
THE

House of Assembly Debates

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

SESSION 1962

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 20th June, 1962.

Pursuant to the adjournment, the House of Assembly met at 2.30 o'clock today.

His Honour E. L. CARMICHAEL, J.P., (*Deputy Speaker*); Mr. L. E. SMITH, J.P.; Mr. F. E. MILLER; Hon. C. E. TALMA, (*Minister of Agriculture, Lands and Fisheries*); Hon. J. C. TUDOR, M.A., (*Minister of Education*); Hon. G. G. FERGUSON, (*Minister of Communications, Works, Housing and Tourism*); Mr. R. S. C. WEEKES, J.P.; Mr. G. V. BATSON (*Chairman of Committees*); Mr. N. W. BOXILL; and Hon. A. DaC. EDWARDS, (*Minister of Social Services*).

Prayers were read.

ORDER PAPER

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move that the Order Paper for Tuesday, 19th June, 1962 be the Order Paper for today's sitting.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

The question was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

STANDING ORDERS 5, 14, 16 & 18 SUSPENDED

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: I beg to move the suspension of Orders Nos. 5, 14, 16 and 18 for the remainder of the day's sitting.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

The question was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

ORDERS TRANSPOSED

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to ask that Order No. 2 be the first Order of the Day.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like to appeal to the Deputy Leader of the House that we defer our discussion on the White Paper for some time and I am hoping that you will accept it with good grace.

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: Sir, I should have made a motion and I now do so. I beg to move that Order No. 2 be the first Order of the Day.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question.....

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I did not know that it was your intention to put the motion. I am simply asking the Deputy Leader of the House to give the country a little time to discuss the White Paper before discussing it in this Chamber.

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: It seems to me that the hon. member has not yet found his Order Paper. Let him look at the Order Paper.

Mr. MILLER: I remember that. I know that there is no Order Paper printed for today and the Deputy Leader of the House has just requested leave to proceed with Order No. 2.

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: If the hon. member had been in his place, he would have heard that I moved that the Order Paper for yesterday become the Order Paper for today's sitting.

The question that Order No. 2 be taken as the first Order of the Day, was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: I beg to move that Your Honour do now leave the Chair and that the House go into Committee of Supply.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

The question was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER left the Chair and the House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. BATSON in the Chair, 2.45 p.m.

RESOLUTION FOR \$1186

Hon. A. DaC. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman, in moving the passing of this Resolution, I would like to point out that on the 21st October, 1961, Mr. Henry Stockman came to Barbados for the purpose of advising the Government as to how best its resources might be used in carrying out a system of social security. At the time of Mr. Stockman's arrival, it was a question of purchasing furniture to equip the office which he temporarily occupied. It was not convenient at the time to purchase the furniture and therefore that furniture had to be rented at the rate of \$467 a month. At the end of Mr. Stockman's investigation - or when his tour was ended - it was found that it would have taken a considerable sum of money to pay for the rental of the furniture and that the cost of the furniture was \$1,186. In the circumstances, it was decided to purchase the furniture which could be used for equipping the offices of other experts who may come to Barbados from time to time. Inasmuch as no rental was paid for the furniture the Govern-

ment decided that it would be wise to purchase it. This matter is clearly set out in the Addendum to this Resolution. I hardly think that hon. members would disapprove of the purchase of this furniture; I therefore beg to move that this Resolution do now pass.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the Hon. Minister a few questions on this Resolution before the question is put to the vote. The Addendum states this:

"Now that Mr. Stockman's assignment in Barbados has ended, it is proposed that the furniture and equipment provided for him and his staff should be purchased and retained for the use of experts and advisers who are engaged by the Government from time to time."

I would like the Hon. Minister to tell me (a) whether they have any advisers or experts in the island who would be using this furniture and (b) if it is the Government's intention to keep this furniture in these rooms until such time as an expert or adviser comes to this island. One would think that there are many departments in which we could use this furniture. I would be glad if the hon. Minister would give me some information as to this point.

Mr. WALCOTT: Mr. Chairman, before the Hon. Minister replies, I would like to say that, looking at this Addendum, it states that Mr. H. W. Stockman, the Social Security Expert, recently visited Barbados. I have nothing against these experts; what I would like to know is when are we going to get any Reports from these experts who come here from time to time. Mr. Stockman has been here and he has left; I do not know if he has written a Report, but I do know that he came here with a view to investigate and go into some arrangement in relation to social security. We do not want to have experts on top of experts. I have just received from the Government another proposal for another body of experts to investigate some aspect of social security confined to the sugar industry. I think that the Premier knows my views on this matter and I will state them here. My Union is not satisfied with the idea that a scheme was drawn up for the sugar workers of Barbados more than three years ago and the matter is still to be investigated. We do not need anybody to investigate matters in relation to which we ourselves know what we want. We are capable of saying what we want; we know what we want and we know what the workers are in need of. Even if we start something on a modest scale now, let us do something and let the experts say what else can be done.

The last Government has had this matter under consideration; the new Government has it under consideration and I am saying that we are growing tired and restless in waiting. I would like to make it very broad and clear that the 1963 sugar crop will not be operated until the scheme is put into operation, because we are dissatisfied with the idea of the people in the sugar industry having to wait on this matter all along. The last Government dilly-dallied with it. We were told that Mr. Stockman is an expert; he has been here, he has left and he has not told us one word. We started something at the Port without the assistance of any expert; we have a scheme by means of which the employers have to provide 2% of the basic wages of workers. We have started the scheme and we can pay out some money. We say: let us start and do something and do not let us wait on these experts. These experts delay for too long.

I think that the Government should have a very bold and frontal policy. If we are not in favour of the Report, we can say that we are not in favour of it or otherwise. I am not saying anything about the furniture which they are about to get; I myself will buy that furniture, if the Government does not want it, because we want some at the Union and the furniture does not look to me as if it is very expensive. On the question of the expert, I have said what I have said because I expect to leave the island tomorrow and I think it would be a good thing if the Government is made aware, in a general way, of the feelings of a very important organization like the Barbados Workers' Union, where social security is concerned. I am sure that I have never asked the Gov-

ernment to institute a total social security scheme in Barbados because I am a practical man. With the unemployment figure to the tune of 30% or 35%, you just cannot do that. I am not asking anybody to believe that you can institute a total social security scheme in Barbados with the unemployment situation as it is at present because all of us would have to stop working.
2.45 p.m.

With thirty percent of the people unemployed, you just do not have the amount of money being thrown up by the working population to take care of those who are not working. For that reason I am one of those people who, as the workers' representative, say to each branch of the workers that until such time as these broader measures can be instituted, each group of workers must be prepared to underwrite a type of social security benefit within the framework of the industry or trade in which they operate. We had this in the Port, and told the workers that they are in a position to contribute; we told the Bulk Sugar people that they should contribute and we told the Sugar Industry people that we felt they could make a contribution.

We feel on this question of experts that it gives dependency to Government, and waiting to hear what the experts say creates a delay which brings on danger. I hope the Government will understand that the Union has been extremely patient. We have waited three years for this, and I do not think it would be saying too much that in any person's lifetime, three years is a long time. Some of these people have gone to the Great Beyond, and we would like to be able to bring about something before the others go.

Hon. A. DaC. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman, in answer to the hon. junior member, I would like to inform him that at present, to the best of my knowledge, there are no temporary experts in the Island, and the three rooms used for offices by Mr. Stockman are now occupied by the Government Electrical Department. The furniture was taken from these three rooms, and what could be stored without any sort of deterioration are stored at the new General Hospital. The typewriter, which of course should be in use occasionally, is being used by one of the Government Departments alternately with other typewriters, so that it would be kept in proper repair.

In answer to the hon. senior member for St. Peter, I would like to inform him that the Report has not yet been received from Mr. Stockman, but it will not be kept away from hon. members of this House when it becomes available. We do not believe in refusing to let hon. members know what is in any Report. When this Report shall have been received, it will be carefully gone into by the Government and hon. members will know what is recorded in it. I hardly think there will be any clashes between the social security scheme which is planned and the various funds of the sugar workers. We can only await Mr. Stockman's Report which we hope will be received in the not too distant future.

Mr. MOTTLEY: Mr. Chairman, am I right in hearing the Hon. Minister say that he has not received the Report? I ask that question because I thought we were told at one time that Mr. Stockman was not to make a Report, but was only to advise. Within recent years, some of the experts who came here made it quite clear that they were not making Reports, but were only advising the Government, and some of us in this House raised the question as to whether that was the correct thing to do, because no one knew whether the then Government would be changed, and it was not thought advisable that they should pay somebody just to come and advise them. Am I right in saying that there is to be no Report or that there is going to be a Report? When I was on the other side of the House, I remember distinctly that the Government said there would be no Report, and I think the hon. member should clarify that position for us, because if the advice is not in writing as in a Report, we would not know what advice has been given. I would like to hear the Minister explain that.

Hon. A. DaC. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman, I should like to tell the hon. senior member for the City that Mr. Stock-

man is sending a Report; he can only advise on a Report. I should like to point out quite clearly that this is not advice given to any particular Government Minister for his own personal use, as was done in the case of the Gillette Report. This is advice given for the benefit of this Honourable Chamber and the people of Barbados, and I want to make it crystal clear that when this Report is received, it will be gone into by us and hon. members will know what is in the Report.

Mr. HUSBANDS: Mr. Chairman, this Resolution seeks to provide the sum of \$1,186 for furniture and equipment. The Addendum says that "three rooms, furnished and equipped, were provided to accommodate Mr. H. W. Stockman, the Social Security Expert who recently visited Barbados, and his staff. Now that Mr. Stockman's assignment in Barbados has ended, it is proposed that the furniture and equipment provided for him and his staff should be purchased and retained for the use of experts and advisers who are engaged by the Government from time to time."

