

THE House of Assembly Debates

(OFFICIAL REPORT).

SESSION 1947—48

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 10th February, 1948.

Pursuant to adjournment, the House of Assembly met at 12 o'clock noon to-day.

Present:

His Honour Mr. G. B. EVELYN, (*Speaker*), His Honour Mr. J. E. T. BRANCKER (*Deputy Speaker*), Mr. J. T. C. RAMSAY (*Chairman of Committees*), Dr. J. A. LEV. WILSON, Dr. H. G. CUMMINS, Messrs. M. E. COX, F. L. WALCOTT, A. E. S. LEWIS, R. G. MAPP, C. E. TALMA, G. H. ADAMS, B.A., H. D. BLACKMAN, E. D. MOTTLEY, V. C. GALE and F. D. McD. SYMMONDS.

Prayers are read.

Mr. FOSTER enters the House and takes his seat.

MINUTES.

The Minutes of the meeting which was held on the 3rd February, 1948, having been circulated are taken as read and confirmed.

Mr. SMITH enters the House and takes his seat.

DOCUMENT.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that I have received the Colonial Treasurer's Financial Report for the month of January, 1948.

Mr. WILKINSON enters the House and takes his seat.

PAPERS LAID

Mr. ADAMS: Mr. Speaker,—I have the honour to lay on the table of the House the following Papers:—

Statement of sums of money paid over to the Colonial Treasurer by the Commissioner of Police during the quarter ended 31st December, 1947.

Report of the Conference on the Closer Association of the B.W.I. Colonies held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, from the 11th to the 19th September, 1947.

Messrs. GARNER and S. A. WALCOTT enter the House and take their seats.

NOTICES.

Government Notices are given as follows:—

Dr. CUMMINS: Resolution for £7,600 to supplement Resolution No. 105 of the 4th November,

1947, to provide additional accommodation at the Lunatic Asylum and to erect a boundary wall.

Dr. CUMMINS: Resolution to place the sum of £2,000 at the disposal of the Governor-in-Executive Committee for the following purposes:—

- (a) to make provision for the establishment in civil life of discharged service personnel;
- (b) to operate or participate in schemes for the training and for the care and maintenance of discharged service personnel; and
- (c) to provide a rehabilitation fund from which payments may be made.

Mr. TALMA: Bill to amend the Petroleum Act, 1882 (1882-2).

Mr. ADAMS: Of my intention to move the House into Committee of Supply at its next meeting to consider the money Resolutions of which notice has just been given.

Mr. CRAWFORD enters the House and takes his seat.

QUESTIONS.

Mr. BRANCKER: To enquire of the Senior Member of the Executive Committee present at next meeting of this House:—

Has Government anything to add to its statement made in this House on 25th November, 1947, in reply to a question asked, when Government stated that "the question of employing female workers from Barbados in the United Kingdom is still under examination in the Colonial Office?"

2. Has Government been officially notified, by the Colonial Office or otherwise, that His Majesty's coloured subjects, especially from the West Indies, will not be welcomed or accepted in the United Kingdom at the present time as domestic workers?

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: To enquire of the senior member of the Executive Committee present at the next meeting of the House:—

Is the Government aware of the serious inadequacy at the Coleridge and Parry Schools in the Parishes of St. Peter and St. Lucy? and

2. That parents in these parishes are forced to send their children to secondary schools in Bridgetown at high cost through the lack of accommodation at these schools?

3. When does the Government intend to implement the scheme for the amalgamation of these Schools that has been agreed upon by the Governing Bodies?

Mr. MOTTLEY: To enquire of the Senior Member of the Executive Committee present at the next meeting of this House:—

1. Is Government aware that there is a number of fishing boats now being laid up on beaches around the island due to the lack of material, especially material for making masts for fishing boats, for furnishing same?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Government take the necessary steps to assure that such material (including material suitable for making masts etc.,) be imported as soon as possible?

BILL READ A FIRST TIME.

On the motion of Mr. TALMA, seconded by Mr. ADAMS, a Bill to amend the Petroleum Act, 1882 (1882-2) is read a first time.

SPEAKER'S RULING *RE* MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF PUBLIC IMPORTANCE.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I proceed to call the Orders of the Day I want to ask the assistance of honourable members in this respect. It seems to be becoming the practice in this House to move the adjournment of the House for five minutes for the purpose of discussing matters of public importance. There have been certain rulings by Speakers of the House of Commons from time to time and one of those rulings which I should like to put into effect—and possibly others too—is this. I should like any honourable member who wishes to make a motion of that kind to let me know, before the House sits, the nature of the subject which he wishes to debate. There are certain matters which are not allowed to be debated in this manner and when a motion of that sort is sprung upon the Speaker late in the afternoon, it is not so easy to give a ruling on it as if I had previous notice. The next point is this. I shall not allow a discussion to take place on a subject matter that is already on the Order Paper on a motion of that kind. If a matter which an honourable member wishes to discuss is already on the Order Paper and the feeling of the House is that it should be discussed, that honourable member can move the suspension of Rule 60 to move the particular Order out of its place. I hope that honourable members will assist me, especially in respect of the first part of my remarks, by giving me notice beforehand of the nature of the subject which he wishes to discuss on a motion for the adjournment of the House.

ADDRESS *RE* RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT MONTEGO BAY CONFERENCE.

Mr. SPEAKER: The first Order stands in the name of the honourable senior member for St. Joseph,—To move the passing of an Address to His Excellency the Governor concerning the Resolutions passed at the Montego Bay Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies.

Mr. ADAMS: Mr. Speaker,—It is quite likely that occasions of this sort in all the British West Indian Colonies will be looked back upon by posterity as being of immense historical importance. It is very difficult for people who are in the midst of making history, always to see the importance of what they do or fail to do and always to realize the responsibility that lies on their shoulders in carving out, in effect, the destinies of their communities for generations to come. I think, Sir, that in our discussion

of an Address of the nature which I have the honour to move to-day we have one of those occasions. I feel—and I think all other honourable members will agree with me—that the haphazard way in which colonial territories have worked out their destinies in the past must end and no matter of what political complexion any of us may be, we will agree that mere pious resolutions are not enough, that the mere approval of the principle of federation of these colonies is not enough and that we should actively do something to bring federation into the realm of accomplishment. I hope I shall not appear to other Caribbean territories to be insular or parochial in my remarks when I say that it is more incumbent on us perhaps—possibly I could do without using the word “perhaps”—it is more incumbent upon us in Barbados with our three-century-old tradition of Representative Government, with the stability which we see in this island,—a stability that is not equalled, let alone surpassed by any other Caribbean community,—to set the example to the rest of the area in fighting anxiously, eagerly and without respite towards the accomplishment of a federal plan for these colonies. I do not think we can be accused of undue boasting if we make the statement I have just made because the other colonies that have enjoyed Representative Government like ours unchanged for three centuries do not consider themselves within the ambit of the Caribbean area and, for our purposes, may be forgotten. I refer to the Bahamas and Bermuda. We, therefore, are the only colony in this area that can boast of being absolute masters as far as local legislation is concerned. We who, unlike Jamaica, have not ever had engrafted on our constitution the right of the Governor to have reserved powers for legislating should be the example to the rest of the West Indies in helping in every possible way to march quickly to the goal of Responsible Government for each separate island and Responsible Government for the whole area. It is platitudinous to assert that we cannot hope to make any progress politically or, even more important, economically if we speak as seven separate colonies. We cannot hope that the rest of the world is going to take any notice of us when we endeavour to get a greater quota for sugar or more recognition for our cocoa products or what not, if we go to a Conference represented by a Colonial Office official or if we go to some of these other conferences that spring up overnight like mushrooms, as representatives of each separate Caribbean island or community. Most of what I have just said, perhaps it was not necessary to say because I feel that all of us agree that the general principle of Federation is the only hope of salvation for the British West Indian Colonies and it is merely with the desire, in my preliminary remarks, to remind honourable members that the whole object of this Government or any other Government asking its Legislature to implement, or to say that they wish to see the implementation of, the Resolutions which were passed at Montego Bay is to further as quickly as possible the bringing about of the federation of these colonies. Honourable members, I feel sure, have at least perused these Resolutions. In a matter of this sort I desire to say nothing which would seem, even to the most sensitive of my hearers or to those who may read the debates of this Assembly, to be offensive but I cannot refrain from replying, even though it has not been raised in this colony but in a sister colony, to those who see in some of these Resolutions some studied attempt either by the Colonial Office or by reactionaries in the Caribbean area to restrain the march of progress to constitutional reform in

individual islands. I refer especially to Resolution 2 which has been attacked in a sister colony as being designed or at any rate as having the possible effect of keeping back constitutional reform in an individual colony because of Federation. It is difficult to see how anybody with a nodding acquaintance of the English language could possibly read that into Resolution 2. I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, to take the Resolutions one by one in this opening address because I take it that our procedure will be that we will take each Resolution, ask honourable members if they have any comments to make on it and proceed to express the approbation by the House of each Resolution. It is possible, of course, that some honourable members may desire to modify some of the Resolutions, in which case I take it, Mr. Speaker, that what we shall do is to say we approve of the Resolutions and if a majority wants to add some rider to any particular Resolution, honourable members can say what they would like to be done. I do not anticipate that such a thing will be done but it may happen and for that reason I make that statement at the outset. Speaking generally on these Resolutions I should like to say this: the general principle of Federation was accepted at Montego Bay and as set out in Resolution 1—and without using the word "Australia"—the delegates to the Conference in effect decided that the sort of Federation suitable for the West Indies is a Federation on the Australian model; that is, that the Federal Government should have assigned to it certain items under its exclusive jurisdiction and the separate colonies should have complete jurisdiction over all subjects not specifically assigned to the Federal Government. That is the Australian Constitution and, to a great extent, the American Constitution. I think we have already in this House expressed our general approval of the principle because although many of our problems are the same, our historical origins are not in all these islands the same. St. Lucia, in spite of being for 130 years a British colony is still governed by the Code Napoléon. British Guiana in spite of modifications in recent years still has a great lot of Roman Dutch Law pointing to its Dutch origin and so on; therefore, it seems to me that it is better for islands like ours with different historical origins and different historical backgrounds to agree to give up certain matters of legislation to a Federal Government and to retain all others that are not specifically assigned to the Federal Government. Resolution 2 was the subject of much debate and if I may attempt to say so with due modesty I am responsible for much of the phrasing of this Resolution, simply because it appeared during the debate that some of the delegates—it may be the case in this House too—at Montego Bay wanted Federation not to proceed until Self-Government was established and others wanted to put into the Resolution that each colony must have Responsible Government before Federation takes place. They did not seem to be in hope of unity and I suggested—and Mr. Crawley, the then Chairman, suggested also—that we should frame the Resolution in such a way as to point out that we should proceed to get Federation of these colonies and we should also proceed to get Responsible Government or at any rate extended constitutional reform for each island but that the pursuit of neither should prejudice the progress of the other; that we should work for Federation and each colony should ask for an improved Constitution but that neither aim should be subordinate to the other and that we should not say that Federation must come first or last. The Resolution reads:—"Resolved that this Con-

