

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Constituted under the British Guiana
(Constitution) (Temporary Provisions)
Order in Council, 1953)

THURSDAY, 24TH MARCH, 1955

The Council met at 2 p.m.

PRESENT:

His Honour the Speaker, Sir
Eustace Gordon Woolford, O.B.E., Q.C.

Ex-Officio Members :

The Hon. the Chief Secretary,
Mr. F. D. Jakeway, O.B.E.

The Hon. the Attorney General,
Mr. F. W. Holder, C.M.G., Q.C.

The Hon. the Financial Secretary,
Mr. W. O. Fraser, O.B.E.

Nominated Members of Executive Council :

The Hon. Sir Frank McDavid,
C.M.G., C.B.E. (Member for Agriculture,
Forests, Lands and Mines).

The Hon. P. A. Cummings (Member
for Labour, Health and Housing).

The Hon. W. O. R. Kendall (Member
for Communications and works).

The Hon. G. A. C. Farnum, O.B.E.
(Member for Local Government, Social
Welfare and Co-operative Development).

The Hon. G. H. Smellie.

The Hon. R. B. Gajraj.

The Hon. R. C. Tello.

Deputy Speaker :

Mr. W. J. Raatgever, C.B.E.

Nominated Officials:

Mr. W. T. Lord, I.S.O.

Mr. J. I. Ramphal.

Nominated Unofficials :

Mr. T. Lee.

Mr. W. A. Phang.

Mr. L. A. Luckhoo, Q.C.

Mr. W. A. Macnie, C.M.G., G.B.E.

Mr. C. A. Carter.

Mr. E. F. Correia.

Rev. D. C. J. Bobb.

Mr. H. Rahaman.

Miss Gertie H. Collins.

Mrs. Esther E. Dey.

Dr. H. A. Fraser.

Lt. Col. E. J. Haywood, M.B.E., T.D

Mr. R. B. Jailal.

Mr. Sugrim Singh.

Clerk of the Legislature—

Mr. I. Crum Ewing.

Assistant Clerk of the Legislature—

Mr. E. V. Viapree (acting).

The Speaker read prayers.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Council held on Wednesday, the 23rd of March, 1955, as printed and circulated, were taken as read and confirmed.

Mr. Speaker: I am pleased to see you out again, Mr. Chief Secretary.

The Chief Secretary: Thank you, Sir.

MINUTES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Financial Secretary: I beg to lay on the table:

Minutes of meeting of Finance Committee held on 3rd March, 1955.

ORDER OF THE DAY

LAND FOR HOUSING IN LEGUAN

Mr. Phang, on behalf of **Mr. Lee**, asked, and the Member for Labour Health and Housing (**Mr. Cummings**) laid over replies to the following questions:—

Q 1: Is Government considering the acquisition of the lands at Osterbeck, Anna Maria, Success and Maryville, Leguan, for the purpose of housing?

A 1: The acquisition of lands at Osterbeck and Success, Anna Maria and Maryville, Leguan, for the purpose of housing has been considered.

It is proposed instead that Government should acquire the two estates of Henrietta and Vrow Anna, and negotiations are proceeding. These estates, which comprise a total of over 800 acres and are situate on the southern extremity of the island, are undeveloped and have been in a state of abandonment for about 100 years. It should be possible eventually to settle about 100 families drawn from Vrow Anna, Henrietta, Maryville and other estates on this land settlement.

The settlers will be encouraged to build their own houses on an aided self-help basis. The Commissioner for Housing has been holding discussions with the Director of Land Settlement on the project.

Q 2: If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government state when those housing schemes will be commenced?

A 2: In view of the foregoing it is not possible to give a firm date for the commencement of building houses on the estates. When the estates have been acquired a layout plan will have to be prepared before a decision can be taken on the sitting of the housing settlement. The land will also have to be developed, roads built and housing lots prepared before building operations can commence.

BRITISH CARIBBEAN FEDERATION

Mr. Speaker: With regard to Government business on the Order Paper, items 2 to 6 will be deferred for reasons which have been already given. I hope that we shall by co-operation manage to conclude the debate on the motion in regard to Federation by tomorrow afternoon. I am expressing that hope because I think those Members who have not yet spoken are all here. I did say yesterday, and I said it before, that I should be obliged if Members would avoid repetition of arguments which have been advanced by previous speakers. I said so because I think it is quite unnecessary to repeat arguments with which a speaker agrees. I have since discovered that there is a rule which precludes repetitious argument by a Member, but we need not discuss that now. The last thing I would like to do is to limit the speeches of Members, but the shorter they are the earlier we shall be able to get the *Hansard* reports

which are very necessary in order that they may be considered by the authorities in England, and by the interested territories, in the same manner as we are trying to find out what their views are. With those observations I will now ask the hon. Mr. Ramphal to resume his speech.

Council then resumed the debate on the following motion by the **Rev. Mr. Bobb**:

"That this Council, having noted the steps which are being taken by other Caribbean Governments and by Her Majesty's Government towards the creation of a British Caribbean Federation, and the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Parliament to the effect that the constitutional instruments will provide that British Guiana and other territories which might care to do so will be quite free to join the Federation, is of the opinion that British Guiana should join the Federation, and that the question of this country's participation therein should be re-examined.

This Council further prays His Excellency the Governor to take such steps as he may deem fit to keep British Guiana in close touch with the action now proceeding towards the setting up of the Federation, and to ascertain the state of public opinion in this country towards participation in the Federation."

Mr. Ramphal : I hope I shall not trespass in any way against those rules to which Your Honour has referred, but this debate is of profound and paramount importance to the people of this country, and as was said before by me and by other speakers, there are certain things that must be said, and said as forcefully as we can, so that the people who will be the final judges of this matter can have all the facts before them in order to arrive at their conclusions.

When the adjournment was taken on Wednesday afternoon I had reached the point in my argument where I was

saying that there were certain suspicions and certain fears in the minds of people, or were purposely being injected into the minds of people. I had reached the point where I was speaking of the dilemma in which the members of the Indian community found themselves—that they were disowned on the one hand by the land of their forebears, and on the other hand they were being solicited to eschew Federation.

On that point I came to the last of the "injections" which were being given to those people—that they would lose their position of independence and equality. In referring to this particular point I had said earlier that the Indian community did, at a time within our own lifetime, suffer from the feeling of being the substratum section of this community, and I did say that by their industry, and by the immense sympathy and assistance of the other communities, they had risen to the point of equality of status, and at this point of time there is indeed no difference between the Indian community and any other community in the country. But on this particular point it was being made out that they would lose in a Federal community the independence which they had reached.

I feel, and I think it must be said, that this fear is unfounded and is based on a false idea, an idea foreign to Federation. It is being said to the people that they would lose their lands. I wish to correct the statement I made yesterday about Block II. I should have said Block III. The people are being told that the West Indians would come in and take over their lands. Land-hungry people, as they are referred to in this Council by other Members, they naturally have fears when persons from Georgetown or other places go and tell them that outsiders are go-

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ing to come in and take bread from their very mouths. They are also told that the opportunities they have made for themselves and their children are going to be lost in this federal structure. They can only entertain such a view while they remain ignorant of the true basis on which the federal structure is established. I therefore feel that every effort should be made to enlighten the people. Let them know exactly what Federation stands for.

