

THE  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES  
OFFICIAL REPORT

[VOLUME 3]

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE THIRD SESSION OF  
THE FIRST LEGISLATURE CONSTITUTED UNDER THE BRITISH  
GUIANA (CONSTITUTION) ORDER IN COUNCIL, 1961.

13th Sitting

1st June, 1964

**SENATE**

*The Honourable Senate met at 10 a.m.*

*Prayers*

[*The President in the Chair*]

*Present:*

*Appointed under Article 47(2) (a):*

His Honour the President, Senator Ashton Chase

Senator the Honourable H. J. M. Hubbard - Minister of Trade and Industry

Senator the Honourable C. V. Nunes - Minister of Education and  
Social Development

Senator the Honourable Janet Jagan - Minister of Home Affairs

Senator M. Khan

Senator C. S. Persaud

Senator Christina Ramjattan

Senator H. Thomas

*Appointed under Article 47 (2) (b):*

Senator Anne Jardim

*Appointed under Article 47 (2) (c):*

Senator A.G. Tasker O.B.E.

Senator C.V. Too-Chung, Vice President.

Mr. E.V. Viapree - Clerk of the Legislature (Ag.)

Mr. F.A. Narain - Assistant Clerk of the Legislature (Ag.)

**ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT  
DEATH OF SENATOR RAMJATTAN'S  
FATHER**

**Mr President:** Hon. Senators may be aware of the fact that Senator Christina Ramjattan's father died in the course of the unhappy disturbances at Wismar. Senator Ramjattan's father was buried last Saturday and I wish, on behalf of the Senate, to express to her our deepest sympathy in her recent bereavement.

**BILLS FROM THE LEGISLATIVE  
ASSEMBLY**

**Mr. President:** The following letter has been received from the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. It is dated 27th May, 1964, and reads thus:

"Your Honour,

I have the honour to forward for the consideration of the Honourable Senate the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its Sitting on the 26th of May, 1964, without amendment:-

- (1) a Bill intituled AN ORDINANCE TO REGULATE THE PUBLICATION OF CERTAIN INSTRUMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS. [Bill No. 7/1964 (L.A.)]
- (ii) a BILL intituled AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE PUBLIC CORPORATIONS ORDINANCE. [Bill No. 8/1964 (L.A.)]
- (iii) a BILL intituled AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE CUSTOMS ORDINANCE. [Bill No. 9/1964 (L.A.)]

- (iv) a BILL intituled AN ORDINANCE TO MAKE SPECIAL PROVISION WITH RESPECT TO THE PENSIONABLE SERVICE OF FREDERICK WALTER ELEAZAR CASE. [Bill No. 12/1964 (L.A.)]
- (v) a BILL intituled AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS PENSION ORDINANCE BY MAKING PROVISION FOR THE INCREASE OF PENSIONS REGISTERED ON THE 31st DECEMBER, 1958, OF PENSIONS REGISTERED SUBSEQUENT TO THE 31st DECEMBER, 1958, IN RESPECT OF MARRIED OFFICERS WHO ON THAT DATE WERE AWAITING MEDICAL EXAMINATION, AND OF PENSIONS IN PAYMENT ON THAT DATE. [Bill No. 13/1964 (L.A.)]
- (vi) a BILL intituled AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE LIQUOR LICENSING ORDINANCE. [Bill No. 14/1964 (L.A.)]

I have the honour to be  
Your Honour's obedient servant,  
(Sgd.) Rahman B. Gajraj  
Speaker"

10.10 a.m.

**The President:** It is understood that the Minister of Education and Social Development will introduce and deal with the Statutory Publications Bill and the Public Corporations (Amendment) Bill.

The Minister of Trade and Industry will introduce and deal with the Customs (Amendment)

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Bill, the Case Pension Bill, the Widows and Orphans Pension (Amendment) Bill and the Liquor Licensing (Amendment) Bill.

## PRESENTATION OF PAPERS AND REPORTS

The following Paper was laid:

Government Wharves (Charges) Rules, 1964, made by the Governor on the 18th day of March, 1964. [The Minister of Trade and Industry.]

## STATEMENT BY MINISTER

### RESIGNATION OF MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

**Senator Jagan** (Minister of Home Affairs): I wish to make a statement in my capacity as Minister of Home Affairs. If you will permit me, I shall read my statement.

**The President:** You have my permission.

**Senator Jagan:** On 15th June 1963 less than a year ago, His Excellency the Governor by instrument under the Public Seal appointed me as Minister of Home Affairs and charged me under the Constitution with, among other things, responsibility for certain matters and Departments of Government. Among these were -

the maintenance of public safety and public order and the Police Department.

A few days later I entered this House as a Senator under the Constitution.

2. I did not expect my Ministry to be a bed of roses. I recognised that my Ministry was of supreme importance. The maintenance of law and order is one of the first duties of a Government. I was also not unaware of the problems that had arisen in respect of the Police Force. Indeed, my appointment was heralded by an expression of these problems in a practical form. No one will easily forget the sordid events that took place on 30th May, 1963, at the funeral of my predecessor and friend, the late Senator Claude Christian. I know that you, Mr. President, will remember this only too well. You will recall that you were in charge of the funeral arrangements and had discussions with the Police on the matter. The Police were advised that there would be a large number of people at the funeral and that the burial place should be cordoned off and other security precautions taken for their safety. In spite of all advice, and indeed, in spite of the disorderly behaviour of crowds at the funeral parlour and at the Brickdam Cathedral, the Police took no precautions. In the event, Ministers of the Government and bereaved relatives and friends of the late Minister were viciously attacked at the cemetery, and this in turn resulted in racial outbursts, grievous injury to persons and serious loss to property later the same evening. A report by the Commissioner of Police on these events stated in part -

"In all 50 civilians were injured, 42 of them being East Indians, 6 Africans and 2

Portuguese. 20 of these detained in hospital, 3 of them being considered as seriously hurt. 3 Policemen were injured, none of them seriously. 20 persons were arrested by the Police for varying offences. 3 cars were damaged and 1 shop broken into. There were 20 reports of larceny from the person but most of these involved the injured persons mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Many shops owned by East Indian businessmen were stoned and windows broken."

Later reports indicated that during the night Indians were attacked in their homes and beaten and robbed.

3. These were the events that heralded my appointment as Minister of Home Affairs in succession to Mr. Christian.

4. I mention the incident to show that at the time I was charged with responsibility for the Police, I had no illusions about the difficulties of the problems confronting me. The events of the time and indeed, of February, 1962, had fully shown the gravity of the problem. But I felt that with an earnest and sustained effort and the goodwill of all concerned, the problem would be solved and we would evolve a balanced and impartial Police Force working in co-operation with the Government and the people.

5. It is now almost a year since I have been in office. And I fear that in spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to achieve this objective.

6. But let me recount my efforts in this direction.

7. On 26th June, 1963, soon after I assumed office, I warned the Commissioner of Police at a meeting, that the situation on the East Coast of Demerara would deteriorate unless steps were taken to assure the public of the total impartiality of the Police. I was constrained to say this because certain actions by the Police had given the impression that they were taking sides. At that time, the disturbances were restricted to Georgetown and had not yet spread to the countryside. Two days later, on 28th June, 1963, I wrote the Commissioner naming a number of incidents which smacked of discrimination by the Police and pointed out that the situation was explosive. I showed how persons associated with the People's Progressive Party were being harassed by the Police, and pointed out that this factor together with events in Georgetown, would intensify and spread the area of disturbances. On 2nd July, 1963, I again wrote to the Commissioner of Police and advised him to "put an officer reputed for fairness and not tagged with a political bias" on the East Coast because the presence of the Officer in Charge" who was a firm partisan of the People's National Congress and had openly demonstrated his alliance" was a threat to peace in the area. All my warnings and advice were ignored. Police discrimination

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continued and the result was that the conflict spread to the East Coast.

8. You will remember, Mr. President, that the 1963 disturbances which occurred in the rural areas did not, in any way, approach in intensity or scale those which occurred in Georgetown, where they started. Yet the Police showed much more activity in the rural areas. I pointed this out in a letter to the Commissioner of Police dated 28th June, 1963. I wrote -

"The incidents of violence in the rural areas were not in any way on a par with what has taken place in the urban areas. Yet there appears to be more Police action in the former resulting in more arrests than in the latter."

On 15th August, 1963, the Commissioner replied saying that he was conscious of the country's need for a completely impartial Police Force and he sought to brush aside reports of partiality as "false or grossly exaggerated." He stated also that "the number of persons charged in connection with offences attributable to the Emergency is 1647 - of these only 651 were of East Indian origin". This means that 39% of the people charged were East Indians. This is a high percentage; for the strike and disturbances were practically confined to the urban areas. But these figures, taken in conjunction with others, are even more significant. The record of police searches for the period from the end of the strike to

December, 1963, reveal that 61% of the searches done by the Police were on East Indians. Yet, by the Commissioner's own figures, only 39% of those charged during the disturbances were East Indians. Indeed, even this does not give the full measure of the discrimination.

The figure of 61% does not include persons other than East Indians who were searched because they were supporters of the Governing Party. This would bring the percentage up to well over 70%. These statistics were not available to the people but the evidence of Police partiality was abundantly clear to them.

9. The result of all this is that thousands and thousands of law-abiding citizens have lost all confidence in the Police Force, will not put themselves under their protection even when exposed to attack and are, indeed, demanding their removal from their respective areas.

10. The chronicle of instances of Police discrimination would fill several volumes. It is necessary to give only a few instances taken at random. On 25th October, 1963, the Ministry of Home Affairs received information that certain persons at Ann's Grove were reported to have firearms and explosives. This information was passed on to the Police. Nothing more was heard until 9th December, 1963, when the Commissioner of Police replied to the report. He wrote -

"The information received at the Ministry is far from

reliable, and the informant was prompted by political leanings to accuse persons named therein of secreting arms."

