditions bringing out of the bowels of the earth the wealth that keeps the white South Africans in the best standards that the world can give. We also know that when the time comes to sacrifice these people there is no hesitation whatever in so doing.

As to efforts made recently to extricate these 400 miners who unfortunately got trapped in a coal mine, we know what happened — they were buried there — this matter was news for about five or 6 days. The conscience of the world was not bothered about it, the incident was just mentioned and soon died away — after all they were just 400 Africans! We have to take note of such incidents. We know there would have been no end to sympathy and effort had there been a calamity involving 400 of the members of the European race or any other Aryan people. Had they been whites we would never have heard the end of it for generations.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in associating myself with this Resolution today. The Federal Government took the earliest action taken by anyone in this Hemisphere in protesting vigorously against the incidents in South Africa. We were the first Government in the whole of this Hemisphere to send a protest which was dispatched just a few hours following our hearing of this calamity.

I welcome this Debate because it has given the Federal Government the opportunity of knowing that the whole Parlia-

ment of The West Indies and indeed all decent-minded people throughout the world are with them.

And I say this, that when the time comes for action to be taken against South Africa — and a number of speakers have mentioned that economic action is an important aspect, at the moment this is only the first step that can be taken; maybe it is the first and only step that can be taken, immediately, but never forget that economic action did not prevent the hordes of Mussolini's fascists from invading Abyssinia and carrying out atrocities of a kind almost as bad as obtain in South Africa today. It was only when the interests of European countries were at stake that these countries began to fight. Let us not fool ourselves. It was not for the relief of Abyssinians, but only to protect their own self-interest in Europe that they fought.

It is only when the interests of the entire civilised world become jeopardised that those free countries, those international bodies, those free national bodies, who today are saying that it is no business of theirs, will jump into Africa, or anywhere else on earth in order to protect their interests. It is up to us to force the interests of these countries to the front, to force the position — if they will not relieve the atrocities of Africa and bring decency to any country like Africa — in such a way and by all means in our power, through every channel in our power, in order to bring their interests into jeopardy and to force them to take note of what their duties are to mankind everywhere and in South Africa as a matter of urgency.

I have just been passed a little note, Mr. Speaker, which says that after the fatal

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accident in the mines in South Africa last month, compensation for every African was paid to African families in the sum of £5, but compensation to every white African who happened to be there was paid in the sum of £600. That serves to give you an idea of the relative values placed upon mankind because of the atrocious crime of being born black — the sin of being born black in South Africa.

That attitude is not only alien to West Indian throughout and to West Indians everywhere, but it is alien to the concept of free beings on earth. God made all men free and equal and as my Friend from St. Lucia says, one slave anywhere should create a problem for free men everywhere. Until that slave is free, free men cannot really be regarded as free, not mentally nor morally free, although they may be materially free.

Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege as a Minister of this Government to contribute my bit and, in particular, to draw the attention — I would like to repeat that — of this hon. House to the fact that not only South Africa must be condemned, but every individual, every single national or international body, the "insecurity", Security Council, which has failed the world so often; a "dis-united" United Nations that does not know whether it is going or coming, a United Nations that sent international troops to Korea, but failed to send solace to suffering Africans.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, what is needed is a complete revaluation of the consciences of some of those bodies and peoples, and a reminder given to them that conscience, justice, liberty, truth, freedom and decency transcend all national boundaries, transcend

the colour of any skin and only exist in the hearts of men; a reminder given to them that man's mission on earth is the pursuit of happiness and that mankind is entitled to demand that all men be free.

**The Prime Minister :** Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to speak, not because it is not a matter on which we should all speak, but because at one time I thought it was not necessary for everybody to join in the debate. I am perfectly sure that as Members on both sides of the House have delivered speeches, and some of a very high order, it is unnecessary for me to stress any further points. I would, however, like to add my quota of praise to the speech from the hon. Member from St. Lucia.

Two things have brought me to my feet. One is that I was not here — I was away in the United States, when the Federal Government made their protest about the shootings. So far, therefore, I have not taken any physical part in the expression of indignation which all reasonable people, whatever the colour of their skin, will have made, or will make in the future if they have not done so already.