We have been entertained with several definitions of Federation taken from illustrious authors, some of more or less ancient history, but illustrious men just the same, and more modern ones like Professor K. C. Wheare. We have not the need to go to those authorities to know what Federation means. In simple language it means "self-government at home and self-government abroad." We are going to give certain powers to a Federal Government centre and retain at the unit centre all the residue of powers. The hon. Member, in speaking about the Federal structure did draw attention to certain qualifications for a Federation taken from Professor Wheare. He had put them down on a piece of paper and showed me, and I think I did agree that they were good points.

First, there should be a "sense of insecurity." Possibly the argument is that we do not have a sense of insecurity. It is because the great family of nations to which we now belong and the great neighbours of the North have offered us shelter and protection, otherwise we would have a great sense of insecurity in this most difficult age in which we live. Let it not be forgotten that there are anxious eyes looking upon this territory, which my hon. friend loves so much—the anxious eyes of people who

in their geography and history books write it down that it is part of their national territory to be regained at the most auspicious occasion. I do not want to belabour this question of insecurity. We cannot labour it because we live under such secure conditions.

But let us look at the other side—the desire for independence. Is political independence not the ultimate goal to which all Colonial peoples aspire? Is it not the thing to which all peoples in the West Indies are anxiously looking forward? We have attained the right for a federation, a hope of economic advantage. I think the hon. the Financial Secretary and the hon. Member, Sir Frank McDavid, have dealt with those points very fully—the economic advantages that would accrue to the West Indies.

Then the hon. Member spoke of "the fruit of experience." I do not agree with that particular aspect of the question. I take it from the authorities my hon. friend quoted, for what it is worth. But based on that score the West Indies have had previous experience, and British Guiana itself as a federated unit had its union of the ancient Colonies of Demerara Essequibo and Berbice. We have had experience along that line. The West Indies have had experience of several groupings from time to time.

The next condition laid down is "geographical neighbourhood." Sneed has already annihilated space. Distances have disappeared; and what may have been great disadvantages 25 to 50 years ago have now completely disappeared.

"Similarity of political institutions" is the last of the lot. Is there anything more similar than the political institutions existing in the West Indies? We may be at various stages of development, but are those institutions not alike? Does any member of this com-

munity visiting Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, or any of the other West Indian Islands, feel himself out of place in the political set-up to be found there? The answer is very clear. How then can my hon. friend base his opposition on the ground that the conditions for Federation do not exist there?

He has also referred to the fact that we are giving away everything or nearly everything to the Federal organization, and he has in a very cavalier manner referred to the items on the Exclusive List and on the Concurrent List. Sir, I wish to ask this Council to bear with me one moment while we examine what are the essentials on those Lists, only to ask ourselves "Could it be otherwise?" I pray the forbearance of this Council to go through the files of legislation in respect of which exclusive powers are given to the Legislature of the Federal Centre—

"Audit of Federal public accounts"—where else should the audit of Federal accounts be except in the Federal Government? We can easily take that out.

"Control of movement of people between units"—That has been already referred to, and I am sure the hon. Members of the "Opposition" must be more than satisfied at the conclusion of the Conference just held in Trinidad. The hope was that that Conference would not have concluded; the hope was that we would have been unable to have any unanimous decision at that Conference, and therefore Federation would have floundered. I am grateful that that hope has proved false. I can leave that, because I think my hon. friend, Mr. Gajraj, may deal with this particular question of the movement of people.

"Defence" — Where else but in the Federal Centre should we place

defence? I am positive my gallant friend (Lt. Col. Haywood) who is not here — I saw him in the Lobby just now — and Sir Frank McDavid who is our General in Chief would not pretend that we have an army strong enough to defend our shores. Where else must defence be put but in the charge of the Federal Powers? If the Federal Government is not allowed to deal with it, who else can?

"Delegation of Federal powers" — If the Federal Government is not to delegate that, who else can delegate it?

"Exchange control", "External affairs", "Federal agencies", "Federal courts", "Federal Public Service", "Federal Statute Law Revision"—Where else but in the Federal Government should those exist? The cavalier manner in which those eighteen items on the Exclusive List were furnished to the public is rather disconcerting.

"Emigration and Deportation" — Where else but in the Federal Centre should that exist?

"Income Tax of Federal officers" — We do not want that to be anywhere else.

"Insurance, other than insurance carried by unit Governments"—*"Interpretation of Federal legislation"*. I am sure my hon. friend does not wish that to be found anywhere else than in the Federal Government.

"Libraries, museums and other institutions controlled and financed by the Federation." *"Matters connected with Federal elections including corrupt practices."* *"Matters relating to the execution of any powers vested in the Federation, or in any Department or*

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Officer of the Federation—Where else but in the Federal body should those powers lie?

What have we lost? What have we given up? I have spoken of 18 items as the hon. Member quoted 18, but there are 21.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: I said there were 21.

Mr. Ramphal: I am sorry if the hon. Member did say 21. I go on. *“Raising of Loans for the Federal Government”*—Surely the unit Governments do not want to do that.

“Suits by and against the Federal Governments”. *“The seat of government of the Federation and all places acquired by the Federation for public purposes,”* *“The service and execution within any Unit of the civil and criminal processes and the judgments of the Courts of any other Unit”*—I appeal to my hon. friend and particularly to the “Leader of the Opposition.” There is nothing in these 21 items, except *“Control of movement of people between the Units”*, to which any serious objection can be taken as handing over powers to the Central body. In respect of the movement of people between the units there was unanimous agreement at the last Conference at Trinidad.

I can go on in the same way with regard to the Concurrent List, just to prick this balloon which has been blown — that this country is giving up everything and nothing is left for this local Legislature to do. In the Recurrent List we have *“Aircraft and Aviation Advisory Services.”* What can be better than that the Federal Centre and the Unit Centre should have the right to do things of that kind?

“Aliens”, “Arbitration”, “Astronomical and meteorological observa-

tions”, “Audit of public accounts”, “Banking, the incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money”, “Bankruptcy and Insolvency” — Surely those are not things we have given away to other people. What better than to have uniform legislation for things of that kind. Even then they are on the Concurrent List where we are not deprived of the opportunity of dealing with them?

“Bills of exchange and promissory notes”, “Census”, “Company Law” — Go right down the List, and I am sure my hon. friend has begun to wonder why he ever raised this question of giving away everything and retaining nothing but the shadow. We have merely given away to the Federal organization something that was necessary, and we have reserved to ourselves all the rest.

I wish, therefore, that not only the Indian but all the communities in the Colony would see and learn that nobody in a federal structure would be reduced to a minority status. The fears that are circulated are fears calculated to satisfy the prejudice of a few. I say with all sincerity that if I were of the view, or if I could hold the view, that Federation would in any way mar or hamper the prospects of any community whatever, be it African, Indian or European, I would stand up against Federation. But I cannot say that there is in a federal structure any need for such fear whatever, and therefore I wish the Indian community can be told that there is no one within the Government of this country, if and when we do enter Federation, who could at his will deprive them of their lands or of their opportunities.

May I turn now to a fourth fear, which has been referred to and, which has been injected into the people. It

is the fear that there would be a preponderance of West Indian legislators over our local legislators. The fear is being expressed that we do not have the men who would be a match, perhaps to the blusterer in the past, or the more modest but highly enthusiastic who are praising themselves at the present time. That is an expression of defeat — an inferiority complex that is showing itself in a most venomous form. I have no such fear. I think we can produce the men; that we do have the men and that the West Indies are not just anxious to predominate over us.