The Commissioner appended to his letter a report from the Superintendent of the Division as follows -

"I have made discreet enquiries into the background and present activities of the persons named and formed the opinion that they are not concerned in any way whatsoever with the trafficking of illegal weapons and do not possess them. I do not consider that it will serve any useful purpose to carry out searches on the premises of these persons as from information obtained they have never been known to do any act which would create the belief that they possess firearms."

The same Police Officer who refused to search the houses of five known P.N.C. members after he had made "discreet enquiries" searched the houses of 83 persons, mostly P.P.P. supporters, and found nothing except two licensed shot-guns and one person with 50 rounds of ammunition in excess of what he was permitted to have. Did he make "discreet enquiries" about the 83 persons searched? The question is asked, "Why does the Commissioner of Police condone such brazen discrimination?" Is it not this attitude which leads to such incidents as that which took place at Ann's Grove when an armed policeman stood by while a man was beaten to death?

11. Let us look at another

incident during the 1963 disturbances. It is well-known that the perpetrators of the disturbances used explosives to destroy a number of Government buildings. Among those buildings was the Ministry of Home Affairs which was dynamited on 23rd June, 1963. Shortly after the explosion, the Police dog, Rio, was brought to the Ministry. When set loose, he immediately went to the Chambers of Mr. L.F.S. Burnham, Leader of the People's National Congress, nearby, and there held on to a man. The man, a resident of Ann's Grove, who had been brought to Georgetown with others for such activities, was apprehended by the Police. Did the Police then make any serious searches? Did they, for example, go immediately to Ann's Grove and search premises associated with this man? Did the Police then search Mr. Burnham and other P.N.C. leaders? No! As is public knowledge, no one is convicted of this offence - the dynamiting of the Ministry of Home Affairs. In reply to the report that certain persons at Ann's Grove had firearms and explosives, the Commissioner of Police had written that the informant was "prompted by political leanings". Perhaps the Commissioner would say that the dog, Rio, who traced the Ann's Grove saboteur to Mr. Burnham's office was also "prompted by political leanings!"

12. Indeed, Mr. President, Rio would appear to be thoroughly brainwashed. For when another public building was dynamited - the Department of Housing - Rio ended up at the home of Mr. Richard Ishmael! I would remind the Commissioner of Police of the saying that there are none so

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blind as those who will not see!

13. Before completing my observations on events of 1963, I should like to pay a passing tribute to the delicacy of the Police towards a leading P.N.C. activist, Dr. P.A. Reid, in whose yard occurred a great explosion and in which was found buried detonators. The polite and apologetic interrogation of the activist at his home was a nice study in decorum. And, of course, no charge was preferred. Compare this with the treatment of Ministers whose persons were searched and one of whose homes was ransacked by Police and of a husband and wife on the East Bank, Demerara, in whose yard, the Police, acting on information, found some explosive material. The couple were dragged to Police Headquarters in the usual Police manner. And yet the Commissioner of Police insists that there is no partiality, no partisanship, no discrimination.

14. We come now to the events of 1964. The partiality of the Police in 1963, the loss of confidence it created, and the resulting precipitation of violence in rural areas had made a deep impression on me. I was determined to do my best to help establish a Police Force which had the confidence of the community. Examinations for recruits were different and of varying standards depending upon the areas from which they came and I sought to ensure that the entrance examination into the Force was fairly conducted and that all recruits be given just and fair treatment by being made to take the same examination at

any given time. At the very beginning of the present unrest, on 13th March, 1964, I wrote the Commissioner of Police reminding him of my letter of 2nd July, last year, and pointing out that "the situation can worsen if any of the groups involved in the dispute feel that the Police are taking sides". I pointed out that these charges were already being made and mentioned that the Police were firing tear gas shells at people at short range, using the shells as weapons rather than for the effect of the gas. I wrote -

"You admitted that this was unfortunately the case and informed me that you had issued warnings that gas shells must not be aimed at people . . . The fact that you had to remind (your officers) about the correct use of gas shells plus the unnecessary use of bayonets at Non Pariel is sufficient indication that my fears may be justified

"

I asked the Commissioner why he had permitted the use of tear gas shells and bayonets on peaceful squatters on the East Coast, when he did not take similar action last year even when squatters invaded Government offices. I wrote -

"Your task is to see that law and order are maintained as impartially as possible. You have to expect a comparison of Police action now with such action last year. If squatters in 1963 could invade Government offices without receiving bayonet wounds it is not too much to expect that squatters should be allowed to sit on roads without being injured."

As was to be expected, the partiality of the Police soon led to further deterioration in relations between the Police and the public.

The use of Police to escort scabs to work on the Sugar Estates further exacerbated the situation as did the clouded picture of events leading to the death of Kousilia at Plantation Leonora.

15. In the case of the recent disturbances, as in 1963, there are countless examples of Police partiality. I shall draw attention to one or two of these. Let us take the case of Bachelor's Adventure, for example. On 21st and 22nd May, delegations from Bachelor's Adventure came to my Ministry and drew attention to the dangers to which the people are constantly exposed. A man had been knifed and killed while trying to move his house. I spoke to the Commissioner on both occasions and requested that more attention be paid to the Village, as it was evident that the residents were in danger. All the signs of further violence were there. After these warnings, a pregnant woman was beaten to death. I have had repeated reports from Bachelor's Adventure that even with Police on the scene at the time of violence, nothing is done. One might tend to doubt these reports if events, particularly at Wismar, were not so glaringly apparent.

16. At Buxton, also, the behaviour of the Police followed the now familiar pattern. On 25th May, a man in Buxton was moving his furniture out of his house. When he returned to his house, he found that a number of hostile people had already invaded it. He went for his

licensed firearm to protect himself and his family and then the Police arrived. They took him to the Police Station and while there, his house was destroyed by fire. Persons allege that houses in Buxton have been set on fire in full view of the Police. This too would be hard to believe if there were not Wismar to remember.

17. At Meten-meer-Zorg, fire was set to the homes of Inshan Boodram and Rasheed. The Police refused to allow neighbours to help extinguish the fires. They themselves gave no help. And it was not until a British soldier interceded that the fires could be put out.

18. I spoke to an old man from Buxton last week, whose house was burned almost to the ground. He wanted me to help him get protection so that he could remove what was left. I said that I would speak to the Commissioner of Police and get him Police protection. The old man refused to accept it. He said that the Police would not protect him and he could not risk what was certain attack. He preferred to lose the rest of his life's savings than have anything to do with the Police. This is the attitude of thousands of Guianese towards the Police. This is the grim consequence of discrimination, of the blind eye being turned by the Police to incidents they do not wish to see, of arrest without cause and unjust prosecution, of merciless beatings by the Police of suspects belonging to the People's Progressive Party and of partiality to the supporters of the People's National Congress. Is it any wonder that half the community



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has no confidence in the police?

19. At Vergenoegen, on Sunday, 24th of May, a woman and her daughter were attacked by a group of men at their home which is near the road. The attackers fired a shot at the woman but missed. They then attempted to rape her daughter. The husband however, heard the shot and cries and came to their rescue. He saw a jeep passing on the Public Road. He shouted "Soldiers, come". On hearing this, the attackers ran. But it was a Police jeep and it did not stop. The attackers came back. Fortunately, the daughter had got away during the interval. They then beat up the father and burned the house down. Up to the time I met the mother, she had not seen the Police except for the brief glimpse of the jeep on the road.

20. (a) I shall leave the multitude of instances of Police partiality on the East and West Coasts of Demerara and come to the events of Wismar, 65 miles up the Demerara River, on Monday 25th May, 1964. The events on the Coast pale into insignificance before those of Wismar. The heightened violence leading to riots commenced on the night of Sunday, 24th May. I am called Minister of Home Affairs and I am charged under the Constitution with responsibility for the maintenance of public safety and public order. And yet I never, at any time, received information from the Police that rioting was actually taking place at Wismar. All that I was told was that the situation was tense.

(b) About midday on Mon-

day, I received private information that things were worsening. I spoke to Mr. Puttock at Force Control at 12.50 p.m. after being unable to contact the Commissioner of Police, and I was told that there were sufficient forces there to deal with the situation.

(c) At 2 p.m. I met the Commissioner of Police and the Garrison Commander and asked whether British troops ought not to be sent to the area. I was told that it was not necessary, that the Volunteer Force had been embodied, and that an Assistant Commissioner had been sent to assess the situation and report. The action to be taken would depend on his report. I told the two officers that in my opinion, the Volunteer Force would be of no use since it was made up of the very same people who were associated with the trouble. The Volunteers could hardly be expected to take firm action against their own neighbours, friends and relations. Needless to say, my advice was not heeded.

(d) At about 3 p.m., just after the conference, I received another private call which indicated that the situation had gone beyond control; a large number of buildings were burning and people were being attacked, raped and murdered. I immediately called the Commissioner of Police who said that he had the same information and was then asking Colonel King to fly up troops. By this time, a section of Wismar had been razed to the ground, the most sordid and unthinkable crimes had

been committed, about 172 houses had been burnt and more than fifteen hundred people had become homeless.

21. Certain basic and fundamental questions must be asked. If the situation at Wismar was serious from Sunday evening, why was the Commissioner of Police not aware of this? Why was it only at midday that he recognised the seriousness and sent up the Assistant Commissioner to assess the situation - when most of the damage had been done? Was it that the Officer in Charge at Wismar/Mackenzie did not properly inform the Commissioner of Police, or was it that the Commissioner received information and did not properly assess the situation? Why was no information given to me by the Police that rioting had broken out at Wismar?

22. The accounts of what took place at Wismar are shocking and revealing. Armed Police and Volunteers stood by while looting, arson, rape and murder were committed and made no effort to intervene. Two girls, for instance, were being raped on the Wismar side of the river. Persons on the Mackenzie side who saw the incident asked four armed Volunteers who stood by to rescue the girls. The Volunteers refused. Eventually four men from Mackenzie - a member of Demba staff, an officer of Saguenay Terminals and two others crossed the river and rescued the girls.

Another Wismar resident saw his house pillaged and burned, while two armed Volunteers stood by and watched.

