

**THE  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES  
OFFICAL REPORT**

**[VOLUME 3]**

**PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF GUYANA UNDER THE  
CONSTITUTION OF GUYANA**

---

**3<sup>rd</sup> Sitting**

**2 p.m.**

**Friday, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1969**

---

**MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

**Speaker**

His Honour the Speaker, Mr. R.B. Gajraj, C.B.E., J.P.

**Members of the Government**

**People's National Congress**

**Elected Ministers**

The Honourable L.F.S. Burnham, Q.C.,  
Prime Minister.

The Honourable P.A. Reid,  
Minister of Finance.

The Honourable R.J. Jordon,  
Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

The Honourable H.D. Hoyte,  
Minister of Home Affairs.

The Honourable N.J. Bissember,  
Minister of Trade and Parliamentary Affairs.

The Honourable C.M.L. John,  
Minister of Local Government.

The Honourable W.G. Carrington,  
Minister of Labour and Social Security.

The Honourable S.M. Patterson,  
Minister of Education.

The Honourable B. Ramsaroop,  
Minister of Housing and Reconstruction.

The Honourable S.S. Ramphal, C.M.G., Q.C.,  
Attorney General and Minister of State.

The Honourable M.W. Carter,  
Minister of Information.

The Honourable H. Green,  
Minister of Works and Hydraulics.

The Honourable H.O. Jack,  
Minister without Portfolio.

Dr. the Honourable S.E. Talbot,  
Minister of Health.

### **Parliamentary Secretaries**

Mr.P.Duncan,  
Parliamentary Secretary,  
Minister of Local Government.

Mr. J.G. Joaquin, O.B.E., J.P.,  
Parliamentary Secretary,  
Ministry of Finance.

Mr. W. Haynes,  
Parliamentary Secretary,  
Ministry of Works and Hydraulics.

Mr. A. Salim,  
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of  
Agriculture and Natural Resources.

Mr. J.R. Thomas,  
Parliamentary Secretary,  
Office of the Prime Minister.

### **Other Members**

Mr. J.N. Aaron  
Miss. M.M. Ackman  
Mr. K. Bancroft  
Mr. J. Budhoo, J.P.  
Mr. L.I. Chan-A-Sue  
Mr. E.F. Correia  
Mr. E.H.A. Fowler  
Mrs. P.A. Limerick  
Mr. S.M. Safee  
Mr. D.A. Singh  
Mr. R.C. Van Sluytman  
Mr. C.E. Wrights  
Mr. M. Zaheeruddeen, J.P.

### **Members of the Opposition**

#### **People's Progressive Party**

Dr. C.B. Jagan, Leader of the Opposition  
Mr. Ram Karran  
Mr. R. Chandisingh  
Dr. F.H.W. Ramsahoye  
Mr. D.C. Jagan  
Mr. E.M.G. Wilson  
Mr. A.M. Hamid, J.P.  
Mr. G.H. Lall  
Mr. M.Y. Ally  
Mr. R.D. Persaud, J.P.  
Mr. E.M. Stoby  
Mr. R. Ally  
Mr. E. L. Ambrose  
Mrs. L.M. Branco  
Mr. Balchand Persaud  
Mr. Bhola Persaud

Mr. I. Remington, J.P.  
Mrs. R.P. Sahoye  
Mr. V. Teekah  
Mr. M.F. Singh

#### **Officers**

Clerk of the National Assembly - Mr. F.A. Narain

Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly - Mr. M.B. Henry

#### **Absent**

The Honourable Mr. Kasim,  
Minister of Communication

**- on leave**

Mr. O.E. Clarke, Deputy Speaker

**- on leave**

Mr. M. Corrica  
Mr. R.E. Cheeks  
Mr. P.S. d'Aguiar  
Mr. C.V. Too-Chung

**- on leave**

**The National Assembly met at 2.00 p.m.**

**[Mr. Speaker in the Chair.]**

#### **Prayers**

**ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER****LEAVE TO MEMBER**

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, I have to announce that leave from sittings of the National Assembly has been granted to the hon. Minister of Communications (Mr. Kasim) from the 21<sup>st</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1969.

**VISIT OF THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE RT. HON. ROLAND MICHENER,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA AND MRS. MICHENER**

I should also like to take this opportunity of placing on record the recently concluded visit of Their Excellencies the Rt. Roland Michener, Governor-General of Canada and Mrs. Michener and, in particular, to mention that on Monday of this week, immediately after the Official welcome, I had the opportunity of escorting Their Excellencies and party into the Chamber of the National Assembly and was able to present to Their Excellencies those hon. Members and their wives who were present. At the same time I took the opportunity, on behalf of Members of the National Assembly, not only to welcome them to the Assembly but also to make a presentation of small gifts to them. His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada was particularly pleased to be here because, as he pointed out, he was once Speaker of the House of Commons in Ottawa. I am sure that hon. Members would endorse the action I have taken on their behalf.

**PRESENTATION OF PAPERS AND REPORTS**

The following Papers were laid:

- (i) Minutes of the First, Second and Third Meetings of the Committee of Selection held on 5<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> February, 1969 [*The Speaker, Chairman, Committee of Selection*]

- (ii) (a) Loan Agreement (Education Project) between Guyana and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – Dated January 31, 1969 – Loan Number 583 GUA;
- (b) Development Credit Agreement (Education Project) between Guyana and International Development Association – Dated January 31, 1969 – Credit Number 139 GUA – [*The Minister of Finance*]

### PUBLIC BUSINESS

### BILL – SECOND READING

### MISCELLANEOUS ENACTMENTS (AMENDMENT) BILL

A Bill intituled:

“An Act to amend certain enactments.”

**The Minister or Home Affairs** [Mr.Hoyte]:I beg to move the suspension of Standing Order No. 46 (3) in order that the Miscellaneous Enactments (Amendment) Bill may be taken through all its stages at this sitting.

*Question put and agreed to.*

**Mr. Hoyte:** This Bill is in the nature of a tidying-up measure. It has become necessary, consequent upon the accession to Independence of this country, and in some measure because the political actualities dictate that the Government should be in a position to take swift, effective and positive action in the light of any crisis which may threaten the safety and security of the state or, indeed, the very right of this nation to survive.

There are four statutes involved in this Bill: The Immigration Ordinance, Chapter 98; the Aliens (Immigration and Registration) Ordinance, Chapter 101; the Status of Aliens Ordinance, Chapter 102; and the National Security (Miscellaneous Provision) Act, 1966.

I propose to deal with the amendments to the Aliens (Immigration and Registration) Ordinance, Chapter 101, and the Status of Aliens Ordinance, Chapter 102 - this is slightly out of sequence but it is a more convenient course – then go back to the Immigration Ordinance and deal finally with the amendments to the National Security (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1966.

The Aliens (Immigration and Registration) Ordinance, Chapter 101, is an Ordinance which places certain restrictions on aliens. For example, an alien is required to register and there is a certain measure of control exercised over him. Now, that Ordinance does not contain a definition of an alien, so it is sought in section 2 (1), that is the interpretation section, to introduce a definition of the term “alien” in conformity with the definition of alien in article 125 of the Constitution of Guyana, which article defines alien as a person who is not a Commonwealth citizen, or a British protected person, or a citizen of the Republic of Ireland.

### **2.15 p.m.**

The second Amendment refers to section 12. Section 12 exempts certain persons from the provisions of the Ordinance, and section 12 (2) (c) thereof exempts consular officials and their staff. Now it is sought to extend the exemptions of that paragraph to diplomatic personnel as well. This Amendment has become necessary because, consequent upon the attainment of independence, Guyana succeeded to the Geneva Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961 and the Geneva Convention on Consular Relations, 1963, which Conventions sought to codify the international practice in relation to diplomatic and consular personnel in different parts of the world. So we seek to honour our international obligations by the Amendment to paragraph (c) of subsection (2) of section 12.

The next Amendment is in relation to the Status of Aliens Ordinance, Chapter 102, and that seeks also, Mr. Speaker, to insert in that Ordinance, the definition of the term "alien" in conformity with the definition of "alien" in article 125 of the Constitution. It follows that the Amendments to Chapter 101 and Chapter 102 are merely of a routine nature and are required, as I said before, so that we may fulfil our international obligations.

The next Ordinance is the Immigration Ordinance, Chapter 98. The first Amendment is the insertion of the word "Minister" in section 2, which is the interpretation section of the Ordinance. The insertion of that term has become necessary because in section 5, 5A and 28, certain Amendments are proposed which will confer certain powers on the Minister. The Minister, for the purpose of this Ordinance, is the Minister to whom responsibility for immigration for the time being is assigned.

The next section which is proposed to amend is section 2 (3) thereof. Mr. Speaker, subsection (3) sets out the categories of persons to which the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance, in so far as prohibited immigrants are concerned, do not apply, and it is sought by this Amendment merely to simplify that position and it is simplified in this way: For the purposes of this Ordinance, a person shall be deemed to belong to Guyana if he is a citizen of Guyana or a dependent of a citizen of Guyana; so, in the upshot, a citizen or dependent of such citizen cannot be deemed a prohibited immigrant in terms of the Ordinance.

The next provision relates to section 3 (5) (f) thereof. That section seeks to extend again the protection of the Ordinance to diplomatic personnel for the same reasons which I have given in relation to diplomatic personnel when dealing with the Aliens (Immigration and Registration) Ordinance. The effect of that Amendment is that neither diplomatic personnel nor consular personnel or their staff can be deemed prohibited immigrants under the Ordinance, thus giving effect to the Conventions we have succeeded to and international practice in relation to persons of that category.

Section 5 (3) also attracts Amendment. That section is not really affected in substance. Prior to Independence, the power which is given in this subsection was vested in the Governor in Council. What we seek to do by this Amendment is to vest that power in the Minister and, of course, change the necessity for British consular visa to Guyana consular visa. That, again, is a routine measure.

Then, after section 5, it is sought to introduce a new section, section 5A, which confers upon the Minister the power to restrict a person's right to leave Guyana if he considers it necessary in the interest of defence, public safety or public order, or for the purpose of preventing the subversion of democratic institutions in Guyana. It also confers upon the Minister similar power in respect of classes of persons.

I would not have hon. Members believe that this power can be exercised arbitrarily because, indeed, the very section provides that a person upon whom a restriction order is placed shall have the same right to have his case reviewed by the tribunal established by section 13 of the National Security (Miscellaneous Provision) Act, 1965: so that there is the right to have his case reviewed, and the right to have his case reviewed periodically as required by that Act. The tribunal, as hon. Members will appreciate, is headed by a Chairman, who is a person of legal qualifications, appointed by the Chancellor.

