
THE House of Assembly Debates

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

FIRST SESSION 2003 – 2008

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, November 16, 2004

Pursuant to the adjournment, the House of Assembly met at 10.20 a.m. on Tuesday, November 16, 2004.

PRESENT

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)
Mr. L. R. TULL, Q.C., M.A. (Oxon.)
Hon. Dame Billie MILLER, D.A. (Senior Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade)
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)
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)
Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE, J.P. (Minister of State, Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Sports)
Hon. J. X. WALCOTT, M.B., B.S. F.R.C.S., (Edin.), J.P. (Minister of Health)
Mr. R. D. JONES, B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Ed.), J.P.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK, B.Sc., M.B., B.S.
Mr. C. A. MASCOLL, B.Sc. (Econ.) (Hons.), M.A. (Public Finance) (Leader of the Opposition)
Hon. D. D. MARSHALL, LL.B. (Hons.), L.E.C. (Minister of Industry and International Business)
Mr. M. A. LASHLEY, LL.B. (Hons.)
Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS, B.A., LL.B. (Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade)
Dr. W. F. DUGUID, B.D.S. (Comm.), F.D.S., FDRCS, J.P.
Mr. R. L. SEALY, B.Sc., M.B.A.

Prayers were taken by Canon Father Ivan Harewood.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House is now in session.

MINUTES

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Minutes of Tuesday, November 9, 2004.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move that the Minutes for the Honourable the House of Assembly for its meeting of Tuesday, November 9, 2004, which Minutes have been circulated, be taken as read.

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

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

PAPERS

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am commanded to lay the Report of the Accountant-General for the financial year 2003-2004.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am commanded to lay the Financial Statements of Gymnasium Limited for the years ended March 31, 2001 and March 31, 2002.

FIRST READING OF BILLS

On the motion of Right Hon. O. S. ARTHUR, seconded by Hon. R. R. FARLEY, the following Bill was read a first time:

The Pensions (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 2004.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy 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. R. FARLEY: I beg to second that.

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

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

ORDER NO. 3 – THE CARICOM SINGLE MARKET AND ECONOMY (IMPLEMENTATION) (MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) BILL, 2004

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to give support to the Bill before us, with the full recognition that the pursuit of achieving a single market and a single economy will be difficult, particularly the single economy element of it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, last year during the Budget reply, we said that the notion of a single economy requires a single currency and that, therefore, it is highly unlikely that we will have a single economy in the foreseeable future. According to the recent Session of Heads of Governments in Trinidad and Tobago, there has almost been an agreement that there will be the postponement of the achievement of a single economy, I think, until the year 2008, according to the news items, unless it was falsely stated.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, that is something that we can all understand but I wish to say that the ultimate aim is how, in the future, do we not only achieve a single market and a single economy but how do we achieve political union within the CARICOM union. Sir, it is from that vantage

point that I will make my contribution today because I think that there has not been sufficient attention paid to the question of sovereignty at the regional level, as well as how the formation of a single economy will have effect at the local Government level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, sovereignty at the regional level, to my mind, seeks consensus. Therefore, when the Heads of Governments meet, they could always determine what the possible future of the region would look like and set about to construct policies and programmes to achieve such. Therefore, as long as there is consensus, they can set about to participate in the process at the regional level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, sovereignty at the country level requires a majority. It does not require consensus. That is that, when a Government seeks to implement policies, it does not do so with the understanding that consensus is the pursuit but that the majority is the pursuit. Certainly in our kind of political structure, it only requires one more vote than the other side, in most instances, to exercise or to carry out a policy mandate. Sir, I, therefore, think that sufficient attention has not been placed on understanding the difference between these two concepts, at the regional level and at the country level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the support of the majority, therefore, at an individual country's level, is sufficient but not necessary, whereas, the attainment of consensus at the regional level is a necessary condition. Therefore, there is need for consensus regionally but a majority is needed as a sufficiency condition for exercising one's right as a Government, to carry the country in whatever direction one sees fit at the appropriate time. Therefore, in fact, when all is said and done, the whole pursuit of a single market and single economy would ultimately be tested by the political relevance of the union within the region and whether or not one could pursue a regional agenda and satisfy one's domestic agenda as a Government.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, notwithstanding the potential conflicts that would occur in the formulation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, it is important to understand that the broad objectives will remain at the country level, that in coming to CARICOM Single Market and Economy, one still needs to pursue a sustainable economic growth policy, which is the desire of every country in the region.

Sir, to pursue a sustainable economic growth policy is going to require investments of all kinds, whether those investments are local or foreign, in order to be able to fuel the economic growth that is the requirement for any Government in the region to sustain politically and for the people in the region to be uplifted economically.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as we know, there is also the desire to have employment levels being close to full employment. As long as there is going to be movement within the region, then the question is not whether we can now have a sustainable economic growth but whether we can have economic growth large enough to enlarge the pie, to be able to take care of the needs of the least advantage within the region. Therefore, how do we come together as a region and increase our economic pie to the extent that we can better be able to share it among the people who are most needy within the region. As a consequence of that consideration, it, therefore, means that economic growth cannot be the trivial 2 per cent per annum but that it has to be a wider objective, if we are going to bring along the weakest elements within the CARICOM region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it also goes beyond the issue of being able to create full employment and perhaps the most constraining influence on managing economies in the region is the availability of foreign exchange. There is no other real constraint to managing an economy in the Caribbean than the availability of foreign exchange. One can talk as much as one likes but unless we have the resources to be able to import and to be able to sustain our businesses, our capital projects and all of our endeavours within the economies of the region, then it is not going to be an easy task for the region to pursue economic growth or full employment, in the absence of scarce foreign reserves. In fact, when one looks at the overall management of Caribbean economies, there is only one real constraint to economic growth and development in the region, which is the availability of foreign exchange.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the question of stability within a country's pricing system, that is, how does one control the rate at which prices move within the region, which is normally the early signal for the erosion of purchasing power among businesses and workers. Therefore, whenever one starts to see the erosion of one's purchasing power, it then, in fact, makes the electorate and by extension the population, very uncomfortable.

Sir, in essence, while people may say that Caribbean people or any population would not be interested in matters such as balance of payments, economic growth and foreign reserves, the crux of the matter is that if the economies are not well managed, ultimately they will impact on the pockets of individuals and that is when the individuals would be tuned in to the economic indicators. Therefore, as long as life is running smoothly, one can anticipate that there will hardly be any resistance on the part of the workers, employers or pensioners but as long as they begin to feel the impact of the economy on their purchasing power, they will retaliate.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am, therefore, putting into context what I think would be required, not only to look at the formation of a single market and a single economy but to

understand that the pursuit of such objectives cannot be seen in isolation from the individual country's objective of sustainable economic growth, the pursuit of full employment, the stable balance of payments environment and price stability, as some of the major macro-indicators that can, in fact, cause us to achieve what levels of economic growth and development that we are seeking to achieve.
10.30 a.m.

I also want to note that it is not just a matter of pursuing economic growth as a means to development because, in essence, economic growth plus change, which is predominantly social change is what leads to development. Sir, development cannot be seen only within the context of the economy growing or the balance of payments performing but must also be seen within the social indicators of health, education, housing, jobs and any other such social indicators within an economy or society.

Therefore, before I grapple extensively with the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, I want to look at the existing conditions within the region. There is excess labour supply within the region, that is, there is unemployment within the Caribbean. What can we do to absorb that excess labour is a crucial question which has to be answered by policymakers throughout the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, is the existing labour supply adequate to the future needs of the Caribbean region. It has to do with the ability to retrain and redirect the labour market to be able to take care of the needs of the future as it has to do with Government being in a position to be able to have an environment that is conducive to investment to allow the labour to be absorbed.

Can we now think only of pursuing the path which we are on, in terms of our economic growth strategy or do we not have to stop and rethink in light of the fact that the requirements of the labour market are going to be distinctly different to actual abilities within the labour market at the present time?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we continue to be a capital-scarce region and except for Trinidad which is now running high on reserves given the oil prices and what has happened recently in the manufacturing sector and given the development of the petrochemical industry in Trinidad, there is now an abundance of excess capital within the Trinidad market. It is not by accident that Trinidad has started to look beyond the region but has concentrated much of its efforts in recent times within the region to secure its markets regionally. Therefore, Trinidad has found it fit to put some of that excessive capital within Caribbean countries as a means not only of uplifting these countries but of trying to secure a market within the region.

The approach of Trinidad is not only about self but about the region and making sure that the region is capable of absorbing any exports or services it would be able to provide.

We also have the question of inadequate technology and how we should make the quantum leap to ensure that we can bring on board the type of technology required for us to be able to reposition our economies and societies to confront the new future.

Perhaps the greatest need which is somewhat connected to excess labour supply is what do we do in terms of retraining our existing labour forces within the region and whether or not we are going to be capable as individual states of retraining our labour within the region in order to make them adequate for the future needs of the Caribbean.

Sir, in short, I am setting the environment with which you have to come to terms with the existing conditions within the region before you can speak to the establishment of a single economy and single market because unless you presently diagnose what you have, it would be difficult to prescribe any particular remedies for the future development of the regional economies. Perhaps now that we are in an era of non-discrimination, the greatest requirement for us in the region is to immediately dismantle this dubious distinction between LDCs and MDCs within the region. It has to be dismantled because you cannot be speaking to the issue of non-discrimination worldwide and levelling playing fields across the world but then within your Caribbean space have a distinction of what is a more developed country and a less developed country. Therefore, the first order of business within the Caribbean space is to dismantle the whole notion of LDCs and MDCs.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: The Caribbean National Negotiation Machinery is arguing the case for special and differential treatment and if we ourselves do not accept the notion for special and differential treatment among ourselves when our circumstances are different, from a strategic point of view, it is going to be very difficult to argue that case wholeheartedly before the rest of the world. I urge the Honourable Member who is giving a very thoughtful speech to take that into consideration.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: I appreciate the point but I am saying that even psychologically maybe it needs to be dismantled.

I am not suggesting that you would not give special privileges to the least privileged in the region because it is about being your brother's keeper and strengthening the weakest link in the system. If we are truly going to come together as a region, it is absolutely necessary for us to be

able to provide and take care of the least privileged in the region.

I understand the need to come together as a region and the strategic approach in terms of dealing with international organisations with respect to treating CARICOM as a bloc and still be able to exercise some level of discrimination among the so-called LDCs.

Sir, I want to go deeper into this discussion. The first requirement is to permit the free movement of people and goods across the region and to make travel easier, cheaper and more efficient, those are the three dimensions. In the light of that, I recall making a suggestion last year with respect to World Cup 2007 when I said that you could not facilitate the free movement of people across the region if the transportation system was confined to LIAT and BWIA. Sir, LIAT can only carry 40 people so it will always remain unprofitable and inefficient because of the size of the aircraft.

I went on to make the point that perhaps we could use 2007 as a test for the regional integration movement and the Caribbean Single Market and Economy because of the need to transport higher numbers of persons across the region. This was when the suggestion was made to put greater emphasis on ferries, how we may be able to employ ferries across the region especially in the southern part of the Caribbean as a means of getting people more efficiently and effectively around the cricketing grounds in the year 2007. There was subsequent discussion on this matter but, as in most cases, people tend to listen at least two years after but there is definite need for consideration to be given to creating an environment which permits investment in the transportation sector and to look beyond the current airlift and look at the possibility of getting ferries across the region which can carry 400 persons at reduced cost and making it more efficient and effective. Also, to be able to give our people in the region an opportunity to truly become CARICOM citizens.

10.40 a.m.

In the particular debate we are about to put into law and computerise at least eleven Acts. Sir, given that I started with the first requirement of permitting the free movement of people, labour and goods across the region, the Travel Services Act which we are considering is extremely crucial. This will give tour operators and the like the opportunity to establish offices within the region. Sir, this is important from the point of view that it permits for greater interaction and it also allows for travel agencies to be established in other countries to make the whole question of Caribbean travel a greater reality.

In fact, I think that many times in the region there is too much emphasis being placed on getting to New York or Canada when there is so much to be experienced across the region. Anyone who has travelled to St. Lucia, St. Vincent,

Grenada and other such countries would recognise the tremendous warmth and comfort that you feel within these countries. Indeed, not only the warmth but the question of developing camaraderie which I experienced at the micro-level, at the university, where the interaction is real and Caribbean people, Jamaicans, Grenadians, Vincentians, come together and they all tend to live in space that is confining but does not confine them in terms of their thoughts and appreciation of what the future holds for the region. So, it is important to be able to exercise a greater level of interaction with respect to the travel agencies.

Let me also look at the question of the Immigration Act. Sir, what is most important about the amendments that have been made today in this Parliament is the definition of what is a national. A national is now a citizen or company of a member state and it is no longer localised.

Again, I recall when I was in the Other Place when we had a debate on International Business Companies in the region, I said in that debate that, perhaps, we need to give opportunities to bands like Krosfyah and others to be able to ply their trade within the region, earning foreign exchange so that they can actually be established as an International Business Company within Barbados and it happened not too long after that. Some very outstanding contributions were made, not only by myself in the Upper Chamber but by other persons at that time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us say that, perhaps, people were listening.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: The other thing is the question of the impact of immigrant labour on the Barbadian economy. This is where I wish now to introduce a copy of *Insight*, a magazine that we have been working on and which apparently caused a little trauma in the last election when a very innovative move was made to produce mini Manifestoes by the Democratic Labour Party and to go into the very busy City of Bridgetown and distribute a mini Manifesto, the contents of the bigger Manifesto of the Democratic Labour Party.

In fact, I am reliably told that the Leader on the Other Side was quite angry that the Democratic Labour Party was able to come up with such an innovative plan and then impose some degree of pressure on his Side to respond and react to the innovation of the Democratic Labour Party at the time. It would also appear that there were some alterations, especially on the income tax side, with respect to the adjustment to the taxable allowances which we were debating.

Sir, I am, therefore, concerned, even though I support the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and I understand its history only too well, about the implications and the potential impact of immigrant labour on the economic and social space of Barbados. I think that we need to pay some attention to it because we have not been given sufficient time to the consequences of immigrant labour.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let me, therefore, use a paper that was produced by Caribbean Policy Development Centre and CADRES which reveals some very interesting statistics. In a poll conducted by CADRES in Barbados on general and specific aspects of the freedom of movement, when asked, do you support initiatives to facilitate the freedom of movement throughout the Caribbean, 74 per cent supported the concept in Barbados, 16 per cent were against and 10 per cent were uncertain.

Sir, another question was asked and there was widespread support, according to the information, but when the question included unskilled persons, the support dropped from 74 per cent to 50 per cent in the CADRES poll and those against increased from 16 per cent to 37 per cent. Therefore, it is important to note that even among the people in Barbados that the anticipated impact of the freedom of movement will differ within income groups and different types of labour within the economy.

Sir, therefore, I think that from now, we should not treat the analysis in a homogeneous way or to attach it in that kind of way but to understand that there will be differences across income groups, skilled and unskilled labour as it relates to the free movement of people. That statistic was extremely revealing because it is being suggested, especially now, that there has been an influx of immigrant labour in Barbados affecting certain sectors of the economy, agriculture, security guards and construction and there has already been an outcry in terms of the potential impact.

Sir, the reality is, at that lower end of the income ladder, other persons within the region who possess such skills and appetite would see it as an opportunity to come to Barbados. If you can come to Barbados and get the kind of exchange rate adjustment, make the kind of income that could permit you to send back US\$50.00 on a weekly basis, which appears to be minimal for Barbadians but when converted in another country of the region it becomes significant, then you can understand the desire on the part of persons within the lower income categories to want to migrate, come here and present themselves as alternative workers within the agriculture and construction sectors.

Sir, I have one private quality, it would appear, and that is to listen well. When I heard the Honourable Prime Minister say at the Consultation that the way in which we

can improve the potential in the agricultural sector was to invite persons who are willing to work below the reserved wage in the agriculture sector as a means of giving it some hope, I understand the inference that, in fact...

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: On a point of order. The Honourable Member has the capacity to listen well but he also has a capacity to reproduce inaccurately. I never made any such statement of the kind. I said that there was a reserved price for labour that was set by what the construction sector and what other sectors employing general labour were paying and that once that reserved price was higher than what agriculture could afford, the agriculture sector was going to have difficulty accessing labour in this country. Sir, that is all I said.
10.50 a.m.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Sir, in actual fact, given the fact that labour cost in agriculture is the highest cost in the agricultural sector, you could understand the need to attract people who are willing to work for less than the minimum wage.

Sir, all I am suggesting is that the potential is there within that sector for Barbadian workers to see the competition as a potential reducing wage element for them, because of the desire on the part of immigrant labour to accept a lower wage than the Barbadian worker.

This is also true within the construction sector. Therefore, we have to be careful, in light of what I am saying that we understand the impact of immigrant labour will be different across various working categories and income groups.

It does appear evident therefore, when you look at the CADRES Report, that the people have already started to understand that the impact will be different among unskilled labour, as it will differ from skilled labour, within this whole question of free movement of labour across the region.

Sir, that is a reality which we have to confront and therefore I think it offers an opportunity for greater investigation on the part of the Government to see the potential impact of such immigrant labour on our labour market. Mr. Deputy Speaker, it has to go beyond that because there will also be an impact on the social services sectors.

For example, whereas a Barbadian couple with a child or two children may find it possible to rent a two-bedroom house for \$700 or \$800 a month, it becomes attractive to the

owner, if ten or so persons will seek to occupy that same space and pay substantially more than a Barbadian family will pay for a similar accommodation. Since it becomes attractive, it therefore means that one of the potential impacts would be on the question of rentals in Barbados. That is, that even at the lower end again, of the housing stock, the demand for these kinds of properties can, in fact, serve to increase the overall rental cost per month of the two-bedroom house that maybe within the reach of the average Barbadian family, but if immigrant labourers are able to live in a room, then you have the potential for that level of rent being pushed upwards by the demand that would be occasioned by the influx.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, you can see that again, the potential is there for the impact to be negative, and currently, the need for low income housing has been identified at priceless levels by the Minister, and recent moves to address this problem, notwithstanding the demand for low income housing will worsen and probably be exacerbated.

