
THE

House of Assembly Debates

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

FIRST SESSION 2003 – 2008

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, July 13, 2004

Pursuant to the adjournment, the House of Assembly met at 10.00 a.m. on Tuesday, July 13, 2004.

PRESENT

His Honour I. A. ROETT, B.A., Dip. Ed., G.C.M. (Speaker)

His Honour J. M. EDGHILL, J.P. (Deputy Speaker)

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR, M.Sc. (Econ.) (Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and the Civil Service)

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY, Q.C., LL.B. (Deputy Prime Minister, Attorney General and Minister of Home Affairs) (Leader of the House)

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON, LL.B. (Hons.)

Hon. G. W. PAYNE, LL.B.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, B.A. (Hons.), Dip. Ed., LL.B. (Hons.), L.E.C., J.P. (Minister of Labour and Social Security)

Hon. G. A. CLARKE, B.Sc., Dip. Ed., J.P. (Minister of Public Works and Transport)

Mr. R. D. MARSHALL (Chairman of Committees)

Hon. H. F. LASHLEY (Minister of Social Transformation)

Mr. R. St. C. TOPPIN, LL.B. (Hons.)

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN

Hon. Miss H. E. THOMPSON, LL.B. (Minister of Housing, Lands and the Environment)

Mr. T. A. PRESCOD, B.A.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY, B.A., B.Sc., J.P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Attorney General and Minister of Home Affairs)

Hon. N. A. LYNCH, B.Sc., M.B.A. (Minister of Tourism and International Transport)

Hon. A. P. WOOD, B.Sc., M.Sc., M.Phil., J.P. (Minister of Energy and Public Utilities)

Hon. R. R. FARLEY, B.Sc., J.P. (Minister of Education, Youth Affairs and Sports)

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL, B.Sc. (Econ.) (Hons.), M.A. (Public Finance) (Leader of the Opposition)

Dr. W. F. DUGUID, B.D.S. (Comm.), F.D.S., FDRCS, J.P.

Hon. J. X. WALCOTT, M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S., (Edin.) J.P. (Minister of Health)

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS, B.A., LL.B. (Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade)

Hon. D. D. MARSHALL, LL.B., (Hons.), L.E.C. (Minister of Industry and International Business)

Mr. R. D. JONES, B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Ed.) J.P.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY (LL.B.) (Hons.)

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK, B.Sc., M.B., B.S.

Mr. R. L. SEALY, B.Sc., M.B.A.

Prayers were taken by Pastor Dale Brathwaite.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House is now in session.

MINUTES

Mr. SPEAKER: The Minutes of Tuesday, July 6, 2004.

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the Minutes for the Honourable the House of Assembly for its meeting of Tuesday, July 6, 2004, which Minutes have been circulated, be taken as read.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: I beg to second that, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: If there are no corrections or observations, then let these Minutes stand confirmed.

PAPERS

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I am commanded to lay the following:

1. Betting and Gaming Duties Order, 2004.
2. Value Added Tax (No. 1) Order, 2004.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Speaker, I am commanded to lay the following:

Gambling (Approved National Organisations) (Amendment) Order, 2004.

Hon. H. F. LASHLEY: Mr. Speaker, I am commanded to lay the following:

1. Annual Report of the Child Care Board for the period April 1, 2000 to March 31, 2001, and April 1, 2001, to March 31, 2002.
2. The Green Paper entitled: "Towards A Society for All Ages – A National Policy on Ageing".

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I beg to give notice of a Resolution to take note of the Green Paper entitled: "Towards A Society For All Ages – a National Policy on Ageing".

FIRST READING OF BILLS

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the first reading of the Final Appropriation Bill, 2004.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: I beg to second that, Sir.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that Standing Orders Nos. 6, 16, 18, 20, 42(5), 43 and 44 be suspended for the rest of this day's Sitting.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: I beg to second that.

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

ORDER NO. 6 – THE CARIBBEAN
COMMUNITY (MOVEMENT OF
SKILLED NATIONALS)
BILL, 2004

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for St. James North.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Speaker, it is with some sense of high public duty that I rise to take part in this debate.

Mr. Speaker, the name of the Bill which is before us is the Caribbean Community (Movement of Skilled Nationals) Bill, 2004. I was somewhat concerned when last week the Honourable Member for St. Philip West questioned the definition of skilled nationals, and in circumstances where he did so questioned that definition, he went on to categorise a number of workers who would normally be called skilled, as being unskilled.

Mr. Speaker, that was an unfortunate contribution but if there was a contribution with which I would have agreed 100 per cent, it would have been the contribution made by my colleague, the Honourable Member for St. James South, who insisted that the time had clearly come when we in this Honourable House must bear the responsibility to educate Barbadians about what is the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Sir, I think a useful starting point in the context of public education on the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and on CARICOM generally, would be to focus the attention of our nationals on what I would describe as the functional institutions within CARICOM.
11.20 a.m.

Sir, a useful point of departure is to focus on those institutions with CARICOM which, even when CARICOM was not as assertive and active as it was these days, always played a pivotal role in our development.

Mr. Speaker, I think in particular of the Caribbean Development Bank and at the level of the non-public institution of the West Indian Cricket Board of Control and others. Clearly, in a situation where we will focus attention on the development of the region, I believe that one institution that should get on board in addition to the Government is the University of the West Indies, an institution with a proud record and well-positioned, not only to continue playing the role it has performed so admirably over time but to actually get on board in respect of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and offer courses to educate persons about integration.

I recall there were times when the University of the West Indies addressed matters to do with the Caribbean economy but in circumstances where many people in the public are requiring that the population at the level of the grassroots should be brought on board of the integration movement, I think the time has come for the University of the West Indies to do courses to sensitise ordinary Caribbean nationals as to the importance of the integration movement and the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Speaker, it is summer time and the campus of the University of the West Indies is not busy teaching, so why can UWI during vacation times structure courses of a modular type and educate the public?

Sir, I personally believe in the bottom-up approach to economic integration in the Caribbean but, unfortunately, it has gone abroad that the leadership of the Caribbean is practising the top-down approach and in the process the ordinary man and woman in the street seem not to be fully on board as yet.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to depart from those opening remarks and focus on an aspect of the regional integration movement that is extremely important at this time. On or about March 1, 1996, an agreement was done within CARICOM on the question of social security in the region. That was eight years ago, agreement by CARICOM Governments to harmonise the national insurance and social security systems in the region. The overall agreement was informed by a spirit of co-operation requiring that by the time nationals of the Caribbean moved around to work that they would not be disadvantaged by not taking part in what we call the social security safety net.

Sir, I know an old man who worked beyond 75 years old precisely because, having worked in six CARICOM territories, he had not served long enough in anyone to qualify for a pension so he had to continue for a disproportionate high amount of time because we did not have in place then what was put in place on March 1, 1996.

Mr. Speaker, the idea is that by the time the free movement of labour gets going to a concerted degree that systems would be put in place by which persons would be able to contribute to national insurance and social security schemes anywhere in the region. However, the way it is intended to work is manifold.

In the first place, the overall agreement does not exclude bilateral agreements or tripartite agreements between member countries. For example, notwithstanding this agreement, there is nothing to prevent the Barbados Government from arranging a special social security agreement with Grenada or Jamaica because the overall CARICOM agreement does not preclude it.

Mr. Speaker, initially, recognising that this matter of regional social security has to be properly evaluated and reviewed from time to time, it was decided that where a Caribbean national was originally resident in a given territory that the first thing he should do is register in his territory before he moves.

If he moves to a neighbouring territory, at the point when he moves, he would inform his local National Insurance Scheme of the fact of his departure and inform of his new address. He would signal whether he wants to continue contributing to his original scheme or if he would want to elect to pay National Insurance in the place to which he had migrated. We are predicting that workers may go for varying periods and then come back. There is some inbuilt flexibility.

The categories of persons we particularly want to target and educate in relation to paying National Insurance would be the self-employed and seafarers categories. There was a time in the world when seafarers often worked for 10 or 15 years and much as they earned substantial sums while working, when they retired there was little or nothing for them.

CARICOM has decided to identify seafarers as a special group who are encouraged to register in their own original domicile but if the ship is carrying a flag of a different member state, they can register there and treat it as their original domicile.

We are also contemplating situations where if the seafarer has sent back 300 contributions to Barbados' National Insurance but had stopped off in Tobago for two or three years and paid 200 contributions there, then this is where the articulation of the system would occur.

Sir, from the Barbados end, the Law is that you must pay no fewer than 500 contributions to qualify for a pension. This particular person would be able then to draw out of the 300 from Barbados and the 200 from the Tobago situation. Mr. Speaker, we have to bear in mind that there is nothing to stop Barbados from having a bilateral agreement with Trinidad & Tobago to refine a system of equal benefit that can be harmonised the way it is intended.

Mr. Speaker, in the Caribbean we are people who do not practise revolution but evolution which means that development has occurred incrementally and in stages. Mr. Speaker, because of the fact that we are very much a group of pioneering Caribbean countries, we cannot devise a National Insurance system and take into account every individual thing which a National Insurance system can do and so, initially, like now so, we are restricting those matters to do with the agreement to long-term benefits. In time, as we watch what the situation with long-term benefits is worked out, we would most likely get to short-term in the next three or four years.
10.30 a.m.

Mr. Speaker, it means now that in the context of CARICOM Social Security, the benefits to which nationals who move around would be entitled, would be invalidity,

disablement, old age, retirement, pension survivors and death benefit. Let me distinguish between invalidity and disablement. A disablement benefit comes about when a person is seriously injured but with a prospect of returning to work after recovery.

Invalidity benefit, as the Honourable Member for Christ Church South would tell you, having worked with these matters closely and with great skill, and efficiency over time, an invalidity occurs where the disability is permanent and there is no prospect of the insured person going back to work.

Mr. Speaker, we, in this stage in our CARICOM experience, are focussing on the long-term benefits. In respect of that category of people we call the self-employed, historically in the Caribbean region, a lot of self-employed people have been rather complacent.

I know what it is, Mr. Speaker, to speak to fishermen who would whisper in my ear that they are earning a lot of money and when I tell them to pay P.A.Y.E. or National Insurance, all of a sudden they would come and tell you that their economic fortunes change, the second you raise the question of them making the contribution. The result of this is that a lot of us who ordinarily would like to persuade the self-employed to take part in National Insurance, often meet resistance.

Sir, in the Barbadian situation, and I believe this would become a norm in the Caribbean, if a person is self-employed and refuses to pay those minimum 500 contributions to his own contributory pension, that person cannot qualify for a non-contributory pension. It is a heart breaking thing that a person who can average an income of about \$3 000 a month for 10 to 15 years, in his or her last days having passed 65 years old, would not have managed the total incomes during working life well enough to be able to look after him or herself properly. I therefore implore all self-employed people to ensure that they register with their respective national insurance and social security systems.

In respect of the self-employed in the region, if a person is self-employed in St. Lucia at the start of his working life, he is required to register in St. Lucia, except if St. Lucia had a contrary agreement with any territories to which that self-employed person would be going over the next 15 to 20 years.

Self-employed people should really register in the country where they are at a given time. When they move around, they should register in their new domiciles, having informed the last domicile of their departure. Mr. Speaker, that way, we can have systems of Social Security providing long-term benefits to persons who contribute. Mr. Speaker, that way, the typical Caribbean person, who as I mentioned

earlier, had nothing to really resort to between 1962 and 1966, would be able to have some source of income in his late life.

Mr. Speaker, I am mindful of the fact that in recent times, certain persons known to us have lamented the fact that some pensions are teeny compared with the expectations of those who qualify. Bear it in mind that the idea behind a social security system is that on the principle of solidarity, those fit and able who work more or less make contribution to a central pool, out of which very many unfortunate people who may not have been either able to pay to the same extent as the average person contributing, or who pay very little, would be able to draw from some time in the future.

Mr. Speaker, social security systems cannot be so operated that the moment \$2 million or \$3 million come in that \$2 million or \$3 million can be paid out there and then. There must be a strong financial base and a system of investments by which some funds are invested to create more funds, in the interest of the long-term integrity of the Fund.

Every Caribbean country, Mr. Speaker, is witnessing an ageing population. In a situation where the population is ageing, the amount of funds required long-term is really great. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the point I am making is that to increase pensions in the short-term to a high level, could very well put pressure on those who are to be paid 10 years from now and beyond. Wherever there is an ageing population, as we have in the Caribbean situation and certainly Barbados, National Insurance Systems have to be operated and managed with care.

Mr. Speaker, there are other aspects of free movement which I would like to address. Last Tuesday, in one of our daily newspapers, an Honourable Member present in this Honourable House was quoted as suggesting that the time had clearly come to offer some type of academic comfort to artisans and persons who at the moment do not have any certificates or degrees to prove that they qualified.

Mr. Speaker, I told the Honourable Member that there is coming in Barbados soon, to the same extent that has come to Jamaica and Trinidad, a system where since the CARICOM Governments agreed in the 1990s that in the interest of free movement, we should have systems of certification to facilitate the free movement, Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados are moving now towards a system called, national vocational qualifications.

What is a national vocation qualification? Picture, Mr. Speaker, a mason, picture, Mr. Speaker, a brick layer, picture, Mr. Speaker, a steel-bender, who has worked for 20 years and has no paper proof of his or her competence.

Such a person, if he had to move anywhere in the world, cannot take proof of competence in circumstances where certificates really represent the best proof of competence.

The CARICOM Heads of Government before 1995, agreed that each Member State of CARICOM should have a council called the Technical Vocational Education Training (TVET) Council. Jamaica calls theirs HEART, a Human Education Adult Resource Training Council. We have, Mr. Speaker, what to me for some time had been a mystery called TVET. In my early political days in Government, I really quite frankly must confess that I knew nothing or understood nothing about TVET. I am happy today to report, Mr. Speaker, that the mystery surrounding this institution has been explored and dismissed.

What is TVET? It exists, as I said, in Jamaica as HEART, Human Education Adult Resource Training Council. It is called TVET in Trinidad, Barbados and other places. It is a Council that attracts funding. This funding is put to assist employers to finance projects for their employees who are in need of training. I repeat that, Mr. Speaker.

The TVET Council of Barbados, like its associates in other parts of the Caribbean, funds training programmes. Therefore, if there was an employer called, ISTOD which had 60 employees, he does not have enough money to fund the training of those employees, he applies to TVET. TVET comes in and asks precisely what training is offered, what is needed and ISTOD gets funding.
10.40 a.m.

Mr. Speaker, TVET funding is being provided for certain categories of services that are priority, for example, customer services, working in the hospitality industry, aspects of horticulture and information technology. Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados have started funding programmes. These funding programmes are so structured that the persons who eventually benefit from the fund, the employees, have to attend a recognised training institution.

Mr. Speaker, Jamaica and Trinidad have started offering national vocational training qualifications to persons who undergo training through TVET-type funding. These persons are then able to have these certificates as proof so that if they move to neighbouring Caribbean territories they can show that they are qualified.

Mr. Speaker, in November of this year, a pilot project will be started in the hospitality industry where we are going to take a select group of employees, fund their training and give them national vocational qualifications. In January, the steam and system will intensify and take off in a big way. Mr. Speaker, the Scottish Training Council came here and

gave technical assistance to and equipped our Technical Vocational and Educational Training (TVET) Council to be able to do the evaluation of training programmes aimed at providing these certificates.

Mr. Speaker, there are steel-benders, plumbers and electricians out there. However, despite their tremendous skills these persons were not given the type of professional or other recognition that they really deserve, so in the early 1990s, CARICOM Governments agreed to provide a system of vocational training to Caribbean nationals specifically designed so that when they move from Caribbean territories to territories they would have qualifications which are recognised in the territories from which they are coming and to which they are going. These qualifications will be on par in a uniformed way throughout the region.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot sit unless I tell this Honourable House that in the last five weeks the United Kingdom did a research on the professional and vocational mobility of university graduates and compared it with vocational graduates. They recognised that the vocational graduates studied catering, front office, plumbing and such like.

The newspapers of Great Britain between the end of June and early July – I do not remember the names of the newspapers, but in this day and age where information flows you can check – carried evidence that people who settled for technical vocational training earn faster and more than normal university graduates. They not only produced the evidence, they published the names and pictures of the people and how much they were worth.

Mr. Speaker, the point I am making is that years ago when people talked about the concept of the white-collar worker and the blue-collar worker, they saw the white-collar worker as a person who was placed to ascend or transcend the upper echelons of economies and societies and the blue-collar worker as occupying a relatively lowly social position in the scheme of things.

Mr. Speaker, the evidence is emerging that those who benefit from technical, vocational, educational training make more money, have more career mobility and, above all, have a sense of that which is entrepreneurial.

Mr. Speaker, as we speak then of the notion of the free movement of labour in the region, we must bear in mind all that I have said in this very modest and humble contribution. I have focussed on the need for us to mobilise our functional CARICOM institutions, particularly the University of the West Indies, to get on board with this Caribbean Single Market and Economy thing and to offer modules in summer and in vacation times to working-class people and other sectors of the society and the economy to get them on board, so that xenophobia and insularity can be dealt with.

Mr. Speaker, we also need to focus on the question of social security in the region. We have harmonised social security systems without prejudice to individual countries forming bilateral relationship with their neighbours. Mr. Speaker, in a situation where seafarers and self-employed people were identified as being at risk in their old age, I have urged such people to make sure that they take part in social security systems.

Mr. Speaker, I conclude by saying that Barbados is about to get on board with its national vocational qualifications in the same way and to the same extent that Jamaica and Trinidad have done. Mr. Speaker, by the time all Member States are able to develop their national vocational qualifications, artisans will be able to move around the region and take proof of competence which is accepted throughout the region and which is of equal equivalency to similar qualifications offered where they come from and where they are going.

Mr. Speaker, I have no difficulty whatever in supporting the efforts of this particular Government in terms of taking a very active part in intensifying the movement toward regionalism.

Mr. Speaker, the Barbados Labour Party's record going back to the 1950s is a proud record in respect of integration and federation. I therefore belong, at this point in my life, to a party that has nothing to be ashamed of in furthering the interest of integrationalism in this modern era.

Mr. Speaker, I am also advised by good sources, and I verily believe these sources, that notwithstanding Barbados' obligation before 1994, that were it not for the efforts of this Government since 1994 regionalism, as we know is evolving now, would not have been seeing the same momentum and the same inspiration that are known now to inform this noble movement. Mr. Speaker, may this movement achieve the type of success that its founding fathers were hoping for.

I thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, I rise with a similar sense of high duty as the previous speaker to make my contribution in what I consider to be a very important debate.

This debate started last Tuesday and we got some fairly conflicting signals coming from the Other Side which started with the Honourable Member for St. Philip West when he replied on behalf of the Opposition. Following his speech we had contributions from the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central and the Honourable Member for St. Lucy who made it quite clear that the Democratic Labour Party is all for furthering the process of integration and is in favour of the movement of labour, whereas the Honourable Member for St. Philip West seemed like a doubting Thomas.

The Honourable Member for St. Lucy reminded this Honourable House of the Democratic Labour Party's involvement in the process over many years. Indeed, when we listened to the Opposition spokesperson from last week we were left in no doubt that there was a serious disconnection between what he was saying during the better part of his discourse and when he was coming to his summary because he continued to be very confusing and incoherent.
10.50 a.m.

The Honourable Member for Christ Church East summed it up most eloquently when he said that most of what came from That Side by the chief spokesperson from last week could be captured in a few words when he said to non-Barbadians, our CARICOM neighbours: "There seems to be no room for you in Barbados". Sir, towards the end when he was summing up, to my surprise he then indicated that he supports the Bill.

Mr. Speaker, this is the type of subject, I daresay, that lends itself to a very serious discussion, both in and outside this Honourable Chamber. I think that all of us owe it to those on the outside who are listening to us, that when they come to this Honourable Chamber, they must think the issues through quite carefully because whether or not we want to accept it, it is a subject that has implications for every person in the Caribbean.

Mr. Speaker, when this subject was being discussed, one would have gotten the impression that the shapers of opinion on this subject, those who would have had a responsibility for educating the public on this matter, have not been doing a good job. Sir, at any time last week or previous to this discussion, has anyone made contact with any of the surveyed evidence to get a feel for what Caribbean people have been saying about the way in which the process has been going today.

Mr. Speaker, we have surveyed evidence from a poll which was conducted in 2003 by the Caribbean Development Research Services. The results from this survey in Barbados indicate that a majority of persons were supportive of the freedom of movement. They felt that the current approach in relation to the movement of skills is too limited.

Sir, let me repeat it because in a discussion of this type on the movement of labour within the context of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangement, this is very informative:

"In Barbados the majority of persons were supportive of freedom of movement and felt that the current approach in relation to the movement of skills, is too limited".

Mr. Speaker, there is further evidence provided through work done by one of our lecturers in Political Science at the University of the West Indies (UWI), Mrs. Cynthia Barrow-Gilkes. She has conducted research in St. Lucia, Barbados, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Antigua. Her results have demonstrated that more than half of the persons captured in her survey favoured intensified integration, while only 14 per cent were opposed to intensification.

Mr. Speaker, let me elaborate on the significance of these results because on the one hand, we get persons coming into this Honourable Chamber and outside, seeking to give the impression that Caribbean people have not been paying a close enough attention to what is being done to give practical effect to what is about to take place, that is, that all countries will move to get their systems and arrangements in place so that the Caribbean Single Market and Economy could become a living experience.

Sir, the results from the carefully conducted survey indicated, on the contrary, that Caribbean people, through recognising the implication of what the leaders in the Caribbean are aiming to do, how their lives could be shaped and what quality of life they could achieve while going forward, have all been responding to the questions posed to them in such a way as to suggest that they are fairly knowledgeable of the process. They have also indicated that they want intensified integration, and that the movement in respect of the treatment of labour across borders is too limited.

Mr. Speaker, we come to public life with a duty to ensure that not only at specific times should we go and seek to feed information on important issues which would affect the lives of our respective electorates but, as the Honourable Member for St. James North has said, we have a serious duty to ensure that we are part of the process through which the electorates are made and are kept aware of important social, economical and political developments.

Mr. Speaker, those persons in this Honourable Chamber who would want to give the impression that the electorate, the Barbadian populace, and those who are domiciled elsewhere, are not sufficiently interested in this issue, Sir, I say to them that those persons are failing the electorates in Barbados and elsewhere. We have a duty to ensure that something as important as arrangements which would lead to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy becoming a lived reality gets out and that we are part of the team that takes that message to the people and that we keep it before them.

Sir, we cannot expect researchers such as Mrs. Cynthia Barrow-Gilkes, university lecturers, Government and policies, or the technicians to do it. We have a serious duty

to be part of that process through which the educational process takes place. Therefore, how could one come to Parliament and their only contribution, like that of the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, which was that enough has not been said, enough is not known and that the people outside of this Honourable Chamber are sceptical, *et cetera*.

The Honourable Member has a duty to make sure that the people are taken through the process and that the skepticism which he thinks they have, is removed over a period of time. Mr. Speaker, this issue of the role of migrant labour in economic development is pervading this current debate. Sir, no one would dispute the fact that the historical evidence on this subject is unmistakable. Many countries, including Barbados would have benefitted as part of the migrant labour class that moved across borders over many decades.

11.00 a.m.

I hasten to add that some countries have suffered also because of the mass movement away from its shores which is the familiar brain drain problem that has plagued countries like Guyana for quite some time.

Sir, we have to understand the significance of the contribution that migrant labour is playing to the further development of Barbados. This subject was dear to my heart when I was at the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development because there were numerous occasions when persons in charge of farm units called expressing disappointment with the response they got from Barbadians to come and participate in the development of certain components of the agricultural sector.

When we looked at how the interest of the agricultural sector is being promoted with the involvement of migrant labour in Barbados, one would get a better appreciation for the role that such labour continues to play in the key sectors of our economy.

Sir, the same thing obtains in the construction sector because there is no secret that migrant labour has been playing its part in the construction sector in Barbados irrespective of what persons may want to throw into the discussion.

The Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central said last week that, notwithstanding where we have come in terms of the development of skills that, if close attention is not paid to attitude, discipline and the behaviour of Barbadian workers, that we would be contributing to our own disadvantage.

Mr. Speaker, I am of the firm belief that persons who offer themselves to public life need to do so with a sense of genuineness and a high degree of honesty *et cetera*. It was most unfortunate last Tuesday when the Honourable Member for St. Philip West....

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, according to our rules you cannot make such an implication about the honesty of another Member.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the remark. The Honourable Member for St. Philip West sought to suggest that there is something inherently flawed with the way our population statistics are compiled. He made mention of Census 2000 which indicated that the approximate 268 000 persons in Barbados does not include the estimated 30 000 non-Barbadians residing in this country. The Honourable Member for Christ Church East picked up on this point because it is most unfortunate when persons touch subjects which they should leave alone.

Sir, we know that the methodology employed when we conduct a census would allow persons with particular status to be captured in the exercise. To come in here and display a level of ignorance and suggest that there are 30 000 persons unaccounted for in the population statistics, is most unfortunate.

Sir, if we take what the Honourable Member said a step further, I think that as a public figure he owes it to the Immigration Office and to this system to let the Chief Immigration Officer know who are the illegal immigrants. He has a duty to this House and also a higher national duty to let the relevant authorities in this country know where are the illegal immigrants. Unless he produces the evidence, he owes it to this country to desist from repeating such allegations. Sir, I am certain that Honourable Members on This Side share a similar view to this.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. I made it clear in my presentation that if I am to accept the figures, as indicated, that I would have to assume that all the illegal visitors to Barbados can be identified. If I am to accept the figure, I would have to assume that every visitor happens to be legal and that there are no illegal persons in Barbados because I know it cannot be true. Sir, the figure quoted by the Minister and used as a point of argument does not make sense to me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, that is not a point of order. Honourable Member for St. Philip South, please proceed.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, I will continue after that unnecessary intervention by the Honourable Member for St. Philip West. Let us look at what is to be gained from

a controlled movement of labour, both of the skilled labour, the class that has been allowed to date, and the unskilled labour which the survey results indicate should be the next class to move into the integration movement.
11.10 a.m.