As a corollary of the power to prevent a person leaving Guyana, there is the requirement that such a person upon whom an order has been placed shall be required to surrender his passport. It is obvious that this is a necessary requirement because it would be absurd if a person were served with an order preventing him from leaving the country and he were allowed to roam at large with the passport of which he may be able to evade the restriction order and slip out of the country. This section 5A, therefore, is a section which becomes necessary in the light of our present situation.

The next section, section, 8A, another new section, is rally the corollary of the provisions of section 6 and section 8. By section 6, a person entering Guyana is required to enter at a port of entry and he is required to observe certain formalities. Yet the ordinance does not provide for the exit of a person from Guyana from any recognised port of entry. Therefore, the present position is that a person can fly from the Rupununi to Venezuela, to and fro, without reporting to the immigration authorities and without anyone being officially aware of his trafficking between this State and another State. It is obvious that such a situation is unliterable and does not exist in any well-regulated state in the world today. I do not think that anyone would have the temerity to suggest that that regulation, that provision, is one which the State does not have an absolute right to put on the Statute Books.

Section 25 is a simple amendment. What we seek to do here is to expedite the process of appeal by a person who is deemed a prohibited immigrant. In the past, persons so deemed has a right to appeal to a magistrate and then to the Full Court of Appeal. Now, this procedure is lengthy and cumbrous and it is sought to provide a swifter and more effective way of prosecuting an appeal by having the appeal brought to a Judge in Chambers where it can be heard more quickly, at less expense and more conveniently in the interest of all parties concerned.

Section 26, subsection 1, is amended by the deletion of a proviso which is no longer relevant in view of the independence of this country and of the other amendments in the Ordinance.

Again, a routine amendment is proposed in section 28. The Governor-General has power to revoke or amend any order made, and since the Minister now has certain powers conferred on him, the necessary right is vested in the Minister to revoke or amend any order he may make. Now section 35 is amended simply by conferring on the Governor-General the power to make regulations in respect of ports of entry for the purposes of sections 6 and 8A. Now, those are the proposed amendments in respect of Immigration Ordinance, Chapter 98.

Finally, there is one amendment proposed in respect of the National Security (Miscellaneous Provision) Act, 1966. It is sought to introduce section 14 A – a new section – which confers upon the Minister the power to declare an area to be a protected area if deemed “necessary in the interest of public safety, public order, public health or the defence of Guyana to regulate the entry of persons in that area.”

I do not propose to deal at length with the obvious necessity for such a measure. I wish to point to the fact that it is difficult to refer to any modern state today which has not got the power, in the case of an emergency, to declare an area to be a closed area. Very many different terms are used, very many different procedures are adopted, but the most obvious example of the exercise of such power is in cases where you have floods or other national disasters. It would be absurd to suggest that when such national disasters occur the state must not have the necessary power, the necessary authority, to deal with the situation effectively and without having its officers impeded in the execution of their duties, be it in respect of rehabilitation or relief work. I merely single out one example – [**Mr. Ram Karran:** “Rupununi!”] – for the exercise of such a power as is contemplated under section 14A.

A measure of this sort of necessity arouses public comment, debate and discussion, some of it misconceived, some of it uninformed and some of it, I suspect, a trifle malicious. [“Some of it justified.”] This is political infighting which we understand and which we, as a democracy, are sufficiently sophisticated to tolerate.

But, in the Weekend Post and Sunday Argosy newspaper of Sunday, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1969, on page 20, there appears a report attributed to two members of this hon. House who have the misfortune to sit on the other side of this House, but who have the good fortune to have been trained and nurtured in the law. They are both Barristers-at-law. But what struck me about this report is that both of these hon. Members are recorded as having suggested that the measures before this hon. House today are unconstitutional. [**Mr. Ram Karran:** “They are!”] I refuse to believe that persons who have practice their profession, at least with industry, would be guilty of

such a monumental absurdity and, unless I hear this absurd proposition from these gentlemen, I would prefer to believe that they have suffered from the affliction of all politicians: that of having been misquoted. I shall not say more on it. I shall proceed.

From time immemorial, political philosophers and persons engaged in the actual exercise of statecraft have held this truth to be self-evident: that the safety of the state is paramount and that it is the duty of every Government to take such measures as are necessary to preserve the integrity of the state from aggression and subversion.

**2.35 p.m.**

So it is that, in the provisions before this hon. House today, the Government has sought to come to grips with political realities, with the political actualities, which face this nation. I do not think that hon. Members will expect me to elaborate upon the campaign of aggression, covert and overt, which Venezuela has mounted against this country. I do not think that hon. Members will expect me to go into detail about the various incidents and acts of international brigandage, and of brigandage which have been practiced against this country by Venezuela. There were many examples of this starting with the Taylhardat incident of 1966, the infamous July 9 decree and more recently the bare-faced involvement of Venezuela in the disturbances in the Rupununi.

Mr. Speaker, these are the problems which the Government is faced with today. Apart from that, there are people in this country – a small minority who are the political kith and kin of certain people who had fled the Rupununi and are now resident in Venezuela and Brazil – who we know persist in giving comfort and support to the Venezuelans; and who are in constant communication with the fugitives in Venezuela. They are now part and parcel of the bare-faced act on the part of Venezuela. Even as I speak, there are in circulation pamphlets calculated to cause fear and confusion in the minds of the people of this country. And Mr. Speaker, we have persons who make loud protestations about physical confrontation with the Government; persons

who threaten to defy the orders of the Government (but who, despite their loud protestations, have not been taking the necessary steps to put into effect these mouthings). We have, too, those people in our midst who talk about armed revolution, and who set dates for armed revolution and revise them from time to time. We have people in our midst, also, who go traipsing around London and Ottawa inviting foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of this country. We have persons who have poisoned the minds of our young men by preaching a philosophy of hate – taking decent young men and sending them to Moscow and Cuba to be trained in the arts of terrorists' activities. These are the problems the Government is faced with today. *[Interruptions]*

But the point I wish to make is that we believe that we can tolerate these activities. The system of democracy which we have is tolerant of such persons and this legislation is not designed – *[Interruption]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order!

**Mr. Hoyte:** - to deal with such a situation. Those persons to whom I referred can be kept in check by the people who have rejected them at the polls in no uncertain terms, and will continue to reject them. *[Interruptions]* But in order to understand the necessity for the instant legislation one has to indulge in retrospect. A consideration of the recent history of this country will show that the people of this country have made substantial gains which this Government will not permit to be frittered away or lost.

Prior to 1957, this country was geared to the metropolitan administering power and the economy was so oriented that the nation as such had no savings. There were no national gains from which this country could have moved forward in terms of economics; in terms of development; and in terms of social advancement. But after 1957, the winds of change began to blow. From 1957 to December, 1964 the people of this country had the undeserved misfortune to be saddled with an incompetent administration which plunged this country into civil war, brought it to this brink of despair. It was not until December 1964 that the clouds lifted and the

21.2.69

National Assembly

2.35-2.45 p.m.

people in this country took heart again and saw for the first time in recent years the prospect of a bright future. Between December 1964 and the present time, this Government has imposed peace and stability in this country. *[Laughter]* This Government has laid the foundations of a just society in which the economy has become vibrant. The people of this country can now look forward to a good life, free from fear and free from the possibility of the fruits of their hard work being taken away. It is in this context that this Bill is brought forward. We intend to preserve the gains which have been made by this country.

2.45 p.m.

One of the controlling factors of progress, whether at individual, communal, or national level is the preservation of gains, the consolidation of gains that one can move forward. Somewhere, I think, Matthew Arnold speaks of “losing tomorrow the ground won today”. We do not intend to lose tomorrow the ground we won today. We intend to preserve and consolidate the gains of this nation so that the people of this country can move forward to their just reward, a country where there is opportunity for all and where our children have the right to live in peace without being subjected to poisonous philosophies and actions which are detrimental to their own self-respect.

This land is ours; this land has been nurtured by the blood and sweat of our fathers and we intend to reap the fruits of their toils and of our own faith and fortitude. **[Mr. Hamid: “That is Black Power talk.”]**

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, please.

**Mr. Hoyte:** I think it was the American writer Langston Hughes who posed this question:

“What happens to a dream deferred?  
Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?  
Or does it fester like a sore, then run?

21.2.69

National Assembly

2.45-2.55 p.m.

Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.  
Or does it explode?"

I believe that a dream deferred explodes and that is why we cannot defer the dreams of our people. We cannot defer the dreams of our youths who clamour for an opportunity to prove themselves in this country, who clamour for the creation of a climate in which there is a good life for them, a life full of opportunity and challenge.

That is really the whole purpose of this Bill – to ensure that people can live in peace, that people can understand that although this country is threatened by external foes, although internally there is subversion, yet the Government has the necessary capacity to deal effectively with any situation or permutation of situations which may arise to threaten the safety of the state. That is the purpose.

The Bill contains no provisions which are minatory in content or intent. It seeks to ensure that all citizens, all patriotic persons, in this country can go about their lawful occasions secure in the knowledge that, come what may, the Government is in a position to hold and preserve the fabric of Society so that our children will not be compelled...

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is before the House.

**The Leader of the Opposition** [Dr. Jagan]: I think it was an Englishman who once said that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. When the balance sheet is finally written about the harm that British colonialism has done to countries and peoples like Guyana I think the greatest harm will be that they have trained colonials, black colonials, to be hypocrites. [Interruptions] Black colonials like you!

**Mr. Speaker:** Order!

**Dr. Jagan:** When the National Security Act was being debated in this Assembly we were told that we must trust the Government; the Government will not abuse its powers. But what do we find? The Government picks up a man. It has a right to hold him for 24 hours. It lets him out; he gets on the road and then he is picked up again. He is held for another 24 hours and then is let loose in Georgetown. As soon as he walks out into the street four men grab him and throw him into a police van.

We were told to trust the Government; the Government would not abuse its powers. While these dastardly acts are being carried out by the police on behalf of a fraudulent people who call themselves the Government, others go abroad to Geneva ... [**The Attorney General and Minister of State [Mr. Ramphal:** "Paris".] ...and elsewhere and talk about human rights. They talk about human rights, the preservation of freedoms. Where are the freedoms? Where are the liberties? The Minister talked a moment ago about preserving gains made by this Government. What are the gains? Ask anybody today what is the situation in this country. Ask the man in the street. Crime, delinquency, unemployment, mass exodus! Then the Government gets up and talks about gains. On the one hand it gives the impression of prosperity, and on the other hand it seeks power to take away rights, claiming that the situation is so bad that it has to take on powers to take away freedoms which are guaranteed to the citizens of this country.

**2.55 p.m.**

Not too long ago we heard the acting Chancellor talking about corruption in the Government services today. What can we expect when corruption starts from the very top? What can we expect when immorality breeds in high places, when the leaders of the Government set the example of fraud and corruption? How can you tell the people, "Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt behave well; Thou shalt love thy neighbour"?