Perhaps it would be wrong for me as Prime Minister, and as a West Indian and a coloured man, not to have said in public that I join with every person, who has of necessity been affected by the South African system, in saying that the days for this and that kind of protocol, and statements that we cannot do this or that, because we would be interfering in the internal affairs of other people, are past. Such things always amount to hypocrisy.

Although it is not on my own initiative, I am going to say this now. It is awful

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[THE PRIME MINISTER]

for me to say it because I am personally concerned, but I would speak of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which was confined only to Prime Ministers of Dominions. It is nonsense on the face of it.

Not everyone has the guts, I would say, of Sir Alexander Bustamante, but you will remember that at the time of the Coronation, I think, his photograph appeared in British newspapers with a group of Prime Ministers, and this photograph was alleged to have been taken at Buckingham Palace. He appeared in that crowd. It was just that he had infinitely more guts than I. The last thing I would want to do would be to push myself without an invitation into anything.

**Mr. Bradshaw :** Brass !

**The Prime Minister :** That was done and the Trinidad Member at whom I am looking—I must apologise, but I really must try to remember the constituencies of hon. Members—will remember how invitations were issued to West Indians to attend some function or the other and in some cases the words “No Wives” were underlined; but Mr. Bustamante, as he then was, managed to have a secretary appearing. And the Colonial Office did nothing about it.

I mention those instances to show that if something was all right twenty and twenty-five years ago, it does not follow that you should now say, “It is protocol; we don’t do it”. I don’t want to come too near home, but we are coming very close if I refer to some invitations which were issued, and some that were not issued, on a recent famous occasion.

It is nonsense to talk of not interfering—even if it were not a matter of common humanity—with other people’s business. Before the war, night after night attacks were made by Hitler on the West over and over again. I do not know how many hon. Members were in politics in those days, but those who were will recall the dictates from the Colonial Office that newspapers were not to attack Germany because Hitler had protested. Well that is sheer nonsense.

All these instances are cited to show the fact that the day when persons could say that they were not interfering in other people’s business is past. When it comes to the Federation, how can most of us begin to open our mouths on the floor of this House when we say that something that happens in a Unit Territory is their own affair. It is inconceivable that you can do that in a Federation.

As human beings, we are perfectly justified in saying what we feel about South Africa in our Parliament. Far from defending anything the Colonial Office or anybody else may have done, I think that Mr. Macmillan had more courage than he was credited with when he went to South Africa and said what he did. For myself, I think that they were so ashamed at the incidents in South Africa that that is the reason why a unanimous vote was passed in the House of Commons. It was just to cover up or to wipe out what the Foreign Secretaries had said previously.

We owe it to ourselves as men to lay a strong protest and I hope—every now and then I have to beg this hon. House to forgive me for personal references, but here is a gentleman who some time ago

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published some argument—he always seems to find pleasure in criticising me; I don't know him and don't wish to know him. He said that perhaps the Prime Minister has a sort of feeling for Africans, but being a defender of the Colonial Office he will not say anything publicly about it. Without any modesty, I claim to be the first man in this wide world, as far as I can trace, to protest the happenings in South Africa. In 1951 I led a demonstration against South Africa and begged people to boycott African goods. Ten thousand people followed me through the streets of Bridgetown, protesting against South Africa. That was nine years ago.

I have not been able to trace that anybody did that or anything else. Far from saying that I would defend the Colonial Office and things like that, this should be remembered. The Member for St. Lucia was too modest to say this, but he laid on the Table of the Legislative Council in St. Lucia a paper protesting these happenings. St. Kitts went farther than Barbados by actually preventing the landing of South African goods. We merely appealed to people to boycott South African goods. For internal reasons, so to speak, we did not go further. When an island is overcrowded and one man will not handle the goods, you will find ten men who will handle them. That is the only reason we did not go further; but the whole spirit was there. Every West Indian was prepared to attack South Africa for this policy.

