

THE House of Assembly Debates

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

SESSION 1954—55

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 12th October, 1954.

Pursuant to the adjournment the House met today at 3.15 p.m.

Present:

His Honour K. N. R. HUSBANDS (*Speaker*), Mr. J. E. T. BRANCKER, Hon Dr. H. G. H. CUMMINS, M.D., C.M., (*Minister of Social Services*) Mr. A. E. S. LEWIS, (*Deputy Speaker*), Hon. M. E. COX, (*Minister of Communications, Works and Housing*), Mr. L. E. SMITH, J.P., (*Chairman of Committees*) Hon. R. G. MAPP, (*Minister of Trade, Labour and Industry*), Mr. F. C. GODDARD, (*Leader of Opposition*), Mr. F. E. MILLER, Mr. J. C. MOTTLEY, Mr. E. StA. HOLDER, Hon. C. E. TALMA, (*Minister of Agriculture, Lands and Fisheries*), and Mrs. E. E. BOURNE.

Prayers were read.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House, that the Minutes of the previous meeting are not yet ready for confirmation.

STATEMENT Re MESSAGE NO. 26/1954

Hon. M. E. COX: Mr. Speaker,—With regard to the report of the Select Committee appointed to reply to His Excellency's Message No. 26/1954, relating to the Intra-regional Shipping Service, I should like to say at this stage, I had expected to deal with this question today; but since then another question has arisen, which must be settled before I proceed with the report. I say that mainly for the benefit of the Hon Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT O.B.E., Mr. E. K. WALCOTT, Q.C., and Mr. O. T. ALLDER entered the House and took their seats.

LEAVE TO PROCEED WITH ORDER NO. 15

Hon. Dr. CUMMINS: Mr. Speaker,—I am asking leave to take Order No. 15, as the first Order of the Day, which deals with an Address in Reply to His Excellency the Governor's Speech which was delivered at the opening of the Legislature.

There being no objection, leave was granted the Hon. member.

REPLY TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH

Mr. SPEAKER: Order No. 15 stands in the name of Hon. Minister of Social Services: to move the consideration of the Report of the Select Committee appointed to prepare a Draft Reply to His Excellency the Governor's Speech delivered at the opening of the Legislature.

Hon. Dr. CUMMINS: The Address in reply to His Excellency's Speech as recommended by the Select Committee, reads as follows:—

*The House of Assembly
To
His Excellency the Governor*

The House of Assembly desire to thank Your Excellency for your Speech at the opening of the Legislature, and note with satisfaction the Financial condition of the Island.

2. The House have noted the several matters referred to in Your Excellency's Address, and beg to assure Your Excellency that these and all other matters submitted to them, will engage their earnest attention during the ensuing session.

I beg to move that this Address do now pass.

Hon. M. E. COX: I beg to second that.

Mr. GODDARD: Mr. Speaker,—This order has been sprung on me rather suddenly. I never expected it would have been discussed so early today. The Report is very brief. It is complimentary and non-committal; but there are certain points in the Governor's Speech, which have been somewhat of a departure, from previous speeches from the Throne. One, the most pointing, is that which refers to "My Government." It is a Speech from the Throne, and everything said in that Speech, the Government is responsible for. Sir, with most of His Excellency's Speech, we agree.

However, on page two, the top paragraph refers to a problem of the island. I will read it:

"The paramount problem of the island is one of population and it must be abundantly clear that if the prosperity and happiness of a population that is still rising are to be increased, and this is the constant aim of my Government, something more than a good sugar crop will be needed. Where can we look for the necessary expansion of our economy which, alone, can enable us to raise the standards of our social services and to provide full employment? My Government believes that the over popu-

lation problem must be approached not only through the development of local resources and the encouragement of emigration, but also through the promotion of planned parent-hood among the people."

Sir, in that paragraph, I feel the Government has not considered sufficiently strong, those questions; nor has it given the answer to what could be done in this already densely populated country for the creation of more jobs.

3.35 p.m.

They admit, the sugar industry has developed to a point to which they cannot expect much more; they realise the population is increasing at a very high rate; and to accept the theory, that if we are to maintain our present standard of living, let alone the increase that we are all looking for, we are promising people in Barbados that they can expect something better tomorrow. How can we do it, if we do not increase the economic position of this island? We cannot look for increases in the price of sugar, or any great expansion of sugar; where are we to get that from? We have seen the other large colonies in the Caribbean, doing something which we have barely attempted to do. They have industrialised. They have made an attempt, and a realistic attempt, to get industries established in Trinidad and Jamaica; but we have only talked about it.

Further down in His Excellency's Speech, our attention has been drawn to the fact that we cannot expect any extension of industries in Barbados, with the shortage of power which exists here. What are we doing about that? We have been told, the owners of the Electric Company are willing and are prepared, and have plans, for an extension of electricity throughout Barbados. They are prepared to spend \$3 million; but I am told, one of the great hold-ups in the scheme, is the failure of our Government to give a lead. We must have faith in ourselves, if we want somebody to take that lead. If they would implement the proposition which was put up to them, I am told, the money can be readily found for the extension of the Electric power and light throughout Barbados. What are we doing to expand the colony of Barbados, and so create those jobs which will maintain the standard of living, which we hope to maintain? I feel that insufficient stress has been laid by the Government, on that matter; and it has been scanned over much too easily. It needs to be drawn attention to, by honourable members in this Reply.

On page three of the Governor's Speech he says this:—

"You have already voted funds to cover the cost of a survey of employment and unemployment which is to begin next January. My Government believes that an authoritative appraisal of development possibilities should also be undertaken and an approach has been made to the International Bank in the hope that they will be prepared to send a Mission to the Eastern Caribbean. If the approach is successful proposals will be laid before you."

In other words, if this survey of employment and unemployment has to be made and considered, it is hoped, they will make application to the World Bank for a team to visit this colony, and tell us how we can develop our economic possibilities. I say, let us do something about it now; do not wait for them to come here, and find that you have done nothing. Let us create an atmosphere, so that when they come, they will see a people ready and willing to do something,—a people who want to be told how to do it. In this electricity and power

programme, to act on the suggestion I have made, would be creating that atmosphere; so that when the commission comes, we would be in a more happy position to offer something, on which they can give favourable reports.

On the question of Education, the Governor says this:

"New Schools have been built at Half Moon Fort, Selah, and the Pine, and the last named having been a gift from C.D. & W., Blackman's House has been bought for conversion into a Secondary Modern School to serve the Western part of St. Joseph."

This is the first reference in the House of Assembly we have had, as to the purchase of this School. They have not said, with what money it has been bought; so that we can only conjecture, it came out of the Labour Welfare Fund. I have been told, that is the source from which these things are bought, without any reference to the House of Assembly. If the money had come from the C.D. & W. organization, they would have had to come here for it. We have heard about this months ago; but all we have heard outside, is not official. I do hope, when the Hon. Leader of the House replies, he will give us some assurance that these things will not continue; and that the House will know, how these things are intended to be bought.

3.45 p.m.

I am very pleased to note, on the same page, that plans will be laid before the Legislature for the re-construction of the Christ Church Foundation Schools as a single combined school, with separate departments for boys and girls, and a central block which will be common to both. I hope, that will be done in this session, and before we come to the Estimates again. That has been promised for a long time. I know Government is actually engaged; but I hope, it will have priority, and that before the year is out at least, the foundation of that school will have been started.

As it is well known, the development of these Secondary Schools should be two-fold. If we build on the name we have already established, and made good for ourselves, such as Harrison College, Foundation and Lodge—because this year we have had a Barbados Scholar from Foundation, the first in its history—and with the expansion of that school to the point where it will be able to accommodate 8,000 children, the back-log that Government is faced with, and the problem of getting children in these secondary schools, will be at least relieved. It is a problem, which has engaged the attention of all parents; and one which needs an early solution.

With reference to the Modern Secondary Schools, we will have to wait and see how they develop. As far as they are concerned, there is, I am told, a new departure which will be of a technical nature; and we will have to wait and see the results.

On page three of his speech, H. E. The Governor states: "My Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration whether permanent or temporary." Well sir, you know as well as any member of this House, how much we look to emigration both temporary and permanent, to relieve congestion and unemployment in Barbados. It is such a big problem, that any small newspaper head-line is looked upon with hope by thousands. They want to get away for work. They do not want to get away from Barbados; because when they do go away and make good, they return; and while they are away, they send back their money to Barbados. We feel, every

effort should be made, and strong representation should be made in the direction most likely to open an avenue for emigration to the U.S.A. and Canada.

It was good news to hear, Sir Harry Luke was very recently, pleading the case of the Caribbean at such a high level. He brought it home to the American people, what might be a small relief to them, would mean so much to the West Indies. If they employed 10,000 people from here, that would only be a small fraction of the total labour force in America; but it would be a very big relief to these islands. With the economic boost that we will get, it is to their interest as much as to ours, to assist us in getting our people there to work at those rates. I hope, at the highest level and at the lowest level, strong representation will be made. We know from past experience that the workers who go away, will give of their best. From the reports which we get from America about the labour force which Barbados sends I am sure American employers will readily welcome Barbadians of that type down there. I hope, the Government will press at all times with this matter, and that it will not overlook any possibilities of sending or going to America, to investigate the possibilities of getting more labourers there.

We have noted with interest, the Capital Works undertaken by the Government; those already completed, those in the process of being completed, and those likely to be completed before the year is out. But of all of them, the Deep Water Harbour will give us the greatest hope for economic expansion. Although it is too early to say anything, I do hope and trust, the delegation now in England, will be favourably received; and that it will be successful in getting the loan, with which to build the Deep Water Harbour.

Mr. LEWIS: Mr. Speaker,—I find it very difficult to reply to the Speech from the Throne, which comes to us half way in our financial year; the House has passed the Estimates for Capital Expenditure and Current Expenditure to the end of March 1955. I take it, a Speech of this nature could only be a report on what has taken place; and an expression of hope that the programme will be completed. That is how it strikes me, sir. In this connection, I will mention that perhaps it will be better, if the Government will see to it, that the prorogation period will be so arranged, that the re-opening of the Legislature will be nearer to budget time. A better picture could be given of what has been done; and there could be a more realistic phrasing of what it is hoped to finish.

I notice, sir, the first paragraph of the proposed reply, states that the House note with satisfaction, the financial condition of the island. I would like to know, in what part of H.E.'s address, is the financial position of the island stated. What has been given, is a statement as to the balance with which the financial year 1953-54 ended; but that would have been known at the end of April or May. The particular paragraph says, you have been borrowing money for the final instalment of the loan of \$2,000,000. That is all the financial statement, I see here. When we say, we note with satisfaction the financial position of the island, what are we talking about? His Excellency's speech does not tell us, that any of the estimated revenues appears to be possible of collection. Nowhere in his speech, can I find, up to the time that his speech was delivered, which is the first half of the financial year, revenue from any source is either up or down; and that the prospects of collecting it, are bright.

3.55 p.m.

That is the sort of information, and the only information, on which a statement like this should

be made. The financial condition of the colony is not known by the members of the House, nor is it stated anywhere in this speech. As a matter of fact, there is just this one point about how the previous financial year ended; and that is certainly put in a rather peculiar way to my understanding. It is stated as follows:

"Half the surplus on current account was transferred to the Revenue Equalisation Fund, so that the General Revenue Balance on 1st April, 1954, was the same as at the beginning of the previous financial year."

Well, the two things do not follow. One does not necessarily make the other happen. You have put to the Revenue Balance, \$1 million of the 1953-54 Revenue. You spent \$1 million out of the General Revenue Balance; so that only brings it to what it was in the previous year. That is mere coincidence: so to me, it is a very peculiar financial opinion. The two things are entirely unconnected. You have used out of General Revenue Balance, the amount you have put in from your last financial year's balance, that is all that has happened. I would like some honourable member to tell me, where is information in this speech, on which we can base this statement. As a matter of fact, sir, we find, there is a threat to the island's Sugar Crop; and so long as there is that threat, we all will feel that we are not going to get any revenue at all from that source.

The statement the Government has adopted, or is willing to adopt, with regard to some method of planned parenthood, is certainly a very brave step. I do not know, whether the House of Assembly had any opportunity of commenting upon it, before it became the policy of the Government; but I do think, a matter of this sort should have been referred specifically to the People's Representatives for an opinion, before it became the policy of the Government, and before it was put into a state document of this kind. There are many people, who believe, it would be better if such a scheme were sponsored privately in its early stages, rather than to become the policy of the Government; and that is my reason for making a statement on it. It is true, in modern times, it is the Government which undertakes to do things which had been exclusively or partially done by private interest. Therefore, I do not know, if that is the reason for it. As I have said, I think the matter of planned parenthood should have been referred to the People's Representatives so that they might have been able to express an opinion on it, before it became the policy of the Government, and found its way into a state document of this importance.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the paragraph about the electric power, is very vague. The third sentence in the relative paragraph reads as follows:—

"It is hoped that plans to overcome the shortage of electric power will soon be formulated and implemented."

By whom sir? By the Electric Company, or by the Government? I think, if this matter carries any financial implications, it should have been stated. For the Government to say, it is hoped that plans to overcome shortage of electric power will soon be formulated and implemented, is not good enough. I would like to know, by whom? I was the first member in this House, who said, it would not be a bad idea, if the Government invested some money in the Electric Company. I remember, one member of this House brought in an Address along those lines some months afterwards, and a member of the Other Place mentioned it almost simultaneously in that Chamber, as I mentioned it here. I saw that from the Debates. If any information from this

House is adopted by the Executive, and that is the sort of plan which they hope to formulate and implement, I do think, a clear indication of it should be given by the Executive.

Now, sir, the second paragraph on page three, as the hon. junior member for Christ Church says, is one of the shortest if not the shortest, in this address. It is the one, which contains information of a most vital importance and character to the people of this colony. It reads as follows:—

“My Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration, whether permanent or temporary.”

During last week, two notices, so far as I remember, appeared in the daily Press offering a promise, so far as it appears to me, to foster employment of people from this island. I think it came from an Employment Information Centre in Boston, Massachusetts. I have taken the trouble to make some enquiries into the matter, and I understand, that that notice might have been sent to the island merely by the Newspaper's correspondent in the area, and not even by the Employment Information Bureau, whose name was affixed to it. I know that the Labour Office is unable to give any information, of a valuable character, on this matter at this stage; but I understand, it is making enquiries. This is of such importance to the community, Mr. Speaker, I regard it as being too good to be true. As a matter of fact, this Bureau offers employment all over the world, to skilled and unskilled labour, male and female. It is good news; and, even if it is not of a substantial nature, we cannot blame our people for wasting at least the postage, to make enquiries.

I do hope, at an early stage, the Government will do all it can in the matter, and issue some information to the Press saying, it knows nothing or that it is investigating this matter. Let the people know whether it was only a newspaper advertisement which nobody in the Government Service had taken notice of.
4.05 p.m.

I am saying, the Hon. Minister of Labour will do the people of this island a favour today, if he took this opportunity of making some comment in connection with this matter.

About the middle of page three of His Excellency's Speech, we find mentioned for the first time, the purchase of Blackman's House for conversion into a Secondary Modern School. Sir, there is a sum of money voted in the Estimates, for an Elementary School to be constructed in the western part of St. Joseph; but Mr. Speaker, as you can very well see, if this House pass an Estimate for the construction of an Elementary School to accommodate 315 pupils, anybody having a house to sell, which you would consider suitable for the purpose, will know already what amount you have in the Estimates for constructing your school, and it might influence the price to be paid for the house. If the construction of a new school is an expensive item, and you have a large sum of money, you might find the price of the building going near to that sum of money; because it is known what money you have to spend. Not only that, if that place were purchased compulsorily or by Resolution of this House, everybody would know something about it before hand; the negotiations would be of a public nature. If the Executive is negotiating for the purchase of this House, and conducting it in a secret manner, you might render yourself liable to some charge before the Courts, if you attempted to learn the Executive Committee was buying Blackman's House. Let us

not get away from the benefit of taking the People's Representatives into your confidence, and conducting matters in a public manner. It is not for the Government to put up the price of property, beyond the reach of people who want to buy it.

The financial condition of the colony is referred to in this Speech; and it is strange that the purchase of this house could be referred to in the speech without the People's Representatives having the information as to what was paid for it. Is that secret information? It has been bought already; therefore, let the amount which was paid for it be mentioned, and let there be absolute honesty in your dealing with the House of Assembly, especially in matters of finance. This financial paragraph is addressed specifically to you, Mr. Speaker and Honourable members of the House; therefore, let us know what was paid for that building. Let them state the amount. I am surprised that the Governor would be a party to mentioning the purchasing of a place, without telling the People's Representatives what was paid for it, or what was intended to be paid for it. This House has not yet had any information as to what was paid for “Enmore.” That is not right. I am telling the members of this Government, (I do not care what they think of me for telling them)! I am telling them something, in their own interest. The day on which they do not have any money in the Treasury to play with, and the financial condition of the colony is not sound, people will look at them differently. It is alright as it is now. The Colonial Development and Welfare Organisation, the World Bank, and everybody will come in now; but they will not always be coming in. This is not the way in which the business of the island should be conducted. At least, let us know what they paid for Blackman's House. Let them say, it only costs us so much; and it was a paying proposition. I wonder if any members of the Executive Committee, know what Blackman's House costs.

There is a change in policy, with regard to the Foundation Schools. This is something which has been mentioned a very long time ago,—the question of having a boys' and girls' school in a single combine. I do not know, if the House of Assembly has expressed any opinion in connection with it. I myself feel, it is a good thing to have a system of co-education, as it is called; but everybody in the island does not think so. There are lots of people who feel that is a retrograde step; and should not the feelings of the people be respected? Should they not be given a hearing? Is it right for the Government just to say, they cannot build two schools, and they have a certain policy thrust upon them? So far as the particular type of school is concerned, that is something which has been talked about for a long time; and I do not think it has found favour with the people.

With regard to the fourth last paragraph on page three of the Governor's Speech, it says:—

“The question of social security has been the subject of a special study by Professor Richardson whose Report is now under consideration by my Government.”

Mr. Speaker, I contend, no Report should be the subject of consideration by anybody before it is made public. It should be published immediately and handed in. What are they studying it for? Decide what you are going to do about it; but do not keep it and decide to cut something out of it. Do not edit it.
4.15 p.m.

I say, a report for which we are paying out of the Treasury, should be published the moment it is made; and there can be no excuse for not doing this.

The only excuse there could be, is, that the Government want to do something wrong.

Now, Mr. Speaker, look how it is put here; the question of Social Security. It is not a question of a Social Security Scheme. One would take it that it is some sort of general survey which he is making for some one else. It is stated not here, the question of a Social Security Scheme for Barbados, has been the subject of a special study by Professor Richardson. But when the Professor got here, and started to investigate, he said, conditions in all these places seemed to be the same. So Sir it would seem that we could have waited on the British Guiana report, and implemented it here.

Paragraph 3 touches on a burning question. It has been hanging fire much too long. The Governor states: before the scheme for housing Civil Servants can be put into operation, it is considered advisable to make certain amendments to the Public Officers' Housing Loan Act, 1952, Sir, 1952? This is 1954; and as a matter of fact, 1954 is drawing to a close. We are providing the Government with a sufficient number of law officers to do the work which we have to do here; but here it is, there are now considering the Public Officers' Loan Act, 1952.

Cannot the Government see, if we allow Civil Servants to own their houses, the houses they move from, will be available for housing members of the population, in perhaps lower income brackets? When they help the Civil Servants with houses, they will be helping other people at the same time. The Civil Servants feel, the money they have contributed, is lying down there. It is money, which they have taken out of their pockets for other reasons, like some of the other funds, which I do not believe are funded separately. Therefore, the Civil Servants' scheme should have got under way ever since.

Now, here we are in the middle of a session, with the Governor telling us that the judiciary, the Ministries, and some Government departments are in urgent need of additional accommodation. A phased programme has been prepared; and, "I am addressing you separately on the subject." Addressing us separately on what? In the middle of the financial year, he is going to address us separately on something. We have a Five Year Plan, and we are told, we cannot undertake anything new unless we alter up everything else considerably. Are we going to be addressed separately, on something which is part of what has been provided for in the Estimates? If not, where would the money come from?

I would like to refer briefly again, to this loan of \$2 million. An Act has been passed as regards this loan. I am not criticising the passing of the Act, although I personally feel, it is not right. While you are raising this loan, you are still continuing to take 50% of your surplus and send it out of the island. You borrow \$2 million, and in one year you can send \$1 million out of the island as a surplus on the year's working. You take \$90,000 and put it in the Estimates to pay for the interest on this loan. You take \$70,000 for housing the people, and \$90,000 to give away to rich people, as interest on a loan. But you say, it is a local loan; which is an indication of what people think of the Government.

The same Canadian Insurance Company which was treated with great favour by this Government, —I said it already in the House. They were the only insurance people which the Government got information from, as regards a pension scheme for the Natural Gas Corporation employees; and after that went through, we find that company investing a great deal of money in this country. I do not like these things could we not raise \$2 million locally; and

when I say locally, I mean from local people; so that when we go abroad to ask for loans, we could say, our own people have confidence in our Government, and in our financial position. But here it is, a Canadian Insurance company to which a dollar is worth one and three-quarter dollars, has to come to our rescue.

As regards the investing of the Government Savings Bank's funds in a Government loan in my opinion a trustee has no right to use trust money. Let us keep the people's taxes in the colony, and use them to their interest; and if they have savings in the Savings Bank, we should invest it in outside securities. You should be in a position, if anything happens, to say that we were trustees for this money; and at least, it did not become a bad debt in our investment. You raise a loan of \$2,000,000 and you do not say, you have got some from a Canadian Company, and the rest from the Savings Bank. The same people advertising for the loan, can do what they like with money in the Savings Bank.

I do not approve of that; especially when you are sending people's money out of the island, and burdening them with interest on money to pay other people. And then, by an act of doubtful propriety, investing money in our own schemes, invested here.

I feel, at least the Official Opposition should have been moving some amendment to this Address; but I am saying, this is a very misleading reply. I referred to the Official Opposition, because they are getting paid for it. How can you say in this reply that the financial position of the colony is sound, when we do not know it.

There is one matter which I would like to address specifically to the honourable junior member for St. Thomas. I know that in replies of this sort, you have to repeat the words "Your Excellency," and "His Excellency" very often. We have here, "the House desire to thank Your Excellency for your speech." I am merely suggesting, it might be better to say, "Your Excellency's Speech." That would be more in keeping with tradition and politeness. I am also suggesting that it is incorrect to refer to this speech as having been delivered at the opening of the 1954-55 Session. It was not the opening of the Session neither is it the session that it is said to be. We have this report referring to "His Excellency's Speech delivered at the opening of the 1954-55 Session," but no one knows, whether the session will last for one year, a year and a half, six months, or anytime else. When we were trying to establish a tradition, a new system was started. Is this the 1954-56 session, or what?