Am I to understand, Mr. Chairman, that this furniture which was provided to accommodate Mr. Stockman and his staff was on loan or rental before and has not been paid for yet by some arrangement? One hardly thinks that this furniture is going to be paid for again; that would be absurd, but as the Addendum reads, it is not clear. It seems rather unusual to me that the gentleman should reach the end of his assignment, and you are now purchasing this equipment and retaining it. I would like to know if it was on loan or on long credit and you are now asking for money to pay for it.
3.05 p.m.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Chairman, before the Minister replies, I think I can give some information in this matter. Perhaps the Hon. Minister in charge would know all about this matter, but fortunately for me the position is that I have handled this matter myself. The decision was taken that we take over and pay for this furniture. We were not quite sure then what would be the position, so we did not purchase it at the time; we said that we would note it for the future. We decided later to purchase the furniture. The Hon. Minister did the right thing because it would come in useful immediately for the new Hospital. The Hon. Minister did not explain this matter fully at the beginning. I telephoned myself and arranged it with Mr. Stockman.

Sir, it was a question of using \$3,000,000 on Poor Relief or handing out some old garments from a clothing organisation. There was only one request made to Mr. Stockman. We told him: "Go and tell us what to do with this \$3 million which is distributed in Poor Relief so that we can use it in a scheme of Social Security." Mr. Stockman has left his recommendations.

The Hon. Minister of Social Services is running into some trouble today. I do not know what he is talking about. He cannot even explain it. I handled it myself. You have decided to buy furniture and I would say that you did the correct thing.

I repeat, you want the Report from Mr. Stockman. (Mr. WALCOTT: What for?) That is the reason why he was brought here. You want to use it to the advantage of the country. You are dealing with a world expert who is acknowledged by United Nations. The hon. senior member for St. Peter goes from here to sit with L.L.O. twice a year and every now and then somebody is coming to him for his expert knowledge on Trade Union matters. Every year, the hon. senior member for St. Peter travels around the world and every now and then he leaves the country to advise somebody in another country with his expert knowledge.

Mr. WALCOTT: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I am sure that the hon. junior member for St. George was not quoting me - because I have not discussed the Report at all - by saying that we did not need the expert.

I was making a specific point in relation to the Government on specific matters on which I say that you did not

need an expert to tell us if we should have a fund in the sugar industry for those workers at the Port. I do not want an expert to tell me what to do on fundamental issues.

Mr. Stockman is coming to investigate a scheme which we are now carrying on by which we can have money to give sugar workers as a result of the change in the sugar industry. I do not want Mr. Stockman, L.L.O. or any kind of L.O. to tell me what to do. What the hon. member has said - and what I told the hon. senior member for the City yesterday - is that the last Government was so obsessed with the hon. senior member for the City spending \$2 million on Poor Relief that they would spend any amount of money in order to stop that member from doing what he liked. It is not my business if you are going to spend money to do that. I said that soon they may bring down an expert to say that I have too much power and pass some law to stop me. I say that because as soon as people get in power, they want to stop the people who have power too. It is a good thing that the world is like this. If everybody loved one woman, what would happen? It is a good thing that the world is like this because some dislike some and others dislike others, and it is a good thing too.

Mr. MOTTLEY: Sir, the hon. junior member for St. George said something to the effect that I would not like the Report and that I had \$1 million under Poor Relief.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I am asking the hon. member not to misquote me.

Mr. MOTTLEY: Sir, did the hon. member say that I did not want the Report? What have I just asked? I explained that I met Mr. Stockman. I have always advocated that if we are spending any money on any expert coming down here, it was the people's money; and therefore if the expert came down here and his hotel fees and board are paid by us, the Report should be forthcoming for the benefit of the people.

I remember when Mr. Cadbury was here that he said: "I am not here to write a Report; I am here to advise the Government." I also remember Mr. Stockman saying that he was here to advise the Government. It struck me strangely at the time. Therefore, it was news to me to hear the Hon. Minister of Social Services saying that as soon as they got to the Report they will release it. I simply asked if that was the Report from Mr. Stockman. The last Government said, when they brought down an expert, that he was there to advise the Government and not to write a Report. All of us in Barbados would be interested to see how Mr. Stockman would be able to tell us how to work a form of social security. For the hon. member's information, social security is not concerned with whether you are Conservative or whatever your political views are. When Mr. Stockman was here I showed him what we had on it from Chicago. As a matter of fact, he had figures from the Registry and the other Departments which were incorrect. We took him through the Civic and showed him figures as he compared them with what he had from the Government Savings Bank.
3.15 p.m.

Then in discussion he said "I am merely here to advise the Government." I really advocate that as long as you bring anybody out here, whatever they do is to be reported for the benefit of the general public.

Mr. HUSBANDS: Mr. Chairman, I hope that the Hon. Minister has the answers to the questions which I have asked. There were things which have had no bearing on the questions which I have asked. I hope the Minister will not forget my questions and will be willing to give the replies to them.

Hon. A. DaC. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman, I was rising to answer the questions asked by the hon. junior member for St. Peter and the hon. junior member for St. George thought that I needed help from him. I do not need any help from the hon. member; I am quite capable of carrying out my portfolio and fulfilling the functions of it. I do not believe in going around like a canary or a fowl cock; you wit-

When I pointed this out to the Premier of Trinidad in December 1961, he said that no delegate to the Conference in London in May, 1961 had taken the trouble to point out the statistics of Barbadian migration, because it would have made the matter much easier for him. The problem of freedom of movement is no problem at all; a man does not leave a country where he has relatives - and I think, perhaps, the hon. senior member for St. Peter can describe this kind of peripatetic existence in a better way than I can. A man does not leave a country where he can sleep at an aunt one night, at a brother-in-law another night and get a free meal from a cousin and so on. That kind of individual can at least work out a way of living without its being obvious that he is unemployed. He will take part in arguments around the street corner. When a fellow is out of a job he will go into a shop and have his argument. A fellow will not buy a ticket and fly to Trinidad just because Trinidad is in association with us. I pointed out these things to the Premier of Trinidad and he said that nobody had brought these matters to his attention, but it is something which he should have been able to reason out himself.

The reason why I have spent a little time on this aspect of an association of States under a federal system is that we decided that immediately on the establishment of a Federation, there will be free movement of people and goods within the eight territories. Because we made that point as to the conditions of an association, there is a body of opinion in Barbados adopting the same kind of limited imagination that induced the Government of Trinidad to think that freedom of movement will immediately bring about an invasion from outside. Right now in Barbados the managers of sugar estates have had to rely on labour from some of the neighbouring territories like St. Lucia, in order to get the crop brought into the factories. Let us face that situation. Right here in this island we have no freedom of movement. We have restricted immigration laws; and as regards the migration of people from one part of the globe to the other, that does not depend on what you write into any constitution. Right there in the United States of America it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a West Indian to enter the United States of America. We are limited from this island of Barbados to a total of 100 persons per annum under the McCarran Act of 1952. About eight dozen persons who have relatives or persons who are willing to sponsor them are able, if they want, to go to the United States of America. That is what Mr. McCarran decided. There are people in the United States of America today, people without passports, one thousand three hundred workers who have entered the United States under contract in order to get off some of the crops in Florida, Wisconsin, Connecticut and other places. Similarly in St. Lucia; they had to send people to work in the Dock Yard. There is no problem about freedom of movement; Trinidad and Jamaica took to the hills and said that they would not work for their masters anymore; there are those who sent 17,000 miles to China for people to work in the West Indies and now they say that the West Indies are over-populated. When you have people like the last Government talking about Barbados being over-populated, I have deliberately told them, and I will continue to tell them, that any Government has got to plan for a population of 400 thousand people, no matter what kind of restrictions you have. If you were to put a policeman in every bed - in relation to all the children in the next fifteen years, all of those of childbearing age have already been born. We know what kind of births we will have in the next fifteen years. Do not let us be perturbed about people having too many children in the West Indies, as we say. This problem was created by rapacious capitalism which had no regard for people's living standards, and people were only concerned about getting cheap labour to work on the plantations. They went to China and India and transplanted them to the West Indies to work. Nobody has ever gone to China to bring people to work in the United Kingdom and therefore they cannot adopt this attitude. Having de-tribalized them, they took away their religion and culture and then they tell us that we do not know how to manage our problems.

4.55 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, after having been invited by the Right Honourable Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State

for the Colonies, to come one by one between the 14th and 19th to discuss the individual attitudes of these Islands towards a new association consequent upon the Jamaican Referendum and expression of their intention to secede, on 19th January, 1962, the Chief Ministers of the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands and myself with the other delegates from the territories, went to the Governor-General's residence *en bloc*, not individually, having notified the Secretary of State that we had nothing to discuss with him in private that we could not discuss in front of all the others, and when we arrived at the meeting with the Secretary of State, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we had in front of us a document which set out clearly that the representatives of the Governments of the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands and Barbados had decided - not that we were asking permission; it is very important when you have aspirations of nationhood that you should make decisions and you should not ask questions, and that is why I enjoined the hon. senior member for the City of Bridgetown yesterday to stop asking questions and make up his mind which side he was on - to form a new Federation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is not a day in which you ask questions or permission for anything. This is the day when the people of Africa have demonstrated clearly to the people of the West Indies that the West Indians are dying from respectability and bowing and scraping to their imperial masters. The people of Africa have demonstrated that the way to get your desire is to take your destiny firmly in both your hands. There are middle-class West Indians without any cultural background, without any interest in the sociology of their countries, without any interest in mankind, strutting about the place like an army of occupation thinking that they are superior to the people in Africa, and the people in Africa have joined the Comity of Nations and are sitting around the Table at the United Nations on an equal footing with the people from the Metropolitan countries who formerly presided over their destinies. What we need here in the West Indies when it comes to matters of this kind, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is a re-orientation of our outlook.