I am very glad my hon. friend is well enough to be out today. I refer to the hon. the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Raatgever, and I am sure he would be the first to admit that he was given a very high place of honour in the West Indian organizations in which he represented us from time to time. We have it on record that the hon. Sir. Frank McDavid has been given a place of honour, a place of respect, and if I may come down to more recent times, only the other day we saw a photograph of the people who attended the Conference to which we sent again, unfortunately, an observer, and where was he put? In the front line. Such things show that this fear that West Indian politicians are going to predominate over us is an inferiority complex which we must get rid of. To me, Federation is a challenge, and I put this challenge out to the hon. opposers of Federation....Let them come forward as men who can hold their own. Men who can filibuster for seven days can hold their own.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: I am being molested all the time by the hon. Member. The challenge is issued to me. I am defenceless, and need Your Honour's protection.

Mr. Ramphal: We have a local saying "who the cap fits should pull the string." I said "men who could filibuster for seven days." — I do not know that anybody did. How is it that our hon. friend takes it up?

I have absolute confidence that the sons and daughters of this country can hold places of prominence and equality in a Federation. But again, I must say that I am not one of those who wish this country to predominate; I want a position of equality with the people of the West Indies. I see around this table men —and there are yet hundreds more outside—who can hold equal places with the best that the West Indies can produce.

Mr. Luckhoo: I do not wish to interrupt the hon. Member, but I see around this table women as well.

Mr. Ramphal: May I crave your permission, Sir, to use the word according to the legal interpretation: when the masculine is used the feminine is also meant. I hope my female colleagues will not be against me for that lapse. I feel we can produce the "goods" from both sexes.

There is a fifth fear, that the small Colonies would be a millstone around our necks. That has been dealt with by the hon. Member, Sir Frank McDavid. I have no such fear, and I feel we should go into Federation with full readiness to give and take. The motto of this Colony is *Damus Petimusque Vicissim*—"We give and we expect in return",—and in a Federation, that is all that happens. Some will give more and some will get less, but that is the federal spirit, and if we cannot go into Federation with that spirit, then we should keep out of Federation.

Mr. Speaker: *Petimus* springs from "to seek". You feel we should not want to "grab."

Mr. Ramphal: I thank the hon. Speaker for his assistance. I think it was a timely correction, and I accept it. Having said all that, I must now come to the positive side of what I have to say. I have more or less been trying in the last few hours to clear away some misconceptions and some cobweb, and to remove some obstacles out of the way. I wish now to endeavour to tell the Council what were the reasons which inspired me to accept this motion and the principle of Federation.

One of these, the first, is that great economic advantages will come to this country. The hon. the Financial Secretary and the hon. Member, Sir Frank McDavid, have already referred to this in particular, and I shall not deal with it in detail, except to say that it would be a sad day when British Guiana will no longer be the granary of the West Indies or no longer be able to sell her timber, for which there is a great market. We would be able to exploit that market in a federal structure. With Federation, the Financial Secretary's dream of a great cattle industry may come true, and we shall then be not only producers of milk but producers of beef for the West Indies. These things have been referred to already in passing, but I do the same now, in passing. I believe that economic advantages would come to us through Federation, and that we should be able to secure markets for all by collective action.

Can any Member here deny that collective action of the West Indies assisted us in getting better bargains or better prices for sugar? Would any Member here say we should withdraw from the Association in that field which bargains for us from time to time? Maybe in time we may have to fight in a similar way in regard to our bauxite.

We do not know. And with the coming of manganese mining operations in the North West District, who knows—we may have to organize ourselves with others to face competition in the world market.

I do not want to wean the hon. Member, Mr. Phang, over to my side — the circumstances of life may compel him to come over — but I do think the North West District will be the gateway to Trinidad and the other parts of the West Indies, as it is only a few hours by steamer from the North West District to Trinidad. I do not know how my friend can escape it, seeing that he is, perhaps nearer the West Indies than others in British Guiana.

I think my next point has been properly covered, but as I was not here when the two Members who are skilled in finance, spoke, I would like to read from the Rance Report, at page 14, paragraph 17. You will stop me, Sir, if it has already been read.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: The "opposition" read paragraph 16. I do not know if the hon. Member would like to read it also.

Mr. Ramphal: I did not refer to paragraph 16, and I will not allow my friend to mislead me. The marginal note to paragraph 17 says —

"Only Federation offers reasonable prospect of independence through stability."

Now for the paragraph itself :

... we may place on record our considered and emphatic view that Federation, and only Federation affords a reasonable prospect of achieving economic stability and through it that political independence which is our constant object. We have chosen these words with care."

I need not read any further, but I would like to go on to paragraph 19, which says —

"Briefly, the services that Federation can render and which can be adequately

rendered in no other way, can be summarised as prompt, effective action in the economic field on behalf of the region as a whole."

These all lead me to the inevitable conclusion that great economic advantages must necessarily follow from collective arrangements and a Federal organisation.

The second reason which inspired me is one which I will not belabour, and that is, territorial or national security. I know we are not in any apparent or imminent danger, and that the Mother Country aims to provide protection in this respect. But in this age of insecurity I should like to do everything I can to make sure of my own security, and I believe that in a Federal organisation we shall have the greatest amount of security, that provided for us by the Mother Country included.

There is a third reason, a very vital one, which inspired me to be a federationist, and that is the inevitability of Federation. It is like —

"The moving finger writes; and, having writ

Moves on: nor all thy Piety or Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it."

Federation is inevitable in the West Indies, whether we like it or not. We are moving inexorably towards Federation. May I, Sir, in developing this point be permitted to say that British Guiana itself is a federal organisation. I wish also to say that world movements are towards Federation; in Europe, in South East Asia — everywhere else. We are all moving towards a final Federation of the world, the "One World" of Wendell Wilkie, but until we come to that Utopian stage we must align ourselves with those who can live together with us in brotherly love and amity. British Guiana is a

wonderful example of such a federal idea.

Federation is inevitable in the West Indies because the federal process in the area is very well advanced. Take the economic and the commercial spheres. What have we got? We have the Trade Commissioner who represents us, the West Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Regional Economic Committee. What about the united action in respect of sugar? What about the special representation in connection with GATT? What about the Oils and Fats Agreement?

May I turn to another form of Federal organisation which is advanced to a great extent? I refer to our schools system, which is identical. Even the "Readers" we use in the schools are the same. We go to the same Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture and we, our boys and girls, go to the same West Indian University.

In addition, we have a Unified Currency. We are aspiring to a Unified Public Service, and I challenge anyone to prove that Federation conflicts with the idea of "Guianisation" of the Public Service, to which I have referred in this Council on many occasions. The principle of "Guianisation" has always been expressed in this way: all things being equal, the first consideration should be given to the person in this country. If there is no such person, then we should look to the West Indies, and if a West Indian is not found, then we should go farther afield. I can find no inconsistency between the Federal organisation and a Unified Public Service — and "Guianisation." I may say that long before I had anything at all to do with the Civil Service Association of British Guiana, it had accepted the principle of a Unified Public Ser-

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vice of the West Indies. There is nothing new in that. There are many unified Commonwealth services. We are only creating a service at West Indian level. All too often it is forgotten that British Guiana has also "exported" its officers. People refer to our Judges who are going out, and that during the last 10 years we have produced two Chief Justices. I think it speaks volumes for a small country like this.

When the administration of justice can be left in the hands of local people a country is then ripe for all the gifts of self-government. We have sent to the West Indies two Chief Justices, and we have two Judges now adorning the Bench in Trinidad. But let us not forget that we have other people holding positions of responsibility in the West Indies. We have people in the University College of the West Indies. The Financial Secretary of Barbados is a born "mudhead." The Commissioner of Lands and Mines in Jamaica is also a born Guianese. So that we too have had our share in exporting our sons and daughters to the other Colonies. Maybe it is not our full and fair share, but I believe that if we looked into that more closely we would in honesty say we have had a fair share. When we shall have developed our educational system; when we shall have produced more men and women we shall then have a bigger share in this export of men to the West Indies.