If we had definite annual sessions, we could put that through; but this is a misnomer. How long did the last session last? If you trace back, you will see that two budgets were introduced during the time. What traditions we are respecting, I do not know. I say these things, because I want to see the boast that Barbados leads the way, is no hollow boast. We may be feeling that we are better than somebody else; but is that so?

4.25 p.m.

MR. CRAWFORD: Sir, it would take a considerable time, if honourable members were to begin to deal specifically with the many controversial points with which this speech bristles. Therefore, we shall have to content ourselves with reference to the more outstanding points. I shall like to make a brief comment on two or three of the most important matters, which H. E. the Governor in his address brought to the attention of honourable members. The first thing I will deal with, is the paragraph on page two which deals with the shortage of electricity. I find, the remarks by the Governor on this matter,

are very nebulous; considering the importance of the matter. He says:—

"In the fields of industry, enterprise is severely handicapped by the lack of industrial power. This problem has been given anxious consideration by My Ministers. It is hoped that plans to overcome the shortage of the Electric power will soon be formulated and implemented." Well now, as I have said, reference is nebulous; because in the case of other matters to which reference was also made in this Address, legislation would be placed before you, or is being drafted; or at least as it is stated, these matters have reached finality in consideration. That is not the case with reference to the shortage of electric power. I want to submit, sir, electricity is so important, and its shortage is of such grave concern to the general economy of the colony, that we must express some dissatisfaction over the unsatisfactory manner in which this Government is handling this matter, as demonstrated by the reference to it in the Governor's Speech. The most important things facing this country at the moment, are Agriculture, Industrial Development and the construction of the Deep Water Harbour. Neither one of these things is possible, without ample supplies of electricity. If we succeed in borrowing the \$41 million to construct the Deep Water Harbour, we are going to discover in the early stages of its construction, that work will be delayed, if there are not ample supplies of electricity available. We will find, we should not have borrowed money on which we have to pay interest; and the work will be delayed unduly, because of the shortage of industrial power.

I am going to say, so dissatisfied am I, on this question of electricity, and on the unsatisfactory way in which the Government appears to be dealing with it, I am going to propose an amendment to the Reply, to deal especially with it.

It is common knowledge, earlier this year, a Director of the Electric Company came down here from London, and had prolonged talks with the Government on the matter. It is common knowledge also, apart from the Deep Water Harbour scheme and industrial development, that all over the island of Barbados, there is a large number of people, who would make any sacrifice in order to have electricity installed in their homes. It is also common knowledge, it was the policy of the Government, which prevented the Electric Company from undertaking the expansion which it would have done, or should have undertaken long ago. If it were hindered by the action on the part of the Government, (or apart from that, the Government has a special obligation to this community to resolve the question with regard to the expansion of electricity at the earliest date possible) the Government owes a duty to this community, to do every thing that lies in its power, to see that this company is able to make supplies of electricity available to everybody. I pointed out some time ago, in a resolution before the House, that the comparatively moderate sum of £60,000 would enable at least 120 new areas at various points throughout the island, to obtain electric current almost immediately. I must emphasise, the expenditure of this £60,000, in view of what it would give, is moderate; and would not be beyond the capacity of this Government to provide, either as previously suggested by way of a loan, or by purchase of stock, to enable the Electric Company to undertake this very much needed expansion. I say, we can either underwrite the loan for the company, or we can make the loan to the company with proper securities; so that we can purchase £60,000 of stock in the com-

pany, so as to provide the necessary capital to enable the concern to electrify 120 new districts, and to provide additional power for industrial developments.

I am therefore suggesting, this reply should contain an additional paragraph, to be numbered paragraph 3; and it should read as follows:—

"The House note with considerable concern, the continuance of the unsatisfactory position with regard to the shortage of electric power, and look forwards to its improvement at the very earliest date possible."

I am suggesting this additional paragraph, because I am convinced in my own mind, that this question of the extension of electricity, is of paramount importance. It underlines all our hopes for economic development, in one way or another. It would be an essential to the construction of the Deep Water Harbour. I repeat, electricity is an ordinary amenity; and there is no reason, why thousands of people in this island, should continue to be deprived of it. I also repeat, it is the Government's fault that this *impasse* has arisen; and it is their duty to do something about it immediately.

On page 3 of the Governor's speech, there are two lines in the second paragraph dealing with the question of emigration. The hon. junior member for the City, has already paid attention to a notice which has appeared in the Press, and to which he might have added, has aroused considerable local attention. Naturally, the people who are unemployed or underemployed, when they hear or read of employment, as rosy as it has been set out in this advertisement, are inclined to attach a lot of importance to it. This community has been fleeced from time to time, with half-baked schemes, which the Government should have investigated; but to which it closed its eyes, and the people have paid heavily for it. This scheme might well be another racket; it seems highly improbable that it could be *bona fide*. When we consider the initial advantages, and the large supplies of labour available to construction companies in America to-day, we wonder whether this is not some racket; and whether the people really want to collect West Indian or something of the sort. Therefore, it is the Government's duty, if it sets itself up as the protector of the country, whenever it gets a public notice of this sort, to investigate it immediately, and inform the public of the result of their investigation. The Government should have enquired by cable, through the proper channels at Washington, for some evidence of the good faith of the sponsors of this scheme, and immediately inform the public and prevent people from wasting time and money, and building up hopes unduly, which could never fructify.

The final matter to which I want to refer, is paragraph five on page three of the Governor's Speech. This is what he says:—

"New schools have been built at Half Moon Fort, Selah and the Pine, the last name having been a gift from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. Blackman's House has been bought for conversion into a Secondary Modern School to serve the Western part of the parish of St. Joseph. . ."

There has already been, some criticism made with regard to the action of the Governor, on the floor of this House, in connection with the purchase of Blackman's House for use as a school, without any previous information being sent to the Legislature; and there shall be more criticism, when the Government tells us what they paid for Blackman's House. This Government is notorious, for running around the country and buying, what can be termed

as old houses, at high costs. They have squandered a lot of money at "Enmore", at "Avalon" and now at Blackman's House. None of us, are correctly apprised of what Blackman's House has bought; and rumour is, the Government paid more than twice what the owner paid for it.

4.45 p.m.

We did almost a similar thing with Enmore. That is why, when the Government wants to finance a scheme of any practical benefit to the community, they have to increase taxation, either directly or indirectly. As soon as money accumulates in the Treasury, they squander it in a lot of wild goose schemes. Later, today, we will deal with a proposal to assist the expansion of the fishing industry. To finance that proposal, the Government has had to reduce the subsidy on certain articles of diet. I am submitting, because we are wasting money on projects like Blackman's House, Enmore and what not, we are forced to resort to increasing taxation to finance these schemes; because the money which should have been saved on Enmore and Blackman's House, and which was not saved, could have financed the expanded fishing industry for a year. The \$40,000 odd, which it is estimated it will cost to finance the fishing scheme, could have been saved from the purchase of Enmore and Blackman's House, if the Government had gone about the purchase of these two places in a business like manner, and not in a manner, which tantamounts to saying, because the funds are there, we can fritter them away, and allow anyone who has a white elephant to put it on the Government.

The reported price of Blackman's House is £7,300. Since the Government has not deigned to take the community into its confidence as to what it did pay for Blackman's House, they can confirm or deny the rumour as to the price. If they were business people, the Government would know, the people who bought it from Mr. Williams, paid less than half of that amount for the house alone. It is hardly likely, there is anyone in Barbados, who would pay what the Government paid for that place, for any purpose. It is not on the seaside; it does not have much land attached to it. It is just a comfortable country dwelling, and is not specially desirable.

There is no reason, why the owners should have made more than a reasonable profit on the purchase price. Why should they have made over 100 per cent profit? That is why, regardless of what the Government may do, they will always be open to the charge of being incompetent to disburse the funds in the Public Treasury. Every scheme of possible or potential value to the community, must be financed by the sweat of the brow of the taxpayers, either by new taxation, or by submitting to an increase in the cost of living. That money should be made good use of, and not squandered on schemes of doubtful value to the community.

I repeat, sir, if the Government had gone about this in a business like way, there would not have been all these fertile grounds for the spate of rumours, ugly and otherwise; because the public at the appropriate time, would have been apprised of each step taken by the Government. But unfortunately, the Legislature has given the Government a blank cheque in this and other matters, so that they can go and buy white elephants at will, send officials on delegations at will, and squander money on conferences and what not; and the public and the Legislature, must both rest content with anything that the Government does with the funds entrusted to its care.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker,—This is the first occasion on which we can very well say, the speech from the throne was the speech of the Minis-

ters. It is the first occasion in the history of the colony, reference has been made by the Head of the Administration in such a speech, as to show to the people of the colony, that the entire responsibility for whatever has been done from the beginning of this year, and for whatever will be done, is the responsibility of his Ministers, and that he is merely the Chairman. Therefore, it is particularly the duty of the Opposition, to find loopholes and to look for the omissions and shortcomings of the Government. This speech has many. Really, sir, as this is the beginning, we might excuse them; because it is a departure from the old custom. Therefore, one might well say, the financial adviser or advisers might not have had all the facts, and therefore, he or the Premier, could not give a true picture of the position of the colony.

Really and truly, sir, to go through this speech, one finds, it is just a collection of data from the various departments put into someone's hands, who apparently was lacking in the ability to provide something, not only for this Chamber, but for the general public to read. We are asked to reply to it as His Excellency's speech,—the first under the Ministerial set-up. I hope, on the next occasion, they will do better than this. Therefore, I feel, we should be somewhat mild to-day, even though we will have to make certain observations. I do not think, we should be unduly hard in our criticisms; but there are certain omissions in this speech, which we can hardly refrain from mentioning.

On behalf of the people of the colony, it is accepted, we must thank His Excellency for this speech as a matter of courtesy. One of the best ways of replying, lest it should be thought that we are unduly offensive, would be to thank His Excellency the Governor for his speech, fold the paper up, and send it back to Government House. To act in keeping with the type of Address delivered to us, and the lack of appreciation for our ability to grasp and grapple with the problems of the island, I say, apparently, the thing to do, would be just say, "thank you."

4.55 p.m.

I am sure, the Hon. Leader of this House is going to say, members on this side of the table, were asked to serve on the Committee to Reply to His Excellency's Speech. I want to say now, what is the custom on this issue in the United Kingdom with regards to party Government, I have not been able to ascertain correctly; but I want to assure the Hon. Leader of the House, even though we might have attended the meeting for the purpose of drafting a Reply, it is our duty, (I mean we on this side of the table, who are in the Opposition) and one of those few occasions, where we can come into this House, and make our observations on behalf of the people who sent us here. We can either criticise, or make a speech on the position of the island.

As I was saying, it is a rather difficult thing for anybody who takes his duty seriously, to avoid a repetition of what has been said. Anyone who has a nodding acquaintance of conditions in this island, and who have studied politics seriously, knows that if three or four people have spoken on anything, the person who rises next, is at a disadvantage. In reply to a Speech of this nature, one is bound to make the same notes as some other honourable member. Therefore, if I begin at what I would call the beginning, and it appears as though I am just repeating what my colleague (the honourable junior member for the City) said, when he was dealing with the financial aspects of the country, I cannot quite help

for it. At the outset, I am saying, I agree with him, when he said, that it was not put sufficiently broad enough; therefore, it leaves us with our thoughts suspended, when we go further into the Address. I am going to say, to ask this House to acquiesce in this Address, when we do not know the financial position of the island, is asking us to agree to something which we do not know. Let me say to you now: even if I were put on the Committee which was appointed to reply to this Address, I would make here now any criticisms, which I wanted to offer. On occasions like these, I am prepared to come in here and talk.

Dealing with the first page of H.E.'s speech, and the Reply to it by the Select Committee, which reads as follows:—

"The House of Assembly desire to thank Your Excellency for your Speech at the opening of the Legislature, and note with satisfaction the financial condition of the island." While I agree, this paragraph could be signed by the two hon. Ministers of the Government, since they obviously would know something about the financial position of the island, and probably the hon. jun. member for St. Michael too, and that the hon. jun. member for St. John might have been told something about it, so that he could consent to it, yet, we of this House cannot say, "we note with satisfaction, the financial condition of the island;" because we are not told that. How can we say that? I am not going to agree to that, because I do not know. Certainly the members of the Government can note it with satisfaction. The Hon. Premier prepared that speech and placed it in the hands of the Governor to read; so members of the Government can note it with satisfaction, but they cannot ask us to note it with satisfaction.

Speaking for the officials of the Opposition, I will say, we have observed quite a lot of the financial aspects and suggestions, which we have put up from time to time, have been either attempted or are now being embarked upon; though we cannot say definitely, they are being done to our satisfaction. As soon as I have finished making comments, I shall offer an amendment to their Reply. While I shall do so, I am aware, there is no likelihood of the amendment being accepted; because it is not expected, that this small Opposition will run out. Nevertheless, we must do our duty.

I shall deal now, with the second paragraph of H.E.'s speech on page two. It reads as follows:—

"The paramount problem of the island is one of population, and it must be abundantly clear that if the prosperity and happiness of a population that is still rising are to be increased, and this is the constant claim of my Government, something more than a good Sugar Crop will be needed." Here again, I will speak for the officials of the Opposition. Since the advent of party politics, we have been saying, we appreciate everything which is being done by the Government for the Sugar Industry; but we have also made it very clear, something else must be done. The Government is now saying, "something more than a good Sugar Crop will be needed." We have been stressing that in season, and out of season. Now, for the first time, the Government is admitting, something more than a good sugar crop is needed. It is saying, something more must be done, if the happiness of the people must be maintained.

Has it taken the Government all this time to know that? Any third standard boy, who realises that he is not getting sufficient lunch and tells his father so, his father will realise, he is not getting sufficient money. It is impossible to listen to the radio, and not to realise, something more must be

done for Barbados, beyond having a mere sugar crop. I want to say this: as soon as you get into power, it is for you to find means of maintaining the happiness of people. You know, that you went into power with a small sugar crop. We have put forward all sorts of suggestions; and I say, something more must be done. His Excellency's Speech goes on to say this:—

"Where can we look for the necessary expansion of our economy which, alone can enable us to raise the standard of our Social Services and to provide full employment?"

You have been put into power. Through whom, are you asking this question now? The Governor says something more is needed besides a good sugar crop. Of course we know, something more is needed. The unemployed population of this country knows that something more is needed. You are now faced with the question as to where can we look. Well, go to the country and face the electorate, if you want us to tell you where to look. You are all-powerful today; you are in your house, and you ask us where must we look? You have nice phraseology and sweet reading; but what? Empty Brain! You have been elevated to power; therefore, you must know where you have to look for the necessary expansion of the colony's economy. Let members of the Government laugh. Nero laughed when Rome was burning; and an honourable member says, he eventually committed suicide. This problem of population is the "paramount problem of the island," says the Governor in voicing the opinion of his Government. He says, "My Government believe that the over-population problem must be approached not only through the development of local resources and the encouragement of emigration, but also through the promotion of planned parenthood among the people." That is their answer. I am saying this here and now, this is no party matter. This country is under-employed; and when the time comes to deal with birth control and family planning, or planned parenthood, we will deal with that in the Square.

They now have to come down to us, and admit that something must be done, besides the planting of sugar cane; and that the development of local industries, is a necessity. They know that; and they now take refuge under some other excuse; and they say, this is not the only problem facing the country. They talked about the biggest problem being one of population; and they talk about family planning, birth control and all that nonsense. Let them get this thing out of their heads. Sometimes when the Greeks bring their gifts, you watch them with suspicion. Barbados has the people to offer; it had the people to offer, when the Panama Canal was being constructed. Barbados had the people to send out to Cuba; and they brought back prosperity. Barbadians went to the United States of America; and they came back as doctors. They went to England, and came back as lawyers. Barbados has the people to offer; but this Government is stupidly falling for this thing as a sop, so as to defraud the people. I have had the opportunity of talking with the people; and you cannot beat me on this matter so easily. The members of the Government have not taken long to fall for this matter of Planned parenthood.

ADJOURNMENT

At this stage Mr. Speaker, there seems to be agreement that the House should adjourn for tea. It is not that this interferes with my thunder, because I think, the supporters of this paragraph are dis-

honest. However, I beg to move that this House do now adjourn for half an hour.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I beg to second that.

The motion was put and agreed to, and Mr. Speaker adjourned the House accordingly.
5.05 p.m.

RESUMPTION

On the re-assembling:—

REPLY TO H.E.'S SPEECH RESUMED

Mr. SPEAKER: On the adjournment the hon. senior member for the City was addressing the House.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker,—On the adjournment I was dealing with paragraph 2, which poses a question. I assume, the question is posed to the Opposition; since it could never be posed to the Government's members. The question is, what can be done? If you want to know what is to be done, stop saying we are going back to the country, and let us go back to the country. That paragraph also deals with local resources, and with planned parenthood. In dealing with the question of population in the West Indies in general, and in Barbados in particular, we have got to remember this: it is in relations to the circumscribed area in which the people have to live in Barbados, that we say, there is over-population. We have more people to the square mile, than anywhere else in the world. For that reason, people who should know better, talk about over-population. But we have also got to remember, such a population forms the means of output for big producing countries. Again, if you had only 50,000 people to feed, customs duty would have to be borne by 50,000 only. These things cut both ways.

I am saying now, for this Government to foster any scheme which will retard the healthy growth of the population of this country, will be a dis-service to this country with a vengeance. No one likes to think that human derelicts, people suffering with social diseases which cannot be cured, should produce and bring into the world unhealthy children. Everyone would agree, plans should be made, as they are made now in all big countries, to offer protection against such. But when it comes to able-bodied, strong, healthy people whose only crime is that they cannot get work, (I am sorry that the Premier is not here today,) for the Government to talk about fostering a scheme of this kind, is to subscribe to the racial supremacy or bigotry, which is being carried on against the people of this country.

This is something which must be faced up squarely to, by the people of the West Indies. Let me tell the Government this: the man in the street today feels, if any attempt is being made to solve the situation in the West Indies, it is being made by our brothers in Jamaica who are causing embarrassment to the people of the U.K. In Barbados, we have never had anything but sugar. We looked to the development of local industries, and the development of the Tourist Industry. We pointed out eight years ago, that as a result of the war, you had the newly rich who could not break the combines of the big countries, and who were looking to the West Indies for markets. It should have been part of our policy, to do what Bustamante did for Jamaica, and to do what Gomes, (whatever you may think of him,) did for Trinidad. The question which has been posed to us in this speech, has been posed too late. They have

missed the bus. Now the Government is telling us about family planning. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, I do not know what to say.

Ten or twelve years ago, when the hands of the British were stretched for manpower, there was never any talk of reducing the population in the West Indies. A man was a man. How can this Government fall in with the suggestion of the Colonial Office, or anyone else, that the only way to solve the situation in a country where you have so many people wanting work and willing to work, is by planned parenthood? It might suit the Governor; but where the Government is concerned, deep in their hearts, they do not see the honesty of it. Look at the 200,000 people of this colony—

Mr. SPEAKER: I would merely like to remind the honourable member, of the rule against using the name of the Governor irreverently in debate.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: I would hate to think, I did anything like that. I said, it might suit the Governor's purpose. However, I thank Your Honour for warning me, because I might offend the rule in the heat of debate. What I am saying is, I doubt that in any country in the Caribbean, from Jamaica back to British Guiana, any Government would subscribe to a policy which would retard the healthy development of the people of the particular colony. What is it, which has brought us to this stage today, and has given us the right to claim the present political position which we occupy? What has given us the right to be recognised? It is the numbers we had as population, after the period of slavery. This reference in the address must be an oversight. How could this Government even attempt to think about saying this?

5.35 p.m.

If private enterprise want to set up their commercial activities let them set them up. Nothing is wrong in allowing people to have certain knowledge. There is nothing wrong, in allowing people to know how to keep themselves healthy; but I am against the actions of some people, who overnight, are attempting to help the population with something, just because they have an agency for selling some product. The next thing about this matter is, some of the people you want to help, are not the people who will be helped. Let us help them, with some scheme for development. You find because somebody has some agency for some contraceptive, he is now getting up on a platform and saying he is willing to do something for the people by the way of family planning, and is offering to give £50 towards the cause. Sir, why should you prevent the healthy growth of the people of the colony? I agree with the honourable senior member for St. Philip, when he pointed out, it is a question of under employment and unemployment. Face this reality, Mr. Speaker: human nature is human nature, all over the world. How can any one tell you, that development of the country is not only along a certain line of industry, but you must also look to family planning to help in that direction. Human nature is human nature, all over the world. The prince, the doctor, the lawyer, and the pauper, get relief from the impulses of human nature, in the same way. It does not say, because you are a doctor you must have free fun, and because you are a pauper, you should not. Nor can you legislate for that. Please don't come in here with any measure or for any money, for that sort of thing. I am going to throw this out as a warning to the Government: keep shy of this business of planned parenthood, and birth control.

The next paragraph of H.E.'s speech deals with oil. It is my belief, quite a bit of hope has been

placed upon the discovery of oil in this colony. I want honourable members to believe me when I say, we of the Opposition, would be very happy if oil were discovered here in commercial quantities; because we know, it would help with the social development of the island. But at the same time, we are cautioning Government, not to pin too much hope on the discovery of oil; because we realise, oil companies throughout the world are in conjunction with one another. It might not be good to oil companies to find oil here. It might be better to them to withhold the finding of oil here from us. Such is big business. We of the Opposition, are quite aware, that all of the stories which were put out about oil, were put out by the members of the Government, as a means of capturing seats in this House of Assembly. It was said, the big plantocracy were withholding the land from prospecting for oil; and the people were led to believe, the reason why we have not yet discovered oil here, is because those people were withholding the land.

Sometimes you have a word of praise for the Government. I have one to make now. I will now offer it in a sham way. I am referring to the next paragraph of H.E.'s speech, which deals with cold storage. It is significant, the Government has seen wisdom in taking the advice of the Opposition on this matter. I remember very well, when we were dealing with the question of a cold storage, I stood on the floor of this House, and pointed to the great waste caused by fishermen throwing fish into the carenage. At that time, members of the Government had the temerity to say, they had accepted the advice of an expert, who said that a cold storage for fish would serve no useful purpose. However, we of the Opposition clamoured for it; and now, from this paragraph we see, Government is making provision for adequate cold storage accommodation for fish, meat, fruit and vegetables. Are we not to say: How long, how long. Oh God, has it taken you to see the error of your ways? You now have come down with this. Is it because of the pleading of the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, who at that time was not a member of the Government; and who agreed with the Opposition that there was the necessity for cold storage accommodation for fish? That was all, we of the Opposition asked for, in the Address which we brought in.