ference believes that an increasing measure of responsibility should be extended to the several units of the British Caribbean territories, whose political development must be pursued as an aim in itself, without prejudice and in no way subordinate to progress towards federation." Therefore, each individual colony should endeavour to get, and the Colonial Office should be asked to give, political development in each of the colonies but that was not to hinder the march towards Federation nor was it to be subordinate to the desire to get Federation. I have stressed that a little because, as I said, in a neighbouring colony much talk was made on that particular Resolution and, in fact, as far as I can remember, the Legislative Council of the particular colony passed a special Resolution on that point or, at any rate the voice of one honourable member was raised so effectively that the Governor of that colony promised to forward his views to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But I repeat that a careful examination of the language used makes it clear that this aim at Federation is not going to prejudice any island getting Responsible Government as soon as possible. Resolutions 3 and 4 speak for themselves; they deal with Shipping and Agriculture. Resolution 5 also speaks for itself; it suggests that a British Caribbean Trade Commission Service should be inaugurated in the United Kingdom. As the Secretary of State has pointed out, all these Resolutions have no importance compared with that of Resolution 6. Resolution 6 suggests that there should be a Standing Closer Association Committee composed of delegates appointed by the Legislatures of each unit in the British Caribbean area, numbering seventeen altogether. It is set out in the schedule to this Resolution how the division should take place and the Chairman and Secretary of that Committee are to be appointed by the Secretary of State. The reason why we suggested that the Secretary of State should make these appointments is this. There is not a single man in the whole of the British West Indian area who knows enough to be appointed Chairman or Secretary or who can help us enough on all the matters set out in these Resolutions. All of us know a lot about Federation from reading books but there are experts, of course, who have drafted Constitutions; there are legal experts who have drafted, for instance, the Australian Constitution; and there are still living those who have drafted the Malayan Constitution and who have all these things at their finger-tips. I mention that because I believe it has been suggested that the Colonial Office still wants to boss us and this, that and the other. As I said, there are persons who have had to make other Constitutions work in other parts of the Empire and whose services would be of inestimable benefit to us, if they were appointed Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of this Standing Committee. As honourable members will see, this Resolution covers, in effect, the very core of a federal Constitution. The terms of reference to this Committee are to be: to consider and make recommendations in relations to (a) the assimilation of (1) the fiscal, customs and tariff policy of the British territories in the Caribbean area, having regard to any recommendations in relation to these matters which may previously have been made by any Commission constituted for this purpose subsequent to the 19th September, 1947. In short, this Standing Committee will bear in mind any recommendations that may be made by a Commission set up to make recommendations as regards fiscal, customs and tariff policy, as, for example, what took place at Hastings House last week; (ii) the legislation of such territories; (b) the unification of the

currency of such territories—obviously, all that happened last week will be taken into consideration by this Committee; (c) the unification, so far as may be practicable, of the public services of such territories, having regard again to any recommendations in relation to such unification which may previously have been made by any Commission constituted for that purpose subsequent to the 19th September, 1947 and to which effect may not previously have been given. (d) the form of a federal constitution and federal judiciary most likely to give effect to the aspirations of the people in this island; and (e) the means of financing the operation of all federal services, regard being had to all proposals in relation to this subject made to the Conference on Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies, held at Montego Bay. The Resolution goes on to suggest that the headquarters of the Committee should be in Barbados and that the Committee be requested to report to the Governments of the territories not later than the 30th June, 1949. Honourable members will see that that is the most important of these Resolutions; it is, in effect, getting down to the business of drafting the Constitution, drafting the policy for Customs Union, drafting the fiscal policy for the area, drafting the tariff policy which, of course, will go along with the Customs, and unifying the public services of these colonies. (e) is very important and I have no doubt that there will be debate on this question as to how the Federal Government should be financed. Ten years ago or nearly ten years ago I was asked, as some honourable members may remember, to draft a Constitution for consideration by the Labour Conference that was being held in Trinidad in November, 1938. I made use of a recommendation made by the Dominica Conference of 1932 which was one of the earliest attempts made to draft a Constitution for a Federal Government of the British West Indies. That recommendation was that the Federal Government should be financed by *pro rata* contributions by the several colonies from their revenues. These were to be assessed by a Federal Secretary. In 1932 we could not foresee a lot that has since taken place. We could not foresee the Bashe experiment or the Jamaica Constitution. It was almost inevitable in those days that you would consider a Financial Treasurer, a Financial Secretary, and an Attorney General as being *ex officio* members of any Government that might be formed—federal or local—and the suggestion was that there should be a Federal Secretary, a Federal Treasurer and a Federal Attorney General; that the Federal Secretary should prepare an estimate at the beginning of every financial year, of the possible commitments of the Federal Government and that each colony should then be asked to contribute to the necessary funds to run the Federal Government in proportion to its revenue.

I put that in the 1938 draft Bill at the Labour Conference in Trinidad and presented it to the Moyne Commission as the considered opinion of labour-minded persons in the West Indies. In the present Constitution which the Labour Congress which met in Kingston about a week before the Montego Bay Conference drafted, that is altered. It is altered because on further reading and on further advice from persons who have had experience in the working of federal governments I have been assured—and the delegates to the Labour Congress that discussed it feel convinced—that it does not work in practice. If there is one thing about Federal Constitutions as would be expected, that has never com-

pletely worked smoothly, it is the question of federal finance. If we were to examine the history of the federal financial set-up—vis-a-vis the local financial set-up—it is amazing how many experiments have been made, how Dominion differs from Dominion as regards the sources of revenue which provincial governments have given up to the federal government and so on. But if there is one thing certain, it is this: that experience has taught us it is better to give up specific sources of revenue from the provinces or separate States to the federal Government than for the federal Government to say “We want £10,000,000 to run us this year. You are to give us 10 per cent.” and so on. It is better for all the constituent units to say “We will give post-office revenue, income tax, customs revenue, dog licenses or what not and in that way you run the federal government.” I do not think that anybody could deny that it is more practicable to give specific heads of revenue to the federal government and if necessary ask the federal government to subsidize the provincial governments for some specific purposes. That has been the experience in countries like Brazil, Switzerland, the U.S.A., Australia, and Canada which have federal governments. Just as the Vestries in this island, the most conservative, the most reactionary, the most hide-bound body of people—I am not thinking merely of Christ Church at present (Laughter)—have found it necessary to tell the Central Government “we cannot run everything ourselves. You must give us an extra grant for roads,” so State after State has applied in the U.S.A., for instance, because of particular circumstances to the federal government for particular subsidies to help them. There may be soil erosion in some midwest State which cannot raise enough revenue from taxation to counteract it and so the federal Government goes to their aid and helps them with a subsidy. The tendency nowadays is for units, provinces, states to give up sources of revenue and to expect the federal government in certain circumstances to come to their aid with subsidies and it works better that way because, of course, there is uniformity to begin with. There is always the chance or nearly always the chance that the federal Government will have at its command a more efficient technical staff than any individual state or colony. I have stressed that a bit because I rather suspect that most of any criticism of the Resolutions will centre around the question of how these separate colonies are to finance a federal Government. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I am expressing merely the views of those of us who feel that we should follow the Australian model and the method which is adopted in meeting the financial commitments of federal governments of the world. Most probably the Standing Committee will take the same view but that is not to say that at Montego Bay we decided that that is to be the pattern. The delegates at Montego Bay were largely concerned with the passing of Resolution of a general aspect rather than with going down to details. The only detail to which we came down is that the form of the federal Government should be Australian rather than Canadian. It is far better for each individual colony to retain all its revenue except what it chooses to give up to a federal government. Resolution 7, as honourable members will see, deals with matters of detail, that is to say, the Secretary of State should appoint a Commission to examine, in consultation with the Governments of these territories, the question of the establishment of a Customs Union. That will be done with the

view of ensuring uniformity in administration and customs practice. The formation of a Customs Union is, of course, a very important point, seeing that many colonies depend to a great extent on their Customs duties rather than on income tax. The Commission will also pay regard to the special needs of the British Virgin Islands. Those of us who know anything about the British Virgin Islands, know that they are very sparsely inhabited and in any federal translation it may be difficult for them to contribute anything: their trade with the American Virgin Islands is such that we may have to allow them to make special customs regulations with the U.S.A. I do not propose to deal specifically now with the rest of the Resolutions. I think it will be enough if I refer briefly to Resolution 14 and to say that the Civil Service Association of the West Indies has done a great deal of work in the last few years. Honourable members have copies of certain communications—the reports of the Shipping Conference and the Quarantine conference and one or two others—and in due course will, no doubt, receive the others. These are the documents which were formally presented to and circulated among the delegates to the Montego Bay Conference:—The White Paper on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies; a Resolution, Statement and Draft Bill by the Caribbean Labour Congress,—the Bill having been drafted on the Australian model; Report of the Fact Finding meeting on Shipping in the British Caribbean area, held in Barbados from the 11th to the 15th July, 1947.; Draft Despatch, dated May, 1946, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies' Memorandum by the Federation of Civil Service Associations in the Caribbean area. I pause here to pay a tribute to the Civil Service Association. Although of recent birth, it has done useful work in drawing attention to the conditions obtaining in the service of the Governments in this Caribbean area. The documents continue:—Memorandum by the Central Committee of Primary Producers of Jamaica.; Report of the Fourth Conference of Heads of British West Indian Medical Departments which was held here in Barbados from the 20th to the 24th June, 1947; and Memorandum by the Caribbean Union of Teachers. Honourable members do not have copies of all these documents but they will realize that at Montego Bay there was a pretty comprehensive lot of memoranda which were submitted for consideration to that conference. I do not think, Mr. Speaker, that I can usefully add, at this stage, anything to what I have said. I repeat briefly that honourable members will see that the only specific thing to which we are asking the Legislatures to commit themselves—and nearly all, if not all, the Legislatures have committed themselves to it—is the general principle of Federation: we are asking them to commit themselves to the acceptance of the Australian model because in our opinion the giving up of certain things and controlling all the rest that is not given up is to be preferred to the appointment of an overlord federal Government which treats the rest of the Governments as Vestries. I have to stress that because even in spite of a lot of explanation there were some people, both at the Caribbean Labour Congress and at Montego Bay who thought that the proposals for Federation were merely proposals for a glorified super Crown Colony in this area. Nothing of the sort. I think I ought to say that the chairman, Mr. Crawley, and the secretary, Mr. McIntosh, were, if anything over anxious for us to tell them what we wanted: they were at pains to say "You tell us the form of constitution you want; all we are going to do is to do

our utmost to help you to go along the path that you are choosing for yourselves." It is not that the Colonial Office has any sinister desire to do this, that, or the other thing. After all, we must remember that the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, for years and years before the Labour Government came into power, has been preaching what he is putting into practice now, namely, that the Colonies should have more self-government; that the peoples of the Colonies should be treated as human beings who know their own minds; that they should not be dictated to from Whitehall as used to be the case in the past. I say that because I think it is fair to clear any atmosphere that may have been created or remove any suspicion in the minds of West Indians that the Colonial Office has some deep-seated plan to push something on us which we do not want but that it will still mean control by them. I go so far to say—and I think the senior member for St. Philip who was also present at Montego Bay will bear me out—that if a definite expression of opinion as to the form of government any particular island wants, as is shown by the kind of representatives whom they select at an election, was given to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he would give us anything we ask for, even Responsible Government. I have absolutely no doubt whatever in my mind that if at a General Election, the people of any of these West Indian colonies elected a majority which stood for principles which they approve and they state that they want such and such a form of government, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, even if it means absolute Responsible Government in any island, will grant it. I have no doubt about that, although speaking as a West Indian I have misgivings as to whether it would work equally well in every colony. Again, I hope I am not appearing to be insular but the stability, the education and the political development we have attained in this island are exceeded nowhere else in the West Indies. Even though outsiders may say that that is natural Barbadian boasting, it happens to be true. I must thank honourable members for the attention which they have paid me in moving the consideration of the Resolutions and I repeat that if there is any specific matter in connection with any Resolution in which I can help I shall be only too glad to do so. I beg to move that the following Address do now pass:—

*The House of Assembly
To*

His Excellency the Governor

1. The House beg to thank Your Excellency for your Message No. 1/1948 concerning the Resolutions passed at the Montego Bay Conference on the closer association of West Indian colonies held in Jamaica in September last, and for copies of the memorandum concerning the said Resolutions.