In some countries, they have got very far. If a newspaper had published the kind of nonsense that I saw in one of our daily newspapers this week concerning the aspirations of the people of the West Indies, throwing scorn on these aspirations, the Editors and Directors of that newspaper would have had to leave the country, because these people have suffered too long to allow people to fool around with their destinies and fiddle while Rome is burning. I am only making a statement of what has actually happened that anybody can check on. I am not inciting anyone to go and do likewise, but I am only pointing out to people who enjoy the hospitality of our countries here in the West Indies, who do not want to wash dishes or scrub floors in the United Kingdom or in other metropolitan countries, but who want to bask on the beaches here in the West Indies, that they must be very careful how they go about the world indulging in the same kind of iniquitous behaviour that they get away with in places like Barbados. The inferences were clear.

There are a lot of Fascists in this Island. It is not Communism we have to be careful about; it is Fascism, because the dividing line between some of the Conservatism which passes for respectability in the West Indies and Fascism is a very slender dividing line, and you even have some so-called Socialists in the West Indies who are not very far from totalitarian Fascism. All this I am saying in respect of our future nation, because you cannot build material for a nation out of the kind of inferior metal that I see drifting about the place here in Barbados and in other places. All classes of the community, all sections of these communities, all income groups and everyone who lives in the West Indies must pull his weight. You cannot approve and reprobate; you cannot have all the advantages of living in a climate like this, in living in a free political atmosphere such as we enjoy with the right to exercise your vote in a democratic way, and still try to run down the country in which you live, whether you be a politician going up to England and encouraging people not to invest money in the West Indies, or whether you be a Socialite inside one

of these Islands just writing silly articles to the newspapers denigrating the masses of people, or making silly jokes about them or talking at cocktail parties in disparaging tones about their fitness to do this or to do that, as the hon. senior member for St. Peter demonstrated so clearly in his debate yesterday evening.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, these people will wake up one of these mornings in the same way as Marie Antoinette woke up. They had a rude shock in 1937. They ought to be eternally grateful to people like myself who keep on warning them; they are so far out of touch with the aspirations of the peoples and the sufferings of the peoples that they ought to be grateful that there are people like us around here in this Chamber who are prepared to preach constitutional development and economic advancement; because if there were not people like us in this Chamber, the safety valve would have blown off long ago. A word to the wise. They ought to be very careful how they attack the elected representatives of the people, because we are the people who by our respect for the rule of law and our respect and regard for Parliamentary democracy, whether it be Mr. Bird in Antigua, Mr. Joshua in St. Vincent, Mr. Le Blanc in Dominica, Mr. Southwell in St. Kitts, Mr. Bramble in Montserrat or old Uncle Gairy and all in Grenada, we are the people, no matter how flamboyant some of us may be in our behaviour patterns, who by trying to bridge the gap in a constitutional manner between the submerged one-tenth of the population and the slumbering one-tenth, allow them to go to sleep safely in their beds and wake up without any fear the next morning; and it ill behoves anyone of them in the columns of the Press or otherwise to try to wreck the efforts being made by the leaders of these Islands to bring them together in a strong, economic unit which will be able to stand on its own feet under a Federal constitution.

5.05 p.m.

It may have surprised the Secretary of State for the Colonies because here you had eight West Indian leaders and their advisers telling the Secretary of State for the Colonies that we had decided on a Federation which would have a Customs Union, which would have freedom of movement and that a large number of administrative functions of the Unit Government would be transferred to a strong Central Government.

On the 26th February, as you know, Sir, in this Chamber we had the spectacle of the opening of a conference of the leaders of the Eight territories unfettered by the interference of the Colonial Office. This was our conference and we elaborated on the decisions which we had made in January, 1962. We dotted the 'i's, crossed the 't's and held discussions right up to the 3rd March - that was from the 26th February up to 3rd March - and we presented a blueprint for a new Caribbean Federation. While we were carrying on this exercise, the leaders of the dying Federation were masquerading about the streets of London playing 'Ole Mas', as they say, in an attempt to do three things. The first was to prevent the people of Jamaica from getting their independence - which was nonsense; the second was to prevent the people of Trinidad from getting their independence - which was equal nonsense; and the third was to pose as the champions of the very people whom they ignored for these long years and to masquerade in the role of saviours of the Federation - which was absurd nonsense. The British people had the good sense to treat them with the contempt which they so rightly deserved, a contempt which was heightened by the fact that these people had danced on the hopes of the West Indian people by taking money that belonged to the West Indian people and voting severance pay or separation allowance, call it what you like, for themselves in fantastic sums.

The Federal Dissolution Act, called the West Indian Act, was passed in London on 18th April, 1962, when it received the Royal Assent. It had been introduced in the House of Commons and the House of Lords some time around 6th February, 1962. The Secretary of State for the Colonies on 16th April, 1962 announced that Her Majesty's Government had carefully considered the recommendations which had come from the Conference of Chief Ministers held under the chairmanship of the Premier of Barbados

and after scrutinising the document, Her Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion that a Federation offered the best solution to the economic and other problems of these Islands. We are very pleased that the British Government saw eye to eye with the leaders of these territories.

I have always been a federationist. I do not think a unitary state would do anything more than create more problems in these areas. I will continue to be a federationist, in so far as the West Indies are concerned, because I think our background and geographical and other matters of that kind naturally make the West Indies suitable for a federal system of Government.

What do you mean by a federal system of Government? I am not at all unaware that to a certain age group in Barbados - people of 50 years and upwards, let us say - the word, Federation, connotes some civil commotion, strife and disorder. It has passed into the Barbados language in that manner because the grandmothers and great aunts of those persons in that age group have told them about the Federation Riots which we had in Barbados at the time when Pope Hennessey was Governor of this Island, some 100 years ago; and despite the fact that those riots took place in Barbados over 100 years ago, the people of this Island still refer to a quarrel at a standpipe, whenever anybody joins in, as "federation down the road". Federation, therefore, had had an evil connotation in the minds of peace-loving people in Barbados and it was not surprising to me, coupled with the indifferent educational campaign on the subject prior to the Federal Elections in 1958, that less than 23% of the electorate of this Island turned out to vote in these elections. As a matter of fact, Sir, it is not surprising that a large number of people, when they heard that there was going to be a Federal Election, bolted themselves securely in their houses and refused to go out even to get a bucket of water at the pipe.

Our West Indian Leaders had their minds more attuned to the attractions of high office than to the education of their own peoples. On 23rd May, a Federal Order-in-Council dissolving the Federation was proclaimed and it is ironic that the date fixed for the dissolution of the Federation coincided with the same day in the same year that independence was to be granted. When the London Conference of May and June, 1961 ended, it secured the 31st May, 1962, for the date of Federal Emancipation Independence Day for the West Indies and, in short, the Federation was dissolved, or it died on the same day that it was supposed to be born. The West Indies therefore became a still born nation, and the authors of the demise of the Federation are still allowed to walk about in our midst doing further damage to the cause of West Indian people. That will always be a matter of bitter regret to me.

I do not want to make anybody a Thomas à Beckett; but from what I see in the outside world, I say that the people of the West Indies should have some self-respect and take some of these people and put them in jail. I am not speaking as Leader of the Barbados Government; I am speaking now as a West Indian.

What is this Federation which we are talking about in this Report? We are talking about a system of Government under which the contributing territories - the Eight territories - have decided to give up part of their governmental functions to a Central Government and to provide other functions to themselves. You will therefore say, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that in favouring a Federal Constitution, the most important matter which had to be resolved was the line to be drawn between those powers which you decided to surrender and those powers which you decide to preserve for yourselves; and it was because the West Indian leaders could not reach any realistic form of agreement upon the Federal Legislative list which contained the respective functions of the Federal Government and the Unit Legislatures that the last Federation was doomed to failure and was a weak Federation.

5.15 p.m.

Therefore, following the injunctions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Leaders of the eight territories

founded what we considered to be a Federal constitution which was more realistic in the allocation of powers between the Federal Government and the Unit Legislatures. As I have always contended from 1952 when I first spoke in this Chamber on the Federal constitution, there is an Exclusive List and a Concurrent List; but there are now three lists. Human ingenuity cannot devise exhaustive lists of all those functions which a Government may, from time to time, be called upon to perform. In that Exclusive Legislative List is set out the functions over which the Federal Government itself would have absolute and sole control and in the Concurrent Legislative List there is a large area over which both the Federal Government and the unit territories should have concurrent jurisdiction and control. What it boils down to is this; in matters which are on the Concurrent List, the unit Governments will continue to exercise control without being fettered by the Federal Legislature. It does not mean that the Federal Legislature would not have power to pass laws in these colonies, but it would be highly improbable that a Federal Government would want substantially to interfere with this discretion which is being vested in the unit Legislatures — Agriculture and Education and certain matters which should be manipulated from Port of Spain or Bridgetown.