The Minister said a moment ago that he believes in the creed of ballots and not bullets, but the whole world knows that this Government has assumed powers by fraud, naked fraud.

Why did the Prime Minister and his High commissioner in London who rigged the elections refuse to appear in Grenada television films? Independent sources, independent persons have examined the situation and the record is there. This is why the Government has now sought powers to ban films. It was this very Prime Minister who, years ago when he was leading the revolt in this country against colonialism, moved against the Government of that time led and supported by the people like Lionel Luckhoo who wanted to ban books. Now this Government wants to ban films in place of books, and yet our Attorney General goes abroad and talks about freedoms, freedoms being honoured and respected in Guyana. Now we have powers being taken by the Government to declare certain areas protected areas, to decide who must travel and who must not travel.

The Minister says that these powers will not be exercised in an arbitrary manner, that persons who are refused permission to travel will be allowed to have their cases heard before a tribunal, but we know how the state operates. We know how people in this country behave when bribery, corruption and terrorism take place. The Minister is taking these powers we understand, for the purpose of maintaining public order, public safety, and for the purpose of preventing the subversion of democratic institutions in Guyana. We know, everyone knows, that democratic institutions have been subverted in this very country by this Government. The Public Service Commission takes orders from the Prime Minister's Office. This is a known fact. The Public Service Commission has come under criticism from even the Civil Service Association.

We have seen recently, in the case of the Elections Commission, that the previous Minister of Hon. Member Affairs virtually lied when he said that it will be the job of the Commission to prepare the votes' list when, indeed, what eventually happened was that the Minister simply dictated what was to be done through his Ministry – a fraudulent operation from beginning to end: How can this Government have the gall to talk about subverting democratic institutions when it has done so consistently in the past? How can this Government which itself is immoral talk about public morality? The whole this is so hypocritical. Whom are we trying to fool?

There is a lot of talk about the Venezuelans, that, because of the Venezuelans' acts of aggression on and subversion, the Government wants to take on these powers. Now a small minority is being blamed when that minority was the bosom friend of the Government not too long ago. Let us take a moment to look, in perspective, at this so-called subversion in the Rupununi savannahs, for it is not only the Venezuelans who have caused the trouble. Our position on this question is quite clear. My party has made it abundantly clear that it does not support any move which will aim at destroying the territorial integrity of Guyana. We have made this position clear and whether the subversion or the aggression comes from Surinam, or from Venezuela, or from any quarter, we will resist it.

The Venezuelans, naturally, would like to have a fifth column in Guyana. They will want it as Hitler did. Before his army moved into the European countries he had them softened up by local people. Fifth column people do not become fifth columnists, unpatriotic, anti-national, just for the sake of being so. Has the Government asked itself why these people have so acted? In my view, this is a combination of the Government's high-handed attitude and action.

We heard talk about the Rupununi aristocrats, but these are not aristocrats by any standard and they should not be called aristocrats. What has the Government done in connection with their leases? A few days ago a previous Member of this House told me that his lease was cancelled in the Berbice River and a P.N.C. supporter has been given a lease of five square miles of territory expanding almost to his house. This is the kind of action that is creating unrest and dissatisfaction in this country.

Another case is Kabawer where 300 persons were settled. The Government has now cancelled their leases arbitrarily and its cronies are going to be put there.

**3.05 p.m.**

Has the Government examined its own conscience to find out whether the people in the

Rupununi revolted because they were incensed by the fraud which permitted the P.N.C. assuming power alone without their erstwhile partners? Have the Members of the Government asked themselves? It is no use rigging the ballot box. It is no use talking about elections in such a way when no one has any respect for the ballot box. Has the Government said anything about irregularities at the elections? This callous and fraudulent Government gives no explanation as to how four ballot papers wrapped with a rubber band were found in a ballot box. People like me go to London and Ottawa! That is our right to expose this fraudulent Government anywhere and everywhere.

The Venezuela issue has come about because of the Government's own doing. The Government must ask itself who is to be blamed. The Government is party to the United States-Venezuela conspiracy to keep this country in a neo colonial state. Who signed the Geneva Agreement? Who refused, when the Venezuelans occupied the island of Ankoko, to take action, when the Venezuelans agreed to patrol our territorial waters between three and twelve miles? Now they are saying that the Venezuelans are subverting the Amerindians. What are they doing? Why are they talking? Why have they not gone to the Security Council? Because they do not want their masters in Washington to be exposed. Because they do not want the Venezuela problem to be settled. Because they want to use that as an excuse to militarise the politics of Guyana. These are the reasons.

Do not tell us there is fear of attack from Venezuela. Let us get the facts clearly. So long as this is a puppet state, so long as this is a client state of the United States, there will be no attack from the Venezuelans. Let us recognise this. All the puppet states in Latin America now have gentlemen's agreements with the United States that in case one state is attacked by another state, the United States will protect it. This is a tacit agreement between the republicans that have taken orders from the United States through the O.A.S. and the Rio Charter. I am talking of overt attacks – aside from the question of taking up the matter with the United Nations – but this hysteria which is being built up about Venezuelan aggression and danger to our territorial integrity is all a ruse to have a big armed force, to have a bigger Police Force, so that when fraud

can no longer sustain them... *[Interruptions]* Fraud helped them in the elections – force will be used.

Imagine the immorality: A parson's wife is now a Minister of this Government. Now even parsons are blessing frauds in this country in the same way that parson blessed the acts of Hitler and Mussolini when they were raping Abyssinia and Spain. Even parsons have been taken over by this Government to do its dirty jobs. But, sir, time will tell.

Okay. At the last elections, they went to the people and told them, "We could not do very much for you. Please vote for us because the last time our hands were tied by the United Force. They are capitalists. We are socialists." We have not seen any manifesto. The *New Road* exploded in their faces in 1968. This time we have no road. Even the newspapers have said that the Throne Speech was bereft of matter, empty. Even those, their erstwhile friends are now criticising them.

Sir, the whole logic of the situation is to militarise the situation, because, as there is more discontent, as there is more demonstration, as there is more unemployment, as here is more choke and rob, then the military apparatus will have to come in. Such is the big issue in this country that even in the streets it is now safe. One cannot walk out of one's house, of one's hotel, so bad is the situation. Is the Government going to solve these issues, crime, unemployment, mass exodus, growing disillusionment? Is the Government going to solve these problems merely more arbitrary powers?

If I could be made to believe so, we would gladly support the Government but it is clear that these are steps being taken, not to protect the Guyanese people but indeed to suppress them. They must not have any understanding so they must not go abroad to study. They must not understand what socialism is and those who have graduated are not to be given jobs. People with degrees cannot get jobs because here who are serving, not very satisfactorily, coming all the way

21.2.69

National Assembly

3.05 - 3.15 p.m.

from South Korea, but the doctors from the Soviet Union, whose qualifications are recognised as being equal to any in the rest of the world, whose qualifications have been acceptable are recognised as being equal to any in the rest of the world, whose qualifications have been accepted so much so that the Medical Board has agreed to give her temporary registration, no. The Government fails to employ such a person.

3.15 p.m.

But they do not want these people anymore; they do not want these people without knowledge. All one has to do is conform. The puppets cannot tolerate any dissent. The puppets cannot allow debate and discussion. [Dr. Reid: "What are you doing now?"] So they want to stop people going aboard. They want people to be thought controlled with one directed point of view; through the Press, through the radio, through the pulpit, through the schools. But where are we heading? That is the point.

The Minister says all modern states have protected areas, have provision... [Mr. Jordan: "Like Siberia!"] ... to declare protected areas. But surely we are speaking of two different things. He refers to floods, to national disasters, but what is the national disaster we are talking about? When the Government slaughtered Amerindians in the area? Two Amerindians, a member of this House and a PPP organiser who used to work in the area, were ejected. Are we being told that by their presence they would be prying on what is being done? Who would believe this naiveté? [Mr. Jordan: "You would!"]

It is clear that the Government is using this hysteria about Venezuela, hysteria I call it, in order to build up bigger forces, police and armed forces, in this country in order to suppress the people. This is what they are trying to do. Intimidate and establish a military dictatorship! This is what is intended. Do not come like hypocrites and talk of Venezuela when you are part and parcel of that conspiracy!

Let u see where we are heading. A bigger army, a bigger police force and bigger debt charges which are mounting and growing and which will invariably mean more taxation. Their own leader has already remarked about the necessity for greater sacrifices. Sacrifices for what? Paying taxes? For what? For more jobs? For better livelihood? Where is it?

The Minister says that they have the means to put down anyone or any group who attempts to destroy the security of the state. Well, erstwhile dictators in other countries have told you similar lies. Similar! In Vietnam, one dictator after another, propped up dollars and bayonets, have fallen. Hawks like McGeorge Bundy who agreed to the escalation of the war are now saying that the U.S.A. cannot continue at the annual expense of ten thousand lives. We read in the papers that one-quarter million American were injured in the war, then thousand being killed every year. US\$30,000 million is the annual cost. This morning over the BBC we heard that Nixon has said that it likely that American forces will be withdrawn from Vietnam.

We see another dictator named Franco who ruled with blood and thunder for many, many years. Today, the students are revolting, the workers are revolting. In the United States itself. Why is it that Nixon and company are changing course? Why is it? Is it because they love freedom? All of a sudden they have become democratic? No! It is because of the reality of the situation, because of the blows they are getting at home, in other places like Vietnam, and because of manifestations and confirmations.

Another dictator name Ayube Khan – ten years he has been holding power – basic democracy... *[Interruptions]*... yes, like your democracy, basic... *[Interruptions]* ... the latest word on him is that he has agreed to withdraw.

Next door Pengel, a good friend of the Prime Minister, has been forced to throw in the towel. The Minister said that there are all kinds of people who set dates and revise dates. We are not astrologers and time servers.

Why is it that the Government had to resort to such massive fraud in this last election? Is not this an indication that they are losing support in their own ranks? They do not want me to go to Canada. Go to students in the US and in the UK and elsewhere and see what they think of your Prime Minister and others. [**Mr. Ram Karran:** "They think that he is a puppet."]

**Mr. Speaker:** Can we have a Motion in order to allow the hon. Member to continue his speech?

**Mr. Ram Karran:** I beg to move that the hon. Leader of the Opposition be allowed to speak for another 15 minutes.

**Mr. Hamid:** *Seconded.*

*Question put, and agreed to.*

**Dr. Jagan:** Ministers of the Government will do well to take note of these shadows which are casting their reflections in their path.