2. The House beg to inform Your Excellency that after a careful consideration of the said Resolutions in the light of Mr. Creech Jones's observations they are in agreement with the Resolutions passed at the aforesaid Conference as set forth in the said memorandum. (Cheers).

Mr. DOWDING entered the House while Mr. ADAMS was speaking and took his seat.

Dr. CUMMINS: Mr. Speaker,—I rise to second the motion so ably moved by the senior member for St. Joseph for the passing of this Address. I think Sir, we need have no misgivings about the policy of the Colonial Office as regards Federation of the West Indies. This is in keeping with the policy of

the present British Government to give Responsible Government, Dominion Status in some cases, to the colonies, according to their wishes. When I was a young man at the University I read a book on West Indian Federation—it was written, I think, by a Trinidadian doctor named Meikle—and Federation at that time seemed a far-away dream. In that book were stressed the several insular prejudices of the colonies in the British West Indies and as far as I can remember, the thing that militated greatly in his opinion against Federation of the West Indies was the question of distance between the several islands and the difficulty of communication by air. Since that time we have progressed and to-day we have communication within a matter of a few minutes or a few hours between the several colonies by means of air, so that distance is no longer the barrier it used to be. By means of air travel we, in the West Indies, have come to know one another much better than we used to years ago. So, Sir, we do not have to-day those obstacles which once seemed insuperable and which seemed to have kept us apart. As far as these Resolutions are concerned I suppose that there will be differences of opinion; that is to be expected. But I think we all agree to the principle of Federation because we realize, as has been pointed out, that there can be no political and economic progress while we remain as several distinct units of the Caribbean area. I think there are instances galore on record in which there have been economic conferences in other parts of the world—Canada comes forcibly to my mind—at which these colonies have been represented by officials of the Colonial Office rather than by people who reside in the colonies and know at first-hand the conditions that exist in these colonies. These things will be removed with the coming into being of Federation and at such conferences in the future, the West Indies will be represented by West Indians. These Resolutions, Sir, should not present any difficulty to us, provided that we keep in mind the greater object of Federation—unity of the West Indies and economic progress. In those few words, Sir, I have much pleasure in seconding the motion for the passing of the Address (Cheers).

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know what is the feeling of the House but honourable members can either discuss and pass this Address in the House or if they want to discuss any particular Resolution or Resolutions, go into Committee. The general principle of the Address can be discussed in the House but the Resolutions would have to be discussed in Committee.

Mr. WILKINSON: Mr. Speaker,—I must crave your indulgence and the indulgence of other honourable members because I regret to state that I am suffering from laryngitis but what you have suggested, Sir, is just what I was about to suggest. In fact, I was surprised that after the senior member for St. Joseph had finished his remarks, he did not suggest that the House go into Committee on this Address because it is obvious that some of us would like to ask certain questions to which he would not be able to reply in the House. I am going to move that Your Honour do now leave the Chair and the House go into Committee on this Address. I should like to compliment the senior member for St. Joseph on the lucid manner in which he has put forward the Address before the House. I think, Sir, that everyone around this table agrees to the principle of Federation but I also think that everyone around this table is doubtful whether it is absolutely practicable. In theory it sounds well. We shall have, as the senior member for St. Joseph said, more bargaining power in respect of our produce in the West Indies—sugar

cocoa, and so on. We shall have a stronger voice if we have unity and I do not think that anybody disputes that fact. But when it comes to the economic end, there are a good many of us who feel doubtful as to how Federation is going to work. I appreciate, as the senior member for St. Joseph has said, that in approving of these Resolutions we are approving of the principle of Federation and are not binding ourselves to any details. But to my mind, there are lots of troubles ahead. As far as a Customs Union is concerned, I think that for the last 20 years, as far as I can remember, we have been trying to obtain a Customs Union particularly with the islands near to us but we have not, as the honourable member knows, been successful. I notice that that is one of the first things which, it is recommended, should be tackled. In fact, it is recommended, in the Report of the Fiscal sub-Committee that Customs revenue should be the first revenue for the Federal Government. Well, as you know, Sir, in this island Customs revenue amounts to quite a large sum of money—over £600,000—and if such other revenue as petrol tax were included, the amount would be very much more. When you consider that the sum of £600,000 should be handed over to the Federal Government for its purposes and deducted from our revenue which to-day is just under one and a half million pounds, it would leave a big gap in our finances and, as the honourable member said, we should have to apply for a grant-in-aid from the federal government. Sir, unfortunately these islands are not so close together. Jamaica, for instance, is a long, long way from Barbados and the customs, habits, and sources of revenue are entirely different in each island but at the same time I am not saying that it requires a lot of detailed work before we can get any practical plan. I hope the honourable member will adopt the suggestion that we go into Committee on this Address, so that honourable members can ask him and the other delegate who went to Montego Bay for information on the different Resolutions. I formally move that Your Honour do now leave the Chair and the House go into Committee on this Address.

Mr. GALE: I beg to second the honourable member's motion. Like him, I quite agree that Federation has been talked of for very many years and this last Conference at Montego Bay has brought the matter forcibly before these West Indian Colonies. There is no doubt about it, Sir, that Federation, as the senior member for St. Joseph has said, should be our goal in these West Indian islands because if we are to improve our status, both politically and economically, we should be able to do it better if we are federated than if we are only separate colonies. Again, like the junior member for St. James I feel that there are many hurdles to be jumped before we have Federation working smoothly and properly. I do not say that these hurdles are insurmountable but I am sure that they do cause a lot of difficulty and will take a great deal of effort to be negotiated. It is well known that it is much easier to federate land masses than to federate an archipelago. Where there is the sea between it is always difficult to bring about Federation. The British Isles have failed to be federated with the Channel Islands because of that portion of water known as the Irish sea which lies between Great Britain and Ireland. The customs of the people in those two places differ so much that even they went apart after they were together for so many years. I do not say that the same thing will happen in our case but those are things in history which are there for us to read and which the people

who believe in Federation will have to try to overcome. I have much pleasure in seconding the motion of the junior member for St. James.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am going to suggest that some honourable member make a motion that it be an instruction to the Committee to consider the various Resolutions which were passed at Montego Bay when they are considering this Address.

Mr. LEWIS: Mr. Speaker,—You anticipate me. I beg to move that it be an instruction to the Committee when the House is in Committee to consider the memorandum submitted by the Montego Bay Conference, together with the observations of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. MAPP: I beg to second that.

Mr. RAMSAY: Mr. Speaker,—I want to associate myself in a general way with the idea of Federation. I want to say that I am tremendously pleased with the clarity with which the senior member for St. Joseph has put forward this Address and these Resolutions which were passed at Montego Bay and I am in profound agreement with them. Several honourable members have suggested that there are snags in the way of Federation and I go further and say that hardly any good is achieved without much difficulty. I want this House to be careful in considering this question. We should not allow any petty, insular differences or anticipations, real or imaginary, to prevent us from having the Federation of the British West Indian Colonies. The eyes of the world are on us and when I used the term "the world" I mean the world in its full sense, not the West Indies alone. The senior member for St. Thomas said that when he was a student at the University he read a book on federation of these colonies and that it was a matter of distance at that time which caused them not to be federated. Well, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, it is not space that prevented us from federating; it is the distance between our minds; we have suffered in this respect through our insular minds. We must be careful not to allow Barbados to get in the way of Federation; we should federate and then settle our differences. We stand to lose £ s. d. but that should not prevent us from helping to bring this question to a successful issue. The federation of these colonies is as essential to them as the fresh air which we breathe is to our bodies. I want to say this, in passing: we have been giving up certain rights and privileges of this House since 1945 and in my opinion, we would be in a better position to safeguard those rights and privileges if we are federated. I have had to criticize the Government for not sending honourable members of this House these Resolutions in booklet form and I still feel that it is not too late for the Government to do that.

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise now.

Mr. RAMSAY: The Address, Mr. Speaker, states that "the House beg to thank Your Excellency for your message No. 1/1948 covering the Resolutions passed at the Montego Bay Conference on the closer association of the West Indian colonies held in Jamaica in September last, and for copies of the memorandum concerning the said Resolutions...." Well, I do not thank him for the way in which those Resolutions were sent to us and I hope that the copies of the memorandum will be presented to us in a better form. Barbadians do a lot of talking outside of this place and it may be strange but in other islands they look up to us; for what reason, I cannot

tell. The senior member for St. Joseph said that we lead them in commerce and education among other things but would to God we could lead them in unity! If we could only display a little bit of unity we would excel in strength!

Mr. CRAWFORD: Mr. Speaker,—I do not anticipate that there will be any objection to the passing of these Resolutions which are the result —

Mr. SPEAKER: We are not dealing with the Resolutions now; we are dealing with the Address.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I think that we are a little more or less agreed that Federation, in itself, will mean that these colonies will find themselves in a better position to participate with greater force and more advantage in the councils of the world. It means, Sir, in other words that the West Indian Colonies will be advancing towards the greater form of Self-Government and recent events have shown us unmistakably how essential it is that these colonies do acquire the right to have a greater share in the shaping of their destiny. Recently, events have shown that to be so absolutely essential that I am almost convinced that no responsible section of opinion in this country will offer any deep-seated opposition to proposals for uniting these various colonies in a federal form of Government. We have only, Sir, to look back to the last few months and recall how fundamentally what is known as the dollar crisis has affected the economy of these islands, in order to remind ourselves that if West Indian Governments had greater power in the formulating of policies—economic and otherwise—and in arranging the relationship with the rest of the Empire as well as with the rest of the world, the great disadvantages which threatened the economy of these colonies, as the result of this dollar crisis, might have appeared to have been less ruinous in its consequences. Apart from that, Sir, we have two agencies in the West Indies to-day which have attempted to plan for the development of these colonies on some sort of unified basis. I refer to Colonial Development and Welfare and the Anglo-Caribbean Commission. The activities of these two agencies have assisted in promoting a federal consciousness on the part of West Indians and the power of the people who control those organizations to plan for the West Indies on a unified basis has been of tremendous assistance in bringing about that West Indian consciousness or in inducing the West Indies to endorse the idea which has been put forward for very many years with the hope of properly developing the area as a whole and the most expeditious means of so doing is by attacking the problem, not from the point of view of insular units but as one single entity. There are, I know, some people in these colonies who feel that since Federation implies Self-government, the West Indies are not ripe for Federation but I should like to say, in passing, that it is my considered opinion that this conviction could only spring from the belief that because the centre of political power has shifted in these colonies from the hands of a small section which previously enjoyed it and the majority who for the entire history of these countries have been governed in consequence of that, it is felt that it would be a mistake from several points of view to transfer to these hands even more power. I want to suggest, Sir, that that is not the case; that even although it may appear, from the examples which are in evidence in some of the islands, that transfer of power can and may lead to abuse and even though it may appear that this power will find itself in the hands of irresponsible people, yet I have no doubt that in the near future conditions will so resolve them-

selves and the abuses will have so disappeared that it will be evident to all and sundry that the people of these colonies, totally regardless of the different political ideologies and totally regardless of the sections into which these communities are now divided are capable of managing their own affairs and will see to it that the colonies in which they live advance to take their rightful place in the world. With regard, Sir, to the Conference itself I believe that I express the view of quite a number of people in these colonies who feel that the outcome was no. as successful as it might have been. I repeat, Sir, that personally I am of that opinion and I go further and say that I regretted that considering the possibilities which the Conference had before it, it was very unfortunate that these Resolutions and only these Resolutions were its outcome. After all, a Resolution which says that "this Conference, recognizing the desirability of a political federation of the British Caribbean territories, accepts the principle of federation." goes no farther than many of the Colonial Legislatures have gone. Quite a few years previous to the calling of the Montego Bay Conference, many of the West Indian Governments have placed themselves on record of endorsing the principle of federation and, therefore, it is questionable why the Conference which had, as its terms of reference, the examination of the political and economic implications of closer association of the British Caribbean territories, should have been unable to get any farther than the pious repetition of the endorsement of the principle,—a matter which had been done years previous by almost all the Governments which were participating at the Conference at Montego Bay. The only other Resolution arising out of the political implications of Closer Union is the controversial No. 2 which says:—"That this Conference believes that an increasing measure of responsibility should be extended to the several units of the British Caribbean territories whose political development must be pursued as an aim in itself, without prejudice and in no way subordinate to progress towards federation." Those two Resolutions, Sir,—one endorsing the principle of Federation and the other claiming that Federation must be pursued quite independently of Self-Government are the only two which deal with the political implications of Closer Union and I am sure that West Indians in almost every colony were sadly disappointed that nothing more along those lines was accomplished. As a matter of fact, at the Conference the West Indians held only one week previous to the Montego Bay Conference, the delegates were so confident that much more ground would have been covered that they actually adopted a draft Constitution for the proposed federal Legislature. Much time and energy was spent on the drafting of that document and I am sure that the people who were assembled at the Labour Congress felt that it was essential that this work should have been done because they felt that the Montego Bay Conference, if it were to be a successful conference, should occupy itself with some draft proposals for a federal Constitution. We know now, Sir, that those hopes were symptomatic of the vanity of human wishes and that all that was accomplished at Montego Bay was a repetition of a principle which the participants had already endorsed. I believe that the people in this colony and the other Caribbean colonies are entitled to some explanation of this matter. It was widely known that on the very opening day of the Conference, the majority of the delegates felt that the Conference itself might have broken down on the very first day.