Therefore, I am saying that we can anticipate these kinds of impacts on the society with the influx of immigrant labour into Barbados, so the greatest impact could happen at the lower socio-economic scale. Rents for already scarce and privately owned houses will increase in the low and middle income brackets. Demand for the Government's subsidised housing will increase. Unscrupulous landlords could seize the opportunity to rent houses to multiple tenants. This is already the case with migrant workers, and denies locals the opportunities to rent homes at reasonable rates. Demand for land will increase and so will the price, impacting on all of us and at the upper end of the housing market. Landlords will benefit from the increased demand, as mergers and acquisitions in the business sector result in an inward flow of management level staff. Again, what you are seeing is a potential for the already existing high cost of housing to be pushed even further.

Sir, in terms of the whole question of health care delivery, while an immigrant worker may not, in some cases, contribute to the National Insurance Scheme, or may not be legal, I would not expect that, in Barbados, if such a person goes to be treated at the QEH, that person will be denied. Therefore, a basic human right or need will be fulfilled by an organisation or an institution like the QEH, in spite of the fact that the person may not be able to demonstrate that they are legal. Therefore, you can expect that there will be additional pressure on the health care delivery services in Barbados, as a result of immigrant labour, and this is also a potential area for concern.

The Barbados Drug Service which provides medication for chronic and life threatening diseases is already stretched, and the Government is now asking people to pay towards the medicine. Therefore, you can see that over time, once there

is increasing migrant labour, this will be further exacerbated because of the potential threats from persons who are not necessarily...

Dr. W. F. DUGUID: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. As it now stands, for people to access the Barbados Drug Service in Barbados, they have to produce their Identification Card. It is only accessible to nationals of Barbados, so immigrant labour would not be a drain on the Barbados Drug Service.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please proceed.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Sir, I would not respond because it gives the impression that we are living in a world that is made of honey and milk.

Sir, the reality is and we all know that people are able to access our health services, even without having a national identity card and that is a fact of life, so whether or not the Honourable Member for Christ Church West wants to admit it, or wants to live in a world of make belief, there is a reality. What you are speaking to is a question of a normality situation, what ought to be and I am speaking to the reality, what is done. Therefore, what is, is that people who do not have national identity cards are still able to get access to our services.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the other thing would be the consequent impact of immigrant labour on our educational system because people are going to come here and multiply. They are going to get involved and seek services. Therefore, the potential for it to impact on our educational system, would be real. I am suggesting that even before it happens, we ought to be in a position where we can anticipate the impact.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: It has happened in other countries. In fact, during the recent elections in the United States of America, we saw a big debate about migrant labour and its impact in the southern part of the United States of America. There is no reason why we cannot now begin to understand or appreciate the potential for such to occur within our shores, especially if we are facilitating the free movement of labour.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member's views are obviously going to be taken very seriously and I would urge caution because under Article 29E of the revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, the difficulties associated with the movement

are anticipated. The Member countries have undertaken to elaborate a protocol, in relation to rights, contingent upon establishment and other such matters. It is not intended therefore that this is a matter which will go unaddressed by a CARICOM wide Protocol.

Therefore, I would urge the Honourable Member to restrain his strictures until such time as he sees the rights that are embodied in a Protocol, contingent upon establishment and movement of capital. It is anticipated that this has to be addressed by a region wide protocol and I am just putting this before the House again for consideration.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please proceed.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, while I appreciate the point being made by the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter, I am suggesting that we do not have to wait until we implement policies to be able to give the population a feel for the potential impact of policies on their space.

Therefore, it is a point that I will continue to make and which I made last week, that as policy makers, you have to be able to anticipate what the future will be, and what the potential impact of the policies will be. Sir, you cannot wait until you implement policies then to be able to do any analysis of these policies. In this regard, I am suggesting that one criticism within the region appears to be that while the Heads of Governments are giving information on the law on the protocols, they have not started to give information on the potential threats and the potential impact on the economy and the social sectors of the region. What the people want is an appreciation for how CARICOM is going to impact on them, not just about whether laws will be implemented and changed. We have done well in terms of changing and facilitating Acts.

11.00 a.m.

Sir, we have done well in terms of redefining what is national. We have done well in terms of outlining what is the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. However, what is now required is for us to do an analysis of the potential threats and opportunities in a more comprehensive way with respect to the lives of the people. Therefore, the time has come, legitimately so, for the people to ask what is in it for me in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. "What is in it for me in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy", is what this *Insight* is entitled.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, now that we are less than two months away from the implementation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, we have a right to explain and expose the people to the potential impact and threats of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy on their space.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Do not worry about 1989, we are now 15 years on. It is the duty of the Governments in the region to say to the people that they are not just implementing policies and programmes or changing laws but that there can be particular impacts on various areas and categories of the workers, as I have demonstrated with my limited resources.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we on This Side have started to see that a movement of labour will differ across income groups and different skills and categories of skills within Barbados. Therefore, it is important that the abundance of resources which the Government has could be better used to educate the people of Barbados with respect to the potential threats and possible opportunities of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I said, we have looked at the impact on workers to Barbados, wages and businesses and what the immigrant labour may do with respect to influencing any minimum wage legislation that the Government may be contemplating at this time. If, as has been admitted, that immigrant workers are willing to work for wages below that of the Barbadian worker, then that can also have implications for the whole question of putting in place minimum wage legislation across the various sectors of the economy. It is an area of opportunity for analysis. That is, to what extent would such labour impact negatively or positively on the various sectors within the economy. As we all know, which is simple economics, a greater pool of workers has the potential to drive down wages.

Therefore, if you are going to have immigrant or migrant workers coming, then the potential to drive down wages in the agricultural sector and in the construction sector is real as a result of the shift in the demand curve. That is not anything that I am picking out of the sky. It is something that could happen as a consequence of the influx of migrant workers within Barbados. So whether you like it or do not like it, if you do not document adequately your workers then you are going to lose with respect to their payment of taxes and national insurance contributions.

So, as was the call by a trade unionist recently, there is need for adequate documentation of workers in Barbados because if workers are not well-documented then you can anticipate that they would not be making the requisite contributions in taxes or national insurance. They will be using our transportation system, our health system and our other social systems which are subsidised. Therefore, it is in the interest of the Government to be able to document the workers and by extension be in a position where they can

adequately measure the contributions that immigrant workers are making in this move toward the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the other area that is of concern is the impact on skilled professionals. There is a belief that the free movement of labour within the region would help Barbadian professionals. However, we are not fully sure as to whether or not our lawyers are going to be able to move as freely within the region as you wish for them to move. We are also not sure whether in the not too distant future that American, Canadian and British law firms will not be able to establish root in Barbados and therefore give increasing competition to our local lawyers. That is a potential threat.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Not in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, I am talking about the World Trade Organisation and all the other arrangements that are contemplated. I cannot see why it would not be possible. I cannot see why you would restrict opportunities for international organisations. There are international accounting firms in Barbados. There is Peat Marwick and Ernst and Young. So what could restrict a large law firm from being able to establish within the CARICOM region in the not too distant future. Therefore, what would be the potential threat to the services being provided within the legal system.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I know for sure that there is a major concern among the pharmacists within the region. In Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, pharmacists are trained to the degree level. In Barbados that is not the case. Therefore, what we have threatening us is the ability of a Jamaican or a Trinidadian pharmacist to come to Barbados and establish a business. However, because of the qualification requirement, a Barbadian pharmacist would not be able to move to Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica to be able to establish in a similar way. Therefore, that is a discrepancy that has to be looked at because if there is going to be any movement, the potential movement is from Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica to Barbados as opposed to from Barbados to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This raises the question of accreditation.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: That is true and it cannot be denied. We all know it is true. That complaint has been raised by pharmacists to me. They have identified clearly that on that basis alone the movement may be restricted to a one-way movement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are other areas of the professional sector that would be of concern. I am not for the restriction of classes of workers though I understand the need to incrementally move. There is concern that you cannot restrict to just musicians and professionals. I am concerned about the impact of immigrant workers on Barbados, so I can understand that perhaps restricting will give some degree of protection to our work space and our various sectors within Barbados. So on the other side of the coin, I can respect the need at this time not to go full scale with respect to opening up the market.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have already said and written in the Business Authority that the potential for Barbados to lose in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy is greater than its potential to earn.

Asides.

11.10 a.m.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, within a year or two, people are more going to see Barbados as an opportunity.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: It will be the case, so do not deny it. I understand that other Caribbean countries will see Barbados as an opportunity immediately following the CARICOM Single Market and Economy's implementation but it will take some time for Barbadians to be able to derive some benefit and opportunity across the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I can appreciate the establishment because I am a regionalist at heart. I am all for CARICOM. In fact, I know only too well that our future is tied up in the need for us to come together as a region to fight the international forces but I cannot stand here and deny that there will be challenges that we have to confront and to realise.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: It is not a question of fair. It is a question of being a realist and understanding the potential opportunities and threats that will come as a result of its implementation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I go further because there is the question of the right of establishment of enterprises. We all know that even under our existing trade arrangements that at no stage did CARICOM trade exceed 10 or 12 per cent of all trade within the region, so that CARICOM never became what it was intended to be, in terms of expanding in a bigger way, inter-regional trade. Sir, this is something that we have

to consider because at no point were we able to lift trade within the region beyond 10 or 12 per cent of the entire trading within the region.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the right to establish enterprises is a right that must be pursued in light of the need to have the movement of capital. In this regard, I think that some of our local businesses need to look beyond the shores of Barbados, especially the fast food chain of which the Honourable Member spoke, which, in no time has established 13 or 14 chains at every corner across Barbados. Sir, I think that this particular chain has understood the need to clog, particularly Bridgetown, so that there are about six outlets in Bridgetown alone. I see that as a strategy to deny entry by other persons. Sir, perhaps it is a good strategy because if one can establish a Chefette at every corner, then, in fact, the potential for any other business, as was the experience with Royal Castle, to come into Bridgetown, would be very difficult because it would need to be located in a position where it could be seen and recognised, for example, like that of a commercial bank.

A commercial bank is always located at the corner of a street, and deliberately so because it has to be recognised. Therefore, to have a Royal Castle coming out of Trinidad and Tobago and being put in a little mall where it could hardly be recognised, *vis-a-vis*, its competitors, it could never survive. Therefore, it is understandable why this particular fast food chain is able to continue to expand, but it needs to look beyond Barbados because it cannot continue seeing Barbados as its space alone.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in having rights to establish enterprises, we need to be able to move technology across the region. This was, in fact, given as one of the reasons for the sale of the Barbados National Bank. It was felt that the Barbados National Bank was not making good use of the technology and that it needed to advance itself beyond the confines of its old archaic means of doing things.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the reality of that will be tested in the fullness of time, whether or not the sale was in the interest of Barbados or whether or not it was to fulfil a particular purpose at the point in time by this Administration. Sir, only time will determine whether or not there was prudence in selling the Barbados National Bank at the time it was sold.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in terms of rights of establishment, we all know, even though there was complaint, that because of the excess capital resources within Trinidad and the continued burgeoning of its capital markets, that Trinidad will see even greater opportunities to find footholds within other CARICOM spaces.

Sir, years ago when there was a debate about Pine Hill Dairy Limited and Banks Breweries (B'dos) Limited, there were some voices speaking against the intrusion of Trinidadians as investors in these entities. At that time we did not accommodate Trinidad with respect to manufacturing entities but were able to accommodate them within the financial sector, which is the most important and crucial sector in terms of the allocation of capital and financial resources. Therefore, we could, in fact, have allowed them to come and play in the more difficult arena of manufacturing at the time. Sir, I well recall the responses and public outcry when some Trinidadian firms expressed an interest in becoming involved in the Pine Hill Dairy Limited and Banks Breweries (B'dos) Limited.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that at that time we were shortsighted. I well recall too making a public comment but being told that the process of CARICOM Single Market and Economy had not yet started and, therefore, Trinidadian investors ought not yet to be encouraged, when, in fact, we knew that in the not-too-distant future, we would be opening up the market and that, in fact, we should have sought at the time to give greater expression within the manufacturing sector and availability to the Trinidadian capital at that time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, ultimately, this legislation is about establishing a single market.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of elucidation. In relation to the movement of capital, Heads of Governments are even now being challenged to make sure that the provisions of CARICOM are fine-tuned, such that the flow of capital does not lead to a process of consolidation where people use the flow of capital to buy existing production capacity, particularly manufacturing in certain Caribbean countries and close them down to use the shell facilities as importing silos. It has happened over and over again and I put it on the table for the Honourable Member to be aware of because sometimes there is a lot more in the pestle than the mortar.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are real contradictions occurring worldwide.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: I am talking about the whole question of allowing the market to determine resources.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Of course, I understand. Therefore, there is recognition, especially in small states, that you cannot allow the market to fully determine the allocation of resources. Therefore, I think it has now started to come home that there has to be a certain degree of control that governments exercise in the allocation of resources in small states.

Sir, in purely capitalist states such as the United States of America, surely you can have a free-for-all, but in these small states in the region there has to be some degree of control in terms of the allocation. I can, therefore, understand and respect that point because if not, you are going to have imperialism coming in a different form, if you permit one or two institutions to control the ways and means, it means that sooner rather than later, the sovereignty of which I spoke at the start of this speech will become tested in an environment where a particular entity may be so large as to exercise its dominance and control over a Government. I respect and understand the issues which have to be dealt with.
11.20 a.m.

In the whole question of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy which we are seeking to establish, for a long time we have been pursuing a single market and from the time we conceptualised bringing the region together, there were concerns about establishing a single market. In fact, in the early 1960s, the problem was that we sought to put a political union in place before we established an economic union.

Sir, the region has to come together to cope with what globalisation portends for the region. Sir, the movement is experimental and will fail. I give it ten to fifteen years because it cannot be sustained. Once there is a situation in which politicians and people ultimately have to come back to individual states to secure a majority, then it would be prudent for them to pursue a plan or strategy that is satisfying for them. Therefore, in the not too distant future you are going to get challenges by way of sovereignty from small states in particular when the impact of globalisation and trade liberalisation start to reduce opportunities for the average citizens within small countries. Sir, this movement will be tested in the fullness of time.

I do not have much hope because I cannot see how the market can drive allocation of resources in countries that are not going to be perfect in any sense of the word because markets can only allocate wealth in a perfect setting. Once there are imperfections, there is no way that you can rely totally on markets to allocate resources. I appreciate and understand the need for us to challenge these types of issues.

Sir, once a business is established under the rights of establishment, there are going to be many requirements. Legal services will have to be conducted for any business to be established in Barbados or any other country in the region and insurance services will have to be provided. There will be opportunities once we are able to attract businesses at the high end of the market within Barbados because, as was stated before, you cannot have the kind of cost structure we have in Barbados and do manufacturing at the lower end.

It was the only time I had occasion to cross swords with the Pan-Africanists. I recall making a comment a few years ago that if I were to advise an entity where to locate in the region that it would have to be in an area where there would be opportunities to have lower costs. I found it strange that a Pan-Africanist would seek to understand my point when in actual fact, it should not matter where within the diaspora you locate an entity because you would be helping African brethren in any case so you cannot confine your Pan-Africanism to Barbados.

Why would a Pan-Africanist resist the need to move capital across the region and resist the need to understand that you can allocate resources across the region within the diaspora to benefit your brethren? I had this difficulty, the individual went on the air to say that I was less than patriotic and I could not understand it. You cannot have such a broad concept and conviction and then be so narrow in your outlook.

The question of the right of establishment of businesses must be seen in terms of the region and within the context of the ability of small businesses to develop. Sir, no matter what we think, most businesses in Barbados will remain small. Sagicor alone has its root across 15 different countries and Goddard's Flight Kitchen has roots in Latin and South America. For the most part the question would be how to develop small businesses as a means of confronting the new future.

I need to address this issue because in every instant, we need to remove discrimination. If discrimination is the tenet upon which trade liberalisation is now formed, according to the rules of WTO, then even locally there is need to remove any form of discrimination with respect to business. In this regard, there is need to revisit the Fiscal Incentives Act.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. Article 7 of the Treaty of Chaguaramas does not create a blanket requirement for the removal of discrimination but discrimination on grounds of nationality only. The right of any Government to have policies that are discretionary, is the right of a sovereign Government. Sir, under the Caribbean Single Market and Economy you can discriminate on grounds of nationality only. Sir, the Treaty is very precise.

I further want to make the point that participation in the Caribbean Single Market and Economy does not create a requirement for the Government of Barbados to remove all forms of discrimination or discriminatory policies, only those that discriminate on grounds of nationality. Sir, the Honourable Member is taking us into dangerous territory which I would urge him to tread on carefully.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: I am saying that if you can appreciate the need to provide special development areas or special incentives to allow foreign investors to come to Barbados, then at some time, you are going to have to question whether you can allow such privileges for foreign investors and expect your local businesses to be able to compete regionally and internationally without seeing the need to also remove certain kinds of discriminatory behaviour with respect to small businesses.

I understand the question of nationality but I am saying that the whole question of fiscal incentive was based on the need to earn foreign exchange and to attract foreign investment in the 1960s and beyond. If you are now asking your local businesses to look beyond their shores and to go outside the region to earn foreign exchange, then at some point in time there will be need for a bigger discussion on the whole question of the Fiscal Incentives Act.

This brings me to the debate on the Cement Plant. Why it is that such a large institution would not have appreciated the Incentives Act in what it was doing? Sir, let me explain what I mean.
11.30 a.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, they said that they have a capacity production of over 300,000 bags of cement per year but the local market could handle 170,000 bags of cement. As far as I know, if they are exporting to the region they are exporting Value Added Tax free. If they export to the region, the earnings from the foreign exchange can be used to be deducted from their tax liability. Therefore, their tax liability will be lower as a company earning foreign exchange.