**3.25 p.m.**

This Government will do well to have friends inside and outside of Guyana and try not to resort to high-handed methods. For we have seen, as I have just said, how others who thought they were even more secure, are now facing their masters – the people of the country. The late President Kennedy who once helped to put them where they are, who pressured the British Government to manipulate our electoral system and who warned, and I will close with his warning, he said those who prevent change by evolution...[**Dr. Reid:** "Where are you quoting from?"] I am not giving the exact quotation. Those who make a peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution impossible. And it is not the P.P.P. which goes about talking about revolution. Today, the people of this country will be no exception. Block the gates, block all

avenues, the human rights which are enshrined in our constitution and which they now seek to subvert and destroy and they will only create the conditions for their own destruction. [**Dr. Reid:** "You should be happy."] We are not happy. Because fascist like you will only destroy your country. Further, you will not only destroy your country but will see it in the process. That is why we are concerned and are opposed to any conspiracy as entered into with Venezuela and now used in order to subject the people of this country to further sacrifice.

Sir, we oppose this measure because the Government will argue about but cannot give a single instance of an emergency situation which demands this. There is no emergency in the country today. What is the reason? The Government claims that the country is peaceful and quiet. Why then is this necessity for taking on further and further arbitrary powers? Hypocrisy will not help the people of this country. I therefore urge the Government to retrace its steps and withdraw this Bill from this House. [*Applause*]

**Mr. Balchand Persaud:** Sir, tyrants had existed in the past throughout the world. But when the people could not live in tyranny, they rebelled against their leaders and they destroyed them. In our country today a repressive Government is in the making, and so too, the people of the country will have them destroyed; because people will not be able to live under the conditions that this Government is pursuing and creating.

The hon. Minister of Hon. Member Affairs (Mr. Hoyte) seeking to make law under the Miscellaneous Enactments (Amendment) Bill, 1969 is a clear indication of the tyrants at work. Such a controversial bill is nothing but a selfish, wicked and spiteful piece of legislation - nothing more than that. I feel that the introduction of such law is no less tantamount to tyranny. I feel strongly that this Bill is provided for in advance to prevent the mass if possible violent uprising of the Guyanese people against this illegal regime. [**Prime Minister:** "Try it!"] You will run! As far as I can recollect, the hon. Minister of Hon. Member Affairs has never participated in any struggle of the Guyanese people. I have never heard of it. And here it is the hon. Minister is trying to enact legislation to suppress the freedom of movement of the Guyanese

people. I cannot understand the reason for this piece of legislation when hon. Members on the other side claim that the country is peaceful. Why such legislation? Why such a hurry to bring this type of law? I can understand the feelings of the hon. Minister of Hon. Member Affairs who is nothing more than a political careerist and a national usurper and who is in the Government to play the tune of the ruling class without thinking in terms of the Guyanese working people. This is clear to my mind, sir, that the Government is gearing itself for more and more repressive legislation.

The Bill seeks to restrict the right to leave Guyana. But it seems clear that the Bill is centred around the theme ply – preventing the subversion of democratic institution in Guyana. So here it is, the Government is fearful of subversion. If the Government is democratic and if the Government has been elected on the basis of the people's choice, then why should it be fearful of revolution? It is because of the fact that the Government is a fraud? This Government was fraudulently elected and that is why it is seeking to introduce such legislation. The Guyanese people will eventually see that this Government is putting the down the drain. It speaks the tune of the working class and here it is doing otherwise. The big money interests would not think in terms of subverting the democratic institutions of Guyana, because their rights are preserved in this country. What about the workers? All along historically, the Guyanese people never had the opportunity of having a free and full economic freedom or even social freedom. Even this is being taken away bit by bit.

### 3.35 p.m.

The position is that the Government is seeking to give the Minister of Hon. Member Affairs power which he can use, at his discretion, at any time against any Guyanese, regardless of what he feels is right or not.

The members of the Police Force, also, are being given powers which they surely will abuse. We have seen indications of their activities in the Black Bush Polder where innocent

people, their wives and children were thrown out on the streets all because of the Government's vindictiveness and discrimination.

I talk about discrimination in Black Bush Polder and I have here a list of names of over 63 P.N.C. supporters who owe over \$103,000. The fact is that although these debts are owed by these 63 persons not one of them was thrown out of his house. Only people who are political supporters of the People's Progressive Party are thrown out. This is gross discrimination on the part of the Government and the members of the Police Force, which is the main institution that is propping up this Government and keeping it in power, is given additional powers, through this legislation, to detain people at their will and fancy.

The position is that throughout the country today there is gross discrimination. Take, for instance, another incident which took place during the first week in February, 1969, when over 29 persons were retrenched from the Ministry of Works and Hydraulics. Of those persons, 9 were Afro-Guyanese and 20 Indo-Guyanese. The 9 Afro-Guyanese were re-instated two days later and the 20 Indo-Guyanese were kicked out of their jobs. More glaring than that, the 20 vacancies that existed were filled by P.N.C. supporters. This is an instance of discrimination.

The Government on one hand speaks of racial unity and in practice it is quite the opposite. One is in a position to see quite clearly the attitude of this Government towards the democratic functioning of institutions. A government which has been elected on the basis of fraud sits here trying to push through laws which are geared to suppress Guyanese people. I see this as a means to be used by this Government to enact further laws to enable it to hold the reins of government for a very long time.

What is left for the working class? If the Government does not intend to satisfy the workers and the farmers of our country then the interests the Government is serving are surely foreign interests and the interests of big capitalists. Very few of those on the Government side have ever participated in the freedom struggles of the Guyanese people.

I can remember at one time reading the revolutionary poems of the hon. Minister of Information Mr. Martin Carter – one was in a position to see him as the light of the youths of our country. Today, because of this dollar sign he has thrown out his revolutionary theories and revolutionary mouthings and sticks to the dollar. Nearly all the members of the Government have done the same. They have gone where the sign of the dollar is, regardless of what happens to the people of this country. I feel strongly that this Government is getting more and more repressive and you can see a regime being built up which will be worse than Hitler's regime. No wonder that many people throughout the country at all levels are very much dissatisfied.

There is discrimination in employment, discrimination to get jobs, discrimination to get lands, discrimination at all levels: This is how the Government intends run this country.

If the Government wants peace in this country then the Government must be in a position to govern in the interests of all Guyanese people without fear or favour. But surely the Government does not want peace. The Government is making conditions which are going to bring about clashes among the people of our country. [**The Prime Minister:** "Start it."] This will happen because of the conditions and policies pursued by this Government. I feel that the entire Bill should be thrown into the waste-paper basket and members of the Government should vote against it. [*Applause*]

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member Mr. Stoby.

**Mr. Stoby:** This is what was said at the end of the Throne Speech in 1965:

“With God's help we can and shall transfer Guyana into a splendid monument more lasting than bronze; a monument not to oppression and terror, but to wisdom, peace and liberty...”

We have seen clearly that what has happened from 1965 to 1969 does not coincide with what was said in the Throne Speech. Today our country is in a state of turmoil and confusion. Why?

Because of the policies that this Government has been adopting year after year. Now today people are talking about Amerindians. Amerindians are now making headlines in the newspapers. These people, at one stage, were looked upon as nobody.

Not only the civilised, but also the uncivilised man cherishes freedom. This Bill to be enacted today deals with amendments relating to freedom, which is something that is very important.

I should like to make reference to the indigenous people of this country because it is a part of their culture and also their tradition. Laws have been made to control the Amerindians. There is the Amerindian Ordinance. Again, there is a lot of exploitation and molestation carried out against the Amerindian community of this country.

**3.45 p.m.**

People from the coastland, even people who hold Government positions go into all the reservations and molest the people. Late I will cite examples to show that these things were done just to arouse them. The Amerindians are quiet and peaceful. It is known, it is written in the history books that they are harmless. Now quite recently – last month, I must say – there was an uprising in the Rupununi. Why did this occur? There must be a reason. On the day this took place a meeting was being held in this Chamber and the Prime Minister announced that there was an uprising in the Rupununi. Rupununi is a very area; we all know it. The Amerindians have been residing in that area long before there was civilisation there. Years and years have passed and there has been very little improvement.

Recently, we heard that even the Archbishop has been making statements about exploitations among the Amerindians. It is true and I think the Government should do something to curtail this molestation and exploitation but, as far as I know, many Government officers indulge in practices which are not in the best interests of the Amerindian of Guyana.

Sometimes I travel from one area to another and I receive complaints. I am interested in the welfare of these people but it appears that this Bill is designed to prevent us from doing good for these people. The Government has imposed restrictions on me. Imagine that! What is the use of my being in Parliament and not being able to represent the people who are in the remote areas? During the end of last month I went on a mission in the Rupununi to investigate the rumours that were levelled against the Army and the Police. In my opinion, the security forces should not have stopped me from going about my business because perhaps I might have been able to erase some of the propaganda that was levelled and that is still being levelled against the Army and the Police.

We have heard that the Army has burnt down people's property, killed and terrorised people, and caused them to flee over the border. With the little bit of information in that I received I know what is the position. It is regrettable that people out here do not know what is happening.

I remember that the Christian Social Council made big noise at Bourda Green and thousands of people demonstrated because the P.P.P. Government intended to change schools from denominational to Government control. Thousands and thousands of people protested and picketed. Where are those people today? Where are those defenders of freedom? When the police put restrictions on their movements why do they not protest, why do they not mobilise their strength and go against the Government? It appears that they are afraid of the Government.

I must say that today our country is divided. There might be a few Amerindians who, on account of bribery, are siding with this Government. Praise the Lord I have not been bribed to take this seat and to stand here. I am in this Parliament because I am interested in the people of this country who I know are subject to exploitation. *[Interruption]*

This is a copy of my Amerindian registration certification – *[Displaying Document]* – which I have in my possession – 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1954. *[Interruption]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order!

**Mr. Stoby:** I want to enlighten the Government on the exploitation that takes place among the Amerindian. There must be a reason for the revolt that has taken place. Let us look at the North West, Pomeroun, where Amerindians are the chief labour force. Their wages are far below the Government minimum wage. This Government wants to develop the Amerindians. In the Throne Speech the Government states that it is pledged to establishing a just society where the small man becomes a real man. How can the small man ever be a real man? Quite recently I pointed out that people in the North West, Pomeroun, cannot get their copra sold. The Government talks about subversion within the Government. A certain Minister who has an important position in the Government has large estates. He has contacts with the Guyana Marketing Corporation and most of copra was shipped from his estate while the other proprietors were deprived of even one bag. That is the corruption that is taking place. [**Mr. Hamid:** "Shame!"]

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order!

**Mr. Stoby:** Yet the Government makes the statement, "Export copra to the West Indies." That is good, I agree, but why must we take from only one individual? These are facts which I should like reveal so that we would know the type of men who run the Government – all wealth and selfishness. These are things that the people are finding out today. Even the Amerindians are beginning to realise that we have a Government which is not working in the best interest of the people but which is working in the interest of the bigger classes.