Dozens of such incidents took place in full view of the Police and Volunteers and reports indicate that nothing was done to stop them.

23. On the West Coast of Demerara, two men were shot and killed by a policeman for moving "under suspicious circumstances." They were two individuals, unarmed, and not in a group and were crossing a public road when they were shot and killed. At Wismar riotous mobs roamed the streets plundering houses, raping women and carrying on assault and murder, and armed Policemen and Volunteers stood by unmoved. Is it that the rioters were not moving "under suspicious circumstances" like the two unarmed youths who were shot and killed by Police while crossing a public road on the West Coast of Demerara?

24. Is it possible for anyone to believe that with the widespread violence, arson, rape and murder that there could have been no show of force by armed Police and armed Volunteers? Since this is impossible to accept, one can only come to the conclusion that planned genocide of a village was carried out with the connivance of all involved.

25 (a) It is revealing to look at the events that preceded the rioting at Wismar.

On Thursday, 21st May, a leading P.N.C. activist visited the Wismar district. Two refugees have reported a conversation with this activist who was in a Police Jeep along with a Police Sergeant and a Constable. He told them

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that they were going to take care of the East Indians at Wismar - that they would pay for the deaths of two persons at Buxton. I have no reason to doubt reports that P.N.C. activists not only threatened persons but organised and incited the terrible acts which took place.

(b) In fact, the Police have known since last year that a gang of ten P.N.C. activists had been organised as saboteurs at Mackenzie/Wismar and trained at Congress Place in the use of explosives and in fighting.

26. My efforts to bring partisanship to an end have been of no avail. Take as an example the important post of Security Chief. The last holder of the post was known to have a close personal association with a close relative of Mr. P.S. d'Aguiar, and it is alleged protected members of the United Force from Police searches. When the grave impropriety of the Security Chief having a liaison with a member of the family of the Leader of the United Force attracted attention the Security Chief resigned only to be succeeded by an expatriate officer of known anti-Government sentiments. I protested against this appointment on the grounds that the officer had known anti-Government sentiments and that the position of Security Chief should be filled by an officer known for his impartiality. I suggested the appointment of a Guyanese to the post. My advice

was not heeded nor did the Governor care to intervene although he admitted that my reasons for doubting the impartiality of the officer were sound.

27. (a) Mr. President, during the year I have been Minister of Home Affairs, I have had to stomach the discriminatory practices of the Police Force. By their partisanship, the Police have been largely responsible for the suffering that has taken place in the country this year and in 1962 and 1963. By their unfair treatment of a large section of the Guyanese community, they have helped to spread the disturbances in the country. They have failed to maintain law and order for which they are responsible and they have completely lost the confidence of half of the community.

(b) Let me say, at this stage, that I know that a good section of the Police Force of all ranks are conscientious, fair-minded and loyal. But many of these have had to close their eyes to injustices for fear of disfavour. I know Police Officers of all races who have been harassed and hounded because they have sought to do their duty as they know in conscience it must be done. And I want to pay tribute to those officers and men who have behaved with fairness and impartiality in the face of pressures of all kinds. The tragedy is that the effectiveness of the Police Force is seriously impaired by the misdeeds of their colleagues.

(c) The blame for the loss of confidence of the community in the Police Force and the loss of respect for the Force, with all the evils to which these give rise, must fall fully on the shoulders of the Commissioner of Police, who has refused to heed my advice and has refused to discipline his officers for their misconduct and has condoned their partisanship and improper behaviour.

(d) For my part, after a year in office, I see that I have no power to curb or prevent discriminatory practices or correct injustices perpetrated by the Police with increasing frequency and complete immunity. And so I have come to the inescapable conclusion that under existing Constitutional arrangements, and with the Police Force as presently constituted, my hope of having a balanced and impartial Police Force cannot be achieved.

28. In view of all that I have related, and in the existing circumstances, I cannot continue to bear responsibility for the maintenance of public safety and public order and the Police Department. I therefore propose to tender to the Premier at the end of this sitting of the House, my resignation as Minister of Home Affairs. My only hope and prayer is that immediate steps will be made to correct the evils that I have described which are aiding in the destruction of all efforts to have a peaceful Guyana

10.45 a.m.

**The President:** It will be appreciated, if you will cause copies of your statement to be circulated to Senators.

[The Minister of Home Affairs indicated assent.]

## PUBLIC BUSINESS

### MOTIONS

**The President:** It is proposed to take the Motion on the Supplementary Order Paper standing in the name of the Minister of Trade and Industry first.

### DEATH OF MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

"Be it resolved that this Senate expresses its deepest sympathy to the bereaved relatives, the Government and the people of the Republic of India on the recent death of their Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru." [Minister of Trade Industry.]

**Senator Hubbard:** Mr. President, I, personally, experienced a great sense of grief and loss when I heard of the death of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru a few days ago. Nehru has been a light to those struggling for freedom over a long number of years. Nehru has suffered and demonstrated a degree of tolerance which only a few deeply cultured people could display, after the background of oppression from which he rose to power in his own country.

We write epitaphs in words, but the monuments which endure to our memory are the selfless work

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that we undertake and the accomplishment we achieve in the service of suffering mankind. The epitaphs written of Nehru, whether in verse or in prose, will never, sir, be an adequate tribute to the love which he engendered in the hearts of all decent mankind in all lands, and the respect which he received even from his oppressors.

Sir, my heart bleeds that, at a critical time in history, one of our great statesmen and political innovators should take his exit from the world's scene. Men die, but nations and peoples of the world go on. Nehru has gone, but the torch which he lit will pass to other hands, and the freedom which was his goal will, eventually, reach out and encompass all mankind.

I now move the Motion standing in my name.

**Senator Jardim:** In supporting the hon. Minister's Motion, I feel, once again, the necessity to record not only regret at the loss of a great man, but to talk as well about what he did for his country. Prime Minister Nehru united a country which was, in fact, a continent in which the peoples of the North, the Kashmiris were as different from the Dravidians of the South as we differ from each other in this country with our six races. This is his true epitaph: he was a man of sufficient vision and integrity to see that the sacrifices which he and so many thousands of people had made for India's independence could only be made worth the pain and imprisonment by creating out of

chaos a country in which life was secure; by creating a true consensus of opinion; by working for all the varying classes and peoples of India in the broadest sense. It is this epitaph that I should like to write in our records.

**Senator Jagan:** May I add a few words to this Motion of condolence in the loss of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. I had the honour of meeting him on one occasion, and being present at a Press conference on another occasion, and was able to assess the ingredients that made his greatness. What is, perhaps, greatest about the now deceased Prime Minister of India is that he was able to take the pieces of a divided India, shattered and wrecked by Britain, in the presence of British rule for so many years, and, out of chaos, form a united progressive India.

10:55 a.m.

Here is his greatness and here perhaps we too can say that there are possibilities that our country too can be united when those who create the disunity have left. It was so in India; it will be so in Guiana.

**Senator Persaud:** I should like to associate myself with this Motion chiefly because I was associated with this great man for more than 117 days. I have slept in his home as a friend. Mr. Nehru believed that he who lives for humanity can never die; only those who live for themselves die. This millionaire was born on the 14th November 1889 at Anand Bhavan, Allabad, and he went in and out of British pri-

sons nine times spending fourteen years in prison. His first arrest was in May 1922, when he served imprisonment because he organized a strike against the Prince of Wales. The last time he was arrested was August 1942 when he was detained in prison until June 1945. In September 1946 he joined the Interim Government as a Minister of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and was nominated Vice-President. From August 1947 he was the Prime Minister of India.

There is a passage in his book *Glimpses of World History*—which was written in the form of letters to his daughter, and which contains 196 letters, one of which I should like to quote. On page 7, letter No. 3 is a wonderful and inspiring letter which is worthwhile quoting at a time like this. I read from *Inquilab Zindabad*:

"Why should we shout 'Inquilab Zindabad?' Why should we want revolution and change? India of course wants a big change today. But even after the big change that we all want has come and India is independent, we cannot rest quiescent. Nothing in the world that is alive remains unchanging. All Nature changes from day to day and minute to minute, only the dead stop growing and are quiescent. Fresh water runs on, and if you stop it, it becomes stagnant. So also is it with the life of man and the life of a nation. Whether we want to or not, we grow old. Babies become little girls, and little girls big girls, and grown-up women and old women.

We have to put up with these changes. But there are many who refuse to admit that the world changes. They keep their minds closed and locked up and will not permit any new ideas to come into them. Nothing frightens them so much as the idea of thinking. What is the result? The world moves on in spite of them, and because they and people like them do not adapt themselves to the changing conditions, there are big burst-ups from time to time. Big revolutions take place, like the great French Revolution of a hundred and forty years ago, or the Russian Revolution thirteen years ago. Even so in our own country, we are to-day in the middle of a revolution. We want independence, of course. But we want something more. We want to clear out all the stagnant pools and let in clean fresh water everywhere. We must sweep away the dirt and the poverty and misery from our country. We must also clean up, as far as we can, the cobwebs from the minds of so many people which prevent them from thinking and co-operating in the great work before us. It is a great work, and it may be that it will require time. Let us, at least, give it a good push on — *Inquilab Zindabad!*

"And so the wheel of change moves on, and those who were down go up and those who were up go down. It was time it moved in our country. But we have given it such a push this time that no one can stop it.

[SENATOR PERSAUD]

*Inqilab Zindabad!*

For these reasons the people of the world, except those in Portugal who feel that Nehru was the biggest hypocrite, respect him. I say "Long live Nehru!" I think that the world at large has lost a human being and those who do not know him, may they be better in the future!

**The President:** If I may just briefly join in the glowing tributes paid by Senators to Pandit Nehru, I should like to say that the world has lost one of its greatest statesmen with the passing of Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nehru (with Ghandiji) was an architect of the modern Indian nation. Mr. Nehru himself has been a source of inspiration to the Indian nation ever since its independence. The life and world of Mr. Nehru embrace many rich experiences and many worthwhile examples which many people all over the world may do well to emulate.