Sir, I do not understand why any person from the Arawak Cement Company would come to compare a bag of cement with a bag of salt, because it shows no understanding of even the operations of the plant and the company. Therefore, is it not the case that you are seeking to encourage the cement plant to produce as cost-effectively as possible but also to earn foreign exchange in the way that you wish to have it happen but also to recognise that it has an opportunity because of the same Fiscal Incentives Act, not only to export cheaper but also to get a deduction for income tax or corporate tax purposes. Therefore, it is the only explanation as to why the company is able to send cement or so-called dump cement in the other Caribbean countries.

Sir, that should not be an issue. The issue should be to what extent can they be encouraged to produce more cost-effectively and then pass on any such benefits to the local domestic consumers of cement and not to be trapped in a discussion in a way in which they are now currently trapped. They should be encouraged to export more but then to be

able to pass on benefits to the local consumers of cement and that ought to be where the debate should be.

Sir, on the question of small business development, there is no doubt that I feel that at some point in time we need to discuss the whole question of removing any forms of discrimination that may be in any kind of legislation that does not create an adequate level playing field for small businesses within our space, especially as it relates to the earning of foreign exchange. Sir, that is, once you can permit other persons to come and invest within our shores and give them incentives to do so, then we may have to look at also providing some kinds of incentives to our local domestic producers as well.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the question of the removal of foreign exchange controls on current and capital transactions as a condition for establishing a more favourable environment, I think that all Barbadians know that in the last few months there has been a significant and historically high decline in our foreign reserves.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: There was a haemorrhaging of our foreign exchange reserves and, perhaps, some may feel that there is need for greater tightening of exchange controls or there is need for other forms of restrictions but there was concern about it. The extent to which we can now remove foreign exchange controls on current and capital transactions can only be determined by the Minister of Finance, who would be in possession of information which I do not have.

Sir, many of my entries into the public relations would have been as a result of understanding how the economy works. I do not have to have information to be able to make a comment about where our overdraft facility will go because I have an appreciation that beyond September we started to lose reserves in preparation for Christmas and other such endeavours, but this year, for whatever reason, there were unusual occurrences which we have to address. The extent to which we can facilitate the complete removal of controls can only be determined by the Minister of Finance.

Sir, regarding the question of accreditation, I indicated that if there is going to be a continuing excess supply of labour within the region, then you cannot use old forms of investment to utilise...

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: On a point of order. The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West is making some fundamental points which will be taken very seriously by the public in relation to the loss of foreign exchange reserves. Given that he said earlier that availability of foreign exchange is the key, let me say that Barbados now has two sets of foreign exchange reserves consequently upon the liberalisation of exchange controls. We have constrained

people having access to our foreign exchange reserves to make investments abroad on the understanding that they would still be regarded as a second tier reserve.

Sir, there is now \$165 million in such reserves principally held by the National Insurance, which has been seeking investments beyond Barbados, and \$1.2 billion held by the Central Bank. The notion that we are in a desperate foreign exchange situation has to be headed off because we still have almost \$1.4 billion held by the monetary authority and the banking system of Barbados still holds \$600 billion. So the country's foreign exchange holdings, despite what the Honourable Member called an unusual haemorrhaging, still has about \$2 billion as compared to \$11 million when the Democratic Labour Party left us in a disastrous situation.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, when you do not compare apples with apples, you can reach that kind of conclusion because the \$11 or \$13 million of which the Honourable Member for St. Peter spoke, did not include the foreign exchange reserves held by the commercial banks at the time. Neither did it take into consideration the new found expression of a second tier of foreign reserves because that would have been, in the early 1990s, a second tier of foreign reserves as well. Sir, had they been taken into consideration, there would not have been \$13 million in 1991 at the time.

Sir, if you had included, as was done in the Prime Minister's presentation to his party, if you had compared \$13 million to \$2 billion, where \$13 million does not include commercial banks' foreign reserves or second tier reserves, then you could have a situation where you compare \$13 million to \$2 billion.

Therefore, I am saying that even in that difficult time, in the early 1990s, that, in fact, if there were considerations of a second tier and we had included the commercial banks' foreign reserves, it would not have been \$13 million. It would have been substantially more than that back in the early 1990s.

Sir, I have the information. So, you cannot compare apples with oranges. You have to compare apples and apples and I think that the Honourable Member for St. Peter knows that I am correct in saying that the \$13 million of which he spoke did not include the second tier reserves, neither did it include the commercial banks' foreign reserves at the time. Therefore, I do not have to pursue that any more. I have stated my case that we are not seeing...

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: On a point of order. Sir, the Honourable Member is misleading the Honourable House. The condition under which the Government has agreed to the liberalisation of exchange controls is on the understanding that this is a stated policy and there was not a stated policy then. If entities are coming to the Central Bank of Barbados

to have access to foreign exchange reserves rather than to the interbank system, because you can also buy it from the banking system because we have delegated authority to the banking system to carry out foreign transactions, if you are coming to the Central Bank to take foreign exchange to invest abroad, then you have to be part of an agreement that those have to be designated, deliberately so, as part of the country's reserves, continually so, and they have to be available in the event that they need to be called upon to be brought back immediately. Sir, the designation of two tiers of reserves, Mr. Deputy Speaker, was not a consideration then. The Honourable Member was the adviser to the Minister of Finance then, and he ought to produce the evidence in relation to when that policy was introduced in 1991.

11.40 a.m.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it ought to be clear that if, in fact, we had so designated those reserves, we would have had additional reserves so designated now. Therefore, we would have had only \$13 million, and we had them, so you cannot compare \$13 million with \$2 billion now because the \$2 billion includes commercial banks net foreign reserves, and they also include the so-called designated second tier of reserves.

Therefore, in the early 1990s, we would not have had only \$13 million, if we were in fact using these additional...

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us go on and look at the whole question of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) in a larger way. Again, when I had the honour of serving in the Upper Chamber, along with the Honourable Member for Christ Church East, this debate on the CSME, came and I well recall at the time debating the issue and asking the question, how could we have formed nine protocols on agriculture, the rights of establishment, trade, and all other issues and the largest single resource in the region, our ocean, was not even considered at the time, as part of the need to negotiate a fishing protocol across the region? I could not understand it. How could you not have a situation...

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Of course.

It does not ring a bell, the Honourable Member for Christ Church East when it was carried as a headline in the daily *Nation* Newspaper that Mascoll is saying that there is a need for a fishing protocol within the nine protocols that were established at the time.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: All you need is to do the research. All you need to do is to go and plug in fishing protocol in the *Nation* Newspaper website and it will come up.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what was being said at the time, is that you cannot overlook the utilisation of our largest single resource in the region which is the ocean. It was a major oversight on the part of the negotiating teams, because even to move within the region, requires us to use the ocean. When we have our fishing stock throughout the ocean, the question is, should we not be able to allow fish to freely move as well?

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Therefore, why should it be the case that Barbadian fishermen...

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I really hate to interrupt the Honourable Member when he is in such exalted flights of self-congratulation, but soaring on the wings only of hot air.

Sir, Article 60 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas explicitly sets out a fisheries management and development set of protocols.

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: It was part of the Protocol that was incorporated...

Sir, the Honourable Member does not understand the relationship between the Protocols and the revised Treaties. The Protocols were negotiated and then they were incorporated into the revised Treaties as specific provisions. It was part of the Protocol on agriculture and it is included in the Treaty, Mr. Deputy Speaker, at Article 60, Fisheries, Management and Development.

Therefore, this is what is called a case of a man who, like so many others in the region, has never read the revised Treaty. Sir, what we are seeking to do now is to flush out Article 60 into a full-fledged fishery's regime. Sir, to say that the Protocol does not address it, is not true and he therefore should not congratulate himself as the person who has called for that which has not been done.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, again, one of my strengths is research and I quote Mr. Owen Arthur, the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter and Prime Minister of Barbados, April 23, 2004, page 25:

“There are also major omissions in the design of CSME, which early experience suggest requires an immediate and urgent response. For example, unlike a situation which pertains in the European Union, the provisions for the creation of a single market and economy makes no allowance for a regional fisheries policy and regime.”

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The elaboration of a full fisheries policy is what was not there and that is what we are now implementing in Article 60.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member does not understand Chapter 4 of the Treaty. For example, the Treaty has specified that the countries will collaborate the development of the agriculture sector. We do not have to specify the exact policies, and that is the point.

We are referring to the exact policies by which there is a development of a fisheries policy that was never fully elaborated. We are now in the stage of elaborating full policies for the collaboration in agriculture, but you will never go any place in CARICOM and see that this is the policy for sugar, in exact, and this is the point I am making, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in both places.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, therefore, the Prime Minister is agreeing with me totally. He is agreeing that even though there was contemplation of it, there was never an elaboration of the policy, so there was never a protocol dealing specifically with the question of fishing within the region. Sir, all I am saying is that there was never full consideration of the direction in which we should go with respect to fishing and that is the point.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, to have cited it in the Treaty of Chaguaramas or the Treaty, without elaborating on it in the way in which you did, within the Protocol, as we did with the rights of establishment, agriculture and trade policy, and not to have outlined it in detail as a Protocol was an oversight.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Sir, it was admitted even by the Minister. Anyhow, I go on because I think the point is clear that there was never sufficient collaboration.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the important thing to note is that it was an oversight because, as we saw with the dispute between Barbados and Trinidad, there was no real recourse and I understand that the CSME, has not been put in place fully as yet. I am saying that it is important for us, if we are going to be contemplating a future of togetherness, to understand that the ocean is our single largest resource, and therefore has to be seen as...

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. Earlier I intervened in this debate to speak on the foreign exchange reserves in 1991 and the Honourable Member said that if he were to take into account, those in the banking system and those in the Monetary authority that the number would be large. I have the numbers that he said he was going to present. The total in the banking system including the monetary authority and the bank at the end of 1991, was \$43.6 million.

Asides.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it therefore means that you cannot cite the \$13 million and compare it with your \$2 billion, because the Prime Minister is now admitting that even within the commercial banking system, there was in excess of \$40 million. He has not yet told you that there was, in fact, more than \$40 million also in the second tier. So I do not understand the issue. It does not answer the question. In fact, at the end of September 1994 under a Democratic Labour Party administration there was \$142.9 million in the commercial banking system and almost \$216 million in reserves at the Central Bank plus \$140 million which would be the \$400 million in reserves which is now being counted by the Prime Minister.
11.50 a.m.

Sir, we have not yet accounted for the second tier, so I am suggesting that if we can say that we had only \$13 million in 1991 we should have considered that we are now including commercial bank reserves and a second tier of reserves that would have been available as well in 1991, so I back off again.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I honestly think that this is the future of Barbados which we are debating because the future of the region and Barbados is inextricably linked to how we manage the process at the regional level and how we manage our integration movement.

Sir, in terms of position, Barbados and Trinidad are the two best placed economies in the region. Therefore, a process of integration, if it is to occur immediately will see to it that they become the two economies that give more than they receive in the short term. That will happen. What is anticipated is that both economies because of their strength may be able to make greater use of the opportunities within the CARICOM Single Market and Economy in the medium to long term.

However, if you are saying that there should be an immediate coming together, the possibility and probability are that both Trinidad and Barbados will have to give more than they receive in the initial phases of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. I think that is a reasonable

conclusion to reach. If it is that you are coming together, then your pie will not be changed remarkably after 2005. It would take time for economic growth to occur. It will take time to reposition your investment opportunities. It will take time to be able to have a process of integration that can be considered sustainable because there will be ups and downs in the initial phases of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Therefore, you will not be able to anticipate all of the opportunities or threats to or with the CARICOM Single Market and Economy in the immediate future or the immediate period after implementation. If that is so, then we can anticipate in Barbados that the Guyanese or whoever are going to be more attracted to Barbados than Barbadians would be attracted to Guyana. Therefore, I thought that today's presentation would deal with not just the law relating to the establishment of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy but with the potential implications of the movement of labour and capital across the region particularly for the Barbados economy and the Barbados society.

That is the sense, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in which I thought I needed to make a contribution this morning not from the point of view of the law but from the point of view of asking: What is in it for me in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy as will be asked by all right-thinking Barbadians at this time in the process of implementing the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

I thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

Hon. Dame Billie MILLER: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am a little disappointed in the response which came from the Leader of the Opposition. He made such a big fuss about wanting to speak to this debate. This is a major debate and I really thought he would have done his research and prepared himself better for this debate, after all he is supposed to be a working economist, but it turns out that he does not even have in his possession a copy of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramus. So I am not surprised that he has delivered himself of some of the statements that he has made.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the reality is that as in most matters in life we should begin an endeavour or embark upon an enterprise in the way in which we mean to continue. We cannot always expect that we can begin in the way that we end. I do not know if it is part of a body of opinion in this country which seems intent on trying to terrorise Barbadians and Caribbean people in general about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy upon which we are embarked, but there is this idea that we cannot begin unless all countries are in a full state of readiness and that we have to begin with all elements.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am old enough to remember that when CARIFTA began, it began with four nations. It is almost biblical that where the threes or fours were gathered together we began. In recent years we saw Suriname and Haiti joining the Caribbean Community. In May of this year, we saw 10 new countries joining the European Union.

Sir, we have to stop this business of doubting ourselves, or as the late Owen T. Alder used to put it, peeping up under ourselves. We really have to have more confidence in what we are doing because as usual the people are ahead of us. Form follows function. A lot of what we are proposing now we took for granted when we were colonies. All of a sudden now that we are independent sovereign countries, people want to throw up road blocks. Nobody is saying that it is an easy process. We are a small archipelago of developing countries for the most part. What we are attempting is enormous in its capacity. Our integration movement is second only to the European Union in the way that we are seeking to find our path in a post-modern world.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we must not forget though that the European Movement moved from a platform of political union which is where we are not yet finding ourselves. From time to time in the course of discussion on the CARICOM Single Market and Economy the whole question of the ceding of a certain element of sovereignty has arisen and will continue to arise. Therefore, I am coming to the conclusion that there are going to be external forces, external to Barbados, within this region and outside of the region that will force, may be not in my time, a kind of political union which those of us who are too afraid of our own shadows do not want to contemplate today.

Sir, elements of the Single Market and Economy in the European Union are still in the process of establishment. It is only a few years ago that the whole question of a common currency came up and the British are determined even unto this day that they are not ready for that yet. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have made the point that 10 new countries have entered the European Union (EU) which has brought to the fore a lot of public debate in the original 15. Now these 10 and even some are still knocking on the door of that union touching on the freedom of movement, of people, of skills, and of capital, are very much alive across the Atlantic as they are in our part of the world today.

12.00 noon

Sir, CARICOM, without Haiti, is between five million to six million people. Haiti by itself is eight million. Even when one adds the 5.5 million or 6 million, by any measurement this is a small market. I think that we, in our arrogance, are too quick to think that Caribbean people do not understand how the market works, that the CARICOM

Single Market and Economy is a small market and that in order for us to access other markets, we have no choice but to come together in this single market and single economy grouping.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as Trade Ministers, we have already discovered that there are other groupings in our hemisphere such as Mercosur, which is a grouping of four, namely Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. Chile, a big powerful country, is still on the outside but is now looking towards that grouping.

Sir, within Mercosur, these four countries will not trade with countries as individuals. If you want to access their market, you have to come, as we would in CARICOM, as CARICOM. This is how we are going to be able to access a Free Trade Area of the Americas when that comes to pass. This is how we are in the process of negotiating what we are describing as economic partnership agreements within the six regions of the African, Caribbean and Pacific States. There are four African States, the Caribbean and the Pacific, totalling six regions together that are negotiating six regional economic partnership agreements with the European Union (EU). Of course, we are looking to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) for a multilateral agreement which we still think is in our best interest.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it does not mean that we are not negotiating bilateral agreements. The CARICOM has negotiated a bilateral trading arrangement with the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Columbia and it does not mean that Barbados itself, within CARICOM, is not busy looking to enhancing our trading arrangements with Suriname. Therefore, Barbadians need to be learning a lot more about that country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, although the multilateral trading arrangement is ideally what we aspire to because we feel that it will be to our best advantage and we know it, those of us who interfaced in the trading negotiations saw it at Cancun, where the developed countries are still in the mode of telling us that we must do as they say and not necessarily as they do. They want to tell us that we must liberalise and that we must do it overnight. They want to tell us that we must do away with our subsidies, yet they are doing quite the opposite. Sir, that is why the whole process of negotiation and the strength of the CARICOM community, as a community, is our best *modus operandi* in the world of competitiveness, which is the world of the early 21st Century.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I was a little concerned at the talk on the subject of freedom of movement. It seems that this element of the single market and single economy is the one that is capturing the interest – I would not venture to say the imagination because I wish that people would be more imaginative, innovative and creative in their thinking on this

subject. As I said, when we were colonies, we took these freedoms of movement of skills and of capital for granted and somehow today, 80 years later, we seem to feel that somehow we cannot do it and that it is something new. We feel we are inventing the world and we are terrorising ourselves about it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbados continues to be one of the most densely populated countries in the world, taking into account outward migration. There have been one or two movements away from sound economic management, particularly when the Honourable Members on the Other Side are sitting on This Side of the Honourable House but by and large outward migration and inward migration...

Sir, Barbadians do not want to believe how much inward migration there is, having been supported by good population policies, to have allowed us to build the stable and democratic country which we are today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I wish that we would bring a more positive focus to the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. In truth and in fact, in so many areas, the CARICOM Single Market and Economy is only seeking to formalise the reality of decades in this region. Sir, for all my life, I have seen people coming into my constituency. When I first represented the City of Bridgetown, there were large settlements of people from St. Lucia, Dominica, and more recently, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, who come here to do jobs that, for the most part, Barbadians do not wish to do.

Sir, there is nothing strange about that. This happens everywhere in the world. As countries become more and more developed, there are jobs that the native population is not disposed to do and workers come in and do them. Sir, from the time I knew myself Barbadians migrated to the United States of America to cut canes and to harvest fruits. In the 1950s and 1960s, droves of Barbadians went to the United Kingdom. Let us look at a migratory movement, for example, of Panama, where 45 000 Barbadians went to help build the Panama Canal, and at a time when the population of Barbados was not even 120,000. Sir, coming back from the Panama Canal, they stopped off in Cuba to cut canes and have remained there. There is a large Barbadian community in Cuba, I am pleased to say, that has kept much of its Barbadian tradition and its 'barbadianess' very much intact. There are persons born in Cuba who speak Spanish fluently but who have Barbadian grandmothers and grandfathers but when they speak English, they do so with a Bajan accent.