There is another reason which inspires me to say that Federation is absolutely inevitable; nothing we can do can stop it. We are a one-language people. As a matter of fact, despite our slight differences in inflection, West Indians are a more one-language people

than even the people of England. We do not have the disparity in dialect in the West Indies as there is between Yorkshire and Devonshire in England, and in that sense we can move about in the West Indies with complete language ease. We do not feel alien in any part of the British West Indies. I have never felt a stranger in any of the West Indian islands. To me they look so much like our own country, our people, our own home.

Let us look now into the realm of sport. Haven't we federated in sport? In another few days the West Indies will be playing a Test match against the Australian cricket team. A federation of the West Indies will be playing against the Federation of Australia, and in this respect may I be permitted just to refer to a point—the community of interests which exists in the West Indies. I want to ask any Member of the Opposition if he did not feel a sense of joy when Collie Smith and Binns, of Jamaica, ran up that fine score two days ago, and when the Jamaicans passed the Australians' score? I am sure there is no person in British Guiana who loves cricket, who did not feel somehow a sense of joy that our West Indians, our Jamaicans, have done better than the Australians. That is community of interests, Sir; that is the spirit of Federation. I hear it said: What if our men are not selected? If our own Gibbs and McWatt are not selected for the first Test match I shall feel very sorry that British Guiana has not produced a member in the team, but we are not the selectors. If I were a selector I would have no hesitation whatever in picking the best team to represent the West Indies irrespective of Colonies.

The last point to which I want to refer on the question of the inevitabil-

ity of Federation, is that even the opponents of Federation are agreed that closer association is acceptable. The speeches of Members of the Legislative Council in 1948 on Closer Association, and in the debates on Federation in 1951 and 1952, have been recited to this Council. Those speeches were epitomised, crystalized, in the Rev. Mr. Peters' famous phrase "Affiliation, yes. Assimilation, no." Does that not sound to the lawyers in this Council as a form of glorification of bastardy? "Affiliation, yes" suggests a loose arrangement rather than the binding and holy bonds of matrimony. The manhood in me cannot allow me only to take all the sweets, all the delicacies, all the advantages which Federation can offer, under the cloak of Closer Association. I want to take the advantages, but I want also to carry the responsibilities which those advantages must necessarily impose. All these facts go to show that *de facto* we have a Federation. We are now trying to put it on a *de jure* basis. We have regional organizations, but we do not have regional responsibility, and that is all that Federation now requires—that we shall bear our full share in this business of Closer Association.

Now I want to say that there is a fourth reason which inspires me to accept Federation. It is political advancement. I believe that Federation will take us in the shortest time and in the smoothest manner to political independence, which is the legitimate goal to which all West Indians aspire. If I could believe that self-government were possible for British Guiana I would be prepared to consider the Opposition's viewpoint, but self-government, real self-government, in a small country is an impossibility, an illusion and, may I say, an anachronism in this year and time. Let us examine what hope we in British Guiana can have of arriving

at self-government within measurable time. Our population is about 470,000. In the next 25 or 30 years it is expected to double itself. As things are, are we fit for self-government? As things will be 25 or 30 years from now, will we be fit for self-government? Jamaica has a population of more than 1½ millions. As nations go that is a very small population. But I want to see self-government in my time. I have lived long hoping and praying that I shall walk a free man, equal to all the other citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in my view Federation is the only salvation; the only safe course for me to follow if I am to see full freedom in my lifetime.

Much has been said about our "continental destiny." Some 30 years ago when *cliches* and phrases of that kind caught on my more immature mind I belonged to the Popular Party who talked about "continental destiny" because of the great future which we felt this country had. But the realities of life have dawned upon me in the course of time, and I am sure that hon. Members—even those of the Opposition—must now begin to realise that our greatness does not lie in our size. There are in this country large tracts of land which might, with difficulty, yield to human labour, but most of that land will remain uncultivated and uncultivable, not only in my lifetime but perhaps for all time.

I have dreamt of a United States of the Guianas, and I thought maybe the time might come when we could have another United States on the mainland of South America, but that is a fallacy. Differences of language, culture and allegiance are insurmountable barriers, therefore even that early dream of a United States of the Guianas must fade away. The only road to self-government and advancement is Federa-

[Mr. Ramphal]

tion with the British West Indies. The only road to full nationhood, to full freedom, is Federation.

My learned friend, Mr. Sugrim Singh, interspersed his speech with the question: "What can Federation bring to British Guiana?" By that I do not know what he means. Perhaps he means monetary gain to this country, but I say that Federation will bring that inestimable boon of freedom, that intangible thing not measured by any measuring rod of the Bank of England, or all the gold of Fort Knox, nor even all the mythical Midas can produce. No, Federation cannot be measured in terms of money. It is the intangible thing for which countries strive, for which men lay down their lives, and for which Patrick Henry, in a moment of impassioned patriotism, said:

"I know not what course other men may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

If that freedom, that liberty, were the only advantage which Federation could give I would say Federation was worth it.

I feel that this motion is perhaps the most important we shall discuss for a long time to come. I trust, therefore, that when the time comes to vote Members will bring to bear their reason and not their prejudices. Travelling alone, the future of the Colony is slow, insecure, indeed dismal. Travelling collectively we shall move to prosperity, to dignity and to nationhood at an accelerated pace. I hope that when history comes to record this time and this particular adventure she will say that the legislators of 1955 acted with wisdom; that they saw the Federation light and followed it.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the gentleman in the public gallery not to clap his hands again.

Mr. Farnum: (Member for Local Government, Social Welfare and Co-operative Development): We have listened to so many brilliant speeches, especially the last one, that I find it difficult to add to what has been already said. I had no intention whatever to speak on the political aspect of Federation, but to confine myself chiefly to the social and economic aspects. I find, however, that even those aspects have been very fully covered by previous speakers, and I fear that I shall have to repeat some of what has been said before.

I need hardly say that I am in favour of Federation, and I would like to congratulate the Rev. Mr. Bobb on having brought this motion. I quite expect that I shall be challenged on the fact that I am now in favour of Federation although, when the question was debated in the Fourth Legislative Council some years ago, I voted against it. My answer to that is that we become wiser as we grow older. This motion, if carried (and I am sure it will be) will not commit this country to Federation, because all it seeks is the approval of this Council to approach His Excellency the Governor with the prayer that he be pleased to ascertain the views of the community on Federation. In effect the people of the country will have to decide whether they want Federation or not.

In order to assist my countrymen to arrive at a decision on this important and solemn task which faces us I would like to recount past history, for if our decision on this matter is a wise one posterity will bless us, but it would be just the other way if our decision is not a wise one. Many years ago we had the good fortune to have a

Governor who enjoyed the reputation of being an Administrator of constructive ability. It was during his regime that the Colonial Steamer Service was inaugurated. Today we still have that service which was previously run by private contractors. The Governor's idea in establishing a Government service was to provide cheap travelling facilities for the public. He went further. He investigated the possibility of interior transport, and for that reason he bought to the Colony a Railway Engineer. I think he was from Nigeria. That engineer was engaged in plotting a line for a railway from Georgetown to the Brazilian frontier. After they had decided on the line the proposal was submitted to the Legislative Council of that day.