On the afternoon of the first day of the Conference the Secretary of State for the Colonies who was acting as Chairman expressed himself as being confident that the Conference would go on and that something might be accomplished despite all the communications to the contrary. I remember one of the delegates from Trinidad remarking facetiously after the adjournment that afternoon that it would have seemed that they spent more time in getting to Montego Bay from Kingston than they actually spent at the Conference itself. It is therefore, I think, Sir, necessary and important that the Members of this Chamber and the people of this colony should have some understanding of the forces which were at work and of the conditions which obtained and which resulted in the two Resolutions to which I have referred and which, as I have said earlier, dealt with the principal aspect of Federation. The first, Sir, placed the Conference on record of adopting a federal Constitution which approximates the Australian model in which, as has been said by the honourable introducer of this Address, specific powers are assigned to the Federal Government and the remainder are retained by the constituent units of the federation. I imagine that if there is any need for discussion on this matter we can do it with more advantage in Committee, so I do not propose to make any further reference to it because I am sure that honourable members are fully acquainted with the Australian model. But with regard to Resolution 2 which states that progress or development towards Federation must not interfere with progress or political development of the units of the proposed federation towards Self-Government, it should have been stated, Sir, that this Resolution was definitely accepted as a sort of compromise in a very masterly endeavour to reconcile two conflicting schools of thought. There were those at the Conference who felt that it would be a very dangerous thing for Self-Government to be an accomplished fact before Federation and there were others who felt just the opposite. It is common knowledge that the leader of the People's National Party in Jamaica—Mr. Manley—and his supporters felt that if the various West Indian Colonies were to achieve Self-Government prior to Federation, the result would be, in so far as Jamaica is concerned, that that country under its present political leadership might have absolutely nothing at all to do with Federation and that, therefore, the prospects of a united West Indies would be seriously endangered. On the other hand, the present leader of the Jamaica Government—Mr. Bustamante—with his supporters felt that it would be a dangerous thing to grant Federation first to the West Indian Colonies and Self-Government after, for the simple reason that in the federal parliament the interests of Jamaica may be submerged and possibly there may be a ganging up of other units of the Federation against the position and power of any single Government of any unit in the Federation. Between those two conflicting schools of thought, the Conference almost broke down and eventually this Resolution was agreed upon in the hope of saving the day. Had the Conference adjourned at this stage, nothing fundamental would have been accomplished and the aspirations of the West Indian peoples who, we feel, are earnestly looking forward to a unification of those colonies and their political advancement towards autonomy would have received a severe set-back from which there might have been no recovery, at least in this generation. It is to be hoped, Sir, that now that this compromise has been accepted at Montego Bay,

it would be also ratified by the various Legislatures in these colonies and that it will be possible for the action which is envisaged in the memorandum submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and presented in conjunction with these Resolutions to be taken. In his memorandum — paragraph 4 — the Secretary of State for the Colonies states that Resolution 2 accurately represents the policy of His Majesty's Government and while it is gratifying to note that the Colonial Office itself is committed to the principle of advancing the various colonies in the Caribbean towards Self-Government without prejudice to the question of Federation, indeed, Sir, in this respect I might say, in passing, that while the Secretary of State was in Jamaica he actually went as far as to say that so far as the Jamaican Constitution is concerned, there was every likelihood of its being revised, even before the expiration of the five years for which it was originally intended to last, with the view to granting more powers of Self-Government to Jamaica; if it so happened that it did run its full five years, there was every likelihood that more power would be granted at its expiration and that was in no way contingent on the question of Federation becoming an accomplished fact in the intervening period. I repeat, Sir, that I sincerely hope that the various Colonial Legislatures will endorse Resolutions 1 and 2, so that the action proposed in the memorandum which accompanied these Resolutions can be taken and that another step forward will be made in the path of political progress and final Self-Government for the West Indian Colonies. From Resolution 3 the Conference proceeded to deal with the economic implications of Federation and these Resolutions, Sir, I think, deal with almost every important phase of the economic structure on which the Federal Government will eventually rest. But before I go on to say anything about that I should like to refer briefly to the question of financing this Federation. Indeed, Sir, it is well known that this was and still is one of the major stumbling blocks to complete endorsement of Federation by the various communities in the Caribbean Colonies. As a matter of fact, in Jamaica it was openly stated by the Jamaican delegation that they could not conceive of easily agreeing to merge Jamaica into the larger federation with the possibility of having to bear the financial burden of smaller units which even now can hardly carry themselves. As a matter of fact, the leader of the Jamaican delegation actually stated that the entire annual revenue of some of these colonies was less than the revenue of the Corporation of Kingston and St. Andrew and that it was obviously not in the best interests of the people of Jamaica to merge themselves politically with smaller islands and, therefore, find themselves in consequence obligated to assist in enabling them to meet their annual financial commitments.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is the honourable member likely to finish in ten minutes' time?

Mr. CRAWFORD: In about fifteen minutes' time.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then we had better adjourn. It being after 2 p.m., this House stands adjourned until 2.45 p.m. in accordance with Rule 40 (a)

REPLIES LAID.

On re-assembling.

Dr. CUMMINS: Mr. Speaker,—I beg to lay on the Table of the House the replies to questions No. 12

standing in the name of honourable senior member for St. Philip.

SUSPENSION OF RULES 61 (A) AND 61 (B).

Mr. ADAMS: I ask leave to move the suspension of Rules 61 (a) and 61 (b) in order to continue Government Business.

There being no objection, the honourable member was granted leave to make the motion.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Rules 61 (a) and 61 (b) be now suspended.

ADDRESS Re RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MONTEGO BAY CONFERENCE.

Mr. SPEAKER: When the House adjourned for lunch the honourable senior member for St. Philip was speaking on the motion for the passing of an Address to His Excellency the Governor concerning the Resolutions passed at the Montego Bay Conference on the Closer Association of West Indian Colonies.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I think I had got to the point at which I was referring to the existing objection to federation on the ground that since some of the constituent parts of the proposed federation are at present unable to balance their budgets, unification with these somewhat bankrupt colonies will entail financial obligations on the part of colonies whose finances are in better position, which obligations at the moment these colonies are not willing to undertake and which, all things being considered, they should not be asked to undertake. I said that at the Conference the Leader of the Jamaica delegation making reference to the financial position of some of these small units actually said that the annual revenue of some of them was less than the annual revenue of the Corporation of Kingston and St. Andrew; and he went on to query whether it could be expected that they would want to be unified with a colony whose financial position was in such a condition. It will be seen from the copy of the Resolutions which we have that due attention has been paid to this matter. As a matter of fact in the White Paper originally published on the subject shortly before the Conference, the Secretary of State for the Colonies attempted to put forward some solution in the case of these colonies which at present receive grants-in-aid from the Imperial Treasury. Paragraph 23 of the White Paper deals to some extent with this important question and in a foot note this important paragraph appears: "The question of finance presents special difficulties. At present certain Colonies and Presidencies are self-supporting and others require grants-in-aid from His Majesty's Government, and are consequently under Treasury control. Naturally the financially stronger units would not wish as a result of union to weaken their financial position." Then the note goes on to explain that discussions have consequently taken place with a view to replacing the existing grants-in-aid to these Colonies and in this connection certain suggestions were put forward and they were offered a block grant to cover a certain period, or the gift of an annual grant of the amount by which the actual expenditure attributable in any year to each of the islands at present under Treasury control exceeded the revenue received from them in that year; or that the money made available under the Colonial Development and Welfare grant would be in addition to the present allocations to these Colonies. That is

to say, in addition to the specific allocations which they have already been granted from the Colonial Development and Welfare Organisation, there would be additional grant to meet this deficit in their annual revenue. The Conference itself was also forced to pay some attention to this matter. I recall in this connection that the leader of the Jamaica delegation actually stated that it was ridiculous to make out that all these pauperised colonies would become prosperous immediately they are federated with the larger groups; and he went on to say that his interpretation of federation was that Britain wanted to get rid of some of her responsibility towards these Colonies, and unless there was going to be considerable financial assistance to underwrite the federation there could be no just reason for federation on the terms suggested. The Conference under Resolution 13 recommended that His Majesty's Government should be further invited to consider, as an experimental measure, the advantages of substituting a block grant for three years to aid such territories and freeing them from direct year to year control through the three-year period covered by such a grant. That was the suggestion adopted by the Conference from among the suggestions put forward in the White Paper on federation which was made public previous to the Conference. It is for honourable members to say whether or not they agree with that particular recommendation since in the final analysis it is of considerable importance to these colonies which succeed in balancing their budgets that they do not find themselves saddled into the federal structure with the cost of maintaining the administrative and other expenses of some of these somewhat bankrupt colonies. As to the other question of the actual financing of the federation, can these individual colonies afford, as is proposed, to give up certain proportions of their revenue to the Federal Government? That is a question which I think demands a serious amount of consideration. I am not going to suggest that we can afford to leave this matter to take care of itself if and when federation becomes a reality, because I think if we have a full realisation of the import of the matter we will admit that the economic condition of these Colonies is such as to give cause for serious consideration of the particular proposal in this respect. Incidentally, there was not as much plain speaking as there should have been at the Conference on this matter apparently because to have spoken as plainly as the position required might have given offence in certain quarters. There were one or two exceptions, notably the Leader of the Jamaica delegation, Mr. Bustamante, who made it plain that he did not want his remarks in this matter to be interpreted as disloyalty, but he did not see how it could be fair to ask any of the larger colonies to remit the revenue suggested to the Federal Government and then expect them to carry on the other services which the Colonial Governments are supposed to carry on without any assistance. He advanced the suggestion that the British Government itself might be asked to make a grant of a large sum of money under certain conditions in order to assist in defraying the expenses of the Federal Government for a given period. I recall that the Secretary of State for the Colonies tried to emphasize that the British Government realised that the suggestion was being advanced, in certain quarters that Britain wants to get rid of her responsibility, financial and otherwise, but he said; "I do not want for a moment by the slightest suspicion to convey the idea that His Majesty's Government is urging closer union in order to unload its own responsibility to the West Indian territories." It was

a very timely statement and one which carried a considerable amount of weight at the Conference, because bearing in mind the peculiar financial position of these colonies, bearing in mind the fact that only within the last few years the British Government has had to come to their assistance in order to guarantee them the establishment of certain needed reforms, it does appear as if one would be talking with his tongue in his cheek to suggest that these same colonies which just cannot afford from their own finances to underwrite the cost of certain essential reforms, could undertake the extra burden involved in the running of a Federal Government. I repeat that, in my opinion, the Conference did not pay due attention to this particular phase of the question and bearing in mind, as was said earlier to-day that Barbados always sets the lead and Barbados is expected to set the lead in some cases, the members of the Legislature in this colony might be well advised to consider this question carefully and perhaps make some amendment indicative of their feelings in the matter. Provided that this amendment is drafted along realistic lines and bears proper relations to the facts of the case, I think that support for it will be forthcoming from many if not all of the larger Colonies which are particularly perturbed about the financial aspects of federation, since it is to be expected that they will have to carry the greater weight and perhaps in later years assist in carrying the less fortunately placed, financially speaking, members of the federation. I wanted to refer to a remark made in this connection by the leader of the Jamaica delegation and I offer no apology if my remarks appear to be tedious, because it is all well and good to say that we endorse the principle of federation and that we want federation and self-Government and that federation should be accomplished at the earliest possible date; but if we want to really appreciate the position as it is, and if we fail to appreciate our own position in the matter, I think that we will have to pay proper attention to the economics of federation itself. I am not at all like the Trinidad delegate who told the Conference that on the economic side he shared no anxiety about the economic aspect of federation and went on to say that you cannot assess what the economic resources of a country will be under a more liberal constitution with a greater population and with more territories and more resources—