It is difficult enough for the Minister to exercise control over private schools in Barbados, far more for him to say that he would take a trip to Antigua and tell the Educational Authorities what to do there. That is why you have Federal systems of Government; it has worked in the United States of America, the German Republic, Australia and the Malayan States. The Indian Constitution is very close to the Federal Constitution. It has worked in Switzerland and in Europe there is a march towards the Federation of European Countries. I cannot imagine, despite the eagerness of the present British Government to go into the European Common Market, that they intend to give up all of these controls which they have over the systems of Great Britain, to sacrifice all of that on the altar of having a unitary state which was the dream of some European statesmen as far back as the 17th or 18th century. Even in Europe where the people speak with one tongue there is a Federation. It is because countries which get to a stage in their development that they can go no further unless they have economic ties with other countries with whom they have had affinities, cultural and otherwise, see the necessity of strengthening their countries and going high by federating. From 1926 Barbados and the other West Indian Islands have had a treaty obligation with the Dominion of Canada. There is the Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement; but that does not mean that the people of Canada are anxious to enter a federation with the people of Barbados. We have no common destiny except that of migration. We have different economies and we are separated by an enormous expanse of water from the Dominion of Canada. All of these are problems which militate against a successful form of Federation between Canada and these West Indian Islands. We have no treaty with Montserrat, but we have had one with Canada for all of these years.

Let us take the neighbouring colony of Trinidad which wants Barbados and some other colonies to enter into some unitary state. Great Britain has not succeeded in having that unitary state between Ireland and other places. Right now there are serious representations being made to the British Government that Trinidad should be the partition between the people of African and Indian descent. A Government which cannot hold Trinidad and Tobago together hopes to hold Montserrat, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis-Anguilla including Tortola and Redonda. I am only demonstrating that right here in Barbados you have people who write things on paper and ask: "Why don't we go into a unitary state with Trinidad?" How could they talk of an association with Venezuela, Nigeria, Rio Pongas Mission, French Equatorial Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Curacao, Aruba, Singapore and Bonaire? That is the South Atlantic treaty organization that they envisaged and they cannot hold the people of Trinidad and Tobago together. And Mr. James had been threatening to secede from the Government of Trinidad just a few years ago.

5.25 p.m.

We have to think in terms of what we can handle at any time. There is no point in seeing yourself in these days as the liberator of the South Atlantic. I have never seen myself in a historical perspective. We on the Government side intend to do our duty according to the demands and the limitations of the society in which we live, to always lead from in front and not from behind, and not to mislead people with a lot of illusions of grandeur about South Atlantic Treaty Organizations. If there is going to be a South Atlantic Treaty Organization with all these different people and they can show me it would work, I will be glad to join it, but I doubt we will see it in our lifetime. I find it completely ridiculous that a country which has played cricket with Barbados and the Windward and Leeward Islands for the past 50 years, has participated in a Federal system of Government with these areas, will one day reject any idea of association in a Federal system of Government with the very areas with which they have been brought up, as it were, played in one another's backyard, and have these super-national concepts of a South Atlantic Treaty Organization and a wider Organization including Castro's Cuba, Guatemala, British Honduras and so forth.

That is the kind of paranoia you get from a certain age group of West Indian politicians, and we in Barbados have spawned that kind of paranoia as well, but most of them are out of the way; so it is left for us to get down to earth to our grass roots, and recognise that we are not living in a cabin cruiser, two Cadillacs-in-the-garage economy, with a deep freeze in the basement and a music room, although there are a lot of people working for the Governments in these Islands who aspire to that kind of economy, and are living out of touch and at a distance from the masses of the people in the country. When you get that kind of division in a country of people living on hire purchase in the one hand, and the masses of people living at a very low level of subsistence on the other, and being unemployed for seven months out of the twelve months in the year, you are bound to get certain divisive factors arising in the community.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the sooner we can bring the living standards of the people whom I have described as the submerged nine-tenths up to a reasonable standard, and prevent the demands of people who are already enjoying adequate living standards from exceeding proportionately those of the masses of the people, the better for peace and harmony in these communities. You will get no jealousy, no one will envy the other man for what he has, and you will get fewer standpipe rows when everybody has a standpipe in his own backyard. It is my social theory as well as my economic theory that if you want to stop standpipe rows, do not put meters in the house; give everybody a standpipe and there would be no standpipes to row over. I am yet to see a standpipe in the City of Port of Spain. I do not have to go to the United Kingdom and say that people in the United Kingdom do not have standpipes, because Britain is a bit too far away in any event.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you examine the social structure of Great Britain, you will see it is nothing to emulate, because up to today 45% of the people in Great Britain have to travel across their yard at night if they get a call. About 47% to 48% of the houses in Great Britain do not have bath tubs or showers in them; so that when an Englishman only bathes once a week, it is through necessity. He has to go to the municipal bath, and if he went every morning to the municipal bath set up by the City Council, or the Borough Council, or whatever it is, he would never get to work, because there would be such a long queue of people who do not have baths in their own home. But let us go to Port-of-Spain. You do not see any standpipes about there; it is true you have Shanty Town, but that is because the people do not have any pride.

Let us recognise, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in this exercise that when we are moving forward towards nationhood, all the people must move forward together, and you cannot have the politicians and the people at the top of the economic scale moving forward with one pace and being admitted to the Embassies and so on, and the other people on the outside looking through the rails as I saw in London, watching other people going to cocktail parties, because the econo-

mies of these countries have been built up by the blood, sweat, toil and tears of all of us, not by the people that we appoint to ambassadorial office alone. They may have made some contribution, but their contribution does not transcend the contribution which has been made by the masses of the people of these Islands. That is why this Government considers it absolutely necessary to take the masses of people in Barbados in its confidence. We have nothing to conceal.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as soon as we came into office, we invited the Leaders of the Opposition Parties and the hon. senior member for St. Peter to participate in the exercise in which we were then indulging. We invited them because we did not want to come down with the Decalogue from Mount Sinai and say: "I have given you this". We wanted to do it with the full and free consent of all the political Parties as representatives of the people of Barbados as the whole; and we will continue to operate in this manner, because it is only a fool who believes that he can fool the people all the time. It is only a fool who believes he can tell the people that he has done so-and-so for them, and when the people have one glance at the outside world, they see that more is being done in the outside world than is being done within their own shores with the same resources.

We have also decided on a Federal system of Government, because in areas like this where we have had political institutions and the people have come to recognise their political leaders, you cannot centralise every possible activity and function of Government in an isolated area to which the masses of citizens would neither have the access nor the time to visit to find out what is going on. If you believe in Government by consent, Mr. Deputy Speaker, or in other words, if you believe in democracy, you can only have perfect democracy where you have perfect information. It is impossible to have free competition. Let us take free competition as an example. There is no free competition anywhere in the West Indies today, because the same people who talk about free competition and enterprise are the very people who are always running to Government to impose some kind of embargo or sanctions or special duties or tariffs to protect them in their so-called free enterprise; so any thinking person would realise that the slogan "free enterprise" and that kind of thing means freedom to do what they like, but they still want all this kind of protection. But let us talk now about free competitions as an analogy to a democratic form of Government. 5.35 p.m.

You can only have free competition when you bring an interplay of the price maxim on an economy. You can only have free competition where people have perfect knowledge of what is going on everywhere. If a man in St. Lucy is selling flour at five cents per pound and a man in Bridgetown is selling flour at ten cents per pound, you can only say that there is free competition in that people will naturally go and buy from the man who is selling it at the low price if the consuming public is aware of the conditions in St. Lucy. A consumer is not exercising any freedom when he only knows what is going on in Bridgetown; therefore, the essence of free competition is that there should be perfect knowledge, and in that aspect of free competition, the man that is selling at five cents would either go bankrupt because he is selling below the market price or he would take away all the business from the man selling at ten cents. There must be no gate at the bottom of Colleton Hill, whereby the Northern District would be preventing you from entering Bridgetown; therefore, for perfect judgment it calls for free mobility and for knowledge of what is going on, and you cannot claim to be a Democrat unless you are prepared to make the people over whom you have control alive in the economic and political sense. If you allow these people to know what is going on, then you could say that you are indulging in the exercise of the democratic way of life. That is another reason why we say that due to geographical distances and otherwise, it would not be safe for all the power to reside in one spot.

People come together in Federation because they realise these defects and because they recognise that it is

necessary for economic advancement to surrender a certain amount of authority to the Central Government, but maintaining for themselves these functions which are best managed on the periphery rather than at the centre. Some of these functions I have already described, such as education, agriculture — primarily those two — and on the other hand, we have put matters like customs, things which deal with the outside world, international trade, university education on the Exclusive Legislative List, in that university education as distinct from higher education would be a matter for the Federation as a whole.

If you are building a nation, you should have more say in the thinking and education of the community. It is not my intention, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to deal with the recommendations in detail. For the past six months, I have done practically nothing but dream of the Federal Exclusive and Concurrent Lists. There is another list which is not mentioned at all and that list consists of those matters which are exclusive to the Unit Government in that they are not mentioned in the Concurrent List or the list which is exclusive to the Federal Government, and matters may be moved from the exclusive control of the Unit territories to either the Concurrent or Exclusive List only by a very involved process of amendment of the Federal Constitution. For that reason, these matters, along with other matters, have been described as the entrenched provisions of the Constitution. As I said, Sir, it is not my intention to deal with every single paragraph, or any paragraph for that matter, of this document in detail. I take it that the hon. members of this Chamber will have taken trouble to read the document for themselves and I will not at this stage be repetitive and will not tire you with a recital of the provisions which it contains.