The proposal was not only in respect of building a railway from Georgetown to Manaos in Brazil, but also a railway on the Corentyne Coast from New Amsterdam because, as long ago as that, the then Governor, a man of constructive ability and vision, had seen that the Corentyne would be the granary of the West Indies. The Members of the Legislative Council were told that the scheme would be financed by the Imperial Government, but security would be required for the loan. The Financial Representatives in those days controlled the finances of the Colony in a similar manner as the Finance Committee of this Council does. As security for the loan the Imperial Government required the surrender of that right of financial control. I think Your Honour knows that bit of past history quite well, as at that time Your Honour was a Member of the Combined Court and was then known as "The Colt". I do not know if I am correct.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not quite correct. He said that the

Financial Representatives had control of the finances of the Colony. It was the Combined Court, which comprised the Financial Representatives and the Members of the Court of Policy, that had such control.

Mr. Farnum: The Financial Representatives did decide the policy.

Mr. Speaker: No; they did that together with the Members of the Court of Policy. The Combined Court was a combination of the Financial Representatives and the Members of the Court of Policy who were elected on a very high qualification.

Mr. Farnum: The point is, the local "Parliament" in those days refused to accede to the proposal and, therefore, no railway was built.

Mr. Speaker: I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member. It is not quite right to say that.

Mr. Farnum: I remember quite well that a Member of the Combined Court went from village to village, throughout the Colony, advising the people not to agree to the proposal, because if they did so they would be "selling their birthright for a mess of pottage." Not very many days ago one read in the newspapers a similar remark with respect to Federation. When the proposal to build a railway was made to the Colony, Venezuela and Brazil were regarded as backward countries. We lost a golden opportunity when that proposal was refused, as it is most likely that this country would have become prosperous as the result of that railway, even as prosperous as Venezuela is today.

My point is this: having made that mistake, do not let us make another mistake with respect to our participation in

[Mr. Farnum]

the proposed Federation. Today Venezuela is a very rich country, and when we remember that it is on the same mainland as this country, we wonder whether Nature has been so unkind to us that she has placed all the resources on the Venezuelan side, and nothing, or very little, on our side. My view is that while we did not accept the capitalists and others who came to us to develop our country, Venezuela received them with open arms, and that is why Venezuela is today one of the richest countries in the world.

Although six seats have been allocated to us under the Rance Report, and we have not accepted them, I still feel that we would be welcomed in the Federation, and any representations made by this Colony to the Federal body would be given due consideration. It is very likely that we would be able to arrive at some arrangement that would enable us to enter into the Federation, perhaps on better terms than those offered to us in the first instance. Those of us who have had the opportunity to attend Conferences in the British West Indies, know the friendliness and the goodwill of those people towards us.

I think we all remember that some time ago when our sugar industry was threatened with extinction by a disease known as "Leaf Scald", it was to Trinidad we sent an S.O.S. for help. Did they not send someone to help us? Again, when our cattle was attacked with "foot and mouth" disease and our cattle industry was in danger, did we not send to Trinidad and Jamaica who sent us technical assistance? There is in existence between this country and the West Indies a Unified Currency system. There is also a Regional Economic Committee. Our lads are being admitted to the Farm School in Trinidad, which

is an excellent training school for young farmers, although we refused to contribute to that school when we were asked to do so. I have seen Guianese holding well paid and responsible positions in Trinidad. I have known of youngsters of this country who could hardly make a living here, though possessed of some technical skill, but are doing well in Trinidad, many of them owning their own homes and sporting their own motor cars, a position which they never could have secured here. The leading auctioneer in Trinidad, who is also a member of the Town Council, is a Guianese. All these are cases of goodwill, and I see no reason to fear that this country would not receive a square deal in Federation.

I believe that Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados and the other Islands of the British West Indies would like to have us, but if we decide not to federate they will carry on without us. We should remember that Trinidad has oil, and oil gives prosperity, as can be seen in the case of Venezuela where production is about 2,000,000 barrels per day, on which royalty is collected. The point I am making is that Trinidad, with her oil, can do without us if we decide not to federate. In addition she has other industries. Jamaica can also do without us because of the number of her industries. I have a list but it would take me fully half an hour to read them out.

Mr. Speaker: They have been referred to. There are many of them.

Mr. Farnum: There is in Jamaica the Industrial Development Corporation to which a large sum of money is allocated by the Government to start new industries and expand existing ones, so there are lots of industries in that Colony.

One hon. Member said that the West Indian Islands want us to federate with them because they have their eyes on our lands. I think there are about 1,300 persons to the square mile in Barbados, while there are but five to the square mile in British Guiana. Why should we not have some of these people here? How many Members of this Council have taken the trouble to go along our rivers and see the hundreds of miles of land which has not been occupied for hundreds of years? Are we going to allow that to go on? If we allowed people from the West Indies to come in they would be able to establish farms in those areas and thus open the country. In time we would see villages springing up all over the country. Is it conceivable that the leaders in the West Indies would allow their people to be "dumped" here without arrangements being made with this Government to provide proper land settlement schemes and amenities for them?

We want the people from the West Indies because my experience in the interior of the Colony is that these people, especially those from the smaller Islands, make excellent farmers. They are well disciplined, well behaved and loyal. I know that when they go into the interior they do farming and work in a most methodical way. At the end of a year they are better off from the returns from their small farms than our people who also go into the interior to work, but prefer to gamble in gold mining. I do not say that we want all of them, but selected people from the West Indian Islands, and I am sure the leaders in the West Indies would assist us by putting up the capital so that their people could be properly settled on the land.

Is it not also conceivable that if we federate we would get assist-

ance from the Federal Parliament to undertake those drainage schemes under the Hutchinson programme? We know it is a very excellent programme, but it is difficult to get the money required for its execution. Only a few days ago I was at Mahaicony where the people there told me that very often they were flooded out and not only lost their cattle but their rice crop as well. They pointed out that with proper drainage and irrigation, they and their children would be quite independent.

I have always been strongly of the opinion that there is oil to be found in the North West District. Perhaps it is not known that I spent a long number of years in that district in my father's business. My father was the first person to be granted a concession to explore for oil. The concession was granted only for one year. He made certain contacts with a capitalist to drill for oil. Enquiries were made by that capitalist as to the regulations pertaining to drilling for oil, and the reply was that there were no regulations. The question was asked: "Suppose we find oil, what then?" The answer was: "When you find oil, then we will discuss it." I mention this to show another lost opportunity to develop this country, and in the hope that we will not make another mistake by rejecting Federation.

One Member asked: "What will we get from Federation?" I say, a sure market for our rice. We are encouraging the expansion of the rice industry. Co-operative groups are being formed all over the Colony, particularly to plant rice, and therefore we must have an assured market for this commodity. Let it not be forgotten that our contract with the West Indies expires in December, 1956, and we do not know if it will be renewed. I know the Rice Marketing Board has tried to obtain markets outside of the West Indies but it has failed. If we federate, we would

[Mr. Farnum] have millions of West Indians to feed. Trinidad and Jamaica, who are now planting rice, would cease to do so, and rationing of rice in Trinidad would cease.

While I am on this point, I may say that the fear expressed by the hon. Member, Mr. Ramphal, yesterday that people in the country districts are being misinformed about Federation, is justified. I was at Mahaica only a few days ago and a leader there—a very influential person—said to me: "Oh, why should we Federate? We are all planting rice." I said to him, "Do you want an assured market for your rice?" He said; "Oh, we can get markets in Great Britain and other places if we lose our present markets. Further, I agree with the speech made by a certain Member of the Legislative Council, and I am in communication with that Member as to what we should do in respect of Federation." I thought it was quite wrong for any Member, whoever he was, to so misinform persons.