Mr. SPEAKER: I am giving the honourable member credit for a good memory and for being so explicit in the actual words used.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I thank you, Sir. While it is true that that is a vague generality with which one may be able to agree in principle, yet I prefer to agree with one of the other delegates who approached the question from a far more realistic point of view. He said that England should have admitted that the time had come to do justice to the West Indian Colonies and say that she was ashamed of her treatment of these Colonies for the past 200 years, and should be ready to give large sums of money to re-organize the entire economic structure of these areas first and then talk about federation. In other words these colonies should be placed in a better position financially to bear the cost of the federal structure. You cannot expect people who are prating about self-government and who eventually may be self-governing and be masters in their own houses to go periodically cap in hand begging for assistance to run the show even to undertake essential services; that does not make any sense. At the Conference,

if I may be pardoned for making a personal reference, I made it perfectly clear that, in my opinion, these Colonies were entitled to expect considerable financial assistance from Great Britain in order to make this matter of federation a success. The delegate from the Other Place referred to the fact that for years the important commodity produced in the West Indies—sugar—had been marketed at a disadvantage in the Imperial market, and that it is only recently that the price for this product in any way approximates the cost of production and enables the people who participate in the production to receive a living wage. On the other hand, the economy of this country has always been subjected to British influence and in any way in which it has been allowed to expand, it has been allowed to expand under the control of Imperial economic policy with the result that our present financial position is such that we are unable to give ourselves even the normal necessities of life. The delegate from the Other Place quoted, as well as I did, as an example the Ottawa Conference of 1929 where Empire-manufactured goods got a preferential place in the Colonial markets even although they cost the masses of the Colonies more than non-Empire manufactured goods; and at the same time no attraction or no proper assistance was given to the products manufactured in the Caribbean Colonies. You will remember, for instance, that as a result of the Ottawa Conference the masses of this colony and in other parts of the West Indies who were working for a shilling a day in the sugar estates producing cheap sugar for Britain, were prevented from buying cheap Japanese shoes at thirty cents per pair in favour of shoes manufactured in Canada—gutta-percha and rubber shoes—at a cost of 5/6 per pair. The products in the Dominions were protected and we were expected to buy them when the returns we got for what we produced were insufficient. The economy, in other words, was one-sided. If in the normal course of events, if in the fulfilment of pledges which Great Britain has had to make in connection with the advance of Colonials towards self-government, and if in consequence of the demands of the Colonies for self-government we have got to the stage at which we are to be assisted by the Mother Country to take our proper place in the councils of nations, it does appear to me as if Great Britain is obligated of necessity to enable us financially to do so. Although the Montego Bay Conference failed to properly emphasize this question of the financial implications and the financial position of the various British Colonies in the Caribbean, and to properly inform the British Government as to what is justifiably expected of them, there is no reason why the members of the Legislature in this colony should not give a lead to the West Indies and include in the Address to the Head of the Administration for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies some indication as to the necessities of this colony. I do not remember off-hand what the revenue which we collect from Customs and Income Tax amounts to. (A MEMBER: Over £600,000 from Customs). An honourable member tells me that more than £600,000 is collected from Customs. I do not remember what the figures are as regards Income Tax but Customs and Income Tax provide the major portion of our revenue. If we remit the amount collected under these two Heads of Revenue to the Federal Government in order to carry out the power with which we entrust it, I still believe that the remainder of our revenue will not be enough to meet the obligations which remain imposed upon the Colonial Government. I repeat that if the British Government has had to establish the Colonial Develop-

ment and Welfare Organization in order to provide elementary services in these Colonies, it should be obvious on the face of it, that far-reaching plans will have to be made before the Colonies can carry the federal structure and simultaneously provide a reasonable standard of living with reasonable amenities for the people. I said earlier that from Resolution 3 to the end the economic implications of federation are dealt with; Resolution 3 deals with the important question of providing essential shipping services if federation is to become a reality. It is trite to say that adequate shipping services are essential if a Federal Government is to be operated successfully. Resolution 4 deals with the question of putting agriculture in the British Caribbean area on a more secure economic basis than now exists; this Resolution was passed as a result of representations made by the Jamaica Primary Producers' Association which felt that since these colonies are essentially primary producers and will remain so for some time to come, steps should be taken to accelerate the development of agriculture throughout the area on the soundest possible economic basis and to urge that a Conference of interested parties be called as soon as possible in order to consider the question. I doubt whether any member of this Assembly will disagree with that. It is only by a common plan of action that we can hope to improve our agricultural resources to the point at which they should be properly and fully developed. Resolution 5 deals with the question of overseas trade and commerce and urges that His Majesty's Government should accord to a British Trade Commissioner the fullest possible facilities for representation at Commonwealth conferences and discussions. Earlier in the Resolution it is suggested that the British West Indies should have their own Caribbean Trade Commissioner Service and that our Trade Commissioner should be given complete authority and all facilities for representing the colonies at International Trade and Commerce Conferences on the lines of those accorded the High Commissioners of the British Dominions in respect of trade affecting their territories. Whereas at the Ottawa Conference of 1929 the West Indian Colonies were represented by Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was naturally more concerned with promoting the interests of the Imperial Government than those of these Colonies, and as recently as last year we sent two advisers from the West Indies in the persons of Mr. Cuke and Mr. Allan to advise the British delegates at the International Conference held at Geneva without any status to present the case of the West Indian Colonies as of right, in the future the British West Indies will be represented at these Conferences by their own Trade Commissioner, a man who it is assumed will be briefed by the Colonial Governments and who naturally will emphasize the position of these Colonies and see that primary attention is given to our interests. Resolution 6 is a very important Resolution and it proposes the constitution of a Standing Closer Association Committee which should be set up in this colony and which should report not later than the 30th of June next year on the matters specified in the Resolution. These matters are: the unification or assimilation of the fiscal, customs and tariff policy of the British territories in the area, the unification of our currency, the unification of the public services where practicable and the means of financing the operation of the federal services and the formulation of a federal constitution and federal judiciary most likely to give effect to the aspirations of the people of the terri-

tories. With regard to the fiscal, customs and tariff policies, there are rather complicated matters and at Montego Bay a special Committee of experts was appointed to prepare the report. In so far as the unification of the public services is concerned, that will also be a question for the experts and I should like to mention here that simultaneously with the holding of the Conference the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued a despatch as to the entire question of the public services in the British Caribbean Colonies. The fundamental point in this despatch is that the higher posts in the public services in these Colonies should be staffed by West Indians; and in this connection I cannot refrain from observing in passing that on reading the despatch especially the terms in which the language was couched, it was impossible not to come to the conclusion that, for the future, action in the spirit of the despatch will be taken. It is therefore not easy to understand the latest appointment to the post of Attorney General of this Colony. If the Colonial Office went out of its way to emphasize for the purpose of the Conference apparently, that for the future every effort will be made to see that the highest posts in the public services in these Colonies are to be occupied by West Indians, and that moreover West Indians should be actually trained in every way possible so as to be fitted to occupy these posts, it is difficult to understand why, when you actually have men in these Colonies equipped for the vacancy, an outsider should be brought in. It does appear to me as I had occasion to remark before—

Mr. SPEAKER: I am wondering how far that affects the point. The point is whether we agree or disagree with the suggestion of the unification, so far as may be practicable, of the public services of these territories. I do not think that any subsequent point has anything to do with the subject-matter of the Resolution. Assuming that there has been a breach, it does not mean that we do not approve of the spirit which the Resolution carries.

Mr. CRAWFORD: The fact is that this despatch was actually tabled by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the Conference.

Mr. SPEAKER: I only suggest that in this debate we either approve or disapprove of the spirit of the Resolution. What has happened already or what may happen does not prevent us from approving of the spirit of the Resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD: This despatch was tabled for the express purpose of assisting the Public Services Unification Committee. It was tabled as a directive to assist the Committee which this Resolution proposes should be set up. In order to assist it—

Mr. SPEAKER: All I am saying is that in this instance where somebody outside has been appointed to this post it does not mean that this House or any other Legislature will disapprove of the principle involved in the Resolution which we are at present debating. We are not debating any action which may take place subsequently. We should simply approve or disapprove of the principle set out in the Resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD: While I appreciate Your Honour's ruling, my position is that this despatch having been presented as a directive to the Committee was more or less an implied suggestion that action will be taken in the spirit of the despatch for the future in the West Indies, and before the ink is dry so to speak, action outside the spirit of the despatch is taken.

Mr. SPEAKER: We are not considering any action taken outside the spirit of the despatch: we

are considering whether we approve or disapprove of the principle of the Resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I quite agree; but when we are dealing with this Resolution it is not beyond the realm of possibility, if honourable members are so inclined, to include some objection or pass some amendment which would be in the form of a protest against the action which has been taken contrary to the spirit of the despatch.

Mr. SPEAKER: You could do that if you like but I do not think I can allow any discussion on the point.

Mr. CRAWFORD: We have to bear in mind that this point of filling vacant positions in the West Indies by West Indians was one of the fundamental points on which the whole question of organizing the public services in the West Indies was first suggested. As a matter of fact, in the despatch under reference, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that he recently had under consideration the question of the organization of the public services in the West Indies; and he went on to say that the basic policy which he proposes rests upon two propositions. First, there should be the fullest possible development of the opportunities for the people in every colony to staff their own public services. This implies the introduction of practical measures to assist and enable colonial candidates to qualify for the various administrative, professional and technical branches of the service; and secondly, the posts in the service which require the highest qualifications and carry the greatest responsibility should be filled by the best persons who can be found, and selection should not necessarily be limited to the comparatively small field provided by the resources of any one colony, nor even to residents of any single region.

Mr. SPEAKER: When we have federation it will be a question of the Federal Government making the appointments.

Mr. CRAWFORD: Action in the spirit of this despatch will have to be taken whether or not federation becomes an accomplished fact. I feel that I am justified in making a passing reference to the fact that in a case where you actually have a qualified man either in the colony or in the area—

Mr. SPEAKER: Having made that passing reference I think you can leave it at that.