The Hon. Minister of Communications is the usual politician. He has the shortest memory. He knows too well, cold storage accommodation for fish was necessary at that time; but of course, because it would be put in the city, he saw no reason for seeing the necessity for it. Now, Government has seen the error of its ways; and by that paragraph in H.E.'s speech, we have learnt that they have agreed to embark upon it. We feel, it is something which you should have seen the wisdom of having, a long time ago.

In the field of industry, we are greatly handicapped by the lack of industrial power. My colleague has dealt with that already, as well as the honourable senior member for St. Philip. I think we all agree, whatever industry you may attempt to embark upon in Barbados, it must of necessity, depend on your electric power. They are no two ways about that question. It must also be borne in mind, we have no natural means of developing our electricity, unless by the use of turbines. I am wondering, how the members of the Government are facing up to this question; and how they are facing the public on this question. Sometime ago, I issued the Government a challenge on this question. I said, it may be all very well when we go on public platforms and say hard things about each other; but I say this, when members of a Government wilfully go on public platforms and make

false promises, promises which they know they cannot carry out, then I say, they know they are guilty. 5.45 p.m.

What false promises they made! They captured their seats on a false promise,—that if they got in, six months after, they would supply electricity all over the island. Mr. Speaker, you have heard that too! (Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS: That is stale news! It is not stale news to the people. It is also a question of a stale Government! (Laughter) The Governor goes on to say this:—

"In the field of industry; enterprise is severely handicapped by the lack of industrial power. This problem has been given anxious consideration by My Ministers. It is hoped that plans to overcome the shortage of Electric power will soon be formulated and implemented." You have promised to nationalise electricity, and we told you that you could not nationalise it. I criticised you, because I knew you made false promises. Some members of the Government were going along, parrot-like fashion, repeating after their master's voice; and now, they cannot even give you electricity in your house. The honourable senior member for St. Philip has dealt exhaustively with this question; and he has even offered an amendment, and my colleague has also dealt with it. The Hon. Minister of Social Services will agree with me, electricity is no longer a luxury. Anything which can be used in the saving of human life, is no longer a luxury. Electricity has become a necessity today. What we have always said, and promised, is that no electric company, or telephone company or any public utility, should be allowed to do as it likes in this country; and that you should have public utility boards. You brought down legislation in this connection, but you have not even appointed the board. That, alone, is sufficient for criticism of any Government, which has been in power for two years. Do not take refuge in the fact that you have only had Ministerial Status for a year, because you have been running this country for the past eight years. The Governor has said, he would act on the advice of his Ministers. You have a Public Utilities Act; well, set up your board. I see, the members of the Government are laughing; but this will come back to them some day. They are not all powerful. There are people, who have been into power for longer than they had power, and they thought they would never lose it. You are rabid Socialists to-day, but tomorrow somebody else will be there. Don't you think you will be there forever? You promise that you will do something about electricity; you have been in power eight years; you have done nothing; rather, you have stood in the way of the progress of the expansion of electricity.

The Governor says:—

"My Ministers are fully alive to the value of the tourist trade to our economy. They wish to see a further expansion of this industry, but are mindful of the problems which in the Caribbean area accompany such an expansion."

They are mindful of the problem, and I want to say, in overcoming these problems, we should be at one in this matter.

On page three of His Excellency's Speech we read this:—

"You have already voted funds to cover the cost of a survey of employment and unemployment, which is to begin next January. My Government believes that an authoritative appraisal of development possibilities should also be undertaken and an approach has been made to the International Bank in the hope that they will be prepared to send Mission to the Eastern Caribbean."

I have been reading quite a few things recently. I am glad to see that at long last, the Government has a desire to deal with some financial organisation outside; because from what I gather, this great Caribbean Labour Congress, of which the Hon. Premier was President was branded as a Communist organisation of the West Indies. I gather, since the President has retired that that has been the principle instrument standing in the way, (honourable members will correct me if I am wrong) of these territories, from applying for, or discussing, or attempting to discuss the question of assistance for development; inasmuch as it was felt to be only a circumscribed way of capitalists' money coming into these territories. I am glad, some attempt is being made; and that the same argument which was used at the time, that this organisation was only using American capital and so on, to come down to these parts and enslave labour, is no longer prevalent. The Premier and a lot of the members of the Government went into a single channel with regards to emigration; and I want to say, without bringing in other people, they will get no where or make no money.

5.55 p.m.

They have an absolute one track mind when it comes to dealing with finance. Now this situation seems to have turned around completely. As regards emigration, it is surprising to see, as my colleague said, this is the shortest paragraph in the address: "My Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration whether permanent or temporary." I believe, in the depths of my heart, that every member of this Assembly would be interested in seeing a scheme of emigration, even though I believe, some members of the Government do not have the ability to think out a good scheme. As I was saying, I am going to throw out a suggestion: the Premier and his friend have gone for a joy ride; they did not even have to go for the Deep Water Harbour loan. These things come out.

The other day, the honourable senior member for St. Philip had an Address passed in this House, asking that someone should go to Canada to discuss emigration. At that time, the Government felt, it would have been a waste of money to send the Governor to Canada; whereas, the people of this country would have been satisfied. The Government feels to-day, money is being well spent, to send the Governor on a joy ride to talk about emigration. The people in this colony, know the real reason why he has gone.

The people of this country read. How can you expect them to believe that America owes them something? America owes them nothing. Every other day, we read a newspaper, and we see an M.P. or someone else in the U.K. getting annoyed about West Indians coming into England. They do not want that problem in England. I am asking the Ministers to sit up and talk back. The English do not want a Negro problem in the city of London; but they foster emigration to U.S.A. and Canada. But America owes us nothing.

If you really want to solve this problem, come down with a Resolution for \$200,000 and pay the passages of some of our unemployed people to England. The Government's duty is to Barbados first. If it embarrasses the British, let it embarrass them. Do like Mr. Bustamante, and pack them off in the 700's. It is hypocrisy to come into the House of Assembly, trying to fool people that you are doing everything possible to facilitate emigration. It is not true. You are doing nothing. I have it on authority, the English are asking Poles, Czechs, Germans, and all sorts of European girls, to come in and become maids etc. Look at this Government in

here tonight. Publish what I say. Let them smile. Ten years ago, the Leader of this House would not have smiled. He would have been standing for his views on this subject. The Hon. Minister of Communications would not have smiled ten years ago. "... Man, proud man, dressed in a little brief authority. ..."

The Government knows that this statement about doing everything to facilitate emigration is not a straight forward statement. The U.S.A. owes us nothing. England owes us all. A young man just back from England told me he attended not less than four meetings at which Canadians were campaigning up and down England, trying to encourage Englishmen to settle in Canada. We know how the Canadians feel about coloured emigrants. I belong to this Party; but when it comes to colour, my views are well-known. We know, the Canadian's attitude towards West Indians and people of African descent in this matter. They want English people to settle in Canada.

Rumour has it that this Government is discouraging the youth of this country from going to England. Rumour also has it, the reason is, all of these University men who could walk up and down England with the big mucky-mucks, hate to think that the bare-footed man should go to England too, because the bare-footed man might lower their status. Do not try to fool the people all the time, that America owes us a debt. I should not have to tell the Government this: from every parish of this island people come to me, and to the others, with the same complaint; they would like their child to go to England, but they do not have the money. If the Government cannot help the people with the whole of the passage, at least pay half. Why is the Government afraid? I say to the people of this country to-day, they have a right to flock not only the Chief Secretary's Office, but to the Premier's Office and to Government House. They have a right to go to England too. England was not made only for lawyers and doctors who go there from the West Indies. Imagine the statement, Mr. Speaker: "My Government will do everything possible to facilitate emigration. ..." I wish the Governor or anyone else, could be here to hear what I am saying. The Government says, they will do this or they will do that; and they do nothing. Mr. Speaker, in your constituency, young girls come to you everyday for help. Fortunately for us, (since they come to me too) we are getting on the old side. They come everyday asking for help.

6.05 p.m.

But for the grace of God, I would have been in the position of those people, who are clamouring to get employment. Sir, I know what it is to wear that shoe. I know how it pinches. Therefore, I say with the utmost solemnity, it behoves those gentlemen who comprise the Government, to press for employment for our people. We are told by many people, including students who have returned from the United Kingdom, that they are people there, who are trying to get people from all over Europe, (people who were poisoning and killing them a few years ago) to go to Canada to solve the problems of that country. They say, they are the blood-brothers of Canada. They are walking up and down the country asking people from all over the world, to go out to Canada and develop that country; but Canadians are also saying: "we do not want West Indians of African descent to come here." I know, one can be justifiably proud of his race. If you go down Broad Street you will notice, and the Hon. Leader of the Opposition can also tell you, a man of his complexion working in his office, can easily go to Canada and settle there. Many of them are advised to go there, and

do go there; and that helps to solve the unemployment problem here. How often, sir, do you see a boy of the complexion of the Hon. Leader of the Opposition wasting time in Barbados working for \$100 a month? I watch with admiration, what is done in Jamaica by Mr. Bustamante. He is sending workers from that country to the U.K. by the 700's and 500's. I know, it is causing the British Government the greatest embarrassment. Sir, it would infinitely be better, if you send up a few women from here to England. I know of some mothers, who would put up half of the passage money to send their daughters to England, if this Government would put up the other half. Send them to England. Do not sit back, just because you find yourselves in that glorious position, and remember not from whence you came. Sir, not merely saying: "my Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration, whether permanent or temporary," is enough. I will also say, do not ask the Social Welfare Officer to place some of these girls in England because she will surely tell you that that country does not want them. I want you to believe me, when I say that these girls will make excellent barmaids, handy women, and nurses in England. There is room for them in those spheres of employment. Certainly, you can put up \$100,000 to help pay their passage. It is known, our people are good people and work well. Do not keep them here and tell them about birth control.

When it comes to the United States of America, I know some of my friends will not agree with me, when I say, I like the way how the big combines and the big organizations work. When the Gulf people wanted to get a concession in Barbados to prospect for oil, they did not look to the President of the Gulf Oil Co. to do the job; they hired a contact man. He knew the secrets of the business, and as honourable members know, the next thing was, the Gulf Oil Co. obtained the concession. I am serious about our getting emigration to the United States. I am suggesting that the better way would be for you to find an American contact man, to do the job for you. Of course, you would have to pay him; you would have to also give him a little spondulicks,—a little cash for entertainment purposes. I remember when the former Governor of this island, Sir Grattan Bushe said on his visit to the United States in the interest of getting a quota for our workers, he was not successful at first; he was coming back a failure. The American employers did not even hear him at first. However, he ended up fraternizing with some of the dude boys, and secrets were disclosed. The next thing we knew was that Barbados had obtained a quota. Sir, American business is done in that way. Sir, do not continue to say: "My Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration, whether permanent or temporary." You are not doing one thing now. You are just doing nothing. If anybody go to the British Embassy in Washington and tell them something about emigration, which is one thing in ten years, they will cable you about it; but we are saying to you, you are squandering enough money, which could be spent otherwise. We are therefore suggesting to you, to get a contact man in America, a man whom Americans call a wire tacker. Let that man be a contact man up there, and deal with him.

6.15 p.m.

That is my opinion relative to the question of emigration. I say, members of the Government may smile, laugh, or sneer; but when they go home and go to sleep, and wake up in the night, what this member for the City has said, will bother them. Is it true that if women can find the passage to go to England,

they will earn £2.10s. a week or so? Is it true that these Barbadians will send back at least £1 a week for their parents? Let Government consider that! Do not be like a lot of sheep! Because you find yourself in a lofty position, and do not have to ask for a feed for your family, do not stand aloof from these people.

As to the question of the B.C.G. Campaign, that is a question of policy. I hope our criticisms about the T.B. Sanatorium have been taken into consideration. You will recall, Mr. Speaker, we said we did not like the idea of putting a T.B. Sanatorium in the Hospital compound. Sometimes the Hon. Minister of Social Services will reason, and think not merely of the scientific side of things. We are hoping that this T.B. Sanatorium will not be placed at the Hospital, as is intended.

As regards the purchase of Blackman's House, the least said about that, the better. I am making this appeal to members of the Government: If you were in our position, how would you feel, if you heard that Blackman's House has been bought for £10,000 or £9,000 or £8,000, or that Mr. Williams just sold it for £2,800 to a man who sold off £1,000 in mahogany, and the Government paid £3,000 for this House? This is a democratic set up. You have a block vote for building schools. We might be told this is money from C.D. & W., but we are still concerned with it. They have not told us that they have bought Blackman's House, I approached the hon. junior member for St. Joseph, one of the representatives of that parish, and told him to buy Blackman's House. He told me he did not know that the Government had bought Blackman's House (MEMBERS: Shame!) I know, members will appreciate us raising this question, because when they raise it at Berchtesgaden they are told to shut up. When we have heard all these rumours, it is Government's duty to make a statement to the House. If it were not the business of the House to buy Blackman's House, because the money came from C.D. & W. funds, then tell us how much you paid for it. As soon as you see that things are clouded with secrecy, you begin to think that there must be some suspicion about them. There may be nothing in it whatever, but there would be no doubt or suspicion, if you say, the land was bought at £500 per acre, and the House cost so much, and we gave £5,000 for the property. Anyhow, I am going to be gracious enough to say an error has been made; but I submit that this Chamber is entitled to know of any change in policy which the Government has made, when it comes to the question of schools. We should be told about it. I understand, "Enmore" was bought with C.D. & W. funds; but I wonder what the Minister of Communications and Works would say, if he were on this side of the table and the honourable junior member for St. James was over there, and this place was bought for the money for which I know it was bought? The only thing he would not say, was that the honourable junior member for St. James had carried the money home at "The Rock". Imagine the present Attorney General of British Guiana doing a thing like that! The honourable senior member for St. Michael would have been very severe in his criticism. I will say here that the Hon. Minister of Agriculture tells honourable members things and disarms them. Nobody could be a party to a dishonest transaction; but we want you to tell the truth. Why can't you say what you paid for the property?

As to the question of Social Security, the Governor says:—

"The question of Social Security has been the subject of a special study by Professor Richardson

whose Report is now under consideration by My Government."

6.25 p.m.

It is not for you to come here for funds, to pay somebody to make a Report.

The Government had to pay for this Report, and they should have published it. After the Report was published, and the Government felt that its financial policy was such that they could not implement the recommendations or all of the recommendation of the Professor, it would be something different. What is wrong with publishing the Report, and letting the people know what was recommended? The Government should not keep it secret and change it up. As soon as you pay for it, you have the right to say that is under consideration by the Government. Even though the Government have the majority in this Chamber, other members should have an opportunity of considering the Report, and the public should know what it contains.

In connection with housing, I believe this is one of the two things the honourable junior member for St. George agrees with me on. I go through this island and watch the expenditure and development of housing, in connection with the Labour Welfare Fund. To-day, the Government is lending money for the repair of houses made of timber, which gives no guarantee against termites in ten years. I have said, before the Housing Board, before this House and privately to the Government that the only natural resource that we laymen can say that we have, is what our forefathers built this Chamber with years ago, —coral stone. It is true that the means of prospecting it are ancient and laborious. The St. George and the St. Philip valleys are the areas, where for generations, craftsmen have dug this stone for building only. I have suggested that you should bring an expert to this country to advise on modern methods of excavating, and processing this stone. I am told, he must come from Italy where they have marble quarries. He could come out here, and advise us on the right type of machinery for digging out the stone, so that when you start your all-out development of housing, you will have a ready supply of coral stone. You would not only benefit those persons who work in the Sugar Industry, but all and sundry; if you brought out such a man to show us how to hew out this stone by mechanical device, so as to save cost and to save the importation from London. We have been suggesting that all the time, and nothing has been done. In 1956 the Government will come with this suggestion, when they think that the public would have forgotten it was the Opposition who suggested it.

The Committee which prepared this Reply to this Address, was composed of the Hon. Minister of Social Services as Chairman, the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, the honourable junior member for St. Michael, and the honourable junior member for St. John. The Committee said:

"The House of Assembly desire to thank Your Excellency for your speech at the Opening of the Legislature, and note with satisfaction the financial condition of the island." Of course, that might pass, because there is a majority of the Government. But how can you ask us to say that we note with satisfaction the financial condition of the island, when you have not told us what the financial condition is at present? This would have been alright, if the Governor was making the old type of speech that was made on these occasions. We do not note it with any satisfaction. I am moving my first amendment. I am moving that after the word "note", the words "with satisfaction the" be deleted, and the words "the sat-

isfactory" be inserted in place thereof. That is different from saying that we note it with satisfaction.

I have another amendment to make, sir, at the end of the Reply. That is, the addition of the following words: "but regret Your Government has been so indefinite with regard to certain aspects of its policy, and particularly as to any plans for solving unemployment in the immediate future." Those are the amendments which the Opposition offers, and we hope that our criticisms to-day will be taken in the right spirit; and that the Government will do something for the furtherance of the social amelioration of the people of this colony.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: Mr. Speaker,—I agree with the honourable senior member for the City, that the Governor's Address on this occasion, is more a progress report, than a broad statement of policy; because in the main, it sets out certain things which have been placed before the Legislature already. Only in one or two instances, do you find any new statement of policy, or details of policy, which have not been placed before the Legislature.

There are some points on which I would like to touch specifically; although I do not intend to be as long as the last speaker, by any means. One of the main points is on page 3 of the Governor's Speech, the second last paragraph which says, as already announced: "My Government believes that the provision of better houses for the people needs to be greatly speeded up, and Legislation will be laid before you which seeks to provide for a new and expanding programme of construction and repair for all workers." That occurs in a speech delivered on 21st September, 1954; but the Government, just before the House prorogued, issued a paper setting out its housing policy dated 26th July, 1954.

6.35 p.m.

Now, Sir, it is not a convenient thing in this House, to be able to debate any policy of the Government, because the Government does not say: "This is our policy; we are going to do this thing." We find, there are only these *ad hoc* arrangements by Government, where a Bill or resolution is sent down to this Chamber, very often to be decided hastily when the subject matter has arisen out of some big report or has been taken from part of some big report. As regards this policy which Government has established, (and you can see it right through His Excellency's Speech,) I would at this stage, make some comment on it; so that those responsible should state quite clearly and precisely, and not make any vague generalisation as those which are made in this Reply to His Excellency's Speech.

It is true that the hon. junior member for St. Michael and the hon. junior member for St. John, whose names are also appended to this Report of the Select Committee, would not have had the information on the financial position of the colony, as the Ministers, whose names are appended, would have had. In the White Paper on Housing Policy, dated 26th July 1954, this is what the Government has stated: "In addition, there is the Labour Welfare (Housing Loans) Organisation whose function it is to make loans to persons employed in the Sugar Industry for purchasing, constructing or affecting alterations, additions or repairs to houses." That is contained in the first paragraph of that White Paper. In the second last paragraph of that Paper it is stated: "It can be stated, however, that in addition to the programme referred to in the previous paragraph, it is anticipated that the amount of money available for the repair of houses under the Labour Welfare (Housing Loans) Organisation would be of much the same order as at present."

There seems to me, Mr. Speaker, running through this Paper, to be a changed policy on the part of the Government. There is that broad statement of policy of the whole Labour Party, that so far as Labour Welfare funds are concerned, the money should be used for people who work in the industry. Your Honour will remember, the Opposition in their manifesto which they issued when campaigning, said they wanted some of this money to be given to workers, other than those who worked in the industry; but in the manifesto of the Labour Party, to which everyone of us in that Party subscribed, it was our intention that the money should be paid to people who worked directly in the sugar industry. I make this analysis, which I think any one would make, after reading in His Excellency's Speech: "My Government believes that the provision of better houses for the people needs to be greatly speeded up and legislation will be laid before you which seeks to provide for a new and expanding programme of construction and repair for all workers;" and because you have also stated that you want to set up new industries in Bridgetown, and also that it is your intention now to use the money which is accruing to the Labour Welfare Fund, for purposes other than that which you have stated. It also seems to me, as regards the question of additional power for the Electric Company, that it is your intention to take some of that money, and either loan it or give it to the Electric Company for that purpose. This Government has also stated, as a matter of policy as regards the Labour Welfare Fund, that the money would not even be given to the workers in the industry; it would give it out, by way of making loans to them. What do you find in this Statement of Policy on Housing? It is stated in paragraph 7 of the White Paper, which deals with Labour Welfare (Housing Loans) Organisation: "During the period July, 1950 and June, 1954, a total amount of \$2,350,000 has been allocated from the Labour Welfare Fund to finance the working of the organisation. At the 30th June, 1954, 6,147 loans amounting to \$2,187,263 had been approved. Of this, a total amount of \$2,096,180 had actually been advanced. Total repayments to the 30th June, 1954, amounted to \$441,757 comprising \$409,367 in principal and \$32,390 in interest."

I gave this House some figures which were substantiated by the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, about this matter. What I would like to know at this juncture is: What is the declared policy of Government on housing? Are you taking the money which has been placed in the Labour Welfare Fund for housing, (which is solely earmarked for the people who work in the industry), to put it into a general Housing Fund, so that everybody in the island would be included in the Labour Welfare Fund? Bear in mind, you specifically said while we were campaigning, and you have also put it into your manifesto, that we were using that money for people who worked in the agricultural industry alone. I want that to be made clear; for the reason that there are 10,000 people in that industry, (I think that is the correct figure), asking for loans totalling over \$4,000,000 to repair their houses. I want to say, that there can be no deviation from what you have stated in the manifesto of the Party. As a matter of fact, we have not discussed yet, any change of policy so far as this is concerned. There is no one in the Party, who can say, that at any time, anybody of the Party either inside the Government or outside of it, suggested that there should be a change in the policy of lending money to people who worked in the industry alone from the Labour Welfare Fund. We distinctly said, the money should be put to that Fund for agricultural workers, when we discussed that matter in

1947. I therefore think that you cannot change that policy now, unless you come back to this House and thresh it out.

With regard to the point raised by the honourable junior member for the City, about money voted for a specific purpose being used otherwise. I agree with him entirely. It does not inspire confidence in the public if sums of money which are voted for a specific purpose are used otherwise. It does not inspire confidence, if money voted for the construction of buildings, is used to acquire property. You should let the Legislature know that before you do so. With regard to the question of the purchase of Blackman's for a Secondary School, I have not checked what is in the Annual Estimates, to see if that was your policy; neither can I say, if the Government's Capital Works programme was formulated with a view to providing employment for the people. It must be borne in mind that if you formulated your Capital Works programme with the view of providing employment for the people then you are defeating your policy, if you go and buy ready-made buildings, even if you do so from an economic point of view; because, the effect of giving employment to the people will be lost. It may be that your policy is one, not of providing employment, but providing public works. However, what is a matter of concern to the public is that in an issue of such importance, so far as acquiring a building for a school, it should have been told to the Legislature at an early date. We should have been told that the Government had acquired Blackman's, St. Joseph, earlier; and by another method, than the way in which we have been told.