Mr. Macnie: May I ask if the hon. Member is connecting me with it? I am from Mahaica.

Mr. Farnum : I think the hon. Member was born at Mahaica, but that does not say that he is living there now.

A market for cattle would also be open to us in the West Indies, through Federation. We are trying to develop our cattle industry, and I believe great possibilities in this respect lie in the riverain areas of the Colony. Cattle-rearing at Bartica is so satisfactory that it has now become a problem to find additional pasturage. We also know that cattle-rearing at Her Majesty's Penal Settlement has proved successful, thus showing that cattle-rearing in riverain districts is a safe proposition.

We also have lumber and we are trying to establish markets in Trinidad and Barbados. If we are successful we will probably supply the requirements of the other Islands, again as a result of Federation.

At present there is some correspondence before Government from goldsmiths who complain that Trinidad has been allowed to import any quantity of gold from the United Kingdom, but can only import from British Guiana on a quota basis. This quota is very low, although British Guiana has large quantities that it can supply. Free exportation of this article is another advantage we would get from Federation.

Mr. Macnie: On a point of information, regarding this matter of gold. Are not gold transactions controlled by the Finance Department, and is it not a fact that it has nothing to do with Federation?

The Financial Secretary : It is controlled, and the commodity is one of those based on currency conditions.

Mr. Farnum: There is no doubt that a quota system exists between Trinidad and British Guiana, and we are not allowed to export more than a certain quantity. On the other hand, Trinidad can import any quantity from Great Britain. If we join the Federation it would be placed on the open market. We make jewellery which Trinidad requires. Increased exportation of this article would mean more employment for our jewellers.

We talk about Kaieteur being a beauty spot of this Colony, but how many people here have had the opportunity of visiting that beauty spot? Only a few, because the trip is too expensive, due to the poor transport facilities. Is it not conceivable that if

we federate with the West Indies arrangements could be made by Jamaica hotel owners with our Government for wealthy tourists who pass through that Island, to visit Kaieteur. And perhaps in process of time the hotel proprietors in Jamaica might be persuaded to finance the erection of a hotel at Kaieteur, which would enable us to share some of the large sums that are earned from the tourist trade.

To conclude, I say that Federation with the West Indies would benefit both the Islands and British Guiana. There can be no doubt about this, and I believe that it would open new avenues of employment for our people, and reduce unemployment. To my mind, if we allowed people from the West Indies to come here under some proper scheme of land settlement, the time would not be far distant when the population of British Guiana would be so great that instead of having six seats, or nine, like Trinidad, we would have the same number allocated to Jamaica. British Guiana's position would then be so strong that she would be entitled to "call the tune" and most likely be the Federal Capital.

Mr. Rahaman: A great deal has been said during the debate on this motion, and as Your Honour has indicated that you would like the debate to be brought to an early end, I shall be brief. First of all I would like to congratulate the Rev. Mr. Bobb on the very able manner in which he has presented his motion to the Council. I have listened very attentively to the arguments adduced for and against Federation. After weighing the pros and cons I feel that I must support the motion. What is the reason for the fear that British Guiana would be "sold" if it

joined the Federation? The motion merely asks that His Excellency should keep in touch with what is being done in the other Colonies about Federation. It does not ask this Council to commit this country to Federation. After we have examined the blueprint for Federation and we believe it would be to our advantage, we would join, but if the terms do not suit us we would stay out. Most of the lower class or working class people do not really know what is Federation.

Mr. Sugrim Singh : I object to the term "lower class".

Mr. Rahaman : I would say the people of the lower income bracket. Most of them do not know the meaning of Federation, but if we told them what it is I am sure they would approve of it. The people of the Colony have formed unions from which they benefit to a great extent. We need only explain to them that the proposed Federation is a union of the Colonies in the British Caribbean, so that they may work together for their common good. We should not be like dogs in a manger. I am old enough to know that this Colony is in a state of stagnation, and that it is only by Federation with the West Indies we can hope to move along and move rapidly too.

Some people have fears that Federation with the West Indies would increase unemployment in this country and aggravate our housing problem. I am sure that the Federal Government would not dump people here from the surplus populations in the West Indies, as some hon. Members believe. Instead, it would have to make adequate provision for such people. Houses would have to be built and work provided for the immigrants. If immigration were to be introduced the right type of people must be selected. This is an agricultural country and we must have agricultural settlers in order

[Mr. Rahaman]

to develop it. The two greatest needs of this country are finance and population. Finance is essential for the carrying out of major schemes of drainage and irrigation throughout the Colony, and next in importance is the construction of roads into the interior. There is need for a main roadway with branch roads leading to the borders of Brazil and Venezuela.

Fears have been expressed regarding British Guiana's representation in the Federal Government. It seems to be envisaged that there will be supermen in the Federal Legislature, but I would say that we have men with brains equal to those in the West Indies, and we need have nothing to be afraid of. Our representatives would be quite capable of looking after our interests. For instance, we have men like the hon. Mr. Raatgever, who has represented this Colony at several conferences, and we have seen the success he has achieved.

I would like to say something about rice. The ordinary rice growers believe that all is well with our rice industry, but it is not so. Our West Indian markets are guaranteed until 1956 at the present price, and I think Federation is the only salvation of our rice industry. I heard one hon. Member say that if we lost the West Indian markets we could sell our rice to Brazil, but I know that Brazil exports rice and will not buy our rice. Another hon. Member said that our rice could be sold to Venezuela, but I know that Venezuela wants white rice and we cannot produce the quality of white rice that country requires. As a miller I know that it does not pay to manufacture white rice. Two bags of padi cannot produce a bag of white rice of 180 lbs., but two bags of padi can produce up to 200 lbs. of brown rice. To

produce white rice the grower would lose between \$2 and \$3 per bag. This being a tropical country, the grains on the stem of the padi in the field are cracked by the heat of the sun. In the case of brown rice the padi is soaked for a number of hours and then steamed, so that the broken grains are knitted together, and the loss is not as great as in the manufacture of white rice.

My views on Federation are my own. I have received no mandate from anyone. I believe we are on the right path in accepting Federation in principle. The Rev. Mr. Bobb has set the wheel in motion, and I am asking hon. Members to accelerate the momentum of that wheel. I heartily support the motion.

Mrs. Dey: I rise to support the motion and, like a previous speaker, I would say that I find myself ripening with age and changing my opinion in favour of Federation. I would like to congratulate the hon. mover for his courage in bringing the subject to the attention of this Council at this most appropriate time — the split second which will mean so much to the future of my native land of British Guiana. To the Opposition I would say: "Ye fearful saints fresh courage take. This Federation ye so much dread is big with mercy, and shall bring great blessings on your heads".

Mr. Speaker, upon receipt of my Order Paper, and after perusing it, I almost heard you, in your customary *saue* manner, declare "The Ayes have it." I never expected for one moment that there would have been opposition to a motion of this kind which means so much to the future of British Guiana, but, like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, the Opposition lashed out in order to obliterate the motion. In their anxiety to accomplish that end

they lost sight of the fact that you are always cool, calm and collected, and so in your wisdom you decided that it was meet, right and your bounden duty to permit each and everyone of us to express our views on so vital a matter as Federation. For that privilege I thank you, Sir.