Mr. CRAWFORD: What I want to say finally is this. It is an open secret that in spite of the tabling of this despatch at the Montego Bay Conference, a new directive had been sent to Colonial Governors suggesting that where possible important vacant posts in the public services in these Colonies should be retained for Englishmen who may be displaced from Burma and India; and it is no point in going to an important Conference like this and with tongue in cheek trying to impress upon the Colonials concerned that you want them to fill any important vacant positions even in the Administration and if they are not equipped you will take steps to have them trained for these positions and then shortly afterwards you issue in a secret directive to the Heads of the Administration in these Colonies suggestions that every post that is available and can be retained for these displaced people should be retained for them. We have got to bear in mind that only quite recently it was claimed and we have been told that the average unemployed person in these Colonies would not be wanted for work in Great Britain.

Mr. SPEAKER: Again that has nothing to do with this Resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I appreciate the fact that it is not in the Resolution, but in discussing a matter of this sort there are so many phases of it—

Mr. SPEAKER: The position is a rather peculiar one. A motion has been made that this House go into Committee and ordinarily speaking I should stop the honourable member because he is dealing with these Resolutions one by one. I have given him some latitude but at the same time I cannot allow him to go beyond that point.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I submit that in dealing with this Resolution where there has been set out in paragraph (2) (c) the proposal as to the unification of the public services, one is entitled to say that either after unification or before, one expects that vacant important posts in these Colonies would be filled by people from the West Indies especially when it is borne in mind that the Secretary of State for the Colonies himself at the same time when the Resolution was under consideration, actually tabled a despatch from the Imperial Government suggesting that for the future we should unify the public services and we will be assisted in filling all the important posts with our own people.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does that mean that you will not appoint West Indians to posts anywhere else?

Mr. CRAWFORD: I do not know; I suppose if it was found that the best possible man for any post in the Empire was a West Indian, he would have it by virtue of his qualification.

Mr. SPEAKER: Anyhow I do not think the honourable member is in order in bringing up this matter.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I think I have said enough to make the position on the matter clear and honourable members will be enabled, if they think fit, to express any opinion on what has actually happened contrary to the spirit of the Resolution. To go on now to Resolution 7 that deals with the proposal to establish a Customs Union and a Committee of experts will also deal with that. The other Resolutions deal with the appointment of Committees to study and report upon matters of common economic significance, matters of currency with the proposal to adopt a common financial year on the part of all West Indian Colonies and to examine the possibility of effecting changes in the methods of Treasury control of grant-aided Colonies. I think the Conference did a very good job in so far as the examination of the economic implications is concerned and the matter now rests for consideration and adoption by the members of the various Colonial Legislatures. I submit that if we can be assured of the establishment of a sound financial basis for the setting up of this Federal Government, and if the various Colonies can reach agreement on this important aspect of the matter, there is no obstacle in the way of federation which cannot be overcome. (Cheers).

Mr. TALMA: I shall attempt to be as brief as possible more especially in view of the very lengthy--

Mr. SPEAKER: Two honourable members have dealt with these Resolutions one by one and I should just like to remind the honourable member that we are going into Committee on the Resolutions.

Mr. TALMA: All I want to say is that it is common knowledge that Barbados has always been the stumbling-block in so far as federation of the British West Indies is concerned. Happily for us the constitution of this Assembly has been changed; fortunately for the West Indies the electors of this island saw fit to return a majority of Labour members to this Chamber, and that has to a great extent, been instrumental in bringing the federation of the West Indies near to our gates so that we can expect it within our time. We must all thank the electors of Barbados for having taken the stand which they have taken because otherwise Barbados would not have

been included in any form of federation. That would have remained an idle dream.

Mr. SPEAKER: What has that got to do with these Resolutions?

Mr. TALMA: Apart from that we are gratified to know that the British Labour Government has kept its pledge with regard to the federation of these Colonies. Although certain references have been made to the sincerity or otherwise of our present Secretary of State for the Colonies yet I think that we are too apt to judge one wrongfully or imply evil motives to him. I feel that at the beginning or as soon as the Secretary of States for the Colonies could implement any scheme he has done so and we have to be very grateful for it. It is now left for us to make a success of federation and Barbados which is the most Conservative of the islands has been selected as the Headquarters of the Standing Closer Association Committee. That is something of which we should be very proud because, in my opinion, Barbados should have been the last place for the Headquarters of this Committee. Anyhow Barbados has been recognised to that extent, and as far as making federation a success is concerned, this Committee will have to do its work. We have nothing to fear; we will have two representatives just as other islands in the Caribbean area will have. I hardly think that we need have any fear, we will be represented on this Standing Committee which will attempt to make federation a success. I take it that the greater part of our time has been wasted today because it is merely a question of adopting the principle of these Resolutions and we will have this Standing Committee with the advantage that its Headquarters will be in Barbados.

Mr. BLACKMAN: I should just like to say a few words. I notice that Resolution 8 says that the recommendations made in paragraph 21 of the Fiscal Sub-Committee's report have been accepted; and in turning to paragraph 21 of the report I see that the Secretary of State for the Colonies is to appoint a special Commissioner with high qualifications and extensive practical experience for the purpose among other things of building up the tariff structure and in so doing he will be guided by the need for reducing duties or foodstuffs and essential raw materials and of encouraging local industries. The Conference has taken the trouble to see that the price of food and the cost of living to this population will be reduced if possible and it has also taken the trouble to see that new industries will be set up to enable us to reduce Customs duties in order to keep down the cost of living. If the Conference did not go into this matter thoroughly I am at a loss to understand the position.

The question that His Honour do now leave the Chair and the House go into Committee was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

Mr. SPEAKER left the Chair and the House went into Committee Mr RAMSAY being in the Chair

Mr. ADAMS: I take it that the suggestion that the House go into Committee was to afford honourable members the opportunity to discuss these Resolutions one by one. I suggest that, without necessarily having the Resolutions read, a motion can be made that they be adopted. We are not now dealing with a Bill, we are dealing with the Address and also with the Resolutions. When we get through with the Resolutions I have move the passing of the Address and we shall have considered the Resolutions upon which the Address is based.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Unless the Committee objects the Chair proposes that the Resolutions be read one by one because that will save time.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: We are in Committee to deal specially with the Address. With regard to the Resolutions, if any honourable member wants to speak on any aspect of them he can do so. I do not think, from a practical point of view, that we should read all these Resolutions one by one.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: What appears not to be a waste of time is a waste of time. The Chairman desires that these Resolutions be considered one by one otherwise what was the use of our going into Committee? Of course, I do not want to over-ride the Committee.

Mr. S. A. WALCOTT: We are going to pass the Address and as regards the Resolutions if any honourable member wants to ask any question about them he will have the opportunity of doing so.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: If it is the feeling of the Committee that there is no necessity to read the Resolutions I will ask honourable members not to refer to Resolution 15 and then go back to Resolution 12 because that will not be allowed. If we discuss Resolution 14 we will not be able to go back to Resolution 13 or Resolution 11.

Mr. ADAMS: I am going to make a formal motion that Resolution 1 be adopted. If no honourable member wants to say anything about that Resolution then it will be adopted and we can follow that procedure.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I agree with you.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 1 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. LEWIS: We are really in Committee on the Address and we are to consider the Resolutions in framing the Address.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: We are dealing with the Resolutions one by one.

Mr. LEWIS: If I do not see what I want to see in any particular Resolution I will ask that the Address be amended.

The Resolution was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 2 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. LEWIS: I know that the honourable senior member for St. Joseph has been extremely clear in his explanation as to why this Resolution reads as it reads and I know also that there has been some controversy outside Barbados where these Resolutions have been considered. I take it that we are going to benefit by other people's mistakes by adopting the method of pursuing these measures of self-government and federation. I express the hope that in our accepting the principle of this Resolution the efforts of the leading West Indian Colonies will not be so concentrated on the federation of these islands that no time, energy or ability will be left for pursuing the path of responsible government. I am one of those who feel that the time in the immediate future is going to be taken up so much with federation that we will not pay sufficient attention to our political advancement.

The question that Resolution 2 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division. Resolution 2 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 3 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. LEWIS: I would like the honourable senior member for St. Joseph to tell us something about the British Caribbean Shipping Committee. I know very little about it (A MEMBER: It is set out in the Report of the Shipping Conference). The Report of the

Shipping Conference has not been distributed to the members of this House. I would like to know who they are and what they are doing. I would like to get this information before I accept this Resolution in principle or anything they might say or want to do.

Mr. ADAMS: I have here a copy of the Report of the Fact Finding Meeting on Shipping held in this colony from the 11th to the 15th July last year. Representatives from Barbados, British Guiana Trinidad and the Leeward and Windward Islands were in attendance and the Report runs into 28 paragraphs. Paragraph 27 suggests the setting up of a British Caribbean Shipping Committee. This Committee is to have a Chairman appointed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Organization or such other Body as may be approved by the Colonial Governments concerned in consultation with the Colonial Office; and it is to be authorised to negotiate with the shipping interests concerned such modifications as may be desirable. It is suggested that the Committee should meet at least quarterly to deal with all questions concerning the operations of shipping affecting the British West Indies, British Guiana and British Honduras. It is really recommended that until we have unification we should have in effect a unified shipping service for the West Indies and not wait until federation comes along.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: If we had these things before us we would not be in this trouble.

Mr. ADAMS: As far as I know—I am going by previous experience—when these Reports are printed in England they send out a few copies for the benefit of Executive Committees and Councils and then ship more copies for members of the Legislature to peruse. This Report was made public only last Thursday; if honourable members have not all got copies of the Report then these copies are on their way (A MEMBER: We hope so).

The question that Resolution 3 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division. Resolution 3 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 4 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. LEWIS: I notice that in this Resolution it is stated that the Conference recommends that immediate steps be taken for the setting up of a central body of primary producers representative of all British Caribbean Colonies. I would like to know if any attempt was made at the Conference to get a Committee comprised of the people on the other side who buy from us and who also manufacture; to tell us how far they will allow us to carry out the process of industrialization. I take it that the people who buy our produce and turn it into something else will be very careful about our going in for industrialization out here. If we go in for industrialization we will have to be told by the people from the other side how far we will be able to carry it.

Mr. ADAMS: I do not see how people abroad who may buy our primary products or who may process them abroad will have anything to do with telling us whether we should industrialize or not. Industrialization will depend upon our local people, plus the Colonial Development Corporation, plus any outsider who chooses to bring in capital. I take this opportunity to say that all sorts of fantastic things, downright deliberate and absolute lies are being told about the industrialization policy of this Government. This Government has no intention of stopping, and has done nothing to stop, industrialization, and at the appropriate moment I shall say more fully and more explicitly and in most unparliamentary

language what I think of people who set out deliberately to lie or to make up things which are said to be the policy of this Government. As far as this Government is concerned, we are doing the things which we think are safe and appropriate for any community to do in order to encourage industries. We are not perpetuating the system whereby only a handful of people own factories and shares in development corporations and things of that sort. This Government has done nothing to stop anybody from outside who wants to spend his capital in any local company.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I take it that the honourable member's remarks have been made in a general way and that nothing to which he has referred has been said in this Committee. I do not want any more of that. I take it that the honourable member's remarks are not in reply to anything which has been uttered in this Committee and that is the end of the matter.

Mr. LEWIS: I share your hope that there will not be any development along that line. When we decide to put our agriculture on a sound economic basis we will be really producing something to sell to people from whom we import shoes, hats, clothes, and so forth. If we start to manufacture these things ourselves will we still expect these people to buy all the sugar we can produce? That is the sort of thing I have in mind. I am wondering when we are on this sound economic basis if we will have to discuss the extent to which we can industrialize or if it is going to crop up haphazardly under the exigencies of war. That may sound foolish but we are told that we have to industrialize in order to raise our standard of living. We might find ourselves purchasing the things that we can produce.