Because of the very close ties which we in this country have with India I am sure that the people of this country will feel the passing of Mr. Nehru with a special sense of grievous loss, not only to this country but to the world. He has played his part as a statesman, as a politician and as a man, and he has played his part very well. India will suffer for his loss, but so will the world also. I can only hope that the Indian nation will be able to retrieve itself from this loss very early and continue to play its useful role in world affairs. After this Motion is passed I propose

that we should stand for two minutes in silence as a mark of respect to this great Prime Minister of the Indian nation. The Motion as moved by the Minister of Trade and Industry, Senator Hubbard, is:

"Be it resolved that this Senate expresses its deepest sympathy to the bereaved relatives, the Government and the people of the Republic of India on the recent death of their Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru."

11.05 a.m.

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Motion carried.*

**The President:** May we now stand for two minutes as a mark of respect?

[Senators stood for two minutes.]

## EXTENSION OF EMERGENCY

"Whereas on the 22nd day of May, 1964, Proclamation No. 3 of 1964 was made by the Governor and published in the Gazette on the 22nd of May, 1964, declaring the existence of a state of public emergency for the purposes of article 14 of the Constitution of British Guiana,

And whereas the said Proclamation was laid before the Senate on the 25th of May, 1964, and before the Legislative Assembly on the 26th of May, 1964, in pursuance of the provisions of sub paragraph (a) of paragraph (3) of the said article:

And Whereas the said Proclamation shall, unless sooner revoked by the Governor, cease to be in force at the expiration of fourteen days beginning on the 22nd day of May, 1964, in terms of sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph (3) of the said article unless the Legislature resolves that it shall continue in force for a further period not exceeding three months beginning on the date on which it would otherwise expire:

Be it resolved that Proclamation No. 3 of 1964 made by the Governor on the 22nd day of May, 1964, and published in the Gazette on the 22nd day of May, 1964, declaring the existence of a state of public emergency for the purposes of article 14 of the Constitution of British Guiana, do continue in force until the 4th day of September, 1964, unless sooner revoked. [The Minister of Home Affairs.]

**Senator Jagan:** Sir, the unfortunate developments that have taken place in British Guiana and the steady worsening of the position has brought us to the position where a state of emergency was thought necessary in order to maintain public order in British Guiana.

In order to set the record straight - for there have been many misconceptions mooted about in the newspapers - the Commissioner of Police, who had been watching the situation as is his duty, did not feel, until the 21st May, that it was necessary

for a state of emergency to be declared, and he so advised me on the 21st May. On the 22nd May, the relative documents having been prepared, they were presented to the Governor for his signature. It is regrettable that British Guiana now has to endure for the third year in succession, a state of emergency.

It is significant to know that the political developments in British Guiana had proceeded through three general elections which is generally the time people's tempers rise. The other general elections went without any acts of violence of any significance. I say that because I recall the 1961 elections in which tempers were at the highest pitch in relation to the 1957 and 1953 elections. The greatest manifestations of anger were through a few sticks, rotten eggs and tomatoes which politicians are generally accustomed to at any rate, not only in British Guiana, but in other countries. It is significant that it was not until after the P.P.P. won its third victory at democratic elections that violence broke out in British Guiana.

We hear over and over again that the chief objection to the People's Progressive Party is that the party does not believe in democracy; that the People's Progressive Party - you will forgive me if my tone sounds like the Leader of the United Force, but he goes on over and over - does not believe in democracy and therefore will bring one-party dictatorship in this country. His papers repeated and repeated, and his minions repeated and repeated.



[SENATOR JAGAN]

But what does it mean in reality? It is that the P.P.P. is where it is by democratic process, and others who profess to be great democrats have sought to upset the democratic process in this country. I say the problem in British Guiana is that those who preach democracy do not practise it and this can be said very well of those who refuse to accept the dictates of the voters of this country when, for the third time, they put this Party back in office.

The reason today we have a third state of emergency, and we have it every year, is because of the refusal of the Fascists in this country - the Fascists who want a Fascist regime in this country - to accept the basic tenets of democracy that each man's vote is respected. They did not respect any vote. From the time we won the elections in 1961, the United Force with its poor little cousins the P.N.C. following faithfully, trotting behind like little puppy-dogs, have been trying to put out of office the legally elected, democratic Government of the people. "Oh", they say "they only got 42.7 per cent, why are they running the country? They should not, they did not win the elections." Why should the British? Why should Canada? Why should many countries? What is good for the goose is not good for the gander. They lost and they cannot accept the fact.

How well I remember the P.N.C. headquarters in Carmichael Street with massive posters of their candidates and a massive sign: "This is the next Government of British Guiana". They did not

even have the face to take them down the day the election results came out! This was their whole problem because they thought they would be the next Government of British Guiana and because they could not accept the normal role of Opposition, because they had drummed into the ears of their voters that they would win the elections. The kernel of all our problems is that they do not want to accept the results of the poll and in 1962 the United Force, which is so close to the Fascist Party of Germany --

**Senator Jardim:** To a point of order! I very much resent this inference. The hon. Senator has just said that the United Force is "so close to the Fascist Party of Germany" and I would suggest, Mr. President, that this is outside the bounds of a debate on a Motion for a declaration of emergency.

**The President:** That was a matter of her opinion, it does not offend against any Standing Order.

**Senator Jardim:** So you will let it stand, Mr. President?

**The President:** As it stands.

**Senator Jardim:** While we debate a declaration of an emergency in this country?

**The President:** I have already ruled.

**Senator Jagan:** I say that Fascism is at the root of much of our problems here and a Fascist organization, aided and abetted by foreign money, has sought to subvert the work of the

legally elected Government of this country. This is one of our basic problems. It is a pity that there have been paid, trained, organized saboteurs who have come into British Guiana and who have been enveloped and hugged by those who cannot tolerate the presence of the elected Government of British Guiana.

11.15 a.m.

So in 1962 the Fascists instigated a demonstration in an attempt to overthrow the elected Government of British Guiana, and the first state of emergency was proclaimed. This was repeated in 1963 with growing intensity. Those who threw the first stone in 1962, those who lit the first match in 1962 which destroyed our own city - [Senator Hubbard: "And some of their own property as well."] - are the ones who started the trend of disturbances in 1963, which led to unfortunate circumstances. Those are the people who, today, rebel, weep and say that the P.P.P. is doing this and the Government is doing that, forgetting that the Frankenstein monster they once let loose has gone wild.

There was no violence in British Guiana before the disturbances of 1962, and those who talk about violence now must recognize that the first man who struck a match and the first man who stood at the Electricity Company and led the people to attack the Electricity Company, is guilty of all the sorrow, the deaths and the loss of property that have taken place in this country.

We have become a divided country since that first match

was struck in 1962. I am sorry that we stand here, again, to ask for the approval of a proclamation to declare the existence of a state of emergency. There are those who condone one act by saying that another act had been committed and, therefore, the second act is justified. I say that no act of violence is justified. I say that the people of British Guiana must be prepared to end this terrible internecine destruction that is going on today. It is my firm belief that what has now turned into a battle between the two major races (East Indians and Africans) has been instigated and nurtured by constant acts of terrorism from the Fascist Organization in this country to which I have already referred and which the hon. young lady (Senator Jardim) cannot bear to hear called Fascist. I say that the many acts of violence are cleverly carried out by these provokers in areas where they know that the lighting of a match will create a terrible explosion.

I have a very strong conviction - if the hon. young lady wishes me to carry things further - that these are acts of saboteurs. We have seen the acts of saboteurs here for two years, and we now see them for a third year. It is time that Guianese realize that behind the scenes are powerful forces of internecine warfare and destruction. This is the pattern of things not only in British Guiana but, unfortunately, in many countries.

We have, in our country today, many people whose reason for being here is to give the Government trouble - people who

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come in and go out of the country with their brief cases loaded - loaded with money needed in this country to help working people. That is the pity of it all. That is why it is most important now to stop sitting on a see-saw so that when the house of an African is burnt today, tomorrow the house of an East Indian is burnt; when a Negro is killed today, tomorrow an Indian is killed and so on. We sit on the see-saw and up and down we go. The people over there, who control the pivot, are smiling and happy because they are keeping things moving. It is time that both sides get off the see-saw and turn back to the time when, not so long ago, all Guianese lived in harmony with respect for one another as good friends.

I must pay tribute to the young man - forgive me for not recalling his name, as I am not *au fait* with the names of pop singers - who sang a song over the radio today. Let us hope that everyone will hear him and that in spite of what has taken place on the West and East Coasts and at Wismar, all Guianese will come together again and live as neighbours and friends once more. It is important that the leaders of British Guiana should be sincere and make a genuine attempt to bring the people together. It is no use a certain leader making statements to the effect that what took place at Wismar is in retaliation for what took place on the West Coast Demerara. If the leader of the P.N.C. says that what took place at Wismar is the result of what took place on the West Coast

Demerara, what lunatic would not want to say that what took place in some other village was the result of what took place at Wismar? If anybody believes that what took place at Wismar is justified for what took place on the West Coast Demerara, then the wrong village was destroyed, because the facts are that of the 14 people killed on the West Coast of Demerara - forgive me for using racial statistics - 9 were East Indians and 5 were Africans; and of the 176 injured, 99 were East Indians and 77 Africans. If we are going to sit on the see-saw, then the wrong village was burnt.

The leader of the P.N.C. personally went to Wismar to see the ruins of the terribly destroyed City, and, like one of the Roman leaders who had pillaged and destroyed a town, said: "We did this in retaliation for what took place on the West Coast Demerara. I say it would be the wrong city, because more Indians have died on the West Coast and more Indians have been injured on the West Coast and, if I may add, more Indians have also been charged on the West Coast, but these figures also bear resemblance to something I said earlier in the day.

11.25 a.m.

The Commissioner of Police felt on the 21st of May that a State of Emergency was necessary, and so I followed his advice. I accepted his advice and the request was made that the Governor sign the Proclamation. This is the Proclamation we have before us. Let us hope that the period of time to which it keeps the Proclamation alive, that is, up to the 4th September, need not be

used. Let us hope that long before this date we may have peace and harmony in this land and let us hope that democracy not fascism survives.