The lawyers, and maybe others, will remember this. The South African Constitution starts out by saying, as far as I can remember, that there shall be no equality

in Church or State between white and coloured. When you start like that you are saying straight out that you are not treating one section of the community as human beings; and that is enshrined in the Constitution.

I think I have been a Christian for sometime and I have never been able to understand the consciences of some Churches, because it is sheer hypocrisy for any Church to condone such a law.

I would not dream, Mr. Speaker, of vying with some of the excellent speeches which have been made in this debate, but I do not want people to feel that there is any single one of us who has no feeling for humanity and was able to keep his tongue to himself. After all, it is fanciful. God forbid that I shall be a true prophet in saying this: Before the last war started there was a breakdown of negotiations for peace settlement, and the Summit Conference fell. Just one little spark; you start off with a little shooting in South Africa and the next thing you are aware of is that war has started! As human beings we have got to show our indignation. But there is nothing the consciences of every nation on earth can do that will be able to bear down on the mind of Mr. Louw. I have met Mr. Louw once or twice, and he is even worse than his photograph makes him out to be. He is a stern, thin, grisly, sharp unbending man. There is not even the ghost of a chance for even our Venerable Archdeacon or anybody else bending him; he will fight until he dies for the principle of racial discrimination.

We have to bear in mind that we must make South Africa feel ashamed. As hon. Members have mentioned, it is not purely

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a question of white and black. The Rev. Michael Scott suffered for all that he has done for Africans but the conscience of mankind will win out in the long run.

I am sure that our little bit, added up to all the others, is doing much to make South Africa change.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the House has been very kind to listen to me in spite of the very good speeches and in view of the hour, but I will be failing in my duty as a man if I did not also say, as everybody else, that it is our duty, and we have really carried it out faithfully, to condemn South Africa.

Before I sit down I must say that some of the Ministers and myself have been discussing the excellent suggestion of the Archdeacon and we have decided to hold an *ad hoc* meeting of the Council of State to raise funds to aid South Africans. How we will do it we have not decided, but I remember hearing when I was in England the last time, that there was an association comprising Lord Attlee, Mr. Gaitskill and one or two others, who are the principal people behind the association, into whose hands we can put this money so that we can be sure it will reach the persons for whom it is intended. Because it is so easy for the South African Government to prevent money from going into the country. With this association we would be sure that our money would not be wasted but would reach the proper sources.

9.00 p.m.

**Mr. Hill:** Mr. Speaker, I find myself in a very invidious position as mover of this Motion in having to close after so

many excellent and eloquent speeches by my hon. Colleagues on both sides of the House. I think that this full-dress Debate, in which hon. Members of this House have participated, will indicate unmistakably to the world at large that, here at the heart of a growing nation on the verge of achieving political independence, there are men and women, the elected representatives of the people, representative of all classes, all races and all creeds, who are willing to strike a blow for freedom, well knowing that justice, like peace, is indivisible.

I wish to thank the hon. Members on the Government Benches for the welcome manner and the accord in which they have supported this Motion. Many figures in contemporary history have been recalled, among them men like Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Pakistan and the President of the Malaya State. I would wish to add the name of a most famous West Indian, who, in these waters and this hemisphere, first put into the hearts and minds of coloured people all over the world, the idea of an independent Africa. I refer to no lesser person than the late Hon. Marcus Garvey, whom we in Jamaica are proud to remember as one of us. And I should like to remind this hon. House that one of the Units of this Federation, which can remain nameless on this occasion, was the first country in the entire world to launch a trade boycott against South Africa. So that when the history of the emancipation of the Negroes, the natives of South Africa, comes to be written, every Unit, under the aegis of this Federation, will enjoy a place of high honour and privilege in regard to its contribution towards the condemnation

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of this system in South Africa which militates against the indigenous African native on the ground of race.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us ourselves define clearly what is the issue that is at stake, so that there will be no confusion in our own minds as to what we are struggling to end and what we wish to abolish. There being no confusion in our own minds, there will be no confusion in the minds of the people of The West Indies whom we represent.