The Honourable Member for St. Lucy in his contribution last week, made an important point. He said that the Caribbean Single Market and Economy should be viewed as a regional response to globalisation. We know that the movement of labour and capital across borders will help the building of inter-regional trade, and should also help to build regional export potential. Let me explain this point.

Mr. Speaker, at the level of individual countries in the region, we find ourselves being unable to satisfy significant demands which are made for some of the products that are produced in the individual countries. When I say "significant demands", these are demands being made by persons living in countries outside of the region. We always hear that our small size of production, our inability to come together and aim to benefit from economies of scale and produce in larger quantities, would not allow us to satisfy the significant orders which some countries tend to gain from particular products, when we participate in international trade shows.

When I was at the Ministry of Agriculture and we discussed the issue of export potential of agricultural products, and how we need to structure the work of Government agencies of the BDC working in greater harmony with the Barbados Agricultural Society (BAS) and the trade attachés at the various consulates overseas, you hear, as a recurring theme that large distributors, resident in New York, Canada and London, favour our products but for it to be meaningful for them to enter into firm arrangements with local producers, we need to do two things.

We need to produce in significant quantities, relative to what is being done at the individual farm level or within the individual country. We need to ensure consistency of quality and the timeliness of the delivery of the product. Sir, I can assure you that prevents us being able to gain more export-oriented business.

I am submitting that one way around this will be facilitated through a deepening of the integration movement. I am saying, Mr. Speaker, that any arrangement that facilitates the regionalisation of production will allow us, to a considerable degree, to solve the problem of smallness of production, lack of economies of scale because of the lack of the size of the various units.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member has two minutes to conclude.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, I need to make a statement or two in response to the Honourable Member for St. Philip West who continues to speak from a position of skepticism and lack of courage. He continues to suggest that Barbadians would not want to move to another country to work or to establish businesses.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House because that is not what I said. I said that Barbadians would not want to move to a country where the infrastructure is not as developed and where there would not be the same wages paid.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, for this integration effort to succeed, that is the type of mind-set that has to be raised. If persons like the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, who is a public figure, continues to spout such, we are not going to go anywhere with the movement.

I am saying that there are opportunities that abound in countries like Guyana and other countries that are waiting to be exploited. The Honourable Member for St. Lucy reminds this Honourable Chamber how we have benefitted over the years, and it is time that Barbadians with proper business acumen, good access to financial resources, and good organisational capability operate with a different mind-set, and where opportunities abound go and exploit them, not only for the benefit of those countries, but for the benefit of Barbados in the process and in the region as a whole.

We have a pioneering spirit with which to function. There are some companies in Barbados, Mr. Speaker, that continue to beat the domestic market. They have demonstrated to us that they are capable of functioning in other markets. I am saying they have to see that there are opportunities for them to move abroad.

Sir, I am not saying that they should go and set up businesses from scratch over there. I am saying that through strategic alliances and joint venture arrangements, Barbadian entrepreneurs need to use their creative talents and the experiences they have gained to date to help with the further development of businesses elsewhere in the region.

Mr. SPEAKER: Could you conclude, please? Your time has expired.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Speaker, I would close by saying as I have started. This is a very important debate. I would admit that the movement of labour across borders is something that should be closely monitored. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the path that is being taken at the moment is one that is very carefully thought-out because at the end of

the day, this is a very important aspect of what would make the Caribbean Single Market and Economy a living reality.

I thank you.
11.20 a.m.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Speaker, I rise to join this debate recognising its importance and also to give full support to the establishment of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Speaker, it must be noted that the process of establishing economic integration in the region started formally in the 1960s with Barbados' greatest political figure, and perhaps the greatest political figure in the Caribbean, and founding member of the Democratic Labour Party, the Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow.

It must also be noted that the initiative to establish the Caribbean Single Market and Economy occurred under the leadership of another outstanding Barbadian and former Prime Minister of Barbados Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford in 1989 at Grand Anse. Therefore, we must understand that the process of integration is a must within the region. Without it, the economies within the region can only survive and will not prosper.

Mr. Speaker, I am therefore fully committed to the task of establishing the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. I have said on several occasions that I am an integrationalist, therefore I strongly support the need for the region to come together.

Mr. Speaker, I am also aware that this process requires an understanding of where we have come from, where we are and where we intend to go. Therefore, integration in the region cannot be confined to an economic task as it is as much political, as it is social, and as it is economic. In short, it is the coming together of several different dimensions of our life or being as a Caribbean people and should not be confined to the platform of economics.

Mr. Speaker, let me quote one of the outstanding thinkers in the Caribbean in the early 1960s and throughout the 1970s and certainly up to the time of his death, Mr. William Demas. Mr. William Demas in speaking to the question of the new Caribbean man and the need to have a new Caribbean man said that the first priority of the new Caribbean society must be to meet the basic needs of all the people in the society for work, food, shelter, clothing, education and recreation, and to ensure that these goods and services are equitably distributed.

Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as this speech was delivered on November 7, 1970, I think it is still relevant today to say that we need to ensure that the basic needs of the Caribbean people are met. In this regard, I therefore see the task of integrating this region as a major task and a compelling task for the politicians of this era.

Mr. Speaker, again, I wish to draw attention to the writings and work of Mr. William Demas, a much respected and revered man in the Caribbean, who said that there are several tasks confronting the new Caribbean man in creating the new Caribbean society. He identified four possible areas. He said that the new Caribbean man must know, understand and come to terms with his history. This is an absolute must for us in this region.

The second great task facing the new Caribbean man and woman – this is not gender neutral – is the creation of a distinctive Caribbean society.

Again, it is fundamental that we understand where we have come from as a people to understand where we are going. In this regard, again the coming together of the region is an absolute requirement for us to be able to create a new Caribbean society.

In fact, the tensions of globalisation and free trade are requiring us to think about where we are as a people and to see how we can best construct a new self-awareness and self-belief in order to be able not only to survive in the region, but to be able to prosper. At the centre of this has to be considerations of self first and foremost, who and what we are.

Mr. Speaker, I am therefore suggesting, in concert with the earlier thinkers within the region, that there must be an understanding of what is indigenous to the Caribbean and that in understanding the indigenous practices of the Caribbean, the mores and traits, will allow us to construct a new ideological basis for confronting this new global era. It is the only way in which it can be done because this is a major area of concern for us in this region.

Mr. Speaker, we not only have to think in terms of monetary policy and fiscal policy, or in terms of how to best bring together the region socially, we have to be able to put it within a context that is acceptable to the region from its ideological basis and standpoint, so it is still 34 years onwards that our thoughts have to rest on what should really constitute the ideological base or reference point for the creation of the new Caribbean society.

To my mind, this is perhaps the most important part of coming to terms with the creation of a Caribbean Single Market and Economy. From this standpoint therefore I now wish to delve into what is, in fact, relevant, what should be relevant and how we should proceed as a region.

Mr. Speaker, as I said before, the process of integration in the region would have started in the early 1960s. What we are seeking to do now is to advance the process by looking beyond the narrow confines of economics to the free movement of our people within the region.

As we know, over the years there have been certain forms of integration that have occurred which have been specific in that they might have identified particular individuals for free movement, but in an integrated region, we cannot seek to restrict the free movement of labour across the region. That is the view that I hold. Having said that, it is imperative that we understand the constraints to developments within the region.

11.30 a.m.

Mr. Speaker, the lack of availability, the lack of adequate financial resources, the lack of endowments that might have allowed us to develop at a faster rate, the capacity of our human capital and what it portends for the future of the region, the extent to which we now have to develop our human capital to be able to meet the challenges of a new Caribbean community in our society and, certainly, the question of our political systems within the region and whether or not, as currently constructed, they can deliver a new Caribbean society.

Mr. Speaker, the question goes beyond the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. Ultimately, within the region and perhaps after we have all gone, there might be opportunities for true political integration, that is, across the 15 CARICOM States, but that is an expectation that cannot be met in the foreseeable future.

Mr. Speaker, what are some of the issues that confront us as a region? I daresay the most important is the relevance of free movement to the creation of a common market. As we know in Barbados there is currently much discussion about the influx of Guyanese. Let me say here now that while we have to and should seek to encourage the movement of labour, we have to be concerned about our resources and about our capacity to manage the resources in the attempt to develop, not only Barbados, but the region economically.

Mr. Speaker, I am, therefore, suggesting that there needs to be a lot of work done on the existing constraints to economic and social developments within Barbados and the region, to be able to determine to what extent we could accommodate the free movement of labour across the region.

Sir, in any integration process, there is going to be some losers and some winners in the initial stages, that is, in the short term, it would be particularly difficult for any single economy in the region to grow at a fast enough pace,

to accommodate the influx of labour, given that no country in the region could boast that it has reached its maximum capacity or its full employment levels. Therefore, there would always be an emotional outcry over individuals coming from other Caribbean countries, seeking employment in our small country.

Sir, how could one integrate without having to cope with these kinds of difficulties? How could we integrate without having to recognise the constraints of one's own economy and society to deliver, not only for the inhabitants but for those who would come, eventually as a matter of being attracted to a better way of life?

Mr. Speaker, I have already asked a question in this Honourable Chamber. Why it is that Guyanese are passing Trinidad and Tobago which is to the North, and coming to Barbados? Why it is that there is not the same outcry in Trinidad and Tobago than there is in Barbados? What is it that attracts Guyanese to our shores, when, in fact, there is an abundance of evidence to show that Trinidad and Tobago's economy is on a major growth path and should be able to accommodate more than Barbados' economy?

Mr. Speaker, there has to be more to life than economics. There has to be more to life than the ability to earn a living, therefore, the extent to which people feel comfortable in whichever space they are in, seems to me to be a more important and a critical factor than the ability to earn an income. Therefore, for Barbados, there must be something beyond the economics that seems to be attracting Guyanese to our shores.

Mr. Speaker, let me, therefore, say that it might be a question of the social comfort they derive when coming to Barbados. It seems to me that it should be obvious that Guyanese should first be attracted to a country which is to the North, and which appears to have more financial and economic resources, but that they seem more comfortable in moving further north and coming to our shores.

Mr. Speaker, I make the point because it has implications for the future of our integration movement, in that people are not only going to move where they will consider they will have the greatest opportunities for financial or economic resources, but they will move where they consider there is greater social comfort to be derived.

Ultimately, life is about happiness and about satisfaction and not about material wealth only. In fact, were it about material wealth only, there would be no need for us to contemplate having a system which seeks to equate resources, one which seeks to derive equal opportunities for persons and, therefore, would justify the existence of a political system. In short, a political system is an attempt to make life better for the majority and not the minority.

Mr. Speaker, we know that it cannot be the case that it simply has to do with acquiring something material. It has more to do with deriving an inner conscience and a comfort with which one is satisfied and comfortable with over time. In short, it is about the quality of life, ultimately.

Mr. Speaker, in this regard, Barbados can boast, and nobody in the region can doubt when it boasts. Barbados is a small country and has been well managed to the extent where it has the most evenly distributed income in the region. Notwithstanding its higher wealth, Trinidad and Tobago does not have the same kinds of distribution of income of which Barbados can boast.

Sir, that is where Barbados has become attractive because historically we have tried to provide for a wider cross-section of the populace to derive benefit by way of the provision of social services, be it in education, health or housing, which may be lacking now but certainly there has been an effort.

Mr. Speaker, why is it that we are concerned at this stage in Barbados? We ought to be concerned because in as much as we can boast of certain benefits and gains, we can also be concerned because of an apparent slowing down in our ability to develop. To some extent, Barbados has stalled, and that has to be accepted. The rate of growth has diminished and, therefore, even in the absence of globalisation and regionalism, we need to stop and take stock of where we are as a people, because our human capital is no longer benefitting in the way in which it has 20 or 30 years ago.

Mr. Speaker, this brings us back to the question of the basic needs to which Mr. William Demas referred. Sir, the very basic needs that Barbados provided, which is better than all others in the Caribbean, was education. It was the basis upon which social mobility occurred. It was the basis upon which Barbados was able to eradicate poverty. It was the basis upon which ordinary folks in Barbados were given an opportunity for upward social mobility. Therefore, when we take stock of where we are and recognise that as a country, we are no longer producing the kind of educational output we did in earlier times, we have to be concerned as a country. We cannot feel proud that only 30 per cent of our students leaving school in Barbados at the secondary level gained certification of one CXC.

11.40 a.m.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. The figure based on the 2003 examination figures indicates 60 per cent of our students gained certification.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Speaker, I will not be trapped in statistics today. Let us even assume that the current Ministry of Education is correct that there is a

60 per cent pass rate at CXC, not too long ago, a previous Minister in the same Cabinet said that only 30 per cent of those leaving school in Barbados get any form of certification.

Sir, I want to praise the new Minister for having, in his short time period, presided over a rapid transformation of the achievement rate of school leavers at the secondary level. I want to praise him to the hilt for having doubled the achievement rate in less than one year.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: On a point of order. I do not want the records of Parliament to reflect what is not fair or accurate. Any earlier reference to those levels of achievement would have been 10 years ago and would have been a reflection of the leadership under the Democratic Labour Party. Sir, there has been a steady increase and improvement in performance over the years so it cannot be attributed only to this Minister who has been there for only a short time.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Speaker, I would not seek to locate this debate in a political box because the debate is too critical for me to get involved in political crosstalk. Sir, human capital in the region is vital for any transformation of the new Caribbean society. Therefore, if we are thinking in terms of bringing the region together, then we have to be concerned about the educational needs of CARICOM.

This leads us to look beyond the educational needs and to look at our health, housing and social security needs and also the question of job and job creation. It not only becomes an issue for individual States within CARICOM, but the collective state within CARICOM, and how we could better utilise resources to provide the maximum output for our people in the region.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: I was overseas with the Honourable Member for Christ Church West at an excellent seminar on Public Accounts Committees across the Commonwealth contrary to what I heard in the public about going overseas to take a rest. I should be in the highest spirits of my political life having just come off my greatest political victory ever and I can see no reason why I should resort to vacation.

Mr. Speaker, in the limited time available to me, I will try to put the Caribbean Single Market and Economy into a context that is relevant at this stage in our history. I see World Cup 2007 as a project that allows us to see, as a microcosm, what the future integration movement is about.

It is a wonderful opportunity for politicians within the region to understand that the delivery of World Cup 2007 is a test of the capacity of the region to integrate because, in

order to deliver the final output there has to be the integration of several different areas such as transportation, accommodation, social security, security and health concerns. Sir, there are several different dimensions to the delivery of World Cup 2007. Therefore, in the absence of any other test, 2007 is crucial to an understanding of the maturity and ability of the integration movement to deliver beyond 2007.

Sir, I do not have the time to expand but if we are going to move people freely in the movement, we have to improve the transportation services within the region as a first requirement because you cannot integrate if people cannot move freely. You have to be able to stay in Barbados and understand what is happening in Jamaica, St. Kitts or Antigua or be able to tune in to listen to what is happening in the rest of the region. Therefore, the question of BWIA and LIAT has to be put in the context of the need for rationalising our transportation system across the region.

Sir, I have said before, that somebody with resources needs to quickly invest in a ferry system of transport across the region because LIAT is too small to do it and would not be financially viable in the next 20 years. Sir, if we could have a ferry that could hold 400 persons, take cars and vehicles across the region, then we would be at the beginning of truly integrating the region especially in 2007 because we are talking about the ability to be able to move people freely across the region in very quick time.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member has two minutes to conclude.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Speaker, that is unfortunate because this debate ranges far and wide in terms of the issues confronting the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Sir, I deliberately stayed away from economics because there has been a lot of discussion about single currency but it is not a viable option at this stage. It cannot happen because the disparity is too wide between Guyana and Barbados. The lack of harmonisation and co-ordination of fiscal and monetary policy is also too wide. The question of harmonising your policies would be critical to the existence of a single currency.

However, I do share the opinion of a most learned economist in the Press today, that we still have to think in terms of finding some mechanism but which we can get the region to come together with respect to trading. Therefore, inasmuch as it appears to be difficult, it cannot be abandoned as an option because there has to be a currency unit to bring us together in the foreseeable future if we are to attain the goal of establishing the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you.
11.50 a.m.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Speaker, I thank the House for its indulgence in hearing me at this time. At the very start of this Parliamentary Session, I indicated that this House will have to preside over more historic change than any previous Parliament in the history of Barbados. The matters before this House today which are on the Order Paper relating to legislation to create a single market and a single economy is part of the historic dimensions for which this Parliament will come to be remembered.

At the outset of my short contribution, I relish this opportunity to speak to one important aspect, because I would soon have the opportunity to speak more amply when I introduce legislation to make Barbados CSME compatible by one stroke of the legislation.

Mr. Speaker, what I need to say in this debate, in relation to matters pertaining to the movement of our people would, first of all, best be summed up by recognising that there is no other Parliament in the world, other than Parliaments in Europe where the movement of skills and movement of people, as part of efforts to integrate economies, is on the Order Paper, as matters of national concern.

Let us begin by recognising, Mr. Speaker, that the Caribbean Single Market and Economy is the only integrating experience known to man, in the whole history of mankind, apart from the European Union that has movement of skills and movement of people, as an essential aspect of the process.

It is vital that we should understand this, Mr. Speaker, because the modern exercise to create an integrated Caribbean was started in 1947 by the Caribbean Labour Movement at important Symposia, first in Kingston, and secondly in Montego Bay. It is to be hoped, Sir, that those who have responsibility in today's world for the leadership of the labour movement, will not depart from the philosophical moorings that caused Caribbean integration to be the product of the successful ordeal of free labour in the Caribbean.

May I also make the point, Mr. Speaker, that I hope we can have a bipartisan consensus on this matter. What I want to say perhaps was better said and cannot be better said than was expressed in 1987 by the late Rt. Excellent Errol W. Barrow, when he gave his last speech to CARICOM, as a Head of State. The House ought to hear it because this really is the mission of this generation. He said:

"There are many crucial questions on our Agenda. There will be many different, even conflicting views. We have a long experience in surviving such differences, and we will survive them again, but there

is a fundamental theme on which I should like to think there can be no difference, and that is the absolute necessity to promote and to end the solidarity and the sovereignty of this regional Caribbean family. And also, the absolute obligation to discover those strategies and mechanisms, which will ultimately lead to unity of action in all major areas of our economic, social and political life. If we have sometimes failed to comprehend the essence of the regional integration movement, the truth is that thousands of ordinary Caribbean people do in fact live that reality every day.

In Barbados, our families are no longer exclusively Barbadian by island origin. We have Barbadian children of Jamaican mothers, Barbadian children of Antigua and St. Lucian fathers. We are a family of islands nestling closely under the shelter of the great cooperative Republic of Guyana. This fact of regional togetherness is lived every day by ordinary West Indian men and women in their comings and goings, the small traders and some not so small, who move from Jamaica to Haiti on what I believe is a legitimate basis, the same with Grenada, Trinidad, Barbados and St. Lucia, what some people call, the underground economy. But it is true that the laws of each territory may sometimes get in their way, but for the majority of these decent and industrious sons and daughters of the Caribbean, I believe that their business is continuous, though unassisted and legitimate, though unregulated.

I should like to believe that we are all committed to the principle of mobility and people interaction."

Mr. Speaker, this is the policy of a Democratic Labour Party as articulated and left for the ages as a statement of high philosophy by the late Rt. Excellent Errol W. Barrow. It was a matter of sadness to me, Sir, that there were some in here who aspired to be where the late Rt. Excellent Errol Barrow once was, in terms of leadership, who seem to believe that this vision of an integration process that begins first and foremost with the movement of our people, that there are some who believe, that this is foolishness and unattainable and it should become a subject of a xenophobic attack of the kind that this House really should not have at this time.

I want to plead with the House, Sir. The creation of a Caribbean Single Market and Economy is a regional project whose leadership is entrusted to the Prime Minister of Barbados, whoever is that Prime Minister. It is not my calling. It was not my choice. When I became the Prime Minister, it was something that I had to do. There is a duty on all of us in Barbados to give a distinct leadership of creating a Caribbean Single Market and Economy. I feel that unless we do so reflecting a consensus, Mr. Speaker, then, we are wasting time.

The need for a Barbados bipartisan consensus is for this reason. Modern Caribbean economic integration, Sir, began with the late Rt. Excellent Errol Walton Barrow in 1968. He pushed it since 1968. He was the father of CARIFTA. He was then the father of the Caribbean Community in 1973.

In 1989, the Grand Anse Declaration that called for the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and the free movement of people, was not a Labour Party endeavour. It was an initiative to which a commitment was given in our name by Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford.

We have always fundamentally believed in it and will always support it, but the notion that we can now have a divide on this matter, is to believe that politics in Barbados, Mr. Speaker, has lost its direction and that people have been uprooted from their philosophical moorings. Beyond that, Sir, as I said, the creation of a single market and economy is simply the most ambitious and maybe the most difficult enterprise ever created in the Caribbean. It is going to be made all the more difficult for a number of reasons.

In 1989, when this region committed itself to bringing a Caribbean Single Market and Economy into place, it was not as a result of the leaders of the day responding to a clamour by Caribbean people. Mr. Speaker, if you check the newspapers of July 1989, you would see no reference whatsoever to the fact that a historic decision was made in 1989 to take 15 economies that had, up to then, developed as separate economies and reconstitute them as one and single economy. There was no call by the leaders by their people in advance to embrace the concept. Therefore, this initiative to have a single market and single economy is an initiative that has not been blessed from the outset as has been the case in other places like Europe where there was wide public consultation and public consensus on the matter in advance.
12.00 noon

Mr. Speaker, if you check all of the speeches that were made between 1989 and 1993, I think it would be fair to say that although the Prime Minister of Barbados had lead responsibility for this, the concept of a single market and single economy was not a household issue in this country then. That is true. I am not trying now to disparage the efforts because I agreed that there should be a single market and single economy, but we must understand that a foundation of regional consensus was never created in advance for a single market and single economy.

Mr. Speaker, I stress that point because since Independence, our region has seen the flourishing of insular nationalism. There is no sense of Caribbean nationhood and no sense of Caribbean citizenship. People in the Caribbean are first and foremost Barbadians, Jamaicans, or

Trinidadians. People do not speak of themselves first and foremost as West Indians. Sometimes we may want to say that we are West Caribbean people, but the fact is that we have had 30 or 40 years of entrenched insular nationalism working as a divisive force in this region.

Many people seem to feel that you can compartmentalise economic integration and political integration and that you can build an economy without a sense of nationhood or a sense of cultural or political identity.

Mr. Speaker, I want to suggest to this Parliament that the efforts to create an economic union, such as a single market and economy is, no less difficult and perhaps might be even more difficult than having a political union because fundamental material issues of who gets what arise in trying to put an economic union together. This region seems to feel that building a single economy out of 15 separate economies is a simple thing and that you can do it without regard to what I called the basic preconditions.

Sir, I therefore make the additional point that we went by way of a decision in 1989 to have a single market and economy without the necessary preconditioning factors being addressed. If you are going to have a community, you must have communications. We are a region which wants to have the free movement of goods and services, but goods and people cannot move freely within this region even up to today.

Sir, on Friday we are going to have a meeting in Barbados in which we are going to try to address the viability of regional transportation in the region. LIAT is about to fail. BWIA is in problems. We want to have a regional economy based upon the free movement of goods and people, but the basic act of communications has not ever been properly addressed as a precondition.

Mr. Speaker, we have a region that wants to sell goods within the region, but nobody in Jamaica knows what is happening in Barbados on a daily basis, neither can anybody in Trinidad and Tobago listen to a Barbados television. You can see American television, and people can advertise American goods in the Caribbean on our televisions, but you cannot advertise Caribbean goods in the Caribbean, yet we want to have the free movement of goods. I am saying that fundamental issues about communications have to be addressed because the reality is that you cannot build a community without communications.

The most fundamental thing is that we have to evolve a concept of the Caribbean personality if we are going to have a Caribbean economy. Sir, those are things that make the Single Market and Single Economy that more difficult to achieve. They do not mean that we should not set out to achieve it because it is the only way.

Mr. Speaker, there are some of us like Barbados – and may I also make the point to the benefit of the nation and the House – and like Guyana too... In 1965 Guyana was a more developed country than Singapore. Guyana had foreign exchange reserves that were the envy of many. Barbados' industrialisation started in Guyana with banks, so there may be some of us who from time to time will in our little cracked nose be successful, but the effort to sustain holistic national development that is meaningful in a 21 x 14 space is a hard thing.

What we have done to bring this country to this stage where we have a great quality of life is an extraordinary achievement among mankind, but we take it for granted and we misunderstand what is going to be involved in sustaining this in this narrow environ unless we begin to integrate.

Mr. Speaker, I am resolutely committed with every sinew in my body to making the Caribbean Single Market and Economy a reality, whatever the difficulties, because I know that it gives us the only realistic chance to being able to sustain holistic national development. We may have doubts from time to time, and I respect when people reflect their doubts and misgivings because sometimes you have to speak narrowly to constituents. The fact is, Mr. Speaker, we must not lose sight of the bigger issue. This is our only serious chance.

Sir, I make the broader point that the Caribbean, even when we integrate, will still be the world's smallest and most vulnerable region. There are regions in the world that do not need integration as much as us and there are integrating because they recognise the benefit of it, but we the world's smallest and most vulnerable region sometimes have misgivings about that which is necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to have more than ample opportunity when I introduce the historic Caribbean Single Market and Economy Bill to go broadly, but I want to speak to this particular issue. As regard the movement of skills, there are many other trade pacts and economic arrangements across the world. The only other integrating experience that makes provision for the movement of people and skills is the European Union. What we are therefore involved in the Caribbean is in many respects uncharted territories in relation between nations. The widening of the European Union to include people who are not quite, British, French or German is already now exciting issues about whether factor mobility involving people is something that should be allowed because you get these kinds of tensions when we touch the raw nerves of the human aspect of economic policy; that is the truth.