I hope that hon. members will make some constructive contributions towards the debate. I shall be pleased myself to answer any questions which may be posed by hon. members. I think that after careful examination of the provisions for the Federal Constitution which are contained in this Report of the Eastern Caribbean Conference of 1962, hon. members will be satisfied that the Leaders of these eight territories are not wanting in commonsense and have made an honest and sincere effort to fashion something which will certainly last longer than the Federal structure whose passing we have just witnessed. (Cheers)

Mr. WALCOTT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have much pleasure in seconding this motion to approve of the document known as the "Report of the Eastern Caribbean Federation Conference". Before dealing with this matter, I think it is appropriate as the Hon. Premier did not deal with all of it, rather should I say that I was not at all times available and I could not hear all of his speech, but I heard the majority of it.

I am going to begin by stating that I am very pleased that I have been given the opportunity of entering this debate before I leave the Island, which is very short from now. My leaving the Island has been reduced to hours. I would like to say that I must first of all answer the critics of the motion who exercised your patience for some time. 5.45 p.m.

To begin with, I do not favour or like to be the subject of special treatment. It is repugnant to my own nature to be the subject of any special treatment. When I hear hon. members make the statement that this motion was ostensibly introduced to accommodate my departure, I would thank the Government for giving me that opportunity; but for hon. members to use that as a means of rail-roading a debate or when these phrases, which are hackneyed phrases, like "undue haste" are used, I must completely liquidate them before I enter this debate. Only a school boy entering a school for the first time and learning by air would want a postponement of this debate on grounds of undue haste. There are more than two reasons for going on with this debate. This motion was introduced in this House last week and it was stated that it was going to be taken as the first Order of the Day. Yesterday, Tuesday — not today, Wednesday — it was broadcast that we were going to debate this motion and when it was introduced I did not

hear any objection being taken to the debate taking place or that it should be postponed. As I say, you have boys playing by air and learning by air; you have a new dance and the banjos start to play. You have a song which runs: 'Too late, Cocky, too late, too late to contemplate'. (Laughter) I say that no objection was taken last Tuesday when it was broadcast that we were going to debate this motion. I am glad that I am blessed with a good memory; and my offspring is an elephant, if we have evolved from animals.

By a Resolution passed in this Chamber last Tuesday you have the whole nonsense suggested that this debate should be postponed. If this is done to assist me, then I am very pleased and thankful; but I am modest enough to say that I have made a study of these measures. As a member of this Assembly, I consider it my duty to do my homework and I also consider it my duty to be capable of debating any national issue which arises in this Chamber at the very shortest notice. I have been returned to this House on the basis that I am capable of making a decision in the name of the people; I should be able to speak on national issues at very short notice; otherwise there is no point in the people sending me here. I can also boast that I have spoken on this issue or on such issues affecting the people, more so than any other member has done. I have done that by holding public meetings; I happen to be in the fortunate position that I do not have to decide whether I have to hold a Party meeting. That is my decision. I get good information from my people in meeting them when I can, and I utilise every possible opportunity for doing so. Therefore, I am not out of step by saying that I have not consulted the people on this issue. I do not mean that the various organizations and the public should not be given full opportunity to discuss every aspect of this question; I am a Democrat to my backbone and I believe in the errors of democracy, of allowing the people to criticise whatever they please to. I believe that people have the right to reject the four freedoms. When a legislator says that he is not prepared to discuss this question - I may say that this document was not prepared only by the West Indian Leaders, but it was prepared by West Indian Leaders along with the Colonial Office.

The point of view of this discussion was ostensibly to do what was done in Grenada. This was published on the 24th May, 1962, and you can see what was the date of the Field Commission; that was published two or three days before this. The idea of giving this discussion is to see how much confusion you can create. The "Little Eight" may disappear to the "Small Six"; that is what is lurking behind the scenes. In the talk to the Colonial Office they want to inject the idea of a unitary state, but, as the Hon. Premier has said, that is a matter for the West Indians themselves to decide. I do not know why the members today have caught on to the newspaper argument. Let us examine the newspapers one by one by each. What is the *Advocate* newspaper today? A combine outside of this island gradually controlling the thought and thinking of this island through its publication by an outside source. It is not based on anything which the people have created; it is based on the impotence and mismanagement of people who reside within our shores and who are incapable of making things live for you. As an heirloom, some people will throw away Paradise. There are those who are trying to control the thoughts of these people.

The hon. member referred to the freedom of the Press, but what freedom of the Press is there in Barbados? There is freedom which will criticise some of us, but which will not criticise others. If "Ding Ding" were to commit suicide or even to stump his toe, that is put in the newspaper; but when it comes to other people you do not see anything published. You will see that a penalty of seven days' imprisonment is imposed on So-and-So and that is somebody who throws a stone somewhere; whereas other people go into Court as well and you never read one line about that. There is the freedom of the Press if they want to expose or to hold some of us up to ridicule. When last have you seen some people's names figuring in the Press for having committed ordinary traffic offences? But you see other people's cases publicised. There is a big headline in the newspaper when it is a matter of some people. Where you have issues which affect the working man in this community to any

extent, the Press does not bring those issues to the fore, and things are kept quiet.
5.55 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, newspapers operate for profit; so do not let us talk about any freedom of the Press. They operate for a profit, and if they believe they are going to hurt those people who spend a lot of money with them, they say nothing about them. They write a lot of fancy words to the effect that they reserve the right to criticise. If a newspaper wants to write all these things, by all means let them write them every day; nobody prevents them; but they should not tell us in the House of Assembly who have been elected here, that we have no right to start discussion on any matter because they did not have enough time to write about it in their paper. That is their business. I would like to ask what have the newspapers been writing about Barbados in relation to the European economic community. They have been giving the Barbados public no guidance on it. Their attitude has been to wait and see. Did Britain decide to have a Referendum before they decided to enter the European Common Market? What they did was to send some of their Ministers around the Commonwealth as a means of selling you the idea, because it is Britain's intention to join the European economic community.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, only this afternoon nineteen African States will receive from the Council of the European economic community \$18 million as aid. Why is it, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that members have talked about this undue haste? Is it because the newspaper wrote that? Members did not object to it last week; but let me remind hon. members before they begin to talk on that that the Government brought in a Resolution here without giving members an opportunity to discuss it by sending it to their homes, but they introduced it and asked for leave to deal with it through all its stages last week and members agreed. The Resolution, Mr. Deputy Speaker, was for \$650,271 which ostensibly underwrote this question of the West Indies Conference in London. What did it contain? It said that at the Marlborough House Conference in London in May, 1962, the Representatives of the eight unit territories comprising the proposed East Caribbean Federation agreed that as from the date of the dissolution of the old West Indies Federation, an office should be established in London to represent the interests of the eight units in matters of trade, migration services and industrial relations.

This House without any prior notice undertook to discuss that which was part of the Eastern Caribbean Conference in London. Nobody asked to postpone it as he did not have enough time to study it. That is why I say they are playing by air. It is just like in the old days when you were called up to see whether you know your work. There was no slate and sitting down in school; it was a question of mental arithmetic with each man standing side by side, and there was no chance of sending around a slate and getting a little copying. You had to work at full steam. You might be asked where is the Suez Canal and you do not know; or where is the Windward Passage, and you reply it is the passage which is between Haiti and San Domingo. Hon. members did not seem to have any time last Tuesday to hear anybody on this, and therefore they were at their full steam, and agreed to debate the matter, because the House could have rejected or opposed dealing with it through all its stages. They also dealt with the question of granting \$200,000 to set up a new service in London, all of which was connected with the continuation of the new Caribbean Federation. At that stage it was intimated that we would discuss this question of the Report which was in our hands anyhow.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Report is a Report on the Eastern Caribbean Federation Conference, and as the Hon. Premier and the Leader of the House have said, to initiate a debate is the function of Parliament, not the function of the Chamber of Commerce, not the function of the Press, not the function of the Press Club, not the function of the Jaycees, nor the function of the Trade Union. It is the function of Parliament to initiate a debate at any time on any subject that is of a national character. What I fail to understand is how the old members of this Chamber who have been

here for many years could fall prey to the kind of argument which would suit a new boy in school. Any member of this Chamber must be prepared at short notice to discuss any national issue, and I want to see this nonsense even with the Budget debate stopped. Any man who comes into this Assembly must have a policy formulated in his own mind, so that if the Government introduces a Budget, he is prepared to deal with it right away, because it is either in keeping with his own policy or he does not agree with it, and he should be ready to show that it does not fit in with his views.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, when you are in public life, you must already have built up a philosophy of all the known factors that make up your political life, social and economic. You cannot be guessing now what is your economic philosophy, your political philosophy or your social philosophy; so that when any Government introduces a major issue, you are prepared to deal with it, but the details would be subject to further discussion and investigation into which everyone must always have an opportunity to go. I say that to answer the critics both inside and outside the House that it is a weakness of legislative functioning to be playing for time when time is running out. Normally in cricket only a weak bowling side is found appealing for light. In the majority of cases, the batting side would normally appeal for light, because the bowling might be tight and they want light to see.

6.05 p.m.

The hon. senior member for the City said yesterday that the Premier and I are like twin brothers and I would say in this matter, today we are like twin brothers again, but on other occasions we are not even like half-brothers; when we are not even relatives at all, I would say so. This is an age for young, militant and dynamic thinking and action and not the old-time docile, hackneyed-horse concept which dominated the thinking of this Island, which was not indigenous to the circumstances of today and which was out of keeping with the growing aspirations of the younger thinking people of today.

I will never accept the dictum that you must patiently wait, and the slogans which you have given to the underprivileged by the biblical injunctions which have been used such as "everything cometh to those who patiently wait". A cough can come to you if you wait. All of the slogans, Mr. Deputy Speaker, like "meekly wait and murmur not," that very talk is painting the blues with harshness. They tell you that no matter where you turn there is always poverty, and making you believe that when you are poor you are the salt of the earth. All of that is said to make people docile. They also say that it is easy for these poor people to get to Heaven because Heaven is a place of Paradise for the poor, indigent and infirm: so you will maintain a holier life in Paradise. That philosophy is not part of the indigenous thinking of our people.