What the civilized world, liberal peoples and liberal Governments, are condemning in South Africa, is not merely the rule of popular racial prejudice and discrimination or customs based on erroneous beliefs or misguided teachings, such as may be found in many other States besides South Africa — as in the southern states of the United States of America, the Bahamas, Bermuda and Australia — but what we are up against in South Africa is the rule of law which sanctions racial discrimination against indigenous native Africans, the people who are natives of Africa. So unless we understand quite clearly what we are fighting against, we will confuse ourselves, and we may very well fall short of the goal which we set out so early, without rancour, to achieve.

In the United States of America, it is the popular prejudice of people not sanctioned by the law, not sanctioned by the Courts. What we are fighting in South Africa is an official creed which the white South African intensely believes, as a matter of religious fervour and religious faith, and which receives the sanction of law and has to be administered by his Court as something that transcends personal feeling,

personal beliefs, or even the personal convictions of the people of South Africa.

It seems to me, that faced as we are with that problem, the hon. Member for St. Vincent is more than correct and he does not exaggerate when he says that this is a long, relentless, historical struggle. Where it will lead, no one knows. Where it will end in the world, no one can be prophetic enough to predict.

But, on the other hand, let me say this, to those of us who may be moved by righteous indignation and emotion: that in the present international situation, in the state in which the world finds itself today, it would be foolhardy for anyone of us to support, foolhardy for anyone of us to suggest a physical blow of hostility, since, as the hon. Prime Minister so correctly suggested, one spark, and mankind stands to perish! So that this issue, this problem of South Africa, cannot be settled by force of arms. It must be settled like any other international issue, by negotiations and by the examples of those governments, those peoples and those nations whom we would exhort to practice what they preach. But don't let us delude ourselves, Mr. Speaker — it is popular in The West Indies and popular elsewhere, I believe, to say that what would settle this issue is a war waged against South Africa for the liberation of the native people. But the first spark would light a fire that might spread. There is no guarantee that any minor war, any so-called police action, that started for any moral, material, social or political reason in the world today, would not set off a major conflagration, and with the remarkable advance of science, that might be the end of mankind, if the scientists are cor-

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rect. So that our first duty is to organize our own people, people like ourselves, people of our own ethnic group, and, in co-operation with all other liberal groups, here in The West Indies, through our political parties, our Parliaments, our governments, our trade unions, and other popular organizations, educate them to the need to demonstrate their feeling publicly on every possible occasion, in order to show the outside world that there is a public opinion starting from the poorest and lowliest of us on the economic and political ladder of independence, stretching upward to the richest and highest and biggest—such as far-flung Nigeria and other African states which will come into their own before the end of this year. Secondly, our task should be to support all demands for political independence, so that, then, the uncommitted nations who are represented in the United Nations will put the Great Powers in an absolute minority—so that the neutral states, uncommitted to East or West, will have a complete working majority in the United Nations and, therefore, exert maximum pressure on the big Nations as an irresistible force of world opinion.

I hope that, one day, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States of America will hold the balance of power in the United Nations, but rather that the new nations, vibrant though comparatively small will, uncommitted, work together to safeguard and be the custodians of world peace. That is why many of us on this side of this House and many of us in The West Indies are so impatient about our march to independence and the achievement of full dominion status, which will seat us in the United Nations and thereby

swell the number of uncommitted nations of the world. That is why there are so many people, not only in The West Indies but in other countries like British Guiana, whom we say should have independence and be seated in the United Nations and other Councils of the world, so that, uncommitted on major issues that create international tensions, this third force, as a dominating group of nations, following neither East nor West, would hold the balance of world power.

I know that many of us are sceptical about the United Nations but let me point out, for the purpose of the record, that it is incorrect to say that the Security Council did not vote against South Africa's apartheid policy. The Security Council voted against it, although Britain and France abstained, and Mr. Hammarskjöld was instructed, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, to open discussions with the South African Government, and he has begun by having some discussions with Mr. Louw, the Minister of External Affairs for South Africa.