Mr. ADAMS: That is a matter which will have to be discussed; these things will happen in all trade matters until the world ceases. These are matters which will cause friction and which will need a great deal of adjustment; these are matters of detail with which the Montego Bay Conference did not specifically deal. I think the honourable member's questions can more appropriately be raised under Resolution 9 where it is recommended that the Governments of the British Caribbean territories should appoint a small regional committee to go into the whole question of economic development.

Mr. CRAWFORD: The Jamaica Primary Producers' Association interviewed delegates at the Conference and suggested that economic federation should be a prerequisite to political federation and urged the delegates to adopt a Resolution to that effect.

Mr. SYMMONDS: This Resolution as I see it embodies a very good principle. It is recommended that immediate steps be taken for the setting up of a central body of primary producers representative of all British Caribbean Colonies with a view to accelerating the development of agriculture throughout the area on a sound economic basis. God helps those who help themselves. This is a period of our history when we are going through the same period of evolution as that of countries such as the Dominion of Canada, Australia and others. I do not think we should concern ourselves very much at this stage as to who buys from us or whether anything we can produce will conflict with what others produce; we have to implement these proposals. Because of our unity we will be able to bargain better when dealing with the bigger countries. I hope that we will not have to go through the same thing which we went through a few years ago. However loyal we may be, we have to face these very hard and painful facts. For quite a few years when sugar brought a very

good price in the world's markets we quite loyally accepted a very small price for sugar as compared with what might very well have been obtained for this commodity if we had been a united body and could bargain as representing a much larger area and a good many more people. Hence we should get on with these Resolutions. This is a serious period in our history and I say that it is up to us to push the development of our local industries and the development of our agriculture. We will get some assistance from outside. Unless we are alive in this competitive world we will be left behind and taken advantage of by bigger powers whenever Conferences are taking place or whenever important world matters are being discussed.

The question that Resolution 4 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division. Resolution 4 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 5 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS seconded the motion which was agreed to.

Resolution 5 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: Resolution 6 is a most important Resolution. I have already dealt with it but if there is any point on which honourable members want enlightenment I shall be glad to give it. It was thought that the number of persons constituting this standing Closer Association Committee should be kept within reasonable limits. Although Jamaica has a population of a million and a quarter she was content to have the same two representatives as British Honduras, British Guiana and Barbados. I beg to move the adoption of this Resolution.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I am not one of those who subscribe to the view that a nominated Body should have the same status as an elected Body. I do not think that people who after spending a certain period of their lives and they cannot gain re-election to this House with their reactionary views, should be given the same representation on this Committee as this House. I do not think that the Other Place should have the same status so far as representation is concerned as this elected Body. I foresee many difficulties; we are going to have a lot of trouble over this matter. In Barbados we are going to have one delegate appointed from this House and one from the Other Place. You cannot believe that a message will be sent down to the House and not to the Other Place you cannot envisage—

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not see what the honourable member is driving at.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I do not think that the Other Place should have the same representation on this Committee as this House.

Mr. MAPP: I was going to make the same point. I myself see the danger of nominated members far exceeding the number of elected members on this Committee. The Committee will deal with the whole business of federation and to have this Committee heavily in favour of nominated instead of elected representatives of the various islands would be destroying the force of federation. Federation should be accepted by the people of the various islands. In some of the smaller islands, I believe in the Leeward Islands, you have nominated members displacing important elected members. I know that a past President of the Caribbean Labour Conference differed in his views from those of certain vested interests and he was prevented by members of the nominated majority from

representing these islands at the Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indies held at Montego Bay; the same thing may happen again. He was in favour of a strong federal government. I see the danger of the people in these territories being kept out by nominated members because they have more voice in matters than the elected members. This is not a matter which should be lightly dismissed but I do not see that we can do very much about it. There is not very much to be gained in debating the point any further: never mind how strong we are on it. Jamaica, British Guiana and British Honduras have accepted the proposal and they are larger territories than we are. Therefore I do not think that we should increase the number of delegates set out in the Schedule.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have read the Resolution and I do not see that there is anything wrong with it.

Mr. SYMMONDS: I do not see any harm in adopting this Resolution because whatever federal structure happens to be set up in these parts it will not be a perfect body but merely a beginning. I am hoping that from the lessons we learn we will be able to improve the federal structure.

Mr. ADAMS: I do not see these fears which honourable members see. This Committee is to be composed of 17 delegates and I do not see the possibility of a majority of nominated members coming from these islands as delegates to this Committee. I do not see how any legislature which approves of the principle of federation could fail to appoint to this Standing Committee a member of their body who could give proper advice. I agree with the honourable senior member for St. Peter as to the value of an Upper Chamber and a Lower Chamber. If an Upper Chamber exists to-day it is a part of the structure. It is a part of the structure until it is destroyed. The Resolution mentions a Committee composed of delegates appointed by the Legislatures, but if there is a person who is more suitable than a legislator I presume the Legislature will be broad-minded enough to select that person.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I cannot see any Legislature appointing anybody other than its own members in matters of federation. This is not a matter for experts now; if the people who comprise the Legislatures cannot say what the change-over should be, then they should not be there. Judging from what took place at the Montego Bay Conference, if you had more people there like those from the nominated Bodies we could not be here discussing federation at all. The objection of the nominated Bodies was that because a political party had changed from one side to the other there would be many snags and objections coming in to make things difficult. I am still of the opinion that this Standing Committee should be as representative of elected members as possible; and the Resolution should be worded in a way such as not to cause much objection. Obviously when you say that this Standing Committee is to be composed of delegates appointed by the Legislatures you could say not necessarily members of the Legislature. A member from the Other Place and two members from this House attended the Conference and I knew that the Barbados House of Assembly and the Other Place would not have appointed anybody other than their own members to attend the Conference. My objection in this case is because I am somewhat doubtful as to the views which I have heard expressed by people from the nominated Bodies

in relation to federation. There are matters which have to be dealt with here and we do not know that they will not be dealt with in such a way as to carry out the wishes of the nominated members. That is my opinion.

Mr. LEWIS: I will support the honourable member because there is a lot in what he has said. I suggest that we add a paragraph—

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The honourable member cannot make any addition to, nor can he take away from the Resolution. It is just like the Bible.

Mr. LEWIS: I am suggesting that when we come to deal with the Address to the Governor we can add a paragraph saying that we would point out that in implementing this Resolution the number of representatives of these Colonies on the Closer Association Committee should be increased by one just as we had three representatives at the Conference and things worked so well. That would allow any colony in which the Legislature is composed of two Chambers to have two delegates appointed by the elected Body and one by the nominated Body. I think that is what the honourable member has in mind.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The honourable member cannot alter the Resolution.

Mr. LEWIS: But I can say how far I agree with it. We can adopt it with modifications. If the Committee agree with the honourable member I say that His Excellency will have to take note of it. If that concession is granted we will have to carry it out.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The honourable member is bandying words with the Chair.

Mr. LEWIS: I am only saying that the honourable member has raised the point that the elected Body will have one representative and the nominated Body will also have one; and I suggest that where there are two-Chamber Legislatures the elected Body should have two representatives.

Mr. MOTTLEY: I cannot agree with the two honourable members. I have listened carefully to the honourable senior member for St. Joseph and what he said earlier today is correct. All we know about federation is what we have read in books. The number of delegates comprising this Standing Committee is set out in the Schedule to the Resolution and this Committee is to make recommendations as regards fiscal, customs and tariff policy, unification of currency and other matters. It is for us to say whether the Australian form of federal constitution could be more adopted. It is unnecessary for us to know about the drafting of this Resolution inasmuch as elected representatives of the people had the opportunity of going to Montego Bay to say whether the people of the West Indies agree with federation or not. The opportunity is being given to the Legislatures of the Colonies to say who should be appointed to draft something after the Australian form of federal constitution. I do not think that this Resolution needs any amendment at all inasmuch as representatives of the people were there to say whether they agreed with the principle of the Resolution or not. They have agreed with it and now they recommend that elected and nominated Bodies should select a representative to do something which not many members in this Chamber can do. To my mind, the important point is whether the Australian form of federal constitution is the most suitable form for the West Indies or not. I do not see the necessity for any amendment to the Resolution and I repeat that we know no more about federation than what we have read in books. It strikes me that this Chamber or any other Chamber would have to appoint

some definite person with a sound knowledge of fiscal, customs and tariff policy, unification of currency, unification of public services and so forth. Above all, we shall have to ascertain whether the Australian form of federal constitution is the most suitable form for these Colonies or not.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: The honourable senior member for St. Joseph might have put words in the honourable member's mouth as regards our knowledge of federation only what we have read in books. I would like to say however that all the people who ever started anything like this started by reading books before they got their constitution: and when they began in Australia and the United States they had nobody to follow. They used their native experience. The honourable senior member for the City has in his enthusiasm spoken about the wording of the Resolution, but I would remind him that the Resolution relative to the Montego Bay Conference was worded in the manner I have suggested (A MEMBER: For a different purpose). It is not a question of the purpose and now the recommendation has been made for a Standing Committee no proper regard is paid as to appointing representatives from this House. I do not mind how many members are appointed for this House; I say that in a matter like this the House is predominant. (A MEMBER: It is pre dominant). But the Legislature does not merely mean this House, you include the Other Place when you mention the Legislature. If at the beginning you do not see a point and then it is brought to your notice why can't you realize that there is something of which you did not take notice? At the Montego Bay Conference there was a difficulty in having nominated members and in this case what proof have we got that they will not appoint members of their own? Because these representatives are to be appointed by the Legislature it does not mean that they will be appointed from outside the Legislature. As far as I am concerned, speaking as a legislator, I feel that the House should have a majority where these appointments are concerned. I may be dead and gone but this is a matter of the representation of the country. The honourable senior member for St. Joseph has said that all we know about federation is what we have read in books; but we all learn by reading books. It would be a reflection on the honourable senior member for St. Joseph if it is said that other people can express the wishes of the people better than the members of this House.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is not a matter of individuals. I hope that the Legislature will appoint the best people but do not let us deal with individuals.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I feel that there is freedom of speech—

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Chair is saying that you should not refer to persons.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I am not referring to people in any derogatory manner. I feel that if honourable members are against this principle the time will not be far distant when they will want my support in a matter such as this. I do not say one thing today and something else next week I must be consistent. If the Upper Chamber must have the same sort of representation as this House in a matter like this, it is a matter for the House. If honourable members say that they are not capable of representing the people in important matters then they should allow people who can represent the people in these matters to be elected to this Chamber.

Mr. MAPP: I regard the arguments about honourable members not knowing anything about this matter as weak-kneed and preposterous.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not think that remarks about honourable members' knowledge, ability or otherwise have anything to do with this Resolution. What is before the Committee is the adoption of the Resolution and the honourable member must confine his remarks to that.

Mr. MAPP: If you take the terms of reference of the standing Committee as set out in the Resolution how can it be said that elected members should not represent the interest of the people?

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I ask the honourable member not to make any remarks which have nothing to do with what is before us.

Mr. MAPP: You do not seem to understand what I am arguing.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Whether the Chair understands or not I am not having any more of that.

Mr. MAPP: The amendment as proposed by the honourable junior member for the City does not carry us very far.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: No amendment has been proposed.

Mr. MAPP: It has been suggested. If we make any amendment and the principle is not accepted by other territories the weight of the nominated members will still be tremendous against that of the elected member. Therefore it would not matter whether we make the amendment so as to improve the representation or not. The other islands have already agreed to the Resolution and it would seem as if the point has not yet been raised in any of those islands. The point which has been raised affects the interest of the people and there is no one nominated member who will lay down anything to safeguard the people's interest.