I am in complete agreement with the Hon. Premier and his Government for initiating this debate, if it is not more than to get the legislators of this House to get up and seek for themselves first. I would say to the Hon. Leader of the Opposition that I have been hearing from sources close to him that they are playing for a draw. You know, Sir, that when you are playing for a draw, it means that you do not want to win. You feel that you cannot beat the team, so you play for a draw.

Mr. MOTTLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise on a point of order. The hon. senior member for St. Peter has said that he has heard from sources close to the Leader of the Opposition that you are playing for a draw. Are you playing draughts? (Mr. WALCOTT: No; cricket.) I am not much of a cricketer and I would like you to explain that a little more. The hon. senior member for St. Peter seems as if he wanted to take a little breath: so I give him a little breathing space. However, I think the hon. member is making a mistake this time. I do not think we are brothers; may be, we are nearly brothers.

Mr. WALCOTT: As you know, Sir, you are familiar with cricket; when you cannot win a match, you play for a draw

so that you can get a few points. I say that because the Conservative members — if I use that term — have been advocating the postponement of this debate without giving any real reason why it should be postponed in Parliament. They have said that you should give the Chamber of Commerce time to consider it. Now, Sir, the Chamber of Commerce has said on several occasions that it is not a political body and that they are only interested in matters affecting trade. In any case, the Chamber of Commerce has more to gain by having a wider area to trade in, and I am going to deal with the Chamber of Commerce as I see that body. The Chamber of Commerce in Barbados is a stumbling block to real industrial expansion and progress. It is dominated by commission merchants whose sole idea is to create an empire of imported goods for redistribution in the Caribbean area, and that is the position in which they view the Eastern Caribbean area. If they dominate the scene they become the backstop of any industrial progress. That is why Barbados became the laughing stock of many of the other West Indian Islands and Trinidad walked out. The slow pace of Barbados thinking has caused that and it is not an indigenous thinking.

What I have to tell the hon. Leader of the Opposition and his colleagues is that because of this vision, they are representing nothing Conservative; because of this free indigenous thinking in this colony, which you find rising from the proletariat, today, in the middle of the twentieth century we will find them the political anachronisms for the whole country if they perpetuate something for which they have no common heritage. They are representing something which is absolutely out of keeping with their own heritage. They are only pawns for the planters and merchants of this country, holding nothing for us who came from Mozambique, the Belgian Congo, Nigeria and other places. Now that that is passing away, we find that they are adopting something which is negative to Barbadian thought, but in the background they want their thoughts to be percolating in the minds of this generation. This House of Assembly is the oldest and widest example of that thinking. Look around and see what has been thrown up in the minds of thinking people and it was as a means of the bloodshed of 1937.

That is how all these hon. members came to be in here. Let us bear that in our minds. I am sure the hon. junior member for St. Lucy will agree with me that at this stage of our existence and our desire for an Eastern Caribbean Federation Shelley's love poem is applicable. "Nothing in the world is single; all things by a law divine."

That is the most applicable statement to be made for the Eastern Caribbean Federation.

What I say to the Hon. Leader of the Opposition, I say to a very good personal friend of mine. As I have said already, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition and I are personal friends. I believe that he is the closest friend of mine in this Assembly. We are poles apart politically, but we are not poles apart in thinking in so far as our whole outlook would lead us to know that the progress of this country resides with people like us, and the age for even what he calls himself — a Conservative — has not real meaning. It is out of consonance with what our people want. You cannot tell our people that they want to be Conservatives. They have nothing to conserve. What have they? An eighteen by ten, an old box for a house, walking barefooted, is that something to conserve? A tin of condensed milk to last you for two weeks, drinking bush tea, drinking clammy-cherry tea, working a butter tot as a means of a cup — is that anything to conserve? I am sure you will agree with me that they want progress and I feel that the time has come that our views must be geared towards that. I would say this to those persons who said that this debate should be postponed for five weeks. As I have said, I do not want anything to accommodate my child. I thank the hon. senior member for the City for the kind remarks which he made of me when he said that I represent the view of a particular organization because I have given thought to this matter from the time I was in Jamaica in 1947.

6.15 p.m.

When the first Conference was held by Trade Unions and the political groups met in Jamaica in 1947, we went

into the matter. For seventeen continuous years, beginning here in Harrison College in September, 1945, West Indians have been discussing Federation. Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is true that all of the Leaders have not taken Federation to the people as a local political issue because in all matters of higher political thought, the average citizen is not as interested in such issues as you will find that the average citizen is interested in matters which affect him locally. What you can say of a community is that because the people do not express their views on this and that matter, the Leaders have to take it up. How many people do you believe at a public meeting will talk or are talking about the European Common Market? The average citizen only wants to know whether his beer is getting hit or whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer is bringing down anything to be taxed. It is for the Leaders to take a greater stand in these matters.

Federation is not a political issue on which the Leaders are working up enthusiasm; I am saying that more people will work up enthusiasm for Federation by saying that it will do something wrong, as has happened in Jamaica. You have to vote against Federation because if you were to tell the people — if all of us say that Federation will cost you more — a bird in the hand is worth more than all of the canaries who are whistling in the bush. To the masses, Federation is one of those issues which you cannot relate. When you talk about Federation, the people will ask you about the price of food; they will tell you that they want to hear about money. Their attitude is: what will they get out of Federation? The Leaders have adopted an attitude that you must approach this matter from the area, but what are we going to benefit from it? It is like all of us deciding that we are going to join a club. Each man has a dollar in his pocket, but if you agree that the club must have funds — I will say that some people want to give the club funds, but yet they must have a dollar in their pockets, not realising that if you are giving something to the club the club will be an entity and you will find yourself short of money. When you deal with this document, some of us will have to be prepared to tell the people what we feel about this matter.

We have allowed Jamaica and Trinidad — well, the boys in Jamaica and in Trinidad in their political thinking and action are like Wesley Hall Versus Sonny Ramadhin; before you can get down your bat, your stumps are out. We are still asking for guard when the centre stump has gone. (*Laughter*). That is very applicable to Barbados. I was going to Trinidad and I went to the Trade Union Conference. A man who came for me to go to the Conference told me that tomorrow this document will be published by the P.N.M. and they have no idea of going into Federation with the "Nine". They had so prepared it, it was done behind the scenes, and the P.N.M. "Nation" was bringing it out. When the Conference opened, the P.N.M. "Nation" was presented and it had the poor fellows from the Leewards and Windwards not even in position to call for guard. The Colonial Office was saying that Trinidad would remain in the Federation and Trinidad's action in going out shocked them. There was never a nation which had broken away from another nation and which could attain independence as quickly as Trinidad. There was the breaking away in February and in June they had independence. That was even quicker than Ghana and Dr. Williams is eligible to go to the Commonwealth Conference which is taking place in London in September. You have the Referendum in September, 1961, you have the Conference in London and agreement on independence; before the year has passed, you have Jamaica being independent and a Governor-General is appointed (*Asides*). You can give that part to the other group, not all of this talk about economic viability. There is no country in any part of the world where more people die during an election than in Jamaica; in that country every General Election is a killing state of affairs.

6.25 p.m.

It is known that Jamaicans could not read and write and that the Barbadians went there to teach them to read and write; but now they are the masters; they will have independence. Trinidad likes calypsoes and the people there will play their calypsoes for independence; it is something indigenous. But the people in Barbados play Mozart, Bee-

thoven and Bach. The Bajan does not like calypsoes, he likes Chopin because Chopin is his grand-father and Bach is his cousin; he is more cultural. We are the most cultural Colonial outpost.

When you talk about freedom of the Press, you find room for a Twentieth Century idiot like O. H. Johnson and all that he writes; those are the idiosyncracies that we put up with when people who have money produce idiots, and they feel that they are more entitled to live than a bright person who has come from bright parents but cannot get anywhere. We still have an anachronism and you see it in Broad Street where they still want to have white supremacy in Barbados, and some of the black people are being regarded as inferiors, and those are the ones who try to hold down trade. There is a minority of white people who believe that it is their divine dispensation to rule over us, that our position in this Legislature is by accident, and in order to have some measure of control which they can preserve, they make land as expensive as possible so that the masses cannot utilise the land nor can the Government purchase the land easily, thus creating a situation in which Broad Street and places in which trade goes on are preserved for them and the top positions must always be for them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you go down Broad Street you will see if it is indicative that in a community of 250,000 people, though the majority are black people, you cannot find many who carry on business in this area. We have to look for other opportunities like opening a pork shop or opening up private schools here and there to make a living. Formerly in the educational field they could buy a place at school, but now they have to work by test and not by chance; before, it was Mr. So-and-So's son who went to Harrison College. There was the foolish basis where children applying for entry to Harrison College would be asked where their fathers went to school. It was like a pedigree horse where you wanted to know who was "Jonathan G's" father. Some of that thinking still exists.

I feel that the cobweb should be removed from hon. members' minds so that they do not get this idea that hastening this thing is something against the interest of the people. For that reason I am in total agreement with the idea of initiating this debate.