Another point which I want to raise, is in respect to the paragraph of His Excellency's Speech, which deals with the question of Social Security. It is stated: "The question of Social Security has been the subject of a special study by Professor Richardson, whose Report is now under consideration by my Government." Again, Mr. Speaker, I am in whole-hearted agreement with the honourable junior member for the City when he said that a Report such as that, should come before the House; because you came to the House and asked for funds to enable you to get that expert to carry out the investigation. There can be no point in your now saying that Professor Richardson has submitted his report to the Government, but the Government is now considering that Report. Let us take for an instance, a Resolution which is now before us, for \$250 to meet cash payments on account of incidental expenses and minor miscellaneous services. That has arisen out of a Report by Mr. J. W. Foster. That Resolution was set down as the First Order of the Day. It meant, in discussing that Resolution, you would have to discuss the whole of Mr. Foster's Report; because you were not given the opportunity to discuss that Report by him. So far as the Social Security Report by Professor Richardson is concerned, it is something about which I am deeply concerned; and because of the reason, that long before Professor Richardson came here, I said that in the absence of a Social Security scheme here, there are many things which we need, but which we cannot afford. I also am quite aware, that with our unemployment and under-employment problem there is little of the Social Security services which we can provide.

What I will say is this: why is it that Professor Richardson's Report cannot be placed before members of the House? The Government does not have to withhold a Report, so as to consider it. It is not like the Royal Commission which came to the West Indies during the emergency, and they could not let them know all the mishaps which had taken place. By all means, the Government should give

this Report consideration; but no one could expect or believe that because you ask somebody to make a Report, everything that is written in the Report would be accepted.

The third point I have to make, is in connection with the beginning of page three of the Governor's Address. He says this:

"You have already voted funds to cover the cost of a survey of employment and unemployment, which is to begin next January. My Government believes that an authoritative appraisal of development possibilities should also be undertaken and an approach has been made to the International Bank in the hope that they will be prepared to send a Mission to the Eastern Caribbean."

I should like to know this: if the approach is not successful, what are you going to do? Whenever an appraisal of employment and unemployment is made, that appraisal will show the incidence of employment and unemployment; but it is not going to remedy the situation. You want local people to use their brains, in order to see how they can remedy this situation. The International Bank went to Jamaica and British Guiana, and what is the situation there? It would do the Ministers good to read what is taking place in other places. The World Bank recommended the expenditure of £345 million, which would only take off a part of the unemployment situation in Jamaica. Somebody says they do not think the figures are right; but these figures can be checked. Your appraisal of the employment and unemployment situation is lost if the approach is unsuccessful. If you had a specific scheme like the Deep Water Harbour, which lies in the £5 million category as a development scheme, you will find the International Bank will not send a Mission to Barbados; Trinidad is taking an independent industrial Mission itself, which is not in the best interest of West Indianism. It is clear that you cannot get the International Bank Mission to come to Barbados alone. It is not the sort of place which will attract the attention of those people. Do you not think it should be the business of the Governor to say in this paragraph what is the Government's action in connection with the Industrial Mission which came down here from Britain? Do you intend to carry out any of the recommendations of that Industrial Mission? What are your views in connection with that Mission? Barbados is not an under-developed territory in the case of Agriculture; but the question of population is now, and has always been, a burning question for Barbados and the agricultural communities in these colonies. It is like a disease with some of these colonies. The whole situation has been that territories have been placed in a position where you have brought people from Africa and other places, and they were made to populate; and now, you have reached a modern day situation, and you have to face this problem. This is a situation, where the metropolitan territories which are in a position to help us remove the population to other parts, will have to do so; but the economic resources are not there. This question of population is an international problem; and you cannot make it a political problem. The problem in the United States is such, though Puerto Rico is part of the United States, do not think President Eisenhower is going to stand up and see that preference is given to West Indian workers, although they may be better than Puerto Ricans. The American Government will not make bad friends with the Mexican Government so as to bring West Indians out there. The question of emigration is one of an international character. I am glad to see there are so many West Indians in London.

7.05 p.m.

In England itself, you get degrading remarks. I have met the average English person in the street, and I know they are looking at the influx of West Indians into England as something undesirable. The average Englishman feels it is undesirable to find West Indians flooding England, because they think that the character of the English population is going to be changed. Why send from the Colonial Office, to Washington when there is an American Consul General who knows what takes place and who will inform his Government?

It is true that in Great Britain today, there are some members of Parliament who are bold enough to say that you cannot look at the entry of West Indians into England as something undesirable, since West Indians are part of the Commonwealth. I have mentioned that to show that I am not one of those people who believe that there is no migration problem in the world today. There are thousands of Italians and other Europeans who cannot find work in Europe. The question of emigration will have to be tackled on a broader level than between the Barbados Government and the Government of the U.S.A.

Now what is really surprising to me is that although His Excellency's Speech is a progress report, and although it projects some future policy, it does not state anything about West Indian Federation. At this stage of our development, it does seem strange to me, that even from the financial point of view, not the slightest indication has been given about Federation, although the Barbados Government had agreed to it. You cannot hope to get any assistance from the International Bank, or the Monetary Fund, or any of the other World agencies, standing alone as one colony. You have the I.L.O. conducting a mission; but even though in Barbados we have a redundant population of 220,000 people, we are still just a small island. Take an Industrial Mission coming here; they may send one individual to see what is taking place in Barbados. Do not let the Ministers delude themselves into thinking that we will get an International Bank Mission coming to Barbados alone. I see some of them are smiling; but Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.

On page three of His Excellency's Speech, we see this:

"You have already voted funds to cover the cost of a survey of employment and unemployment, which is to begin next January. My Government believes that an authoritative appraisal of development possibilities should also be undertaken and an approach has been made to the International Bank in the hope that they will be prepared to send a Mission to the Eastern Caribbean. . . ."

That means, the Government is now attaching an appraisal of unemployment on to development; attaching it to something which is likely to take place in the Eastern Caribbean. If the Mission does not come to the Eastern Caribbean, what will happen? No alternative is stated. What will Government's position be, if the mission of International Bank fails? It takes experts to point out to some people their errors. It takes experts to come and inform the Barbados Government, that an unemployment survey in itself, cannot solve the problem. The Barbados Government has the idea that because a man has studied economics, he can advise you on every branch of it.

We know that there is unemployment. It is necessary to get statistical data on it, on which they themselves have not written a memorandum. Let them show me the memorandum they presented to Professor Richardson. There is none. The Barbados Workers' Union was the only private organisation, who could point the way, as regards instances

of Social Security which should have been done in this island. What has the Minister for Labour prepared as a Labour Code? What does he mean by a Labour Code? What laws does he want codified; and why does he want to codify them?

An Industrial Mission came here from the U.K. and gave us certain advice. What is the present policy of the Government as regards that Mission? They criticise the Electric Company. They spoke about pioneer industries. They recommended that you should not continue granting pioneer status to these industries, in the manner that you have been doing it. You should not follow Jamaica and Puerto Rico, because you might fall into a serious error. What is the policy of the Ministers on this? Is it asking too much to say that they should state that policy? They should state what aspects of the recommendations of the Mission they agree with and which they do not agree with.

7.15 p.m.

Do not come to some of us in this House with palliatives. Some of us sit down, and do some reading. What was the idea of the Industrial Mission coming to the Eastern Caribbean? Let us review this paragraph of His Excellency's Speech, which deals with the Deep Water Harbour. It is stated: "By far the largest item of capital works is the proposed Deep Water Harbour. The steps necessary to implement this proposal are being actively pursued by my Government. The finance required amounts to more than half the Island's total estimated requirements (about \$41,000,000) for development finance over the 1955/60 period. It is our hope that assistance from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds will reduce the burden on the Island's resources but most of the cost of the harbour will have to be met by external borrowing." You write that in this paragraph, but you are saying in a preceding paragraph that an approach has been made to the International Bank in the hope that they will be prepared to send a Mission to the Eastern Caribbean. What do you think that you can develop, to warrant your encouraging the International Bank to send a Mission here. Have you any vast territory of land for that Mission to cover. Our development is not like that of Egypt or Asia. What is grievous to me is that you have asked another Mission to come here, and yet you are not prepared to state your views. It makes one think, what you are doing, is only going from Mission to Mission. It makes you look like some people who are going from church to church, to see if they can find God. What you are doing, has given us the impression that you need guidance. How can you tell people, what you are doing is proper planning? I know what is the danger. There are some people, who suddenly take it upon themselves to think only certain people have Divine dispensation; therefore, a divine man has all the power, and the others are cast into hell and damnation. You have reached this alarming state in this Chamber, where, many points such as these that need ventilation, a stigma is put on those who venture to ventilate them.

Sir, this is an Address by the Head of the Administration. It is not his own views really. I agree that with the change to Ministerial Government, the Government should be prepared to state its own policy, and not the Head of the Administration to state the policy. This Speech is not even a good progress report. It is not more than a broad statement of policy. In making a progress report, you should be sufficiently factual, as to give a report which discloses a true picture of what has taken place; and it should also indicate in many instances, to where you are proceeding. There is nothing new in this Speech: nothing new, since the introduction

of Ministerial Government. All that is new, is this question of Housing. I hope, the same attempt as had been made elsewhere to suppress a point of view, would not now be done; because one of the worst things to do under any democracy, is to try by devious ways, to get around something, so that the real picture should not see the light of day. With regard to this question of housing, the Minister should answer my question. This is a matter, which should not rest with the Minister alone. This is a matter of party policy; and not one of the five Ministers, ought to deviate from party policy. I take full responsibility for saying that. There is now a change in the party toward your saying that the policy in certain things should be changed.

With regard to the point which I made relative to the International Bank Mission, I would say, that was my view. The Government may have its own view on that. We do know, however, that if the International Bank Mission comes to the Eastern Caribbean, and does the same thing as the Industrial Mission which visited us about a year ago, it will not be worthwhile. The Report of the Industrial Mission is thought to be worthwhile, even though in the Governor's Address no mention has been made of it.

Mr. HAYNES: Mr. Speaker,—I shall not be long. In my political career, I have had so much to do with the suggestion that there should be more electrical power to further the development of the country, that I have risen to second the amendment by the honourable senior member for St. Philip. As regards the Government financing the Electric Supply Corporation in some form or fashion, it is not for me to say. Personally, I do not see any reason why the Government cannot take the ventures, or make investments in the Corporation, for the purpose of extending the electric service to the much needed industries, and the various outlying districts of this island. The supply of electricity in this country is superfluously hopeless in these days, when everything must be done by power. We must face up to that reality. Sir, every time you pick up a newspaper, either from America or England, you see something in it referring to the construction of a three or four million pounds Hydro-electric plant for some part of one of those countries. Why is that? Because, they have come to realise that unless they have electricity, they cannot have improvement in the position of the ordinary man in the street. It is obvious that you must have a full supply of electricity here; and for that reason, I am seconding the amendment by the honourable senior member for St. Philip.

Years ago, I moved an Address in this Chamber to nationalise the Barbados Electric Supply Corporation. It was passed by this House. Some of the present Ministers, (who were in the House at that time) had the strength of mind to support that Address. If it had been put into operation, by now it would have been like our present Water Works. The Government did not. They took the sting out of the tail, by adopting some other measure; so the present situation has arisen. I shall ask the Government to do all it can, to find finance for this Corporation; because this company is willing to expand, and in order to do so, they must have money. The same way that this Government can allow money to be invested abroad, and in some instances thrown away, why can't it invest some in the Electric Corporation? I feel sure it would be for the benefit of one and all in this country. I feel very strong on this matter. I am hoping that it will bear some fruit in the near future.

7.25 p.m.

Mr. BARROW: Mr. Speaker,—Before I make any comments on the Reply to the Speech made by

the officer administering the Government of Barbados, I would like to question the propriety of the term, "my," in relation to "My Government" and "My Ministers," which recurred from time to time, during the speech made by that eminent officer. I view on my right, certain Despatch Boxes, which bear the Royal cypher—"Elizabeth Regina II, Queen of Great Britain and the Colonies." It seems to me that there is a division of authority and a divergence of opinion among the Government themselves; because the Ministers have Despatch Boxes bearing the Royal Cypher, and the Governor refers to "His Government," and the Governor is just a Civil Servant. I would like to ask the Governor to say, on whose authority, he has arrogated to himself this Royal prerogative. The only difference between the speech from the Throne in the House of Lords, and the speech made by the Governor of this Colony, is that he did not have the effrontery to use the Royal plural, and refer to this Government, as "Our Government." In that case, there would have been a little ambiguity; and we would have given him the benefit of the doubt. If the Governor refers to "My Government" and not Her Majesty's Government, or the Peoples' Government, why do not the Despatch Cases bear the Coat-of-Arms of Government House? It seems to me, we are being relegated to the status of a third rate colony, since an officer who is merely a Civil Servant, paid by the finances of this colony, can arrogate the Royal prerogative to himself alone, and ignore the fact, that he is primarily the agent of the Metropolitan Government in the colony; and secondly, that he is paid by the taxpayers of this colony.

As regards the speech by the Governor himself I would like to point out that it is very difficult to make a reply to the Governor's Speech, unless you refer to the contents of his speech, and the terminology employed therein. This is not necessarily a criticism of the officer himself. I prefer to call him the officer administering the Government of Barbados; but in these days of Ministerial Government, it is a warning to the Ministers who are partially responsible for the contents of the speech, not to arrogate either to themselves or to anybody else, titles and functions, to which they are not entitled. In this little 21 x 14 island of ours, we are so overburdened by the cost of administration, and all the paraphernalia of Imperialistic rule that we forget that the main function of any Government, is to look after the welfare of the citizens of the country which the Governor is called upon to rule; and for whose benefits, all the legislation must be made. We should not lose sight of the main function of Government by putting the whole issue in Imperialistic paraphernalia. I think it is undesirable that we should do things of that nature; and we should get our constitutional status clarified at the earliest possible opportunity. The relations which exist between the Civil Service and the Executive, the administration and the Legislature, and the people,—all these relationships should be clarified at this important stage of our political development.

Mr. Speaker, I am almost in entire agreement with most of the observations, which have been made by the previous speakers, on this question which is now before the House. But I think, even if there is some change, or irony in the congratulations to the Governor, this House is worthy of congratulation, in that on the last occasion on which the Governor addressed the Legislature, no reply was sent to the Governor on the Address at all. It seems to me, even the question of the ordinary decencies and constitutional conventions, are too often subjected to

the vagaries and whims of particular individuals. 7.35 p.m.

I hope that in passing an Address to the Governor, and in giving members of this Chamber an opportunity to express their views on the Address of His Excellency, this House will never again depart from the practice which we are indulging in tonight; and that the failure of the House to reply to His Excellency's Speech on the previous occasion, is not a precedent which will be followed at any time in the future by the House as presently constituted, or by any other House.

To come, Mr. Speaker, straight to the Address itself. It is a poor thing; but I do not think His Excellency can say that it is his own. It must be clear that some sort of round robin was circulated among the different departments of Government, and, maybe the Heads of Departments or the Ministers, jotted down a few suggestions which have been embodied in the Address as delivered to us, without much modification. Therefore, I am making a plea tonight, to let us not be beastly to the Governor; because after all, it is not his fault that we have this disjointed collection of notes, which I hope, will not be repeated in the future. I hope that the people of this colony will be treated to something much more dynamic, if not volatile; but certainly, something more dynamic and vital than the agglomeration of departmental notes, presented to us at the reopening of the House.

I regard this whole Address, as a study in economic stagnation. There is nothing in it, apart from the vague generalisations which have been referred to before which anyone in this colony can look upon, with hope for the future of the island of Barbados. To say, some of the attempts are future policy, and are based purely on speculation, is one of the major under-statements of the year.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I consider, the problem of unemployment, to be the paramount problem of this island; and the problem of population, is only ancillary to the unemployment problem. I do not accept the neo Malthusian concept, that human beings are ever a problem. The problem of this island, is one of ineptitude on the part of the persons who have it in their power to make our economy a dynamic one; and it is that ineptitude, which causes one to try to disguise the real problem in campaigns about over-population, and the attempts to bring home to the people of this colony some sense or original sin in even having children, and in giving vent to healthy normal impulses which every human being is subjected to in his lifetime.

It is not the first time in history that politicians, or economists, or religious leaders, have tried to divert the attention of the people, whom they are called upon to lead, from the real problems which face the particular age, by waving the spectre of over-population in front of them; and by an attempt to make people themselves feel in some way, that they, the people, are responsible or are guilty of original sin in practicing that which the Church tells us is the natural intention and purpose of marriage. The late Dr. Malthus, 170 years ago, was supposed to be a professor of economics. The Reverend Dr. Malthus was the man whom Karl Marx took his text from; because Dr. Malthus in his Theory of Population, said that the population of the world continued to out-run its food supply, and there should be natural restraint and late marriages, and that there should be some kind not only of Birth Control, but sex control. He said, if we did not do that, the human race would be doomed, and that privation, starvation, and stagnation, would face the industrial countries of the world.

Since that date when Dr. Malthus set out his theory, we have had wave after wave of neo Malthusians like the present Government and the present people who are trying to divert the attention of the people of Barbados, from the real problem. They are doing this, by waving the spectre of over-population, and trying to make the people feel that they have brought this plight upon themselves by having children, which is the normal intention of marriage; and that they are responsible for their own state of privation and hardship

Only ignorant people who do not read history, would think of this as something new. The population of Barbados is not increasing as rapidly as the population of England. Since Dr. Malthus laid the foundation for Karl Marx and for all the Communists after him, the population of England itself has risen by more than 400%, in spite of that fact that Dr. Malthus believed that if they got another million people in England, it would lead to disaster. But they got more than 25 million, and the English people have not died. All the people in England today who want jobs, can get them; and they live on a higher standard than the people of Barbados. They do not accept the theories of Dr. Malthus, or Karl Marx, who based his whole misconception on human relationships, on the Malthusian theory. Since then, the people say that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and they will not do what a member of the Government told the Royal Commission,—get rid of 60,000 of the population. But the world was made for man, and we must so mould our economic destiny, so that all the people who want jobs will have jobs; and all the people who want pension will have it; and all the people who want to enjoy the fulness of the earth, will be privileged to enjoy it. The remedy is in our own hands.

There is not a country in the world, which has been able to carry out a campaign of Birth Control. I do not want anyone to think that my opinion is, those people who want to limit their families, should not be free to do it in their own interests. I want to get that clear. I do not want anyone to think, I am against anyone interested in Birth Control from finding out about it, in the same way as I am free to attend the Pentecostal Mission, the Roman Catholic Church, or the Salvation Army. Anyone who wants to procreate or profligate over the face of the earth, or any one who wants to limit the size of his family, should be free to do so.

7.45 p.m.

As a matter of fact, I am not making any strictures against the Government. If the Government regards with interest the attempts being made by private individuals to encourage a sense of family responsibility in the people of the island, who have not had the opportunity to learn about these things that may all be very well; but I am appealing to members of my party, or should I say the party to which I am supposed to belong, to tell us, which part of the party's manifesto, that was part of our policy. Sir, it is a highly controversial policy. I have my views on it, which are not highly divergent to that of members of the Government, or members on the other side of the Table, or maybe possibly, divergent to the views of his Lordship the Bishop. However, as I have said before, the Government has attempted to formulate a policy in this Address, on a subject which is purely speculative and nebulous. It is not only speculative and nebulous, but unscientific; because there is not one country in the world from the time that Dr. Morgan began to talk about over-population, which has been able to measure the propensity of human nature as regards to the sexual

relationship. You will have to put a policeman in every bed. One will have to co-habit with a policeman at his elbow, to measure that. As one hon. member has remarked, you will probably aggravate the situation, by putting too many people in one bed. The whole approach of this Government,—and this is my only quarrel with them—is that they will not get down to the problems; they get led off by people on the tangents surrounding the problems. This question is now being done in India, but purely on a private basis. It has been conclusively proved, that when you raise the standard of living of the people of any country, the families tend to be smaller; so much so, that since Dr. Morgan spoke of over-population, the population of Great Britain has increased by leaps and bounds. I want the hon. members to hear this clearly. They had to set up a Royal commission in Great Britain which published a report somewhere around 1947 and 1948, and it showed that there was an increase in the population of Great Britain in spite of the Preamble to the report, and the terms of reference which stated, that there was an alarming decline in the rate of population growth. They set out all the economic and social repercussions in that report, but despite that, every Englishman who comes down to Barbados, has accused us of proliferating all over the globe. In Great Britain, the population growth is nearly twice as high as that of the island of Barbados. You can believe me when I say that the population of England is increasing twice as rapidly as that of Barbados. Yet, Englishmen want to tell us that we have no sense of moral shame; because, we are proliferating at a very high rate, and are causing embarrassment to somebody.

Those are some of the facts which I feel disposed to place before this House; because, I feel, we are viewing this whole question of unemployment from the wrong point of view. I say again, it is no fault of the people that we are increasing. The population of the world has been increasing from the beginning of creation. The sooner you face up to that reality the better. You cannot control that: **that is a self-resolving problem; but you can control something else.** The Government should not be slipping into this Address, a vague statement about setting up industrial power because that was part of the Labour Party's policy. That was part of the Labour Party's programme; but family planning was never a policy of the Labour Party. I have a healthy respect for people who try to educate others, whether that education is religious or secular; so long as it is profitable education. I do not want any one to take anything that I am saying as a criticism of the Family Planning Association. We had it in our manifesto, that we should set up some Association to deal with that question.

I agree with Professor Arthur Lewis when he said, that far from the island of Barbados being over-populated, in the present context of West Indian nationhood, Barbados should be able to support 400,000 people and everybody live well. We can support that number; and it is vitally important for us, to think that within the next 20 or 30 years, we will have to support that number. We have, in my opinion, West Indians in these colonies such as Dr. Williams and Professor Arthur Lewis, who have set out a detailed programme down to the last screw in the last factory, the last nail and the last shingle in houses and buildings, and the cost thereof, and the people liable, directly and indirectly. In Barbados, it is unfortunate that we have never even thought of inviting the views of people like Prof. Arthur Lewis; and I doubt, whether

any two members of the Government have read his report.

7.55 p.m.