Mr. ADAMS: It is difficult to understand what this heat has been engendered about. In Jamaica the delegates including Mr. Bustamante himself agreed that there should be only 17 delegates on this Committee. Jamaica wants only two delegates and there is a Legislative Council there as well as a lower Chamber. Mr. Bustamante did not see any cause to make any row about vested interests. We shall have only two delegates and our vested interests will be the same. That is all it amounts to. The honourable senior member for St. Peter is still young and he uses more heat than is necessary at times. I should like to say that if any report that we do not approve comes in, the Government is not going to accept it. You do not want many people for drafting and that is why Jamaica was quite content to have two representatives. There is really no difficulty in this matter. It is preferable to have a small Committee for dealing with these questions than an unwieldy body of, say, 50 persons. It is really a matter of public opinion. If in some of the smaller islands public opinion is not sufficiently strong so that they can appoint to this Committee somebody who is interested in the people, that is their bad luck. Twenty years ago or even ten years ago the honourable senior member for St. Philip and I would not have been sent as delegates to the Montego Bay Conference; but we have reached the stage which will be reached by the other islands when we can get as representatives and delegates the kind of people whom we desire as such.

The question that Resolution 6 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division. Resolution 6 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 7 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS seconded the motion which was agreed to.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 8 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. CRAWFORD: One of the previous speakers referred to this Resolution and then referred to paragraph 21 of the Fiscal Sub-Committee's Report. He used that as an argument against a statement of mine that in so far as the operation of the Federal Government is concerned there was not forthright speaking at Montego Bay.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Before the honourable member develops his point I think that what is said in the House cannot be brought down to the Committee. It is only fair, however, that the honourable member should reply but he must not elaborate on it.

Mr. CRAWFORD: Obviously the honourable member who made the observation did not understand what was said. Paragraph 21 of the Fiscal Sub-Committee's Report deals with an entirely different matter. Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 of Resolution 6 sets out one of the duties of the Standing Committee, namely to consider and make recommendations in relation to the means of financing the operation of all federal services. My observation was that there should have been plainer speaking as to the financing of the federal structure. If honourable members would endeavour to listen to what is being said they would not make these howlers. This recommendation deals with a detailed study of Customs Union and the possibility of reducing the duty on foodstuffs and essential raw materials—something fundamentally different from what I was referring to.

The question that Resolution 8 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division. Resolution 8 was adopted.

On motions of Mr. ADAMS seconded by Dr. CUMMINS in each case, Resolutions 9 to 13 inclusive were adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that Resolution 14 be adopted.

Dr. CUMMINS: I beg to second that.

Mr. LEWIS: This Resolution deals with the immediate establishment of a Commission to enquire into and make recommendations in relation to the unification of the public services of the British Caribbean area. I would like to ask the honourable senior member for St. Joseph whether any of the finance which may go to the Federal Government will be used in paying for these services or whether the unification of the services relate only to being able to transfer people from one colony to the other. I would like to know whether there will be some sort of Rules and Regulations and things of that sort and whether the taking over of any of the services of any particular colony by the Federal Government is envisaged.

Mr. ADAMS: The object of having a Commission for this purpose is to see what services can more efficiently be worked as unified services and the question of financing them would automatically arise. If we have a unified judiciary, or teaching service or other services, if they are federal services they will be paid for by the Federal Government. I should just like to correct a statement made by the honourable senior member for St. Philip in quoting from the Memorandum of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Nowhere in that Memorandum has the

Secretary of State said or could it possibly be thought by anybody who reads the Memorandum that he was promising us to have a closed area for West Indians. His proposals are firstly, that West Indians should have the opportunity for special training to fill any post and secondly, that the best people should fill posts in any area. He specifically says the exact reverse of what the honourable senior member for St. Philip makes him say. He says it is not to be thought that a man should be appointed in his own colony only or in the area to which he belongs nor is it to be thought that a good outsider should not be brought in. The Secretary of State for the Colonies referred to a petition from the Civil Service Association of one of the Caribbean Colonies which asked him to make the area a closed service, and from what he says in the Memorandum any good West Indian may be given a post in Nigeria, say, or elsewhere.

Mr. CRAWFORD: I quoted the relevant words of Mr. Creech Jones himself, and this is what he says: "The basic policy which I propose rests upon two propositions: first, there should be the fullest possible development of the opportunities for the people in every Colony to staff their own public services. This implies the introduction of practical measures to assist and enable Colonial candidates to qualify for the various administrative, professional and technical branches of the Service. Secondly, the posts in the service which require the highest qualifications and carry the greatest responsibility should be filled by the best persons who can be found and selection should not necessarily be limited to the comparatively small field provided by the resources of any one Colony, nor even to residents of any single region." In the opening paragraph he proposes that opportunities should be given to the people of every Colony to staff their own public services and he goes on to speak about their qualifications to fill these posts. It is to be assumed that if fully-qualified people exist in any Colony they will be promoted to posts when they become vacant. If that is not the inference all I can say is that there is nobody to be found either in Barbados or in the West Indies who is capable of filling the post of Attorney General of Barbados.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I hope the honourable member will not continue to make references because nobody knows what transpired before that.

Mr. CRAWFORD: All I have done is to quote the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which he says that so long as we are qualified we will be given chances to fill these posts. There is not a single man in the West Indies who is capable of holding the post of Attorney General of Barbados.

Mr. MAPP: I am interested in this matter because I used to be a member of the Public Service and I know the views of Officers in the matter. If we have an officer capable of filling a post in the West Indies and he is appointed abroad why should an officer abroad not fill a post here or in the West Indies? I see no difficulty in that so long as there is no closed service and the Secretary of State for the Colonies specifically says that there should be no closed service.

The question that Resolution 14 be adopted was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

Resolution 14 was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS: We have approved of the principle of these Resolutions and I now beg to move that this Address be now pass.

*The House of Assembly
To
His Excellency the Governor*

1. The House beg to thank Your Excellency for your message No. 1/1948 concerning the Resolutions passed at the Montego Bay Conference on the closer association of West Indian colonies held in Jamaica in September last, and for the copies of the memorandum containing the said Resolutions.

2. The House beg to inform Your Excellency that after a careful consideration of the said Resolutions in the light of Mr. Creech Jones's observations they are in agreement with the Resolutions passed at the aforesaid Conference as set forth in the said memorandum.

Dr. CUMMINS seconded the motion which was agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. ADAMS, seconded by Dr. CUMMINS the CHAIRMAN reported the passing of the Address in Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER resumed the Chair and reported accordingly.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that this Address as passed in Committee do now pass.

Dr. CUMMINS seconded that motion which was agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will ask the honourable senior member for St. Joseph to present this Address.

Mr. ADAMS: As your Honour pleases.

ADDRESS RE EMIGRATION TO SURINAM

Mr. SPEAKER: The next Order of the Day stands in the name of the honourable senior member for St. Joseph:—To move the consideration of the Report of the Select Committee *re* emigration to Surinam. The next Order is to resume debate on the motion for the passing of an Address relating to the same matter and I think that both Orders can be taken together.

Mr. ADAMS: The Report of the Select Committee has been circulated to honourable members and they will see what has been submitted.

Mr. SYMONDS: The original Address reads as follows:—

*The House of Assembly
To
His Excellency the Governor*

1. The House of Assembly have the honour to thank Your Excellency for a copy of the Report of the Commission appointed by Your Excellency to investigate the prospect of recruiting Barbadian labour for employment in agricultural work in Surinam, which has been laid on the table of the House.

2. The House respectfully suggest that steps should be taken by this Government to implement as soon as possible the recommendations of the Commission in order that some relief in the local employment situation may be gained by emigration to Surinam.

I think that every encouragement should be given and every effort made to further emigration from this island to Surinam or any other country where it seems possible to afford our unemployed people some profitable occupation. I heartily support the recommendation of the Select Committee which sat in connection with this matter. The Select Committee recommended that a Liaison Officer or Officers should be appointed to look after the interests of the emigrants who may be employed in Surinam. The Committee agreed to the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission which visited Surinam

with the modification that a Liaison Officer or Officers be appointed, and that this Government should negotiate with the British Officer at Surinam with respect to the manner in which these Officers should be paid, and also with respect to the matter of getting improved wages for the emigrants whenever possible. There is no doubt that for those who are agriculturally-minded there is an opportunity for employment in Surinam with the prospect of being given a few acres of land at the close of the Contract: and there is really the possibility of ultimate settlement in a country which has thousands of areas with very few people to develop them. The members of the Commission which visited Surinam did a very thorough job and they should be commended for the part which they played in the matter. I sincerely hope that honourable members who are interested in finding employment overseas for our surplus population will also endeavour to find employment for those who are not agriculturally-minded. I hope that they will lend their support to every effort made to secure employment for artisans and other people. I beg to move that the following be added as paragraph 3 of the Address:

"3. The House recommend that the Government take steps to negotiate with the Government of Surinam for the appointment of a Liaison Officer or Liaison Officers and endeavour to secure increased wages for the emigrants."

Dr. WILSON: I beg to second that amendment. In doing so, I will only say that I am happy to observe the speed with which we have tackled this question of emigration to Surinam. I offer my congratulations to the Government and the Commission whose duty it was to investigate conditions in that Colony. The Report which is very exhaustive deals with three main phases, namely labour conditions and social and health services. I believe that the suggestion to construct family houses with separate compartments is an ideal one and it should meet with the approval of honourable members. There is nothing in the Report which shows that the Government of Surinam will be unwilling to agree with the proposed recommendations. I can only hope that the recommendations will be carried out by the Surinam Government before the arrival of the workers in that Colony. It is to be regretted, however, that the cost of living index and the prices of certain staple articles of food were not embodied in the Report; as it would have been useful by way of a comparison between theirs and ours. With regard to the health services, I desire to pay tribute to the Chief Medical Officer for his advice and suggestions in respect of the workers' houses and I hope that these suggestions will be carried out. I feel that the scheme is an ideal one and advantage should be taken of it. (Cheers).

Mr. LEWIS: I would like to say a word or two in connection with this Address because I happen to know that the Authorities in Dutch Guiana are looking farther afield for workers to carry out the projects which they have in mind. They have not only visited Barbados and St. Lucia; I happened to be there quite recently and I know that they have visited Jamaica and Puerto Rico as well. I feel therefore that we should do everything in our power to let them know that we approve of this scheme of emigration and that we are willing to do what we can to facilitate the emigration of workers there. There is just one thing that is worrying my mind. I support wholeheartedly the appointment of some officers whose duty it will be to hear any grievances which our workers may have and to assist in smoothing them out, but I am wondering whether that aspect of the matter was discussed with the Authorities in

Surinam and whether it is likely to be favourably considered. That seems to me to be a new feature and I hope that it will be adopted by them and that the scheme which has been so rapidly put before us will not be hampered. I would also like to know where the Government comes into this scheme apart from affording the workers protection by representation. When labourers are being recruited will an Officer of the Government together with the Labour Commissioner scrutinise any Agreement made with the workers to see that it does not in any way prejudice their interests? I would really like to hear something along these lines before the matter passes out of our hands. I would really like to know what the Government has in mind apart from seeing that the conditions are suitable for the workers to go to Surinam and to know that we are going to render them every assistance we can in case they have any grievance. I know now that it has been suggested that we should pay the passages of the workers out and I am wondering if we are going to adopt that suggestion. Of course, I do not know whether these questions can be answered now.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is that these words be added as paragraph 3 of the Address.

Honourable members in favour of that will please say "Aye," those against will please say "No." I think the "Ayes" have it.

The question that the Address as amended do now pass was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

The Address as amended was passed.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will ask the honourable junior member for St. John who took charge of the Address to present it to His Excellency the Governor.

Mr. BLACKMAN: As You Honour pleases.

THE ADJOURNMENT

The Order Paper having been fixed,

Mr. ADAMS: I beg to move that this House do now adjourn to this day week, the 17th day of February, 1948, at twelve o'clock noon.

Mr. TALMA seconded the motion which was agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER accordingly adjourned the House to Tuesday next, the 17th day of February, 1948, at twelve o'clock noon.