As far as the content of the Report is concerned, I think hon. members will have to agree that it is a basis for anybody to discuss, because in many instances the Report follows very closely the original West Indian Federation. I do not think that the Government would be against any hon. member expressing his view, and I will give hon. members, who have not studied it as much as they would like, some of the points which I feel we should deal with. Before I deal with that specifically, I should like to say, as I said yesterday in another debate, that I consider that West Indians should take guidance from Africa. Look at the United Nations and see the number of African States in the United Nations, and then you will be convinced if we are right in trying to delay these matters too much longer. It suits the Colonial Office to put up this idea that there should be public discussion in order to allow people like Compton in St. Lucia, Cato in St. Vincent and John Renwick in Grenada, to create confusion. John Renwick was never elected to anything yet. These conditions are created so that confusion remains in the area.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I will say to the Leader of the Opposition who is an old politician, that when people want to work against you, they do not come out and say they are against you; they say they will leave you to yourself. Leave a well-trained dog to itself and see how much it would eat up. They are doing this and we are falling for it; but we have to be careful that we do not give the impression to the other territories that we are becoming another Trinidad or Jamaica. Jamaica walked out of the Federation, and Eric Williams said that if Jamaica came out he was going to take Trinidad out too; he did not have any referendum. The reason why Mr. Manley lost the election was because he was playing for too many stakes. You cannot play in the home wicket and want to play in the Test Match too. When

you are playing in England and they pick you for the Test Match, you have to pick somebody else from your side to play in the other game. Mr. Manley wanted to be Federal Prime Minister and rule Jamaica at the same time, and he felt that the best way to get that was to have a referendum, and if he had won he would have had complete control over Jamaica, and he would have gone to the Federation with his image dominating Jamaica. He played for these stakes and lost. His Party is a Socialist Party; and I always was in favour of the People's National Party in Jamaica as against the Bustamante Party. I am not a hypocrite. I like Manley and his Party, but because I like Manley and his Party that does not make me get stupid and say that Manley was not playing a foolish dice game. He was seeing a lot of money in the pool, did not know how to stop, and therefore when he thought he was going to come down on the right side, the dice worked against him. People are more fragile; you think you have them now and the next thing you know is that they have gone from you.

6.35 p.m.

Dr. Williams saw that; and after that, he did not go for any referendum; but as our Premier has said, Dr. Williams has much problems in Trinidad and Tobago and he is leading that country into independence with Dr. Capildeo, as far as I can see south of the border, desiring south of the Caroni swamp for Indians and telling you to set up an Indian State. You will remember that prior to colonial rule, India was India and after colonial rule, India turned out to be two countries — India and Pakistan.

Jamaica is due for independence as well as Trinidad very soon. In these other parts, you are having too much of this delay by what they call discussion, which is nothing else but dry argument without any water to drink, nothing to carry it down: and that is bound to end up in a quarrel. When you have too much discussion, you get another fellow coming up with another point of view. I warn the Hon. Premier that you should not engage yourself in any matter of dry argument. Fundamentally, this is not a question in dispute. Federation is not a disputed matter in which people are asking you whether you should federate or not. The realities of life make you federate. If you read the speech of Mr. Manley in 1947 at Montego Bay, you will see that he was out of the Government at the time; but he made a speech, the subject of which is that these people in Government have to learn to grow up. They should not think of the lily pond, but the bigger ocean. Here in this ancient chamber when the conference was held here this year in January, 1962, read all the newspapers. Did they say that we must have time to discuss the matter? They said that it was quite timely and the leaders were acting discreetly in their grappling with the situation. The Hon. Premier has acted much faster than the regular basis of thinking. There are a lot of people who believe in the old time poking game playing for a draw. You play for a draw when you know you cannot win. They say, let us wait and see what you can do.

In our society, the low income society, the poor has always been told: you keep in your place; you sit down there, you are too big for your boots and all that kind of thing. Now the Government is willing to do something, they are saying that you are acting too fast. There is no excuse why this other Federation should not be placed in the same position as that which Jamaica and Trinidad find themselves in. But what do you find? The big group was broken up and do you not see by the simple processes that two small elements have contracted out and have got more than those who remain? It is the view of the Trade Union that if you back out of the Union, you can go about your business and the next thing you know is that we contract out against you. That is what the Eight should press the Colonial Office to do. Let us see the logic of it. If you give Jamaica independence, if you give Trinidad independence, what is the justification of telling the other Eight that they must go around and see what the people want? Normally, if two persons working in an office say that they do not like what the other eight are doing, you do not say, 'Let the eight go home and the two of you stay'. It took the Federation five years to get independence and it is now taking Trinidad by herself and Jamaica by herself less than a year and Colonial Office is playing up to the other group and saying that it is an in-

definite period for you to get it; go and tell the people and let them talk about it.

Those of us in these eight territories should act like men. We should say that we want nationhood and we want to express ourselves in the context of a nation. I feel our not attaining nationhood more than hon. members. I leave here to go to Berlin tomorrow to attend a conference. I have been to Berlin to attend a conference in 1953 and that was a time when I met a man from Ghana who was lower in the context than I because that country was lower than the West Indies. Now, today, Ghana is an independent nation. As the hon. senior member for the City said today, places where I was asked to go and see if I could do something to build Trade Union and to help them, are today in front of us. You have in the West Indies a lot of pomp and ceremony; but if you see the situation in Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Tanganyika, there is nothing for the Barbadians to be ashamed of. The reason why you are to strive towards independence is to be able to say that you are living in a territory which is independent. The Africans were not slaves, but the West Indians were slaves; and the type of tutelage that slavery engenders in the human breast, even when he is set free, he still yearns for the idea of getting something free and saying: "what are you going to do when I get my freedom". Some of them preferred slavery because they said that they were sure from where they were going to get their meals. Similarly, some of the Barbadians do not like political advancement because they say that they do not know who is going to give them money. I say this. Those who want to join with Trinidad are political serfs of the century. Only a man who is a political serf would want to go and hold on to somebody who is bigger than he and who does not want to pull himself up from his boots and get something for himself. What I say to the Barbadian public and the Barbadian leaders is this. Do not allow Barbados in its favourable position in this small Federation to create an image in which you want to feel that you can overlord it over the others.

On the specific things which have been agreed upon, I would say that I agree with the Hon. Premier in that you do not want to break down your institution; but I feel that there are certain examinations which can be made on some of those things. They do not cost much money but psychologically they have a lot of fact. I am sorry that even Barbados did not agree at this conference to reduce their own Ministers because I am of the firm opinion that if you are going to have a strong federal structure and you are going to give some of these subjects to a congruous Federation, then it is going to be logical that you maintain a small local structure. You are going to repeat in the local arena your Judiciary service, tele-communications and some of the other subjects. I throw this out to the Hon. Premier because I am a Barbadian; therefore, I am not saying anything for Antigua. I have been elected by the people in Barbados and it is the people in Barbados who will throw me out. They have given me the authority to say what I am saying.

6.45 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would find it very difficult to reconcile all the present Ministries in Barbados if you are having a Federal structure overlapping some of the things which you have. We do not want to create any Federation with Ministers blowing a comb or playing a saxophone. These are the things which I have studied. I would like to see some changes in the Ministries. As to Agriculture, that is a question of laying down policy and the Minister's job is to lay down policy. When you come to Fisheries, that is also a question of policy on fishing and it is a question of how much of your time will be required in dictating policies. The Ministers have to be high-powered people. If a Minister thinks on the same level as an ordinary man, that is like putting a Rolls Royce engine in a bucket. You are not paid for seeing people working; you are paid for thinking when you are in the bathroom or when you are driving your car. You are not wasting any time; therefore you must have this high-powered thinking.

When Mr. Ernest Bevin was Foreign Secretary he used to think on the basis of ten men put together. This man was

General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Union. He made decisions on top of decisions for people all over the world. Things would be coming in from all over the world. You would have to employ about eighteen Foreign Secretaries to do Mr. Bevin's job; his job is to do the thinking for his Government and his Cabinet in relation to countries all over the world. You want people at the Ministries to work on that level; you do not want these people to deal with a meter or when somebody's pipe starts to leak or when somebody's toe has got stumped on a hydrant.

As to Industry and Tourism, that is more industry than work. These are things you have to think about. I do not think you should add anything to Health and Social Services because that Ministry covers a multitude of good things and also of evil things. On the question of the Ministry of Communications, Works and Housing, not so long ago in such a department a Minister could initiate labour programmes having nothing to do with the other portfolio with which he is charged. You cannot build houses by air; you have to use carpenters and therefore you must have labour. Within the Minister's own portfolio he can initiate labour programmes without any conflict. When you lay down a labour policy for the community to follow, it is also a labour programme for the Works Department to follow. The Minister should not have to worry as to whether a labourer should be paid so much and so much a day; that is something for other people to work out. It seems to me that it would be extremely difficult to get an efficient Ministry to function along with education. The Premier should always be free to play the roll of Jack; however the bowling is going he can come in. He should be able to take up all of these things and it depends upon the capacity of the Premier to determine how much a person can take out. I do not see any need for having an Attorney General and the Minister without Portfolio in the Other Place. If you appoint a political Attorney General, well, tell the Attorney General to look for a job. I do not see that you should appoint any yard fowl to get people afraid if you are against a Party. You do not want to have anybody to feel that the Attorney General would not prosecute you because you are a duck, but he will prosecute me because I am a fowl. I do not believe in having two Chambers; but, on the other hand, I live in a community in which the majority of people feel that they like two Chambers. Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is of no use your being in the clouds and still you are down on the ground level. In that light, I am supporting the idea of having two Chambers.

I consider that the Government of Barbados should be willing and ready to get leadership even on these matters. That would not deprive Barbados of its status. I feel that it is wrong to start to support a number of Ministries in the Constitution; that is wrong if you are aiming at self-government. The alertness of people and constitutional practices determine these things. The Premier can decide to make every member of the party a Minister, but you know that the community in which you live cannot tolerate these things. Some people say that they would have mistakes and that we like these mistakes. You appoint more Ministers - you can appoint as many as you like.
6.55 p.m.