I understand it, Sir. I do not get vex when people have these fears about they are going to take away jobs and so on. You are touching a nerve. A nerve is going to be touched in

the Caribbean and a nerve is going to be touched in Europe and elsewhere but the fact is, it is worth steering the course.

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure how far this legislation goes but I know what I have helped to agree with when we put the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas in place. There are certain categories of Caribbean people whose existence depends upon the regional market. If you are a journalist in the Caribbean, the reality is that you could only be a good journalist if you have to get involved in regional matters, so the regional market must be your space.

Sportsmen and artistes must look to, at least, a minimum of a regional market as their minimum space. For a reason that professes to be short of skills, it must be also true that rather than importing all of the people as we have done from the advanced societies that we have to allow the regional space to be the space for our professional graduates.

It would be an error, Mr. Speaker, to believe that the provisions for the Single Market and Single Economy limits mobility of labour only to those categories. Article 46 allows for those categories which require the regional space as their constant to move freely as they should.

Mr. Speaker, I know I was accused of being a frequent flyer by the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, but I went to London to support Sagicor because Sagicor is the future of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Sagicor is a company that started as a Barbadian company. It has become regional and it is about to go global. I went to London to let them know that I am with them.
12.10 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, they brought all their skills from across the Caribbean. There were persons at that meeting who were speaking with different accents but for one purpose, which was to take the company formed in Barbados, to make it into one company. That is what the Single Market and Single Economy is about.

Mr. Speaker, the reality is that Article 46 makes it possible for these things to happen, and when skills can move, then one would be able to form regional, then global companies. Sir, the point is that the provisions for the Single Market and Single Economy, as it relates to mobility of labour, go beyond just those categories designated in Article 46.

Articles 32, 33 and others, make provision for rights of establishments and for managerial, professional and supervisory people to be able to move, as well as self-employed persons or non-wage earners, including artisans.

Mr. Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West who I know is not a "Barrow-ite"...

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Barrow said:

"It is true that the laws of each territory may sometimes get in their way but for the majority of these decent and industrious sons and daughters of the Caribbean, I believe their business is spontaneous, though unassisted, and legitimate, though unregulated. I should like to believe that they are committed all to the principle of mobility and people interaction".

Sir, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West is not, he is a betrayer of the legacy of Errol Barrow but I would forgive him. I feel that one of these days he would go back to his philosophical mores. He is a little wild at this time. He is overtaken by little fractious issues in the Democratic Labour Party that have caused him to depart from his normal sensible balances.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the provisions in the Treaty of Chaguaramas are narrow. I also ask the Honourable House to understand that the Treaty of Chaguaramas is one negotiated across 15 countries and that, in many respects, while ...

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Speaker, the message I want to put forward is that the provision for movement goes way beyond those in Article 46 and contemplates the mobility of a large number of other entities such as self-employed, supervisory, and artisans. My own personal wish is that we should open it up because I believe that agricultural workers need to be spread across the Caribbean and that if we are going to save commercial agriculture in the Caribbean, we have to allow the movement of people who can help us to sustain agriculture.

Sir, I will go so far as to say, and I want to say it from this Parliament, that the probability is that at this juncture there would not be commercial agriculture in Barbados were it not for the great sterling effort made in this country by Guyanese, St. Lucians and Vincentians, who are coming here and are doing work Barbadians feel that they no longer want to do.

Sir, on the Floor of this Parliament, I want to thank them. I want to ask our Immigration personnel to stop treating them badly. They are still getting treated badly when they come here and it has to stop. The Government does not support it. There was a time when Barbadians used to walk the world to find employment.

Mr. Speaker, I worked in Jamaica in a serious position and I was not harassed by anybody because I was living there.

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: No, but every year I had to go and swear that my wife and I continued to share one matrimonial bed.

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Speaker, my own judgement is that the region should have a wide and handsome approach to the movement of people. The Treaty of Chaguaramas reflects that there is a market for it, at present, but I feel that in our application of the provision of the Treaty of Chaguaramas, we should recognise that there are skills in agriculture and construction that are needed in this country and that we should allow them here as much as we are allowing persons who have degrees in Engineering, because they are making quite a substantial contribution to the stability of our economy.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome them but I deprecate those who are lambasting them because we have a situation where the Government is now giving an incentive to the picking of cotton in this country, and Barbadians would not go and do the work.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make the point that in my constituency, I go to construction sites and I see Chinese working every day and for long hours, yet one cannot get Barbadians to work. Sir, the work ethics among some of our Barbadian workers is dropping and it has to stop, but I welcome those non-nationals in.

Mr. Speaker, like most things relating to regional integration, many people misunderstand what is necessary to support the movement of labour. One cannot move labour freely, without there being other things taken into consideration. For example, there has to be a protocol and a treaty for the avoidance of double taxation.

The Honourable Member for St. John would agree that a piece of advice that he received, which was proven to be wrong, was the advice that if Barbados were to have agreed to the CARICOM Double Taxation Treaty, that is to follow the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean Development States model but were to follow the other model that would have allowed for taxation at source, that something would have gone wrong with the Barbadian economy.

When we came to office, we said that was not true but that there was a need for a treaty for the avoidance of double taxation so that workers' income would not be taxed twice in order to support the mobility of labour. Sir, we put that in place.

There is also the need to have portability of social security because if people were to move from time to time, their social security rights assembled in one place must be transferrable from one country to another. Therefore, there would have to be a regional social securities system that would be agreed by all, and we have all those in place.

Mr. Speaker, as we are moving toward a common regional position in relation to pension fund management, as people would accrue pension rights in one jurisdiction and the portability of those pension rights in other jurisdictions is necessary to support mobility of labour. Sir, beyond that, different Caribbean countries are at different levels of development and when persons are allowed to move freely, the question as to what rights or entitlement to social and other benefits that would attend such persons when they move would arise.

Mr. Speaker, this is an issue with which Europe is now grappling, and if one would read Article 239 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, one would recognise that we in the Caribbean must understand that we have to put a protocol in place with regard to the rights contingent on people being able to establish enterprises and being able to move freely. Would it entitle persons to have access to our educational and health care systems? These are all fundamental issues that would have to be thrashed out.

Mr. Speaker, many persons quarrel about the pace of CARICOM without understanding that when one thing is set in train, that many other things would have to be done. For example, taking the issue of accreditation into consideration, what is the standard that one's country should accept if we are saying that people could move freely? Sir, there might even be more fundamental issues.

The Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas agrees that citizens should be allowed to move. In Barbados we have a conservative citizenry; citizens by birth and citizens by descent. Trinidad and Tobago does not allow persons who are not born there...

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Speaker, the Treaty of Chaguaramas says "citizenship" but what is "citizenship"? Is economic citizenship now to be recognised by the Government of Barbados? These are some issues with which we have to deal. We must pause the process to make sure that we get them all right.
12.20 p.m.

Sir, someone born in Russia who has been granted citizenship some place in the Caribbean is entitled by that

Act to come and enjoy the right to live in Barbados and to access our social service. Mr. Speaker, we all would agree that we should get it right.

Mr. Speaker, I am sharing with the House some of the matters that cause Heads often to have to pause the process and take matters that we have agreed with in principle and support them with additional administrative, institutional and other measures so that the policy can be carried into effect as swiftly as possible.

Sir, having just returned from the Heads of Government Conference, I will use this opportunity to give the House an update where we are generally with the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy and where we are going. The House is aware that the region has agreed to the programme to create the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy by 2005.

The creation of the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy involves us implementing the arrangements under Chapter 3 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas to remove across the region over 450 restrictions that have existed over time to allow movement of services, capital, rights of establishment and mobility of people.

My Government is on target, through the legislation that is now before us, to give effect to our obligations by the end of 2004. Sir, Jamaica and Trinidad are also committed to honouring their commitments to create the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy by 2004 through legislation. There are other Caribbean countries in the OECS, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, St. Kitts, Dominica and others, who have to do it by 2005, who have now started to advance the process. The Heads have agreed that there is to be no relaxation of the timetable to have Chapter 3 and hence the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy in place by 2005.

There are aspects of the single economy relating to harmonisation of policies, the convergence of policies, collaboration in relation to building of economic sectors as set out in Chapter 4 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas to which we now have to give new definition in relation to timetables and very clear specifications of programmes. Sir, this matter has now become urgent and we have to galvanise the region on matters relating to the single economy.

The single economy essentially means that we have to begin to harmonise our policies on fiscal matters, investment, the financial sector as well as other sectors. Sir, it is urgent in some of these sectors and Honourable Members of the House would be aware, for example, that the Europeans have decided to reduce the price for sugar by 37 per cent over a three-year period.

Mr. Speaker, our sugar industry's primary export would not be able to sustain a blow as severe as a 37 per cent reduction in its prices without adverse consequences. The moment is upon us to deal seriously with the rationalisation of the sugar cane industry because while sugar as a bulk commodity may not have a future, sugar cane has a wonderful future because many energy products can be produced from the sugar cane.

We now need to have a regional programme to accelerate the research and development into alternative uses of sugar cane. Sir, once energy prices have started to stabilise as high as \$40 a barrel, alternative energy sources become viable.

Mr. Speaker, in the Caribbean in building a regional economy we have to do two things. We have to rationalise our approach to what I call the sunset industry, like sugar and bananas, and do this on a regional basis. We also need a regional co-ordinated approach to the development of what I call the sunrise industry.

Sir, the opportunity to have a sea island cotton industry across the region is real. Let us agree that Guyana might be the best place to produce sugar cane for export but we must have a regional programme to which we are committed to find alternatives for the sugar cane.

Sir, there are industries in which we can all participate as a region like sea island cotton. I have been saying that the Caribbean is the only region in the world where 53 per cent of cruises originate, but we have no presence in the cruise industry. Our hoteliers keep quarrelling about how much money they want the Government to take from the Florida Cruise Ship Association on head tax rather than come together and build their own Caribbean cruise line so that we can have intra-Caribbean cruises.

We offer a unique attraction among nations as the only region in the world that offer a different destination, a night's sail away, but we quarrel with the Florida Cruise Association rather than build Caribbean companies in the cruise business that would allow us to maximise inputs of food, entertainment and management. Sir, rather than quarrelling about the crumbs we are getting in the form of a head tax, we would be able to get substantial income from the cruise business.

Mr. Speaker, our region imports US\$1.3 billion in food each year. Sir, this is a staggering figure. We need a Bank of a Caribbean company in which people across the Caribbean could invest to start using the resources of the region starting from Belize in the west to Suriname in the east to start addressing that market because it is both a problem as well as part of the solution. We know there is a demand for \$1.5 billion that is not being met by the region but we have the resources to do it.

Mr. Speaker, if we put the industries together to start producing foods in the context of regional food security arrangements as part of Chapter 4, consider what would be the prospects for Caribbean development in terms of income, employment and foreign exchange generated in savings? We would be tapping into a lot of unutilised resources and also enabling us to match what we produce with what we consume. This is what Chapter 4 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas commits us to deal with.

Sir, at the meeting of the Heads, as Prime Minister with lead responsibility, I have put to my colleagues that, in the same way that we have set time lines which we are meeting in relation to the issues of the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy, we now have to set time lines in relation to the issues of the single economy.

There must be a Caribbean investment code and certain sectoral programmes in place by 2005. We want to have the framework for the single economy hammered into place by 2008 but, critical in this respect, must be the creation of a regional development fund.

When countries start integration on equal levels of development like in Europe, factor mobility makes sense only if people are indifferent to the way they live. People will not be indifferent to the way they live if they have unequal standards of living, so what we have to do is lift everyone up to a relative safe standard. If we do that, then mobility is not an issue.

Sir, Europe addressed this by structural adjustment funds and social cohesion funds that deliberately earmarked a portion of the sources committed by European Union members to help the weaker countries like Ireland, Portugal and Spain to be developed more rapidly than the rest of the integrated area and, as a result, there is relative harmony and development in the 15-member union.

Sir, our own integration process requires us, given that we have started on unequal level of development, to have a regional development fund in place. The proposal I have made to the Heads is that it makes sense for the Regional Development Fund to be created coincidental with the OECS countries bringing their obligations into existence by 2005. If you ask them to come into a single space, you should also create the funding mechanism that will allow them to be able to be uplifted in that single space as well.
12.30 p.m.

I must say, Sir, that I want to thank the President of the Caribbean Development Bank for preparing a paper which I presented at the Conference and which is going to be available for circulation on how a regional development fund for the Caribbean should look.

Mr. Speaker, we also have, if we are going to move forward with a single economy, to begin to deal with a very important matter that can easily be dealt with because we need an early harvest of success. Contrary to a lot of misconceptions, ours is not a region that is short of capital.

Our Barbados, Mr. Speaker, has hundreds of millions of dollars that every month, is bid to take up Treasury Bills at 1½ per cent. There is excess liquidity in most Caribbean economies. Our country now has foreign exchange reserves that are more than twice what people regard as necessary for safety. We have been allowing our institutional investors, because of a shortage of investment opportunities at home, to invest some of those institutional resources abroad.

This is a region, including places like Barbados that has had an important experience in operating international financial institutions. There has been the embryonic aspect of a regional stock exchange for some considerable time. A Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy must eventually come to take the form of a number of companies like Sagicor that are pan-Caribbean companies. They may have started as national companies but they are pan-Caribbean companies in the form of their ownership and operation, but they have a global focus.

This could only be encouraged and become a reality if we have a regional financial and capital market that allows us to be able to move capital from where it is abundant to where it is scarce, but more especially, to allow the regional capital market to be able to finance the operation of new competitive pan-Caribbean companies. A Barbadian does not have to go and live in Guyana, Mr. Speaker, but can have an investment through a capital market in enterprising Guyana, and that is the point.

Therefore, at the Heads of Government Conference, thanks to the Central Bank of Barbados, Barbados was able to present a Concept Paper on the deepening of the regional capital market. I believe that if we can get the capital market of the region united and pool the resources, all of the plans that are necessary for sectorial development will be that much more easily dispensed.

Trinidad, which I think has been well in advance of most of the region in terms of capital market development, Sir, has already shown how a robust set of entrepreneurial can, in fact, help to evolve new enterprises in the Caribbean, by true capital market integration.

Mr. Speaker, the issue of a monetary corporation was also the subject of a presentation by Barbadians, through our lead responsibility. What I am seeking to do from my perspective of Prime Minister with lead responsibility is to move the process forward, by presenting concept papers to Heads of Government Conferences on matters I think are

crucial for the integration process. At the meeting we made a Paper not on a regional development fund on a capital market, but a monetary corporation.

Mr. Speaker, I want to use the words, monetary corporation because monetary corporation and a common currency are not one and the same. Initially, the single market and economy architects said that there should be a Caribbean single currency by the year 2000. Sir, to have a single currency, you effectively have to converge all of your policies, your fiscal policy, your monetary policy, and your interest rate policy, and that is not easily done. It has taken Europe 50 years and they are still not yet finished.

Sir, the creation of a single currency is not only the only means by which you can have corporation, in relation to monetary issues. There can be the convertibility of currencies into each other, as a means of reducing the transaction costs and the exchange risks, by making regional transactions.

Our problem in the Caribbean, Mr. Speaker, is that we have two sets of exchange arrangements. Those with fixed exchange rates so a person who is converting Barbados dollars into EC dollars has no risks attached to it. Then, you have the floating exchange, and the persons in the fixed exchange rate regimes obviously would have a difficulty in converting currencies into the floating rate.

The rates will differ from time to time and, even differ widely from time to time, and some intermediary will have to assume the risk related to the floating rates. Therefore, we need, however, if we are going to have a single economy, to have some form of a monetary corporation, even if it is not at this stage a single currency.

Mr. Speaker, Europe went with this, and those who have studied economic integration would be aware that Europe had what it called the snake, and then they had the European Monetary System that allowed respected currencies to vary against each other within designated bands, as a means of being able to transact business within the area.

Therefore, there can be a monetary system that prescribes bands within which currencies can vary. There could also be a currency unit and there is a whole multiplicity of monetary arrangements. The fact is that although you have taken the creation of a single currency off the table for the time being, if you are going to have 15 economies functioning within the same economic space, you still have at some stage, to have a policy on the relationship between the currencies, and not to have one is only going to make the exercise of creating a single economy and a single market more difficult.

It would be as if, Mr. Speaker, you have Barbados as a national economy but each of the parishes has a different monetary arrangement and a different currency unto itself, and none of them could be converted into each other. This is the difficulty we face in the Caribbean right now.

Sir, the task of creating a single economy will be difficult for Barbados, if you had 11 different monetary arrangements in Barbados. It is the same at the regional level, so that the region has to go back and think through where we are going with issues about a monetary corporation. The Central Bank was good enough to give us a perspective on it and today, I made a copy of the presentation. I made it available to the Leader of the Opposition at my consultation with him earlier today, as to what the thinking of the officials might be at this time.

The point I am coming to is this, Sir, that the regions now, having agreed and we have in place the programme to create the single market by 2005, and in our case, we will do it by the end of 2004, we have now to develop the framework for the single economy. The Heads have agreed that the range of matters are so deep and serious that they will agree to have an extraordinary special meeting of Heads, later this year, hopefully in November, at which we can give more precise specificity.

For example, we must have a Caribbean Investment Code. People who want to make investment in the Caribbean must know what are the rules. We need to settle on matters pertaining to the sectors, Mr. Speaker, and some are urgent. There are matters in which we are negotiating extra-regionally where we must have a clear Caribbean position.

Mr. Speaker, a Caribbean capital market is necessary. We have to move forward issues related to corporation in policy formulation, because you really cannot talk about a single economy and policies differ widely across the entire Caribbean. We have to put these things in frameworks that will be met by specific times.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the pastime of the nay-sayers in the Caribbean is to say that it cannot be done. My only criticism of those who committed the region to the single market in 1989, was to say that once again, the region accepted a heroic deadline that was impossible to be met. It would be better if we did not set foolish deadlines. In fact, it is essential that we should not do so.

In 1989, it was agreed that it would be done by 1993. It could not be done in three years. Europe started in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome and by 1985, they had to revisit the issue again and it was only the European White Paper in 1985 that the whole thing started to materialise. It has taken Europe 50 years. I want to impress upon the House that the

business of taking 15 separate economies that have evolved over time with their own economic rhythms, dynamics and their own laws, and reconstitute them as one single economy and one market, is a major undertaking. The fact that they are small does not make it any easier. In fact, it makes it more difficult.

12.40 a.m.

Sir, the original deadline was unrealistic. To get Chapter 3 in place, this is where we are now. It required that every Caribbean country had to identify all of the existing restrictions on labour, capital, provision of services and rights of establishment. Sir, the fundamental issue to address is what effectively is a restriction. Sometimes the requirement to register may have in it aspects about it that are restrictive.

Sir, 450 restrictions were identified. Having identified them, we had to agree on a programme for their removal. Some of the restrictions in the Caribbean will require constitutional change. Barbados is one of the few Caribbean countries that has never had an alien landholding legislation. The Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas requires that Caribbean countries remove restrictions on Caribbean people being able to own land in the Caribbean.

Mr. Speaker, you would understand that the removal of restriction that requires a constitutional change is something that has to be put at the back of the programme for their removal because you have to engage in a process of national consultation to get the consensus for it.

Mr. Speaker, the point I am making is that the Chapter 3 programme that we have now been able to bring to the stage where there is an agreement on its removal and a legislative programme to carry out the obligation, was negotiated across 15 countries. All the technical work was done through a number of studies and through systematic negotiations and agreed to in eight years. We are now in a position in Barbados where we are not only meeting the deadline for the programme but we are now meeting it in advance.

Sir, there is no other region other than Europe that has ever been able to do this. Therefore, I am asking the House to understand what was involved to get 15 countries to sit down and agree to remove 450 restrictions, the movement of capital, the movement of labour, the movement of services and rights of establishment, and to do so understanding that it requires constitutional, administrative and legislative changes and in some instances will require policy adjustments that will be unpopular.

This is a major accomplishment that the Caribbean should be proud of. In our case, Mr. Speaker, we will have to change our exchange controls. I think that is going to be the biggest adjustment we would have to make.

Mr. Speaker, there are some areas in Barbados that have been historically reserved as areas only for Barbadians like water sports and so on but now other Caribbean nationals can have an investment in those too. This means that the Barbadian expertise that has been developed in water sports can also now find gainful employment in other Caribbean countries that have tourism destinations but are not as well developed in water sports as we are.

Mr. Speaker, good pace has been made in relation to this matter. At our special consultation in 1999 we determined, that for the Single Market and Single Economy to be of enduring influence in the Caribbean, that in every sphere and in every matter we had to give ourselves in the Caribbean deeper, faster and broader liberalisation than we are prepared to give to any other entity in the world.

Once that is so, then the Caribbean Single Market and Economy will continue to be of continuing influence and rivals. If you have less liberalisation in services in the Caribbean than you have under the World Trade Organisation, then the World Trade Organisation arrangements will overtake you.

Mr. Speaker, the House will recognise that under Chapter 3, under the Uruguay Round – the Honourable Member for St. John is aware of this – Barbados made very few commitments to liberalise services globally, but under the Caribbean Single Market and Economy we have agreed to open the service package in the Caribbean. Sir, the way in which we are seeking to implement the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy is that it must be the Free Trade Area of the Americas plus. This means that we in the Caribbean must treat ourselves better and give ourselves better terms than we give to our hemispheric neighbours.

Mr. Speaker, we will use the Caribbean Single Market and Economy as the benchmark but we will never negotiate a hemispheric or global agreement where the terms of engagement for the rest of the world are better than those that we put in place within the region.

Sir, in relation to services, we are prepared to liberalise quickly over a wide range of areas. If that is done, then we are going to have a Caribbean Single Market and Economy that will continue to be of vital importance to the region as we go forward. Mr. Speaker, what is therefore before us today is to give effect to an aspect of it.

Sir, the Caribbean integration experience must have a distinctly Caribbean flavour. There are some regions in the world which may not need liberalisation of labour for the integration process to work. Sir, our integration process reflects the philosophy that the most vital and the most valuable resource in the Caribbean is the skills of our people,

hence the process of integration must be a people's focus process and must involve to the extent practicable the removal of the restrictions that would stop our people from moving.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the House that what is before us in the Treaty is what the market of regional opinion can carry at this time. My own position would be to have an even broader approach to it to incorporate things like agricultural labourers and so on, but this is what the regional opinion can carry.

I support it, Mr. Speaker, and I hope that one day I might be able to come back to the House and say that all of the fears that were expressed by those with xenophobic tendencies, the "non Barrow-ites" in the Caribbean and the "non Barrow-ites" of the Democratic Labour Party... I am not speaking about the Honourable Member for St. John because I know how well he likes St. Lucia and how endeared he is to Trinidad and Tobago. He understands about mobility.

Sir, I look forward to coming back some time in the future to say that we have done what we intended to do. This is a pilot exercise. For a region that is going into uncharted waters, we have had the opportunity to put other things in place like the social security systems, the double taxation treaties and the pension arrangements. We have developed a protocol on contingent rights. We now have a fairer system. We have put a regional development fund in place that would allow people to have access to services at home.

Sir, I would like to feel that some time in the future I can come back to the House before this session ends and say I need now to advise the House that they are ready to carry this process forward.

Sir, I end on this point, that those of us who have a responsibility to help build the regional movement, better come with it with a long view.

Mr. Speaker, the only other region in the world that has gone where we are seeking to go is Europe. The other region that has sought to reconstitute itself as an economic union is Europe. Other people have trade pacts but economic unions are something else. It has taken Europe almost 50 years between the Treaty of Rome to reach where they are now to have an incomplete monetary union and an incomplete economic union.

Persons who fancy themselves as experts, as everyone does, believe that you can do these things quickly. I want to tell Honourable Members of this House that the exercise of taking 15 economies that were separate economies and making them one single economy is one of the most difficult

processes that is known to man. I have a long view of it. I am even of the view that some future Prime Minister of Barbados who would have to carry the lead responsibility for the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, because that is Barbados' role in the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, would have to carry forward some of the work that we are even now engaged in.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that this exercise will be one that cannot easily be finished but I have full confidence in that which we are seeking to achieve.

Mr. Speaker, you must allow me to say personally that there are a few matters in my own public life on which I have derived more satisfaction than the quiet success of what we have thus far managed to achieve in taking this region that has known only division and doubt, I am setting the stage for it, into becoming one for the first time in its history.

I am obliged to you, Sir.

SUSPENSION OF SITTING

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that this Sitting be suspended until 2.00 p.m. today.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: I beg to second that.

The question that the Sitting do now suspend until 2.00 p.m. today was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. SPEAKER suspended the Sitting accordingly.
12.55 p.m.

RESUMPTION

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This Honourable House is resumed. The Honourable Member for St. George North.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to give support to this Bill. After listening to the Right Honourable Prime Minister, there certainly is no doubt in my mind that all of us who would have listened attentively to his speech, would have been more clear in our minds about the intention of this Bill.

Sir, certainly those persons on the outside of this Honourable House who would have heard his speech and those Honourable Members of the Opposition who would have listened with an attentive ear, would have, no doubt, been better able to understand and to articulate the provisions of this Bill.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am one of those persons who, for a long time, have called myself a Federalist, who have

travelled across the Caribbean, not only in search of pleasure but also to work with the Caribbean Examination Council. I have worked for years within the region to help students and those unfortunate persons.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I, therefore, believe that there must be the continual movement of persons throughout the region. One Member said years ago that the future belongs to those who prepare for it. We must be prepared now for the future for young persons, those not yet born and also face the future as Caribbean people with optimism. Sir, long ago before our time, there was movement in and across the islands in the Caribbean and Barbadians were able to find meaningful work, especially in Trinidad & Tobago and Guyana. Sir, I feel that the movement of people should be legalised.