There are a hundred and sixty-six thousand jobs, which Professor Arthur Lewis set out in a blue print like an architect. In addition to the number of jobs, he has also shown how many sweet drink bottles you would need and so on, down to the last three safety pins, and how you would get your raw material, and how much capital it would take per worker employed; all of that was set out in the report. And now we are talking about over population! If we are over populated now, what are we going to do 50 years from now? There is no reason on earth to say that Barbados has over 1,000 people per square mile, because that means nothing. If England has 250 people to the square mile, and Barbados has a thousand to the square mile, and both were agricultural communities, we would be richer; because we have more arable land. This sort of thing would have sounded good at the primary School at St. Lukes in the parish of St. George; but not in a House of Assembly composed of responsible men. What kind of people have been foisted upon us,—the unhappy taxpayers of this colony? (A MEMBER: The unhappy Legislators?) What type of individual has been foisted upon us by the authorities, in the way of administrators? If the Ministers have advised the Governor to write this document, then I do not think they could write an essay in the second standard. Speaking of essays, I would say that the whole art of Government is an essay in the conditional mood; and therefore, all your plans and policy proposals should be conditioned by the conditions. I should say that these proposals should be influenced by the conditions which exist within the community in the first instance, and the conditions of international trade and international relation, in the second instance. That second aspect of the matter has been dealt with at length by the hon. senior member for the City. Therefore on that aspect, I will not enlarge. For them to say that the paramount problem of Barbados is the problem of population, is a gross misrepresentation of the fact, and a shallow attempt to divert the attention of the people of this colony from the real economic problem, and to try to bring home a sense of guilt to the people themselves. At this stage, Mr. Speaker I take great pleasure in moving the adjournment of this House for three quarters of an hour.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: I beg to second that motion. I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is within your right to direct that the member who seconds the motion for the adjournment, should not necessarily speak after the mover of the motion.

The motion was put and agreed to and Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House accordingly.
8.00 p.m.

On reassembling:—

Mr. SPEAKER: On the adjournment, the honourable senior member for St. George was addressing the House.

Mr. BARROW: Mr. Speaker,—Before the adjournment of the House, I dealt fairly exhaustively with the statement in the Address of His Excellency, that the paramount problem of this island is one of population. Wherever you get a community of human beings, you will get population. I think that is almost axiomatic; because, it is the stuff of which society is made. Society is not made up of lions, tigers, chimpanzees, and the other members of the animal population. So in every country in which there is a collection of human beings, it would seem following the argument enunciated in that paragraph of the Speech, there is a problem. I have never considered,

and it has never been a part of my philosophy, that human beings are a problem. Governments are a problem; and not the unfortunate people, over whom they are called upon to exercise a certain amount of domination. I do not think that human beings are ever a problem; and my only strictures as regards the phrasing of the speech in those terms are that in the first place, it is psychologically a dangerous approach to adopt, and secondly, it is an excuse for ineptitude.

But the paragraph goes on further and states:

"Where can we look for the necessary expansion of our economy which, alone, can enable us to raise the standards of our social services and to provide full employment. . . ."

But nowhere in the Governor's Speech, as some member has already said, has that question been answered. What greater possible example of ineptitude, either on the part of the Governor or the writer of the speech, can you look for? This is the first time, I have had the misfortune to read a speech by an Administrator or sovereign, in which questions are posed, which the Government has no intention of answering; and in which, problems are ventilated, which they have no intention of solving. I say that, because in the next line they go on, (and the juxta position is interesting, the juxta position of the statement of family planning is very illuminating) after posing the question, where can we look for the necessary expansion of our economy, which *alone* can enable us to raise the standards of our social services etc., to make the statement about family planning. In other words, they admit that only by expansion, either industrially or agriculturally, can we raise our standards of living; and then without answering the question, they go right on to say, "My Government believes that the over population problem must be approached not only through the development of local resources but the encouragement of emigration, but also through the promotion of planned parenthood among the people."

Now, Mr. Speaker, in any scientific problem, you have variables, and you have fixed quantities. In order to have a controlled experiment, you must be able to control each and every factor at one time or another, and to vary one of your variables. It seems to me that in our present situation, we have more than one fixed quantity; and the first one, that which causes us to go to conferences and depart on sudden journeys at night, is emigration. That is a fixed problem, because whether we like it or not, in the present state of world affairs, (we have not yet moved into a community of a brotherhood of the Commonwealth, far less of nations) that problem is a fixed one. Secondly, by virtue of the fact that you are dealing with human beings, and that there is an almost measurable rate of population growth, you can regard the size of your population, as being a given one. So, that is your second fixed quantity.

Mr. Speaker, we are left with the one factor, even accepting the premises of His Excellency which are fairly sound, and which we do not necessarily disagree on, that we have one factor which human ingenuity can control; that is, a factor of economic growth and development. I said at the beginning, that the whole Address was a study of economic stagnation, because it refuses to look at the one variable factor, the one which human agency can control. They refuse to look a gift horse fairly and squarely in the mouth. I am submitting, Mr. Speaker, that the sooner we stop beclouding the issues with questions of Birth Control, to which I am not necessarily opposed, and the sooner we stop asking questions about where we are to look for the necessary expansion of our economy, the better.

I agree entirely with the person who inserted that word "alone" in the paragraph of the speech I am dealing with. Whoever inserted the word, saw the crux of the problem. That is one factor in the life of the community, which lies within the province of the people themselves to control, if they know how to do it. Without dilating anymore on the neo Malthus concepts in the Governor's Speech, I will say, it is our duty to stop beclouding the issues, and to get down to the real problem, which is the economic problem.

I urge this approach, because it is one which, unlike the approach in the Governor's Speech, does not regard human beings as a problem. The approach in the Speech, is a psychologically dangerous one to the community.

In the next paragraph, His Excellency treated us to the revelation that the Gulf Oil Company is drilling for oil in Barbados, and that they have issued a licence to the B.U.O.C. There again, statements like that are dangerous. The mere fact that you have issued a licence, again I hope that I am proved to be wrong in this) does not necessarily mean that oil is going to be found in commercially recoverable quantities in Barbados. To put that in this Address, is putting pie in the sky or crust in the dust, which ever way you want to take it. It is making people believe that they will not get their reward here on earth, but they will get pie in the sky or crust in the dust.

9.00 p.m.

That is misleading. You are trying to put over a speech, which is deficient in all the things which we want to hear. You want to stimulate a hope and expectation, and a dynamic atmosphere of prosperity. You should not want to give people pie in the sky. I believe, some of the Police Magistrates issued some rum licenses up to today, but does that amount to anything for the good of the community. If you told us, you are going to get so much revenue from the Gulf Oil Co., and you are going to appropriate so much of it to trading estates, or to manufacturing bicycles, that would be a statement of policy; but to tell us of pie in the sky, is of no interest to us. Mr. Speaker, if the Government were to issue to me, a license to prospect for gold, is that something of any worth to the people in Barbados? I am not supposed to find gold. Is the issuing of a prospective license to the British Union Oil Company, something to go into the Governor's speech? You are really seeking for something to say, when you thought of putting in something about issuing licenses, in the Governor's speech. I entirely agree with the honourable junior member for St. Peter when he said that this intensification of agriculture in Barbados, is not developing the country. I have never subscribed to the view, that every bit of land in this country should be cut up, so that every man should get a piece. The day that you break up the various agricultural units in Barbados, and we have fragmentation, our economic position is doomed. I believe in the distribution of the wealth of the community, among the people; but I believe in allowing the people who are best able to do agriculture, the people who know how to exploit the land, to do it, and then to distribute the wealth to the community, by the machinery of social services. Some people believe in the breaking up of land, and giving it to peasants; but I am saying, I have never subscribed to that view. I know there are people in my party who subscribed to that view. I believe it is offensive to do so; and with what little knowledge I have, it is not the solution to our problems.

Now, as regards the question of emigration, I have already dealt with that in a general way, when I talked about the over-population problem. I entirely agree with the honourable senior member for the City when he said, that it is a rather insidious principle for the Metropolitan Country or any other country in the world, to tell the West Indies that they are over-populated and under-developed; because if you read a little bit of history, you will see that we did not create the pressure of population. That, was the result of a studied policy of the Imperialist Governments, who brought people all the way from as far as China and India, to these islands. I am not reproaching the Government or anybody for that; but it is a known fact, that that policy has caused problems in British Guiana and in Trinidad, (to deal with those two countries alone) and these problems are impeding the prospects of federation of the British West Indies. I said that I am not reproaching the Government for that. I am only reminding them, if there is any problem of over-population in the West Indies, it was not created by the promiscuity or later immorality of the people of the West Indies, especially of the population of African descent; but that it was a deliberate economic policy, carried out by the British Government, by the French Government, and by the Dutch Government for their own aggrandisement, and financial gain. What I am going to tell them is that in the same way, in their wisdom of years ago, they went out of the way, as far as China and India, to bring people to these parts to add to their wealth, why cannot they, now that they are spending hundreds of millions of pounds on rearmament and on Germany, invest money in the West Indies, for the alternative purpose of starting some large scale emigration to other countries in this Commonwealth? (Cheers) Sir, you have a historical precedent for it. When you wanted your sugar estates to produce sugar, you had a campaign which was planned with super-efficiency, almost as complete as a military campaign, to detribalize China and India, and to oust the detribalized Africans from off the land, and to provide a cheap source of labour in these colonies. I am challenging the Government of Great Britain, to use the same ingenuity, planning, and moral influence, to see that there is the same economic opportunity for the working class people of the West Indies, especially as the concepts of brotherhood of nations have been repeated more often in the last 60 years, than it ever has been in the years before. The whole situation boils down to this: the British Government is shirking its moral responsibility, which it is incumbent on it to show. The British Government is studiously avoiding any suggestion, that it has been the past policy of the British Government, which has contributed to our present situation; and in that way, is absolving its conscience from the responsibility, of doing anything now to assist us,—the very persons to whom it inflicted these problems.

I said over one year ago, just before the delegates were due to go to the United Kingdom for the conference on Federation that they should make it clear to the British Government, that the West Indian Governments would accept nothing less than £300,000,000 from the Imperial Government when the federalship of the West Indies was launched on its journey. I said that I wanted no one to go to that conference with the cap in the hand attitude, to make the Imperial Government believe that it is doing us this big favour. I do not regard any amount which the British Government spends in the West Indies, or

on any possessions which are on the South American mainland, as a largesse bestowed by that munificent country on a benighted subject. I regard it as a rightful contribution, which they may make to Federation, purely as reparations for all the economic disaster which in past policy of neglect, were brought upon the West Indies.

9.10 p.m.

The whole industrial revolution of Great Britain was financed out of West Indian sugar. I say that without any fear of contradiction by any of the Imperialist historians. The whole of that revolution was financed out of West Indian sugar. You brought us from Africa, and we could have got a few acres of land which the planters had given up in despair, but you brought in cheap labour, so as to cut down our standard of living. Therefore, any money which you give to the West Indians, you give it by way of reparations. You can in one year, give Germany who rained destruction and ruin on you for six consecutive years, more than you gave West Indians for many years. I regard any sum of money which is given to West Indians, as reparations; repairing all the evil which you did in the past. It is that sort of talk, which would get you somewhere; not the secret conferences which the delegates have, and for which you cannot show anything. I feel, that is the kind of policy which would advance the future of the West Indies.

They tell me, in the House of Commons, they are educating our people for Self-Government. I say "yes". I only want to find out when is the examination, and who will set the papers. I will say, the sooner we stop importing super-experts down here, and think that is all that has to be done, the sooner we will realise that we are fit to govern ourselves, in the sense that you have not got to have any administrator sent out from England. You do not have to import Chief Justices, or Financial Secretaries, or Governors, for that matter. We do not need to sit any examination, because we have passed the stage when we have to sit examinations. They are not fit to set us any examinations. We have run the whole gamut of human experience, especially in the lower register. We are the submerged people of the Colonial Empire, and we want to stop talking in terms of platitudes, such as saying, that "My Government" is going to look after family planning, and "My Government" has issued the licence. They have issued rum licences too. The Governor says, "My Government," "My Ministers;" but what are the Ministers doing? We want to see what they are doing.

As one previous speaker has said, did His Excellency name one single thing in the whole of his address, which has not been envisaged four or five years ago? Has there been any boot strapping by the boot lacers, in the same manner as has been done by Puerto Rico? When the four people came down here as the four plutocrats from the Federation of British Industries, what have they done? The whole gravamen of their suggestions to us was, to pooh-pooh Professor Arthur Lewis and laugh him to scorn, and to ignore the Puerto Rican experiment. They tell us that Puerto Rico is part of America. Well, Mr. Bustamante has found out, we are part of the British economy. They say, the American Government gave back to Puerto Rico the amount of \$33 million in rum duties; but what about the \$96 million a year, which they collected from these colonies, in England? We have no control over the places whence we can import our goods. If Puerto Rico is part and parcel of America, we are more than part and parcel of the British Government,

and we should be considered as such. There was more unemployment, more illegitimacy, and more illiteracy in Puerto Rico, than anywhere else in the British Caribbean. But look at them today! They are manufacturing things today.

9.20 p.m.

Great Britain is crying out for unskilled labour today, and they want to tell us that we are not part of the British economy. We are more than part of the British economy. We are the British economy. We helped to create Great Britain. It was our blood, tears, and sweat, during the embryonic stage of the Industrial Revolution, which made Great Britain into what she is today. The sooner we start thinking in terms of our deficiencies, and start talking a few home truths, the sooner we will get away from this kind of Sunday School catechism which the Government has given us here. This is something which suits a Mothers' Union meeting. It holds out no hope to the young boys and girls who are leaving Elementary Schools. It gives the idea, there are no problems in Barbados, since the introduction of Ministerial Status. The only thing that has occurred since the inception of Ministerial Status is, more salaries are being paid out to the people who administer it. That is one of the normal consequences of political growth. But Ministers only become Ministers in the true sense of the word, when they have a dynamic community. No one wants the Ministers' jobs. People want jobs which do not make them feel, they are a drain on the community; jobs that make them feel, they are doing something for the benefit of the community. No one, I repeat, would want the Ministers' jobs; because their jobs are not amenable to all dispositions. But in time, if they allow us to be their gad flies, and allow us to prick them, stick them, and push them into the right direction, we will be able to stand up like men at conferences, and tell people like Mr. Lyttleton so and so; because they will know they have behind them, the support of a dynamic community composed of all political complexions. But in the present state of stagnation, what can they do but draw salaries? I advise them to have some brain washing exercises, and to re-orient themselves to a new dynamic policy, instead of stagnation.

Mr. Speaker, I have only this to say about the International Bank. For over three years, we have not held out any hope of gain, nor prospects of glory, to the Government. We have told them, it is their duty to make use of, and to exploit every international agency, which was in a position to act in the interest of the area. Not long ago, the Hon. Minister of Works said, they had approached the International Bank, and that Bank was not interested in a colony like Barbados. Yet the Governor has told us in this Address, the International Bank will send a Mission. What do you call that? Did the Governor not have sufficient time to consult with the Minister of Works? My colleague, who is not in his seat, said that we will have to pay a high rate of interest; but that is not so.

I was very surprised, after the former Governor went up to America and said that International Bank was not interested in West Indies, to hear Professor Lewis, who was one of the Directors of the Colonial Development Corporation, and who was in Washington about the same time as Sir Alfred Savage, say over the B.B.C., that six members of the Bank told him, the reason why they had not carried out any of their schemes in this area was, because not one Government had asked them to. Only Bustamante did what he did, in six weeks. I prefer to believe Professor Lewis rather than Sir Alfred

Savage; but one of them was not telling the truth. No less a person than the Premier said, Sir Alfred Savage had told him, that the International Bank had said that their terms of reference could not cover this area. In spite of that, look at what Jamaica has got.

There is an honourable member today, who has not joined the company of angels, like Saul at the gate of Damascus. When he was a Minister, or rather a member of the Executive Committee, I told him, they had no right to put the 3½ million development fund into the Five Year Plan; because it had nothing to do with Government policy, but was controlled by Imperial legislation. Like most converts, he is now more fully seized of the Gospel, than the original proselytes at the gate. It is true, he was very tactful at that time, and although he was encouraged to attack me on the point, he did not attack me. I am glad to say today, he has had the courage to admit that it should not be in the Five Year Plan, and that the Labour Welfare Fund is not a part of the revenue of Barbados, and is nothing to do with the housing programme.

As a matter of fact, I wonder if the Government of Barbados, would be honest enough to admit, that every single British Island in the Caribbean has a Labour Welfare Fund, bigger funds, and funds that are being spent more judiciously than we are spending ours. I go further and say, this Government of Barbados stood out against putting the levy on sugar for the same Labour Welfare Fund. I can say these things, because when you are speaking between friends, they know where you stand; and they will respect you for your honesty. I do not think, it is our duty as politicians, to mislead the public. You should always let them know the truth, even if it does not always suit your particular convenience. (Cheers) The Hon. Minister for Trade, who is so vociferous in his cheers, was the same person who, when he saw my note on the Labour Welfare Fund, asked me to let him see it. I said no, because I was going to speak it.

To get back to the original point about the Mission. When Missions come, their reports are not discussed in this House, and the Government displays no interest in adopting the recommendations of a particular Mission. I go further and say, we will never get any progress, unless we stop looking for experts. We have in our area, a super abundance of qualified experts; people who are interested in the West Indies, as West Indians. Right here in Barbados, we have more experts to the square inch, than they have in the U.K.

9.30 p.m.

If you look around carefully enough, you will find somebody who is always doing something for the good of the country. That is one of the good things about democracy. People who have no prospect of remuneration, you will find, are developing a certain interest or pursuing a certain habit, which probably will turn out to the benefit of the community. You have people who go in for statistics, purely for the love of it; but more than that, you have recognised agencies within the area. For instance, within the Caribbean area, you are getting a Sociologist to carry out research, and to prepare a new Labour Code for us. I am not referring to the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, — the Trade Mission; because their report, was a report of room and stagnation. They held out no prospects for the West Indies at all.

Now, the latest thing is, we are getting down a man to go into a Social Security scheme for us. Social Insurance is not our problem. What you

want to do, is to give the people the opportunity to find a job first. Sir William Beveridge said, one of the conditions precedent for any scheme of Social Insurance was aid, and primarily, full employment; that is, excluding technological employment. 77% of all men and women between the ages of 15 and 59 who want a job, should get a job. He made it definitely clear, that no country can afford the burden of a contribution to a Social Insurance scheme, unless it has 77% of full employment. Our problem here in Barbados, is one of unemployment and under-development. There is no point getting down Professor Richardson, or any other Professor, to tell us of Social Insurance in a country in which we do not have 50% of employment. I defy even Mr. George Trumpet to tell me, we have more than 50% of employment in this country. Has there been any part of the Government's programme to show it is the Government's intention, that every woman and man between the age of 14 and the retiring age, who wanted a job, should have a job? This is a community which is dynamic. Has any Barbadian, on leaving school, ever envisaged a community in which something like that could happen? That happens in every country of the world. It happens in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Great Britain. It has happened ever since the Socialists, have shown the Conservatives how to avoid unemployment. Mr. Speaker, we should be telling the people in the elementary schools, that their first democratic right is to have a job, and to have a choice of jobs. We do not do that. We are telling them, when they leave school, they must not have too many children, because they would be sinning, and would be creating a problem. That is the philosophy which we are inculcating into our children.

Mr. Speaker, I am saying, Trinidad is fast approaching the stage where it will have no unemployment. We in Barbados, have more than twice the unemployment of Trinidad *per capita*. I want members of the Government to get Mr. George Trumpet to say, I am wrong. In England to-day, we get about 3,000 applicants for each job in the Colonial Service; but that does not mean that there is unemployment in England. What happens is people for private reasons, want a change in atmosphere. Some people want to come out to the colonies to lord over the natives, and that is why you get so many applicants for a job in the Colonial Service. Sir, the mere fact that 500 people applied for a job in Trinidad, does not mean that Trinidad has more unemployment than Barbados. I say that not from information received, but from first hand knowledge. Sir, the minute that I begin to criticise our West Indian natives, and say, what is good for Trinidad is not good for Barbados, and we start saying that I am holier than you, because I have only one murder in a year and you have one a week, that is not the attitude to adopt. When I say that, I was only drawing an analogy. Everytime something happens, you mention Trinidad or make reference to it. Trinidad is a dynamic country. Jamaica also has the right slant to these questions. They are walking the street and saying, "when they want to get on *him* boat, and go to *him* country, they get on *hit*!" Jamaicans are showing us, that they are making a reality out of this phrase "Commonwealth of Nations and Brotherhood of countries."

9.40 p.m.

I shall like to say this: far from having any Birth Control, with twice our rate of population growth, the Government in England is actually paying people in England to have children. They have family allowances, and they give every mother who

has a child £8 at the birth of the child, and if necessary, a free Nurse. Why should not the Jamaicans go to England, since it is one brotherhood? But our whole outlook in Barbados is parochial. We are doing our best to make Barbados into a concentration camp for our people who are leaving school. They do not want us to go outside. I agree with the hon. senior member for the City, that America has provided our people with more economic opportunity than the Mother country (as some people call it) has done. If people choose to take what I am saying as a discourse on disloyalty, it is a matter for them. This is the situation with which we are confronted today. I will just close by saying again, I am glad, the House has been vouchsafed this opportunity of expressing an opinion on the Governor's Address; whereas, on the last occasion on which the officer administering the Government of the colony addressed both Houses of the Legislature, we were not given that opportunity, and most of us feared that Parliamentary democracy had come to an end in the country. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to see, by the latitude which you have allowed in this debate, and the full expression of opinion which you have so readily permitted, that you yourself will do everything in your power to see that the principles of parliamentary freedom and democracy, are preserved in this Chamber.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: Mr. Speaker,—I have listened to many criticisms tonight in connection with the Government's policy, based on the Governor's speech. Some of them, were delivered with the style of a bull in a China shop; and since they have touched on matters which fall within my portfolio, I think I should reply to certain of those criticisms. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition during the course of his speech, pointed to the shortage of electric power, which is an undoubted fact which we have recognised in this House for a long time; and to which we have drawn attention on several occasions. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition said, that it is because the Government failed to give a lead, that we are in this position today; also, the Electric Co., have plans whereby they could raise \$3,000,000, but he was informed that if the Government would just give a lead, those plans would be implemented. I do not know, if the honourable member was well informed, or whence he got his information. He did not say, what kind of lead he expected the Government to give. I do not know, how much enlightenment he expects to get from me; but I would say this: negotiations on this matter are still going on, and that very soon, I expect there will be a public announcement made. I have every firm reason to believe, that announcement will contain some welcome news. The company is making efforts, I understand, to raise capital; and certain approaches have been made to this Government. But it is certainly not true to say that we have placed a stumbling block in the way of the company getting that money. It is true to say the exact opposite. I cannot disclose anything more, other than to say, that an announcement will soon be made; and we have every reason to believe that it will be favourable to the island as a whole. Mr. Speaker, this is a very important matter and I do not think that I should say anything more at this stage.