Sir, there are droves of Barbadians going to Guyana. In Guyana, there are people with names such as Brathwaites, Holders, Hoytes, even Forbes Burnham claimed that he had Barbadian antecedents. There were droves of Barbadians going to Trinidad and Tobago in the 1920s on a boat called the "Wild Rover". There are so many families in Trinidad

and Tobago that can trace their antecedents back to people who came from Barbados. There has been this freedom of movement in and around this region. If one travels on LIAT, LIAT is like a country bus. There are vendors who go from St. Lucia to Martinique to trade every day, five days a week. That has been happening all my life time and it is still happening. Therefore, the people are ahead.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, form must always follow function and it is irresponsible that at our level, that rather than looking to show people where the positives are, we are only looking at what are possible negatives and there are always possible negatives in this life.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I feel that we have to stop in our tracts and recognise that. Sir, there is no divide between the Two Sides of the Honourable House on the fact that there has got to be a single market and single economy and that it is the only way forward for us.
12.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is no divide between the Two Sides of the House on the fact that there has to be a single market and single economy. It is the only way forward for us and politicians must help in this regard.

We have world-class business entities in the Caribbean which we take for granted. We take Chefette and Goddard's Flight Kitchen for granted but as I go through this hemisphere, I am proud because I see Goddard's Flight Kitchen and the flags of Air Jamaica, BWIA, LIAT everywhere I go in this hemisphere. Sir, Government has to create an enabling environment but firms do business and all these firms have come to international world-class prominence in our time because they became competitive. We have to stop misleading people into thinking that there is only a downside to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Sir, we must not ever underestimate the man in the street because we do so to our own peril. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Rastafarian community in Barbados is much maligned, the middle class and the upper class are also maligned because there is no sector in our social strata which is not maligned. Do we recognise that in the last twenty-five years the Rastafarian community has virtually taken over the fresh fruit business in Barbados? They started out going to wholesalers to buy boxes of fruits to sell in Bridgetown and other parts of Barbados. Sir, they then amassed enough capital and went into the wholesale business. There was an element in the society which felt they should remain on the side of Swan Street in the sun and rain but, at the time, I opposed it. They are still cursing us for opposing it even though we have put them in a decent market.

Sir, on Swan Street and other places in Bridgetown, many of these merchants/capitalists of the Rastafarian community are now wholesalers. They are now going beyond that and have refrigerated small vans which go to business houses and Government offices around Barbados selling fresh fruits and vegetables.

We all understand that small and medium-size enterprises are the way of the 21st Century and Barbadians are on board with this. As parliamentarians we are bringing up the rear and are coming after the fact to formalise what is happening on the ground because sometimes we see it but do not always recognise it.

We have to look at the support services that go with that industry because a Barbadian firm manufactures the plastic bags in which the fruit is put for sale. I hope that one day soon just as the snow cone vendors make colourful carts and vehicles from which they sell their produce, I expect the fruit vendors to do this as well in Barbados. Sir, Barbadians are now into niches we may not know about but they exist out there. Small people are doing laundry and there is a plethora of niche market possibilities and Barbadians are picking them up and going with them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is still a need for people to have a better understanding of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramus. As parliamentarians, we should have this volume at our bedside and this is why it was disappointing that the Leader of the Opposition did not have a better appreciation of it. Sir, it is not good enough to come to Parliament rusty because you need to be bright and sharp on these issues. The Honourable Leader of the Opposition quarrelled because he was not able to debate the matter. He had more than two weeks to prepare himself for today, yet he came to this House and made a lot of excuses.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a lot of the elements which will go to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy existed a long time ago in the community and we need to recognise them. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, we always make the point that the OAS is the only entity on this planet with whom Barbados has a positive trade balance. This is also true for Trinidad and Jamaica. In the newspapers this weekend, there was an article that spoke to the fact that Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica have recently signed an important energy agreement in respect of liquified natural gas (LNG).

The Honourable Leader of the Opposition is speaking to oil but the real money spender for Trinidad is liquified natural gas. Trinidad supplies the United States of America with 70 per cent of all of its liquified natural gas and this has nothing to do with the other petrochemicals which Trinidad is marketing regionally and extra regionally.

Sir, the point I want to make about the OECS is that this market is key to us. A few weeks ago in Barbados there was a retreat for foreign Ministers. I was the Chairperson and we discussed a number of matters where I invited my colleagues to be frank and open. The OECS were frank and open.

We must not fool ourselves because there is an attitude out there that the big countries are going to look after themselves and leave the OECS behind. The Honourable Leader of the Opposition was correct that we have now to be very clear about reclassifying who are more developed and who are the least developed countries and those that must have special and differential treatment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, one of the arguments we employ as we seek to make the case for special and differential treatment for small vulnerable economies like ours is that even within our own single market, we give special and differential treatment to the OECS. The importance of that market came up at the retreat because there was the feeling that the big countries are going 'to break' for themselves and leave the small countries behind. Sir, nothing could be further from the truth because when their markets get hurt, it affects the entire region. Sir, as it is now, bananas were dealt a serious body blow and there are other difficulties where most of them are facing the International Monetary Fund. Sir, as I said before, when their markets hurt, it hurts us too so there is no reason why we would want to abandon them.

Sir, if we are dedicated to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and Barbados leads in many ways in this. Barbados is not only the lead spokesperson but has to lead by example so their argument would fall to the ground. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we really need to put this in its larger prospective. Sir, we need to look at a bigger picture and see where we are in it. A small country like Barbados, we know what our population is, what we produce and where we want to go with services in our economy. Who are we seriously going to engage when we meet the micro source of this world. We cannot say, I beg your pardon but we do not have a single market that we can speak to you in a way that you would want to engage us as a group. It is not going to allow us to say that and it is the same way with the Free Trade of the Americas.

12.20 p.m.

Sir, unfortunately, I hear some countries in the Caribbean making the point that they have a decision to make later on and that they are not making any decisions. Some of them are even at the edge of making decisions that they think that they can opt out of a Free Trade Area of the Americas if such an entity did materialise, and I think it will. Despite ourselves I believe that it will. We know where the stumbling blocks are.

Sir, agriculture continues to be the stumbling block in that theatre of negotiation, indeed, as it is in the World Trade Organisation. Mr. Deputy Speaker, September 2, 2004 has come and it has gone and the United States of America trade representative, whoever that person is going to be, is going to have to come head-on to this.

Sir, perhaps, if you want a more graphic example, we all went to Cancun as Ministers of Trade looking to get what is called the Doha Development Round advanced and it did not happen overnight as some people thought that it did because the makings were always there, and we were in a greater state of readiness than we ourselves knew. Sir, when we got to Cancun and discovered that the developing countries were not disposed to discuss agriculture, and we are the majority, in the African, Caribbean and Pacific alone we are 77 countries and that has nothing to do with other sub groupings besides the African, Caribbean and Pacific which are also developing countries, some more developed than others, and when we discovered that they had fixed an agenda which was not the agenda we had come to discuss, it appeared that it was overnight that the G20 and G19 were born. The G20 is the more developed grouping, Brazil, Chile, Thailand, India, China, Nigeria and South Africa and Barbados then formed in solidarity together with the others to make up the G19. Sir, for the first time the developed countries understood that they really had to stop and listen.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it came to a standstill and they could not advance their agenda because we would not agree to it. In the same way that we are negotiating in these theatres of negotiation outside of this region, so too within this region and hemisphere, we will negotiate for what we know is best for us and we know what we want.

Sir, what are we asking for? We are asking for market access and reduced trade barriers, and that brings me to a point which I never fail to make. I know that I have made it on this Floor already but I must make it every time so that people can understand it.

Sir, committed as we are to the fight against terrorism, and nobody is going to deny that Caribbean people do not know about terrorism, we came from slavery and that is not so long ago. I laugh at people who try to bring social stratification in this community in a way that is laughable and that is why I laugh. We are only two or three generations from that. So, some of us who like to get besides ourselves and get a little giddy about who we are, need to remember that sometimes, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as committed as we are to the fight against terrorism, it is beyond dispute that security has now become the latest and, perhaps, the virulent most non-tariff trade barrier.

Sir, I was talking to a fairly significant group of Congress people in St. Kitts two weekends ago and it was not the first time. Every year we have this meeting but

somehow, maybe they were mostly Democrats and they were coming out of the jaws of defeat or there were other factors like the horrendous hurricanes that we had during the course of this year, some of which did enormous damage in the United States of America. Let us not forget that Ivan did not only hurt Grenada, Jamaica and the Cayman Islands and gave Barbados and Tobago an expensive side lash but it damaged seven states in the United States of America as well.

Sir, I was saying to them that security has now come to this place and one of the issues that I raised was an Act recently passed, which they supported, the Bio-terrorism Act, and they were shocked. They said "my God, we supported this and it has now come back to haunt us." That Bio-terrorism Act allows the United States of America to put in place a broad range of very stringent regulations which you have to satisfy if you are exporting foods into the United States of America.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Food and Drug Administration has openly declared that it fully expects that 16 per cent of countries exporting food items into the United States of America would cease to do so because it would not be worth the candle in terms of the regulations now required by the Bio-terrorism Act and they were applauded.

Sir, they sat down and passed the legislation, I suppose some of them with the best will in the world, without recognising the consequences that would flow from it. You have to be able to identify for the relevant agencies in the United States of America every single step that you have taken from the time you plant the seed until it gets to the shelf. No small farmer in the Caribbean does that. No small farmer writes down in a book that he planted this morning, November 16, 2004, and then over the course, depending on what the crop is, he applied this insecticide and so on.

Asides.

Hon. Dame Billie MILLER: Absolutely, it is unfair. Now, many small farmers in the Caribbean have found themselves in a situation where, in effect what is a security measure is, in fact, a non-tariff trade barrier. But within the single market this is where, as the Right Honourable Prime Minister pointed out, we put safeguards in place. The Honourable Leader of the Opposition knows these things. He knows better and this is not an issue to grandstand on. The Honourable Member started off very well as usual but he then faltered and fell out of the sky.

Sir, I want to appeal to Honourable Members on all Sides to bring a positive attitude to this and when we speak... is for Honourable Members on all Sides to bring a positive

attitude to this and that when we speak, because people are hungry to understand how the Single Market is going to work. I know that there are little old ladies who say to me, are we going to get flooded now by Guyanese? There are Barbadians outside of Barbados working in other peoples' economies and sending back home more money now in remittances, coming in aid to us in the Caribbean today. Sir, it is incumbent upon us, it is part of our legislative duty to put it in its proper perspective so that people understand.
12.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the truth is that the legislation which is before us is simply looking to amend a number of existing pieces of legislation, so that they are compatible with the requirements of the single market and economy implementation process.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Member, your time is about to expire.

Hon. Dame Billie MILLER: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, they have been spoken to and Honourable Members will perhaps zero in, if they bother to read the legislation on elements of it. The Prime Minister did that in his presentation. I did not want to take my little half hour to go into any detail on the Aliens Act, the International Financial Services Act and so on, because we know that is what the legislation is about.

What I am saying is that the legislation is part of that process of preparation, but process also of educating Barbadians and Caribbean people as a whole, as to how we are going about our business. We are doing it with great care and great thought is given to it. Thousands of civil servants across the Caribbean have bent their energies to this preparatory process. More and more firms across the Caribbean are now coming to the table and understanding that they have a role and are at last, bringing an attitude of responsibility to this whole mark on business of putting a single market in place.

We cannot fail to do this, Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, to fail would be to put ourselves in a position that even the generations coming immediately after us, would never forgive us. Sir, that generation, just as they have taken to the new technologies, like ducks to water, understand perhaps better than our generation that this is just a norm now for them, and this is the way in which they will go forward and some of them, of course, will come to take the role of leadership which we now occupy today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am delighted that I had an opportunity to add just my few words to this debate.

SUSPENSION OF SITTING

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move that this House be suspended until 1.30 p.m. today.

Dr. W. F. DUGUID: I beg to second that, Sir.

The question that the House be now suspended until 1.30 p.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER suspended the House accordingly.

12.34 p.m.

RESUMPTION

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This Sitting is resumed.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I thought that we were going to start without a quorum, but it is quite clear that the Other Side recognised that I was going to speak and that they had to take notes, so they rushed into the Chamber.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to say from the outset that I have no intention today of giving a blank cheque to anybody. I am here to make sure that the Other Side in presenting their case, present the case for themselves and understand that this is a matter for the populace of the Caribbean region. Sir, this is a very serious matter. It cannot be a matter where we as 30 politicians in this House and the other politicians within the Other House believe that we could come to this Parliament and deliver speeches that will affect the lives of people within the Caribbean without first going to the people and getting a mandate.

Sir, I have had the privilege of going around Barbados, and fortunately for me, a large number of people have also come to me and have expressed their opinion about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Sir, I was happy to hear the Honourable Member for the City making the same point about the perception the masses of people out there have about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Sir, this foolishness about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy must have an amendment because I do not believe that we should debate this in this state. I believe that we should drop the 'and Economy' from this because I honestly do not believe that we will be able to achieve this aspect of it when one understands what must occur within the Caribbean region in order to get the economy aspect of it to work.

Sir, I honestly believe that the leaders before us had a better understanding and a better grasp of what they wanted for the Caribbean than the present leaders, and that is why they came up with CARIFTA, CARICOM and the CARICOM Multilateral Clearing Facility (CMCF). They understood that the marketing aspect and the market aspect of it was the soundest ground that they had to deliver to the people of the Caribbean. Now we are trying to fool the Caribbean people into making them believe that we are doing something quite different from what the great leaders, prior to us did, by touching the economy aspect of it when we know that we cannot deliver it.

Sir, I was very happy to hear that the Caribbean leaders at their last meeting acknowledged that point even though they did not make the necessary amendment when they brought this Bill to the various Houses of Assembly. We have to be realistic and we have to understand that when the Right Honourable Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford took that bold stance of not devaluing the Barbados dollar in the early 1990s, he had no intention of entering into the economy aspect of this particular Bill. Sir, he knew that he not only had to defend himself from the International Monetary Fund...

Hon. A. P. WOOD: On a point of order. The Honourable Member for St. Lucy is misleading the House. I do not think that he is doing it deliberately, I think he is doing it because he is going a little too quickly because the record would show that in 1989 at Grand Anse in Grenada, the same Sir Lloyd Sandiford of whom he speaks was one of those leaders who sat and agreed to the formation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. So I do not think that the Honourable Member for St. Lucy is purposely misleading the House, but is doing so out of ignorance.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member is so caught up in the woody aspects of what is occurring in Barbados today that he has not referred to section 8 of the Grand Anse statement. Sir, it is not for me to read it to him, he has the ability to read and to interpret and if he understood what was said at section 8 he would not have got up and made that statement. Since the death of his father, I have consistently warned the Honourable Member that he has moved away from being a liberal to being a conservative and he is now misinterpreting everything that he knew previously. I do not know why he would not stop interrupting me when I am speaking because he knows he is always wrong, yet still he interrupts me.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, the point I am making is that the question must be asked: Can you see Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica or Guyana going back to peg their currency

at the same level as Barbados? Can you see the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States moving their currency to the level of the Barbadian currency? Sir, the answer has to be no. It therefore means that if they are not going to do it, then Barbados will have to be the one to make the change, and that is what we would call a devaluation. Am I to believe that the Other Side is saying that is what they are about to do?

Hon. Dame Billie MILLER: On a point of order. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we do not know when that will come to pass within the CARICOM Single Market and Economy nor do we know what the status of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States dollar would be. When we came back in Government in 1994, the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States dollar was on par with the Barbados dollar, so you do not know. The Honourable Member must not predicate on a worst case scenario.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, I have always been practising my bookkeeping knowledge as limited as it is.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, in my bookkeeping knowledge I have learnt one good principle which is to be conservative in your thoughts, that is, to overstate expenditure and understate revenue. You always look at the negative side first before you go and project a positive and then get a negative. It is better to project a negative and get a positive. Sir, the other side would learn well to practise conservatism.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: The problem with economists is that when they study economics, they do not study accountancy. The problem with the accountants is that in order to be qualified as an accountant, they have to do economics, law and many other things. That is the problem with the Other Side. They are too short-sighted and too one-sided and they will never be able to propel their knowledge because they always come up to a wider base than themselves and they do not understand that.

Sir, I am calling for an amendment and if they do not bring the amendment I will go all across Barbados and explain to the Barbadian public what the implementation of the economy aspect of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy will mean to their lives.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Unlike the other Honourable Members, whether I get a pay or not is not important. I have a base to operate from that people could

come to me and I can explain it, so it does not matter to me whether I get a pick or not. Even the Honourable Member for St. Philip South would come for some knowledge as he normally does.

Asides.

1.40 p.m.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to understand that this is a very serious debate and that Caribbean leaders must get up and state their position on the single economy side of this debate. Sir, one might not be able to fault them on the market aspect of it because they have a playground such as CARICOM and CARIFTA on which to play. Even the CARICOM Multilateral Clearing Facility (CMCF) provided that activity to allow them to market their forces and taught them how to negotiate and bargain among themselves.

Sir, free trade within the Caribbean is nothing new, that is what CARICOM and CARIFTA were all about. We need to make sure that the CMCF is up and running again and that the mistakes that we saw previously would be corrected. We do not need any single economy side of this debate. We need to see the CMCF operating efficiently and that is what I expect to hear the Honourable Prime Minister debating when he returns. The Right Honourable Prime Minister needs to tell the people of the importance of the CMCF to the market aspect of this debate. We cannot come here and deliver beautifully-sounding speeches that have no content. We have to make sure that, at the end of the day, we inform the people as to how these things will impact on their lives.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have said since February and before when I was in New York, that I believe there should be free movement of people within the Caribbean but in a limited way. I believe that Caribbean people, especially Guyanese, should be allowed to come to Barbados or anywhere else in the Caribbean where there is work. I believe that they should be able to work and then return home to help build their countries so that we, in turn, could have something with which to trade.