There is historical evidence to show that the Caribs and Arawaks travelled across the region because it was one set of islands which belonged to the people who were able to use the lands to find work. Sir, we as a modern generation must put in place provisions to encourage travel so that Caribbean people can move freely up and down the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the provision that we have before us seeks to legalise the framework where persons of Caribbean descent can move to find work across the region. Sir, not only persons who are graduates of the university and have had formal training but self-employed persons can invest and move freely because the Caribbean is right for investment at this time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we need to have the movement of capital across the region. Some time ago, the Opposition asked why Barbadians would prefer to stay at home but non-Barbadians would want to come here to invest. Sir, Barbadians believe that Barbados is a haven, a well-run democracy and that the social security system is equalled to most developed countries.

Sir, when you look at the social security system in Barbados to that of other Caribbean countries, there is no comparison. It can be compared to developed countries like Canada and the United Kingdom. In fact, Barbados is the only Caribbean country with an unemployment insurance scheme. We have heard many Barbadians on the call-in programmes ask why Government is allowing persons to have free access into Barbados.

We have to be able to encourage the other islands to be on par in terms of our social security system because we have many health benefits in place. Sir, we have to make our social security system even better than it is at present and encourage other islands to do the same to their social security system.

There is a need for Barbadians to invest in Guyana, Trinidad & Tobago where there is opportunity and the time is right to invest and bring these islands on par with Barbados. We must not be complacent because we know what happened to economies that were flourishing in the 60s and 70s but today are not as buoyant as they used to be. We must not be insular in our thinking and must guard against these things.

Sir, in Barbados we have not only to look at the movement of people but at the fact that our social programme in education is very good. We know that many people from the region come here to get free education and use our health services, but we must encourage countries to get on par with Barbados.

Sir, as more people come to Barbados and as Barbadians find opportunities throughout the island, the trade union must get on board not only to protect the local workers but those workers coming to Barbados. Sir, there must be a regional understanding with trade unions to look beyond borders to protect all Caribbean workers.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Honourable Members made the point that in terms of regional travel, we must look at the high of cost of transportation and communication in the region. Sir, we must look at ways of not only encouraging regional travel but I believe it is still high for regional people and we must look at ways of not only encouraging regional travel but to help to make the cost within the reach of the ordinary people.
2.10 p.m.

It is true that a lot of people have travelled but I think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that there are still a number of people within the region who have never travelled from Barbados to Jamaica, or from Barbados to the other islands. As is the case where many persons, I believe, 20 per cent of the population of the Caribbean have travelled across the region first. Many of them still look at North America and Europe.

Sir, if we want to have a meaningful single market and economy and to encourage movement among Caribbean people, we have to get them to understand the diverse nature of what is happening in the Caribbean. I think the cost of travel and communication should reflect the intention of the policy framework.

Sir, Caribbean islands are now preparing for the 2007 World Cup Cricket in Barbados. This is a one-off occasion and mechanisms should be put in place by the financial houses in Barbados or the Caribbean to encourage persons to save and to put packages in place for the movement of people.

Of course, we are looking forward to that occasion with anticipation where people will be moving rapidly across the region. I believe that the Immigration Departments throughout the region should have regular sessions to help persons to move without the hindrances that they now experience.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are also a number of other concerns which I have heard mentioned in the Press. For example, persons have asked about the Barbados driver's licence. I heard on a call-in programme recently, one person saying that a Barbadian can go to Trinidad and drive with a Barbados driver's licence or he can get an international driver's licence here and he can drive in the region, whereas persons coming here from Jamaica or Trinidad have to get a permit and pay \$10 to get a driver's licence.

We will have to see how we can put in place, a system where the driver's licence from Trinidad and Jamaica can be used in Barbados and *vice versa*. It is an administrative matter that can be looked at very soon, because this also impacts on the movement of people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we also have to look at what is happening in the region as far as certain skills are concerned. I speak specifically of surveyors, architects and other skilled people who sometimes find it difficult to get a work permit in Barbados. Right now, there is a dire need for those skills in Barbados, and this is why sometimes we find that the development process takes so long. Even though a number of these people are operating within some islands, in Barbados we find that there is a difficulty. I will explain what I mean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the Ministry of Public Works, for example, we have positions for about three or four surveyors. We only have one surveyor. It is very difficult for us to attract surveyors within the Government. Most of them will prefer to go into the private sector. If we could encourage the movement of surveyors from the other islands to Barbados, this would not only help the development, but the long outstanding cases where line-marks have been removed and relocated because of road developments.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, even though we say that we have a large number of lawyers coming out every year, there is still a demand for lawyers in Barbados. I hope this Bill will encourage lawyers from the University of the West Indies, the University of Guyana and the University of the Bahamas, and other institutions across the region to practise, thus moving capital across the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I also want to make the point that many persons have been asking about those persons in the Caribbean who are not good citizens, such as criminals, people who are dependent on drugs, persons who have

committed offences in their territory and want to come to Barbados. I think mention has been made on Both Sides that there needs to be a continuous educational programme to help our people understand what is happening in this Bill.

I think that the schools, various community organisations, and the public need to understand the meaning of this Bill.

For example, section 8. (1) of the Bill explains:

“8. (1) Subject to subsection (2), an immigration officer shall not permit a Community national or any dependant of that national to enter or remain in Barbados where the Community national is a person described in the *Fifth Schedule*.”

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Fifth Schedule deals with prohibited Caribbean nationals such as persons who are likely to become charges on public funds, persons suffering from communicable diseases within the meaning of any regulations, relating to such diseases made under the Health Service Act, persons whose conduct offends public morality, and persons who are or have been at any time engaged or reasonably suspected of being likely to engage in the unlawful giving or using, offering or exposing for sale, or buying of, or the trading of, trafficking in any drug, or have been convicted of an offence under any enactment relating to dangerous or narcotic drugs.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, persons in my constituency have asked me about those persons in the countries where there is a high criminal activity. Without specifying a specific country, they ask how does immigration know those persons who are criminals and want to come to Barbados?
2.20 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Fourth Schedule is saying that not every person that applies for entry as a worker in Barbados will automatically enter Barbados, especially if they have a criminal background. Therefore, the people of Barbados need to understand what is happening in the Fourth Schedule. Persons who want to move throughout the Caribbean who have conducted themselves immorally in public in terms of offences must conduct themselves in a decent manner. That is important and the public must be aware that this exists right here in the Fourth Schedule of the Bill.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe we must not only have these various educational programmes across the country to inform people about what is here in the Bill, but the radio stations and the various media houses need to highlight some of these things as well.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, private sector companies can also encourage their employees to buy into their own companies and to help to expand their companies into the region. I know there are many companies in Barbados that have been encouraging their employees to buy shares within their companies for expansion. Therefore, I am hoping that the same thing can happen within the companies as we expand outward. As these companies expand, they can give employees and members of their companies opportunities to invest.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I know that there is high liquidity in the banking system today and this is a good time for these companies, the various banking institutions and the credit unions, to encourage their staff and members to invest within the larger community. We must see the necessity for us to do so. Gone are the days where we think that our country of 250 000 people is the market to which we must focus. We must focus on the wider market to encourage larger economies of scale, to encourage wider markets and, of course, to get the necessary foreign exchange that we deem so desirable.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I see this Bill as benefitting the Caribbean. I see it as benefitting the workers of the Caribbean with the free movement of people and since this must come into being in the next year or so, a lot has to be done.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to continue the various programmes of informing people not only here from the House, we need to do it similarly to what we have done in the Buy Local Campaign where we encouraged our people to buy locally. We have to encourage people now to understand what it is for us as Caribbean people to work together through the integration movement. It has happened in Europe, it will happen in other trading blocs and we as a people must pull together. Some person once said that stick together we are one, and if we are divided it can only spell doom for the Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have seen how successful the University of the West Indies has been. We have seen how successful the Caribbean Examinations Council has been over the years. We have seen how successful Caribbean cricket has been. Therefore, whenever the region comes together there is benefit for the people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have no doubt that we will move forward together. This is necessary at this time because the economies of the world dictate that, so whenever this happens, we have to move on to make this Caribbean a better place not only for us but for the people and our children to come in the future.

I thank you.

Mr. T. A. PRESCOD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I ask your indulgence to participate in this debate. This debate will be a long one. The importance of the unification of the region started many decades ago long before the West Indian Federation of 1958. On the ground among the masses of people there was always a high level of consciousness of the importance of the preservation and the reassertion of our civilisation as a people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are a people of a civilisation which, as it was on the African continent and on the Asian continent, was disrupted because of a greedy European power that held people in captivity; brought them to the western world; suppressed their culture; disrupted their institutions; disrupted their family units; deculturalised the people; distorted and misrepresented the role of Africa and gives us a view of Timbuktu...

I heard this repeated in here recently by a learned friend who said that you could go as far as Timbuktu, as though this was in nowhere land, not understanding the richness of the culture of Africa and Timbuktu as a university and not understanding clearly that in Egypt the Greeks and those from Athens and Macedonia crossed into northern Africa and rape temples and intellectual caucuses and stole literature and misrepresented who were the pioneers of philosophy. Sir, we are talking here now about reclaiming our civilisation.

Sir, although subconsciously we do not say that and spend a lot of time within the narrow confines of trade and economics, the reality is that the Caribbean will never be fully united unless we come to grips with some of the fundamental social variables which constitute some of the fears we have heard expressed over the last few days. Those presentations were impregnated with some sense of wisdom by some and another body of perplexed views from others that still leave the mind bewildered on what is their focus in relation to Caribbean integration.

2.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what is most pathetic is that one of the greatest minds in the Caribbean with regard to whichever political party he represented, his last speech for regional direction and undergirding the philosophy that ought to take us forward, was given in Georgetown, Guyana, just before he died.

It was etched on the minds of Barbadians, St. Lucians, Guyanese, all the people of the region, that this is the way to go. He brought some clarity to the intellectual and political pretence that has been going on for a long time, by making it very clear that this was not simply about economics, the movement of labour, or of capital, neither was it about exploiting the economies of scale of a society. It was about

a moral and humane principle of a people whose liberties have been restricted.

Sir, when we speak of a sovereignty of the region, and human beings cannot move freely across the region, we question that sovereignty. In our minds, because of our education and because of our drive about the middle of the 20th Century, sovereignty has never focussed among intellectuals, with the exception of a few persons such as C.L.R. James, who was in the forefront of the unification of the Caribbean during the Federation, George Beckford, and later Mr. William Demas and Mr. C. Y. Thomas.

The educational institutions and national debates had never defined sovereignty with anything to do with a Caribbean union, or with a Caribbean Confederation. Sovereignty was always restricted to the little island states in the form of Barbados' sovereignty.

Sir, we now have to redefine sovereignty in order to encourage and to cultivate within the minds of Barbadian and Caribbean people, that sovereignty now has an overarching philosophical principle that is wider than the constraints placed on island states themselves. It now embraces the entire Caribbean.

Sir, what makes it more complex for us is that we now have to deal with a number of social and psychological issues that people would like to retreat on. We have to deal with the ethnic question, whether or not we like it because in the individual territories, the ethnic divide, especially in Guyana and in Trinidad and Tobago, is real. When one listens to Barbadians, they too express their view on this issue.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have been put in an environment which has been classified by intellectuals as pluralist environments, urging us to use tolerance for appreciation of the different ethnic values, religious and class differences but the region could only move forward as a concrete organism if we remove that view of a "Caribbean Cohoblopot", with people of different cultures, different religions, different class biases, and respect the view that people now hold to be obsolete, which is the view of a socialist agenda within the Caribbean.

Sir, when I speak about the Caribbean, I like to move the Caribbean wider than the geographical constraints of the region. I prefer to speak of Pan-Caribbeanism because wherever Americans go, they are still Americans and the Government of the United States of America protects them whether they are in Barbados, Jamaica, or in the Middle East. The United States of America Government claim that they have a legitimate interest to protect these persons.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have had great gains from our Pan-Caribbean approach because wherever Caribbean people settle, the Caribbean spirit remains and the countries in the geographical region classified as the Caribbean do benefit from the economic activities in those areas of the world.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that rather than having that sterile approach to what is the Caribbean, we have to be a little more elastic in the circumstances and open up ourselves to the Caribbean people who are in Britain, the United States of America, and throughout the Diaspora of the Caribbean.

Sir, it is a model that Pan-Africanists express in the interest of black people but to make things pragmatic, there might be the requirement for us in the artificial environment in which we live in the Caribbean, in which Caribbean people, especially of African and Asianic origins are secondary to other persons who are respected in these countries, instead of foreigners.

The reality is that we call Asianic people from the other parts of the Caribbean foreigners, and we do not call the Europeans foreigners. This demonstrates how backward we are because every St. Lucian we call a foreigner, yet they are our brothers and sisters. We call Grenadians, Antiguan, and other persons from the so-called low islands, foreigners and psychologically we treat them with a sense of contempt because we believe that we are superior to them in status and in respectability in the eyes of the world.

Sir, these are harsh realities. That is why one would hear voices expressing concerns about which country is more backward than the other. In all of this, there would be no concern for addressing and redressing the imbalances within the region, while we do not believe that we have a moral duty that goes beyond the obsolete definition of sovereignty, to respect these people as Caribbean people. We do not have to put this long deferred issue on the back-burner or to continue to place encumbrances in the process.

Sir, we will continue to behave that way if we have the narrow focus that all it is about is having a job in Barbados and moving from Barbados to Guyana to have a job. The question of a social conscience with regard to what one would have benefitted from in relation to this migration policy over the years, does not even serve as a reservation in one's psyche, to tell that individual that he or she would have exploited those very advantages at some point when the political economies of that individual's country was fragile and could not have served its people.

Sir, let us speak as a Caribbean man. Even if a person does not have the principle, he has to speak as a Caribbean man because he has to put up with American hegemony. Therefore, one is not talking about a Caribbean man because

of any humanitarian principle but about survival. Sir, it is about survival. The new world order says that it will re-enslave and colonise you if you do not come together, put up whatever form of fragile resistance you have as a people and that is the harsh reality we have to face.
2.40 p.m.

Sir, our Martin Cadogan is still on the earth still to be interned here in Barbados, but the elements of immortality remain with us and the teachings which he has espoused through the philosophy of Pan-Africanism. He would be in great stress and pain to believe that men of African origins who have been divided as a consequence of their captors, not of their own will, are still victims of divisiveness and colonialism, a plank deliberately placed in their way to ensure that the strength and creativity of the African and Asianic people never came together in order to put a challenge to this world order.

Sir, this is not a new world order that we are witnessing, but a change of formation and strategies in order to continue to perpetuate dominance.

Sir, the Caribbean Single Market and Economy is not just about markets and economies. If it was just about markets and economies, it would fail but it must have profound sociological and psychological groundings. The intellectual and political pretence that we witness over and over again is responsible for the slow pace of it and the genesis of it is an attempt to establish a political or economic model. The reality is that the intellectuals and politicians that we classify as men and women of substance have failed the masses of people.

We have breached a major mandate that was given to us long before Sir Grantley Adams or the Right Excellent Errol Barrow. We have this theory that we must have an individual to mirror but the individual ought only to mirror, the views of the masses of people. He should not speak as an individual but he should echo the concepts and notions that exist in the bowels of the politics of the Caribbean where people want to travel to other countries to use up their intelligence and creativity.

Sir, we are producing many intellectuals who are trapped in 166 square miles and then we cry foul, talk about a brain drain when they go to North America, Canada and other countries so we need to give flexibility to them in the region. I do not understand why any modern thinker who has reached a moderate level of intelligence would have any quarrel with that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you have a quarrel with this, you are a victim of a man called Willy Lynch who considered himself to be a thinker for the plantocracy and slave owners, who produced a theory that would allow

white people in this country and throughout the Caribbean to control the minds of black people and keep them in the position they are in today.

Today, we have black Prime Ministers and black University Principals. We have to shake off the shackles of inferiority and get involved in education and advocacy of a Pan-Caribbean or regional integration model to enter into dialogue with the masses of people in the society and engage the schools in this.

Sir, when you are attempting to reverse a psychological inversion that has captured black and Asianic people for decades, you have to change and remove legislation that restricts us as human beings like the Masters and Servants Act, the Tenantry Act and other pieces of social instruments that they used to deny us the right to move our labour as we would have liked to. Sir, they produced a red book to put the names of people in when they behave badly on a plantation and notified other plantation owners that you were delinquent and to stop people from getting work.

We have to encourage the labour institutions of the Caribbean to have a wider view of their representation of the workers' cause. I am not sure that we have reached the stage where we understand what this migration is about.

There is a professor called Dr. Hugh Trevor Roper who spoke of the migrant theory which denounced the European Maxvabian theory about what was responsible for the growth of industrialisation in places like Europe. Sir, Vaber argued on the basis of a religious foundation that people excelled because they were committed to a Protestant faith but Roper said that he was wrong and that they became Protestants after they excelled.

Sir, Roper went further and indicated by empirical evidence about Indian, Caribbean and other persons that wherever they migrate it is a significant plus to the development of that particular territory although the same people do not show the same thrift in their own homeland.

When we look at how people from the Caribbean built the United Kingdom and North America by working day in and out living in inferior conditions, how Caribbean people go on the Farm Labour Programme, to the United Kingdom as nurses and work two shifts in 24 hours but do not want to work one shift at home, Sir, what Guyanese are doing in Barbados now, before the economy crisis, they might not have been that productive at home. The migrate theory holds that as a question of survival, you are motivated, imbued with thrift to achieve because you came with a mission that you must achieve because you have family back home. It is

not a question of whether they would produce. They will produce because Barbadians produce when they are overseas.

2.30 p.m.

When we went to Guyana, we produced. When we went to Costa Rica, we produced. When we were in the Panama Canal working hard, the figures varied between 40 000 and 60 000 Barbadians. All men, women were free at home to do things and play and men were sweating in the Canal – sweating daily. Less than half returned. They were killed by hard labour and working for salaries based on a racial divide. The ethnic question is real and as soon as we can put these things in the open and deal with them, we will be able to resolve the problems of the Caribbean.

The Caribbean likes to be in too much theatrical productions. Politicians are involved in the theatre. They do not want to face the harsh realities of this world that the race question is paramount and we should soon pull it to the forefront of national discourse. There is all the nonsense about reconciliation but we do not want to face the debate publicly. People only have intellectual substance talked in their drawing rooms and discuss these problems on their telephone.

I watched a muscular 6-foot black man yesterday doing everything that he could to ensure that tourists cross the street without being endangered by traffic. He walked across a car and placed his body as a defence so that the tourists would pass. He does not give that treatment to his own. We have some serious problems as Caribbean people to deal with and we have to be prepared to accept, and that is what the late Rt. Excellent Errol Walton Barrow was talking about, that there are blood relations. He said that we have bonds that are deeper, unnumberable bonds, blood relations between people, a divided historic past that we need to reclaim and what we have to do is to reclaim it now.

Sir, let this generation and this body of persons in Parliament at least place that signature responsibility on their role as parliamentarians. We have always had those spiritual bonds. Even when people tried to divide us, we were conscious of everything that was happening in our mother land. All of us were not so brainwashed and so damaged physiologically, suffering from so much severe brain damage that we did not understand what Africa and the other brothers in the Caribbean meant to us.

We were not amused about people trying to relegate things that are African to an inferior role. We understood well what it meant for Joe Louis to win a battle. We understand well what it meant for the West Indies, as a noble institution representing the common interest of people to beat England at Lords. Until that level of consciousness

of our history, a respect for our culture, and an understanding why we are at the stage at present, we would be forever struggling and deferring that struggle for Caribbean unity.

We cannot defer it any longer and I want to urge those who have reservations, to let them be secondary to understanding that moral responsibility and humane principle where people ought to have that right as in sovereignty, not people having the right because they have money, because people in pursuant of affluent wealth in this country, go wherever they like.

If you want to go to America and you have a good bank account, you might pass, so when we speak on these issues, we are speaking on behalf of the people who do not qualify because they have money. They are people who can move, if they claim we have enough to invest, and the BIDC says how much capital you have to invest, you are free to come. They might not even investigate thoroughly to determine if they were encouraging a criminal who would take out more in a short while than he brought, but they give him the opportunity to come because they have money.

Sir, we are talking about people who do not fit into the categories that we are mentioning here in this particular Article 46, because Article 46 only deals with a small aspect of Article 45. Article 45 is broad-based and gives total freedom of movement, and we are talking about four categories. Article 45 ought to be our ultimate goal. Sir, in terms of the new provision in this Bill, we have not addressed the concerns of those people at the lower end of the economic scale. This is not for a vendor to move as he likes, so we have to broaden the categories eventually.

Sir, we have the phobia that people will begin to cross the region but when Barbadians were exploiting this provision of migration, I hope that Barbados, because of its limited geography, had to concentrate more on migration than any other Caribbean island. Here, Barbadians are saying that we support the principle when it is advantageous to us but now that our economy seems to be flourishing, we do not want to deal with it.

It is not that. The things that you do not want to deal with and bring into open debate are some of the major social issues confronting the society. You have to enlighten or encourage the general public, or allow the general public to educate you. Let them tell you what are their fears.

The trade unions have to tell you what are the challenges they are facing, and the trade unions have to develop a body, a model. It must refresh itself, become re-energised and begin to look, either through the Caribbean Congress of Labour or some umbrella organisation at this problem of CSME.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Honourable Member has one more minute.

Mr. T. A. PRESCOD: Sir, in 1958 we made an effort, through a Caribbean political institution called the "Federation". The approach now is an economic union. In my view, the approaches will always embrace both political and economic concerns. I have always argued the point that we are dealing with political economies. Whether we start with a political federation or we start with a CSME, the reality is that we have to deal with the political, the economic and the social issues of the society.
3.00 p.m.

We also have to deal with those psychological reserves and fears of the society which were implanted in us long before the struggles of the 20th Century in reclaiming our civilisation. We have a right to reclaim that civilisation. We have a right to work within this society and to cultivate, whether we creolised the society itself, and establish certain bonds of commonalities that allow Caribbean people to see themselves as one. The major plank that is required for this to be transformed from a dream into a reality is that we must have a philosophical plank to undergird the process forward.

Sir, I strongly support this Bill before this House.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would not be very long because I have spoken on this matter and matters relating to it time and time again in this House and elsewhere, so unlike the Honourable Member for St. Peter, I would not characterise the decisions that are taken today as representing more than they frankly represent.

Sir, the case is always overstated in here – I supposed that would be so because of people's involvement in it – that these are such great and historic decisions that are being made as if just by saying so they become historic and important. Perhaps, on sober reflection, even the presentation of the Honourable Member for St. Michael East, might point leaders in the Caribbean to some other important decisions that would then be of historic significance. This is about implementation of the decisions which as I understood leaders of the Caribbean could be committed to at various levels of passion and intensity over 30 years.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is nothing that has been said today that is new. What has been said today and last week is about the capacity of the region to implement a legal framework. There is nothing historical about that. What would make it historic is if we were able to cut out some of the fancy regulations and red tape and truly allow people to move freely within the Caribbean region and to feel that this is generally their space within which to move. That has not been achieved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have worked in all 13 CARICOM territories.

Asides.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is not a current Caribbean leader that I do not know. I am not talking about past friends or anything like that. They have been around for a while. They are not pluck from Venus or Mars. They have not come from the bosom of Africa. They are not coming from Russia. They have been part of the same Caribbean experience. They were born into it. They were living with it for the past 30 years as well. Therefore, we might want to make much of it, but based on my experience in terms of movement in the Caribbean, we have to translate the lofty passion of Caribbean leaders into very practical and sincere feelings by citizens about claiming this regional space as their own.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, how many of our service providers, labourers and others really believe that the entire Caribbean is going to become their playground? The Honourable Member for St. Michael East is right. Tourists believe that the Caribbean is their playground, but how many of us who live in the Caribbean believe that? How many of us recognise how difficult it is to get from island to island because of the cost of regional travel?

On the Barbados Immigration Card there is no exemption for Caribbean nationals. When you get on the aeroplane in St. Lucia, by the time you are finished filling out the Immigration Card the aeroplane is about to land. I carried groups of Barbadians overseas and spent the entire trip having to assist people in filling out our extensive Immigration Card.

Asides.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: I resented filling it out, I admit that. The Trinidad and Tobago one is now following the same pattern. There is no exemption for Caribbean nationals in that regard. Having worked in almost all of the Caribbean territories I can tell you, as well as and all of the professionals that I know who have worked in all the Caribbean territories, that the new regime is going to impose more conditions on them than were in existence prior to the regime coming into being.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I said in relation to the issue of the Bill relating to accreditation, and I am going to repeat it again here, that people who really want to move and work in the Caribbean region, if they are operating under the radar, had been able to do so, but they may find much to their anger that the process of creating the single market and economy is going to impose more conditions on them, more red tape

and more administrative hardship than had existed prior to the new legislation and the new decisions that are being made.

You can ask architects and you can ask lawyers, because they did not have to apply for anything before. The only issues that might have arisen might have been the question of pensions and national insurance but what do they apply for?

Asides.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: That is at the level of professionals. What else are vendors required to do. Unless they have some difficulty arriving out of an altercation with an immigration officer, what difficulty did they have moving through the region even to ply their wares. If they get caught, well they have difficulties but I think the very essence of the presentation that the late Right Excellent Errol Barrow was making in Guyana is that people have found ways to get around all of that and we are finding ways now of imposing conditions on them in an environment where very often, and regrettably so, the public officers who have to implement these decisions are not *ad idem* with the rhetoric and the passion of the political leaders. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have before pointed out that legislation was passed in many Caribbean territories to give effect of rights of certain Caribbean nationals to travel freely.
3.10 p.m.

I am not going to be invidious and single them out, but many immigration departments in some territories were still being run by persons with no higher rank than police sergeants who had never seen the legislation; who had never known it existed; who had not realised that there was anything called that kind of legislation; and had they known it existed, would have opposed it.

I found one example of that and had the particular officer in question known that legislation had existed, when asked said that he could not believe it and that a Prime Minister cannot issue a certificate, that only the Immigration Department has the right to do "X," "Y," and "Z".