**Senator Jardim:** We are debating this morning what has become the annual symbol of this Government's incapacity. There is in the religion of Judaism a concept of positive and negative, a concept brilliantly applied —

**Senator Hubbard:** To a point of information! Is the hon. Senator going to run away after this speech or is she going to stay?

**Mr. President:** That is not necessary.

**Senator Jardim:** I have not yielded. It is a concept brilliantly applied to the ideas of justice and righteousness, a concept which can equally be applied in an analysis of what the hon. Minister has just said. On the negative side there is an utter lack of logic and on the positive side there is the evil which follows from the inability to be logical.

The hon. Minister has talked about a racial see-saw on which one race is balanced against the other race, but is the hon. Minister prepared to go further than that and to help people off the see-saw? To help them work with the situation that exists now? Oh no! We have been treated to a vituperative attack on the Opposition. We have heard in her statement this morning an unbelievable attempt to make a scapegoat of the Police Force of this country. We have heard half an hour's talk on what happened

in 1963. We have heard another half an hour's talk on her inability to run her Ministry because here she was blocked by the Commissioner of Police, here she was blocked by the Volunteer Force and here she was blocked by the forces of race run riot. And the hon. Minister, sitting in the middle, was unable to do anything constructive until this morning she handed in her resignation. I say "Thank God!" and I hope it will be followed by the resignation of every Minister of this Government.

In 1961, after the Elections, when the People's Progressive Party had been returned at the polls with a majority of seats in the House, in my private capacity as a citizen of this country, I went to see the Premier after this Government had been in office for about two months, within which period there were already signs of political extremism. I was concerned because I felt then that a country with a racial division like ours could not afford a Government bent on putting forward extremist policies. This Government, if it was to survive, if it was to govern democratically, had to follow the middle of the road. It could not, because of its precarious racial support, afford to give justification to any large section of the community for resentment, for non-acceptance of its policies. It had, by the very nature of its support, to attempt to draw to it the goodwill of large sections of the community, which, up to the Elections, had not supported it.

The Premier told me that I must realize that he had been given, in this country, the chance to prove that socialism as enun-

[SENATOR JARDIM]

ciated by the Russians, in other words, the "peaceful" conquest of the world by socialism, would be proven here. He had been given the chance to prove it. It was a Messiah complex, an inability to realize that good Government must clearly be rule which is acceptable to the broad majority of the people. This is necessary in a homogeneous society. How much more necessary is it in a society in which the easily ascertainable characteristics of the race make for an immediate division?

It has become commonplace to quote the situation of Trinidad and Tobago. This has been quoted time and again. Reference has been made to the ability of the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago to realize that the future of his country lay not in antagonizing sections of the community but in bringing them together to share in the work that has to be done.

From 1961 to now we have seen a Government bent on instituting in this country a form of social organization which is not based on a consensus, which of necessity has stirred up opposition to it; and we have seen the consequences of his Government's policy in the racial situation that we find ourselves in today now that opposition has deteriorated into racial war.

Last October, at the British Guiana Conference in London, the high point was reached when the three political leaders, unable to arrive at a solution to this divided country's problems, abdicated their responsibility and asked the Secretary of State for

the Colonies to settle it. They asked him to decide the electoral system; to decide the voting age and to decide whether new elections should be held before Independence. They bound themselves to accept his decision. They asked him to make his decision on his own authority.

11.35 a.m.

The decision was that an electoral system based on Proportional Representation should be instituted in this country. The Premier, Dr. Jagan, had signed a letter asking for a decision to be made. [An hon. Senator: "Shame!"] The hon. Senator says "Shame" and it is a shame that he should have signed a letter asking for a decision from the Colonial Secretary on a question which he was unable to settle with his political Opposition. Having done that, and having returned to this country and having realised the predicament in which he, an "anti-colonialist agitator," had placed himself, he re-radiated his signature and began the campaign of resistance, the campaign of terror which has culminated in this state of emergency. He began that campaign on his return.

I should like to quote from the *Guiana Graphic* of the 18th November, 1963:

"The People's Progressive Party in a massive protest demonstration throughout British Guiana yesterday called on the British to grant independence and get out of this country. Dr. Jagan urging crowds at Wakenaam and Leguan to fight

for Independence said: 'Let us do like Nkrumah and the other leaders to see that the imposition does not succeed.'"

The imposition was the system of P.R. Mr. Sandys' decision made at Dr. Jagan's request.

"Mrs. Jagan called on the enthusiastic supporters to demand what is ours and if they don't want to give us what is ours, we will take it.

'If some of us have to die

and this is 18th November, 1963:

'If some of us have to die, let some of us die . . . I for one am fully prepared to die if it would bring independence to this country.'"

Mr. President, that was the beginning. It was reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 29th March, 1964, and in the *Guiana Graphic* of the same day that a circular had been issued by Mr. Moses Bhagwan, Chairman of the P.Y.O. in late November/early December. Mr. Bhagwan, in his circular to P.Y.O. youths, had this to say, and it was reported as follows:-

" the people 'will be asked to crawl before the rule of the whites, and near-whites, who will use as a facade for their domination many black and brown so-called Guyanese.'

He accuses Mr. Sandys of 'perpetrating outrages against the supporters of the R.B.P.' He adds: 'Sandys in a blatantly dishonest move,

has handed us an entirely new electoral system.'"

This system decided on at the request of Mr. Bhagwan's leader!

"He accuses the British Government of withholding Independence. He states: 'If the P.P.P. loses, naturally Independence will be handed immediately as stooges in the West Indies, Williams and Bustamante, were given Independence.'"

He declared: 'As you know, the only new element in Trinidad and Jamaica is a new flag. The British and American capitalist interests are protected, poverty reigns supreme, and the progressives are prosecuted.'"

This wilful distortion of facts deliberately done to incite people who are unable to know the real truth, Mr. President, follows on the statement by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs at Herstelling.

In Trinidad, you have a country with a racial division which has achieved security and Independence with a *per capita* income three times our own, achieved over the same period during which the P.P.P. had held office. Our *per capita* income is at the same level as it was nine years ago and in the meantime the P.P.P. has, but only as a sideline, allowed the present situation of racial violence to arise so that the only sane solution now seems to be some form of partition. The report continued:

"Bhagwan states that

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the Sandys' decision must be rejected completely. He orders its reversal and a campaign to frustrate the implementation of new elections under Proportional Representation. The strength of the P.Y.O. must be known.

They must also know that we control the whole wide country and that we produce the food - that places like New Amsterdam, Georgetown and Mackenzie are tiny drops in an ocean. Above all, they must know we control the profitable sugar estates

We are of the firm and considered belief that the movement, as a whole, can raise such a storm in Guyana that Sandys can definitely be turned back."

Under the heading "What is to be done", he lists:

"(a) The first task is to wage war on the United Force in every conceivable way. In our stronghold we swear in the name of freedom and Independence and socialism that no one must support the United Force. Suitable methods of conversion to the P.P.P. and P.Y.O. should be employed."

In the strongholds of the Opposition, Bhagwan instructs that, similarly, Opposition parties must get a dose of their own medicine  
The commercial boy-

cott, about which you already know, must not fail. Shops in the country must not stock certain commodities: supporters must not buy these commodities. Advertisement signs should disappear and the boycott campaign should proceed unceasingly. The thought in our minds should always be 'do not support our enemies, commercially, financially or politically!'"

As an aside, this assorts ill with the statement at the "Buy local" campaign of the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry.

"His list goes on: 'By December 31 the whole country should be painted in every little corner, in every space available with the slogans of the people - Freedom Now, Vote at 18. TURN BACK SANDYS, British Get Out, Death to P.R., etc. '"

Bhagwan adds: PYO comrades must start preparing themselves emotionally for tasks that lie ahead.

The PYO members are to concentrate on strengthening the sugar workers' union - the GAWU - which has a vital role to play in the fight against the sugar lords and British imperialism. The MPCA must be routed - and it should be treated with the same contempt as the United Force. Supporters of the movement must not be in the MPCA.'

His release concludes by instructing PYO groups to develop their own methods in carrying on the campaign against the United Force, the MPCA and the Sandys' decision.

His final words were: "Let the enemy feel our blows, and our comrades our fraternity. Nothing must stop us - the revolution goes on."

So that here we have, after the abdication by the Premier of this country at the October Conference of his responsibility for finding a solution and the consequent decision given by the Colonial Secretary that a system of Proportional Representation should be introduced, we have first, the Herstelling speech in which the hon. Minister of Home Affairs so distinguished herself when she said: "If some of us have to die, let some of us die. I for one am fully prepared to die if it would bring independence to this country." Following that, we then have Mr. Bhagwan's stirring call to the members of the P.Y.O., to "let the enemy feel our blows", to "support the G.A.W.U." - this is before the strike began - to "support the G.A.W.U. in their claim for recognition in the sugar industry". The statement that the M.P.C.A. must be routed, and then we have the unleashing of violence on January 22, 1964, when the first incidents of arson of houses and of sugar cane began.

11.45 a.m.:

And in that time, from January 22, 1964, to the declaration of this state of emergency some ten days ago, what have the Ministers of the Government done to prevent the bloodshed that slowly built up, reached culmination, and then unleashed its forces in Wismar?

Mrs. Philomena Sahoye, General Secretary of the G.A.W.U. on the 5th March, 1964, as reported

in the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Guiana Graphic*, said: "We are not afraid of them" - referring to the Police-over whom the Minister of Home Affairs has control - "nor the S.P.A., because we have guns." She said she wanted it to be clearly understood that "if there is no Jagan, there is no Guiana." This is one of a whole series of quotations from inflammatory speeches made by Ministers of the Government, by members of the P.P.P. puppet union, and by members and officers of the Progressive Youth Organization.

Throughout the period under discussion, from January to now, there has been no real attempt on the part of this Government to stop violence. Sunday after Sunday the hon. Premier of this country, the leader of this nation, has gone into the country districts, from Berbice to Essequibo, warning people that the struggle is on: that they have to die, and that they may have to sacrifice themselves. For what, Mr. President?