Sir, the problem is that many Caribbean leaders expect this Bill to be passed, so that we can move beyond the immigration policy, for example, from work permit to identification cards. We do not need identification cards. What we need are national insurance cards and work permits but the Caribbean leaders are hoping that they can move from work permits to identification cards for voting purposes.

Sir, we have to be very careful that we do not allow the CSME to operate as a legislating weapon to keep governments in power and to work against the oppositions within the Caribbean. We have to be very careful because already there is evidence that there are large numbers of

persons coming into Barbados who already have identification cards and who have the capacity to vote.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to recognise that in the early 1960s and 1970s, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, were the dominant forces. After the full Bill of the CSME is implemented, those countries will again be the dominant forces because they have the resources. What Barbados has to understand is that it has limited resources but that those countries have a large number of social benefits.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, an atmosphere has also been created in Barbados where persons now see certain jobs as not being as important, while others see these very jobs as being important, just like how we look to go to New York to have a better living. Sir, I have no problem with persons coming to Barbados to help develop the economy but before we do that, we must put the sectors that we want developed in place. We are asking persons to come and develop the agriculture sector while, at the same time, we are destroying it. We are doing the same thing to the manufacturing sector. Therefore, we must ask ourselves why are we inviting persons to come to Barbados when we are limiting opportunities for their development. We need to have a re-approach to what was previously said and to understand exactly what we are about.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as it presently stands, the only thing that could happen to Barbados if we implement it as it is, under the Barbados Labour Party, would be to deplete our foreign reserves, to remove the jobs from Barbadians, and to have us like some countries within the Caribbean and elsewhere.

Sir, we brag about our foreign reserves levels but I will say that after we have implemented this Bill without the checks and balances, we will be worse off because we do not have what it takes to market Barbados, neither in the manufacturing or agriculture sector. We have to understand that we have to get back to the basic and develop that first.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to understand that it is not by accident that the Trinidadian Government is happy to become involved in this because they are the ones who stand to benefit most from it. Whereas Barbados is cutting back, the business people in Trinidad are expanding. It, therefore, means that as they expand, they have something to sell. It means that as they have something to sell, they will create the demand for jobs and for people to come to them. They also have the capital base. Do we have that capital base?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we can talk what we like about Guyana but as badly off as people see Guyana, I do not see it in that way because Guyana has the resources. Therefore,

as long as that country has the resources, those resources can be tapped into at anytime. If we were smart, seeing that we have limited resources, the same time that we have people coming to Barbados to help develop our labour market and our manufacturing sector, we would encourage business persons to get into joint arrangements with persons in Guyana, so that the resources in Guyana would be tapped by Barbadian capitalists and we would be able to transfer some of the resources from Guyana back to Barbados as an offshoot of what is occurring, that is, where Guyanese labourers are coming in to get money.

Sir, I do not want anybody from Guyana to come, to work and to live in Barbados and keep their money in Barbados. I want them to come, to work, and to go back home and develop their country, so that we can have an expanded market with which to trade.

Sir, it is in Barbados' interest to stop seeing the Guyanese as voters but to see them as persons coming here to work and going back home and developing their country, in order to build a bigger market for us. Sir, that is all that is required and that is all I am asking. All I am asking is for us to have a common understanding of what is happening within the Caribbean region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, when I speak about the Caribbean, I speak about localisation because I already see us as one big market. If we could only focus that the war is between localisation and globalisation but as it now stands, we are still at the stage where we see localisation as being something in Barbados and globalisation as being something away from Barbados. Sir, 10 years ago, we should have finished that foolishness. We should not, at this stage, be seeing localisation as being in Barbados and globalisation as being in Trinidad and Tobago.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, after having CARIFTA, CARICOM and the CMCF, we, as a Caribbean unit, should have moved away from that foolishness because we had a head start but the truth is that though we had a head start, we have not gone anywhere. Sir, we have to wake up and realise that we are slipping and slipping badly. We have to understand that if we do not do it right, we will never get another chance to come back and do it. Therefore, I am calling on Caribbean leaders to understand that we have to work with what we now have and that we can work with the single market aspect of it because it has a history to it. Let us forget about the single economy side of it. Instead of depending too much on the single economy side, let us get the CMCF working. Instead of wanting persons to come here and getting identification cards, let us see them as how we would see our brothers and sisters going to the United States of America, which is to develop capital and to return here to get a bigger market.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we need to stop exploiting our Caribbean brothers and sisters for our political gains. We need to exploit and to develop them for the good of the Caribbean. Is it so hard for Caribbean leaders to understand what I am saying? Sir, what I am asking here is nothing different from what the Right Excellent Errol Barrow, President Burnham and the other great leaders have been asking.

1.50 p.m.

I am asking the Caribbean leaders to stop fooling themselves and giving the impression that they are doing something new and to understand that they are continuing what their great leaders started. If they understand this, we can push the Caribbean forward and there would be a better understanding of what has to be done. If we pretend we do not have a blue print of what occurred previously we will fool ourselves because the Caribbean people understand that we are doing what great leaders before did and that we are not bringing anything new but continuing something we know will work.

Sir, I have always said that as great as The Right Excellent Errol Barrow was, I do not quote from him. I will expand on what was said by him but do not expect me to quote from him or anyone because they had their time and left a legacy for us to expand on. The error in the Caribbean is that we do not know how to expand on anything and whenever you listen to leaders of the Caribbean, they quote well but cannot expand on the quotation.

Sir, do not expect me to quote because what happened in the 1960s cannot reoccur in 2004. We have to acknowledge and move on but we should not ignore the base because once there is a strong base, you can build anything on it. Caribbean leaders left us a good base but they would not like to know that we are still at the same point they left us.

When I look at this Bill today, we are still at square one and have not moved forward. Sir, as thirty men and women in this Chamber, we have to lift the debate to a new height. We cannot continue to fool the masses because when I speak to them, they have a good grasp of what is happening. I am prepared to listen to them because they wear the shoes, know how the shoes fit and we should consult them before we 'bluff' on their lives.

I am serious about this because it is a passionate matter for me and when this matter is passed in the Caribbean we cannot go back. We must get it right because there was sufficient time in which to do so. Sir, we have been discussing this matter since the 70s and I cannot believe that we are still discussing it in 2004. This is a serious issue because it defines the lives of every Caribbean man and

woman. After this has been passed, the lives of Caribbean people will not be the same again and this is why we must get it right.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am calling on Government to amend this Bill now because if something happens to the Prime Minister, another Prime Minister might believe that the Bill was passed in total and that we can go on with the single economy even though Government is saying that they are not ready for the single economy.

Sir, the mere passing of this Bill brings it into law, makes it active and it then affects the lives of the Caribbean people so this is why the amendment is needed. We have to deal with the single market and when it is time for the single economy we can then come back to Parliament with another Bill. Do not slip through the single economy under the guise of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy when it cannot work.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a good Opposition Party would never support this motion. I want to repeat that no Opposition Party would support the attachment of the economy on this Bill because Government could slip in the single economy when, in truth and in fact, the Bill would have been debated without the single economy.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, I am aware of legal technicalities. I might have to call in my former teacher who is a lawyer to advise me on this matter.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: I wanted to give the Honourable Member for St. James North a little credit which Honourable Members on the Other Side do not give him but he has now refused the credit. I was hoping he would have taken a little credit for being my teacher but he is so accustomed to being 'bashed' that he cannot take the credit.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is not true that I am accustomed to being 'bashed' by Honourable Members on This Side.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, we have to understand that the Other Side can say whatever they like but, at the end of the day, it is the content of the speech that matters and not the person who delivers the speech. It is up to persons to ignore what I have said but many people cannot do better and they have to continue to live in the Caribbean and, Sir, I speak for those persons because they are committed to the

Caribbean and will have to live with the mistakes which are being made by Caribbean leaders. I am not appealing for myself but for those persons who will be affected by this matter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, today it was said that the Government of the Barbados Labour Party has foreign reserves in the Central Bank of Barbados and some invested overseas. One got the impression that we have now landed a space ship on the moon for the first time, that the first time foreign reserves were seen in the economy was in 2004 and that they did not occur in the early 90s.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if this is true, it means I am not fit to be a politician and should not be speaking in Parliament. This is why I can speak in this House because I am aware that the same thing that occurred with the unemployment figures, that the Barbados Labour Party, craftsmen as they are when it comes to playing with figures, have been able to gerrymander the statistics in their favour, which is something the Democratic Labour Party would not do normally.

Sir, unemployment was calculated on one basis but when they came to Government, the Barbados Labour Party changed it to make the employee look good when, in truth and in fact, the voluntary idle was created to make the statistics look good.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, at the end of the day, it is not the statistic that is important...
2.00 p.m.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: On a point of order. It is grossly improper to other Honourable Members in this Chamber. On the Front Bench we represent the Executive of the Government and to indicate that we have gerrymandered statistics is grossly untrue and unparliamentary and the Honourable Member should, therefore, withdraw that comment and move on.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Member, I think you should withdraw that statement.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: I withdraw the word gerrymander and substitute it with the statement that the Barbados Labour Party was capable of changing the formula that was used previously by the Democratic Labour Party, which they did not take cheap political politics from, they were able to change it and got maximum political points from it for their benefit and not the country's.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please, continue.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Sir, I listened to the Honourable Member for The City of Bridgetown and she said that when people come to Barbados they rent houses,

buy food, clothes and spend money in the economy and when I heard that I sat back and smiled. I am one for opportunity cost and when I said that the economy was short-changed when we mechanised the sugar industry a lot of people laughed at that comment because they did not understand the importance of that comment. However, at the end of the day it is not the impact on the particular industry, it is the impact on the economy.

Sir, we are now acknowledging that some aspects of mechanisation within the sugar industry did not provide what we thought they would have provided for Barbados. That is why I have always said in this Parliament that major decisions can only be made when you do an opportunity cost of the impact and we have not done it. We implement things but we never look at the other side.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is a good quality that I have and I do not have to wait on anyone to say this about me. I have the ability to see both sides of an argument and then develop an opinion. I gave the Honourable Members on That Side a fair chance to have their say, they would then hear my opinion and then I make a judgement but that judgement is never made on my own opinion. It is only when you have heard both sides that you are able to make a judgement and the capacity to listen and listen well is the most important thing.

Sir, I do not believe too much in reading. I believe in listening because the spoken word is the key word.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: An Honourable Member said that I do not read. If that is true, he means that if I do not believe in reading that I still have the capacity to come into this Honourable House and outfox all of them.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we only need to worry about the unemployment aspect of this Bill if we continue to allow people to move from one country to another and stay there. If we give them work permits to allow them to work in a country for a particular period of time, we need not to worry about the unemployment aspect of it. We need to measure the falloff of employment or unemployment to the increase in capacity and what every country needs to do is to increase their capacity. If the capacity is increased, it means that its reserves and everything else are increased.

Sir, if it means that in order to keep industries operating we have to import labour to keep those industries operating, I do not have any problem with that but I do not want to see those persons being counted as an electoral statistic, as the Caribbean leaders want it to be.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have already heard, coming from the Other Side, that the important thing is the identification card. I am saying that if Caribbean Single Market and Economy means an identification card, then let us scrap the whole thing. I am prepared to make the amendment for the economy but if the Other Side is seeing it as a vote in political terms, then let us scrap the whole thing because we would be defeating what we set about to do.

Sir, the 'CSM' is about developing the Caribbean and I am prepared to stop at 'M' there because I am nothing to do with an economy. I would not be any part of anything dealing with devaluation. We fought too hard in the 1990s to keep our currency the way it is and I will not allow any of the leaders in the Caribbean to come with one of those illegal dossiers and put something on the drawing board that should not be there.

Sir, if that is what the Caribbean leaders want and they want to peg the currency to a single currency, they should tell the people up front. If it means that Barbados is the currency that we are going to operate with and the others will agree with it, then I will support it but if it means that we have to move away from the Barbados currency to another currency, then forget about it because we do not have the manufacturing sector or the agriculture sector to develop the additional revenue to make it worthwhile.

Sir, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad can afford to do it because they have the resources to exploit. We do not have these resources in Barbados so we cannot speak or think about devaluation. Sir, get rid of the economy. Do not let us debate it any further. Bring the amendment now and I will support it because I am not for the devaluation of any currency.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: The Honourable Member is telling me that I am a coward. There are people like me who are the social consciences of the people of Barbados and I will continue to be that.

Sir, the people who have capital are the ones that want devaluation because they know that once the dollar is devalued, they can exploit the services of the masses. If that is what the Other Side wants that is up to them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am grateful to you but I am not for the economy side of it because if you implement that, it is going to bring devaluation for Barbados or another country.

I thank you, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Member for Christ Church East.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I consider it an honour, a privilege as well as my duty to participate in this debate. I must declare for the record that I do not share the doubts or fears of the Honourable Member for St. Lucy. Indeed, I look forward to the Governments, Parliaments and people of this region moving forward with full speed and with great hope not just for the single market but for the single economy. The Honourable Member for St. Lucy could only have been a subscriber to that school of thought which has it that their principal role is to derail anything which the Government attempts to do, no matter how good it may happen to be.

Sir, if the Honourable Member read the legislation he would recognise that this legislation, which is before us, seeks to amend ten separate aspects of legislation in Barbados to give effect to the commitments which this country has made and those commitments transcend political parties. They transcend class and creed. This country has given those commitments and it seeks to accelerate their implementation. Sir, we will have other aspects of legislation coming before us to give effect to our commitment, and the Honourable Member should not seek to suggest that there is something sinister, or at the very minimum, incorrect in speaking about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, in the context of this legislation.
2.10 p.m.

Sir, there is nothing in this legislation that specifically deals with provisions relating to the economy aspect of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. The Honourable Member therefore could only have contributed to elements of confusion, arising out of this debate, to suggest that Parliament is being asked to give the Government some broad power to slip something in on the people.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House by giving the House and the wide public the impression that this Bill will amend certain Acts relating to the implementation of the revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, establishing the Caribbean community, including the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. This is what I am seeing in front of me but the Honourable Member is behaving as if this is not what we are doing.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please proceed, Honourable Member.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member is only confirming what has already fallen from his own lips that he does not like to read. If he did, Sir, he would have realised that the objects and reasons of the Bill do not form part of the Bill. It is like an abstract that says in this volume...

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Sir, I would not spend anymore time on him. There are more important matters.

Sir, it is essentially an abstract that speaks to what is contained in the legislation itself.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House by giving the wider public the impression that what you see are objects and reasons and you do not have to obey them. You would just ignore them and deal with everything else and that is a serious reflection on the Chair and also on the office of the Clerk of the House and his Deputy. I believe that point should be withdrawn.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please proceed, Honourable Member.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to say that it is perhaps a most perspicuous moment and a moment of great historical coincidence that the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter, who is also the Prime Minister with lead responsibility for the implementation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, should have had the honour and privilege of opening the Federal Archives recently, at UWI, Cave Hill. I was privileged to be there, Sir, and it touched me to the core to have had the opportunity to view the exhibits.

Sir, much of what we are debating today is causing a great divide, based on the presentation of the Honourable Member for St. Lucy who, unlike his leader, seems to have a problem with the concept of the unification of the Caribbean. Sir, back in 1958 and 1962 we had cleared these hurdles and gone beyond.

Sir, it was a touching moment for me not to read about it, but to actually see files from the Federal Cabinet, the Flag of the Federal West Indies, the seal of the Government of the Federal West Indies, and to realise that this is not a concept, or an abstraction. This was a country with all of the trappings of the State as we are accustomed to in Barbados, a Coat of Arms, a Parliament.

In fact, Sir, one of the four surviving members of that Parliament is a Barbadian, Mr. Gilmore Roachford. There are former employees of the Federal Government who are still with us today.

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Sir, it would have been an honour and privilege for me, to have been able to serve with the Federal administration of our unified West Indian Country.

I set what we are seeing today, Sir, in an effort to have greater harmony and to coordinate the work of sovereign states, against the yard stick of a people of an earlier generation who, without all of the fancy technology and all the opportunities that we have today, had enough faith in themselves to come together and create a country. Let us not remember the Federation as a failed experiment, as I have seen it written about in history books. I rather remember it as a working functioning body. The fact that it could have been done back then with limited resources, means that we can do it even better today with greater resources and the experience that we have gathered from that first occasion.

Sir, I am one who happens to be very keen on deeper, faster, further, in any manner, relating to the integration of the Caribbean. Therefore, the view as expressed by the Honourable Member for St. Lucy that in relation to the CARICOM Single Market and Economy he would want to de-link the economy from it, puts us in a position of going nowhere. The fundamental difference between this integration effort and what has gone on from CARIFTA through to CARICOM is that we are going beyond the free trade aspects. As the late Right Excellent Errol W. Barrow that the Honourable Member reference to in his presentation, when he made his last presentation to CARICOM in Georgetown, Guyana, at a Heads of Government Conference, when he asked the rhetorical question:

“Who will buy my white sand and who would buy my grey sand.”

Sir, he was making the point that we really have to move beyond the mere matter of free trade. If we are to be one people and one country, we have to move to one economy and, for me, I would want us to move to one political union. This is my conviction of our destiny and I hope to be alive to see that day. I do not want it to be a dream. I do not want it to be some sort of holy grail. I want it to be a real lived experience and if people have done it around the time of my birth, I want to be able to contribute to it before my death.

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Sir, what are we speaking about when we speak of a single economy? What are these objectives? What is it that the Honourable Member for St. Lucy holds that is so bad or that we cannot achieve? We are talking, Sir, about having within this CARICOM nation, coordinated macroeconomic policies. Yes, there are difficulties and obstacles but if you do not have a will, or vision, how can you ever create the programmes to get you where you want to go?

What perhaps we need to do, as was done with every integration movement around the world, those who are furthest ahead and those who are closer, in terms of their policies and programmes, can start and the others can join.

Therefore, on the matter of convergence of macroeconomic policy, both monetary and fiscal, if you look at the interest rates, level of deficit and other indicators, we can start to look at which countries are in a better position to unify. It is an important objective and the leaders of our region, and the Ministers of Finance have committed themselves to moving constantly towards that point of convergence.