Therefore, there is also a level in the individual public services of Caribbean territories where the leaders have to translate their passion and intensity to get this work done down through the system. How are you going to convince some Barbadian civil servants who have to make the decisions to facilitate these so-called arrangements, which are very legalistic, such that they become a reality for the average artisan, sugar cane worker, maid, gardeners, and other workers at that level, when they may be imbued with strong feelings about persons coming from other territories, either of different races or that they may think that the territory has a lower standard of living or whatever?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, those are important questions that need to be asked. Therefore, it is alright for us to say that this Parliament should stand firmly and squarely behind the Government of Barbados, *et cetera*, where Barbados is called upon to lead something, but there is nothing wrong with us asking practical and important questions and raising issues, because we see it on the ground. Therefore, I cannot work out why it is that the arrangements which I am now seeing put in the Caribbean seem to me to be more onerous on Caribbean people, when we are arguing that we are freeing up regional movement and travel.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the second point is that we do not have such wide disparities in terms of standard of living. Everyone of us in this country could enjoy a similar standard of living in any other territory in the English-speaking Caribbean because the vast majority of us in here have a marketable service skill or otherwise and persons by-and-large in those sectors have the same standard of living. For example, the Attorneys-at-Law who reside in Antigua and Barbuda, Turks and Caicos, Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, *et cetera*, enjoy almost the same status and by-and-large, the same standard of living throughout.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, sometimes when that is translated right down through the system to labourers in the agricultural and construction sectors – it is true that there are some differences in terms of the physical structure, the amenities, access to improved education, *et cetera* – there may be those kinds of differences, but they are no longer the “push-and-pull” factors that had existed in the 1960s, that would have driven hordes of people out of one country and into another.

Sir, let us think of where the St. Lucian economy was during the 1960s and 1970s, and where it is now. Let us think of where the Jamaica's economy was, which was streets ahead of others in the 1960s, and where it is now. There has been a levelling which has taken place. Therefore, we in Barbados must not be so arrogant as to believe that as soon as arrangements are put in place, that every professional, in every country in the Caribbean, is going to flock to Barbados to work.

We have to have a sense of perspective about ourselves as Barbadians and sometimes we go overboard. We go to other countries and insult people and behave in a manner that is not, to my mind, acceptable. Likewise, we must not be so arrogant to believe that we can simply survive in this region, believing that we are superior and above everybody else, and that people in other parts of the Caribbean are not also striving to improve their social, physical and economical conditions.

We must also be cognizant of the fact that our arrogance in itself can sometimes turn into a level of complacency that would see many of those countries soaring

ahead of us. Let us look at our roads and compare them to the main arteries into any other Caribbean capital. Let us look at our sporting facilities, our National Stadium, our cricketing facilities, at our housing situation.

What we call low income housing in Barbados, I do not see anybody else in the region building houses out of plywood called “T-One-Eleven”, which is the latest fad in Barbados, where people go to the Urban Development Commission to get a loan to erect a “T-One-Eleven” house, with no toilet facilities, lights or running water, in one's grandmother's backyard.

Asides.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: Do not let us start on that. I am not talking about areas that might be described as slums. I am talking about people building “T-One-Eleven” plywood structures, next to houses costing more than \$200,000 that their parents have built because their parents do not want them living with them anymore. You do not know what reality is. You may be talking about parts of the Caribbean.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Would the Honourable Member please address the Chair?

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: I am sorry, Sir.

Mr. T. A. PRESCOD: On a point of order. The Honourable Member for St. John is misleading the Honourable House. The Urban Development Commission does not facilitate persons with loans to buy plywood houses. I am aware that there are plywood houses but they were not facilitated by the Urban Development Commission.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I apologise. It is another Government entity which dispenses assistance to facilitate that. I see other countries in the Caribbean trying to move their people out of that, while we are regressing. Therefore, as a people, we need to be very conscious. I am a proud Barbadian but I think that this Parliament is not here for us to “soft-soap” anybody. Patriotism is one thing but recognising nonsense when it is going on and speaking out about it is our right.

Asides.

Mr. D. J. H. THOMPSON: I do not mind being cursed, that has never bothered me. It has not affected me in any way, neither in terms of getting elected among the people I work with and/or serve, nor functioning at an independent level in this country. Therefore, the Honourable Members on That Side have done it for 20 years and can continue. It has not removed a hair from my back, nor from elsewhere.

Sir, I will say that in the Caribbean, in looking at issues that might arise, we cannot honestly say that we think another territory may have a better argument. Sir, part of the problem in the world today... and the Bush Administration has done it very well. I saw a little criticism of the President on Fox Television Today, where it was said that they are criticising the commandeering chief of that country.
3.20 p.m.

Sir, all of a sudden this is creeping into Barbados. As soon as you take a perspective either on regional or international affairs that does not conform entirely with some of the "coswallup" that comes out of Heads of Government Conference and out of some of the regional institutions which we know is unworkable and is not practical, you are accused of being unpatriotic, serving another master and all the other nonsense that we hear. Sir, you can see in some of these measures, things that are clearly unworkable.

There was just another so-called historic Heads of Government Conference, but, Sir, how many people saw it live on television in the whole Caribbean? We could watch the Laci Peterson trial if you wanted to, football out of South America, replays of basketball, everything about Kerry, Edwards, Bush and Cheney, the latest soldiers being killed in Iraq and cricket beamed out of the United Kingdom but we could not get the Heads of Government Conference which is so historic and at which such important, vital and critical decisions were being made which would inform generations and change the whole history of the world.

Sir, it irks me because it is symptomatic of why the public is not being carried along. You could have a town hall meeting about drainage where all the officials from Government would come and somebody would get up to talk about cleaning up a drain, road or garbage but there was not a single public education exercise except those generated in a very sanitised environment which you would believe are for intellectuals to discuss a matter that is supposed to affect people from the very bottom right to the top of the Caribbean society.

Sir, I do not only blame Barbados because no other Caribbean country is doing this either because the leaders are either frighten of their own people, complacent, tired or indifferent.

Sir, something has to be done about it. This is why there is a great disconnect between those decisions that are made and the persons who have to implement them because they are ordinary people. There is not a tier of Barbadians called civil servants who are detached from what goes on in this country. Mr. Deputy Speaker, they live in St. Philip and see the Guyanese workers upon whom so much approbation is poured. They see them going to work, buying houses,

investing and having relationship with Barbadians. They know what the Trinidad/Barbados fishing dispute is about and they have a sense of what is happening and are not detached from it.

They are the persons who will have the herculean task of implementing decisions, which had they been historic, could have been implemented with a little less red tape and difficulty so that people could travel in the Caribbean region much faster, swifter, cheaper without having to apply onerous rules relating to taxation, pension, national insurance and the burden of filling out cumbersome Immigration Cards.

Sir, we went through this before because 30 years ago there were Barbadians who went from the status of being British subjects to Barbadian citizens. There were transitions that affected pensions, health rights and all kinds of things. There were Barbadian returning nationals who went overseas and came back and got their pensions. These are not difficult decisions to work out but because we want to make things appear to be bigger and tougher than they are, and appear that weighty events are weighing down our shoulders.

This is why the roads are not fixed or the schools ready on time and why young people are facing so many problems because we are burdened by these tough decisions we are making to transform the world as if life would not continue and those currently operating under the radar screen would not find ways and means of doing so.

Sir, we are trying to bring up a new generation believing that we are making life easier for them and encouraging them that this pace in the Caribbean is theirs and they do not believe it. Sir, to my mind, something has to be done about it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hope those who attended all these meetings on the Other Side and made these weighty and important decisions which will have an impact on our world and future will spend a little time in a practical way of educating and informing Barbadians and raise the level of public discourse and debate even to the difficult issues some of which the Honourable Member for St. Michael East was forward-thinking enough to raise in this House.

Sir, if they cannot solve them within national borders in economies that are growing and expanding in which people of different ethnic backgrounds have shared and exchanged power, how do you think we are going to be easily able to change them in a society like the Barbadian one where issues like that, by and large, have been swept under the carpet and where dominance and control remain very much in the hands of the minority.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if we do not start to discuss these issues, all the talk that we had would be like flatulence, after-lunch hot air, and we have heard enough of that. If the departure was Errol Barrow's speech in 1987 and everybody acknowledged it as a brilliant presentation and he came back to Barbados to much acclaim...

Sir, I participated in CARICOM studies 10 years ago and the Caribbean Law Institute was commissioned to do a study before the CARICOM studies which Professor Ralph Carnegie and I travelled the whole region and participated in. Sir, all this work was done before and all the impediments were identified as well as all the requirements to free up movement and facilitate trade in services but by extension we recognised that it was important to recognise that people could move freely in the region so none is new, Sir.

The Honourable Member for St. Peter argued on behalf of the Heads that the European Union took much longer, but there are qualitative historical differences. The Honourable Member from St. Michael South Central is better able to deal with these things than I would be because I did not do European history but West Indian history at school.

Sir, my school was one of the first that did West Indian history at "A" Level while others were still doing American and European history at "A" Level so I lost out on some of those historical things. It seems that the comparison between the two would only be relevant if we are talking about issues of implementation, whether we have the institutional structures and how fast it can be done.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if there is not a qualitative difference between the Caribbean and Europe, then something has to be wrong. We certainly have more in common, and more at stake. We are smaller. We are just as well educated. It is true, we may be resource starved in some ways, but what is it that could make a European project take 50 years that we could not do in 10 years? They have had all the headaches. We should learn from them and come up with the most practical arrangements.
3.30 p.m.

One of the things that they have experienced and almost every year they set up a commission, just like at the UN, to look at ways in which they could break down some of the barriers they have created, get rid of some of the institutions, streamline and make things faster, and cut out some of the procedures, but we are making the same error that they would have made by putting structures and procedures in place that only end up being more burdensome, and do more to alienate citizens of the Caribbean from each other.

This is my honestly held view and I wish there was some way that we could find solutions to these problems without making them so difficult and so weighty, and use our common sense and learn from the people who have operated, under the radar screen, in being able to function in all of the Caribbean islands.

The Honourable Member for St. Peter admitted that he was under the radar screen when he wanted kitchen cupboards built. He functioned under the radar screen, no different to any other citizen in the Caribbean. He should have learnt something from that.

How can I now make it a little easier for other people to enjoy the benefits I enjoyed of having regional workers, skilled in a particular area, who did something for me that was of good quality and which is now a joy to behold? I believe him because I have never seen their workmanship. Do you understand what I am saying?

Instead of that, the lesson to be learnt from that is that you must go to CARICOM meetings and put in place more red tape, more cumbersome mechanisms and procedures, and institutions to make it tougher for people who were easily moving around the region, to continue to do what they were doing and that is all I have to say.

Sir, I thank you.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member who just took his seat spoke in a very leader-like way and I would want to congratulate him, Sir, for making some important contact with some of the critical issues. I believe, Sir, he may have been hopelessly at sea on some of his interpretation of the expected implemented issues to which he addressed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would want to begin by saying that this legislation is going to resinate in every capital of this region. It is going to be echoed, almost in exact form in every Parliament of this region. It is a victory of an ideal. I listened to the Honourable Member for St. John carefully, and it is true, he would have been part of the effort, the quest, the ideal to which we are all striving. Sir, that ideal comes to fruition, in part, with the passage of this Bill, if in fact it does pass the two Chambers of our Parliament.

Sir, it is a victory, as I said, of an ideal which is the concept that the Barbadian man, the Caribbean man, the West Indian man, should not be so shackled by the small size, the small market, the limited opportunity, the limitations of the country of his birth, but he should be able to give of his very best to his fullest potential and that we, as law-makers should be able to embody him with that capacity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I perhaps, in trying to respond to some of the difficulties that the Honourable Member for St. John raised and, indeed, because in many regards, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West raised similar concerns last week, I would want, Sir, to genuinely attempt to lay some of the concerns to rest and to disabuse those minds in this Chamber of any concerns that they have, with respect to the efficacy of this process.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if we were to attempt to do that, perhaps we should begin with April last year. Just before this House rose to go to the country, one of its last acts, I believe, Sir, its last act, I was in the Other Place at the time, was the passage of the piece of legislation which would have made the Caribbean Community Act part of the Law of Barbados and that legislation, Sir, was assented to by His Excellency the Governor-General on the 24th of April. At the same time, on the very same day that piece of legislation would have passed this House, we amended the Constitution of Barbados with a view to making provision for the Caribbean Court of Justice to be our final court.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, one needs not go much further at that point because those acts, in and of themselves, bear out the lack of accuracy of the Honourable Member for St. John when he suggested that this exercise takes place above the heads without the contact of the nascent and unsuspecting people of Barbados, not his words, Sir, but my interpretation.

We could not have had two major exercises, one of which is a Constitutional change, the second of which was to embody this document, the revised Treaty as part of the Law of Barbados, before going into a general election and they all are above the heads of the people and without contact.

I go further, Sir, I do not know – I never even put myself to the trouble of listening to their tapes, some of which I heard were terribly abusive – what took place in the General Election exercise from their platforms, but I do know beyond any shadow of a doubt, that the Barbados Labour Party platform...

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Sir, as soon as I use the word, "abuse", they get excited. When you try to talk about the evolution of this legislation, they are silent. When you mention abuse, they become tickled and excited. You know there is a saying, Sir, that small things amuse small minds.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact of the matter is that I do not care to know what took place on their platforms, but I do know that from the Barbados Labour Party platform, almost on a nightly basis, there was an effort to continue the dialogue, not only on the CSME, but the FTAA, and the implications of the World Trade Organisation's negotiations. This was also a fundamental part of our Manifesto. There are

at least two or three pages of the Barbados Labour Party's Manifesto, dedicated to the issue of building these kinds of relationships.

I go further, Mr. Deputy Speaker. As recently as three weeks ago, we came to this Chamber on the Accreditation Council Bill. I can say to you with some accuracy, Sir, that as recently as two weeks ago, a policy paper would have passed the Cabinet of Barbados, which speaks to carrying out further fundamental trade related commitments that we have, within the CARICOM area.

Therefore, Mr. Deputy Speaker, this whole process forms part of a large compendium of legislation which, when taken together, will reflect the totality of that which we are trying to achieve, which is the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, even as the Honourable Member for St. John leaves the Chamber, achene-faced and slightly hurt because he has been proved to be less than accurate, once more, I feel it my duty to say to the Chamber, Sir, that in a real sense the critical point here is that the Caribbean Community Act is part of the Laws of Barbados. Therefore, the movement of skilled nationals is a right within that law and makes the movement of skilled nationals part of the Laws of this country.
3.40 p.m.

Sir, for a long time during the course of this debate, speeches which spoke to the pros and cons of the issue were not making contact with what we are here discussing because that is already qualified. The issue is the removal of the restrictions. Mr. Deputy Speaker, when we speak to the question of the removal of restrictions, we therefore have to be very clear in our minds what we are addressing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are addressing first and foremost Article 45 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas which speaks, in broad terms, to granting a commitment to the goal of free movement to all nationals within the community, so Article 45 is speaking in a broad context to all nationals. This legislation is speaking specifically to Article 46 which says that as a first step towards achieving the goal of 45, we are according five categories of community nationals the right to seek employment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, once we are speaking then to this first step, one has of necessity to assuage and appease the quite accurate and relevant concern raised by the Honourable Member for St. Philip West on the issue of whether or not this can be interpreted fairly as being a situation where only a certain class... I think that the exact wording of the concern was the issue of elitism. I made a note when he was speaking last week. Is it elitist or is it

not elitist to have as a first step these five categories, university graduates, media workers, sports persons, artistes and musicians?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is not a situation of haves and have-nots. To use the words of the author Rudyard Kipling, it is not a situation where there would be a few who are kept without the Law. This is not a situation where to get offended by that you have, as the Anglican Church would tell you, "the rich man in his castle, the poor man at the gate, God made them high and lowly and ordered their estates". That is not what it is about.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a totality of the reading of Article 46 says:

- "3. Nothing in this Treaty shall be construed as inhibiting any Member States from according Community nationals unrestricted access to, and movement within, their jurisdictions...
- 4. The Conference shall keep the provisions of this Article under review in order to:
 - (a) enlarge, as appropriate, the classes of persons entitled to move and work freely in the Community."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are therefore speaking about a preliminary step which is buttressed by a commitment of the same Article to a mandatory review of what is really a work-in-progress. Mr. Deputy Speaker, that means that there is no discrimination against the Barbadian maids and nannies who would accompany wealthy Barbadians like the Honourable Member for St. John when he goes to St. Lucia to help look after the children and there would be no discrimination against Mr. C. O. Williams' drivers when they go to pursue the business of the company in St. Lucia.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to be very serious about what we are doing here. I think it is unfortunate for us to be trying to approach this legislation by loosely lampooning the conditions under which workers from outside of Barbados function when they are in Barbados and are not here legally, because when the Honourable Member for St. John raises the issue of our making life harder, that is to lampoon a situation. We are putting in place a governance structure which will regulate and legitimise persons who are outside of Barbados who are coming here to earn a living.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are Barbadians who do the same thing, as he puts it under the radar, which in simple speech means illegally and unlawfully. I am not going to be mealy-mouth. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have not enjoyed what success I have experienced in the Law by just sitting down and doing corporate law. That is not what got me where I

am. What got me where I am, and I say so without fear of the tax man, is by working very hard with some success representing the same people who they say are under the radar, but who are manhandled by the Royal Barbados Police Force when they are doing what is really their legitimate business.

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: I have had to defend them and I know what I am talking about, but that is a different issue. We will get to that in a different debate.

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am talking about the Rasta men, the traders and the vendors who have been relegated to all sorts of bad conditions and bad treatment which has to be dealt with.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, how are we making life harder when we give under Article 32 a right of establishment that never before existed in the history of the economic intercourse of these categories of people. The right of establishment to be found under Article 32 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas is a right which simply says that artisans, not only the professional class, are able to come to Barbados and to establish themselves and therefore be secured and protected from the kind of difficulties that I am talking about arising from the illegality which they otherwise are confronting. That would apply equally to our people who go abroad.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I came to this Parliament in February and gave a ministerial statement outlining the difficulties and the plight of the fishermen of Barbados in Trinidad and Tobago. Part of the difficulty was that there were fishermen from St. Philip who had been arrested...

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact of the matter is that under the same rights of establishment in Article 32, there is nothing now to stop a boat captain from going to Trinidad and Tobago and establishing the business or operating as would any Trinidadian or Tobagonian. That is the effort that we are putting in.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: On a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House by giving the impression that our fishermen are now free to go to Tobago and fish without any hindrance. I would hope that the Honourable Member would clarify that particular point because as I understand him, and I know him well, he would not want to put that out there, so I am seeking clarification on that particular point, Sir.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Sir, I would want to give him the clarification that until the rights of establishment are fully implemented that does not exist.

Sir, I am grateful to my friend for pointing out that the Honourable Member for St. Lucy was actually on his feet because I did not notice any change in height.

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, those are the first two issues of concerns that were raised and I hope that they have been adequately responded to.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the question of why was there an emphasis on skills as opposed to unskilled nationals was raised by my friend, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West. The Right Honourable Member for St. Peter made that point very clearly today from an economic perspective and justified it on the basis of those persons who depend for earning their living on a broad region. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not wish to answer that question from the perspective only of the economics of the argument.
3.50 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I wish to say to you that I think it is necessary for us... We can never sit and say what was in the mind of anybody who was attending the meeting in Grand Anse. There is a theory in law that the state of a man's mind is as much a question of fact as the state of his digestion.

I cannot sit here and tell you what was in the mind of a Prime Minister in Grand Anse. What I could say is that it is possible to look at the totality of Barbados' and the Caribbean's trade relations and to make an inference as to what would have led the conclusion at Grand Anse that we would be emphasising skilled workers as a first step.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the economic integration effort, not the political integration effort, began in the Caribbean in 1968 with CARICOM. There is no gainsaying that when that effort took place, called CARIFTA, that it was a genuine and sincere effort. Sir, it was flawed in the sense that as much as it was touted, it was also limited.

Its limit was that it only sought within a small grouping, to remove tariffs on trade and goods. It was silent on the question of movement of labour. It was silent on the question of skills, and it was silent on the question of the provision and of the movement of services within this region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, CARIFTA was a disappointment. We moved further in 1973 and went to the Treaty of Chaguaramas, which embodied the entire CARICOM States.

Sir, again the Treaty failed to speak to the question of services. It was, in the words of Errol Barrow, a document which related to who would buy my T-Shirts, guava jelly and pepper sauce, who would buy my white sand and who would buy my grey sand. It was silent on the question of services.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, when the Honourable Member for St. Philip West pointed out that when we get to where we are today that we are under a moral duty to protect Barbadians, a lot of people treated him as though he was being foolish but I do not. I understand the genuineness of the concern. In 1989, a decision was taken for the first time in the trade relations of the Caribbean region, to include the question of services, that vital but intangible sector in this region's business activities.

Sir, all the while the question of protection was there and it was being focussed on the issue of goods. We were not alone in developing that way. When we look at how the international trade architecture has evolved, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs indicated that there was, for the very first time in the 1990s, a recognition of the importance of services, and that was at the international level. Therefore, we were not alone in alienating a fundamental aspect of the productive sector of the Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, you would forgive me for making an understatement when I would suggest that the Honourable Member for St. Philip West was in an apocalyptic mood last week. He was extravagantly pessimistic. Sir, the fact of the matter is that there is a chasm between us. The chasm is that he speaks about the protection as the solution. I agree that there is a need for us to make Barbadians aware of what challenges there are for us but I do not agree that the solution is in protectionism.

I believe that the solution lies in expanding the liberalisation process and in building the capacity of Barbados to be skilled. I believe our solution lies in ensuring that we have a broad cadre of skilled persons and that every Barbadian, be it woman or man, would be able to equip himself or herself with a marketable skill. That must be the challenge, the thrust and the moral imperative.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would want to emphasise the acquisition of skills, not protectionism, because our history has been that to our detriment, we were protected by the smallness of our size and our market. Hence, we must now overcome the insecurity of our business people, the uncertainty and the lack of sophistication.

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Yes, and Government became an omnipotent godfather; a godfather that cannot provide but one that continues to make mouthings and utterances which suggest that he could provide.

Sir, Government cannot adequately solve the problem by itself. Therefore, that explains why we must persist in driving a CARICOM Single Market and Economy process forward because the services sector is the sector where Barbados holds its comparative advantage. Therefore, the movement of skilled persons will be a boon to all people, once we continue the thrust of making Barbadians skilled persons across-the-board, irrespective of race, class, colour, creed, or social background.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to respond briefly about the issue of attractiveness of other jurisdictions because it ties in nicely with this concept. If we speak about Barbados having a comparative advantage in the sphere of services and skilled persons, then we must also understand that other countries as well will have their own areas of advantage. Guyana having more land space and a better size than we do, a better type of soil which suits agriculture, will always be the breadbasket of the Caribbean. It will always be.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I heard the talk about ethnicity and I respect the concern, but I want to say that would explain why a black farmer like Tyrone Powers, who has expressed his willingness, would jump at the opportunity to do cattle farming in Guyana. Guyana would create the opportunity for him to exploit its comparative advantage in a way that he could not do it here.

Sir, the question was asked if there was the opportunity to leave Barbados and go elsewhere in the Caribbean or would one stay here. The answer would relate to what would be one's business. What does one wish to achieve? What is one's pursuit? If it is that one would want to use vast expanses of land and to exploit them for the purpose of breeding cattle where one has that expertise, then yes, one would go to Guyana.

Sir, Trinidad and Tobago has its comparative advantage in oil. All of us are not energy exporters. Trinidad and Tobago, because it is an oil-based economy, will always be an industrial giant. That will always be their advantage.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, therefore, we have to focus on what we have, which is a very trainable workforce, one which is already highly skilled in many regards. We have an excellent education system and a private sector with a lot of expertise and experience. Therefore, we have to tailor all of our future developments along the lines of that expanding advantage.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would hope that this explanation would erase some of the soft bigotry. The word "xenophobia" obviously goes over the heads of some persons but, essentially, that is what it is. It is soft bigotry, a fear of foreigners, and we cannot proceed on a policy that is rooted in that regard.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that when I speak about building a raft of skilled persons across Barbados, without exception, I believe that it is an exercise which is accomplishable and that we have to focus on what we want to achieve, which has been set out for us.

Sir, there was talk about us only needing to follow what some of the international obligations are, and we would realise to the extent to which we in this country have been idle. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) has outlined four modes of supply of services and our task must be to build maximum capacity in each of those four modes. If it is about cross-border supply without either party to a transaction having to leave Barbados, then we are talking about a situation such as telecommunications or securities exchange. We came to this Parliament a number of weeks ago and passed a Securities Exchange Bill, which would have empowered this country in that mode of supply of services.

4.00 p.m.

Sir, we are talking about tourism which is recognised as a supply mode called "consumption" abroad where the people leave their country of origin and come to Barbados to consume the service. Therefore, we have to look at things like the Hotel Incentive Act, the corporatisation of the port to make it more efficient and the introduction of home-porting to build capacity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not understand how a former Leader of the Opposition could be so misguided that things are not being done in concert with the development of the people.

Sir, the WTO speaks about commercial presence as another mode of supply. This means that you take your service and establish it under what I describe as a right of establishment in the country of someone else. We have implored at the international business level with companies like Chefette, for example, because there are a lot of restaurants in Barbados who now have an opportunity not only to establish but to move cadres of experience and personnel to new jurisdictions. In so doing, they can create a demand to fill the slots that become available here at home.

The fourth mode in which we must build capacity is the movement of natural persons. Sir, on Both Sides we know that in our constituency there are hairdressers,

masons, welders and plumbers who have services that can only be supplied to the 11 parishes of Barbados and for the first time they have 14 countries to which they can supply their services.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, one could go on but I want to say that the most cherished part of this exercise to me is the fact that once our people are able to go out and share their experience, expertise and skills with Dominica, St. Lucia and wherever else, they will help develop the countries in which they are working and that convergence of development will create a fresh level of demand. Sir, if there is a greater demand for service, the only likely and logical beneficiary of that service must be us, the principle service suppliers.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, that is the only way the gap will be closed between the theory and the theoretical expectation which exists in here today and the capacity lacking out there and we have to close that gap.