We are politicians and we like the other fellow to do things. We sat here for many years and saw how the Government members were laughing at us; I remember the hon. senior member for the City saying that everything that goes up, comes down, and they laughed at him. We saw some of them come down, and when some things come down, they do not get back up in a hurry. I have seen some men boxing and standing up very long, but when they get one cuff, they go to sleep and sleep the sleep of the just.

I feel, Mr. Deputy Speaker, on the basis of the Ministerial position that in a general way an area should be found with which the West Indies can compare. I am one of those people who welcomed the advent of Ministerial Government and adult suffrage, and I am in agreement with the Hon. Premier that one of the vast changes made in the West Indies was the introduction of adult suffrage, because it has brought on the floor of the various Legislatures the thinking of the masses of people that exist in these territories. If you go to any West Indian Island since the advent of adult

suffrage, you will see that there is a marked change. I want to say to every person in Barbados who has not visited the territories that there has been a complete metamorphosis in every one of these territories with the advent of adult suffrage. Hon. members here may laughingly say something about Montserrat but it is remarkable to see what is taking place in Montserrat since they have their own people sitting in judgment on their own affairs, because they have tackled housing as representatives of the people, while in the old days people said those were things that should not be tackled. They have also tackled education. If you go to Antigua, you would not believe it is as small as you think it is. I will say to hon. members that in nearly every case since the advent of adult suffrage in the West Indies, there is better representation. Needless to say, even in Local Government the hon. senior member for the City realises the pressure of his own constituency. Without adult suffrage you would not find a light in Chapman Lane or roads in the New Orleans. The hon. member has been in this House since 1946, and the advent of the masses of people whom he represents along with us, has caused him to have lights in the areas in which these people live.

Let me ask you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, why carry lights where people do not have votes? The ones who have votes ask for roads, but if you carry them where you do not have votes, you will see how you would get back in! We know that in the old days when the masses came to meetings and shouted, they did not have votes. Today when you keep a meeting you may hear that people do not have votes or that they are not registered, but you are not sure; so the voices of the people indicate to us their desires, and we in turn interpret them. For that reason, I do not think that any of the leaders should be afraid of any entrenching in the constitution and any limitations to Ministerial positions. The Colonial Office at the beginning was feeling that members of the Windward and Leeward Islands were so unscrupulous and unreasonable, that they would put 89 Ministers in small places.

On the question of Federal revenue, I think that is one of the things which is going to attract the attention of the Barbadian community very much. It is not my intention to hold members too long because I realise that I will be leaving soon and they would have to discuss it, but I see here that the Federal Government would have available to it revenues from import duties, postal services, Court fees and currency profits. Any surplus of import duties deemed to exist by the Federal Government would be returned to Units on a derivation basis. Then there is a footnote which says that the delegations from Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat and St. Vincent expressed the view that the reserves should in no circumstances be accumulated by the Federal Government out of import duties. The United Kingdom Delegation disagreed on the grounds that this would prejudice what was essentially an issue of policy for the Federal Government to decide.

At the beginning the United Kingdom Government does not want to say what is going to be their financial commitment to the new Federation, and want to go around the bush. Now I want to say without any selfish motives to the Barbadian public that this is where the merchants have more to gain, and you have to watch it carefully. If you have a Customs Union in which there are no customs duties, the merchants in Barbados can order down goods and re-distribute them within the area without any further duties. At present, Mr. Deputy Speaker, if a man imports goods and re-distributes them to somewhere else, he is called upon to pay duty. One of the things I would like the Premier to give consideration to is letting the people know quite clearly and squarely that at the initial stage the burden of this is going to fall heavily on the masses of people rather than on the people in the income groups that they regard as people with personal incomes and company tax, because company tax is now going to be subject to legislation by the Federal Government, while personal incomes are going to be a question for the Unit Governments. What is going to take place is that if you remove the tariff on goods within the area - and this is where the Customs Union is going to be very important, - that is so much revenue you are losing, and in order to recoup the revenue which you are

losing from customs duty within the area, when you put it on to imports coming from outside the area, it means that the policy of mark-ups in Barbados would create an increase in the cost of consumer goods. I grant you that it is a short term measure, but it is going to be as short as five years and five years can put you out of power.

I say that, Mr. Deputy Speaker, so that the powers-that-be must undertake a study of the income tax situation. Now I speak in a selfish way as a Barbadian. We cannot say that the Barbadian is overtaxed from the point of view of company tax and personal income tax, and at the same time say that the man in the street is undertaxed, that he can pay more taxes and can therefore pay a higher price for the food he eats and the clothes he is wearing. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I will say that I am satisfied in my mind that the commission merchants in Barbados are not badly off. 7.05 p.m.

Customs Union is one of the things which the Governments have to watch carefully because you cannot put a tax on consumer goods lightly without its going to affect the purchasing power and the cost of living in Barbados. I am not talking about myself; I am talking about the masses. They eat food, I am dealing with the importation of condensed milk. If you do not have a pasteurised plant to preserve your own milk, you will have to import milk. You have to watch those things.

In this matter, the Premier will have to pay strict attention to Customs duties because I am sure that any member in his right senses would not dream of having this stricture which in itself as an initial beginning increases the cost of living for the man at the bottom, and you know fully well if that happens, you are begging for trouble.

The British Government should be told quite firmly that there should be no question whatsoever about this being a financial obligation to the people of the Federation from the beginning so that the leaders would not have to go to the people and burden them with the initial beginning of something because, as I have said, when we begin to develop, our economy would become more buoyant and certain of these things would settle themselves.

I am satisfied that these eight areas would become a better area for trade development and expansion because you will be utilising the best brains. The Federal Civil Service would be better used for the betterment of the people and your Judicial Service for the good of the people. Your agricultural service in Barbados can be utilised for the benefit of Montserrat; therefore, the area is not too big or small to utilise the best services which you have. I am hoping to see that the area as a whole would have the best development possible for the people. We should therefore put forward a plan to the United Kingdom Government for financial aid.

As I have said earlier today, nineteen African territories are going to receive from the E.C.C. £18 million. I would like to see these aids in the West Indies and I hope that the hon. senior member for the City would excuse me in referring to his remark in the preceding debate that "he who pays the piper calls the tune." I would like to obliterate that phrase from our economic and present day circumstances when we talk about emerging nations moving towards self-government. I would like to say to our metropolitan masters that we do not accept your being any piper who should call the tune in any economy which is indigenous now. Any loan which you are giving now you are giving for all that you had in the past from us; therefore, we do not think that we are asking any favours of you. We are like a son who is leaving home; therefore, we feel that it is a right and duty which you owe to us. We feel that the metropolitan territory owes these territories the obligation of putting them on their feet. I feel that we have the leadership and the men who are capable of doing the necessary.

I would like to say to the Hon. Premier that no country in the modern context of political and social development can advance without the force of the workers on its side: so it is good to have the unity of a government and

the working-class-movement within the context of a colony advancing to independence. There is no point of the Government of Barbados working without the aid of the working-class movement. Nehru did not work without it; Nkrumah did not work without it; Ben Gurion did not work without it. Whenever you are emerging as a nation, it can only be achieved if you dig at the whole substance. It is inevitable in the development of our territories. It is inescapable. Which country in the last ten years which wanted to achieve independence did not go all out on a full united basis? Although in the West Indies we have a complex, peculiar social problem, those of us who have the job and abiding philosophy must realise that it is incumbent on us to give the lead which these countries did not have before.

The Hon. Premier is in a peculiar position. The younger generation of Barbados put him and his Party in power not to make right what was wrong before, but to re-write in new touches something which was not seen with the youth of the present generation; therefore, you will be betraying the trust of the people if you cast aside all of the pressures which were used, if you follow in the footsteps of those who would not break away from the tradition of the past.

Sir, I have much pleasure in seconding the motion for the passing of this Resolution to approve of the Report of the Eastern Caribbean Conference, 1962.

Mr. MOTTLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it would be my turn to speak now and I am making my claim immediately; but at this stage on the point on which the acting Leader of the House gave notice for the discussion of this motion, I want to say that I agreed that the Hon. Premier should have initiated this debate so as to give the hon. senior member for St. Peter the opportunity of making his contribution, as we all realise that he represents a point of view in this country and is leaving the country tomorrow. Because of that, I thought that there should be no question of our delaying debate on it.

At this stage, I am suggesting a postponement of the debate. I am not going to enter into it at all now because I have taken my duties very seriously in this matter, and if hon. members think that is not so, let me draw their attention to this entire set of papers which I have here, which has nothing to do with anything else but this entire question of association of the eight territories in a Federation. It means that from the time I was asked to sit in Barbados at the conference, I attempted to study the whole situation, as I was not one of those who had the opportunity of attending other conferences, like the hon. senior member for St. Peter who has just spoken.

I am therefore suggesting, as I would have much to say, the postponement of this debate at this stage and I beg formally to do so now.

Mr. SEALY: I beg to second that.

The question that the debate be now postponed was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

7.15 p.m.

THE ADJOURNMENT

Hon. J. C. TUDOR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move that this House do now adjourn until Tuesday next, 26th June, 1962, at 2.30 p.m., of the clock.

Hon. C. E. TALMA: I beg to second that.

The question that this House do now adjourn until Tuesday next 26th June, 1962, at 2.30 p.m., of the clock was put and resolved in the affirmative without division, and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER adjourned the House accordingly.

7.17 p.m.