Mr. Bhagwan was quite definite in his circular to the P.Y.O. regarding Mr. Sandys' decision and the system of P.R. The hon. Premier of this country has repudiated his signature and he is responsible for the death of more than thirty people in this country. That is what this Government stands accused of. It stands accused of all the brutish incidents that have occurred week after week, and which came to a climax at Wismar.

The hon. Minister of Home Affairs is able, not only to weep crocodile tears, but in her veins



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must run crocodile blood if she can stand here and pass the blame for all that has taken place to the Police Force, the Commissioner of Police and the Volunteer Force when, in November last year, she actively incited people to violence. This is the picture of a Government that, from the outset, was unable to make any claim to being a national Government and which is now unable to stand up and denounce, unequivocally, the violence that has erupted all over this country.

The Minister of Home Affairs was very careful in her statement to make certain ethnic divisions on the question of what took place on the East Coast and the West Coast of Demerara. She referred to the 14 weeks of sustained violence in which people have not slept day and night and in which people were terrified day and night. We could swap statistics, we could exchange figures of the houses burnt in 14 weeks as against the houses burnt at Wismar in 48 hours. The number of houses burnt over the 14 weeks would just about double the number of houses burnt at Wismar in 48 hours. But where would this take us? How could we find a solution in swapping statistics on arson and murder and making racial distinctions?

What is at stake in this country is not the justification or the attempted justification of what the P.P.P. had done. There is no justification whatsoever. What is needed in this country, if people are to settle down in peace once more, is the resignation of the entire Government, for in three years the members of

this Government have brought nothing but bitterness to Guiana. They have deferred, apparently indefinitely, all hope of this country ever achieving independence.

I have no alternative but to support this Motion which should have been brought here a long time ago to help the people of all the races who have had to live through these 14 weeks of terror, the responsibility for which must be placed fairly and squarely on the shoulders of those to whom it belongs - the instigators: the Ministers and the members of the P.P.P. This declaration of a state of emergency has become an annual symbol of this Government's incapacity, and it is time that this country was rid of the people who are capable of so destroying it that it will take a generation for us to recover.

**The President:** It is proposed to take the Adjournment at twelve noon. I do not know how many Senators desire to speak on this Motion, but we will resume at 2 p.m.

**Senator Tasker:** Your Honour, the temperature of this chamber has been raised this morning. It has risen above its normal tepid level, and I have no desire to add further fuel, not only because of the Motion that is before us, but also because of the efforts which, no matter how belatedly, are now apparently being made to try to reach a greater measure of understanding and accommodation between the Government and the Opposition parties at this present stage of

disaster. It seems to be a melancholy fact that we are unable to get together with any really critical sense of urgency until we have an emergency declared.

The previous speaker has referred to the length of time that violence has been a feature of our lives this year—some four months now. It is an unfortunate fact that in the early days of the disturbances the Government certainly gave the impression of ignoring all appeals to take action to curb the violence. I was therefore very glad to hear the hon. Minister of Home Affairs make the statement that no act of violence is justified.

11.55 a.m.

The real issues are, of course, very much deeper. Whether one is persuaded by the arguments of the hon. Minister of Home Affairs or by the counter-arguments of the hon. Senator on my left (Senator Jardim), the plain fact remains that some form of consensus or agreement is necessary if this country is not finally to tear itself to pieces.

A consensus was lacking at the Constitutional Conferences held in 1962 and 1963, and it was that lack which led to the request for an imposed solution, which has been so hotly disputed in some quarters. More recently there have been the efforts of the Mission from Ghana, and more recently still the efforts of the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. In my view, all such initiatives are greatly welcomed but I do not believe that individually or collectively they can be successful unless they are

based on a readiness by the political leaders to find a consensus, that is, a readiness and a willingness to reach agreement on the basis of honest compromise

I use the word "compromise" because "consensus" is a very overworked word these days. There are words that crop up, are over-used, and then drop out again. "Consensus" is our word of the moment. But when it comes to problems of politics, a consensus, like all practical problems of politics, must ultimately be resolved by give and take. That is why I use the words "honest compromise".

There is no one party, no one group of people in this country, who are the sole repository of all wisdom. We are small, we are poor; we seem rapidly to be making ourselves poorer still, and it seems to me that we cannot afford not to recognize that either we find a solution or we perish.

I said earlier that the party leaders are apparently to meet today in a further effort to arrive at a consensus and to find a formula to end the violence. I will say nothing which might make that task more difficult. I would only suggest that perhaps when we are talking of the need for a consensus or an agreement it might be sensible to try to lay the foundations for that consensus, not by more talk, not by more condemnation or by more rebuttal, but by tackling and resolving a practical problem.

It seems to me that there is one readily to hand. It is the immense problem of the rehabili-

[SENATOR TASKER]

tation and resettlement of the victims of the recent disturbances. The hon. Minister of Education and Social Development has already announced that he is setting up a National Relief Committee to cope with this problem.

12 noon

So far relatively little has been published, but the situation in many parts of the country is getting very serious. In parts of the East Coast there is, in fact, a land-grab going on. It cannot be called anything else. Some of the people who are squatting, or planning to squat, are the victims of disturbances; they are people who have been compelled or have felt compelled to leave their homes and move elsewhere.

**The President:** I wonder if this would be a convenient stage to adjourn?

**Senator Tasker:** I shall not be more than two minutes.

**The President:** Certainly, you may continue.

**Senator Tasker:** Many others, who seem to have no connection with the recent disturbances, are taking advantage of the situation in order to try to obtain land for themselves, outside the law. I am informed - and these are not idle words - that there is one case, for instance, where a gentleman has pegged out six house lots for himself and his family. There is another case where a gentleman has apparently pegged out a rice mill. No doubt, the

people concerned have their own reasons for endeavouring to cash in on the land-grab that is going on; but this is surely further evidence of the breakdown of moral standards, and of disregard for the law.

All I would ask is that the hon. Minister and his colleagues should recognize that this problem which I have touched upon is an urgent one. Clearly, an honest and a fair, national solution must be found to a national problem of this sort. Will he therefore try to ensure that it is tackled in a national way? Could this not be the beginning of a consensus by tackling an immediate, practical, national problem and ensuring that it is dealt with regardless of all the heat, the horrors and the hatreds, thereby setting if only one brick, or one step, in the foundation of some constructive efforts towards the national consensus which is so desperately needed?

**The President:** Senators it is proposed now to take the adjournment until 2 p.m.

*Sitting suspended at 12.04 p.m.*

2.03 p.m.

*On resumption —*

*The Clerk read Prayers.*

**Mr. President:** We shall now resume the debate on the Motion moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, the first Motion on today's Order Paper.

**Senator Toe Chung:** I notice that prayers have been repeated this afternoon. I do hope that

the words of the prayer will make an impression on those of us who heard it.

I am sure that everyone hopes that the situation will improve rapidly so that this Proclamation may be revoked as soon as possible. I am rather alarmed that the Government wishes an extension for the full period of three months. Three months is a long time. I do not know whether the hon. Minister of Home Affairs has already tendered her resignation. She said she proposed to do so after this Sitting. I am surprised to hear that she does intend to do so instead of doing what one would expect, that is, calling on the Commissioner of Police to resign on the basis of the statements she made. It is unfortunate that the situation should have worsened during the time she has been in office as Minister.

Under the Emergency Powers Orders in Council regulations have been made and will remain in force for the period. I should like to draw the attention of Government to the amendment which has just been made, that is, on the 30th of May. Regulation 7 gives the Council of Ministers authority to appoint a competent authority. That competent authority could be anyone. The Governor has power to requisition property, dispose of it and even to sell it. One finds it difficult to understand why a competent authority should be given the power to acquire, not merely to requisition, under regulation 68, take possession of, develop, use or dispose of any property obtained by this means. Any property can be acquired and disposed of. Further, I see that

under that regulation he can sell it and he has the authority to direct the Registrar to give good title.

In the cases where the damaged properties of refugees are acquired, this regulation may be in order, but I do not agree that in every case the competent authority should see fit to acquire property, sell or dispose of it. Emergency powers should not be used to deprive people of their properties since under the Emergency Powers there is no right of access to the Courts for some matters.

2.10 p.m.

The question is: Is it Government's intention to deal in property?

Further, I notice that provision is made for adequate compensation to be paid promptly out of colony funds - that means payment in cash, I expect. In view of the very heavy losses sustained by people, has Government got cash to pay? Who is to determine how promptly? The Competent Authority? What amounts of compensation? Some of these damaged properties are already covered by insurance. I would like to say that great care should be taken that opportunity be not given to anyone who would have power to take away from one person and give to another.

**Senator Hubbard:** Your Honour, I stood on Tuesday in the bond of the Transport and Harbours Department while that building was filled with bodies, living bodies some of them maimed, some

[SENATOR HUBBARD] of them subjected to awful brutality, and I saw there the face of anti-communism. I experienced on that day a similar sensation to that which went through my frame, my heart, my head, when I stood in Poland in the ruins of one of the largest Nazi concentration camps where some four million people were brutally done to death in the name of the master race.

We have been subjected today to some puppetry with the Senator who speaks and runs away but whom we have managed to induce to come back today, with the Senator being Charlie McCarthy for her boss. She was in the strange role of injured guilt, a role that ill becomes her shoulders which already slope with the burden of falsehood with the burden of deception, with the burden of complicity in murder —

**Senator Jardim:** To a point of order, Mr. President: I would suggest that an accusation of complicity in murder on the part of the hon. Minister, does not fall within the scope of this debate in its reference to a Member of this House.

**The President:** Quite a lot of loose language has been used, such as, inciting violence, and the Premier's finger-tips dipped in blood. I accept this as being very loose and I have given Senators this morning, some latitude because I did not wish to interrupt unduly. These are not the best type of things to say at this time. What we are trying to get is peace and harmony in this country, and digging up sordid references do not really help.