Sir, in closing, I want to say that if we fail to rise to this obligation now we are likely to be overtaken by the Free Trade Area of the Americas' (FTAA) process which will inflict on us disciplines that we in the Caribbean have negligently refused to develop throughout the year.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is no capacity in the Caribbean for dispute settlement between States at this time because we have never put a court structure in place and the FTAA is demanding that there be dispute settlement mechanisms. There is no capacity for intellectual property rights, competition policy and investment modes and we have to put them in place because if we fail to do so we will be overtaken by the process.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbados cannot do any of these things by itself because as practical men and women of public affairs, we can only go at the pace of the slowest of the members with whom we work and this is why we must build capacity. This is why there is need for a regional development fund and the need to build capacity.

Sir, I thank you for indulging me.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the legislation before us is part of a long experiment in attempting to integrate this region. It has been repeated several times in the debate that the Democratic Labour Party has played a critical role in this exercise historically and we, on This Side, need not be ashamed of anything.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we heard about the signing of the CARIFTA Treaty in 1965 and the Treaty of Chaguaramas in 1973. Since then, there was agreement that the process

should be deepened and strengthened in Grand Anse in 1989. Sir, I have a vested interest in this exercise because, in my capacity, as a professional service provider, I have practised in a number of CARICOM jurisdictions and CARICOM is already my marketplace.

One has to accept that the legislation before us has failed to realise an opportunity to embrace all people of the Caribbean. The simple reality is that the majority of the citizens of Barbados and the Caribbean are in no way going to be impacted by this legislation.

The Honourable Member for St. Philip South referred to a poll done by the Caribbean Development Research last year, at the behest of the Caribbean Development Policy Centre, on the impact this legislation would have on the people in the Caribbean. The study said that 90 per cent of the CARICOM nationals would not be impacted by this legislation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is a genuine fear that we may be losing an opportunity to truly deepen the integration process and carry it forward. If the most critical element in the Caribbean Single Market and Economy is the people, surely, we have to move ahead with dispatch to make sure that people have an opportunity to see the Caribbean as their single market and single economy. It is a statement of fact that the category of professionals identified in this Act already operate with very limited amount of restrictions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, is there any category that has more mobility in the region than musicians. Which Immigration Officer stops a musician with his guitar or a computer programmer with his laptop computer or an architect with drawings from going to see a client. Sir, professionals are already moving around freely but ordinary people are getting frustrated because sometimes they are harassed and manhandled and they do not see any hope in this whole exercise.

4.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I well recall last year, when I had an opportunity to speak to the issue to the CSME, at a lecture at the St. Michael's Cathedral, a place of worship where, like this Honourable Chamber you should tell the truth. I merely made a point, based on my own interactions with my own constituents and with Barbadians at large that, generally speaking, there was a great deal of ignorance on this issue of the CSME. A lot of people did not understand it.

Sir, I was a victim of a Barbados Labour Party inspired attack in the newspaper, which suggested that I was talking out of turn but, I heard several Members in here, perhaps the most articulate would have been the Honourable Member for St. James South in her presentation, speak to the need for a greater level of awareness to occur on CSME. In fact, she

made the point that she has even heard Honourable Members in here talk about CMSE. Some people cannot even get the acronym correct and she is right.

Hon. Miss H. E. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. I did not say that I had heard Honourable Members in here using the incorrect abbreviation, and it is an abbreviation and not an acronym, by the way, so I correct you now.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Thank you, Sir. I would say that I heard Honourable Members in here talk about CMSE and there was an article in a very prestigious newspaper that had SCME and it was repeated, so clearly, we must recognise that there is a lot of work to be done in terms of educating people on the CSME. Perhaps that is why the Government Information Service has now come on board, but I daresay that those 15 second spots, and the commercials I saw during the cricket series, I think we have to go a lot further.

Mr. Speaker, as the Honourable Member for St. Michael East said, we have to get into the communities and connect with the people, if they are going to be truly part of the Single Market and Single Economy. They have to be informed, embraced and involved. Sir, to my mind that is the only way we would see success, in terms of the CSME. Sir, let us understand that the previous effort at integrating the Caribbean, albeit a political effort, the Federation of 1958, one of the reasons that it shackled out was because of the top down approach that was taken. If the CSME is going to work, we need to see a bottom up approach soon.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that, as was suggested by one of the Honourable Members over there, that there is a level of candour, honesty and intellectual purity that we must bring to our public lives. The Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter in his presentation spoke of the fact that he, as far as the CSME is concerned, did what he had to do after he became the Prime Minister in 1994. He was an Honourable Member of this Chamber in the Opposition when the Grand Anse Declaration would have been signed in July 1989.

It is, of course, quite interesting to note – and this, maybe, corroborates his position that he only became concerned about CSME after becoming the Prime Minister – that the 1994 Manifesto of the Barbados Labour Party, in its foreign policy section has a lovely piece on CARICOM, but nowhere mentions anything about the Single Market and the Single Economy.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading this Chamber. The Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter did not indicate that he only became interested in CSME after he became Prime Minister, to the contrary.

The Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter indicated his philosophical and practical commitment to the ideal of the Caribbean identity. It is a lived experience for him. He is a committed regionalist. In fact, what he did indicate in relation to being Prime Minister, was that the honour and duty of having to chair the Prime Ministerial Subcommittee on the CSME, is not given to him in an *ad hominem* situation, but that the Prime Minister of Barbados whoever that Prime Minister may be, so the Prime Minister immediately before he had a responsibility for matters relating to the CSME, and that the Prime Minister immediately after him, will have that responsibility. He was therefore making that point in that context, but no way at no time, the Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter gave any indication of disinterest in the matter, before assuming the responsibility of Prime Minister of this country.

Asides.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I go by your ruling and I have an extra copy of the Manifesto which the Honourable Member for Christ Church East is free to digest and he can see the larger point that I was making. Sir, that is, as simply put, this Government did not come into office in May 21, 2003 but they were in office since 1994. Clearly, some sort of plan should be clear for all the people of Barbados to see exactly how CSME would work to our benefit.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I heard the Honourable Member for St. James Central talking about the Treaty of Chaguaramas that was signed in 1973. It is not a coincidence that when that Treaty was signed, it was around the same time as an industrial boom in Barbados, and that several manufacturers were exporting their goods throughout the Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is not at all a coincidence that those were the halcyon days for manufacturing and, yes, Chaguaramas was silent on services, but the then leadership of Barbados recognised that the issue was manufacturers having an opportunity to sell their wares throughout the Caribbean and that occurred.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there was a lot of excitement about the integration process back then. It was not only the Heads, people like Eric Williams, Forbes Burnham and Errol Barrow. Sonny Ramphal was involved in that exercise and P. J. Patterson was the Minister of Trade, and what you had was a very vibrant regional movement, where all of the parties were on board and they were benefitting.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I cannot say the same about CSME, right now. I agree the gold post has shifted and Barbados is a much more service oriented economy and we want to benefit in this new dispensation. Even this new question of services, we have to look at very carefully. The offshore sector that has often been touted, we have seen a situation where a young Barbadian who was employed in that sector was apprehended in Miami on his way back to Barbados, and he is now cooling out in a jail in the USA.

Sir, he does not have any right of appeal to any CCJ or any local court but he was apprehended for conduct, while working for an offshore entity in Barbados. This is the reality about this new environment where we are relying so much on services. We need to understand there are peculiarities that we need to consider, having established that Barbados is a clean jurisdiction and should only be attracting worthwhile businesses.
4.20 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think it is important for us to recognise all of the risk factors associated with shifting to services. I support it fully but at the same time we need to understand the peculiarities and the checks and so on that are involved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the question of patience was raised by the Honourable Member for St. Peter. He is right when he said that it takes time, but I cannot accept that we can continue to wear out the patience of the people of the Caribbean. The Heads of CARICOM just had their 25th meeting in Grenada, the Silver Jubilee I believe it is, but according to the Honourable Member for St. Peter, we may have to wait until the Golden Jubilee to start to see some tangible results. He spoke about the European Union taking 50 years, so perhaps we may have to wait another 25 years and then maybe we would have free movement for all. I am asking how much longer can we continue to do this?

Sir, it is interesting that the Honourable Member for Christ Church East mentioned the prime ministerial subcommittee on the Caribbean Single Market and Economy because it is my understanding that they have difficulties in meeting. That has been a source of frustration to the Honourable Member for St. Peter, but that is not his fault one can say, because I guess he is rearing to go. That only goes to show that a lot of the delays and the consequent frustrations of the people are caused to some extent by a lot of logistical problems that presumably could be easily solved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think we have to recognise that we have not at all approached the question of implementing the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy with the sort of energy that the people of the Caribbean expect us to.

The same CADRES poll that the Honourable Member for St. Philip South referred to where 74 per cent of Barbadians say that they support the free movement of labour tells you that Barbadians are willing to move if given the opportunity.

It also says that the average Barbadian is the one whom we should be focussed on. There is nothing that is going to change for anyone including the skilled persons that we speak about in this legislation when it is finally accented and becomes law. In fact, we need to look at ways and means of deepening the process and involving all of the people of the Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Rose Hall Declaration which spoke about establishing a CARICOM Commission is a good move because we need to have a super-national body that can account directly to the people and does not have the red tape associated with the CARICOM Secretariat or the Heads of Government Conference. The CARICOM Commission should not only work on deepening the integration process but could also help to ensure that enforcement occurs similar to what the European Commission does. Mr. Deputy Speaker, concomitant with that would be the CARICOM Assembly of Parliamentarians that was also proposed in 1989 at the Grand Anse meeting.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to look at the ways proposed by the CARICOM Assembly of Parliamentarians because it gives Opposition parties an opportunity to participate in the process. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would not want after the next General Election for the members of the Barbados Labour Party, the two, three or four that may still be in here, to be deprived of an opportunity to continue to participate in the regional integration process. I believe that mechanisms like the CARICOM Assembly of Parliamentarians would allow for that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, real solutions need to become a reality. I am sure that if the Honourable Member for St. James Central had more time he would have touched on the issue of the Charter for Civil Society because if we are going to have a single market and economy and people moving throughout the Caribbean, clearly we need to have certain rights enshrined. I think that is something that should become part of the Protocols of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas because we need to offer protection to citizens as they move around and it should become part of our local law.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I can think of a couple of situations where that issue could be tested. The legislation before us allows for the Minister responsible for Immigration to revoke a national's right to work if he or she is deemed to be a national security risk.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, under the Immigration Act, as was alluded to by the Honourable Member for St. John, you have no recourse to any law court if the Chief Immigration Officer issues an instruction for you to be deported. Clearly, if we are going to have a single market and single economy, CARICOM citizens cannot be treated the same way as non-CARICOM citizens.

I would presume that whether it is a regional ombudsman or whether it may be the Caribbean Court of Justice that there should be some recourse if a CARICOM national is told that he or she needs to leave for national security reasons. That is nothing against the present occupant of the office of the Ministry of Home Affairs but of course we have to think about her successor and her successor's successor.

For example, if a media worker gives his or her mouth a little more liberty than a government official was comfortable with, we have to know that in the event he or she is deported that he or she has recourse. I am only suggesting that we have to look at establishing opportunities for persons such as that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the legislation before us, as I said, offers nothing new. Without doubt, the future for the integration movement is going to be informed not only by what is desirable but by what is imperative. We have larger trade blocs at the hemispheric and global level that are coming into play. We even have the EU/ACP Agreement that specifically recognises regional groupings. The economic partnership agreement is not something that is looked at on a country by country basis, they look at it on a regional basis.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we can no longer dilly-dally with this exercise. I sincerely hope that we could seriously look at the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and recognise that the people of the Caribbean reflect on the results of the CADRES poll, the Honourable Member for St. Philip South referred to it even though he used it a little incorrectly, which says that 74 per cent of Barbadians – and I daresay that would be reflected throughout the region – want to see that we operate as a unit.

As I speak to you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, constituents of yours, constituents of mine and constituents of all Honourable Members in here are prepared to go down to Fontabelle and pay \$200 to get a visa to go the United States of America to duck and dodge authorities up there to work as a babysitter for US\$300 a week or to work on a construction site. That is the reality. Therefore, we must now make it possible for these people to have an opportunity to go beyond their national boundary and still stay within the region and not necessarily have to live that kind of life as a fugitive.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I stand before you as someone who has had to operate in this single market with the impediments in place. I can tell you what you have to do to get money out of certain territories and into others without having to pay the withholding tax. I can tell you about what you have to do sometimes in order to get certain imports out of the Port in order to meet a deadline and you do not have to do certain things. I can tell you what certain things have to happen.

4.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the reality is that people in the Caribbean are operating with these impediments in place and it is a fact that even this question regarding a certificate of recognition is only putting further bureaucratic blocks in terms of the movement of skilled persons and cannot redound to the overall benefit of the whole process.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think it is always good to use very real examples. In moving the Resolution during the 2½-hour presentation, the only example that the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East cited was that of the young lady who specialises in the installation and maintenance of swimming pools, and who was featured on a CARICOM Single Market and Economy advertisement. This young lady happens to be a constituent of mine and is a very well-known one-time employee of the Honourable Member for St. John, and I am sure that he too is proud of her achievement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is rather interesting to note that she has acquired her skills through the apprentice process with her uncle. Therefore, automatically she has to prove that she has the skills and would have to apply for a certificate of recognition. I do not know how she is going to do it. She has not formally matriculated at any university, though at present she is pursuing her studies.

Sir, I am only saying that there is a real example of someone who can find it more difficult to operate in this environment than as it now stands. At present she is working on the Raffle's Resort, Canouan. She is there because of the quality of her work here and because the developers of that project have some very lavish concessions, compliments of the Gonzales Administration, St. Vincent, therefore, they are able to bring in professionals at will.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am saying that we cannot have situations like those, where there are the exception and not necessarily the rule. I strongly believe that the average person is not as much involved in this process as they should. There is no doubt that for skilled persons, the marketplace is already the Caribbean.

Sir, with regard to capital, I heard Sagicor was lauded in here by the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter. It is true, Sagicor is not waiting for any CARICOM Single Market and Economy or for any rights of establishment to Articles 32 or 33 of the Treaty, as the Honourable Member for St. James Central has said. The Trinidad and Tobago conglomerates are moving through. They are not studying anything about whose grey sand or white sand, or anything to do with immigration. It is the black entry on the balance sheet. It is profit at which they are looking. Sir, I am only saying that the only serious bulwark to that is the people and that is where we must take this process if we are to remain relevant.

Sir, it was a little disheartening to hear the Director-General of the Regional Negotiation Machinery say that even the 2005 deadline might not be met. This actually is inconsistent with what I heard in here by the Right Honourable Prime Minister, who has lead responsibility for matters of CARICOM. Therefore, when the Director-General of the Regional Negotiating Machinery, Mr. Richard Bernal, is saying one thing and he is saying another, again it only adds to the confusion, the fear and the cynicism that is out there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, while, as I said, the ideal is one that we support fully, I am afraid that Government must recognise the issues involved. I do not think that because some of the people's issues and concerns were raised, that it means that one is any less supportive of the idea of a single market and a single economy. Therefore, the concerns raised by the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, I think need to be looked at because the reality is that we need to consider what is happening at that level, and there is no reason why that is inconsistent with still achieving the ideals of a Single Market and Single Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am grateful to you.

Mr. R. St .C. TOPPIN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is at times a bit difficult to be inspired to speak, especially after a very empty speech, but I shall endeavour to do my best.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what is happening here today should not come as a surprise to anyone. The Opposition has managed to highlight all of the possible negatives associated with the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. They have sought to present the whole issue in a very pessimistic light. Sir, it cannot be true to say that today should be any surprise or that there has been any shortage of information on this particular matter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Right Honourable Prime Minister has been talking about this issue almost *ad nauseam* for some time now. As I remember, last year the entire national annual consultation at Sherbourne Conference

Centre was dedicated to this very matter of Barbados being CSME-ready. Perhaps, the Opposition would have been able to speak better on it had they accepted the invitation, which they had declined.

On many occasions, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the issue of the emergence of the Free Trade Area of the Americas, globalisation, trade liberalisation, and all that they are going to bring, and the importance of CARICOM, particularly in that context, were all discussed across the length and breadth of Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a whole gamut of legislation was put in place, precisely because we had to make ourselves ready for what is happening today and what would happen in the not too distant future. Sir, some time within the last three to four years, we had legislation such as the Fair Trading Commission and a Fair Competition Act, which were designed precisely to ensure that this Parliament fosters, promotes and protects a culture of competitiveness, to ensure that we could cope with all those entities that CARICOM was going to bring to this country. Therefore, it could never be true to say that Barbadians should be taken by surprise at what is happening today. As we would all agree, today is a first step in a continuum that will go on, until the process is completed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if it is that the population today is unaware or unprepared for what is happening, we really have ourselves to blame because repeatedly information has been published on this particular matter. I accept though that Barbadians, as indeed a lot of people do, are quite reluctant to accept change.

This would not be the first time that one would have seen the Opposition trying to foster this attitude in people to reject change, *et cetera*. I well remember when I was in the Ministry of Commerce, Consumer Affairs and Business Development, and the time had come when we had to honour our obligations in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in relation to dismantling the licensing regime, there was a lot of trepidation.

Representations were continuously made to the Ministry that to do that would have resulted in the decimation of many businesses, particularly small businesses and small enterprises in Barbados. We have seen that licensing regime now being dismantled for over two years. We have not seen any monumental collapse of any small business sector, or of any business industry, or small entrepreneurs.

Sir, at the passage of the new consumer protection legislation, again it was said that the provisions were unfairly slanted in favour of the consumers; that we were

going to see a number of businesses going out of business because consumers had too many rights, and that the rights were inconsistent with the continued operation with a number of business opportunities. We have seen that Act in place for over two years, and have not seen the collapse of any of those entities which we had heard that might have collapsed.

4.40 p.m.

There is always this thing about change. It is unfortunate that certain elements in the Opposition tend to highlight the possible negative aspects of everything and continue to operate in an atmosphere of pessimism. Mr. Deputy Speaker, that is the way they have chosen and it is politically appealing to them.

Sir, Barbadians have little to fear with the passage of this Bill today. Many years ago, Barbadians recognised that in the absence of any real significant natural resources, we had to invest in our human resources and Barbados set out to ensure that we had a well educated, highly trained and skilled workforce. It is to the credit of both Administrations throughout the years that we find ourselves in a position where we can be said to be the envy of countries in the region in terms of the level of our education and the quality of skills and services.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are going further to ensure that we move beyond the area of formal education and are now developing the area of national vocational qualifications which the Honourable Minister of Labour spoke about earlier.

This is an important step that Barbados is going to put on the front burner because it would ensure the certification of persons and their competence in the workplace. Sir, you do not now have to pass exams in a structured physical way in a classroom but the competence will be assessed on the job and certified accordingly. Barbados will be expanding the number of persons who can then be said to be educated and informed to take themselves and the country forward.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have tremendous confidence in the resourcefulness of the Barbadian population. I believe that Barbadians will rise to any challenge posed by this so-called influx of labour and, if and when it occurs, Barbadians will be able to compete and stay above water. I believe also that Barbadians will be able to do that whether they stay here or go abroad. I wish to encourage all Barbadians and investors to move out of the Barbadian market.

The Honourable Member for St. James Central touched on the point that it is a grave disappointment that some of our more successful enterprises still see their sole niche as the Barbadian market. Sir, you cannot get certain entities to be persuaded to see the bigger picture. Sir, Automotive Art branched out and I have no reason to believe

that they have been experiencing any failure and I would like to see Chefette do the same.

I cannot understand why a company as successful as Chefette would have fear about going beyond the local shores and expanding successfully in the region. I believe when the time comes and it becomes necessary that it will have no choice.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, one thing that will come into sharp focus if and when there is the influx will be the need for a change in attitude by Barbadian workers and I believe they will be able to change. Sir, as it now stands, there are tremendous complaints about the quality of service delivered, but when the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy is up and running and there is an influx of competitors, the quality of service delivered is going to matter as well as a change of proper attitude.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not know how true this comment is but I have heard that a number of Guyanese and Vincentians come to Barbados, work for "next to nothing", cut out the Barbadian workers and force them on the breadline.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this has to be an oversimplification of what is actually happening because no sane person is going to leave his homeland to go to a foreign island to work for wages on which he would not survive and enjoy a good standard of living.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, no employer, whether on a construction site or otherwise, would continue to employ someone who is not giving satisfactory or quality work. Therefore, it would have to be the case where the individual is in Barbados working for a satisfactory wage and the employer is satisfied with the quality of his work. It cannot be enough to say that they are taking low wages because they continue to live in Barbados and enjoy a standard of living satisfactory to them. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the over simplistic comment is that they are working for low wages and putting the Barbadians out of jobs.

Sir, Barbadians will have to look seriously at whether they are delivering quality of service required and at whether they may be charging too much for the services they provide because other people are coming to the country and working for less to the satisfaction of themselves and their employer. Barbadians will have to take a look at themselves to see if they need to make any adjustments because the hands of time are turning.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in concluding I want to say welcome to my CARICOM brother. Sir, my style as a Minister was not one of protectionism but I believe in the concept of full reciprocity. The Honourable Member for

St. John spoke about obstacles when he travels on his business mission to other countries. I mention the Fair Competition Act earlier and I hope when he worked for these various Governments that he did not tell them that in the Act there was no provision dealing with interlocking directorships. He might not.....

Sir, I hope that when the Honourable Member for St. John travels on his various missions he does not misinform countries in the region that Barbados has no provision dealing with interlocking directorship because we do have those provisions in the Fair Competition Act.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe in full reciprocity. We in Barbados are opening our doors and I fully support this, but I expect that other countries in the region will do likewise. Sir, Barbados has a reputation to honour its commitments in whatever organisation that it is part of. It is always the first country to pay annual subscriptions to any organisation. Other countries in the region have not always felt that it was their duty to do likewise. We are bringing legislation today which will open the gates to our CARICOM brothers.

4.50 p.m.

I am all for it but in the event, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that other countries do not do likewise, I am the first to advocate that Barbados reciprocates by presenting as many difficulties to those who seek to come in, as other countries present or put in the way of Barbadians who seek to enter into those particular territories. I will not jump the gun to anticipate any obstacles. I believe that things from here on end will flow freely and smoothly, and I give my full support to this Bill.

Thank you, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for St. Michael West Central.

Mr. R. D. MARSHALL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I say up-front that I am supporting this CSME Bill which is before the House. There is a calypso in Trinidad, Sir, I do not remember the singer, but one of the lines speaks about Caribbean people coming from Africa and making the same trip on the same ship.

Asides.

Mr. R. D. MARSHALL: I have been told by my colleagues that Black Stallone sings the calypso.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, yes, we in the Caribbean, although we live on different land masses, can say that at the time of making this trip, we were put off at different ports of

entry. Sir, in all of the Caribbean islands, up to the 1930s, there were social and economic conditions that brought much hardship on the Caribbean people.

Sir, at that time, there was mainly the planting of sugar cane and other crops, in Jamaica, St. Kitts, Trinidad and Barbados. When the people could not take the dread conditions any longer, they started the Riots of the 1930s. I believe it began in St. Kitts, but rippled throughout the Caribbean. Sir, what came out of that was the Moyne Commission, which was set up in England to look into the cause and effects of the disturbances.

As I said, we in the Caribbean had these experiences as a people and, under the CSME and this Bill before the House, we are seeking to pass legislation, where we are talking about the movement of professional and skilled people in the Caribbean.

Sir, the movement of people within the Caribbean is nothing new. Barbadians left these shores in the 1940s and 1950s for greener pastures, that is, to work and make a living for themselves and their family. For example, they went to Panama to help build the Canal. They worked in Aruba and they even travelled as far as South American and the Carolinas. Here in the Caribbean, Barbadians left and went to Trinidad, Guyana, St. Vincent and St. Lucia.

Therefore, we in Barbados cannot talk about people coming to Barbados to work or, as they say now with their selfish attitude, that people are coming to Barbados to take away their jobs. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think it is very unkind that some people in Barbados, not all, when they are talking about people from the lesser developed countries in the Caribbean, could call them low islanders, or foreigners.

I do not think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is kind to label those persons in that way, especially, as I said that during the 1940s and 1950s, Barbadians left these shores and went to those countries in order to make a living. Some went as professionals. Many Barbadians went to Trinidad to work as policemen. Many Barbadians went to Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Kitts as teachers and headmasters, so there was always some kind of movement with Barbadians going to the Caribbean islands to work.

Sir, there are communities in parts of the Caribbean with strong Barbadian connections. If you go to Trinidad in Tuna Puna, Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is a strong Barbadian connection. My grandmother left my mother here in Barbados and went to Trinidad to work. She never came back and she died in Trinidad. There is a place in St. Vincent called "Dorchester Hill", when you go there, you will find Barbadian families, what we call the "ecky-beckies" living there. In Cuba there is a Barbados Avenue. As I said, there are strong connections throughout the Caribbean where Barbadians and other members of the Caribbean live.

Sir, many people left Barbados and went to Guyana and were trained to be pan boilers in the sugar estates in Guyana. In Anguilla, there are Barbadians, the Gumbs family, living there. As I said, there was always movement throughout the region, and the names can relate to different parts of the Caribbean. When you travel through the Caribbean, people will say to you that my mother or grandmother was a Barbadian, Guyanese or a Trinidadian.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I see us as one. As I said, many Vincentians, St. Lucians and Dominicans came here in the 1940s and 1950s but they did not come to be dependent on Barbados for any largess. I can remember as a young boy in the 1950s and early 1960s seeing these people living and working in the areas of Wellington Street, Nelson Street, Suttle Street, what we call the Milk Market.

Sir, many of them would have brought items like, coals, brooms, fruit, and spices such as nutmeg, from their country and sold them around the City area, giving back something to Barbados. Many of them who came to Barbados years ago, never went back home. They had their children who have made themselves into the middle-class of Barbados.