It is my view that this question of Federation has placed British Guiana at four cross-roads. We of this Interim Government did not come into this Chamber through the back door, and it is for us to take up the positions of traffic cops, but let us be careful that we give the correct signal—"Federate now." I think the time has come when we should cease to cry over spilt milk. I see no reason why we should continue to speak about political instability when we are being offered political federation which would annihilate any political instability, or a repetition of the political chaos from which this country has suffered in the past. Political Federation would be the means of putting an end to any such crisis as we had in 1953. Let us go outside and tell our fellow Guianese what Federation means. Let us join them and put our hands in the hand of God who led us so safely from the terrible disaster which threatened us in 1953, and the God who gave us \$44 million plus. I may be asked by the leader of the Opposition "Plus what?" I say: plus Federation.

I cannot agree that British Guiana will ever be able to prosper by reason of its "continental destiny". I feel that wherever two or three of us are gathered outside in the name of Guiana our slogan should be: "Federate, and federate now." I must not forget to thank the hon. Mr. Smellie, in whose company I feel quite honoured to be, because he was once against Federation, but is now decidedly in favour. I would describe him as the doyen of

our legislators, and as a precis of his speech I would use these words: "I should count myself a coward if I did not speak according to the dictates of my conscience." Only an experienced statesman could have spoken thus. We, the supporters of Federation, have been styled as "federal fanatics."

Mr. Sugrim Singh: I rise to a point of correction. I said "fanatic federalists."

Mrs. Dey: I take it from the hon. Member — "fanatic federalists." As the female of the specie which is more deadly than the male, I regard the statement as merely *Facon de parler* — a political stunt. I would like the politicians of 1958 to bear in mind that after Federation there will be political parties formed in Jamaica, Trinidad and the other units. I am therefore asking our politicians of 1958 to go out among the people of British Guiana and tell them what Federation means — that it is a getting together for the benefit of the federal unit as a whole. What will they do towards forming a Party in British Guiana to join the coalition? Let us not form an Opposition. Let us join together and form that which we did not have in 1953 — a sound political party.

The hon. Mr. Macnie told us that his principles were in favour of Federation, but for reasons best known to himself he would like the question to remain like an open door. I bow to the hon. Member, but does he mean that the other Colonies should enter that open door and federate? My reply to that is "Nero fiddles while Rome burns". We cannot wait any longer. We must federate, for there is no "if", and we must do it now.

Before I go further I would like to congratulate the hon. Member Mr.

[Mrs. Dey]

Luckhoo, on the very dramatic manner in which he said that the Colony must not federate now. He has convinced us that he wants Federation but he would have liked the wording of the motion changed — hence his amendment. Mr. Luckhoo, in his heart of hearts, wants Federation. Mr. Speaker, another Member of the Opposition remarked every now and again "That is not logical" and "That is illogical". It has been said in very many places that women cannot argue logically. Mr. Speaker, that particular Member of the Opposition seems to have forgotten his "Alice in Wonderland". His logic seems to be like Tweedledee and Tweedledum. To that gentleman I say "All men are liars, but I am not a man and therefore I am not a liar." I hope he would say that remarks.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: The hon. Member is privileged to express her opinion but not to be personal in her remarks.

Mrs. Dey: What I intend to convey is that I am not a liar when I say most emphatically and vehemently that this motion is not a Government motion. This is the motion of the Rev. Douglas C. J. Bobb, my fellow Methodist. I happen to know it, and I am proud of the fact that he, of all people, should have brought such a motion to this Council. Apart from political federation, we are already federating in this Colony of ours. Our federated Women's Institutes, led by a Jamaican, are doing most valuable work, socially and economically, in British Guiana. The hon. Member, Mr. Ramphal, stole my thunder when he referred to interchanges in the legal profession. Then we have got our teachers in the West Indian islands — Mr. Rawle Farley, Miss Gouveia. I do not

know if anyone knows that in one of the Islands we have an Assistant Manager of Barclay's Bank, a son of the Colony of British Guiana. I go further and tell the Opposition that he was not one of the few from the highest level, but he had the brains and the calibre, and has made himself a man as other Guianese have done. With such interchanges, what else can we say than that we are already federating?

When we come to the economic side, this country produces peppers in abundance. A good housewife or cook would throw the seeds through the window, and after a few mornings, like Jack and the Beanstalk, she would get an abundance of peppers from the plants which spring up. But peppers are being sold on the stelling of the Stabroek Market at \$1.00 per lb. We have peppers in abundance here, but we pay something like 48 cents per bottle for the liquid stuff called "Pepper Sauce" from Jamaica. But look at the presentation, look at the bottle—a "drop" bottle, so that when you are using it you do not throw out more than you want. It is a first class article.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: We have the "sprinkle" bottle with our Limacol also.

Mrs. Dey: The Islands federate with us in buying our Limacol. That is why I suggest that we should have Federation. After Federation would not our girls be able to produce an article like that? We could send our girls to Jamaica to learn to do it. We heard the hon. Member for Communications and Works (Mr. Kendall) speak of the disadvantages of the leather industry. I have in my bag a very useful article made of leather in British Guiana. The leather work and design were done by an individual who went

to no Institute. Why should we not federate to help such minor industries of British Guiana? Why do we want to keep out of Federation? What is the reason? If Federation is not a pooling of efforts, I would like to know what is. For my part it was more than a pleasure, it was a thrill, when I saw the film of Her Majesty's visit to Jamaica and the students in the grounds of the University College of the West Indies. I could not restrain myself, when I saw my own flesh and blood in the group, from screaming out "There is Charlie"—someone belonging to me sharing in the education provided in Jamaica. Can you wonder then that I say "Let us federate, and federate now?"

On the question of population I join with the hon. Member, Mr. Correia. Let the people of the West Indies come in—young men and women of calibre and integrity. Is this Colony so politically impotent as not to know how to bargain for the type of immigrants that should come into this Colony? In the interchange of people from the West Indies I bring in the hon. the Attorney General, because I want to say this: If and when we legislate for immigration from the West Indies, I would like to see Barbadians in the majority, not because of the hon. the Attorney-General himself, but because I know what an example of thrift we get from those people. They would be the leaven among our less fortunate Guianese, who are so easily led astray to spend their hard-earned dollars.

When I was quite young the story was told to me of a mother and a father with a family of six children. It was customary for the mother to give each

child a whole loaf of bread. On this particular morning the mother was very worried as she only had six loaves of bread and so would have to give each child a part of a loaf. She appealed to the father who said "Let the children get around the table". He then served a whole loaf to each child sitting around the table. One child, a girl, remarked "What a good daddy we have but he has nothing, and mummy has no bread; he is good to us." The father then said "I have done that as an example to show you how we want you to keep together." The child replied "No, daddy; take a piece of mine." As soon as she said that, every other child joined in "Here, daddy; take a piece of mine." The result was that the father and mother got a loaf of bread each. Even though that story may be regarded as a joke, if it is not Federation I do not know what is. The hon. Member, Miss Collins, made her century by means of sixes and fours in her address on this question.

Mr. Sugrim Singh: She made some singles also.

Mrs. Dey: I wish the hon. Member would remember that there are two ladies in this Council and not behave towards them as he did to others of his sex. The hon. Member, Miss Collins, was perturbed over the question of "dummies." Perhaps my hon. colleague does not play games. When I was as young as she is I used to play "Bridge." We all know that in that game "dummy" can be very useful, and a very valuable hand. So, though our observers at the Conferences on Federation may have been considered as "dummies". I am positive they could have played a very useful hand in the interest of this Colony. May I be forgiven for saying this: As men, those observers were able to remain more quiet than women would have done. I would like

[Mrs Dey]

to remind those who stress the word "dummy" of that well-known saying "Christ is the unseen Head of every house, the silent Listener to every conversation." He is in this Chamber now and will be in the Federal Council Chamber. Sir, let us praise Him for all that is to come to this Colony of ours. As Guianese, let our slogan be "Let us federate now."