The Senator will observe the rules as to making pointed remarks and imputing any impropriety or otherwise to any Senator of this House.

**Senator Hubbard:** Some of us get very sensitive when we are guilty and when the finger of accusation is pointed. The Senator some time ago recorded these words on tape: "Kelshall, Benn, Jacob and Jagan, you have done enough. The time is late. Get out and leave us to rebuild in the confidence that your wickedness will never rise again. We want a new Indian leader, Jagan, and that leader is not you."

**Senator Jardim:** To a point of order, Mr. President: I did not record those words. It is not my voice and I should like to have withdrawn by the hon. Minister the statement he just made that it is my voice and that I recorded those words on tape.

**The President:** He said recorded in writing. From which document are you quoting Senator Hubbard?

**Senator Hubbard:** I am quoting from notes on the discovery of a clandestine radio station in British Guiana.

**The President:** Well the Senator is denying that she used those words. You should not attribute them to her since she denies it.

**Senator Hubbard:** The Senator is adept at denying what she does. She went to the United States of America and she issued there documents purporting to be documents of Barclays Bank which

the manager of the Bank declared to be forgeries. [Senator Jardim: "Take it to the Supreme Court".] That lady has special privileges in the Supreme Court apparently, but the fact of the matter is that she is internationally notorious for making false statements. [Senator Jardim: "Such as 'A strike did not exist in 1962.'" ] Anyway, what I want to say is this: The Senator quoted from the newspapers - including the infamous *Daily Chronicle* - and she told us of words which she alleged she had spoken to the Premier and that the Premier had spoken to her.

Well, one can readily understand that there is no length at which the Senator will stop to try and score a point. What is significant is not what the Senator said because she is a puppet on a string. What is important is what has not yet been said in this debate. The Minister of Home Affairs was with me in London during the end of April and for some time in May, and at that time information was given to us that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had briefed certain elements of the British Press and had told them - this is at the beginning of May, sir - that a declaration of emergency would take place in British Guiana under cover of which the strike in the sugar industry would be broken and all opposition to the Sandys' plan would be destroyed.

2.20 p.m.

We know that when the Secretary of State came to this country he separated the sheep from

the goats, as did the Leader of the Opposition yesterday, and he held a separate briefing for the foreign Press. We know some of what he said then, and there is no reason to doubt that the Secretary of State did, in fact, hold this briefing and that he said an emergency would be declared.

The hon. Minister of Home Affairs has told us that all along her advice was "Do not declare a State of emergency". Later the Secretary of State's Commander-in-Chief went on the radio in British Guiana, and he gave reasons why the emergency should not be declared. I mention these things, sir, because it is important for us to understand that the behaviour of the Police, which was the subject of a special statement by the Minister of Home Affairs, is not separate from the statement of the Secretary of State on the timing of a declaration of emergency. He had said the 15th May and it came out on the 22nd May, 1964.

We have, in yesterday's newspapers, seen the report of an article in one of the influential American newspapers on what should be done about British Guiana and what American policy should be in British Guiana. We note in today's newspapers an editorial from another American newspaper in relation to what Britain should do in British Guiana. A few days ago we saw in another newspaper an English editorial in which it was declared that, whoever wins the election, the British must remain in control.

[SENATOR HUBBARD]

We may talk about leaders in British Guiana getting together; we may talk about leaders in British Guiana seeking a consensus; we may talk about Ghana and about Trinidad trying to help solve our problems, but what makes the solving of the problem of British Guiana impracticable is not, I submit, the people of British Guiana. What makes the problem of British Guiana intractable and incapable of solution at the present time is the attitude of the Anglo-American imperialism - the attitude of Home and Johnson to the 600,000 people in this country.

What happened at Wismar last week was not just an ordinary outburst of riotous behaviour on the part of a section of the population which had become dissatisfied. What happened was the putting into operation of a plan that had been carefully prepared and well rehearsed, and in which the main participants were mercenaries paid by the Government of the United States of America through its local hirelings and also with the full connivance of the British Government and its representatives in this country.

I am an adult and you, sir, are an adult. Though some of us in this Senate - not many, thank God - are ever giving evidence of their continuing childhood, no one can believe that a disciplined force, charged with the duty of protecting the people of the Wismar/Mackenzie area, could have failed so miserably as did the 75 armed men on duty at that time.

The Commissioner of Police is a career officer; he is not a man who merits special praise for intellect, but he is a man who, I believe, has been drilled to understand that, in the picturesque language of the English, "orders is orders". If the Commissioner of Police was given orders to suppress rioting, then what happened in Georgetown on Friday, what happened at Mackenzie commencing from Saturday night, would never, never have taken place. We must look behind us, because there lie the answers to many of our problems today. There was a great misunderstanding and people died in Mackenzie. The mercenaries brutalized women, and be it said to their everlasting discredit and the discredit of those who claim to lead the African section of this community on a racial basis that brutality led the Africans to appear different from what they really are.

2.30 p.m.

The African is ordinarily kind, generous, open-handed and open-hearted, but under the influence of mercenaries, leaders were able to transform these generous people into very ugly men indeed. It is comforting to know that many Africans have personally approached me to disassociate themselves from the happenings of Mackenzie. The bulk of our people are decent people, whatever the race to which they belong. They only degenerate when they come under

the influence of Fascists, who feed them drugs and liquor in order to convert them from human beings into beasts.

The strange behaviour of the Commissioner of Police in MacKenzie has its match in 1962, with the Governor of that day, a Sir Ralph Grey who has now gone to manage an American tourist resort, "misunderstanding" an arrangement which had been made between him and the then Minister of Home Affairs and the Premier about protecting the capital against the depredations of people, whose attitude was known to be mischievous. That "misunderstanding" was preceded by agitation which began with a Royal occasion and I know, and you know, that political activity is never associated with a Royal occasion unless it has the full blessing of Her Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

We had a "misunderstanding", similar to that of which the Minister of Home Affairs told us about this morning, taking place last year during the strike. I even had the distinction of having one of the few Ministries that was not blown up, because I did not rely entirely on the Police for protection. I hired watchmen and those watchmen did their work zealously and well. The Ministry of Trade and Industry was not blown up and the Produce Depot was not blown up. The Commissioner of Police in 1963 could not protect the Ministry for which he

himself was responsible. but I could protect mine. There was a price that had to be paid for that. There was a price that had to be paid, because I employed six watchmen; one of them was an Indian and one night when these watchmen were on duty together, the Commissioner of Police sent his men and searched these men in the compound of the Ministry of Trade and Industry and arrested the single Indian for being in possession of a dangerous weapon, to wit a penknife, while he was on duty. When the colleague of Senators Tasker and Jardim had his yard searched, and 200 detonators were found there, nothing happened, but this inoffensive Indian, who was not a Director of Bookers or an Executive Member of the P.N.C. or the United Force, was found with a knife, he was arrested and was taken to the police station and kept in the lock-up all night.

I was telephoned at 5 o'clock in the morning and told that I had been given as a reference and would I come down and sign a bail bond so that this young man might be released. He was being charged for being in possession of a knife. I rang the Governor and told him that his Commissioner of Police had gone mad in what he had done. The Commissioner of Police subsequently rang me and said that the man was not being charged for being in possession of a knife, he was being charged for disorderly behaviour. He was



[SENATOR HUBBARD]

in due course put before the Court and convicted of disorderly behaviour, which he is supposed to have committed while on duty in my Ministry and while performing a service which the Commissioner of Police was incapable of performing or under instructions not to perform. At the end of the incident I duly wrote thanking His Excellency for further enriching my experience of the British way of life in the colonies.

So, what is taking place in British Guiana, this progression from emergency to emergency, is not associated with any buy-local campaign. It is part of the manufacture of imperialist Britain and imperialist United States of America.

Senator Tasker spoke with hypocritical restraint about the need for a beginning. Senator Tasker has it in his power to make a beginning and make a beginning now. Since 1953 the employees of the sugar industry - I should say, since before 1953 the employees of the sugar industry have been dissatisfied with the company union which they have had to accept.

2.40 p.m.

Last year when there was a so-called general strike, the workers in the sugar industry, who are the majority of all the workers, did not support the strike, the employers had to lock

them out. Sir Jock Campbell told me that if he ran the risk of opening the factories, Ishmael would blow them up. That is what he told me in London. Apparently the sugar producers have found themselves unable to stand up to a bunch of hooligans whom they have supported over a number of years.

Senator Tasker talks about a consensus. He talks about a beginning. Let Senator Tasker make a beginning now! Let him agree that the democracy which he says he champions should be applied. Let him agree to recognise the union the sugar workers want and we will have a beginning!

**Senator Too-Chung:** I cannot stand all this shouting.

[Senator Too-Chung then left the Chamber.]

**Senator Hubbard:** Let him do more than that. Let him tell the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he has watched the brutalities which he, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has connived at perpetrating in this country. Let him say to the Secretary of State: "I will have none of this." Let him show his displeasure. Let him be a man. But asking these things is using vain words. Tasker, Reid, Gaskin, Jardim - they are all one. Each comes up and says something a little different, but the controlling voice is in London. Let them stop being puppets for the imperialists over the seas and then we can get down to having peace in Guiana.

Sir, let me remind you that British Guiana has always been a land of peace until the Americans decided to set up a puppet organization in this country, financed and directed it and forced their junior partners in the United Kingdom to give them a free hand. British Guiana will become a peaceful land again when these puppets cease their nefarious activities and cut themselves adrift from the forces of evil which now impel and compel them to perpetrate such carnage and cruelty as we saw at Wismar.

Sir, I learnt today that the curfew was lifted at Wismar last night and that there was more burning of property. We know that the British and the United States of America are most anxious to make it appear to the world that there cannot be peace in Guiana. The fault does not lie here, the fault lies thousands, thousands of miles away. It lies in the hearts of men who drop 1,000-pound bombs on the citizens of South Arabia who are not accepting an imposition designed to serve Britain's interest and to destroy the people of that country. The way to peace lies in a change of heart of men who can perpetrate the mass murders that the world saw in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

*Senator Jardim rose to leave.*

**Senator Hubbard:** Senator Jardim cannot take it.

**Senator Jardim:** If you talk about B.G. and its problems I will stay.

[*Senator Jardim then left the Chamber.*]

**Senator Hubbard:** Senator Jardim is one of them. It does not matter who dies so long as the interests of these people of superior race prevail.