I should like to say something about freedom of movement. Freedom of movement is very important. According to this Bill, you have to check with the nearest immigration officer at the airport or the seaport if you want to leave the country. This will interfere with the movement of the indigenous of this country. Some Amerindians do not know who are called immigration officers. Some of them do not even know how to speak. They do not have guns to defend

21.2.69

National Assembly

3.45 - 3.55 p.m.

themselves. A fine of \$250 is the minimum fine in this Bill. We saw recently what took place in the Magistrate's Court with those rebels, those Amerindians. Look how they were treated!

3.55 p.m.

They were disallowed counsel. Photographs were taken and published in the newspapers, yet when I took them up on my trip to the Rupununi, they were taken away by the police. It was said I was going up there to arouse the people against the Police Force, but what did I see? Most of the houses at Lethem are now empty because the people are fleeing over the border. Mr. Speaker, it is something very important and I feel that the enactment of this legislation will hamper the progress of the Amerindians of this country because they have been badly neglected where representation is concerned.

All along in the sawmilling industry, the Amerindians have been the chief workers. Without the Amerindians, you cannot get the lumber industry expanding in this country, but what goes on? Exploitation goes on all because of the policy of the Government. The cost of goods is rising in the shops yet labour is at a stand-still. People cannot get money. Always the Amerindians are in debt. Now representation is needed. These people must be told what to do, how to air their problems, but if people who want to help them are restricted, there is more advantage, more exploitation.

We have cases in my district. I think that the Government should check my words. Teachers, headmasters, have raped Amerindian teachers at gun point. Nothing is done because they are members of the P.N.C. The police do nothing. These are things which are provoking the Amerindians, those simple-minded people. Not the P.P.P. The P.P.P. is giving them education in order to raise their standard. The P.N.C. wants this; its members are talking about integrating the Amerindians. What they should do is to put it more clearly – cross breed the people. That is what the mean.

When the Government wants to vary the boundaries, it just brings a piece of legislation and opens the area, but it would be detrimental to the people of this country. I think the Government should review matters concerning Amerindians, not get them further isolated, because that is the aim of the Government, to isolate them so as to permit some people to go and molest them. The Government talks about protected areas. It should call them proclaimed areas. What is the protection the Amerindians are receiving? The Commissioner of the Interior is the Government official in charge of Amerindians but when anything happens, you cannot get satisfaction from him because his head will roll. He never goes against the Government. It gets you nowhere. We have a Parliamentary Secretary (Mr. Duncan) in this Government, in charge of Amerindian affairs. He is an Amerindian and he should do something. Since I came here, I have never heard him say anything about Amerindians.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Member, it is 4 o'clock and we shall now suspend the sitting for half an hour.

*Sitting suspended at 4 o'clock.*

4.35 p.m.

*On resumption --*

**Mr. Speaker:** At the suspension, the hon. Member, Mr. Stoby was speaking. He may now resume.

**Mr. Stoby:** When the suspension was taken, I was speaking about protection for the Amerindians. I would like to continue now to expose some of the things that have been happening to some of these people. When I visited the Rupununi district in February last year, many Amerindians complained that their privileges were being denied – hunting and fishing. I have an example here whereby an Amerindian was brought before the court and fined in the sum

of \$800 for catching fish known as Arapaima. Mr. Speaker, life is somewhat hard in certain places in the Rupununi and some of these people have to indulge in fishing and hunting for their livelihood and these people are rather bitter that such action was taken by the police. The police further threatened them and pointed guns at them. They feel that the Amerindians cannot have due respect for officers who treat them with such contempt.

In the Matthew's Ridge area recently, some Amerindians came for employment. They came from as far as Five Star which is quite a long way from Matthew's Ridge, and when they applied for employment, they were bluntly told there was no employment for them and they would have to leave. A few days after, they had to be recruited by the Guyana Defence Force to lead members of the Army into a certain area where they wanted to go. Those people did not refuse but went with the Guyana Defence Force. These are things which should be considered by this Government.

There is another instance where an Amerindian in one area had two shotguns and one rifle and he was paying yearly licences although Amerindians are exempted from paying licences. This Amerindian was paying because he felt that one gun would not have been enough to do the job he wanted. He was never convicted. There was no evidence of subversive activity but during last year the police confiscated two of the guns and did not compensate him for them. Now, he has only one gun and he was told to his face that Amerindians must not have more than one gun.

These things are very important to the welfare of the people and if this Government wants to have the interest of the Amerindians at heart, it must show examples. It must train its members of the Police and Army because they will be in contact with the people in those remote areas from time to time. They must treat these people with some sort of respect. There was the instance of the persons accused in the Rupununi disorders. When these persons came down, look how they were treated by the people in the streets. They were told to say in their statements that they started to incite the people.

We have found that a large section of those people have been sent back so it is clear that there was not enough evidence. Look how these people are treated! They were threatened that their nails would be taken out... *[Interruptions]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order!

**Mr. Stoby:** The police should not have done that. They have been lashed with chains. We read of this treatment in books and it happens in foreign countries. Now here it is in Guyana. This Government wants the co-operation of the people. I agree that security measures should be taken in the interest of the country but when you have a Government that will abuse the powers... these powers will go to a Minister now, not a foreign Minister but a local Minister ... *[Interruptions]* The Amerindians have said many times – of course I do not agree with them because I feel that we must have regard for our own people – that they prefer to work with the white people. The white people are more sympathetic to them. But we cannot deal with that.

Our people have to adopt the principle and have sympathy with the Amerindians. We must realise that these people are handicapped and cannot live the life of the civilised man. Now, you have a portrait of the real people in the Interior. *[Interruptions]* Right enough the trap was set for the Governor-General of Canada and others, to see that the people in the Interior are passing through a lot of hardships. The introduction of this legislation would greatly hinder Amerindians in the Rupununi.

**Mr. Bhola Persaud:** Mr. Speaker, first of all I have been listening to the statement by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and this statement mentioned that this Bill is for the safety of the State. *[Interruptions]* Bhola Persaud, let me inform you. Now, the safety of the State. What safety of State? Why is it that the Government is so afraid of talking of the safety of State? I will agree that they have to make provisions in order to protect themselves. Why? Because if you go in by fraud, you have to make provisions to protect yourself. This is the reason why they are provision this type of legislation.

Now, let us check some records of the fraud. Let me tell the House of the fraud on the fraud on the Essequibo Coast where someone had voted for roads. What roads? In fact, if you go from Adventure to Supenaam you would wonder what roads. First of all, let me ask them about the ballot boxes. Let them explain to us how four bundles, four inches thick, could pass through a hole one-quarter inch thick. *[Interruptions]* Apart from “jumbie” what are they afraid of? These “jumbies” are causing them to enact this law? Because some of these “jumbies” may come about. Apart from the ballot box and apart from the ballots which pass through the quarter inch, let me show the House this. *[At this stage he displayed two keys]* Two keys... **[The Prime Minister:** “...that you stole.”] ... which were found in the Tapacuma box. These keys were found and the box was still open. How was it opened? These keys were in my possession. *[Interruptions]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order!

**M. Persaud:** I know that this will shock them and that they must keep noise. Heckling will not prevent this. They are talking about subversion. In the past who were the subverting? Let me draw the attention of the House to the X-13 plan and who were involved. **[The Prime Minister:** “Me. Nothing is wrong with that.”] *[Interruptions]* ... they say that he will be responsible for projects, plans of this organisation and will be adviser...

**Mr. Speaker:** From what is the hon. Member quoting? You must tell the House the name and the date.

**Mr. Persaud:** I am quoting from a report of the Premier’s Officer. **[Hon. Ministers:** “Which Premier?”] The previous Premier, Dr. Cheddie Jagan. Now, this X-13 plan – are they denying or accepting it? **[Mr. Ram Karran:** “Accepting it.”] Let them accept it and let us see who are subverting! But let us check! I. Thomas – you know him. A man who was responsible for military training. There is another man by the name of Wilson ... **[Hon. Ministers:** “Coco!”] ... who cannot be found up to now. Let us see him! Show us Wilson! I can tell you that Wilson

was responsible for radio communication, [**The Prime Minister:** “Technological training.”] Dr. Smith for medical supplies and Leacock was Area Commander. These are some of the people involved in the X-13 plan. Apart from the X-13 plan, let me remind the House again ...  
*[Interruptions]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order!

**Mr. Persaud:** ... that they produce or expose to the country the terrorists report. When they produce the terrorists report then we will know who are subverting. [**The Prime Minister:** “Ask Pepsi!”] We want to know why they banned it. Who were creating suspicion in the State? Let us check! Terrorism throughout the land! Using party supporters to terrorise people! As a matter of fact, a PNC activist was made Supervisor of Roads ... [**The Prime Minister:** “You do not terrorise for jobs!”] ... involved in political work. What have we been seeing recently? Not only terrorising of men or youths. Terrorising women! [**Hon. Members:** “Awful! Awful!”] This is the position. Terrorising women! Quite recently we had a case in Black Bush Polder.

This is why they are enacting this law: to prevent us from speaking and exposing the fraud.

**4.50 p.m.**

What was the return? It was such a shame and disgrace to this Government that it used its policemen to search women. Policemen search women. [**Hon. Members (Government):** “Shame.”] When these persons refused to be searched, what did the policemen do? They carried them into a room and said let us have all your belongings. So they took up their belongings and carried them to the guard room. Searching for what? Not only searching their brassieres, but their panties. Policemen are searching panties for this Government. This wicked ... [**The Prime Minister:** “Terrible.”] ... and terrible Government. Policemen searching panties for what? For nothing! *[Interruptions]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order! Let the hon. Member speak.

**Mr. Bhola Persaud:** They terrorised the youths around the area. One could not have walked the streets in comfort. And, Mr. Speaker, apart from terrorising the youths, they invaded a P.Y.O. meeting at gun point and searched minute books. After being embarrassed, they decided to charge them. Charge them for what? For walking on the road? They charged them for loitering. After doing all this, what is this Government doing now? It is creating a Bill to suppress the masses – stopping movements. What is this Government doing to suppress the masses? It is giving military training to the P.N.C. youths. [**The Prime Minister:** “We train ours here.”] [**Mr. Green:** “Are you worried?”] We are not worried. Those who are worried are the ones who are introducing this Bill. They are afraid of their past sins and of the conditions they have created. This Government feels itself so powerful and still it is afraid. It reminds me, Mr. Speaker, of a little story I was taught at school. It goes like this: “so powerful was Corporal Prim, he thought that all were afraid of him. But sad to say the very first day he died of fright.” And this is the position with this Government. It is so powerful and boasting, and yet it is afraid of its own. [**Mr. Ram Karran:** “They are afraid of the dead who voted too.”] It is not only afraid of the dead voters but of the conditions it has been creating.