It would not happen in a single moment. It would not happen in a single day, but the objective is there, and there is a commitment that as we restructure our economies, we will seek to achieve that convergence. We can learn from the lessons of the European Union. This matter of convergence was still a big debate until the turn of the century when they were moving towards the economic union.
2.20 p.m.

Sir, there is the matter of harmonising incentives for business because at the end of the day the single economy is all about getting the harmony and the synergetic benefits within the productive sector. The Honourable Member purports to be concerned about the movement of people. Sir, the one thing that will ensure that there is no mass exodus and panic movement around the region is to ensure that there is prosperity across all specs of land in the Caribbean region. Therefore, much of the programme of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy will have to be geared toward spreading progress all across our lands.

Sir, the matter of harmonised incentives would ensure that business makes a decision about where it would locate based on factors other than incentives and inducements. Sir, a business would not relocate from Jamaica to Barbados or from Barbados to Trinidad merely because of the difference in tax incentives or what cash grants the Government may give them but whether the factors of its production happen to be more abundantly present. In the case of Barbados, a highly-skilled workforce. In the case of Guyana, large amounts of wood being available. If we are to move, that is what we have to do. Sir, can you imagine, St. George offering better incentives for business than Christ Church, and St. Philip getting in the mix and offering even better? Where would the single economy of Barbados go? Is that what the Honourable Member is objecting against?

Sir, there is also the matter of the common external trade policy. Sir, if we were to follow his perennial dislike of the notion of having a CARICOM single economy, then we could as well dismantle the Regional Negotiating Machinery and rather than hanging together we could as well let the developed world hang us all separately by seeking to go into the World Trade Organisation and the Free Trade Area of the Americas and to negotiate with Europe as single entities rather than as a unified Caribbean region. That is

what we are talking about. There is nothing magical or sinister. The practical expressions of a people with a common destiny and a common purpose giving practical expression of that will, by way of the institutions they create and the methods which they used for the attainment of those objectives, is what we are talking about with the CARICOM single economy.

Sir, what we are also talking about is moving to the point where we have harmonised legislation. Harmony does not necessarily mean cloned similarity but that our company legislation takes the same roots and origins. There are some places in the Caribbean which up to a few years ago still had their company law rooted in principles from the 1800s. In the 1980s Barbados revised its company law consistent largely with some principles out of Canada. Many places have upgraded theirs as well. The CARICOM Secretariat, through its legal affairs department, has created much model legislation which would allow countries as they seek to upgrade their legislation to create that single space for businesses, for individuals and for any entities to operate in this common Caribbean nation to have certainty and predictability. So whether it be in taxation, in customs, in company law, intellectual property or otherwise, we are going to take that same approach. That same approach of harmonised legislation would be taken in relation to the legislation which is required in order for us to stage the World Cup in 2007; common approaches to security.

Indeed, Sir, it is unfortunate but true that those persons like the Honourable Member for St. Lucy who are not convinced based on internal rhythm and internal drive for unity would be forced by the circumstances required for us to stage events like the World Cup to adopt a greater willingness and to recognise the need to harmonise and move as a single entity if we are to achieve important objectives.

Sir, in this move toward a single economy, we are talking about creating new regional institutional capacity to do the implementation, for example, the move to the Caribbean Accreditation Agency which would form a very important role in CARICOM.

Sir, in order for us to ensure that the movement of skills in the Caribbean is fair, open and transparent, there clearly needs to be a system by which we are able to certify that John Brown coming from Montserrat or Harry Jones coming from Barbados is in fact either a media worker, a University graduate, a sportsman or a cultural worker in accordance with the terms and conditions of the agreement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as we move to expand the categories of skills that are the subject and beneficiary of the free movement programme, we need to have institutional capacity in place. In fact, the Heads have even made further

refinements. You would recall that a concern was raised about the mechanisms and that is why I speak to institutional capacity because previously if the letter of the law was followed it would have required that each time a CARICOM citizen was moving that it would have required a new confirmation that it was indeed a skilled national which could mean that he could have 13 certificates then. The Heads have agreed that subject to this Caribbean accreditation agency working in harmony with the accreditation agencies of the individual countries having certified once that this individual is a skilled national in accordance with the treaty and the rules, that would be accepted by the agencies across the CARICOM region making it therefore hassle-free for those categories of skills which are subject to this Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas. So we needed to create the institutional capacity. This is not talk. This is not concept only, this is implementation, and the Honourable Member for St. Lucy needs to give it support.

Sir, there is also the matter of standards. We have established the regional standards body located here in Barbados because we need to do a number of important things as far as standards are concerned. We need to adopt common standards for goods trading in the region. We also need as a Caribbean nation to have common standards in relation to our dealing with third party countries. The Honourable Minister for trade, the Honourable Member for the City is here, and she has fought tooth and nail for these measures to be put in place.

Sir, not only do we need to sign on to the World Trade Organisation and all of these trade agreements, we also needed to improve our institutional capacity on the ground. How do we know that a product meets acceptable standards? What basis can we reject a product coming from a member of the World Trade Organisation other than on the basis of sanitary and phyto-sanitary standards? How can we ensure that as we permit the free movement of goods across this Caribbean region that they meet the required standards of performance, of safety and whatever else may be the basis of the standards? Therefore, this Caribbean standards authority now headquartered in Barbados will be setting the common platform on which the national standards institutions and associations would be able to draw up national standards in our countries. Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the not-to-distant future, there is to come a competition policy authority because each country has its own competition policy legislation and approaches but we need to harmonise those things as well. We need to harmonise such things as what would constitute a monopoly in Barbados as opposed to that of Jamaica or what is anti-competitive practice in Trinidad and Tobago as opposed to that of St. Lucia? If we are going to have that single economy as we must and before I depart this earth I trust we will, then these are the kinds of things that we need to do.

2.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this Parliament needs to busy itself with supporting these measures. It needs to be adding to public debate and encouragement in these measures and not to do like the Honourable Member for St. Lucy, who is seeking to cast doubt where there need not be any.

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: The Honourable Member is saying that the leader must lead but I am afraid that as a leader, he might be effective in leading the people but he might be leading them down the wrong road.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the CARICOM Single Economy, they speak about the principle of Special and Differential treatment and in the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas and its protocols, the matter of dealing with disadvantaged regions and sectors is very much taken care of. Sir, that is closely tied, as is the Regional Development Fund, which I am pleased to see, as put forward by the Right Honourable Member for St. Peter, is gathering great support from Honourable leaders around the Caribbean.

Sir, we all recognise that prosperity being spread across the entire region is the only guarantee of a successful single market and economy and that the avoidance of movement is almost akin to the movement of refugees. Sir, even beyond that, as a matter of high principle, we cannot believe that we are a country and a people, if there is anyone of us who remains at a disadvantage.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in fact, I believe it was the civil rights leader, Mariott Anderson, who would have indicated that we cannot keep any individual or section of our society down, without some part of us going down with them. Sir, in the Caribbean region, the Regional Development Fund and all these approaches to harmonisation, are intended to raise the collective bar, to raise the ocean, so that all boats will collectively rise to a higher standard of living.

Sir, in that regard, this is why I am very supportive of the stance that we have taken in relation to matters such as Haiti because Haiti is a part of the Caribbean. Haiti is a metaphor for the Caribbean. Haiti was the first indication and first expression of the concept, recognition and practical expression of the nationhood of the Caribbean people. It was the first republic in the region. Therefore, for those of us who happened to have come late, who happened to have become relatively prosperous, for us to take the position: "I am okay, you are not okay, leave me out of it", is a very wrong thing. Therefore, in relation to the Caribbean, none of us in this region can consider ourselves truly prosperous, until Haiti is right up there with us.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not in this for the sake of having a passive observer's position. We need to ensure that at every step along the way that our brothers in the first republic in this region are very much with us.

Sir, I measure the ultimate success of what we are doing in this region, both from the spirit of integration, as well as the practical expression of integration and the general prosperity which has to attend this integration effort, based on what ultimately happens there. Sir, let us remember this might not be achieved in a day, in one hundred days, nor in one thousand days, but that does not, in any way, reduce, eliminate or otherwise pervert the validity of the objective and the cause. If we were to measure the validity of great causes solely by how speedily we could implement them, the Lord would have abandoned mankind in His effort to bring us salvation because even though 2000 years ago His Son has died to save the world, we are still sinning and falling short but that does not make our Lord's effort any less valid or any less important.

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact is that we need to bring every last part of this Caribbean region with us, if we are to truly consider that we have made it. The fact that it might not happen today does not mean that we should be diverted from that course in taking those deliberate steps in order to move in that direction.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am pleased to support this legislation as a step along that path. I believe that Barbados is in a position where we need to go forward boldly and with great confidence in this great cause. We need not, at this stage, be looking over our shoulders, casting doubtful glances. We need not be busying ourselves too much by looking to see what the others are doing. Instead, we need to get on with the work and let others look on and see what we are doing and join us in advancing this great cause of unity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if this could have been done in the 1950s with less resources, less education across the population, less skills available to us or with less financial resources, why can it not be done now? I believe when future generations look on at this first Parliament for the 21st Century, how would they judge us?

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Lucy has just admitted that he would be judged very badly.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, if the Honourable Member wants to say that his Side will be judged very badly, the Honourable Member can put that into the records.

Asides.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, how would this Parliament be judged? Would the people of the region or

the people of Barbados thank us for being bold, for being confident, for adding to the region's capacity to achieve its destiny of nationhood through this CARICOM Single Market and Economy? Would they frown on us? Would they reflect that we have squandered an opportunity? Would they reflect that we have wasted time with petty squabbling? Would they reflect that we have weakened the heart and minds of our people by casting doubts where there was none?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to urge this Honourable House to be on the right side of history. History can be determined the way we want it to be because we can write it. I, therefore, would want to urge that we not only support this measure but, indeed, all other measures to come, which will move us faster, deeper and with greater certainty, into the unity which we all crave for this CARICOM region.

Asides.

2.40 p.m.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Minister said he hopes that we would support everything else which is to come but the only thing to come is the single economy and devaluation. Is this what he is asking the House to do, Sir?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No point of order.

Hon. R. R. FARLEY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I agree it is no point of order.

I thank you and urge Honourable Members to support the Bill.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is interesting to hear the Honourable Member for Christ Church East speak so lavishly on all the aspects of the single economy which he would like to see implemented. He made it clear that this Bill has nothing to do with the single economy *per se* but the provisions which he speaks about in this Resolution have to do with the creation of the single market and removing barriers to allow private sector players whether in insurance, offshore, shipping, architecture, *et cetera* to flap their wings wherever they decide within the Caribbean region.

I am not unhappy that the Honourable Member has made that error because when the Right Honourable Prime Minister introduced the Bill, he was at pains to explain the difference between a free trade area, a common market and single market. He also touched on the aspect of the single economy. It was interesting that I had to sit at home and hear Press coverage from Trinidad to know that in 2005 we would only see the single market component implemented but

the single economy would not be put in place, perhaps for obvious reasons of what it entails. Sir, during the course of his presentation the Honourable Prime Minister could have shared this with the House if he knew this to be the case.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I recognise that the single economy component is going to require a number of measures that are not going to be easy. The Honourable Member for Christ Church East gesticulated, spoke about having the will, about harmonising economic, monetary and fiscal policy but, Sir, these things are easily said. Frankly, I am not convinced that the will exists for these things to happen throughout the region.

The comments from This Side are useful because it seems to be the view that the Caribbean Single Market and Economy is a sacred cow that cannot be examined in any way or put under a critical eye. We know that Sir Lloyd Erskine Sandiford was responsible for the concept of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy at Grand Anse in 1989 during a Democratic Labour Party regime. Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is nothing wrong with supporting a concept and having some fundamental difficulties in the way in which it is being implemented.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, rather than take us on these excursions throughout history about the numbers of Barbadians who have migrated and what they have done, we need to deal with the realities of Barbadian workers in 2004. It is good to hear the Honourable Member for the City speak of the experiences of our parents and grandparents but we cannot compare migration to Panama to work on the Canal, to England to work on the London Transport or to New York to work on the postal service when there was a demand for the Barbadian labour then which were easily absorbed and did not have any social impact.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the reality is that in 2004, we cannot absorb all the immigrant labour that is present on this island prior to Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Other Honourable Members may not want to say this but Barbadians are losing their jobs already because certain business persons find it more economical to employ labour from other territories.

Sir, constituents have come to my office to ask me what can be done. I tell them that if there is no work permit that it is an illegal act, according to the laws of Immigration but eventually, when the relevant article becomes the law of Barbados, it would be considered legitimate. Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is good to listen to the excursions of where Barbadian workers went throughout the century but it does not deal with the reality of the situation.

Sir, we can go further and look at the manufacturing sector which is in decline. There is a feeling of helplessness about the "Buy Local" campaign and we have to face up to this. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Barbados Manufacturers Association embarked on the "Buy Local" campaign not because they were doing well but because of the challenge of imported items. It is obvious that when we allow capital to move freely that businessmen will think about moving their operations outside of Barbados if we do not have the will as policymakers to do something about.

Sir, in spite of the 100% Buy Local campaign, we still saw a decline in manufacturing but we must not throw up our hands.

I would like to think there is no divide across the Party line on this issue and that we would want to see as many productive enterprises as possible thriving in Barbados and employing as many Barbadians as we can. We are in times prior to Caribbean Single Market and Economy and we are already seeing outsourcing taking place. Sir, already when you call a telephone number, an operator answers in Trinidad. If this becomes the norm, we as members of the Parliament of Barbados should be concerned.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I know how I came to this Honourable House and other Members know as well and there can be nothing wrong with taking the interest of Barbados and Barbadians and putting it foremost. This does not make you less of an integrationist or regionalist. The Honourable Member for Christ Church East spoke about CARIFTA which was signed in 1967 under the Democratic Labour Party under The Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, do you know that earlier in that same year, 1967, the Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow pulled Barbados out of an integration effort because he decided it was not in our interest? Sir, later on the same year, the Caribbean Free Trade Area, which was in our interest, was embarked upon. Sir, all we are saying is that if we do have an integration effort we should do it properly. 2.50 p.m.

Sir, the Honourable Member enjoys reading the files of the Federal Government. He should take the time to read about the history of the Federal Government and see the mistake that they made. The Honourable Member does not like to hear me call it a failed experiment. Let us accept that it failed and we must now learn from our mistakes.

The mistake was that the Federal Government was from the top down. The people were never involved when a referendum was

Asides.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, Honourable Member

Hon. Dame Billie MILLER: On a point of order. I was alive and a thinking person in fifth form at school at Queen's College at the time when the attempt at the Federal Government was made and I remember it well. Sir, to what mistakes does the Honourable Member refer? The Honourable Member is misleading this Honourable House.

Sir, there was a Federal Court of Appeal which worked well. It had no monuments. It was itinerant and it worked well. We are attempting 40 years later to put a Caribbean Court of Justice in place. What mistake was made? The mistake that was made was to have dismantled it. There were no mistakes. It was the lack of political will and it is lack of political will that we are seeing on the Other Side of this Honourable House now.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if Mr. Sandiford had done from 1989 what he ought to have done, we would have been far more forward in the process today.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, Honourable Member.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir Lloyd Sandiford left office 1994, he had five years and this Government has had 10. What the Minister of Foreign Affairs should tell us is what has happened in 10 years under her watch and that of the Honourable Member for St. Peter. Sir, I am saying that we had a referendum in 1961 and that was the first time that the people had a say in the Federation. Mr. Deputy Speaker, all that I am saying is that the people need to be involved.

Sir, the last time we had a debate in here the Honourable Member for St. Philip South, who comes from an academic background, perhaps, could appreciate some of these things more than others. The Honourable Member read from a Caribbean Development Research Services (CADRES) poll and I believe that the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West also referred to it, and it said that 74 per cent of Barbadians were having difficulty with understanding the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Let us accept that we have work to do and we need an education effort.

I heard the Heads talking about Radio CARICOM and I want to see how that is going to work.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: On a point of order. I know that the Honourable Member is using the statistics quoted by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West in the wrong way but to substantiate his point. Sir, while we might agree that there might be need for a lot more education about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy arrangement, the Honourable Member is incorrect in saying, and I do not think

that he is doing it deliberately, but the statistics quoted by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West from the Cadres Poll did say that 74 per cent of the persons surveyed agreed with the free movement of labour in the region. So that is an indication that persons are tuned in and are willing to give their support to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that we all agree that there is work to be done both pre- and post-Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Indeed, the Honourable Member for St. Peter spoke of worker education and financing such, I believe he said sometime early next year, so we agree on that.

Sir, again, I am dealing with the issue of the implementation of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. The Honourable Member spoke to one mistake that maybe the very enlightened leaders that met in Grande Anse, Grenada in 1989 made. He said that, perhaps, they were a little ambitious in expecting something in the time-frame that they had set for the establishment of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. I could say that he is right but he must accept that the present crop of leaders might have to bear a bit of the blame for the inadequacy of being able to establish realistic deadlines, even at this point.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we were told originally that Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were going to go out front and have everything in place by the end of the year. I believe that we are not sure that is going to happen, but we are also hearing that come 2005 there is a chance that the rest of our CARICOM neighbours may not be ready.

Sir, the Caribbean Court of Justice was supposed to be ready by mid-2003 and I believe that there was a deadline prior to that. It was to be January 2004 and we are now hearing that deadline would have to be pushed back also and reasons are given that the temporary building that the Government of Trinidad was kind enough to donate, apparently is not ready.

Asides.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: If the Honourable Member for St. Peter can criticise the visionary leaders who started the concept, I think that as a Member of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, I can ask a few questions of the present crop of leaders and what they are doing or not doing. I believe that the Caribbean Court of Justice is integral to this effort of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and I would have thought that when some of the Honourable Members on the Government's Side spoke they could have spent some time on that. You cannot have a Caribbean Single Market and Economy without a Caribbean Court of Justice. Sir, just the thought of having to interpret the revised treaty in.