The honourable member also pointed to the paragraph in His Excellency's speech and said, it is the Government's duty to investigate the possibilities of getting more and more workers to the United States of America. It does not appear, the Opposition is at one on that matter; because, as far as I remember, the honourable senior member for the City rather

scoffed at the thought of getting more workers to the United States of America.
9.50 p.m.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: I object. That is not true. I have always advocated that we should get people to America, and wherever else you can get them. But stop playing the fool, and get some to England too.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable member said that we should not concentrate on America, but we should get people in Great Britain. This Government is concentrating upon every possible avenue which holds out any hope. The honourable member can say whatever he likes. I hope, Mr. Speaker, to lay a White Paper very soon before the House, on this subject. The hon. member can ridicule it, if he likes. I say again, as far as America and Canada are concerned, I do not claim any very startling results; but from the Report on the visit which the Labour Commissioner and myself made, the House will know very soon, what we have done, and the good that will come out of our efforts.

I think, it was the honourable junior member for St. Peter who quoted me as having said on my return, that a delegation should go from the Colonial Office. I did not say that at all. I said that a high powered delegation should go to Canada with the probable backing of the Colonial Office, and make recommendations at the highest level. The honourable member for St. Peter was perfectly right when he said you cannot today make emigration a political question. It is an international question; and we were told when we were discussing the matter in Canada that the moment they eased their immigration barrier to the Barbadians, Jamaicans, St. Lucians and all the others would want to come in. I was representing Barbados and I could not speak for Trinidad and Jamaica; but I realised, if we wanted to approach a problem in the right direction, and with any hope of success, we should not do it on an insular basis, but on as high a level as possible, and make a West Indian effort to solve it.

The Labour Commissioner and I have made a report to the Government, and we have made recommendations. Those recommendations are being acted upon; and we have every hope that those immigration barriers will be eased if we go about these matters in the right and the proper way; using wise methods, instead of insular or parochial methods.

As far as England is concerned, the honourable senior member for the City seems to be dwelling under a misconception as to the position regarding Jamaicans going to England. The honourable member asked, why do we not do like Bustamante, and help people to go to England. I think he should know that the Jamaica Government is not advancing one cent to those people who are going to England. They are going on their own. The passage from Jamaica to England is cheaper than from Barbados to England. It is bound to be cheaper by air; and I think it is cheaper by boat also. But the Jamaica Government is not advancing one cent to those people. As a Government, we could not just pick up a boat load of people, and send them to England. (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Why not?) I do not think it is necessary to refute the suggestion that this Government is discouraging people from going to England. I do not think it would hold water with the people of Barbados. The honourable member could not convince the people that the Labour Government or any other Government, faced with the number of unemployed that Barbados has, would not be glad to get rid of them. It is absolute nonsense to suggest that. Of course, the Barbados Government would be only too glad to get jobs for them outside the island.

As an instance of our sincerity, I will recall that the scheme for nurses arose out of a private letter written to someone connected with the Colonial Development and Welfare Organisation, and that the Labour Department took it up. The Minister of Social Services and myself have stated that it is our policy that those students who do not have the passage money should be helped; and the Government is willing to advance half of the money. We decided that before the suggestion was made in a local newspaper. When we saw the criticism about it made in a newspaper, we were surprised, because we had already come to that decision.

So far, Mr. Speaker, when I made the enquiry as to the present position, I discovered that the girls who have gone up to England were able to pay their passage, and it was an easy matter for them. But I repeat, the policy of the Government is that we will advance half of the passage money to assist girls in need of it in getting to England. That is an indication of our efforts to place young people, whether males or females, in any country, and especially in Great Britain, as long as jobs can be found for them. 10.00 p.m.

The honourable junior member for the City, who is not present now, during his speech, referred to an advertisement which appeared in the daily Press, (I read it too) and which he said, held out a promise for big employment abroad. I think it emanated from a source in Boston, Massachusetts. I myself saw that notice. When the honourable member spoke to me about it to-day, I told him that the Labour Department was making certain enquiries, and that we were surprised to see it. America is America. There are many employment agencies in America, some of which do a thriving business. None of us can vouch for the authenticity of that source of information; but we are going to see what it is all about. I am sure, that as far as any statement from us or the Department is concerned, that if it requires any action on our part, we are only too willing to do so.

I think, when speaking on emigration, the honourable senior member for the City, divulged a plan which he said, would get more emigrants to America. He said, we should pay a contact man. According to him, let us give this contact man a little spondulicks. That is the first time I have heard that word. I think we have to refer the word to the honourable senior member for the City, and ask him to enlighten us on the meaning of it. Before we visited America on the last occasion, a contact man visited us; and I can tell you, if we had given him a little spondulicks, it would have cost each emigrant \$300 (American). After all, that is not little at all! One of our main reasons for going to America, and the first thing which we did when we arrived, was to make certain enquiries as to the individual; and we found that he was a reputable lawyer. He was by all indications a reputable lawyer; but he was one of those American contact men, who, if he can make a fee in any direction, would make it. From what we have been able to discover, he certainly seems to have exaggerated the chances of some of our girls getting to America as nurses. It appears to us to be far more difficult than he portrayed at first. They were certain hospital authorities who told us, if this man can place a nurse in a hospital there for that amount of money, you of the Government, could place one free, gratis and for nothing. That is what we want, to get student nurses and graduate nurses to America for nothing at all; whereas a contact man is charging us \$300 (American).—

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker,—I rise on a point of explanation. What I suggested as a

contact man, is obviously, a man who knows the American way of doing things. He is the man with the know-how, and the know-what. He would be a man who would be able to stand up, and be in contact all the time with the American farmers. That is the sort of liaison man of whom I was thinking. I am not talking about the kind of man of which the honourable Minister made mention.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: Does the honourable member mean that we should decide to pay a man a regular salary?

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: What I said was, we should pay a man a regular salary. If the honourable Minister feels he is living in Mars, let him think so. I am referring, to the same sort of spondulicks which is given to Ministers to have dinners and luncheon parties with. The honourable Minister seems not to understand what I mean. Government is pretending that they don't understand what I am saying. They just came down from Mars!

Hon. R. G. MAPP: I understand too well, what the honourable member means. If he is covering up on what he said just now, and what he meant, he can do so. That is what the Regional Labour Board is there for. It follows up farmers all around who employ West Indians, in addition to those who want and who do not want West Indians. What I have stressed already, and what I will stress again is, the Central Labour Organization is packed with too many Jamaicans. (A VOICE: Who is responsible for that?) The Regional Labour Board. It is obvious that the Governments do not appoint them. I think, members must have read, that there are plans ahead to change the Board. If I become a member of the Regional Labour Board, one of my first attempts will be, to try to put more Barbadians as Liaison Officers and Assistants to Mr. Mac Donald, if that gentleman still retains his post. As I have said already, the composition of the Regional Labour Board is expected to be changed shortly. 10.10 p.m.

The honourable junior member for St. Peter spoke on the question of our trying to get a Mission from the International Bank. I would just like to tell the honourable member this: before he starts to get warm, heated, and wild with certain criticisms, he should know that certain things which occurred to him now, may also occur even by chance to other people, however foolish or ill-informed they might be. The honourable member says, we are not going to get the International Bank to send a Mission to Barbados alone; but it was because of a concerted effort by us and the very colony which he said was not coming in, (which is Trinidad) that the Industrial Mission came out here. When I was in Trinidad, I submitted the matter to the Economic Adviser when I was attending an Industrial Conference there, rather the Trade Promotion Conference, and he put the matter to the Government, and the Government said that they would come in. I repeat, it was because of a concerted effort made by us and Trinidad, that we hope the Industrial Mission will be sent out here. The honourable member also said, the International Bank would not be interested in sending a Mission to a small place like Barbados; and that Jamaica found difficulty in getting the International Bank to send a Mission there. I say again, it is because of a concerted effort by ourselves and Trinidad, that we find that paragraph in the Governor's Speech.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: On a point of Order. If the honourable member wants to answer what I said, I will remind him. I referred to the last sentence in that paragraph in the Governor's Speech which says: "If the approach is not successful proposals will be laid before you." I asked: if the approach is not

successful, what is the alternative? I do not see any alternative stated. I do not see that the International Bank would send anybody to Barbados alone.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable member said the Government should not delude themselves or be complacent, that they can get the International Bank to send a mission to Barbados alone. We are not deluding ourselves about anything. As regards future policy on the question of Development, that must take shape; and with the experience and knowledge which we have, if we are given time, we shall be able to tell the honourable member that if the International Bank does not send out its Mission, we will be able to do so and so. In the very near future, legislation in respect of a Development Board, will be before the House. It is now being drafted.

I think, I have said enough to indicate that in so far as my Ministry is concerned, we are very much alive to the necessity for emigration to any part of the globe; and that we are quite active in trying to get our people abroad.

At this stage Mr. SPEAKER left the Chair and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER took the Chair.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: I have no doubt that the Hon. Leader of the House will reply to any other matter on which he thinks a reply should be made. However, there is one point which has been made by the honourable senior member for St. George, and to which I think I should reply. The honourable member said, as far as economic policy was concerned (he was criticising the proposals in connection with Birth Control) we should bring out Professor Arthur Lewis or Dr. Eric Williams.

Mr. BARROW: On a point of explanation. I would like to make it plain that Dr. Williams is not a medical man in charge of Birth Control.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable member should have been aware of that at the time when he mentioned Dr. Williams.

Mr. BARROW: Dr. Williams is a good friend of mine; but the honourable member is trying to make it appear as if I said something about Dr. Williams in connection with Birth Control. What I was referring to when I mentioned Dr. Williams, was the question of developing our resources of industrialisation. The honourable member must be suffering from political mediocrity.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable member has been accused of something worse than that in other quarters. He was attacking the proposals of the Government, and saying, far from our being over-populated, we could carry 400,000 people; and the Government should invite Dr. Eric Williams and Professor Arthur Lewis here.

10.20 p.m.

Mr. BARROW: If the honourable member did not understand what I said, he should not have taken the two instances which I cited and put them together. I consider that not only political ineptitude, but the height of dishonesty.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable member is talking about dishonesty. I do not want to quarrel with him, or I could ask Your Honour to get the Official Report and see if there is any hiatus. The hon. member criticised Birth Control. He talked about economic problems. He also said we are not paying sufficient attention to development, and that we would not bring Dr. Eric Williams down here. I am going to tell him, when he talks about inviting Dr. Williams, because he is an economist of no mean repute, to tell us how to develop this island instead of advocating Birth Control, he should know that Dr. Williams himself advocated Birth Control in a colony which is far more developed and which has more potentialities than Barbados—Trinidad; and was attacked be-

cause of it. In his reply to the attack, Dr. Williams asked them to suggest to him an alternative to Birth Control. Dr. Williams mentioned that in that colony, 250 people applied for a \$50 a month job; and he also mentioned the number of people going out of Jamaica.

When we hear this talk about race, as introduced by the honourable senior member for the City, and the talk about the Colonial Office, and about white people doing this and that, does the honourable member forget that a Committee composed of members of this House and of the Other Place, sat on the question of over-population and made recommendations? Does he believe that this Government is so weak, it cannot stand up to the Colonial Office? That would arise in the minds of people who cannot think otherwise. The honourable senior member for St. Philip was a member of that Committee; and he made a lot of reservations. All that he said was that insufficient attention was being paid to industrialisation.

Mr. CRAWFORD: On a point of Order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. That is not true. That Committee was set up, not by the Government, but at the instigation of a member of the Other Place. Not only did I say that insufficient attention was being paid to industrialisation, but I also said, I did not agree with the Birth Control proposals.

Mr. BARROW: On a point of Order, Mr. Deputy Speaker,—

Hon. R. G. MAPP: On what point of Order did the honourable member interrupt me?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If the honourable member has risen to a point of Order, I will have to hear him.

Mr. BARROW: And the honourable Minister will have to sit.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: If Your Honour asks me to sit, I will sit.

Mr. BARROW: The Hon. Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour, has suggested that he will discuss the Report on population in this debate. Nowhere in the Governor's Speech, is this Report mentioned. In fact, it is remarkable that the Governor made no mention at all about there being a Committee on population, and that they had made a Report. When the Hon. Minister talks about bringing this Report into the debate, I will remind him that none of them thought it well to put it in the Speech.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: The honourable senior member for the City said that the prince and the pauper should have their fun. The Government does not disagree with that. All we are saying is that princes have their fun, and do not suffer as a result. Even India has had to face up to this problem. Even in the religious sphere, there are differences of opinion as to the advantages and disadvantages of Birth Control. Dr. Cyril Garbett, who is a great authority in the Church of England has advocated Birth Control. I would be the first man to say that if this Government felt that something was morally wrong, they should not encourage it even for economic reasons. But when you get authorities in the Church displaying wide differences of opinion on this subject you must ask yourself, how immoral it is.

We have heard a lot of theories from the honourable senior member for St. George. But when he makes comparisons between an agricultural community like Barbados, with a small national income and an industrial community like Great Britain, it is going too far. I think it would be a mere waste of time to reply to that. The honourable member's speech was mere theorising.

I will say again, as far as our policy is concerned there is more to be praised, than there is to be con-

demned, in the Governor's Speech. I do not think there is anything to be ashamed of since we began Ministerial Government. And many of these things were in the air long before we took office. We are carrying them out; and we intend to see that they are carried out as quickly as possible. No Government is perfect; but nevertheless, we feel that if our policy is carried through as quickly, and if what we have put in the Speech is implemented efficiently and quickly, this island will be very much better off.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: Mr. Speaker,—I do not think there is much I need say, except to second the amendment to the Reply to the Address which has been made by the honourable senior member for the City. After listening to the speeches which have been made, there should be no objection to the amendment by members who belong to the Government; because, after agreeing with what has been said, we only add at the end of the Reply: "But regret that Your Government have been so indefinite as regards certain aspects of its policy, and particularly as to any plans for solving unemployment in the immediate future."

10.30 p.m.

We take the opportunity, after listening to the Hon. Minister, to make this amendment; it is a simple change in paragraph 2: from "with satisfaction of the financial position of the colony", to say in slightly different words, "the satisfactory financial condition of the colony." It is a difference to the extent, that we are saying, you told us that the financial condition of the colony is satisfactory, but we do not know that. We know that, because you put it in His Excellency's Speech; but you did not give us anything on which we could rely; at least, not anything on which an intelligent man can rely. Suppose it might be sufficient, for those who are willing to swallow it as a whole.

Where is the money coming from? How much have you in reserve funds? How much have you available at the moment? The most we can say is that we note the satisfactory financial condition of the colony; that is the most we can say. We cannot say, we note with satisfaction; because, if we say that, it means we have satisfied ourselves to the extent, that we know that the financial condition of the colony is sound and it is healthy, as we have been asked to believe, by the few words in the paragraph of His Excellency's speech; or, as I have agreed with the honourable senior member for St. George, I should say, the officer administering the Government, because he is now speaking of, "My Government." Surely, before the officer administering the Government said that, he must have got the consent of the Colonial Office; and not merely the advice of the Crown Law Officers, and those who advise Her Britannic Majesty the Queen, as to whether his place is Pro-Counsul as he gives place now, and is now pleased to say, "My Government." Be that as it may, that is a small thing; it is a small matter.

We have seen today that the sheep without the Shepherd, are really lost indeed; and the reason is obvious. When members, such as we have heard, criticise that party in the very able way, and in the cheerful manner in which you have heard today, we of the Opposition are bound to say: "Those whom we choose, are those whom we might have chosen." At any rate, we have had the privilege of seeing members of the Labour Party, questioning the consciences of the Ministers themselves. After listening to the Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour, (the honourable senior member for St. Thomas,) you are bound to say: Is it any wonder why the schemes which he is supposed to be in charge of, have failed so far? Of course not. There is a Parliamentary practice, that if you are holding Min-

isterial Office, and your Office is in such a position that the Minister in charge has to say, "Give us time," the right thing for his Party, and the right thing for the House to do, is to vote against him, and let him give place to some other member who can make a success of that job. And if no one can make a success of that job, then the Party must go to the country and say they cannot make a success of it. Is there any pride in saying, "Give us time to learn!" What? Something you are supposed to know. Is there any pride in saying, give us time to perfect a scheme, and to send for an expert? Why is that? Because you cannot think of anything by yourself? Give us time to think of everything! That is what the Minister is saying.

Hon. R. G. MAPP: Mr. Deputy Speaker,—I rise on a point of Order. I do not know if the honourable junior member for St. James, is referring to part of my speech. He is hopelessly wrong, if he infers that I said "Give me time." The honourable junior member for St. Peter, referring to the question of the International Board, questioned "What are we doing." I said, in reply that in the process of time he would know. That was as far as industrialisation is concerned. I never used the words "Give us time." It seems as if the honourable member has convenient ears. Again I say, I never asked to give us time.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: It is within the memory of all other members, as to how the hon. Minister used the phrase about "Give us time." The honourable member told us how he went away, and how we would soon have a report; and then he was talking about "Give us time." I am telling him, what his own members have been telling him; that is, "while the grass is growing, the horse is starving." While he is asking for more time, this island is more than starving. All that we are saying is, if he does not know what spondulicks means, it means, to do something different from what ever you are doing; because it is a known fact that what we are doing, is of no effect. We say, change the method; and we also say change the man, if there is inability.

The Hon. Prime Minister wishes only in his party, members whom he can rely on for all things; also on getting a vote on things, no matter how stupid or how ineffective those members can speak themselves. So long, as they can go on debating until such time as proper members are taken to their beds, then he can get a majority vote. That party seems to supply the big bad wolf with members who can shout and bawl, and who can tell members of the party, if you climb up on the backs of the Labour Party, you must vote as I tell you; and because you do hear the independent spirited members speaking out, you get this farce which is taking place today, and the Ministers saying, "Give us time." We say, the only time to give you, is that time which we give in a boxing bout,—time to "get out." "Get out!" we say.

10.40 p.m.

You cannot expect any Minister, (I say it in all fairness) in the world, to get up after listening to the speeches which they have heard to-night, and reply fully to all the points which have been raised. He could not do it, without repairing to some distortion or abuse. It is regrettable that they generally preserve the right to the Government, to have the last speech made either by the particular Minister, or by somebody on his behalf. While the speeches are being made one by one as to the way in which things are going on, it is regrettable that hon. members were not treated to the explanation of these points which were being dealt with. I see that one of the other Ministers has

now awakened from his slumber. Apparently, he was not sleeping completely! There is another parliamentary custom: nobody speaks after the member of the Opposition who replies on behalf of the Opposition. If we depart from that, we will have some honourable member on the other side of the House, having to sit down and wait until the speeches have been finished. I am simply asking, that we stick to this. A member who introduces anything, has the right to reply; he hears all the criticisms which have been made, and he will have to epitomize. We have heard the Government's own party members say, this is largely a Progress Report. If that is so, then our amendment is a correct one; and I hope that honourable members will vote for it. But it does not go to the length of a sufficient indictment of the Government. We regret that they have been so indefinite.

The principle has been advanced, that a Speech from the local Throne, should contain the policy of the Government. But instead of that, we were treated to a dry-as-dust discussion in many parts; and in other parts, an admission of their inability to deal with matters. And we find, the equivalent of a rhetorical question, when we come to the question of the paramount problem of the island. This is what we find in the Speech from the local Throne: "Where can we look for the necessary expansion of our economy which, alone, can enable us to raise the standards of our Social Services and to provide full employment?"

May I just refer again, to what we choose to call the contact man, or lobbyist? It has been my experience, that the gentleman, Mr. MacDonald, who has acted as the Chief Liaison Officer for many years, during the time for sending up people, would write to the Government. And if the Minister were to refer to the matter, he would see that these methods have failed, and the Government should resort to different methods, that is, the employment of a proper contact man who is properly paid by us, and who has the time, and who is properly controlled by us, and not merely attempting to run a regional organisation, until such time as we shall have attained Federation. You will see, if you refer to the matter that Mr. MacDonald would invariably tell you at the beginning of the season that Barbadian labourers were likely to be employed in large numbers; that was about 1945-46. Then, when a month and a half had passed, he would pour a little cold water down our necks and say that the prospects were not good; and two months later on, he would throw a little more cold water on us; and then finally he would say the Americans could only take a few labourers from us. I believe that the sooner we come into Federation the better it will be for us in respect of everything we have to deal with here. With all the ability which we may have shown, we are always faced with the fact that we are too small a place to embark on much; and without sufficient money behind us so as to make a complete success of it. That has now become so apparent that there is now before us the question of shipping which we cannot deal with except we refer to it in an Address.

It should be obvious to anyone who reads this Address that the Speech by His Excellency the Governor was hampered by the realisation that, apart from the Government's inability to deal with the problems, it is a fact that we are dealing with a small place, and we would not have the funds to deal with matters on the scale on which we should deal with them. Jamaicans may be going to England, and it may well be that we, with some courage, should tackle the problem as has been suggested by one speaker tonight; rather than wait on the Colo-

nial Office, which we thought we had got rid of when we appointed our Ministers. If we were like Trinidad or Jamaica the problem would be much simplified if we spoke with one voice for the whole Caribbean, and if we were allowed egress from this island into other islands to find employment there, if we chose to go there, instead of going somewhere else. They may have sufficient energy to tackle the problem, or there may be too much laziness in their bones to do so; but it may well be that in dealing with the West Indian problem, not only would we be able to talk with great power to other countries, but we would be able to get employment from other places which could take our people. It is an old sore; but if the Ministers themselves do not wipe out some of their own obstruction, and become more reasonable in dealing with these matters, they will find that in holding back Federation, they will not only be holding back Federation, but they will be producing the very situation which they cannot cure. Inasmuch as the critics of the Government may say that this Government could find employment for 400,000 people if we were properly industrialised, it has to be realised, we do know, that by working together we would be able to present a common voice and get employment here, and in other places. Therefore, we go back to the old point and say, we have failed in this regional co-operation, and you and Mr. MacDonald are failing in it.

10.50 p.m.

Now, owing to the delays of which we have been guilty in one way or another, we are now faced with this: today we buy Trinidad cement. There are 34 English owned industries in Trinidad, leaving us with nothing to do. Barbados wants more time, to do what? To die? They should move and move quickly. Of course we will get freedom of movement; but we have to get it through a communal assembly, like a federation of the area. We will never get it in the position in which we are today.

When we take up this apology for an Address, what do we find? Just a recital of what we have done, and pious hopes of what we will do in the future. We have heard to-day, that we will soon get a report; that the Government is now making negotiations with the Electric Supply Corporation. May I remind the Hon. Minister of Industry and Trade, that he has called the Electric Supply Corporation "Public Enemy No. 1"? Does he think, bearing that in mind, there will be smooth negotiations with this company?