Let me say again that, in the same way that we have set the standard of our debate very high, without emotion, rancour, or recrimination or any abuse in this honourable House, let us remember that abuses hurled at South Africa can settle nothing. Let us understand that it is the organization of world opinion, through international organizations, political parties, trade unions, co-operative societies and other groups having common, social and economic ties, by which the world will be galvanized into effective action. However impatient we may feel, let me say this: anyone who has followed the course of



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contemporary history will discover that, in the fifteen years since the end of the Second World War, mankind has made hundreds of years of progress, as it were, in these fifteen short years. And it takes no prophet to predict that South Africa's racial policy and system will die. It will die from pressure — because of pressure from within and from without, it is going to wither on the vine. That again is another reason why the organization of boycotts, mass demonstrations and protests should be continued year after year, on the anniversary of the shootings at Sharpeville. Let us throughout the entire free world join with the new independent states in Africa, with populations aggregating two hundred million, participate every year — Britain is also bound to participate — in demonstrating on the anniversary of the shootings at Sharpeville.

But, indeed, let us try not to be chauvinistic in this matter, because it is not entirely a racial issue. Deep down at the core, below the surface, one of the real causes is the economic struggle between those that have — a group that has the world's goods under its control and commands the means of production and distribution — and those that have not. There are races which are retarded and comparatively backward in the achievement of scientific standards and in the know-how of industrial skills — their day will surely come. In fact the day of all coloured, oppressed, under-privileged races will come. It started with India and has moved into Africa. It is also here with us in The West Indies. As long as we will play our part, then our part of the world is safe. So I would exhort continued public expression, and continued participation by us, through our

constituent territories, this Parliament, our political parties and trade union movements, in all world demonstrations. I do not for a moment, Mr. Speaker, feel — indeed I doubt whether the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth would settle anything progressive for the eleven million indigenous Africans. Because any exclusion of South Africa would automatically mean the inevitable exclusion of the eleven million people whom we so wish to help. They would be beyond the pale of Commonwealth criticism, they would be hapless victims — orphans of the storm from which there would be no power on earth to rescue them — without running the risk of a world war.

Again, Mr. Speaker, while we express our sincere horror at the South African situation, don't let us indulge ourselves in too much complacency. Don't let us indulge in too much self-righteous indignation, in which we beat our chests and say: "*Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*". Inasmuch as we contribute to the struggle morally, even financially, materially and politically to relieve the situation, to end the system of apartheid in South Africa, let us also use this situation to alert ourselves to dangers of a similar nature which exist in our own hemisphere and even in our own waters. Don't let us sit down here, in smug complacency and with self-righteous indignation, and think that a similar problem is not with us. For it is *not* true to say that we have extinguished from West Indian or Caribbean waters the last vestige of racial discrimination or colour prejudice. Mr. Speaker, let me say to my Friends opposite that we should use this situation to make us ever constantly alert to the same thing that we are fighting

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against, though in small measure, in our own waters. And let us remember that what is happening in South Africa — the racial discrimination, the injustice of man to man — as well as discrimination elsewhere for reasons of race, colour, and religion, is nothing less than the symptoms of a rotten society, which has to be changed for all mankind, everywhere, before this world can settle down under the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Let us remember, too, that what we condemn is a philosophy, based upon the materialism of both the East and West, that makes men fear to do justice to other men — the fear that what they have may be taken away and have to be shared by others equally entitled to their share of the world's goods.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that I didn't get too emotional about South Africa, but I am always emotional whenever I comment upon the social and economic symptoms

of a diseased world. Let us work to change the present social order of the world, before we ourselves take so much smug pride in complacent over-indulgence and in our own self-righteousness. It is an honour to have initiated this debate, and I thank my Colleagues for their unanimous support and the excellent speeches they have made.

**Mr. Vaughan (Minister without Portfolio):** Mr. Speaker, I ask the indulgence of the House to record my admiration for one of the most constructive speeches I have heard for a long time on such an international issue.

*Question put and agreed to.*

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Resolved,* That this House do now adjourn until Thursday, 19th May, 1960, at 2.30 p.m. — [Mr. Bradshaw]

*Adjourned accordingly at 9.30 p.m.*