Therefore, it is sad when people could walk around and give the impression that these people from the islands are coming to Barbados to take away what is rightfully Barbadians. As I said, Barbadians have travelled and are still at this time living in parts of the Caribbean.
5.00 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there was always trade within the Caribbean with Caribbean people. Back in the late 1950s and the 1960s there was something known as the schooner trade. This was before we had the Bridgetown Port. Schooners used to come into Barbados and dock at the wharf-side and large boats would come in and dock outside of Carlisle Bay. In those days those boats were called "lighters" and the men who worked on them were called "lightermen". The lightermen would go out and bring in the goods. It was hard, hard work in those days before we had the Deep Water Harbour.

Sir, these schooners would have traded between Barbados and all the Caribbean islands as far up as Jamaica and probably as far as Guyana in South America. These schooners used to bring wood, lumber and all kinds of commodities to Barbados, so the schooner trade was going on between Barbados and the wider Caribbean for a number of years.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, during the days of the West Indian Federation two boats were given to the Caribbean countries by the English. These boats were called the "Federal Maple" and the "Federal Palm". These boats plied

their trade not only carrying cargo but transporting Caribbean people to and from the Caribbean. We also had boats like the Clipper, the Day Wood, the Stella S and the Zipper. Sir, I remember when the Day Wood blew up here in the Careenage in the 1960s.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what I am trying to say is that there has always been some kind of trade between Barbados and the Caribbean. Some of the Honourable Members in here would be too young to know about those things but I guess I am nearly up in there and what I do not know I would have heard from people in Barbados. Sir, there has always been a movement of people and a movement of trade in the Caribbean, so this is nothing new.

Sir, we had the short-lived West Indian Federation between 1958 and 1962. The late Sir Grantley Adams was the Premier of that Federation. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we were always trying in the Caribbean to bring about the integration of people, so this is nothing new.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have about five million people in the English-speaking Caribbean and if people are going to be moving within the Caribbean, we have enough land mass that people can come to Barbados and work and that Barbadians can go to other countries and work.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, over the years I have heard that Guyana could feed the whole Caribbean because it has the land mass. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have a situation in Barbados where we are always talking about land for the landless farmer. I believe that if we do not have the amount of land for these people, Barbadians can be encouraged to go to Guyana and work and cultivate that land. I believe that opportunity should be given to Barbadians.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, people are talking about the population being overrun by Indians from Guyana. That is sad. As soon as Barbadians see a straight hair fellow walking down Bridgetown, he is marked as a Guyanese.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are other Caribbean nationals that live in Barbados but because they might have a black complexion with the African kind of hair and looks like Barbadians nobody would say that they are Guyanese, Trinidadians, Jamaicans or St. Lucians. However, when they look like Indians, they do not know if they are from East India or where they came from, as soon as they see you, you are a Guyanese, so they talk about these people coming to overrun the country and about how they get children so quickly and this body is going to come and marry this body and about this body carrying away their man, and they are going to marry and over-populate Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, people come to Barbados for economic reasons. This brings me back to where I started where Barbadians over the years have left Barbados to go to

the wider Caribbean area and throughout the world to work, so if it is for economic reasons that Caribbean nationals are coming to Barbados, there is nothing wrong in that. There are some who might come to Barbados for illegitimate reasons but they are just a few.

I have met some Caribbean nationals who are very good tradesmen who work very hard so I see nothing wrong with people moving within the Caribbean. We should not adopt and maintain that kind of selfish attitude that we as Barbadians have.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I said, I would not be very long in my contribution but I want to touch on a point which was made by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North in his presentation about service in Barbados which he said would help to determine the market share of businesses and who will survive.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir Arthur Lewis in one of his books spoke about service in which he was comparing service in the Caribbean as against service in the international market. He said that when you go into a store in the international market whether you be black or white someone will approach you with a "good morning", "good afternoon" and "can I help you", but in the Caribbean when you go into a store you would see people hanging around and talking probably about "Brooke" and "Days of our Lives" and when you are tired looking around and are about to walk through the door, they would ask you "wha' ya want?". That is the attitude about service. What I am trying to say, as Sir Arthur Lewis is saying, is that you have to have a different attitude toward people because the key to success is service. Once your service is good, it will determine your attitude.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would also like to say something about the Chinese. These people work so hard. In the Crystal Heights area there is a community where the Chinese live and work. You would see these people early on mornings around 4 o'clock and late on evenings at 6 o'clock in the field working. There are about five and six men out there working a ground and they are not speaking to each other, they are just producing, so the whole thing is about service and your attitude.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I see no reason for us as Barbadians to pull down people who are coming to Barbados from other parts of the Caribbean with their straight hair, whether they be from St. Lucia or St. Vincent and say that they should not be here as long as they are coming here legally where they get their visas from the Immigration Department and they are not going to get involved in criminal activities.

As I said, there has been movement of people within the Caribbean for years. Let us look at the West Indies Cricket Team. We play as a unit together when we are playing cricket. We are not playing cricket now, but when we were playing cricket we were playing as a unit. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Michael East spoke today about the kind of hope for Caribbean people to come together like when we beat England at Lords in the 1950s.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, because some of our economies are doing better than others, we feel that we have arrived but we have to remember that we all came together and we are going to have to try to swim together or we would sink together. Mr. Deputy Speaker, just like how Moses took the rod and parted the Red Sea, I believe it is time for the Caribbean leaders to get together and part the waters of the Caribbean so that all of us can live, work and travel together.

I thank you.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to make my contribution in this debate because I see this as a very important debate.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it would be remiss of me not to side with the sentiments expressed by the Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow in relation to his views on Caribbean integration. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Democratic Labour Party is totally for Caribbean integration. The late Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow speaks about the absolute necessity to promote and defend the sovereignty of the Caribbean family.
5.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, secondly, in the words of the Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow, in essence he said the truth is that thousands of ordinary Caribbean people do, in fact, live the reality of integration every day.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is against that premise that I want to ensure a submission in relation to this debate. Indeed, it was expressed from This Side, about the lack of knowledge that the ordinary man in the street has, in relation to the free movement of nationals and in relation to the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this draws me to a statement which was made by Sir Arthur Lewis, while speaking in the capacity as Head of the Caribbean Development Bank when he said that what is true is that we cannot adopt both policies until they are widely understood and they cannot be widely understood unless they are frequently discussed in public.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I say that to buttress my point about whether or not the common man in the street has been properly briefed about this mechanism that the Caribbean was seeking to establish in this region, therefore, I would respectfully submit that there must be an increased public education about the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). Sir, does the common man in the street know the details and the workings of the Caribbean Court of Justice and its relation to other courts in the Caribbean or in other jurisdictions?

Asides.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: I know about it. I also want to ask about whether the common man in the street knows how this single judiciary system relates to the process of the CARICOM Single Market and Single Economy. The Honourable Member for St. John mentioned about whether it was properly deliberated in the public so that the public would be informed about its workings, about the implication, and about the restrictions of this system. In fact, in my research one leading professor said that the low leading of knowledge amongst the nations about the CARICOM Single Market and Single Economy was extremely worrying.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, all this talk and discussion about public consultation and about the benefits, the question whether it has been filtered down to the ordinary man in the street, must be asked. Sir, I challenge Honourable Members on the Other Side to get up and make any statement about the level of knowledge of what they have done in terms of informing the public with an intensive programme about the working of this system.

We know full well that in this movement there will be losers and there will be winners. We know that countries with abundant factors of production will gain, while countries with scarce factors of production will obviously lose their protection. I would submit, and we must also ask ourselves whether all has been done, or whether the playing field has been properly laid out, to ensure that this system would work and would, indeed, work for the common man in the street.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let me examine the status of the movement. The Honourable Member for St. James Central, in the last seconds of his speech, tried to make some reference to intellectual property rights. Sir, it is a fact that several Member States do not have laws on intellectual property, and the question is whether or not to this date has action been taken on the establishment of a regional administration for intellectual property rights, and also the establishment of mechanism for the protection of indigenous cultures and other cultural expressions. Sir, I was waiting for the Honourable Member for St. James Central to move this Honourable House with information as to the status in relation to the protection of intellectual property rights.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we speak about the harmonisation of laws and we know full well that there are many conceptual differences in relation to companies law legislation throughout the Caribbean. The question is; "What would be the approach?"

Asides.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: On a point of order. I believe the Honourable Member is misleading the Honourable House by innuendo. The Honourable Member seems to be suggesting that there is no legislation in Barbados to properly guard against or to defend the question of intellectual property rights. If that is what he is saying...

Asides.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: No, no, I practise law. I can take you to my office and show you the Laws of Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the questions that we are asking have not been answered by this Government. We must ask: "Has the Government created the environment to properly facilitate the movement of skilled labour in this country?" I must say, as I have said at the outset, that the Democratic Labour Party's Opposition is not against the integration process because Errol Walton Barrow was the true champion of regional integration throughout the Caribbean and our philosophy is grounded in sentiments that have been expressed by the said Leader. Sir, therefore, any red herring about the Democratic Labour Party being against regional integration is, indeed, a red herring.

Asides.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, they must ask themselves whether they have truly created the environment to absorb the influx of skilled nationals in this country. We know full well that there would be a strain on our social services. Indeed, the skilled labour would be competing for things such as housing, and we know full well the issue of housing in this country. In fact, if I may submit, the skilled labour has the right to residence and would need somewhere to live.

5.20 p.m.

I can allude to a statement made by the Right Honourable Prime Minister at the opening of the National Housing Corporation in Country Road. He said that only 45 per cent of the housing needs of this country were met and that over the past 10 years 11 per cent of the housing needs have been met by the National Housing Corporation. I do not want to say that there is a crisis in housing, I would leave that for the Honourable Member for St. James South to say, but whether people want temporary or permanent residence there will be additional demand for housing in this country.

Sir, I ask Honourable Members on That Side what impact this would have on housing. In fact, we are confused to this day as to what is termed low-income housing. I ask the searching question, what provisions or mechanisms are in place for nationals who are displaced as well as non-nationals who cannot find houses?

Hon. Miss H. E. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. The gravamen of the suggestion being made by the Honourable Member is that Barbadians would be put out of housing, overlooked or displaced, to use his words, from local housing because of immigration. Sir, that is a false premise. He seeks to link this with houses provided by the National Housing Corporation. Sir, that is a fallacy.

The National Housing Corporation will continue to provide houses for local as is its mandate and as happens now a lot of people who are coming in for jobs will rent in the private sector. There is a surplus of properties available in the rental market at this time and prices, as a consequence, are being driven down.

Sir, properties that were being rented for \$4 000 two years ago, you can now get for \$2 500. The question would be what is happening in the low-income sector of the market, but the Honourable Member should not seek to suggest that because there is a high level of immigration that Barbadians would not have access to housing. Sir, it is illogical.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hope that rental control legislation that was echoed on the Other Side would soon be in place. It is a fact that there is additional demand for housing. I would never say that Barbadian nationals would be displaced, but the demand and the pressure on Government would be greater.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to move on because I believe the argument has been laid to rest. It is up to interpretation of the Minister of Housing because the definition of low-income housing is confusing.

Hon. Miss H. E. THOMPSON: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member continues to mislead the House. He seeks to suggest that persons coming into Barbados can only get housing from Government and it is a false premise. Sir, this is the basis of his argument which he keeps repeating, albeit in different words.

The reality is that the majority of people who come to the island rent from the private sector. Sir, they are not provided for by Government and it is totally false for the Honourable Member to suggest that to the public and create a degree of fear where there is a lot of fear already existing

at the national level about the extent about which Barbadians are going to be displaced as a result of the Caribbean Single Market and Single Economy.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member is making a genuine error and we know about her status in relation to genuine error. I want to speak about the impact of labour and say that trade unions will have to change their orientation as this new Caribbean economy evolves. It is incumbent on them and they have a moral duty for the provision of training programmes, promotion of social and employment protection legislation for workers.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what is the status of employment legislation in Barbados for the protection of workers? Sir, the skilled worker should be entitled to safe conditions of work and protective legislation and we know full well the record of this Government on the status of employment legislation in this country. Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is no legislation for occupational health and safety at work nor minimum wages. Sir, the Barbadian worker feels threatened in terms of his employment and Government must put mechanisms in place to cushion the effect of job losses.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. As much as the Honourable Member is imbued with a sense of parliamentary enthusiasm and delivering of himself the same speech that he is wont to deliver in here every time, I point out that very shortly Government will be bringing a number of legislative measures. What slows down the process is that under the tripartite process consultation with all stakeholders must first occur. Mr. Deputy Speaker, only this morning MESA consulted on the Sexual Harassment Bill and that is the position.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, every time this issue is raised, the Honourable Member tells us that he will bring the legislation very shortly. I want to say that the fact that we speak about skilled legislation in this particular Act, the fact is, there is a view that relatively few skilled persons have actually moved through other areas, that is in comparison, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to the movement of unskilled labour and they are not included in the free movement legislation. This is another concern of the Democratic Labour Party. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to submit, as I said before, that the implications on...
5.30 p.m.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of elucidation. This morning, I said that Caribbean Governments practise evolution more than revolution and that rather than do everything one time, we do things incrementally. What we are seeing here is a start in the

process of free movement, starting with specific categories. Ultimately, when we are confident, we shall get all on board in the near future.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, the Honourable Member for St. Philip North.

Mr. M. A. LASHLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would further submit that if CARICOM is to continue to have the meaning as a community in a globalised world, then indeed, we must definitely change the direction of building an increasingly dense network, or supernatural institutions, processes at the regional level and other institutions to enhance the national sovereignty and a further collective sovereignty.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, finally, as I said from the outset, we are not against integration and in the process I say, to use the words of the great Calypsonian from Trinidad, that it goes beyond a boundary, for as he reminds us, we live in a world that does not need islands anymore. He invokes us to take a side or we are lost in the rubble of that world. In fact, he says that we must confront the world as a united nation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is my submission.

Asides.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Christ Church South.

Hon. J. X. WALCOTT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is with a sense of pride that I take pleasure in rising this evening to support this Bill. As far as I am concerned and in my humble perspective, it is a significant piece of legislation which will inure to the benefit of all people, not only in Barbados but of the entire region.

However, I have heard from Honourable Members on the Other Side, the Honourable Member for St. John, that there is nothing significant or historic about it and, indeed, from the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central, my personal interpretation of what he said, is that it was a worthless piece of legislation that was not needed because everything that is intended in it is being done already.

Sir, I would say it is important and significant because it comes some four decades after the dissolution of the West Indies' Federation. We have gone through the phase of integration in this region. I believe the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central mentioned them. They are the Caribbean Free Trade Association, the Treaty of Chaguaramas – he did not mention the vicissitudes of the 1980s when they were in power and the problems that we encountered in the regional integration movement – and, finally, to the Grand Anse Treaty Declaration in 1989 out of which came the CSME and where we are today.

What is also important, and has been glossed over, and I have no intention of doing that, and made light of and, obviously, made fun of by the Honourable Members on the Other Side, are the important and critical roles played by all leaders over the years in fighting for regional integration.

I do not believe that the dedication and commitment which they showed over the past 40 years in this region should be made light of but, others on the Other Side can do so if they wish. They have brought us to this stage and it has not been easy. It is even more important at this point in time when large countries in the developed world are integrating for economic purposes. In this age of globalisation and trade liberalisation, it is absolutely imperative and necessary that small states like ours become integrated, if we are to survive on the world stage.

Our situation is not like the countries of the European Union or South East Asia which are large exporters and manufacturers of goods. We in this region deal primarily in the service sector. Our people are indeed our resource. This CSME makes it possible in one economic space for our people, our resource, to be able to move freely throughout this region to maximise the efficiency in this space.

This was echoed by Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford at the Ninth Heads of Governments in Antigua in 1988. Although I am sure that some Honourable Members on the Other Side might want to distant themselves from these comments, and if I may quote:

“It is imperative that every opportunity be taken to deepen the integration process and make it more meaningful for the broad masses of the Caribbean people.”

He, unlike some Honourable Members on the Other Side who are taking all sorts of positions regarding integration, as it suits them, and as it is politically expedient to do so, he led by example, and was assigned the lead role in this CSME. Our Government has followed in his lead and the Government is committed to the realisation of this goal and of his goal and of, indeed, all the leaders that I spoke about since the dissolution of the Federation, who were committed to this integration process.

Barbados, like Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, are committed to the establishment and implementation of free movement of skilled workers by the end of this year. Sir, we have heard for the past week or so, that the Bill does cover all categories of workers. I have spoken about the difficulties in the phased integration process which has been going on for more than four decades.

Obviously, the leaders of the region recognise the challenges and difficulties that might occur, and have

adopted this method of careful monitoring of the system and a phased implementation of free movement of labour throughout the Caribbean starting, of course, with university graduates, musicians, artistes, sports persons and media workers.

Of course, some political scientists and I have seen Honourable Members on the Other Side referring to the Poll and this speaks extensively to the fact that not enough provision is made for the movement of unskilled workers. Indeed, that poll revealed that some 74 per cent of Barbadians who were polled were supportive of free movement. It however indicated that only 50 per cent of Barbadians polled were, at this point in time, in favour of the movement of unskilled labour.

There are some political scientists, and they are entitled to have their opinions, but I believe in the old adage that half of a loaf is better than no loaf at all. At this point in time, the leaders in their wisdom have seen it necessary to move with a phased process with unskilled migration at this point and time. Mr. Deputy Speaker, if we do not seize this opportunity and make the most of it, I believe history will judge us harshly.

This is not a time for displaying insular nationalism and selfishness. It is most distressing and annoying when you hear, of course, the vast majority of Barbadians are not so inclined, people who are distinctly non-Barbadian by their accents who bombard our radio airways on the call-in programmes trying to influence public opinion in Barbados, who have benefitted for several years by living in the country and rearing their children, surviving and maintaining their livelihoods, having a position against the free movement of labour, as though they are saying that they had the opportunity and no else should have it. We keep hearing this over and over, kicking down the ladder by which they got here and achieved what they have done in Barbados.

This is interesting and the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central made reference to it last week, that the vast majority of us in the region have one common ancestry, the Atlantic Slave Trade. Our ancestors were sold into slavery. We endured the middle passage. We endured the nefarious plantation system. We yearned for freedom and dignity. We sang the same redemption songs. We yearned for free emancipation. Our ancestors have all gone through this and just because of history, we happen to find ourselves in various islands throughout the Caribbean. Some are better off than others, so why should we look down on people who are in countries which we perceive as not as well off as ours.

Sir, within the European Union, the countries, the new democracies of Eastern Europe, they call them, have become members of the European Union. There are concerns there

about the movement of these people from the poorer countries of Europe to western Europe, to Germany, to France and to the United Kingdom, so these are things that are not unique to the Caribbean. Indeed, within the United States of America there are States that are perceived as being well off and better off than others. There is a whole process of migration as people see it in their interest to improve their situation.

5.40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbadians – and I believe the Honourable Member for St. Michael West Central did it very colourfully and beautifully – have been indulging in migration over the years as they seek to improve their situation in life. Persons are still echoing within this country that it is okay for Barbadians to travel to seek employment and to better their future throughout the world, so why is something fundamentally wrong with people coming to Barbados to have the same benefits.? There must be a selfishness in this thinking.

Barbadians live in the various cities of North America and Europe and they mingle and cherish living together with fellow Caribbean citizens and speak of West Indian communities, West Indian carnivals and West Indian festivals and they interact and mingle with these persons, so are they saying that it is wrong for some of these persons to come and live with us in Barbados? Are we saying that it is okay to interact and to mingle with them in the North American cities but there is something fundamentally wrong with them coming here? Is this what we are really saying?

We welcome between 80 000 to 90 000 CARICOM visitors to our shores every year to stay in our hotels, to eat in our restaurants and to shop in our stores. Are we saying that it is okay for them to come here every year and spend money in Barbados but something is fundamentally wrong if a few of them want to reside in Barbados? Is this what the Democratic Labour Party, based on what the Honourable Member for St. Philip West was saying last week, is now advocating? Is this the new Democratic Labour Party moving away from the tenets of its founding father, the late Right Excellent Errol Barrow. Is this some new anti-Barrow element on the Other Side?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. James Central made reference and an Honourable Member on the Other Side, I do not remember which Honourable Member it was, spoke about the fears with this free movement of labour with ethnic composition in Barbados, the challenges of people coming to Barbados and changing the ethnic composition in our country. I do not believe that people would have the temerity to do this. Some of them have spouses and relatives who are of Indian extraction, and we are concerned when we get on the Floor of the House about ethnic composition of the country.

Sir, I think we need to move beyond this narrow insularity and selfishness. We need to accept, as the Honourable Member for St. James Central said, that we have gone beyond that. We now have to focus on how to encourage these people to come here and strive to ensure that the conditions under which they work would be the same as applies to Barbadians.

Sir, as Minister of Health, I have some concerns. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe the Honourable Member for St. Philip West made some sort of connection with this point last week, I do not know if it was intentional or if it was by accident, but I have concerns and I think that the Bill would help in this regard.

In a situation where you have illegal immigrants living in Barbados, where people are being employed by unscrupulous employers, where people are living in hovel-like conditions with 13 or 14 people in a room – they are living as we say underground as they are here illegally, so anything will do. However, this Bill, by allowing for the free movement of nationals, will bring them out. They would then be here legally and they will be able to access proper housing and proper health care.

As it exists at this point of time if you are hiding from the police or from Immigration and if you are being exploited by some unscrupulous employer, your health is in danger which has serious repercussions for the health of this country if this is allowed to continue, so this Bill by legal means improves the situation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is one of the areas we should be looking at to ensure that there is no exploitation to these people. We need to stop being so xenophobic and protectionist. We need as a people to become efficient and dedicated to our work. Job security is ensured by dedication and efficiency not by griping that someone is going to come from some other country to steal your job.

We as a people need to improve the quality of our working standards, our work ethics and changing our attitudes toward hard work, that is how you would ensure job security in the face of competition. This is applicable not only to Barbados but throughout the world. You cannot sit down and say that someone is going to come into a country and take a job that is yours.

Sir, I would not be like the ostrich. There are concerns within the health sector. The Honourable Member for St. Philip West raised some of these concerns last week. As it obtains now, there are three categories of persons who come to Barbados from other islands within the Caribbean for medical attention.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, because of the standard of health care within this country over the years, we are seen as a regional referring health centre. Persons who have diseases, who need investigation and treatment are often referred to Barbados. Every year approximately 100 persons are referred by their Governments to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for specialist attention. That is the first category. That is a Government to Government relation where their Government pays for their treatment in Barbados.

The second category of persons who come to Barbados to seek medical attention on their own pay for the services rendered within Barbados.

There is also a third category of persons who we accommodate at this point in time. These are ill persons who are just able to muster their airfare or whatever and their relatives who are working here would bring them here to seek medical attention.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if Governments, I believe there is no divide on this, have set ourselves up as a regional referring centre for the region, it stands to reason that we must make provision for the increased utilisation of facilities which would be necessary. This is another concern I have. I believe I have discussed this with the powers that be and there is an understanding that there would be need to make the necessary provision to accommodate more persons at our health institution.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the age of globalisation and trade liberalisation, I think it is understood that with the movement of people you would have a movement of diseases and the way to deal with this is by increasing and improving your methods of disease surveillance. This is absolutely necessary, not only in Barbados, but throughout the world as we have seen with the whole process of SARS last year.

Sir, these issues are not insurmountable. We heard this morning from the Honourable Member for St. James North about a regional social services scheme. I believe that the leaders of this region would have to look in the not too distant future at some kind of regional health insurance plan to help offset the cost of health care to many of the citizens of CARICOM.

Sir, before I wrap up, I should speak on the whole concept of medical services. I have mentioned the increased load on this. As I said there is potential to us. People come to Barbados and pay for their services. There are also agreements between Governments to pay for these services. I believe with the expanded facilities at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital and with the availability of laparoscopic surgery, open heart surgery and neuro-surgical services, these services can be accessed by people throughout the

Caribbean region who now go to Miami, France and Puerto Rico for these services. These services can benefit Barbados in the whole process of integration and the movement of labour.

Sir, it is interesting that we have heard from the Other Side that not enough education has been done. I daresay that as I listen to them speak, I am in agreement with them. The Honourable Member for St. Philip West kept saying that not enough education has been done of the common man.
5.50 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I listened to the Honourable Members on the Other Side speak, it reminded me of the state that occurred in Babel, where there was mass confusion. I wonder if, in fact, it is the common man who needs the education or the Honourable Members on the Other Side.

Last week we were treated to the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West. I believe he was not prepared for the debate and with his usual harangue and tirade, when he was finished we were not sure what was happening. We were not sure if the Opposition were in support of, or were opposed to integration. Indeed, he first made reference to the comments of our National Hero as being from a different age and a different paradigm.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the confusion continued even today when the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central has said that with the passing of this Bill, that nothing has changed; that nothing will change; that the skilled workers are already coming and going; and that the Bill does not allow for anything.

Sir, the Honourable Member for St. Philip North then got up and said that with the implementation of this Bill, there would be problems in relation to housing. If the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central and the Honourable Member for St. John are both saying that nothing would change and that professionals are already moving... If anything they said that it would be even more difficult for them to move but yet I am hearing from the Honourable Member for St. Philip North that with the movement of skilled labour, there would be problems in relation to housing for the Government.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, based on what they are saying, I am in a state of confusion and I could imagine what is happening on the outside. I take the point about education but not for the common man. I believe the Honourable Members on the Other Side need this education as to what is the CARICOM Single Market and Single Economy. They must perhaps read more than the results of the CADRES

poll. That is a one-sided view, and I know that the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West is not a cherished fan, and *vice versa*, of the authors of the CADRES Poll. From time to time he has had his differences with them.

Asides.

Hon. J. X. WALCOTT: Sir, before I sit, I believe that I should mention the CARICOM Youth Assembly, where every year in November for the last five years, as part of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy process, groups of CARICOM children assemble in Barbados, where they live together, where they discuss the issues of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, where they meet and exchange cultural ideas.