Hon. R. G. MAPP: Again the honourable member has misrepresented what I said. I never said this Government is now carrying on negotiations with the Electric Supply Corporation. I said that no statement can be made now. I also said, that negotiations are going on; but I did not say between the Electric Company and the Government.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: Someone has said, there are three kinds of lies. There is dissimulation, simulation, and the genuine lie. If you say something, or act a certain way so as to leave a particular impression in more than one man's mind, those who got that impression may be glad to hear that they got the wrong impression, but you cannot expect them not to —

Hon. R. G. MAPP: If the honourable member is insinuating that I am telling a lie, I will not tolerate it. (Laughter). The honourable member must withdraw the imputation that I am telling lies. I said, the company had approached us. I said that negotiations were going on; but I did not say, these negotiations were going on between this Government and the Company. I said the company was trying to get capital. Let the honourable member draw

whatever inference he likes. No negotiations were going on between this Government and the company, and no negotiations are going on at present. The honourable member has insinuated that I am lying.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: I was giving the hon. member credit, by believing that he had sufficient initiative to have been concerned with these negotiations; and credit for sufficient ability to try to make the negotiations successful. If he has not got that initiative, he does not need more time; he needs time off. That is what the Ministers are there for. That is why Trinidad has got industries, and we have got none. I was giving the hon. Minister credit for trying to get something done. The Company came to him. I do not know what the Government did after that.

That is why Trinidad has got cement to sell, and we have got nothing. Our Ministers are waiting for someone to crawl up the stairs to their offices and offer them something. And even if you crawl up the stairs to their offices, you cannot get inside; they are so far removed.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER left the Chair, and Mr. SPEAKER resumed the Chair).
11.00 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, I only rose to second the amendments moved by the Opposition, and to say, there should be a majority vote in favour of the amendments. You will notice, Sir, in the paragraph on Page 2 where they talk about industry being handicapped by the lack of industrial power, they said that the problem will be given active consideration by the Ministers; and it is hoped that plans to overcome the shortage of electrical power will soon be formulated and implemented.

It is unfortunate, at this stage, there is a misunderstanding between the hon. Minister concerned and me; because, I thought it meant that the Government was formulating and was going to implement this scheme; but apparently, this has nothing to do with the Electric Company. It is stated, "Natural Gas offers the only source of power to be found locally. The extent of supply of Natural Gas, which was recently discovered, has yet to be determined." I do not know, but it appears to me, when we get these paragraphs, we know not what we are supposed to take from them. At first they say, "in the field of industry, enterprise is severely handicapped by the lack of Industrial power. This problem has been given anxious consideration by my Ministers, it is hoped that plans to overcome the shortage of Electric power will soon be formulated and implemented." Then it says, "Natural Gas offers the only source of power to be found locally. The extent of supply of Natural Gas which was recently discovered, has yet to be determined." We are left with the sole hope, that sometime before the Resurrection, we would be able to see some document.

Now, one word on these different documents, which come to us. We have one from the expert, Mr. J. W. Foster. Now, there are admittedly two ways of putting out a document; and either of these two ways is reckoned as permissible. There is the way, if the Report is put in, the House is not shown it until many months afterwards; so that when you would have read it, it will prove to be dry reading, that is, some of the interest is gone from it. I am going to say this: now that Government has Ministers who are supposed to determine policy, and supposed to determine policy independently in their own line of undertaking, and to be able to do it, and to think of anything which should be done on it on

their own, we think that they ought to be left alone; but we find that they have got permission to do others' job. Now the other way which is permissible in putting out a document or a report, is to take the Report, (and this has happened in the case of the Education Report) and circulate it at once; if it is one of prime importance, and you want the public's reaction, as well as the reaction of the members of the House. Sometimes the Government itself is unable to arrive at a determination of its policy on a particular document, either from the lack of time, brains, or wisdom, so they put it out at once, in order that they can get an expression of opinion on it; but we have Ministers who do not tell us that. They say, they are competent, and they are attending to their jobs properly, and have their expert advisers available. If that is so, how many weeks must it take for a Minister to formulate policy? Why should the hon. Minister come in here and say, he needs more time. We will never get on; and we will never get anything done in this way. The value of Ministerial system is, the Ministers are able to take it,—their concerted policy,—in their stride. They should be able to read a report in a short time, and formulate the policy of the Government. If the Cabinet senses that something is a matter of importance, and they want the reaction of the public and of the House on it, they should get it out as soon as possible. The fact that the Government feels that it is in the majority, to a large extent, leaves them to disregard these safeguards of political parliamentary sovereignty, and to keep these things unto themselves, until the news is stale, and until the slow-witted and half-witted have asked someone what to do. We, of the Opposition, are saying, if this is your first attempt at writing a speech in which you are showing what is your policy, as distinct from the policy of the officer administering the Government, it is the worst that has been put out. It has no vision; it is just nothing. Of course, when you get these unpalatable statements to the extent as this,—“My Government will continue to do everything possible to facilitate emigration whether permanent or temporary,” what on earth is that? Is that of any use to anybody, but to the people who used it? When we put people to do a job, we expect them to do the job. We do not put them in office for them to find out what they should do. They have been in office for a sufficient number of years, to know what they should do. Of course, they are happy. The hon. Minister is happy, because he knows that he cannot be turned out of his job at least, so long as the Session is going on. The Ministers of the Government are happy, because they know they have a certain type of man surrounding them.

That being so, Sir, I second the amendment of the honourable junior member for Christ Church; and I hope, in this case, honourable members, after the criticisms which they have made, will vote for it. I hope honourable members will show that they are not satisfied, after the criticisms which they have made; but which will not appear for a month or months, for the reading public to see; except in some shortened and abbreviated form (I almost would say in an incorrect form) and that they will be men enough to vote on this amendment. I hope they will regard it as their duty to do so, because Government has not been more distinct in its schemes, and in offering something to aid the unemployment situation.

Hon. M. E. COX: Mr. Speaker.—I would like to speak on this amendment. I am sure, honourable members will give me the opportunity.

Mr. SPEAKER : Will the honourable Minister desist, until I have checked with the Clerk and the Rules?

A Pause.

11.10 p.m.

Mr. SPEAKER : The honourable member may speak on the amendment.

Hon. M. E. COX : In speaking on the amendment, I will say, the hon. junior member for St. James, gave us quite a lot of talk, a part of which, I feel I should answer. Before I attempt to reply to him, I should like to reply to some remarks which were made by the hon. junior member for St. Peter, relative to the question of housing.

Mr. LEWIS : On a point of Order. The hon. junior member for St. Peter spoke before any amendment had been proposed; but the hon. Minister is now referring to something which the hon. junior member for St. Peter has said.

Mr. SPEAKER : The hon. member must restrict himself to the amendment.

The Clerk read the amendment, as follows:—

"That the following words be added at the end of the Reply: 'But regret that Your Government has been so indefinite with regard to certain aspects of its policy, and particularly as to any plans for solving unemployment in the immediate future.'"

Hon. M. E. COX : I take it, that amendment is vague; because it refers to certain aspects of the Government's Policy. Those aspects are not definite; and I presume, Mr. Speaker, you will allow me some latitude to speak on those aspects.

Mr. SPEAKER : The hon. member must confine himself to the amendment.

Hon. M. E. COX : I will attempt to confine my remarks, to the point which the hon. member made, about the Government not doing anything with regard to the question of unemployment. I must say, I sat and listened very attentively to the remarks which have been made by various speakers, on this question. Many of those remarks, I would characterise as being worthless; some of them prejudiced, and others not helpful at all. Much criticism has been made about the Government not doing anything with respect to unemployment; yet, at the same time, the members who made those criticisms, have not in any way attempted to say, in what manner the unemployment situation can be solved. In answer to the Government not doing anything for unemployment, I will say, I am sure, in this very Message, mention is made about the construction of the Deep Water Harbour. The construction of the Deep Water Harbour has already been debated in this House, and hon. members are well aware, one of the Government's proposals is to raise a loan to the tune of £4.75 million for the construction of the Harbour; which we are told, would last over a period of five years. One half of that money, we are told, would be paid out in wages. Is that not a tangible and practical approach to the question of unemployment in this island?

We have been debating for many years, the question of the Deep Water Harbour; and despite the fact, the Opposition has people who claim that they know more about running a government than—

Mr. SPEAKER : There are certain asides which have reached me. They were very obviously intended to reach me from the hon. senior member for St. John. The asides were disrespectful in nature. If I hear any similar aside, I will name the hon. member. Let me tell the House, that the nature of the amendment, admits of some latitude in debate. It mentions "certain aspects." What does "certain aspects" mean? It cannot mean one aspect. In spite of the wide nature of the amendment, I am

trying to confine the hon. Minister as best I can to the subject. If the hon. senior member for St. John continues to disrespect the Chair, I will name him.

Hon. M. E. COX : In speaking on the amendment, a diatribe from the hon. junior member for St. James. But what is peculiar is, the fact that he happened to be in charge of the Government of this island—

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY : That is nothing to do with the amendment at all.

Mr. SPEAKER : The hon. Minister will keep to the subject matter.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT : That statement is not true; and the hon. Minister knows that it is not true.

Hon. M. E. COX : However, Sir, none of the schemes that this Government is now carrying out, or intends to carry out, (the Deep Water Harbour, the building of schools, health centres extension of the Hospital, etc.,) were ever envisaged or suggested by any of them, when they were in charge of the Government before.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY : I object again, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER : The hon. member is out of order.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY : I am rising on a point of Order. The hon. Minister is speaking on an amendment which deals with unemployment, and he is bringing in Social Services. He is out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER : For the benefit of hon. members, I will read the amendment. It says: "But regret that your Government has been so indefinite with regard to certain aspects of its policy, and particularly as regards any plan for solving unemployment in the immediate future." I would like the hon. member to tell me, if that amendment does not in itself, gives some latitude.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT : Does it mean, any hon. member can speak on anything at all?

Hon. M. E. COX : The remarks made by members of the Opposition, were intended to make believe that this Government is not mindful of its duty towards solving the problem of unemployment in this island. I am prepared to deny that, by pointing out, that His Excellency the Governor, the Hon. Premier and the Financial Secretary, are in London to-night, negotiating on behalf of the people of this island, for a loan which will result in the employment of thousands.

Apart from that, Sir, I am sure, if the hon. members had taken time off to read the first paragraph on page 4 of His Excellency's speech, they would have seen what the Government is doing, and would not have so blatantly and glaringly, misrepresented the facts that are here stated. Let me read the paragraph:

"A large programme of capital works is called for and is in progress. Some items have already been mentioned under Medical and Education and I should now add under completed works the Eagle Hall Market, the post office and libraries at Oistins and Six Roads, the St. John's post office, the pavilion at Friendship, and numerous other minor works which I cannot mention here. Additions which include a new post office, are being made at Holecotown Police Station, and a central fire station is under construction in Bridgetown. The Secretary of State has approved a grant from the Central allocation of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds to cover the capital costs of a regional Police Training School near Seawell."

Do honourable members realise, the thousands of people whom the Public Works Department em-

ploy on these schemes? Some of the items mentioned in this paragraph, were started during the Ministerial set-up. Some are finished, and some are in the process of construction. If the Public Works Department are not employing people, they must be employing Buccaneer race horses. The Pine Primary School was built during the Ministerial set-up.

In addition to all that, Sir, as the Hon. Minister for Trade, Industry and Labour has pointed out, the Government has for years, been investigating the possibility of getting people out of the island wherever and whenever circumstances permit.

I remember well, sometime earlier this year an Address was brought to this House relative to some sort of emigration scheme to some place in Canada. That matter was investigated; and it was regrettable that the honourable member who introduced it, failed to disclose the source of the information. It was regrettable that that source was not disclosed. However, investigations have been made; and the Government have discovered that there was no foundation of facts.

11.20 p.m.

Mr. CRAWFORD: On a point of Order, Mr. Speaker. The hon. Minister is speaking what he thinks and not what he knows. The debate to which he refers, was one in which the hon. junior member for the City was in the Chair, acting for Your Honour, and before the Address was passed finally, the Deputy Speaker said: since I was asking the House to endorse a remark in the Address, I should acquaint the House of the source from which I have received the information. The hon. Minister may not have been in the House at that time, to hear what was said. Therefore, he certainly has not the right to say pontifically, the information was not given.

Hon. M. E. COX: I apologise to the hon. member, if that information had been given to the House. But Sir, I am sure, all places which are likely to need people for work of any kind, had been explored by the Government at that time, and all the time. So Sir, to say, and to make glaring, wild, rash statements, as those which have been made by certain members of this House, to say the least is most unkind and undeserving. Again, Mr. Speaker, the question of Housing also arose in this debate. If members will look at the White Paper which I presented to this House some time ago on the Government's Housing Policy, members will see, in that programme, there is a possibility of our constructing something like 600 single unit houses a year; and ten four unit houses.

Grasshoppers are not going to be employed in the construction of these houses; workers, skilled and unskilled, will be employed in the construction of these houses. It suits members, sir, perhaps because they believe that Government members are sleeping, as the junior member for St. James said not long ago, to get up on the floor of the House, to make the public believe for one reason or the other, that the members of the Government are doing nothing to help the people of this Island. I want to say here now that we have been elected by the popular vote. The people have elected us over and over again, because they know that we have given them faithful and honest service. They know we have not fooled them, nor twisted them around, as was the case many years ago. We have represented them faithfully and well. I have absolutely no doubt that when another general election comes off, even some who keep a lot of noise will be swept out, rather than as they have said, there will be a sweeping out of the Hon. Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour. Sir, we have honoured our promises.

We have tried our best to carry out our programme in so far as unemployment and everything else is concerned, and so far as it lies within the island's financial resources. The honourable junior member for St. James made mention of our not producing the financial position of the island. One would have thought, Mr. Speaker, that the honourable member used to read the financial statement issued from time to time by the Accountant General.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: Mr. Speaker,—Am I to understand that financial statement is supposed to be a financial statement of the position of the island? The honourable member is commenting on it as if it were a financial statement on the position of the island. He says that I complained of not having a financial statement. That statement which the hon. Minister made mention of does not tell of the financial position of the island; it only tells you of the different funds and everything else like that.

HON. M. E. COX: However, Mr. Speaker, I will not pursue that point any further; but I will say, that quite a number of statements were made, which have no foundation whatsoever. I regret that I am only able to speak on the amendment: because I wanted to reply to a criticism which the honourable junior member for St. Peter made relative to the Government Housing Policy.

However, sir, the policy of the Government has not been changed in respect of the Labour Welfare Funds. If the honourable member had read the White Paper, he would have seen what we are concentrating on, is to get these labourers to build permanent structures; structures out of stone and concrete, rather than to spend large sums of money in the construction and repairing of old wooden houses. We are prepared in our housing policy to advance a sum of money up to something like \$300,000 per annum for repairs. If the honourable junior member for St. Peter had read the White Paper on the Government's housing policy, he would have remembered that; and he would not have said what he did.

Mr. Speaker, I am not prepared to detain this House much longer, in view of the fact, my activities are so much curtailed that I cannot say as much as I wanted to say. I again assure this House that this Government has for years now, concentrated on the question of unemployment. I repeat, if honourable members were to refer to the Estimates in connection with Capital Works, they will see that millions of dollars have been allocated for Capital Works; and that as much as 50% of the money will be spent in wages.

11.30 p.m.

Mr. SPEAKER: This amendment deals with the aspects of policy; not to anything which has already been achieved.

Hon. M. E. COX: Very well, Mr. Speaker. My activities are curtailed; but I know, on a subsequent occasion, I will have the opportunity of dilating on the many things which have been voiced here tonight by honourable members. Before I sit down, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I want to say, I am tired of hearing the honourable junior member for St. James talking about Ministers being paid handsome salaries for doing this work. The honourable member used to do the work of this House, for which he used to be paid; he has never worked for nothing in this House. We have been working for years without pay, and every now and then, the honourable member says, "We pay you handsome salaries; and while you are prospering, the country is suffering." The honourable member draws \$160 a month, and he does not come in here four times in a year. I strongly object to his making

this statement every now and then. He makes it largely because, he feels that people looking like us, have no right to be here at all; let alone drawing the salaries we are drawing.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: In the first place, the honourable member says that on many occasions I have made mention of handsome salaries being paid. That is not true.

Hon. M. E. COX: I object to the honourable member saying, the statement I made, is not true. The honourable member has made that statement about five or six times already. I am not prepared to stand for that. We are not begging the honourable member for anything. It is the taxpayers' money to which I have contributed; and I have done my all for the working class people. Those are the people who are paying these salaries. I will have no more of that.

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: I repeat, that is not true, except in debate —

Mr. SPEAKER: If an honourable member says anything, another honourable member may check it. I am not here to check on the veracity of honourable members of this House. That is not my affair.

Hon. M. E. COX: An honourable member is not allowed to tell another honourable member that he is lying. (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: The honourable member has not said that.)

Mr. E. K. WALCOTT: I say, what the honourable member says it not true; and I will repeat that it is not true. If there is any reflection, it is the reflection on the Chair; not on me, because I speak according to the Order of the Chair. Anything which I may have mentioned, I must have mentioned it as a relative matter in debate which Your Honour allowed. It is not true, that I have ever questioned the amount which they are paid. What I have said today is that they are being paid wholtime. The next thing is that the honourable member has said that when I was Attorney General, I was paid in the House. That is not true. The Attorney General before me was paid \$100 per month not £1,500 per year, to present all the Government measures which were ordered by the Executive Committee to be sent down here.

Mr. LEWIS: In the amendment proposed by my colleague, so far as the first paragraph is concerned, I would like to let him know that I am willing to vote for that. I do not know if it is right to use the appellation, "Your Government." I would like to say that this amendment is worded to the effect, that the House regret that no mention has been made of any plans for solving unemployment in the immediate future. That should receive some consideration; because, even the construction of the Deep Water Harbour is somewhat doubtful at present. We are now negotiating for a loan so as to carry out the construction of this Harbour. That is a scheme which has been mentioned for quite a long time, and if it does not come off, what are we going to put in its place? So far as the public works are concerned, it is not a case of solving unemployment by these buildings; the persons employed by the Public Works department are kept on so long as the work continues. (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: That has been going on for the last fifty years.)

Mr. SPEAKER: There is a Rule of this House which says that when an honourable member is debating, he must not be subjected to interruption. That Rule has to be enforced. The temper of this House is getting warm, and this is the occasion on which that Rule will have to be enforced.

Mr. LEWIS: I would say in connection with this amendment, that the House regret, that no

mention has been made for a permanent plan for solving unemployment in the future; and the House is regretting the fact, that this point has not been mentioned, and we are hoping that something will be done. I do not know that there is anything wrong with that. As far as the amendment of the honourable senior member for St. Philip is concerned, I think it is of paramount importance that we should hear something about electric power; but I say that something is wrong with the method by which this amendment is added at the end of the paragraph.

11.50 p.m.

I do not intend to be vague, even if someone else is vague. If my suggestion is accepted, I am willing to give my vote; because, I think, it would clarify the position of the House in all these matters. If my suggested wording is not accepted, I am going to ask that the Rule by which a complicated question is separated into more than one part, be followed in putting this amendment. I will ask that, because, if my suggestion is not accepted, I will be in a position which I will be willing to vote for one part of the amendment, and not for the other.

Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS: Mr. Speaker,—I was waiting to see if any other honourable member wanted to speak. I will begin by saying, there has been a lot of loose talk, and loose thinking indulged in this evening. I was surprised to see that the honourable junior member for St. James so easily allowed himself to be drawn into the vortex of unholy criticism.

This House should remember, sir, that this Government has presented a Five Year Plan of Development and Taxation; and in that Plan, the Government clearly stated its policy. The Government laid down its policy as regards how the money was to be raised, and the different projects which would engage the attention of the Government. That being the case, I did not think that every year the Governor would have to re-enunciate that policy which was presented in 1952. Surely honourable members should remember that when they loosely said, there is no policy stated in the Governor's speech at the re-opening of the Legislature.

It is true that certain works which have been effected already have been reviewed; and other works which are in hand were referred to. But that is practically a restatement of certain items which appeared in the Five Year Plan. So, sir, when honourable members state that no policy is stated in the Governor's speech, they should read the Five Year Plan again. That is as far as policy is concerned.

I was also surprised to see that the honourable junior member for St. James was drawn into loose talk about this Government not sending Barbadians to England, in the same way as Jamaicans are going by the boatloads. He should know that no Government could indulge in that sort of thing. That sort of statement might be all right for certain members who are mostly irresponsible and who, apparently, have an eye on 1956 or nearer. But any responsible member should realise that this Government could not take up a number of Barbadians and put them on a boat, and send them to England to run loose. There would have to be an agreement between the two Governments. Surely, the honourable junior member for St. James could have told his colleagues, it could not be done in that manner.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: On a point of explanation, sir. The statement which the hon. Minister is referring to, came from me, and not from the honourable junior member for St. James.

Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS: The honourable junior member for St. James did mention it as well.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: If you would allow me to explain, sir,—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Minister made no reference to the honourable senior member for the City. He is out of order.
12.01 a.m.

Hon. Dr. CUMMINS: Now, Sir, mention was made about emigration to America, and having a contact man on the spot; and giving him a little spondulicks, to run hither and thither throughout the United States. (A VOICE: I did not say that). The honourable member did say to give a contact man a little spondulicks, so that he could go from state to state. The honourable member should know, there is the Regional Labour Board which looks after emigration to America; and he should know that if we in Barbados try to bargain independently, it may disrupt the whole scheme. At the same time you will get some employer of labour siding with some Liaison Officer from Jamaica, and reducing the scheme to a farce. However, that matter is being examined now; and I think Sir Stephen Luke went to the United States to make arrangements about that, so as to bring it to a higher level. I must state, however, that his report does not offer much comfort. I did see a letter in the Press, which did not make me feel very happy as to the outcome of the scheme, in view of the fact, that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were going into the United States in large numbers; and because they are American citizens, they can remain there. Sir, all of that was dealt with in that letter; so that when we consider these facts, we certainly cannot feel very happy about it.

There are one or two other things which I want to mention. It is the policy of the Government, as you have read in the Governor's speech, to promote planned parenthood among the people; but plans are not complete. (A VOICE: That is what we said). However, the Government will be coming down to the House with a scheme to assist in this planned parenthood; because the Government feel it is doing the right thing. Those who do not feel it is the right thing to do, can vote against it. I did not intend to make a speech on it today; but I will say this—(A VOICE: Is this America?) As I was saying, Mr. Speaker, Government feels it is doing the right thing. This question of planned parenthood, is engaging the attention of the whole world. Certainly, Birth Control, if you call it that, would assist the problem of overpopulation. The honourable senior member for the City knows very well, in big countries you can walk into a Clinic, and be advised on planned parenthood. It is so in England and in America. I have gone into a few of them. (A VOICE: But they are not managed by the Government; they are run by private enterprise.)