I spoke to the Superintendent in Charge. [**Mr. Green:** “Who is that?”] Mr. Crevalle. He told me that I am organising the people against the police and the State. I told him that I know what I was organising. I am an Organiser of the Peoples Progressive party and I am going to do this. But what I want you to know is this: the people who are creating conditions – the Government along with the people – they are the ones who are organising the people against this. We do not have to organise them.

This Bill is brought here to create conditions for suppression. I am not afraid of any bill such as this. As a matter of fact, I was in detention camp for two years and fifteen days. [*Laughter*] Why did the Government not kill me? Why did it not carry me to the courts and tell me the reason why it had kept me there for so long. It does not have a single proof of anything.

21.2.69

National Assembly

4.50 – 5.00 p.m.

*[Interruptions]* I am proud that I have stood up not like cowards who claimed to be brave. We are not afraid of Sibley Hall. [**The Prime Minister:** “We who?”] As a matter of fact, Sibley Hall is a university for me. [**Hon. Members:** “Hear! hear!”] This will not prevent us from doing our work to educate the masses; to lead our people to general freedom – not freedom of suppression. Regardless of what dread there would be, the people will win. The masses will win. That is why this Bill is brought forward. The Government knows that the people will win and that is why it is afraid. This Government will run like so many other dictators.

How can we support a Bill like this? [**Hon. Members (Government):** “We did not ask you to.”] This Bill is contrary to what this Government spoke so much about – freedom of movement. It is going to prevent persons from moving and going where they like. Is this what is called freedom of movement? I am afraid this is the opposite. We therefore would like to advise this Government to scrap the Bill and forget about this stupid and ignorant Bill.

5 p.m.

**Mr. R. Ally:** Mr. Speaker, I am very much puzzled at the moment because, to tell you the truth, I am ashamed to be in a place like this. [**Hon. Member:** “Hear! hear!”]

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, please give the hon. Member a chance to speak.

**Mr. R. Ally:** This Bill has been brought before this House. I am very much puzzled to know what section of this House the Minister really belongs to because, as far as my knowledge goes, there are Members who have been duly elected to this House, there are fraud Members and there are also overseas Members in this House. Therefore, I do not know what section the Minister really belongs to.

**Mr. Speaker:** Within my knowledge, we have no such distinction within the House.

**Mr. R. Ally:** I believe this is so, because this is the way Members came into this House. As far as my calculation goes the party that claims to be the Government only secured 25 per cent of the votes in Guyana.

I should like to say that people all over this country today are afraid; they do not live in peace in this country any longer. People cannot sleep in the night because they are open to attack by enemies. There are persons who hunt around in the night and they do this because they cannot get jobs; they cannot earn a living. It is very hard on people today in this country and it causes me to feel very uncomfortable to sit in a House like this when people are making jokes instead of looking after the people's business and interests.

I should like to say that after the trouble in the Rupununi District the Prime Minister called upon the Opposition and asked the Guyanese nation as a whole to co-operate with him. He said we should fight for the rights of this country, yet Guyanese are at a loss to know that their representatives, Members of Parliament, are not allowed to go to the Rupununi to see what is taking place there.

We on the Corentyne have learnt that people from the Police Force and the Army are taking legal advantage of Amerindians in that area. I was made to understand that in some places, by the use of guns, they compel members of a family to witness the raping of a member of that family by a police or an army man. [**Mr. Hamid:** "Shame."] It is more than a shame. These are godless people in this House; people who do not believe in God at all.

This is a real disgrace for Guyanese. I am ashamed to call myself a Guyanese. I received a letter a few days ago from a person in Venezuela who asked a question about what is going on in Guyana today. [*Interruption*] My brother is there. He has been there since 1951.

I should like to say that this is not something that is happening only in the town. I read in the newspapers where the Bishop, the Lord Mayor, the magistrates and judges are all talking

about choke and rob incidents in the city and about people who are using flick knives at the throats of other people just to take from them what rightly belongs to them.

We have seen that these people who get into this Parliament and claim to form the Government sometimes use gun muzzles in order to switch ballot boxes or break boxes. The P.N.C. jeep went up to No. 35 Village and hit me down on the road. When the P.N.C. supporters heard that I did not die they said “What!” Up to today there has not been charge against the chauffeur. If it had been a jeep belonging to the P.P.P. we would not have had the use of that jeep during the whole Elections campaign and the chauffeur would surely have slept in the lock-up. Up to today nothing at all has been done.

Two brothers were killed up at No. 57 Village, Corentyne and nothing has been done about that also. There are break and enter incidents every night or every other night on the Corentyne. The people are asking for their guns which have been taken away from them. They want their guns returned to them for protection, but what happens? The guns will not be given back. This is what is going on today in Guyana.

The other day the police were questioning a man somewhere on the Corentyne. They said that they understood that he was out on the road after midnight. He enquired, “Why ask me? Am I a choke and rob felon?” They answered, “Yes; we do believe so.” The police spoke point blank to the man and the man said, “Go and ask your Prime Minister and Ministers if they did not choke and rob and get into the Parliament. Then deal with them. Those are the leaders; they have shown us the way and we are walking in that path today.”

There is a Bill before us to restrict our movements. I wish to say that this restriction will not apply only to the P.P.P. supporters; it will work against any individual in this country with whom the Government feels dissatisfied.

Today the people in the country are crying out about the hardships and starvation. Not only the P.P.P. supporters are crying out, but also the P.N.C. and U.F. supporters. All working class people are suffering. No Government can legislate for one section. This has been done at Black Bush Polder where a section called Zambia, named after the worst town in Africa, has been created in the Polder. Government has given loans to the people living at Zambia. Pure water is fetched from Limlair, out on the public road, by trucks right into Zambia in the Black Bush Polder so that the people there can get artesian well water to drink, but people in other parts of Black Bush Polder must drink the muddy water which they cannot even get at times.

These are some of the things that the members of the Government are doing and when it comes to the breaking of people's houses in Black Bush Polder, I do not know whether this Government even knew what was taking place. When the houses in Black Bush Polder are broken and the people are displaced who will suffer? Is it not the Government which will have to take care of them?

**5.10 p.m.**

There are some people in there who could ill afford to pay the rents at the moment. The other day I had a talk with Mr. Douglas, the Administrator, and he admitted that some of those people are not the first, but the third and fourth settlers on the land. The Administrator agreed that they did promise the people to bulldoze and level the lands. [**The Prime Minister:** "Who promised them?" The Government. [**The Prime Minister:** "Which Government?"] Since you ask which Government promised them I would say point blank that the P.P.P. Government promised them by the P.P.P. was thrown out of office by fraud and the P.N.C. got into office and simply left it like that.

This very Government moved out some of those people from Yakusari, Lesbeholden and other places. The plots are vacant and even if a blind man goes to Black Bush Polder he would see that on one part of the settlement there is progress and on the other part there are little bits of

cassava leaves and grass. I am sure that they cannot pay the rents, but if they mixed with the others and were among them, there would have been progress automatically because they would have followed the others.

I am appealing to every Member in this House to bear in mind that they were born to serve in this world and only for a short time. We will not live here forever and, therefore, it is our duty to do everything possible to help our brothers and sisters and this will lead us to the road to paradise.

**Mr. Chandisingh:** The Bill before the House today has aroused the concern of very many people in this country. We know that there have been other occasions when the Government brought legislation – such as the National Security (Miscellaneous Provision) Act and the National Registration Act – and other measures which have caused very great concern among the population. We know, too, that protest has been made at every step but, nevertheless these measures have been passed. Today, however, I venture to suggest that many more people are not only concerned but also anxious about the provisions intended in this measure. There is a great deal of anxiety in this country and, as one or two of my colleagues hinted, this anxiety is not only resident in the minds of those who support one particular party but, I venture to say, many other people are expressing this concern for various reasons.

One reason is that the predictions of the People's Progressive Party seem, to many people today, to be coming true one after the other. At first many people who did not support the P.P.P. were led to believe that the P.P.P. was merely rabble rousing, the P.P.P. is the one to call wolf every time and, therefore, if the Government takes some action against this P.P.P., well then it is all right, they are safe, so to speak. But we have seen that not only people who support the P.P.P. but others who consider themselves very close to the United States and their rulers have had to feel the humility, or rather I should say have had to eat the humble pie of sudden realisation that this closeness or supposed closeness was no guarantee that they were safe from the ravages of the Government that was becoming more and more dictatorial. As I said, the first reason why

people are concerned is because they can see that, once again, the words of the P.P.P. are coming to pass and this creeping dictatorship is coming upon us.

Another reason why many people are becoming more and more concerned now than let us say when the National Security (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill was introduced is because they can no longer have any confidence in the word of the Government. We have always been told, even in this Parliament, particularly in this Parliament, by leading members of the Government, by Ministers who introduce such Bills and also very ably backed by our Attorney General and Minister of State, in rather unctuous tones, very polished, that we need not worry over the manner in which the Government intends to carry out these measures. They tell us that our fears are groundless and they point to the constitutionality of these measures. And, eventually, when everything else fails, they throw in the argument, “Well, if you think it is against the Constitution, test it in Court.” Nevertheless, people who cannot at all be accused of being communist, Marxist, revolutionary, socialist, or even mildly progressive, are very much concerned and anxious about their future because they cannot place much faith in what they Government promises.

The third reason I feel that there is so much anxiety is because a lot more people are now finding that under the guise of attacking so-called subversive elements, so-called terrorists and so on, they are covered. I refer specifically to what we are hearing in the country today. Regardless of what may be the Government’s intentions, we know that their main purpose is to stifle any criticism of the Government. Nevertheless, the people on the streets, in restaurants, in other places in Georgetown and in the country, have had the idea – and they feel they are justified in holding the view – that behind all of this is also the Government’s intention to prevent many of them from leaving Guyana.

Our Colleagues have spoken of the grave problems, the increasing problems in the country; unemployment, rising cost of living, other actions by the Government to lower the

people's standards of living, and thus many people are today leaving the country and many others want to leave the country.

5.20 p.m.

Of course, we – I myself – do not feel that this is the answer to the problems in Guyana. We feel that people should stay in Guyana and struggle to make Guyana a better country, which includes a change of Government in this country. We know many people want to leave the country. They want to go and seek their fortunes where they feel, whether rightly or wrongly, they would get a better chance in life, because the longer they stay here, the more they are likely to be caught in the vice on the one hand of the dictatorial attitude of the Government and on the other hand rising poverty. Among those people comprise nurses.

Government has been saying that a lot of nurses and qualified people are leaving this country and there are no people to fill the vacancies arising from these shortages. The hon. Minister of Health (Mrs. Talbot) undoubtedly, must be concerned about this question because only the other day we had a report from the hospital authorities; I think it was in Berbice, which showed how many nurses have resigned. The same thing we find in the Civil Service and Police Force and other categories of trained people, and as a result of this many persons are anxious to know how this Act is going to apply to them.