15 different courts throughout the Caribbean, it tells you how much confusion can be involved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do believe that some energy and effort must go into the establishment of the Caribbean Court of Justice as well. We are hearing a lot about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy but the two of them are flip sides of a similar coin. Really and truly the Caribbean Single Market cannot work without the Caribbean Court of Justice because you will agree with me that the single economy has to go into abeyance for a while and we understand the reasons but we need to hear something more on the matter of the Caribbean Court of Justice.

Sir, I think that when the Leaders met last year in Jamaica, they decided that they would give some life to the idea of establishing some sort of executive mechanism, a CARICOM Commission. This is something that also has been around for a while. In fact, the West Indian Report had described the establishment of a CARICOM Commission as the single most important recommendation that they were making in that report. I think that something like that is definitely necessary because in terms of implementing a lot of the measures and policies as it relates to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, clearly the Heads of Government and the CARICOM Secretariat are not capable of doing it.

Sir, there is a need for a tier of persons responsible for the governance of the institution. Again, there is a possibility that we can look at what goes on in Europe. I am a little wary sometimes to make those parallels. Europe is a vast place with countries that were at war with one another. We in the Caribbean with so much geographical and historical similarities, really and truly should not be comparing ourselves to Europe and finding comfort in the fact that it has taken them 50 years to get where they are. Considering the difference in our situations, we should not be drawing much comfort in that fact.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this idea of the Caribbean Commission is one that really needs to be enthusiastically implemented. I believe that the same way that you have the European Parliament that acts as a foil to the Commission, the idea of the assembly of CARICOM Parliamentarians, something that is usually a footnote in every Declaration that the Heads put out when they meet, needs to be given life once again.

3.00 p.m.

Sir, credit must be given to the Prime Minister who, recently elected, has not forgotten where he has come from. He made the point that we need to embrace the Opposition Parties of the Caribbean in this effort, if it is truly going to be a pan Caribbean effort.

Sir, many of the Opposition Parties represent huge segments of the electorate. In the case of Barbados, 45 per cent, in the case of Trinidad, I image it has to be in the high 40's and, in Jamaica, I suspect it might be in the low 40s. If you go throughout the region, you will find that other than in a few cases where there are seriously lopsided Parliamentary majorities, the Opposition Parties represent a large portion of the electorate, and their views should be brought to bear and should be accommodated by whatever system of regional Government we use. In doing so, Sir, we will ensure that when we have parties changing, there could be a smooth transition, everyone is on board, and you have a genuine effort that is truly West Indian, so that no one necessarily feels left out.

Sir, having said that, I have no difficulty in saying that the practice which has crept into Caribbean politics, where leaders and presumable members of their Parties journey to other territories to participate in election campaigning is highly undesirable.

It is wrong for a leader, particularly one who is charged with the responsibility of coming up with systems of governance, the same CARICOM Commission, and I am speaking about Prime Minister Gonzalves, could find himself in St. Kitts campaigning on behalf of his colleague Head, against Opposition Parties. Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is undesirable and loathsome.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, all of us have friends through the Caribbean and many of them are politically active but, the point is that we can have our friends but we need not campaign for them. As close as Michael Manley and Errol Barrow were, they would never have gone on each other's platform to campaign against the other parties because there was a certain level of decency that obtained.

Sir, rather than go and campaign against opponents, senior politicians should accept invitations to be election observers, like the Honourable Member for St. John.

Asides.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: The Honourable Member for St. Michael South is reminding the people of Barbados that the Honourable Member for John agreed to go and be an observer.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is wrong to campaign against other Parties. If we reach that point where we have a federation, and Parties transcend national boundaries that is another matter, but for the time being, it is most undesirable. Sir, far from campaigning against Opposition Parties, I would think that what we need to do is to embrace them and involve them in the whole exercise.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as far as Barbados is concerned, and I think that the insert that has been made a document of this House, The ME in CSME, by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West, really makes for a good read. In addition to discussing the CSME and giving us a bit of history on it, it looks at the impact it will have on our different sectors.

It is very clear to me, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that while we hear these blandishments and these grand terms and quoting from other regional leaders, we do not see any clear plan on where exactly Barbados is going to blaze the trail on this matter of the single market.

Hon. N. A. LYNCH: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. I need to clarify whether or not this instrument that the Honourable Member is speaking about was made a document of the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, Honourable Member.

Asides.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are weeks away from the implementation of this single market and there is still too great a level of ignorance in our people. If I could, I would like to deal with a matter directly related to this legislation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Architectural Registration Act was passed by this House just before it had paroled for general elections in 2003. In April of 2003, an Act was passed. This was in the thick of when this Government was preparing and identifying various pieces of legislation and regulations that had to be adjusted or had to be made CSME ready. I am a little puzzled how a piece of legislation could have slipped through and now, we have to amend it almost a year and half later. Sir, this makes you wonder, if no other errors are contained in that particular piece of legislation.

It has come up for a lot of hue and cry because the Act is calling for commercial buildings of over 1 000 square feet, or residential buildings over one storey to be designed by a registered architect. The draftsmen, as we call them, or architectural technicians are a little peeved. Many of them, Mr. Deputy Speaker, have made a living designing homes and commercial buildings for many Barbadians.

Asides.

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to suggest that this issue is a fine example of where we have a resource that could be unleashed on the Caribbean, as part of the single market and, far from restricting the architectural

technicians and technologists, we should be making it more feasible for them to go all over the region to offer a low-cost alternative to having a property designed.

I do not see the need for this conflict between the architects and draftsmen. I told the leadership of both the Institute of Architects and Association of Architectural Technologists – I happen to know both of them personally – that I would really like to have them sit down for discussion because there is a role for both of the professions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that the Ministry of the Honourable Member for St. George has some responsibility over that particular piece of legislation. I would hope that under his Chairmanship or over the Chairmanship of the relevant Chief Technical Officer, we would see those two groups come together. Sir, both have served us well. Some people prefer to go to an architect, and others prefer to go to a draftsman.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what is essential is that the building code which he promised needs to be legislated as soon as possible. An environment where there is an enforceable building code, it would not matter whether or not there is a professional. You do not necessarily need to have an architect. Basically, a draftsman or anyone can design a building, once you comply with the building code. Architects are more concerned with the aesthetics of a property. As I said, the mandatory building code needs to be put in place. We also need to have this matter pertaining to the draughtsmen and the architects resolved. Consumers should have the option and then we can unleash both the architects and the draughtsmen on the entire region and by extension the whole hemisphere. In fact, to some extent that is already happening for the architects I know, so I do not see the need for conflict. I would sincerely hope that would be looked at and in the fullness of time as I said we would have it resolved.

3.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I have said earlier, I believe that our participation in this single market can only be looked at as advancing our own enlightened self-interest as would be the case in being involved in any economic grouping, be it a regional one or further flung.

I am saying that along with my colleagues I associate fully with any efforts to integrate with our neighbours once it can redound to the benefit of Barbadians first. I do not see why the point made over here on This Side cannot be taken on board and embraced and perhaps we can have a smoother ride for this issue of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and for the integration efforts in the Caribbean. We can make this issue of integration a real experience and a lived experience not only for a select few but for everyone in the entire Caribbean.

I thank you.

Hon. D. D. MARSHALL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am pleased that the Members of Her Majesty's Opposition are lending their support to this suite of amendments. I think that the Honourable Prime Minister has explained quite clearly the *raison d'être* behind these amendments. Sir, just to reiterate, we are obligated to remove all elements of our legislation which serve to discriminate between Barbadians and other Caribbean nationals.

This is a process that has gone through a great deal of study. There has been a committee where the workings of all of our legislative instruments have been examined so that we are able to see clearly those situations where we currently discriminate between Barbadians and non-nationals. However, it is not to say that in every instance where our legislative instruments show such discrimination that we have removed it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in fact, there is provision within the arrangements for the CARICOM Single Market and Economy where we are able to notify CARICOM of instances where the reference in our legislation is important for administrative purposes. For example, there are some aspects of our legislation where companies that want to set up in Barbados have to give an address for service in Barbados. We have been asked to remove that, but we have declined to do so on the basis that it is important for the administration of the particular legislation.

Sir, the whole point is to ensure that all of our legislative instruments treat CARICOM nationals on exactly the same footing as Barbadians would be treated. I think this is a good point to begin my presentation because I am convinced that the Members of the Opposition have been stoking the fires of xenophobia both inside and outside of this Honourable House. In fact, constant reference is made to a situation where Barbadian workers are going to be thrown out of jobs because of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. Reference is made to artisans coming into Barbados and working and Barbadians not being able to find work. This is all being thrust on the shoulders of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Sir, I believe that the Members of Her Majesty's Opposition should recognise that they have an obligation not to mislead the people of this country when they are speaking about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangements. I would like to remind the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central that when we are talking particularly about movement of skilled CARICOM nationals which is covered in Article 46 we are not talking about the free movement of any persons other than those specified in Article 46. I think this is a point that we have to shut out at every opportunity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Article 46 talks about the rights of the following categories of Community nationals to seek employment in their jurisdiction. The five categories of persons mentioned are University graduates, media workers, sports-persons, artistes and musicians. The point here is that we are dealing with the movement of skilled nationals of CARICOM nations and not the movement of all workers. Sir, it is clear to me that the Members of Her Majesty's Opposition are refusing to make this distinction and are serving to create confusion in the minds of the average Barbadian such that they would form the view that the CARICOM Single Market and Economy is a thing that would be bad for them because the CARICOM Single Market and Economy by its very nature would open the floodgate to the movement of all people into Barbados and therefore deprive them of a livelihood, of house spots, of seats on buses and of all the things that they hold dear.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the importance of these five categories is well shown when you make a comparison of what is happening in the European Union because the European Union provision in their Article 48 deals with the freedom of the movement of workers. In the European Union there is freedom of the movement of all workers, whether you are an artisan, a domestic or a rocket scientist.

Sir, because of the peculiarities of CARICOM and our country, we are starting at the position of the movement of skilled nationals. Now the truth be told, I think that the time may well come when once the CARICOM Single Market and Economy has matured and when it would be a feature of the CARICOM arrangement that all workers regardless of qualifications or of the area that they work in may move. That, we may well consider, to be a desirable thing in the fullness of time. However, at this point in time we are talking about skilled nationals.

Sir, I would like to draw to the attention of Honourable Members of this Honourable House a statement by Robert Schuman in the 1950s speaking of the European Union where he said that Europe would not be built in a day nor as part of some overall design, but would be built through practical achievements that first create a sense of common purpose. I would venture that the arrangements that have been put in place where the skilled nationals are going to be those who benefit from this freedom of movement is exactly the mechanism that is needed to inculcate in all of our citizens that common purpose.

Sir, many of the University graduates would have studied at one of the three campuses of the University of the West Indies and their whole character would have been created in the crucible of our institutions of learning. Mr. Deputy Speaker, by virtue of the fact that our media workers have to stay abreast of what is happening within our respective neighbour's affairs and borders; our sports

persons because the very essence of West Indian cricket relies on the ability of our West Indian cricketers to move freely; our artistes and musicians currently earn a successful living by being able to perform and offer their goods and talents in other countries. Sir, those are the practical measures, that, in my respectful submission, would help the region to create a sense of common purpose.
3.20 p.m.

Sir, when we are able to deal with the movement of skilled nationals successfully in the fullness of time, it may well be that we are able to meet the true pinnacle, that is, the movement of all workers across all borders.

Sir, I do not think it necessary to reiterate the purpose but it is useful to bear it in mind. The whole purpose of a single market and single economy is to eliminate trade barriers, with the aim of increasing economic productivity and economic prosperity, and to contribute to ever closer union among all Caribbean nations. Sir, those are the two most critical things with which we have to contend in today's environment.

I believe that while Barbadians may have their deep-seated concerns about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy following on the Federation experience, I believe they understand that a small nation like ours is simply not able to contend, in a global environment, against countries where a small town would swamp us. We consider Barbados to be well poised but what about our smaller nations such as St. Lucia, Dominica or Antigua.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact of the matter is that today's environment where we are moving towards globalisation, demands that the Caribbean countries come together to form a rational and purposeful response to globalisation. Sir, for too long we seem to have felt that because Barbados has been so successful, we can make our own way in the world. But I think our experience of late shows us that those days are long passed and that while we celebrate our successes, while we celebrate our movement at the Human Development Index, while we celebrate our athletes, musicians and talented individuals, the time is here when we have to recognise that the workings of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas require that we have a regional response to those issues.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, even in the context of the Free Trade Area of the Americas where we are able to see that – and I believe one of the Honourable Members of the Opposition spoke about consensus – CARICOM, as a 14 nation bloc, is able to wield tremendous influence in terms of the negotiating of issues within the context of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. Therefore, when CARICOM speaks,

and in the spirit it is shown that we always speak as one, but in circumstances where we are able to speak with one voice, it demonstrates clearly the strength that we have found in the union of the 14 countries sitting at the negotiating table.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have no doubt that there will be challenges but so far the only issue that the Honourable Members of the Opposition seem to want to put on the table, is the issue that something more could have been done in terms of public education and that perhaps is a truism. There is always something more that could be done in terms of public education but at the end of the day, whatever failings there might have been in terms of getting the message out, I believe that Barbadians, through their schools, institutions and work places, are beginning to understand the message that is being sent across the region, that we once again have to join hands as we try to navigate the fairly perilous waters of globalisation and as we try to deal with the issues that are going to beset us going forward.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am convinced that our service providers and our productive sectors generally, for too long have relied on the domestic opportunities that exist. Sir, many of our manufacturers have relied on the domestic markets. Many of our accountants, lawyers, architects have relied on our domestic market but the Barbadian domestic market is only able to support a limited level of economic activity. Therefore, recognising that these entrepreneurs now have to reach beyond the shores of Barbados, the establishment of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy has become an imperative, because part of the movement of our resources, part of our developing the whole of CARICOM as a catchment area for Barbadian goods and services, is underpinned by the establishment of this single market and single economy, where, for the first time since Federation, the concept of interior borders would have vanished.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this Government has recognised that in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, Barbadian companies may well choose to go after economic opportunities that are outside of Barbados. The Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central has addressed this but he has done so from the point of view of saying what a dreadful thing it would be when Barbadian business move from Barbados towards a low cost destination.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact of the matter is that this Government has already recognised that part and parcel of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy would see forward-thinking business leaders recognising that one possibility of ensuring one's economic success would be to do just that, that is, to move to a jurisdiction within the CARICOM Single Market and Economy where you would find advantages of low cost in terms of labour, raw material

or inputs such as energy. Therefore, in the Special Technical Assistance Fund, provision has been made so that Barbadian businesses that see an opportunity to have greater profitability through setting up in another country, can access funds for that purpose.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this, in my view, is an important concept because while the Opposition is saying that Barbadian companies will now migrate to Trinidad or to Guyana, we, on this Side, have recognised this as part and parcel of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy's arrangement and have, therefore, put financial provision in place so that our entrepreneurs who are so forward-thinking, will use the right of establishment, as is provided for in Articles 32, 33 and 34, to seek to find greater efficiencies in their business operations.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, what would be the point of having a CARICOM Single Market and Economy in place, if it is not going to be used? This Government's position is that we are going to put measures in place now, such that our businesses that are willing to take the plunge, to go forth into this wider market, would be in a position far in advance of our neighbour country's businesses, to set up CARICOM jurisdictions and, therefore, would benefit from the tremendous cost savings that might result.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is a fact that Barbados is a high cost home for manufacturing. It is a fact that Barbados is a high cost home for many things. What this calls for us to do is to see where our strengths are as a nation and to build on those strengths. We see clearly that Barbados is going to be the headquarters for many Caribbean companies. It is still a country that has gone beyond the reaches of CARICOM into places like the United States of America, England and South America. We see Barbadians building on our strengths and not lamenting that we have weaknesses.

3.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I support his move towards the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. It is an imperative and the time has come when we simply must grapple with the issue and do it. There may be shortfalls in terms of preaching the message but from my research I am well aware that Barbados has stood head and shoulder above the other countries in the region in terms of our participation in the process and our internal and domestic readiness to seize the Caribbean Single Market and Economy opportunity and also in terms of sensitising our populace.

This Government is committed and we are today happy to know that the Members of Her Majesty's Opposition are also committed to it. I support an environment which would see all businesses in CARICOM being treated as brother and sister businesses where opportunities would redound to all CARICOM nationals. Sir, we feel that opportunity would

redound for Barbadians across the length and breadth of CARICOM.

We want all Barbadians to join with us and move towards the Caribbean Single Market and Economy in a united way as we seek to improve our economy and our prosperity while at the same time working towards a united CARICOM.

Sir, with those few comments, I am obliged to you.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to make a contribution to this debate. However, I want to say at the outset that I offer critical support to this Bill. I do not believe that I should be a parrot and accept without a profound critical analysis all the various Protocols that form part of this particular Bill. I believe it is my responsibility to myself, my Party and Barbados to look at areas where there are concerns as they may have a negative impact on this country and on operations as we interface as a group with respect to FTAA and WTO.

Sir, I do not believe this is the time for platitudes or reactionary talk. I firmly believe it is time for us to put our heads together and come up with the best possible set of arrangements in the interest of Barbadians. I have concerns that relate primarily to the kinds of preparations that were put in place with respect to the implementation.

Sir, I am not convinced that Barbados has been economically prepared for the type of economic policies that would allow us to challenge all of the potential pitfalls that we will encounter within the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. I am not going to bury my head in the sand and believe that a country about to enter new, uncharted, untested waters where we do not appreciate the type of impact on ourselves even though one may do some far-reaching analysis.

I have genuine concerns because this country is entering a set of economic paradigms with a high national debt that is growing, a growing fiscal deficit that is unchecked and unsustainable, poor foreign exchange earning capacity, significant and precipitous decline in major foreign exchange areas like agriculture, manufacturing and other export services sector. Sir, this country is tottering on one leg yet we play 'big fashion' and fool ourselves that we are a big industrialised State when we are perching perilously close to economic disaster.

Mr. Speaker, I speak from that premise not as a pessimist but as a pragmatist, not as a mechanistic materialist but as a dialectical thinker.