I was saying Sir, the Government believes it is doing the right thing; and the Government will come down with some measure to implement it. Those honourable members who do not agree with it, can vote against it. I am not looking at it from the point of view of overpopulation at all. We are told, and quite rightly so, the infantile death rate of Barbados is the second highest in the Caribbean. That is caused sometimes from mothers having too many children. I see it day after day. Sometimes women come to me with eight, nine or ten and all that number of children; and evidently, those children who come at the end, must be weak, because the mother herself is not very strong. Up to a few months ago I had an urgent call from Cave Hill to see a girl who had just been delivered of a baby, and she was

a young woman of only 23 years of age; yet, that was her seventh child, and she fainted. If her children were planned, that would not be so. This is the policy of the Government, and we are coming down with something for it. You will also find women dying as a result of having too many children. The honourable senior member for the City said, it is legislation against people having their children. That is not so.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker,—I rise on a point of Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is the point of Order.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: May I rise on a point of explanation? The honourable Minister has misquoted me. The hon. Minister says that I said, if you bring down legislation for that, it would be legislating against people having their children. The hon. Minister knows that I could not be so stupid to say, that this Government could not do anything about it. I was referring to the fact, when the honourable junior member for St. John made a joke and said, that somebody had come to him saying that the Government was bringing a law against people having children. The honourable junior member for St. John came to me, and asked if it were true that Government was to bring down a law to stop people indulging in the fun of getting children.

Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS: I wrote it down when the hon. member said it. He said, the Government was bringing down legislation against people having their children. That is no misinterpretation of what he has said. Sir, when the Government institutes something about planned parenthood, anybody who wants to get the advice can get it; those who do not want the advice need not go. In England the clinics are assisted by County Councils. It is no compulsion. From my practice, I can tell you, I have people who come to me and ask me what to do to prevent them from having so many children. If you doubt me you can go and ask any doctor, and doctors will tell you their experience in connection with this matter.

Now, Sir, the honourable senior member for the City said that he was appointed as a member of the Select Committee to Reply to His Excellency's speech, and he did not attend. He also said that even if he had attended the meeting, he would have got up and talked, and criticised the speech. I would like to tell him, that is not the right thing to do. I would not say, it is dishonest; but it is not the right thing for the honourable member to accept a place on a Select Committee, if he knows that he does not intend to come; and he wants to get up in here, and air his views. If that is the position, when he is asked to serve on Select Committees, he should decline.

12.10p.m.

Now there has been a lot of talk about unemployment; but as regards that question the Hon. Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour, and the Minister of Communications, Works and Housing have dealt very adequately with that question. However, I still want to say that there are one or two schemes which the Government has in mind, and which they have been investigating. I should like to say, some of the same people who are so anxious to see unemployment relieved, have refused to take part in the Milk Scheme which would help to relieve unemployment. That scheme was put up to the Dairy keepers, and at one time they said they would come into the scheme on Government's terms; but when everything was settled, they came back and said that the Government must hold the bag. That only shows you, how willing some people who prate about schemes to relieve employment, are in-

elined to assist in this matter. If you ask these people to contribute \$1 to relieve unemployment, they say "No; the Government must bear the whole thing."

The Deep Water Harbour has already been dealt with; and also the question of the Development Board. We have our plans before us. We are trying to get a census of unemployment in Barbados, so that we will know exactly for how many people we have to cater and make plans.

Now we come to the question of Blackman's House which is to be converted into a school. Everybody wants to know how much that costs (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Tell us how much it cost.) Well, in the Capital Estimates we voted the sum of \$61,000 for the conversion of this house into a school. I am appealing to hon. members on the other side of the House, to stop thinking that we on this side, are a bunch of fools, and that we are a bunch of thieves. This property was offered for sale to the Government; it was inspected by the Director of Public Works, (in whom hon. members profess to have confidence,) and the matter was vetted by the Queen's Solicitor, in whom hon. members also profess to have confidence. They told us what they thought this property was worth. The house is a very large one, with five acres of land and all sorts of trees on it. The trees are very valuable. I repeat that this whole matter was investigated by the Director of Public Works and by the Queen's Solicitor. The Director of Education also visited the site, and he thought that the House could be easily converted into a school. We were advised that this was a good business proposition, and we bought it (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: For how much?) The total amount paid was \$32,343.40. There was no secrecy about this matter at all; it was just a slip up. (Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: There was no intention of hiding anything from the House?) I repeat, there was no secrecy with regard to this matter. What happened was, the matter was concluded soon after the prorogation of the Legislature.

12.20 a.m.

I thought that all the money was paid at one time. We are not quite sure about the cost of alterations. We feel, there will be a substantial saving on the \$61,000. There was, Sir, no intention of hiding it from the House. It is only a slip.

There is another thing which I want to mention, and that is, the Report of Professor Richardson. It has been referred to by two or three speakers. I am not an economist; and the Government wanted to get information on the possibility of having a social insurance scheme, or to what extent we could carry such a scheme. We all know that we cannot fully carry a social scheme; but we wanted to be advised, as to what extent we could do so. We had to get an expert to give us that advice.

The question of getting this expert was debated in the House, when we brought down the Resolution for the visit of Professor Richardson; and there was little or no objection to the idea. Hon. members were willing for the Government to have the matter investigated, so that we could introduce, if possible a measure of social insurance. I was quite surprised to hear tonight, that there are so many experts in the House.

As regards the Report itself, the position is this: Professor Richardson before he left, presented a skeleton report which was discussed with him in Executive Committee; and as a result of that discussion, certain amendments were made to the Report. When it is ready, the Report will be presented to the House.

I think, sir, all the points which have been raised, have been satisfactorily answered; either by myself, or by the Minister of Trade and Labour or the Minister of Works and Communications. I think that all the points have been pretty well covered.

Mr. SPEAKER: The amendment moved by the honourable senior member for the City will be put first; paragraph 1 of that amendment being taken first.

The question that the words "with satisfaction the" be deleted and the words "the satisfactory" inserted in place thereof was put to the vote and resolved in the negative on a division as follows:—

Ayes: Mr. BARROW, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. ALLDER, Mr. HAYNES, Mr. E. K. WALCOTT, Mr. GODDARD and Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY.—9.

Noes: Mr. SMITH, Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS, Hon. M. E. COX, Hon. C. E. TALMA, Hon. R. G. MAPP, Mr. HOLDER, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. F. L. WALCOTT, Mr. BRANCKER, Mr. J. C. MOTTLEY and Mr. VAUGHAN.—11.

Mr. LEWIS: Has the Hon. Minister for Social Services accepted my suggestion about the repetition of the words, "Your Excellency?"

Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS: I accept it.

Mr. LEWIS: There is only one other small point. I am wondering if it is in order, to begin this Address with the words, "From the House of Assembly to his Excellency the Governor", when the Governor is out of the island.

The question that the words stand part of the Address was put and resolved in the negative, the House dividing as follows:—

Ayes: Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. ALLDER, Mr. HAYNES, Mr. E. K. WALCOTT, Mr. GODDARD, Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY.—6

Noes: Mr. SMITH, Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS, Hon. M. E. COX, Hon. C. E. TALMA, Hon. R. G. MAPP, Mr. HOLDER, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. BARROW, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. F. L. WALCOTT, Mr. BRANCKER, Mr. J. C. MOTTLEY, Mr. VAUGHAN.—13.

The question that the following be paragraph 3: "The House view with considerable concern the continuance of the unsatisfactory position with regards the shortage of Electric Power, and look forward to its improvement at the very earliest date possible;" was put and resolved in the negative, the House dividing as follows:—

Ayes: Mr. BARROW, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. J. C. MOTTLEY, Mr. ALLDER, Mr. HAYNES, Mr. E. K. WALCOTT, Mr. GODDARD, Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY.—9.

Noes: Mr. SMITH, Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS, Hon. M. E. COX, Hon. C. E. TALMA, Hon. R. G. MAPP, Mr. HOLDER, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. F. L. WALCOTT, Mr. BRANCKER, Mr. VAUGHAN.—10.

Mr. LEWIS: Mr. Speaker,—I think it is necessary, that you arrange for the presentation of this reply. This is an Address, which has to be presented by the whole House, in the Other Place.

12.40 a.m.

LEAVE TO DEAL WITH ORDER NO. 6 OF PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS GRANTED.

Mr. BRANCKER: Mr. Speaker,—I am asking leave to deal with order No. 6, of Private Members' Business, which stands in my name. It deals with the vacancy in this House on the part of my former colleague.

There being no objection leave was granted the honourable member.

VACANCY IN THE HOUSE DUE TO THE ABSENCE OF MR. L. A. WILLIAMS

Mr. SPEAKER: The next Order of the Day therefore stands in the name of the honourable

senior member for St. Lucy; to move the passing of an Address to His Excellency the Governor in connection with the vacant seat in the House of Assembly, due to Mr. L. A. WILLIAMS having taken an office of profit under the Crown.

Mr. BRANCKER: Mr. Speaker,—I do not think that this matter requires much talk, especially at this hour of the morning. It is well known, I am without a colleague; (Laughter) and it is essential that we should make provision for the holding of a bye-election in the parish of St. Lucy. The Address of which every honourable member has a copy before him, reads as follows:—

To His Excellency, Sir Robert Arundell, Knight Commander of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Officer of most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Barbados. May it please Your Excellency.

A vacancy having occurred in the General Assembly owing to Lorenzo Alexander Williams, Esquire, a member for the parish of St. Lucy, having vacated his seat,

We, the representatives of the people in General Assembly, pray that Your Excellency-in-Executive Committee will be pleased to issue a new Writ for the election of a member to serve in the General Assembly for the parish of St. Lucy in place of the said Lorenzo Alexander Williams.

I beg to move that this Address do now pass.

Mr. F. L. WALCOTT: I beg to second that. I would just like to add, it is a source of regret, that in these days when we feel that the political climate should be changed, we find that young men who have something to offer in political life, are at times forced to leave politics; because, they are disillusioned by people and sometimes by friends, who encourage them to enter politics; and then these friends are the first people to besmirch the characters of these young men, and to say some of the worse things about their intentions and motives. This practice is not going to be any incentive to young people to come into this very varied public life, to offer any service which they can offer. I am very sorry that this young man has been forced to vacate public life; because, at an early stage, he had shown his inclination for public life. He was not like people who wait until their lives are secured and when their insurance policies are well taken care of to enter politics so that when they enter into public life, the climate and atmosphere is more conducive to their remaining in public life for a long period, and until the electorate say that they do not want them any longer. With those remarks, Mr. Speaker, I beg to second the motion for the passing of this Address.

Mr. CRAWFORD: The honourable seconder of this motion, has struck a chord which I myself intended to strike. The until recently honourable junior member for St. Lucy, was confidently expected when he returned to this colony, by certain people, to throw in his lot with the honourable members of the party on my left. I do not know what reasons they had for believing so, but the honourable member was expected to throw in his lot with the members of this party. However, the honourable member elected to throw in his lot on the side, which he believed, to be truly representative of the people from whom he sprung; and during his short career in this House of Assembly, he endeavoured sincerely to advance the views of the people who sent him here. It is common knowledge, that his decision to retire from politics, was due not to any relinquishment of the ideas which he held when he came here, or of any lack

of faith in him on the part of his constituents, but purely because he could not see eye to eye with the people who belong to the same party to which he belonged; and because he was not prepared to sacrifice what he regarded as his principles, in anything. It is unfortunate, as the honourable junior member for St. Peter has implied, that we are reaching a stage in the political life of this colony, in which people are expected to vacate any great principle, because of some personal offer which has been made to them, or the stage at which they are expected to "toe the line", merely because it is a Party line, and not because it forms the principles which the honourable member may hold. It is a matter for regret, that a man like Mr. Williams, who should be in political life making his contribution to the island, (and he had a lot more to offer than many people who are in it) should have to vacate political life; and it is a deterrent to many a young man of ability, who returns to the country equipped to make some contribution to the country; but who will feel, that promotion is not dependent on his endorsement of political principles, but how he carries favour with people who may lead his Party.

In my time, I have seen more than one person who had an important contribution to make to the political life of this country, forced out of politics purely for similar reasons. People who had a vital contribution to make, and who were equipped to make it, had to leave public life, because they became very disillusioned in a very short space of time; and because they realised that things were not what they appeared to be. If you look around this colony, you will see that people who should be in public life, are not prepared to come into it, because they are not desirous of having their character besmirched by people worse than themselves. They are not prepared to sink their manhood, and become political stooges. I have seen a man like Mr. H. A. Vaughan, now Judge of the Bridgetown Petty Debt Court, a man who was very sincerely interested in the progress of his people, but who for almost similar reasons to those I have mentioned was forced like Mr. Williams to make his living elsewhere. Mr. Williams has gone along, and they probably will be others following him. I regret, a man of Mr. Williams' age did not possess the calibre to remain and fight it out, being confident, that in the end, right and justice would prevail; not "cow-towing" to people who may be in authority, and refusing to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage realising that that is not the beginning and end of political promotion in Barbados.

12.50 a.m.

I regret, sir, that with his youth, he was not prepared to remain here, and from the floor of this Chamber and the public platform, support the principles on which he was elected; feeling absolutely confident, that the future would justify his action. I sincerely hope that they are not many more people about to enter politics, who, if they pass through similar experiences, will fail to rise to the challenge and be willing to make a temporary sacrifice; feeling absolutely sure that in the end, their cause will triumph.

Mr. E. D. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker. Speaking from this side of the House, I am speaking for the official Opposition. Mr. Williams has been fit to forfeit his seat in this Chamber. As a young man, I knew him personally before he left these shores for England, and when he came back, I discovered that he was steeped in the modern political views. After discussing matters generally with him, I found that he conscientiously felt that he should serve his

country, associated with the Socialist Party. I know, although we did not share the same political views, that he has left this island a hurt man.

I have known him, as I have said, and his family for many years; and I have often felt that he lacked the calibre to fight it out with his opponents. He has left Barbados a hurt man; because he always discussed with me the fact that he had been often vilified and referred to as a Communist by those with whom he tried to work. When the time came that he had to differ with them, they tried to discredit him, and besmirch him, and brand him in the eyes of officialdom as a Communist.

Seeing that he lacked the calibre of which I spoke, when he told me that he had been offered a job, I told him that it seemed to me that if he did not accept the job, he might soon be selling sweepstake tickets around here. I am not saying that in a derogatory way. I am perfectly convinced that Mr. Williams was a most sincere man, although he did not possess the gift of making flamboyant speeches. But I have listened to him, and he was sound. I told him that, because I have seen so many people in this country,—some who have survived the purge, some who have not survived it, and some who are still undergoing the purge. And there are still some to be purged. You can take from the Deputy Leader of the House and go around the table.

I say this, sir. One of the most pathetic experiences I have ever had, was to hear Mr. Williams, speaking from his seat in this House, appeal to the then Leader of the House to remember that he (the Leader) was the father of a young man. It was pathetic to me. That was why I told Mr. Williams that if he did not have the courage to talk and fight like some of the rest of us, he would soon find himself selling sweepstake tickets, if he were not careful. I knew that it was on the lips of every official in this country that Mr. Williams was a Communist.

Some of my friends may be alive when I am dead, sir. What I would like to ask of them, is to protect my children, or grandchildren, if they see them about to fall into the same trap that Mr. Williams fell into. There are a lot of youngsters who would like to serve this country. Sometimes I align myself with the hon. senior member for St. John, and I wonder, if we had had the opportunity, if we would have had the courage to survive the onslaught of tyranny and slander. Anyway, sir, Mr. Williams has gone. A lot of members of this House have been able to survive and sink their differences, because of their conscious effort and their ability to survive. But the purge is still on.

1.00 a.m.

I think sir, this is the first occasion, which we have to show our appreciation of this young man's services to the colony. This young man left these shores and went to offer his life for the continuance of democracy. Coming back to this country a qualified Barrister-at-Law, he offered his services to the Socialist Party, which he esteemed. It is public knowledge, the reason why he has now left these shores again, is because he could not get on. I think the least we can do today, although he has not been in this hon. Chamber for more than two years, is to show our appreciation of his services. I am going to say, this poor man's only idea was to help to do something for his country; but he left here a hurt man, because he was accused by some members of his own party of being a Communist.

He was not a brilliant speaker; but one thing we can say, that the lowliness of his birth did not prevent him from being placed in the category of a gentleman. He was a gentleman. I am going to ask that you place on record our appreciation of his services. (A VOICE: You cannot do that.) I was

saying, sir, that I was hoping I could place on record our appreciation of his services to the island, and our regret on his having to leave. I am sure members of this Government would not be so small-minded, as not to show their appreciation. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, I would say, that even if there were political differences between the honourable Ministers and the late honourable member, such should not prevent them from placing on record their appreciation of his services to this colony, and their regret that he has left. Because you might differ with a man, you should not let it go out to the world that you do not appreciate his services; and above all, his integrity.

Sir, on behalf of the official Opposition, I beg to associate myself with the remarks made by the previous speaker. We appreciate Mr. Williams's services to the colony, although we differed with him on many occasions; and we regret that at such an early stage in his political career, he had to leave the colony and accept an office of profit under the Crown. We pray for his success in the new field of his endeavour.

Mr. BARROW: Mr. Speaker,—I had no intention to speak on this motion; but I rise because, I want to clear up two misapprehensions which seemed to exist in the minds of honourable members who have spoken before me. I think that I am well qualified to speak on this matter; because, I do not only have the good fortune of belonging to the same profession as my colleague. (I do not mean in a parliamentary sense), but I also, like him, joined the Royal Air Force. I think all honourable members are aware, that Mr. Williams was a qualified navigator during the second World War. In addition to that he attended the same school which you and a lot of us attended, namely Wesley Hall; therefore, I think, out of all the speakers, I probably am in the best position to answer the allegations which have been made about him.

The first is that Mr. Williams did not have the calibre to stay here and fight it out. The only reason why you do not believe he had the calibre to fight it out, was because you had not seen him when he had something to fight for. When you say Mr. Williams did not have the calibre to stay and fight it out, you do not know that Mr. Williams was a first navigator on a Bomber Crew, and performed many operations with credit. (A VOICE: That was clean fighting.)

Most young people who took part in the second World War, had their ideas orientated by their experience and exposure, and the influences due to the particular stage of the political, and economic development through which the world was passing at that time; and it was at that very stage that there was an evolution in parliamentary government in Barbados. We take it as our axiom, that the people get a government they deserve; but there is no such thing as the ultimate triumph of reason or of good. I would like to disillusion the hon. members who spoke before me, on that. In Germany, there has been no triumph of reason or of good. The people of Germany are some of the most intelligent people in the world; yet they allowed themselves to be swept away by Adolph Hitler; and that sort of thing has happened to more advanced communities than Barbados.

1.10 a.m.

To the average young man taking a historical view of the whole situation in Barbados in particular, there is nothing which will lead him to the conclusion, that truth must prevail and that reason will triumph. It is very well to talk in terms of platitude of the

ultimate triumph of good, but it does not always work that way in history. I think that any person who is looking at the scene in Barbados, will say, that this is the type of Government which the people want; but to stay and fight it out, is something in which no man will allow himself to sit on the fence, and the iron will enter his soul, when he does not know whether he has principles, or whether he has abandoned them. That is the price which we have to pay for our political education; and the phase through which we are passing, is not going to be decided internally, by anybody who is fighting in the gutter. If you try to fight at a high level, and you do not want to lose your personal integrity or principles—I consider that far from not being of the calibre, the recent honourable junior member for St. Lucy has shown that he did have the calibre, and he refused to allow himself to be compromised by a situation, which is only in the hands of the people to remedy. Mr. Williams was one of those, who had the welfare of the community at heart.

On the question of Mr. Williams being called Communist there is a great deal of truth in what the honourable senior member for the City has said: that Mr. Williams' character was besmirched in that respect. I would go further and say, the mere fact that people besmirch Mr. Williams' character, is that they have besmirched the character of several members of the party to which I find myself at present aligned. That is one of the prices which you pay for political experience; and it is considered that the only way in which you can answer an argument, is to besmirch a person's character. I want to say, it is unfortunate that the honourable senior member for the City should have introduced that aspect into the debate, without allowing the people of Barbados to know who was responsible for it, and the reasons why it was done. I feel, that alone was not the prime consideration which urged the recent honourable junior member for St. Lucy to accept an office of profit under the Crown. When you examine the things to which the honourable member was exposed, you will see, that he had not only equipped himself most honourably in the political arena, but his conduct in accepting an office under the Crown, is consistent with one who did not want to get down in the gutter with people who want to fight on that level.

I want to say Mr. Williams received his education at Harrison College entirely through his own efforts; and when he went to London University in England, he did it largely by his own efforts, and with the assistance which he received from his brother; and that he really did not owe any duty to the community of Barbados, which he did not discharge. He discharged his duty to Barbados by fighting; and he was really a loyal citizen. Furthermore, by his own endeavour and the qualifications which he achieved, he is now in the position, and he has now gone into the light of a greater West Indian freedom, where he can move about and be of service at Federal level. He went from Wesley Hall to Harrison Col-

lege, from Harrison College to London University where he qualified as a Barrister, and he served in the Royal Air Force; and within three months after his return to this island, he was accepted by the people of St. Lucy. With that in mind, we need have no fear of his future because of his ability and integrity (Cheers).

1.20 a.m.

Mr. LEWIS: In so far as I am concerned, a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the people in this Assembly, through the previous member for the parish of St. Lucy having accepted an office of profit under the Crown. That is the reason which has been communicated to us for the absence of previous member for St. Lucy; and this is an Address which is fulfilling our obligations to the people of this colony, in asking that the vacant seat be filled. I must say, I have every reason to admire Mr. Williams for offering his services to the people as their representative, before thinking of his own personal security. I can say that, because I remember my own risk in doing a similar thing.

If Mr. Williams has seen fit to leave for reasons best known to himself, I accept his decision as one made in the best interest of himself, and the task that he has accepted. If any injustice has been done to him, I will tell him that he can take courage in the fact that he was a representative of the people of this country; and it is true that the heart of the people is sound. He can also take courage in the biblical injunction that the ungodly will flourish for a time. They may flourish for a long time, it is true; but they will flourish only for a time.

I think that we must accept Mr. Williams' decision. If we appreciated his being among us, I think we should place our appreciation on record. We are now bringing up-to-date our Representation of the People Act, because we have reached a stage of constitutional development, which we pride ourselves, is better than any other in the British Empire. I hope that the present Government will see fit to bring down an amendment, which will put Your Honour in a position which will be in keeping with that of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Your Honour should be given the right and the authority, (like the Speaker of the House of Commons,) to cause a writ to be issued for a bye-election. If we are going to boast about our political advancement, it is up to those who boast about it, to make it true. I am asking the members of the Government to give that some consideration; and to see, that it is introduced at an early date, especially now that we are changing the law as regards the Representation of the people.

The question that the Address do now pass was put and agreed to without division.

ADJOURNMENT.

On the motion of Hon. Dr. H. G. CUMMINS seconded by Hon. M. E. Cox the House adjourned until Tuesday, the 19th inst. at 3 o'clock p.m.

1.30 a.m.