I said at the beginning of my address that when I saw the people coming from Wismar, I was reminded of my sensations when I visited a famous Nazi concentration camp. The visible sign results from the invisible philosophy. The Nazi philosophy was the philosophy of racial superiority. The philosophical justification of empire is the superiority of one race over another.

2.50 p.m.

It is that underlying philosophy which has been able, because it is so obsessed with race, to create a clever, subtle, and dividing propaganda which has left us in this difficulty today. A consensus is possible when we can discuss and decide our own affairs for ourselves. A consensus is impossible so long as the British and the Americans are able to weave their way at will into the body politic in this country and create the carnage that we saw at Wismar last week.

**The President:** Does the Minister of Home Affairs wish to reply?

**Senator Jagan:** Senator Too-Chung raised the question of his fear of the use of the Emergency Regulations, and the question of requisitioning property. Perhaps it would be useful to assure the Senator that the Emergency Regulations were never intended to be used in the sense of requisitioning property for any purpose other

[SENATOR JAGAN]

than that of some serious emergency. For example, if it were found necessary to move troops or Special Reserve Police to a particular area at a moment's notice that particular area may not have any accommodation which they could use, and this provision would empower those concerned with law and order to requisition a building or properties for such use.

I can envisage, also, the possibility of requisitioning buildings in an emergency where housing may have to be provided temporarily for people who may have been evacuated from an area. This seems to be the only other possibility where buildings would have to be requisitioned. I doubt whether it is the intention of those who considered this legislation that any of these things should be used on a permanent basis. The provision is to deal mainly with matters of a temporary nature, and it is only in cases of emergency when this power will be used.

When the 1,800 refugees came over from Wismar, for example, it was not necessary to use the section to requisition property, because it was not difficult to find quarters for them. In fact, in situations like this, you generally find that offers are made to assist people. I do not think the hon. Senator should have fears on that score.

We have heard today many grim things said, and emotions have been high, as is to be expected during this period. Let me close this discussion with a note of hope. I think that there is much hope that the people will find

their way through all these difficulties to a reasonable and healthy solution. When we sift through all the terrible things we have heard, some things are still reassuring in the life of the Guiana community. The people are getting together and preventing wrong-doers from creating serious situations.

I received a deputation from some people on the East Coast during this week, and I was told that at Ann's Grove two Local Authorities, groups representing the two racial groups, were holding meetings and having discussions to obviate the possibility of violence breaking out in that area. At Bachelor's Adventure, which is made up of two racial groups, I understand that some ruffians from Buxton went to the village inciting the people to rebel. The older heads at Beterverwagting exhorted the people to ask the ruffians to stay out of the village. At Itnni, not far from the Wismar/Mackenzie area, we are informed that African workers in the mines said that they would protect their Indian fellow-workers if they were attacked and no trouble arose. In the Essequibo Coast trouble began when the watch-houses of three African rice farmers were maliciously burnt. However, people in the community got together and raised a sum of money so that the damage done could be repaired.

Sir, these are efforts which we must notice and encourage because a solution must be found for the trouble in Guiana. People from the top to the bottom must make efforts, must get together and do things so that we

may be able to live together in peace and harmony. I would plead to people in all aspects of life in the community, at local government level, at the co-operative level, at the level of infant and maternity, and youth groups to let us get together and follow the example of those people in the districts to which I have referred who have been able to keep level heads and keep the hot-heads in their districts under control in order that peace may remain in the community. I think this can be done, and I think we can get over the worst.

I now ask that the Motion be approved by the Senate at this sitting.

**The President:** I shall now put the Motion as it stands on the Order Paper. The last paragraph reads thus:

"Be it resolved that Proclamation No. 3 of 1964, made by the Governor on the 22nd day of May, 1964, and published in the Gazette on the 22nd of May, 1964, declaring the existence of a state of public emergency for the purposes of article 14 of the Constitution of British Guiana, do continue in force until the 4th day of September, 1964, unless sooner revoked."

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Motion carried.*

#### **GOVERNMENT WHARVES (CHARGES) RULES 1964**

"Be it resolved that the Legislature in terms of section 4 of the Government

Wharves Ordinance, Chapter 263, approves of the Government Wharves (Charges) Rules, 1964, which were made by the Governor on the 18th of March, 1964." - [Senator Hubbard.]

**Senator Hubbard:** It is required by law that for supervision to be maintained over certain wharves, which are the property of the Government, and for charges to be made and collected for use of those wharves, rules should be made and the wharves to which they apply and the charges applicable should be declared. The purpose of the Motion is to secure the consent of the Senate to rules made on the 18th March applying to Government Wharves. I therefore move the Motion standing in my name on the Order Paper.

**The President:** If no Senator wishes to speak on this Motion there will be no reason for reply by the Mover of the Motion. I therefore put the Motion to the Senate immediately.

*Question put, and agreed to.  
Motion carried.*

#### **BILLS - SECOND READING**

#### **GEORGETOWN TOWN COUNCIL (AMENDMENT) BILL**

A Bill intituled:

"An Ordinance to amend the Georgetown Town Council Ordinance." - [Minister of Home Affairs.]

**Senator Jagan:** The Georgetown Town Council (Amendment) Bill, 1964, seeks to extend the

period in which the pound is open so that animals found straying in the night may be taken to the pound and there kept. The Bill is a very simple one, one that merely extends the hours in which the pound is open. I therefore ask that the Bill be read a Second time.

**The President** (after a pause): It does not appear that anyone wishes to speak on this Bill. I shall therefore put the question to the Senate.

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Bill read a Second time.*

*Senate in Committee.*

*Bill considered and approved.*

*Bill reported without amendment, read the Third time and passed.*

### FULL GOSPEL MOVEMENT STREAMS OF POWER IN BRITISH GUIANA (INCORPORATION) BILL

**Senator Thomas:** I beg to move the Second Reading of the Bill intituled:

- "An Ordinance to incorporate the Full Gospel Movement Streams of Power in British Guiana and for purposes connected therewith."

This Bill has passed through the Legislative Assembly without amendment. The objects and reasons of the Bill are to incorporate in British Guiana certain persons as the Full Gospel Movement Streams of Power in British Guiana and to vest in the

Movement all the property in British Guiana of any Full Gospel Movement Streams of Power. The Bill also provides that the Movement may acquire and dispose of property.

The Full Gospel Movement Streams of Power was first established in British Guiana in 1962, and comprises the following Churches:

- (i) The Church at No. 50 Village, Corentyne, Berbice;
- (ii) The Church at No. 64 Village, Corentyne, Berbice;
- (iii) The Church at No. 78 Village, Corentyne, Berbice;

The above Churches have a total roll of 200 who are all communicants. Their teachings are based on the Holy Bible.

I now move that Bill be read a Second time.

**Senator Hubbard seconded.**

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Bill read a Second time.*

*Senate in Committee.*

*Bill considered and approved.*

*Bill reported without amendment, read the Third time and passed.*

ASSOCIATION OF THE NEW  
TESTAMENT CHURCH OF GOD  
OF BRITISH GUIANA BILL

A Bill intituled:

"An Ordinance to incorporate the Association of the New Testament Church of God in British Guiana and for purposes connected therewith." [Senator Persaud.]

**Senator Persaud:** Sir, in moving the Second Reading of the Bill No. 11 of 1964 which was published on 16th May, 1964, notice of which was given on the 25th May, 1964, I think it will be necessary for me to make a few remarks.

Sir, it was the policy of this Government that all religions should have equal status. It is for this reason that we have placed Islam, Hinduism and Christianity on a level footing. We believe in the freedom of the conscience. We believe that all believers may freely attend churches, mosques, temples or other places of worship. We believe that we should make no distinction between citizens because of their religion. We feel that on any official document, marriage certificates, etc., the citizen's religion must not be indicated. We believe that officials should have no right to inquire into the religion of citizens applying for posts in an educational establishment. The religion should be the private, personal affair of the citizen, a matter of his conscience.

But today, in British Guiana, under the Immigration Ordinance, Section 142, any Hindu or Muslim who has been converted into Christianity can never be reverted. We are sorry that those

people, according to that Section, cannot exercise the freedom of conscience. Today, the background of the New Testament Church of God will be given to you.

"1. That the New Testament Church of God has been working among the people in this Colony since the year 1958 or thereabout under the directions of the Reverend EDWARD DICKSON HASMATALI and CECIL MADRAY abovenamed.

2. That to the date hereof, there are three (3) organized Churches in the Colony of British Guiana at the following addresses:-

- (a) Lot 31, Norton Street, Wortmanville, Georgetown, Demerara.
- (b) Mount Sinai, West Canje, in the county of Berbice.
- (c) Agricola Village, East Bank, Demerara.

3. That the enrolled membership to date exceeds one hundred (100) persons and a Sunday School enrolment of over one hundred and fifty (150) children.

4. That the Mission has one property at each of the above-mentioned addresses and desires to be incorporated in order to be able to acquire, retain and dispose of immovable properties and to sue or be sued within the colony for the benefit of its members."

Sir, with these few words, I wish to move that this Bill be

[SENATOR PERSAUD]

## ADJOURNMENT

read a Second time.

*Senator Hubbard seconded.*

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Bill read a Second time.*

3.20 p.m.

*Senate in Committee.*

*Bill considered and approved.*

*Senate resumed.*

*Bill reported without amend-  
ment, read the Third time and  
passed.*

**The President:** This brings us to the end of the business for today, and the Adjournment will now be taken.

**Senator Hubbard:** Your Honour, I beg to move that this Senate do now adjourn to next Monday, 8th June, 1964, at 9.30 a.m.

*Adjourned accordingly at  
3.28 p.m.*