Indeed, two weeks ago, there was a motorcade where they were speaking about it in Barbados, so perhaps the young people will lead us. In this regard, it seems as though the young people are more aware of what is happening with the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, more so than the Honourable Members of Her Majesty's Opposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what I finally want to say is that in this whole process, I believe we must commend our leaders and, indeed, the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter, who has taken the leadership role for the CARICOM Single Market and Single Economy since 1994. We would also wish to thank Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford for the role he has played in this very important process. I believe we have come much too far to turn back now.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, before I sit, if I may be allowed to quote from him. I believe it was his last public statement on the CARICOM Single Market and Economy in 1994:

"Six million people in the Caribbean are depending upon us to realise the goal of deep Caribbean integration so that as one people, we can become one nation under God. We cannot fail them. We dare not let them down".

I am obliged to you, Sir.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to make my contribution to this debate and in so doing, to wind up the debate by first thanking Honourable Members who have made contributions to this very important discussion over the past two periods of debate.

Indeed, in the context in which we speak in discussing the movement of labour, we are not only talking about a critical factor input to production but about an evolutionary dynamic which has very much to do with the very identity of Caribbean people in these times and with the total culture of Caribbean life at this time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have had a mixed bag, I believe presented by the Honourable Opposition's speakers on this occasion. There have been sentiments expressed from over the aisle which sought to express and to identify with the imperatives of the time, and which seem to express an understanding and an appreciation for this particular piece of legislation at this time.

Sir, there were also some utterances from the Opposition's Side which have reduced the debate to a fairly trivial level, and that is to be regretted. Indeed, it is unfortunate. In his contribution, the Honourable Member for St. John referred to the use of Entry/Departure Cards and sought to give the impression that this is part of the burdensome circumstance of the new era in which we live and that, in fact, it takes an individual leaving Barbados and travelling to St. Lucia 30 or 35 minutes to complete the Entry/Departure Card which is now being used.

Sir, in the context of Barbados, I would want to suggest that the Entry/Departure Card which is being used captures the core elements as required by the International Civil Aviation Organisation. Therefore, there are some core requirements which are mandated, which are captured. There are also some other data being provided which is of benefit to end-users such as the Barbados Tourism Authority and the Statistical Department, so that is not an exercise which constitutes a burden. It is a necessary exercise which provides valuable information and helps us to meet our international obligations with respect to civil aviation in Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. John has also suggested that the movement among Caribbean people as being proposed through this particular Bill, constitutes a new level of burden on behalf of those we seek to facilitate. I would like to query where, in fact, the Honourable Member for St. John has identify the imposition of a heavier level of burden.

Sir, with regard to facilitating the free movement of persons which is being provided for in this Bill, all that one should have would be a valid travel document or passport, a certificate of recognition of Caribbean Community Skills qualification, a Police Certificate of Character and a medical certificate. I do not see how that in anyway could constitute a heavier level of burden than had existed in the past.

If one speaks with reference to spouses and dependents of CARICOM skilled nationals, all that is required for them is a marriage certificate. In the case of a common-law relation, which is recognised under Barbados law, all that would be required would be an affidavit of common-law relationship and birth certificate to establish dependency in that context. Therefore, there is nothing to suggest any level of burden being imposed by those who seek to benefit through the provisions of this Bill.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West, and I think this has also found support in the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, both have suggested that the trend has long been established that people tend to move from greater economies to lesser economies and that one is not likely to find movement from Barbados to the economies of the Windward and Leeward Islands. For example, one might imagine this to be true but a close examination of the available statistics suggest a contrary trend.

6.00 p.m.

In fact, close examination of the available statistics suggest a contrary trend because out of 1 816 Caribbean skilled nationals admitted into Barbados between 1997 to 2004, over 30 per cent of them came from Trinidad & Tobago moving from what the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West considers to be a greater economy to a lesser economy.

Sir, 258 out of 816 persons admitted into Barbados as CARICOM skilled nationals came from Trinidad so we see a movement contrary to what is being feared by the Opposition and we see people gravitating towards Barbados rather than have Barbadians move to other economies considered by the Opposition to be less well off.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the movement across the Atlantic constituted for the Caribbean a critical mass of labour necessary to fuel the primitive engines of the Caribbean economies in former time and this shaped the destiny of the Caribbean. The movement by Afro descendant people across the Atlantic into the Caribbean is an incomplete movement and until we in the Caribbean call into being a situation where Caribbean people have freedom to move from one State to another and see the State to which they gravitate as being part of their Caribbean domain, then the movement across the Atlantic is an incomplete one.

I am suggesting that what we are in the process of doing is facilitating the completion of a movement of a Caribbean people which began years ago on the Other Side of the Atlantic and which, up until this point in time remained an incomplete movement. Sir, this is an evolutionary process of which Parliament ought to be proud of which to be a part.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the movement of persons is essential for growth and integration. We cannot achieve the objectives of a properly constituted single market, single economy, integrated Caribbean in a global world simply through movement of goods and services and, indeed, you cannot have the movement of services and capital without the movement of people.

Sir, the matter of harmonisation of fiscal policy, custom legislation, banking legislation, a banking policy and a Caribbean Court of Justice as a dispute mechanism are all critical to the establishment of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy but the movement of labour within the total scheme of things must be seen as being critical and is one of the primary imperatives of these times in which we live.

Sir, movement of labour is bound to enhance the pace and the rate of growth in the total Caribbean economy but I also believe in the respective economies of the individual Caribbean States. We may fear the influx of persons into our shores, but we must bear in mind that the economic inputs of migrant workers will serve to embellish and stimulate the economy of Barbados and the market space which we, as a regional people, commonly occupy and which we acknowledge to be small in world terms.

Sir, those who come here to work will not only be a cost on our social services because they will bring their spending power. They will impact on our housing situation, the transport situation and the retail sector in positive ways. I think we remain narrow in our view if we only see the potential for liability and drain on our social services whether it be health, education or housing. Sir, I see the positive view as well and would want to highlight this.

The Honourable Member for St. Philip West out of his own confusion left me confused. After his contribution I was uncertain whether he wanted to see more or none in terms of the movement of labour. He acted in the capacity of Leader of the Opposition when he made his contribution and I infer from it that he not only signals his own confusion, but the confused state of mind of the total Opposition. Sir, I am still confused as to where the Party on the Other Side stands on this issue. There seems to be a vast divergence of view on the Other Side.

Sir, we have clearly established that traditional Barbados has been a net exporter of labour whether to Panama, Aruba, Costa Rica, the United States of America, the United Kingdom or to Guyana which created avenues of employment for this country and its people in difficult times when Barbados was not as buoyant economically as it is today and our people felt the need to migrate to other locations for employment opportunities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, you know of the importance of remittances which came as a result of those who migrated and found employment opportunities off these shores whether to the London Transport, the field of nursing in England or wherever. Sir, much of traditional Barbadian life was built out of the value of those remittances but sometimes we tend to forget that the livelihood of several people was

significantly dependant on those remittances coming from migrated Barbadian labour given opportunity in offshore centres.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I also believe that we need to forge and reinforce the horizontal linkages which are vital to the sustained development of the Caribbean economies. Our traditional context in a colonial culture has been that we have pursued the vertical linkages. Those are the vertical linkages. They were imposed on us by deliberate policy in earlier colonial times, but in more recent times, through structured and institutionalised trade and other market mechanisms, the same objectives are being served, that the trade links between each individual Caribbean State and its trading partners would be more vertical than horizontal. We need those vertical linkages and the movement of labour together with the movement of capital, services and goods will help to reinforce and further forge those horizontal linkages so that the Caribbean could be brought to a greater level of prosperity.

6.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, while we recognise that we operate in a context where we are sometimes constrained as to our capacity to trade because of mechanisms, whether they are institutionalised mechanisms or market mechanisms, which tend to design those routes of trade for us, create those routes of trade for us, impose those routes of trade for us, we need to recognise that the horizontal linkages must be reinforced and made stronger in the interest of our own survival. We need to minimise those objectives. Those impositions are to minimise interregional trade and optimise or maximise the vertical trade links to our detriments, and this has been the traditional way in which these Caribbean centres have been ripped off.

I see this piece of legislation coming here, as I said, it is very important, critical and evolutionary, as an attempt to institutionalise a movement which is a natural impulse for the Caribbean people. It has been referred to by the Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter today, when he mentioned the speech of the late Rt. Excellent Errol Barrow, and it has been alluded to by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East, in her initial submission during this debate, as the lived reality. We come face to face with that lived reality.

In fact, we have been a part of that lived reality. We have all had the experiences. Some of us not only have moved fairly freely in the Caribbean but actually living elsewhere in this Caribbean. It has not been a one-way movement. It has not been a case of people only coming to Barbados, but Barbadians have gone elsewhere. People go wherever they want to go. If you go throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean, you will find the Barbadian presence there, and in many instances, well established.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think it was unfortunate that the Honourable Member for St. Philip West would refer to our Windward and Leeward Island neighbours, as underprivileged States. I think on reflection that the Honourable Member would regret the use of such terms, to characterise our neighbours and our partners in the integration process.

I do not believe that we can justly refer to either the Dominicans of this world, or the Vincentians of this world, or the Antiguan of this world, who are our neighbours as underprivileged States. I believe that type of characterisation is one that reflects a certain snobbishness which is unbecoming of the Honourable Member. I believe it would be a view with which the Party he represents, and at that time led in this Honourable Chamber, would not want to identify with. Whereas, there may be different levels of development and some may be regarded as lesser developed, I think it is quite unjustified and quite unbecoming to refer to our Windward and Leeward Island neighbours as underprivileged States.

I believe that is a view that the Honourable Member would not want intentionally to express. I believe it reflects a lack of appreciation for the rich diversity which the lesser developed economies of the Caribbean bring to the total Caribbean experience, and our lives are enriched one by the other.

We need, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to ensure orderly migration, in the interest of optimising opportunity for migrant labour, but we also need to ensure that the interests of local labour are served and preserved. I believe that the gradual approach to the business of free movement of labour, and the emphasis in this piece of legislation, in terms of providing for the movement of skilled labour, bears in mind that we have to gradually approach this, so that we maximise the benefits which can be served to migratory labour, but that we also seek to ensure that we protect the rights and interests of those who are principals in the local labour market.

We cannot approve, Mr. Deputy Speaker, of a situation where we take a cavalier approach. This has been suggested by one of the more vocal political scientists in our time, who has a ready opinion on everything political. His position on the matter, as expressed, is to throw open the doors and to deal with the consequences after. Sir, that could never be prudent Government.

There is nothing wrong with the incremental approach. There is nothing wrong with the gradual approach. Changes as well as grown results over time and incrementally, we can pursue the objectives of a total free movement of people within the Caribbean State, as we move towards completing that movement which began in Africa, so many years ago,

across the Atlantic. It is incomplete at this stage, but this Bill seeks to take a further step along the way, as we seek, ultimately, our common destiny as Caribbean people.

Sir, in this Bill, we are providing for the free movement of skilled persons, not only graduates, and this has been covered already, but for media workers, sports persons, artistes and musicians. When we talk about media workers, people tend to think of reporters but we, and the common folk need to understand that we are talking about managers of the media, camera operators, engineers, technicians, graphic artists, cartoonists, photographers, the total gamut of those who are involved in various aspects of media work.

Spouses of skilled persons are not to be denied the privilege and opportunity of working. This was one of the issues raised by the Honourable Member for St. Lucy, but the legislation speaks clearly to provision for spouses and dependents of persons who are qualified in this regard, to have also free movement.

In the case of spouses who seek to work, the simple provision is that they obtain a work permit. In a context where it is understood that spouses who are qualified are being encouraged to move freely, it is further understood that those who are partners of those qualified spouses will, of course, want to lay claim to having the privilege of working under the issue of a work permit as well, Sir, and this is very clearly provided for.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what we are dealing with today therefore, is not simply the issue of reciprocity. It is not a tick-for-tack situation. It is not, you do unto others as you would that they would do unto you. The Treaty under which we operate and this Bill seek to bring us in line with our obligations under this Treaty. It does not address the issue of reciprocity in these matters. We are, in fact, dealing with what is our legal obligation, compliance under the Treaty.

The Immigration Act, under Section 17, Mr. Deputy Speaker, speaks to reciprocity. Today, the issue before us is one of legal compliance as our obligation under the Treaty to which we are signatory and which is a part of Barbados law. Existing legislation speaks to entering Barbados to take up employment with a specific employer, or with an organised or recognised body. This is provided for in existing legislation.

Sir, under the terms of this Treaty and covered in this legislation right now which we are discussing, is the issue of the right to seek employment. Therefore, we have come to a situation where people are not only provided with the right to come, if there is an employment situation to which

you come with a specific employer or a recognised body, but what is being provided, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is the right to seek work. This is absolutely important.
6.20 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is a guaranteed provision for a period of six months, all things being in order, which one would be given at the port of entry. We have got to come to terms with this type of thing because we are not only talking about conveying to people the right to seek work, but about Article 32 which speaks about the rights of establishment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, you cannot talk about the right of establishment unless you take into consideration the right to some degree of movement of people who are associated with the right of establishment whether it is at the managerial or technical levels who are associated with a particular business seeking to establish itself. Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are benefits which would accrue to Barbados as a result of that because Barbadian businesses and Barbadians would therefore be able to establish themselves across the sea in Caribbean centres.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that the accommodation of skilled labour provides for the loss of local labour to metropolitan centres. If our skilled persons can find employment opportunities in other Caribbean States, it would reduce the tendency to and the interest in migrating to metropolitan centres for the purpose of offering their skills and services. Therefore, you would reduce that loss of labour to the Caribbean by retaining it at home. Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I could find the opportunity to work in Barbados or in Trinidad where I can substantially take care of myself and provide myself with a good livelihood and a good quality standard of life, why do I need to go to the cold north in order to offer my skills?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the retention of our regional investment in our human resources is a point not to be discounted. Countries like Barbados invest heavily in training their people, only then to lose them to countries like the United States of America where they go to teach, *et cetera*, as the opportunities provided there are more and may be better rewarding.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, such rights as a right of free movement for CARICOM skilled nationals are being circumscribed. The rights are being established, but the context in which one is able to pursue and lay claim on those rights is being circumscribed. The context is the established certification and established accreditation. These are critical issues which one must ensure that one has in place if one is to avail oneself of those rights.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, health considerations, legal considerations, and indeed security considerations circumscribe the right of movement and, understandably so. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we live in a day and age where there is a growing trend in transnational crime. There is the very present feature right now of terrorism. There is the question of the issue of deportees from North America in particular coming back to the Caribbean.

One must therefore, in an incremental fashion as we are doing, and in a studied and prudent manner approach the business of granting freedom of movement while, at the same time, providing for the fact that certain eventualities can arise out of these dynamics such as transnational crime, the presence of deportees and other undesirable behaviour.

I believe, Mr. Deputy Speaker, and I would want to reinforce the point that Barbados has an advantage to compete at home as well as regionally because of its educational infrastructure, its educational base and its valuable resources which are to be highly realised in its people. Our responsibility, therefore, is to take advantage of those opportunities provided by that educational base.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, part of our responsibility not only in Barbados but indeed across the Caribbean is to do what we can to lift up our neighbouring States and not simply characterised them as being underprivileged and therefore as places that we ought to stay away from. We need to lift them to the level, as has been the case, as already been alluded to in this debate, in Europe with respect to the European Union and smaller lesser developed economical members of the European Union.

We need to help places like Guyana and others of the Windward Islands right now that are suffering under the burden of declining economies. We need to exploit the opportunities provided in Guyana. That has also been alluded to. At various levels those opportunities exist and our people need to be sensitised to those opportunities and be encouraged and seek to make use of them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we need to strengthen and to see the stronger emergence of Pan-Caribbean economic institutions. Beyond the economic institutions which we want to encourage and of which we would be justly proud when they do emerge and to the extent that they have emerged... Sir, we applaud those who have been leaders in that trust but we need to ensure that we strengthen the regional labour movement as a regional entity not just labour unions across the region. We need to strengthen the non-governmental organisations on a regional level that exists today in the Caribbean.

Sir, we need to see a more cohesive direction brought to the cultural development of the Caribbean. If freedom of movement of people is to become the dynamic it can become in terms of the total Caribbean, there needs to be a certain level of cohesiveness brought to the cultural life and the cultural product of the Caribbean which we know and love today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like to deal now with the business of the treatment of migrant labour. Honourable Members referred to the discrimination against Barbadians. Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is the second time I have heard the Honourable Member for St. Philip West referring to the matter of discrimination against Barbadians and preference being shown for Guyanese on construction sites. I challenged him the first time and I challenge him the second time that this ought to be reported. If this is known for a fact, he should bring the evidence to the authority and let that be dealt with.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not believe that any party in Government in Barbados is going to encourage any form of deliberate policy of discrimination against Barbadians in preference to any other nationality, so if the reality exists, the Honourable Member has a duty to the constituents of St. Philip West and the Barbadian public to bring the evidence and report the matter to the authorities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a lot has been said about the trends with respect to the movement of labour and numbers in Barbados. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have some statistics here which are compiled by the Immigration Department. I will make reference to the matter of work permits. Between 1997 and 2004, one hundred and twenty-five long-term work permits were issued to Guyanese by the Immigration Department. A long-term work permit is for a period which exceeds six months. In terms of short-term approvals – Mr. Deputy Speaker, you are talking about approvals here, not about persons because a person could be approved a short-term work permit more than once – between 1997 and 2004...

Asides.

6.30 p.m.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, if one looks at the figures, one would see that the trend upward in numbers coincides with those years of the construction boom between 2000 and 2003 and with a shift in persons from agricultural labour to construction labour at the time because of the greater opportunity presented and because of the better pay levels.

Sir, in no instance with these statistics, have we seen a situation where in any calendar year outside of that construction boom, the numbers go over 600 persons, and we are talking about work permit approvals, not about

persons, because an individual could have a permit approved for periods of six months, on three occasions, which would amount to 18 months for one person.

The numbers are here and, therefore, there is nothing to suggest the kinds of numbers that Honourable Members on the Other Side or members of the public might want to suggest to the public. In 1997, there were 73 persons. In 2004, there were 612. The high years are the years of the construction boom between 2000 to 2003 when the numbers rose to over 1 000.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, some of the comments on the Other Side reflect very poorly on the hard and honest efforts of Immigration Officers. I think on reflection that the Honourable Members on the Other Side would want not to be so unjust to the very limited and hardworking members of the Immigration staff in Barbados. I think some of the pronouncements not only suggested that Government is to be ill-reflected on, but that perhaps the Immigration Officers do not do the job they ought to be doing, in order to curb the numbers present in Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, sometimes one would hear numbers, for example 30 000, being bandied about in Barbados in relation to the number of Guyanese. I think some of the Honourable Members on the Other Side seem to have bought into these numbers. Sir, let me give you some of the numbers of Guyanese who are here. If one is talking about Guyanese nationals who are granted citizenship by registration, naturalisation or marriage in Barbados, between 1968... Obviously, one cannot vouch for the accuracy of figures going back to 1968 but, certainly, as we come to the late 1970s and 1980s, the figures are fairly accurate.

If one looks at the numbers between 1968 and 2003, in terms of citizenship being granted to Guyanese by registration, naturalisation or marriage, the figures are 2 300. If one looks at Guyanese being granted citizenship descent, under Section 225 of the Barbados Constitution, between 1980 and 2004, the total is 682. If one looks at Guyanese nationals being granted permanent residence, between 1979 and 2003, the number is 480. If one looks at Guyanese being granted immigrant status, between 1980 and 2003, the total is 1 331. If one looks at the number of Guyanese who are allowed to reside and to work in Barbados for three-year periods, between 1990 and 2003, the number is 1 040, and some of those would be repeat three-year periods.

Asides.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have already spoken about those persons who have been granted CARICOM Skilled National status.

Asides.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, you can add those numbers and I am sure what you would see is that the records indicate that one does not even have a number of Guyanese nationals living in Barbados under approved conditions that equates to 50 per cent of the numbers being bandied about by the Opposition and in other quarters in Barbados.

When they are all added, it does not even amount to 15 000, while some of them are on work permits, some on short-term permits, some are resident and work for short periods, some are visitors who come for a holiday, or to visit friends and to form relationships.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West has imputed some motives to the Government which I consider to be unwholesome and not so noble. The Honourable Member has accused the Government of condoning illegal labour in order to prop up the National Insurance resources. I have never heard the Right Honourable Prime Minister of Barbados admitting to employing illegal labour.

Sir, there are limitations on our National Insurance resources being projected which are being addressed through prudent policy initiatives, pension reform, and adjustments in rates of National Insurance payment.

Again the Honourable Member for St. Philip West suggested that the Government of Barbados was initiating a race war. This is highly pejorative language.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: On a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the Honourable House. What I said was that if the trend continues, that we could be importing a race war in the future.

I would want the Honourable Member to remember that in 1946, there were about 80 per cent black persons in Trinidad and Tobago and that by 1970, that percentage had declined in relation to the Indian population to almost 58 or 59 per cent. By about 1990, there were about 48 per cent Indians and about 52 per cent blacks. Then by the year 2000, there is now about 51 per cent Indian population and about 49 per cent blacks. Therefore, my case is well made.

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have not heard anything the Honourable Member just said to suggest that there has been a race war raging in Barbados. I do recall the Honourable Member for St. Philip West suggesting that the policies of Government, if not checked, would initiate a race war in Barbados. I think that the language is highly pejorative. I think it reflects improperly upon the normally passive Barbadian spirit.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Member, could you please wind up?

Rev. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that those who aspire to lead, must be possessed of a larger understanding of these critical matters. I think the Bill before the House reflects a sense of vision not only on the level of the Government of Barbados but to the wider Caribbean as we seek to move the process forward in terms of integration and the coming into being of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.
6.40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have said before and I want to reiterate that the movement across the Atlantic constituted for the Caribbean a critical mass of labour necessary to fuel the primitive engines of the Caribbean economies in former time and that this shaped the destiny of the Caribbean. The movement by Afro descendant people across the Atlantic into the Caribbean is an incomplete movement and we in the Caribbean have to call into being a situation where Caribbean people feel freedom to move from one State to another and see the State to which they gravitate as being part of their Caribbean domain.

With those few words, I want to move that this Bill be read a second time.

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

On the motion of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND seconded by Dr. W. F. DUGUID, the House resolved into Committee on the Bill, Mr. R. D. MARSHALL in the Chair.

COMMITTEE

Mr. R. D. MARSHALL: This House is in Committee.

Clause 1 – 15, inclusive, were called and passed.

Schedules I, II, III, IV and V became the Schedules to the Bill.

On the motion of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Dr. W. F. DUGUID, Mr. Chairman reported to HIS HONOUR, the DEPUTY SPEAKER, the passing of one Bill in Committee and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER resumed the Chair and reported accordingly.

On the separate motions of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Dr. W. F. DUGUID the Bill was read a third time, passed and cited as the Caribbean Community (Movement of Skilled Nationals) Act, 2004.

ORDER NO. 8 – FINAL APPROPRIATION (2003-2004)
BILL, 2004

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move that the Final Appropriation Bill be read a first and second time.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: I beg to second that.

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

On the motion of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Hon. A. P. WOOD, the House resolved itself into Committee, Mr. R. D. MARSHALL in the Chair.

COMMITTEE

Mr. R. D. MARSHALL: This House is in Committee.

Clause 1– 4, inclusive, were called and passed.

The Schedule became the Schedule to the Bill.

On the motion of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Hon. G. A. CLARKE, Mr. CHAIRMAN reported to HIS HONOUR, the DEPUTY SPEAKER, the passing of one Bill in Committee and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER resumed the Chair and reported accordingly.
6.50 p.m.

The Schedule became the Schedule to the Bill.

On the motion of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Hon. G. A. CLARKE, Mr. CHAIRMAN, reported to HIS HONOUR, the DEPUTY SPEAKER, the passing of one Bill in Committee of Supply and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER resumed the Chair and reported accordingly.

On the separate motions of Hon. R. C. EASTMOND, seconded by Hon. G. A. CLARKE, the Bill was read a third time and passed and cited as the Appropriation Act, 2003-2004.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to thank all Honourable Members who took part in last week's debate and the debate today on the free movement of labour and skills in the Caribbean. Implied in every Honourable Member's contribution, even the Honourable Members of the Opposition, was a support for the Regional Integration Movement and I want to thank them, and all Honourable Members on This Side.

ADJOURNMENT

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, this brings us to the end of Government's Business for today's Sitting and I beg to move that this House be adjourned until Tuesday, July 20, 2004 at 10.00 a.m.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: I beg to second that, Sir.

The question that this House be adjourned until Tuesday, July 20, 2004 at 10.00 a.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER adjourned the House accordingly.
6.53 p.m.

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TO APPROPRIATE THE SAME FOR THE
SERVICE OF THE ISLAND FOR THE
FINANCIAL YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH,
2004 58

Hon. R. C. Eastmond, 58.

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EASTMOND, Hon. R. C. (St. James North)
ESTWICK, Dr. D. C. (St. Philip West)
FARLEY, Hon. R. R. (Christ Church East)
KELLMAN, Mr. D. St. E. (St. Lucy)
LASHLEY, Hon. H. F. (St. Michael South East)
LASHLEY, Mr. M. A. (St. Philip North)
MARSHALL, Mr. R. D. (St. Michael West Central)
MASCOLL, Mr. C. A. (St. Michael North West)
MOTTLEY, Hon. Miss M. A. (St. Michael North East)
PRESCOD, Mr. T. A. (St. Michael East)
ROETT, His Honour I. A. (St. Michael Central)
SEALY, Mr. R. L. (St. Michael South Central)
SYMMONDS, Hon. K. D. (St. James Central)
THOMPSON, Mr. D. J. H. (St. John)
THOMPSON, Hon. Miss H. E. (St. James South)
TOPPIN, Mr. R. St. C. (St. Michael North)
WOOD, Hon. A. P. (St. Philip South)