Even if the hon. Minister of Home Affairs or the Prime Minister got up and gave the assurance that these people are not going to be covered, it would be difficult to convince anybody because one thing is said and something else is done in practice. We know that even before we have such a law passed, the Government has been taking actions on other grounds in order to do the same things. For example, when the Members, including Mr. Stoby, went to the Rupununi, the Government did not have any law by which to exclude them, but the Government acted illegally I would say. It used administrative measures in order to carry out what it wanted to do and now it is passing a law to cover whatever it does in the future.

The granting of passports either for permanent residence abroad or for short periods of study or holiday is another matter. We know as a fact from very many individuals that the Government, in certain cases, has impounded passports, in some cases without giving reasons. In other cases, it has stopped people from going abroad, to socialist countries particularly, and even told persons that their income tax papers were not in order. In addition to these cases, there are others I have come across, ordinary people, who have found it difficult to get a passport. I do not wish to accuse any particular person but as we know, corruption has reached a high level in Guyana, and some people have had to pay through the nose for a passport to which every citizen is entitled. There is this great anxiety and fear among the people of Guyana.

I should like to refer to certain other instances which have arisen and which, I think, this law intended to carry out. We see the description of section 5A (1). I do not want to go into detail but merely to refer to the wording which reads as follows:

“5A (1) The Minister may, by directions in writing impose restrictions on the right of –  
(a) any person to leave Guyana if he is satisfied that it is necessary so to do in the interests of defence, public safety or public order or for the purpose of preventing the subversion of democratic institutions in Guyana;”

Now I ask myself this question, but I wish the Minister to say something more concrete: in what way does the Government believe that a person going abroad will be in a position to subvert democratic institutions in Guyana? The only such concrete cases or examples that I can think of would be certainly those which could be dealt with normally by the law of the land. In other words, a person is deemed to be guilty if he is tried and convicted. This should be the case but what we find is that the Government is not prepared to adopt the normal democratic procedures. It is not prepared to take up a particular case, a concrete case of an individual who has gone to some country abroad and on his return he can be prosecuted, let us say, if he commits any act against the State.

21.2.69

National Assembly

5.20 – 5.30 p.m.

It is possible under the normal laws of the land but we find the Government going much further than this. The Government is saying that it will prevent people from leaving the country in order to, according to the Government, subvert the democratic institutions within Guyana. This smacks much too much on the part of the Government of the desire to prevent persons, such as the Leader of the Opposition (Dr. Jagan) or the Leader of the United Force (Mr. d'Aguiar) or any other person of lesser calibre politically, from taking the advantage of travelling abroad and speaking or writing on what is taking place in Guyana.

I have in mind particularly the events which occurred after the last elections, so far, in which the Prime Minister of Guyana attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and while this Conference was in session, it must have been a bit embarrassing, to say the least, for the Prime Minister of Guyana to be confronted with a television programme called, I think, "The Making of a Prime Minister", in which the Leader of the Opposition and the leader of the United Force both appeared and, according to my understanding of this film, it was a complete exposure of the fraudulent elections in Guyana.

5.30 p.m.

As a matter of fact I am told – I have not seen the film – that one scene shows the Prime Minister of Guyana walking forward to the cameras and the commentators says something to the effect that "this man should not be at this Prime Minister's Conference". It was said that this film was made to show the fraud which took place not only in London but also in New York where people were interviewed. This was not done by the PPP. It was done by what are called "impartial" people. This was not put out by a bunch of socialist but by a staid capitalist organisation which is in business in order to make money just as this Government is in business to make profits at the expense of the Guyana people. It was this staid organisation ... [Mr. Jordan: "Staid or paid!"] ... produced the film seen by 35,000,000 viewers in the United Kingdom.

It must have been very embarrassing for, a few days after his return, we saw new regulations published which gave the Minister of the Government the authority to ban certain films in Guyana. The point is: preventing them from being shown. It is quite understandable that the Government would wish to avoid such embarrassing development in the future not only on the advent of our Prime Minister or other Ministers in foreign countries but as general policy to counteract information which is being given today. Undoubtedly, people abroad are being told that the PNC has succeeded in crossing the racial frontier – by the rigging of the ballot boxes in Black Bush Polder and other areas.

They are claiming that they have reached across the frontier and that they have a majority in Guyana. One member even went so far as to suggest that we cannot take it now because the majority gave their decision at the polls. They can probably convince a few people abroad if there is no counteraction taken by the PPP and other parties in this country to tell the people the truth of the situation. This is an attempt to safeguard their reputation in the Western world. They know that in the Socialist world, one-third of mankind, they have no reputation at all. Even in the capitalist world today they are finding it very difficult to convince people, including the National Liberation Movement in Africa and in other parts of the world, that this Government is a government of the people, fairly elected. Their last preserve, the leading countries of the Western capitalist world, the countries of their masters who have put them into power, even in these countries their prestige is falling. *[Interruptions]* Today the prestige of the Government of Guyana is low and if it got lower it would be a very sad thing so far as they are concerned.

Let us take another indication of this. This is an important one. Let us take Venezuela. The Leader of the Opposition has given our party's views on this question and has stated quite clearly that we stand by the territorial integrity of Guyana. As a matter of fact, the PPP has made statements in the Press and at meetings. But I wonder if Members realise – I am sure the Government realises – that in the country as a whole, in Guyana at large, not many people are prepared to fight to the death against Venezuela. That is a serious point which ought to give cause for concern by this Government. Now, despite the fact that both the Government party, the

P.N.C., and the former Government associate, the UF, and also the Opposition, the main Opposition, the PPP, have all in one way or another been trying to show the people of Guyana the need for solving our problems without encouraging the attacks by Venezuela, despite the fact that the people do not like the Government, nevertheless, we should not encourage Venezuela to take over Guyana. We encourage people to see things in a different light but it is clear that perhaps most of the people of Guyana are disgusted, fed up with the actions of the present Government and they are wondering if it would be better with the Venezuelan Government; many people are saying today that there would be no difference. It might be better for the Venezuelan Government to take over but this, as I have told you before, is not the solution.

Our viewpoint is that the people of Guyana must solve our own problems and we try to show them that the Venezuelan Government is also a puppet of the big imperialists, just as this Government is. The Venezuelan Government is also suppressing the people and they are protesting and even fighting against the Venezuelan Government for their freedom. So the question of Venezuelan taking over is no solution.

Despite all of this, there are people in Guyana who want to see progress in this country, but they are not prepared to defend this Government which is destroying their homes, attacking their livelihood, carrying out political discrimination, not going step by step towards greater dictatorship, denying people the right to go out of their country and of travelling freely in their own country. These are indications of something serious in Guyana today and we hope that the Government will be able to see before it is too late – it is very late already – but there is still time if there is willingness to unite the country.

**5.40 p.m.**

It was the Archbishop of the West Indies, I think who made a statement not too long ago to the effect that the Venezuelan events have brought about the greatest national unity in Guyana. While this ought to be the position as a result of Venezuela's attack and threats, nevertheless, the

Government's actions against the majority of people in Guyana is having the opposite effect and creating more national disunity than ever before in the past.

We have Mr. Stoby who spoke of the Amerindians – the people indigenous to this country. And there are many others, who for political reasons have been discriminated against. They also find it difficult to understand why, when they have been attacked, there should be this call for national unity. The Government is holding the “big stick” on more than half the people of this country who will have to come to its rescue and whom it will have to rely on whether morally, spiritually or otherwise if there is any truth in the story of the Venezuelans' determination to stage any attack on this country. We have heard the hon. The Leader of the Opposition (Dr. Jagan), and I am sure that there is not much chance of this, but I have used this example in order to point to this very glaring weakness of the Guyanese position due to the Government's attacks.

Now, sir, I should like to say a word or two on the question of laws. We are accustomed to hearing from time to time that if we are not satisfied with the laws passed in this Parliament – the supreme legislative body – we can always challenge the Constitution of those laws in the Courts of law. I think you, Mr. Speaker, had occasion to point this out to one of our speakers the other day. I would like to point out that considering the question from a very deep and broad socio-economic position, we must understand that there are laws and there are laws. There are institutions and there are institutions. And there are similarly, courts of law and there are also other courts of law. They each serve different purposes in different forms of society.

For example, in a capitalist society where the ruling class owns and controls the basic wealth and means of production and constitutes a small group in the community, such as in Guyana, they will then control the whole super-structure of the state apparatus including the courts of law and the very laws which are geared towards the preservation of that state of affairs where the few rich can continue to hold on to their positions at the expense of the broad masses. It is really stretching our imagination a bit too far to expect that in a society such as I have

described, the people, despite the fact that they may constitute a large majority of the society, who want to see progressive changes in the society and want to see the working masses as the ruling class, as the owners of the wealth in the country will get a square deal. This is stretching our imagination too far to expect that courts in such a society will move against the established order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Time.

**Dr. Jagan:** I move that the hon. Member be given 15 minutes more to complete his speech.

**Dr. Ramsahoye:** *Seconded.*

*Question put and agreed to.*

**Mr. Chandisingh:** I am grateful for this small mercy. As I was pointing out, in a society such as I have described where the wealthy few own and control the basic means of production and are the ruling class, the courts also, and all other super-structures of the society are, shall I say, instruments of that class. And although there may be constitutional arrangements – perfectly legal systems and so on – we must understand that the laws are devised and designed in order to preserve that *status quo*. It will be argued, I am sure by a hon. Member on the other side who will get up and say: what about a socialist country, what about Russia, Cuba or any other country? This Government is in the habit of answering our serious points of criticism by trying to draw a parallel with some socialist country. I anticipate this line. It is not a difficult thing to understand. Democracy, freedom and such things are not abstract. They are not eh same thing to all people. They do not mean the same thing to everybody at all times under all circumstances. I am sure the hon. Minister of Information is fully apprised of all these things.

21.2.69

National Assembly

5.40 – 5.50 p.m.

So when we speak of civil liberties and civil rights we have to ask ourselves: rights and freedoms, for whom? To do what? Under what circumstances? We do not wish to be hypocrites like the Government who say: we believe in democracy, when in actual fact the masses are in shackles.

5.50 p.m.

We do not wish to be hypocritical in this way. We want to call a spade a spade. In this way of looking at things we ask ourselves whether the things we are seeing in Guyana – the restrictions on the right to move in the country, restriction on the right to move abroad and so on – are being done in the interest of the working masses of Guyana.