Dr. Fraser: Your Honour, I rise to support this motion. So much has been already said that it leaves very little for me to add to this debate, but I feel that, however small my quota may be to this debate, I must add it in view of the great importance of this motion to the future of this Colony. Since 1947, when delegates went to the Conference at Montego Bay, Jamaica, much hard work has been done to make Federation more acceptable to the British West Indies, so that today, as far as the British West Indies are concerned, it is almost an accomplished fact. I hope that this debate will help the people of this Colony to make up their minds to accept Federation so that it will become an accomplished fact here in the very near future. I feel that in no other way can this Colony attain political independence in the foreseeable future than by Federation.

There has been a great deal of indecision since 1947 to accept the principle of Federation, but I think some of this indecision has been caused by the drawing of red herrings across the political trail, designed to obscure the real issue. I do not know what a "continental destiny" means, but it seems to be the destiny of all South American countries, including British Guiana, to put off decisions that should be made today to be made tomorrow. This country has been moving slowly

forward towards economic development by increasing basic productivity — rice, timber and minerals. This will in time tend to increase the financial solvency and economic stability of this Colony—the foundation, we have been told, of real political independence. To achieve this aim in a Colony, relatively poor and beset with many natural obstacles and disadvantages, will not only require the expenditure of large sums of money, time and brains, to increase production, but it will also require some strong central agency to deal promptly with the problems, both internal and external, that are bound to arise under world conditions.

The hon. Member, Mr. Gajraj, told us earlier in the debate of the services that are being rendered by several organisations, such as the Regional Economic Committee, and others. But fear has been expressed that those services may not be available to us unless we federate. How can we expect to receive such services if we do not contribute in full to them? Under Federation our faith and our confidence in this Colony would become greater, because of a strong political machinery which would offer greater economic opportunities and help in our development. But we must also inspire confidence in this Colony. We must by our policy attract capital and skill to this Colony, and we must ensure fair treatment to all. We must also open our resources and make available free movement of men and goods.

The hon. Member, Mr. Sugrim Singh, gave some interesting figures on the density of population in some of the West Indian units of the proposed Federation. I am sure that those figures are still fresh in the minds of Members of this Council, but I will nevertheless repeat them. The highest relates to Barba-

dos—1,296 persons per sq. mile, and the lowest to British Guiana 5.6 persons per square mile. The hon. Member expressed the fear that the people of the West Indies would be “dumped” into this Colony. We have been told that in the next 20 years the population of this Colony would be one million. That would mean 12 persons per sq. mile. We would still have a lot of room for more population. We need people of the right kind to develop this Colony, and they might well be the hard-working people of the West Indies.

Sir, before I close, may I read from the Address of His Excellency the Governor in this Council Chamber on Tuesday, the 2nd November last year, on the Report of the Robertson Commission, at the last paragraph:

“While, like the Commission, I have no illusions as to the difficulties which lie ahead, yet I am optimistic for the future. I have a strong and abiding faith in the people of this country, in their commonsense and their spirit of goodwill. I feel that the times through which we have passed and are passing serve but to strengthen our resolve that British Guiana shall advance, as many other countries have done, along the path of ordered progress to an honoured place in the Commonwealth. I am sure that this faith and this optimism are shared by the people of British Guiana. With that faith let us work harder than ever before. With that optimism let us move forward in practical co-operation to the future. Then, under God’s guidance, we shall succeed.”

Mr. Speaker: We still have about 15 minutes left, and if anyone else wishes to speak, he may do so. We have done very well today.

Mr. Raatgever: May I suggest that we take the adjournment now, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: There are people who can compress their remarks a great deal within the space of 15 minutes.

Mr. Tello: Mr. Speaker, rather than allow the Council to adjourn at this stage when it is necessary to save as much time as possible, I will make use of the remaining 10 minutes. First, I would like to say that I have every reason to support this motion because I am quite satisfied, deep down in my own heart, that the great majority of our people in the Colony are willing to accept the principle of Federation. I am satisfied too, that every other Member here knows this. I am certain of it: we shall have a unanimous acceptance of this motion if the little hurdles, like the control of the Federal Parliament, the number of seats allocated to us, the matter of freedom of movement and the assurance of West Indian security for the development of this Colony, are removed. If all these hurdles had been removed already, I am confident there would have been no opposition in this Council to this motion. But if we close the door to the opportunity to negotiate and to remove these little hurdles and these little obstacles, then we shall always continue to be indecisive about this matter of Federation. I am certain that this hesitancy is not the will of the people at all.

Take, for instance, the objection or the fear of the hon. Member who made a Press release, (Mr. Raatgever) that the small Islands or the West Indian Islands would join together to outvote us. Is that really justified? Has our experience proved that? In support of what I am saying, I will quote, with your permission, Sir, Mr. Raatgever himself. In his speech on the 19th March, 1954, in the Budget debate, he said, at column 423 of the Hansard :

“I have had the privilege of meeting men like Mr. Bustamante, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, and Heads of Depart-

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ments in that Island at various conferences, and Mr. Grantley Adams, the Prime Minister of Barbados, who is a thorough gentleman. I have also met Mr. Albert Gomes, of Trinidad, and other West Indian leaders, with whom I have worked satisfactorily, and we became very good friends."

I repeat the words "with whom I have worked satisfactorily". When they got together, instead of blocking their votes against him, they went out of their way and made him Chairman of the Regional Economic Committee in 1952.

Mr. Raatgever: Sir, I would like to clear up —

Mr. Tello: I will not give ground. I do not think the hon. Member has a right to clarify anything.

Mr. Raatgever: I want to correct the hon. Member. He spoke of "small Islands".

Mr. Tello : Excuse me, I said "West Indian Islands". I am sorry to hear a politician, so experienced as the hon. Member, quibbling at such a small point. Coming from such an experienced politician, his arguments might have — and probably they have — influenced people who are less informed. My friend has only worked along with West Indians spasmodically, and in limited areas, while I have had the honour of living among them and working with them all the time. Yet we seem to be at one as to their respect for British Guianese.

I recall telling Mr. Grantley Adams in my home, and in his home as well as his office, "British Guiana is the pivot on which Federation will swing toward success. In evidence of good faith, you people should volunteer to give Guiana the majority of seats, or far more seats than are recommended in the S.C.A.C. plan. You hope to use your credit so as to develop Guiana, with the understanding that Guiana will, with its vast lands, make use of your surplus population". His answer to me was very simple: "That kind of thing is negotiated across the table."

It is not too late to negotiate these small details. The goodwill is there to accept us as true brothers of equal status and as true partners in a Federal set-up, but if we listen to the "Opposition" we would never enter into this negotiation. It has said here that our people do not know what is Federation, but that is not true. They have an idea of what Federation is, but what is worrying them is what part would British Guiana really play in a Federation.

Sir, I do not think I can complete my speech in the next two minutes, and I want to ask your permission to close now and continue tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker: I am quite prepared to go on, if other Members will allow you the additional time. I do not wish to limit you at all.

Mr. Tello : I prefer to continue tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker: I adjourn the Council until tomorrow at 2 p.m.