That is the question. Are these things being done to restrain the wealthy exploiters, the imperialist interests in sugar, bauxite and in other fields, and the Americans who are coming in greater numbers? Are they designed to restrain these people or to limit them in their exploitation of the Guyanese working masses, including the exploitation of the supporters of the P.N.C.? Are these things to protect the working masses or are they designed to isolate the people, to quarantine the masses of the Guyanese people from the ideology that will be necessary for them to undertake their own salvation and to build a truly socialist society in Guyana?

Why is it that the governing party which pretends to be socialist, which uses the word “socialist” once every year in a seminar or some such other forum, why does the governing party which has a youth movement called Young Socialist Movement, the Y.S.M. a representative of which sits in this Parliament, why does such a governing party act in such a way as to quarantine socialist ideas and socialist thoughts? Why does it prevent people from going to socialist countries to get education while on the other hand it encourages the youths of this country to go for six months or shorter periods to the great United States, the masterland, to get indoctrinated in capitalist, bourgeois ideas?

What a strange contradiction of a governing party pretending to be socialist and yet doing everything to ban socialist ideas, even films that depict how people live in socialist countries and so on! These things it wants to ban to quarantine the people. The next thing perhaps may be that it will bring back the old colonial Luchoo law, which banned books, literature and that sort of thing.

We have before us a clear political question. This Government is acting in the interest of the imperialists in Guyana and it believes that it can, by these dictatorial and repressive measures, prevent Guyanese youths and Guyanese working people from coming to the realisation that it is only a socialist system that will put an end to the grave problems – economic, social and otherwise – facing our country. That is the only answer.

We in the People's Progressive Party will never rest; we will never neglect our duty to bring these ideas, to bring this great news, so to speak to the Guyanese working masses. The more we do this, the more the members of the Government are going to retaliate. The smaller their popularity becomes within Guyana, the more they will increase their repression.

That is the logic of future events in Guyana. The Development Programme that the Government has in mind will not solve the economic problems of Guyana and when that time comes it will be either that the Government will move towards greater dictatorship and suppress even more liberties of the workers – such as the right to strike through the Trades Disputes Bill – or it will have to make a complete break with the imperialist policies. Are the members of the Government capable of doing this? Guyanese people will be the ones either to push them towards this break or to push them completely out of the Government.

My final point is that this Government really stands accused of subversion of the interests of the Guyanese working masses and of other democratic decent-minded people of this country. We do not have to go far to look for the culprits. The culprits sit right over there. They are the ones who should be subjected to their own laws! But we know that they will never convict

themselves. They will not convict themselves, but the Guyanese people will judge and ultimately will condemn them. [**Hon. Members (Opposition):** “Here! here!”]

**Mr. Lall:** Your Honour, there is no doubt that there are certain sections of the Immigration Ordinance which need changing. We need amendments such as changes from “British Guiana” to Guyana and amendments pertaining to our change from colony to an independent country. But when someone tries to assume dictatorial powers that is another matter.

Every Government has the right to have certain enactments passed in Parliament when there is a crisis. Article 5 of the European Convention says that everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. This includes freedom of movement within and outside your country. It provides that no one shall be deprived of his liberty except in special cases.

Enshrined in our Constitutional there is provision that when there is a crisis in our country the Government can bring legislation to this Assembly and enact laws to protect the rights of the state. This is the Government’s function; no one can deny it. But when the Government exceeds this power, then it is another matter. I should like to quote article 14 of our Constitution which deals with the Protection of freedom of movement:

“No person shall be deprived of his freedom of movement, that is to say, the right to move freely throughout Guyana, the right to reside in any part of Guyana, the right to enter Guyana, the right to leave Guyana and immunity from expulsion from Guyana.”

**6 p.m.**

Now the Government’s behaviour today shows very clearly that it wants to make Guyana a continuous emergency state, a state which we can safely call a police state, a state which we can safely call a Hitler’s Germany, but I want to ask the Government, “Where is Hitler?” Maybe the Government has it in mind to bring other legislation to suppress the civil liberties of the Guyanese people and so it brings in advance this measure in Parliament to prevent people from

marching against suppressive measures. This is an assumption. From the Government's behaviour in this House one can assume what is to come.

If we were to take a look at this Bill we would see that after section 5 there should be included section 5A to give one man, one individual, dictatorial powers. This is hypocritical. This destroys the fabric of democracy and this opens the Government to abuse. If we were to peruse this whole Bill, if we were to examine it minutely, we would see that the person who drafted it is without foresight or vision because the scholars of Guyana have said that he who digs a hole for another shall fall into it.

Where is the former Minister of Home Affairs today? Where is he who brought the National Registration Act to give the Prime Minister all the powers in the world? Where is Mr. Rudyard Kendall who was the oldest parliamentarian? Where is Mr. Wharton and Rev. Trotman who helped to make the Prime Minister a dictator? This is why I should like to remind Members on the other side of the House that they are building something from which they cannot save themselves. The time is approaching. The vanguard of the working people in Guyana is on the march and no suppressive legislation can stop the people from marching. It may suppress them for a time but it cannot prevent them from marching. History reminds me that a violent fire burns out quickly.

Many of you who are Ministers in this House today have to give credit to me because when the Prime Minister introduced a Bill I criticised him and said, "You have thirty people from among whom you should select your Ministers." This is how many of you were elected. So I want to warn you, Mr. Minister of Home Affairs...

**Mr. Speaker:** Address the Chair, please.

**Mr. Lall:** I want to advise the hon. Minister that the good deeds that men do will live after them. This amendment to include a new section which we will call section 5A will

obviously give the Minister power to exercise political fraternity when he is usurping his powers as a Minister.

6.10 p.m.

In this very section there are these words, and I would like to quote with your permission, sir, of what is said here.

“... public morality or public health or for the purpose of preventing the subversion of democratic institutions in Guyana.”

I would like to emphasise those few words.

Who is subverting the democratic institutions in Guyana today? Is it not this Government by legislating such an iniquitous measure the one which is subverting the democratic institutions in Guyana today? It is said that if the Minister should prevent someone from going abroad, that individual or individuals has or have the right to appeal to a tribunal. Now, sir, let us go in to some facts. A lot of poor people in this country would like their children to get a university education to become doctors, to become lawyers, to become technocrats. *[Interruption]* I did not say “technorats” I said technocrats. They, from time to time, will be saving money to send their children abroad, but if it is the wish of the Minister that this child should not go abroad, the parents of the child still have the right to appeal to this tribunal.

The money they were saving from time to time would have to be paid over to a very good lawyer, not a “one by two” lawyer. Such a lawyer to handle the appeal would be very expensive because I heard about legislation whereby lawyers have to pay a fixed tax – so I heard – and they are now going to raise their fees. The money which is raised during this period will have to be spent on lawyers. It is obvious, Your Honour, that a poor man cannot afford, after he has finished appealing to the tribunal, even if he succeeded, to send his child to the University. The little money that he saved up would be finished. This is a class society this Government is creating by

introducing this measure in this House. A man who can afford it can appeal to the tribunal several times but a poor man cannot afford it. If he should go once to the tribunal, he would have to start saving again. If he should succeed, he will have to save again to get the passage to send his son abroad.

We feel that this is injustice to the hilt. We feel that the Government should withdraw this Bill because there is no reason to have such legislation in this House. If you tell us that you are afraid if Venezuela, or of Uncle Peter going to Venezuela, tell us so. If the Government has some intention, then make it clear to the Members of this House. We know that Venezuela is aiming at 50,000 square miles of our lands. We will fight to the last man – [*Applause from the Members if the Government.*] ... as true Guyanese to save our lands from being taken by a foreign power. But when there is a crisis in a country, the Government should look forward to national unity of the people, therefore the Government should find ways and means to bring about this national unity. I know and I agree with that.

Guyana is now confronted by two powers which are also assisted by a big power, but the leader of my party was warning those on that side of the House, “Do not play with Uncle Sam.” What is happening today? Guyana-Venezuela border dispute. We hear that they have a ground to ground missile base and the trade mark on the missiles is the United States of America.

**6.20 p.m.**

And all that Uncle Sam is sending to Guyana now to fight the Venezuelans and their missiles is a note of sympathy.

We were warning you – the Leader of the PPP warned you. The youths in the PNC are seeing further than the people here who are sitting in Parliament on the Government side. The leader of the YSM went somewhere – I think it is Independence Park – and made the statement that if it were possible to take arms from Russia, Cuba or China... [*Interruptions*]... we would

do so to fight the Venezuelans. A progressive youth movement you have there! Thinking progressively! When they become old men, they get old fashioned! *[Laughter]* We do not want to embarrass this Government. We want to advise them. We were always advising them and we will still advise them.

Let us look at section 8. It is said... **[Mr. Hoyte: “8A”]** ... you must include 8A. what does this mean? This means that the Minister will have overriding power. Maybe after the ex-Minister of Home Affairs saw what happened after the election, he refused to bring such a Bill into Parliament. *[Laughter]* Probably that was why he was removed as Minister of Home Affairs. That was demotion. **[The Prime Minister: “How did you get that front bench? Because he refused?”]** Yes. This is how the present mover of this Bill ... **[The Prime Minister: “... came to get work.”]** That is right! Simple! **[Mr. Hoyte: “You work harder. You will get something.”]** All we are asking this Government is to move a motion here for emergency laws when the time necessitates. As the Prime Minister was not here when I quoted from article 5 ...

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not think there is need to repeat it. *[Laughter]*

**Mr. Lall:** No. I just want to educate him. *[Laughter]* He is the number one dictator. **[The Prime Minister: “Harry do you really believe that?”]** I quoted from article 5 of the European Constitution. **[The Prime Minister: “You are dealing with those imperialists? I am surprised at you! Those Western imperialists?”]**

**Mr. Speaker:** Let the hon. Member proceed.

**Mr. Lall:** The same conference ... *[Interruptions]*

**Mr. Speaker:** Please address the Chair.

21.2.69

National Assembly

6.20 – 6.29 p.m.

**Mr. Lall:** Your Honour, we are the Government to change their attitude. Obviously they have to scrap this Bill and, when the time comes, move a Motion that emergency laws can be enacted in Guyana so that we can protect the State from Venezuela or whosoever wants it. [*Applause*] [**The Prime Minister:** “You have two and a half minutes more.”]

**Mrs. Branco** *rose -*

**Mr Speaker:** Would the hon. Member like to be given first call on Monday when we resume? [**Mr. Hamid:** “Move the Standing Orders.”] We can continue to seven o'clock if necessary. I leave it in the hands of the House.

#### ADJOURNMENT

**The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Trade and Leader of the House** (Mr. Bissember): I move that this Assembly do now adjourn until Monday 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1969, at 2.00 p.m. The Leader of the Opposition has agreed to sit until 10.00 p.m. on Monday night without interruption as we are stopping at 6.30 p.m. today.

*Adjourned accordingly at 6.29 p.m.*

\*\*\*\*\*