Sir, as a result of my responsibility to the people of this country, I will not sit in this Honourable Chamber and accept that all of the aspects of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy will necessarily improve the livelihood of the people in this country. I will not accept that even if Honourable Members on the Other Side expect that to occur.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are about to enter a set of economic arrangements that demand that we operate within the sphere of regional competition within a single market but my fundamental fear is the fact that the single market is premised on self-interest. It is premised on the individual interest of the various Member States.

Sir, each Member is to enter an arrangement that is supposed to better conditions for themselves because there is no political union that set the tones and establish the policies and principles to make sure that the exploitation of regional resources, labour and capital would redound to the benefit of all members. Sir, there is no such arrangement and I am not going to accept that because we sign on the dotted line that Trinidad & Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana and Barbados will not introduce economic and policy positions that are not in their best interest.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, from that premise the Caribbean Single Market, not the Caribbean Single Market and Economy may create more problems than it was intended to solve. Sir, the reason why this is fundamentally important is because we must analyse the capacity of the Members within the Caribbean Single Market. The capacities are not equal. There is no equity and as a result of that, without having the type of management systems, that is the regional management system, to ensure that those with the capacity do not exploit those with lesser capacity, we are creating a potential problem.

3.40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, one can bring it down to a basic example. The natural gas resources in Trinidad do not belong to Barbados. You cannot move them from Trinidad and bring them to Barbados. The oil in Trinidad is not Barbados' oil. The gold in Guyana and the bauxite in Jamaica belong to the individual countries and the individual countries will, therefore, exploit them to their best interests. So, without establishing these dynamics and without the regional components to manage them to ensure that their resources allow for part of the distribution of the profits, you are creating the potential for exploitation.

Sir, I will have to ask the question, will Trinidad sell its oil and natural gas to Barbados, Guyana or St. Lucia at the same price that it now sells to itself? I would also have to ask the question if it is that a country has developed an advantage by exploiting for themselves their own resources

and you have no mechanisms in place to ensure that those resources are exploited for the benefit of all the members, then tell me in principle what we are doing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the same conditions that existed in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s and 1960s where there were sweat shops and where multinationals came into this country and exploited our resources, exploitation will occur unless we put the mechanisms in place and we have to be careful what we are doing. Sir, that is why I cannot sit down, understanding these dynamics, and accept openly what is being said on the Other Side and I am certainly not going to do that in the interest of the people of this country.

Sir, it is also a myth, because of varying capacities of the stakes involved, that because you enter a larger market and move labour and capital within that market, everybody will benefit. That has no logic to it. Whether you can benefit or not depends fundamentally on your capacity to put the mechanisms in place to benefit.

Sir, I am sorry that, with many of the provisions that I have seen, we are running along putting administrative and legislative frameworks in place and not looking for the parameters to allow for equitable distribution or equitable usage of regional resources, that have fundamental implications for the survivability and fair use of regional resources. Once we do not do this, rest assured, we are going to create a situation where the rich in the region will get richer and the poor in the region will get poorer.

For example, those who believe and want to believe that we have a region where there is no major inequity with respect to depressed labour and wages, unemployment, infrastructural development and opportunities are dreaming. There is no logic that within the Caribbean Single Market that Trinidad and Barbados' infrastructures are best developed.

Sir, I cannot accept the logic that there is going to be a reverse movement of persons from a country where the buying power is superior to all of the other countries, when we look at our exchange rate, with respect to the United States dollar that we are superior, that we are going to leave Barbados and seek employment in a territory where the exchange rate is 30, 40 or 100 to 1. It is not going to happen like that.

Sir, the reason why people are attracted to us, apart from our infrastructure, is because our exchange rate allows CARICOM members to come to Barbados and benefit, then utilise that benefit for themselves in their countries. We cannot develop Guyana or Jamaica by moving the labour out of those territories. The only way that we can seek to

effectively develop those territories is by the type of joint-venture inputs that would allow for the payment of wages which would allow them to have employment and pull themselves up by their boot straps.

Sir, the logic of what I am saying can be expressed readily by looking at, for example, KFC or Chefette. I do not think that we believe that if we buy a snack box of chicken in Barbados from Chefette and that company goes to Guyana and establishes a similar facility, and if they sell the snack box at the same price that it is being sold for in Barbados, nobody in Guyana would be able to buy it. You would have to export that product back out of Guyana or a territory with a similar exchange rate and allow for that product to be utilised where there is the buying power to buy it and that is a fact.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, those territories with the cheap labour component would allow for manufacturing, agriculture and labour intensive elements, not services, to be part of the developmental strategy. It cannot work the other way around.

Sir, if I am to accept that the investment made in Barbados by this Government and previous administrations in the education of a Barbadian, because of our standard of living a Barbadian employee has every right to expect a high wage and a good living and as a result of that I do not believe that he should be penalised because there may be another worker who may be as educated but will work for less than half of what he would offer his services for.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are some people who like to bury their heads in the sand and think that these situations do not happen in Barbados. On Thursday a tiler came to see me. He quoted a price of \$400 for a job because the cost was \$1.00 to \$1.50 per tile in Barbados. However, he did not get the job because a non national came in and did the job for \$0.25 per tile.

3.50 p.m

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Members on the Other Side can 'pooh pooh' this sort of thing, but this has fundamental implications for depressing overall wages in Barbados.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, this has fundamental implications for reversing all of the good work that the unions have done over the years in Barbados. Sir, all of the work that the unions have fought hard to make sure that there are good conditions of employment, good salaries

and wages in Barbados, Mr. Deputy Speaker, can be undermined by that sort of activity.

It is like at the Hilton Hotel when the Minister of Tourism brought in tilers from overseas, when there were tilers in Barbados that could have done the job.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: They brought in tilers from overseas under his watch, when they were Barbadians who were capable of tiling all of the corridors of the Hilton Hotel.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I submit that it is a grave mistake to proceed with a CARICOM Single Market and not to simultaneously have all of the regional and political institutions to manage the variables within those markets, because as long as you have self-interest as the underlying premise, you are looking for trouble.

Sir, it is the same underlying premise that rules in colonialism, profit, more profit, introduce new technology. Sir, with more profit, the only person who does not benefit is the employee. In the neocolonial period, there was the same underlying premise in imperialism. It is no different with respect to what we are doing because we are not putting the mechanisms in place to make sure that it does not happen. Those who sit down and laugh will wake up one day and find the entire banking industry in Barbados in the hands of individuals who have no sense of responsibility to themselves.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: It will happen because of their bias and myopic approach to this whole position. I see this as a serious matter, Sir, because it would affect my children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. I believe that it is an error for the Barbados Labour Party administration to carry this country into a CSME when we are not economically prepared.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are not in an economic condition to do this, and the reason why I know I am correct, is because we have a growing visible trade deficit with CARICOM. In other words, we are importing more and more and more and more from CARICOM and extra regional territories every day.

We have a national debt of over 72 per cent of GDP in Barbados. We have a deficit that is over 9 per cent of the GDP and they are going to argue with me that those are economic circumstances to carry this country in an

environment of competition. If they want to believe that, let them do it but I am sure the evidence will not support their positions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to make one last point. There is no concept of a regional resource. Sir, a regional resource is important because if we do not have a concept of a regional resource, then we have a concept of individual Member State resource. If we cannot tell an individual Member State how to utilise their resource in their best interest, then tell me how are we going to collectively use a resource in the interest of all the people.

I do not know how it is going to happen. It is just like the error of not allowing for a CARICOM citizen. It is like the mistake of speaking about a CARICOM member who has the right to seek employment. We do not see it necessary to give the individual the right of employment. He only has the right to seek employment, and what is critical here to understand is that by the time he comes into Barbados and seeks employment, do you know where he is going to stay? Does he have enough money to hold himself for five weeks? What is going to happen while he is seeking employment? What about the non-tariff barriers, because of that parameter which could be used to deprive that individual from actually coming and finding a job?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, these are individuals who believe that they have all the answers and you must not criticise anything that is being said or is being done. I am going to say, Sir, that there is some nostalgia in their minds because a CARICOM Single Market may very well be the zenith of detachment from colonialism in some people's minds. It gives them the sense that some form of political and social evolution has occurred.

Sir, on This Side, the Democratic Labour Party, we support integration but not integration that is not done in a way that would allow the resources of the region to be used for all of the people's development in the region.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, what I am saying cannot be refuted by those mechanistic materialists.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, all I say in conclusion is that the Democratic Labour Party will not sit and be carried down a road blindly. Economic integration is a serious matter, but economic integration without political integration can be an economic mess. I have a fundamental problem because what is done now cannot be undone in ten years. If we do not appreciate that we could be creating a

state of potential exploitation that is more far reaching than colonialism, then something is wrong with all of you on That Side.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we support it but not without the right structures in place. Barbadians must come first. We have no problem on This Side with integration migration.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to revisit a fundamental point made by the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central. Those people who sit and piously talk about migration all over the world and movement, need to understand that you must compare apples with apples. 4.00 p.m.

They must appreciate that at the time when there was migration to the United States of America, the USA had a growing economy that could absorb every piece of labour that entered it, but we do not have that condition in Barbados. We are 166 square miles. We are a country that is densely populated. We do not even have road space for our cars. All of our social services are under stress.

So am I supposed to accept in a biased nonchalant manner that we are supposed to allow for unchecked movement of labour when we are already 'stretched to the baller'? I am not going to be that foolish, not at all, Sir. If the Honourable Members on the Other Side want to be like that, let them be ostrich-like. They can keep their heads buried far in the sand. The ostrich has a long neck and he is going to take long to get it out.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is critical that we understand what we are doing now because if we do not allow for the right mechanisms, as the Honourable Member for the City related this morning, the time has come for negotiations and representations because of the cost and the limited duplication. Sir, what is most important for me there is that it will go to nought if we do not have the mechanisms to allow all of those benefits to be shared equally amongst all the members. That is why I have a problem with this CSM, not the CSME, as it is now structured because the E is what we need to make the CSM do the right things. That is where I have fundamental difficulties and differences with the Honourable Members on That Side, and that is where I want to end my submission, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

I thank you.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is very good that age can give way to youth from time to time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I join this debate as we are getting fairly advanced into the discussion, but what I have heard so far today coming from the Other Side leaves me not confused but a little worried. The Honourable Member for

St. Philip West started his speech by saying that this is time to put our heads together to ensure the Government gains the most from the CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangements. The first Honourable Member from the Other Side who spoke, the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West, started out by saying, quite to the disgust of the Honourable Member for St. Lucy, that he agrees.

Asides.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: On a point of order. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member is misleading the House. When that comment was made, I was not in the House, Sir.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, at least he has told the truth that he actually made that comment, so he is disagreeing with the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, on the one hand they are saying that they are offering some level of support but on the other hand all Barbadians out there who are listening would really have to doubt what it is they are saying and if they are really supportive of our movement toward the establishment of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a couple of months ago we were in this very Chamber discussing this very topic and I dear say it was discussed in pretty much the same way as if to suggest that the Honourable Members on the Other Side had not taken the couple months which elapsed between then and now to familiarise themselves with the CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangements, the status of the movement towards its establishment and what it portends for Barbadians and indeed the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not going to use the half hour allotted to me to revisit that debate in any significant way because the others have done a fairly good job at that, and I have not heard anything new coming from the Other Side. It was all doom and gloom talk in June or so when we had the debate and today 16th November, it is still gloom and doom talk coming from the Other Side.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fact of the matter is that the Caribbean economies are at the stage now where crucial decisions would have to be made. I am going to start at this point because we need to be looking at this issue in a very futuristic context. The way how foreign trade relations are being shaped in the region and those relations which exist between the region and extra regional economies, we need to ask ourselves if the CARICOM Single Market and Economy is a good thing for the region at this stage. Let us ask that

fundamental question and let us lift the level of the debate a bit now and seek to ask some fundamental questions and to get some answers. Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I said, I am not going over things I have heard in June.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, will the Caribbean economies advance without a properly functioning CARICOM Single Market and Economy type arrangement? It is early days yet. We have not even completed the process so as to allow the process to get operational. We are still in the planning stages. We are getting very close to time. We know the timetables that have been set for those countries that will want to go first and we know the timetables have been set for those who cannot start at the same time as Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica.

So let us look to see how the economies are likely to function without this CARICOM Single Market and Economy and let us look at the economic circumstances that exist in the grouping not only this year but in the last couple of years and see to what extent, without a CARICOM Single Market and Economy type arrangement, the economic fortunes of those economies would indeed change.

Sir, we are talking about transforming and indeed getting some of those economies back on track in an environment if we take the CARICOM Single Market and Economy type arrangement out for the time being and in an environment where discussions within the context of the Free Trade Area of the Americas and the World Trade Organisation arrangement are proceeding at a pace. So we are called upon to be part of a wider economic grouping with larger economies within the context of the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Sir, let me ask the question again: Will these small countries in the region be able to prosper within the context of a Free Trade Area of the Americas arrangement without at the same time seeking to put an economic grouping in place like the CARICOM Single Market and Economy that will be Free Trade Area of the Americas plus? That is a fundamental question that we will have to answer in this debate. What we are saying is that within the context of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangement, we have to agree, and that is indeed the case, that we will allow for a wider and certainly a deeper type of integration movement than what would exist in the context of the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have, therefore, resolved among ourselves to strengthen our hands some more amongst the countries in the region, to allow for a deeper form of integration.
4.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I submit that given the state of some of the economies of this region... The Honourable Member for St. Philip West made mention of the fact that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio in Barbados is above 70 per cent. I heard it said in this Honourable Chamber that it is an objective of this administration to bring the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio down to 60 per cent.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in making these wild and emotional statements with respect to the fiscal deficit, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West said that the fiscal deficit in this country is going unchecked. Sir, nothing could be further from the truth. The Right Honourable Member for St. Peter said that the deficit and ratio to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has, indeed, been coming down. Therefore, this administration is resolved to ensure that the debt of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio is lowered and would be maintained at that low level. Sir, that is another objective as part of our debt management strategy. This Government has set for itself, a low debt to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio and a low fiscal deficit. We said we want to get it down to around 2.53 per cent and to maintain it at that level, which we all know to be a well sustainable level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, when one listens to these prophets of doom and gloom, one would get the impression that not much work has gone into the Treaty of Chaguaramas. When one hears the Honourable Member for St. Philip North, one would believe there is not much move afoot or that persons did not extend much resources to ensure that there are built-in mechanisms in the arrangements, to ensure that there is compliance.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, again as one listens to him, one would get the impression that the Honourable Member for Christ Church East has made a speech today and in a very professional way has listed all efforts to date which are being made to build regional capacity, so that the entire arrangement is properly managed. I am sorry that the Honourable Member was away from his seat.

Sir, he made mention of the fact that there will be a regional accreditation council which will more or less co-ordinate the work and ensure that at the national level, there are proper functioning accreditation councils. Mention was also made by the Honourable Member for Christ Church East about our regional standards body.

The Honourable Member was very explicit when he gave the rationale and the strategic importance of such a body. He also said that there have been numerous discussions, in which I would have participated, in respect to the establishment of a regional agriculture health and food safety agency. Sir, like the regional accreditation council, the respective territories are busy planning for the establishment of their national agriculture health and food safety agencies.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for Christ Church East is correct, in that these bodies are not only to ensure that the trade that takes place within the region is driven by a set of principles and standards, so that all of us would be on the same wavelength, in respect to the type of skills that are attained by labour and the quality of the goods that are traded in the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we also need to better ensure that there is nothing to fear, in terms of the Caribbean regions' trade relations with extra regional markets. Therefore, apart from setting standards for ourselves, we will ensure that goods coming into the region will be held up to those same standards but that just as importantly, the goods leaving this region can go into any market, with us feeling comfortable that they will pass any test of quality that is set.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it goes much further than that. What is extremely important would be that if we are to drive a Caribbean Single Market and Economy in the way that we want, there would have to be a proper information and communications technology policy. Sir, at the CARICOM Secretariat, considerable time and resources have already been spent, and continue to be spent, on the shaping of the regional information and communications technology policy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I should not have to stand here and speak to the importance of information and communications technology. It is, indeed, easier for us to know what is happening in respect of the many different aspects of economic activities generally outside the region. We are saying that we need to put persons in the region into close contact with each other, if we are to build and to expand trade within the region. We need to let the information flow, so that persons from one region would be brought into closer contact with those from elsewhere.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not one, like those on the Other Side, who, on the one hand, are saying that they are supporting Bills and on the other hand, have gotten themselves locked into the thinking that they are prophets of doom and gloom. They have the Barbadian public confused as to where they stand exactly.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Philip West, in his normal style, is doubting what good would this CARICOM Single Market and Economy arrangement hold for the region. The Honourable Member is of the opinion that there is too much self-interest in it. Sir, I want to tell the Honourable Member for St. Philip West that the success of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy or an economic grouping would ultimately be determined by the strength of the weakest link in the chain.

Sir, as I was doing a quick review of the state of the economies within the region, if we were to look at economic statistics alone, some of the economies have not done well for sometime and they continue to struggle.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this may sound strange but there are countries such as Antigua and Barbuda, Grenada, and to a lesser extent, St. Kitts, which have run up massive debts in relation to their Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In some cases, those percentages are well in excess of 100 per cent. 4.20 p.m.

I am contending that the best chance for these regional economies to make economic gains is not by us not wanting to embrace the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and hope that it would somehow be as a result of what is being discussed in the context of FTAA or WTO but the best chance of their economic success is by participating fully in the Caribbean Single Market and Economy arrangements.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, a lot has been said by many speakers about the importance of movement of labour. The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West and the Honourable Member for St. Philip West reiterated a position but I do not share their view. They are contending that the presence of migrant workers would lead to wages being dragged down in certain sectors of this economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the statement might be factual if you attached certain conditions to it. Sir, implicit in that thinking is that activity in that sector is not unionised and that unions when they sit to negotiate wages on behalf of their workers would not consider the state of the economy, the particular economic variable nor the trend in wage rates over the years but would be looking at the extent of migrant workers. Sir, unions do not function in that way.

If what they are saying is to be taken to a logical conclusion and if companies are reporting truthfully about their operations and are employing workers who contribute to a distortion in the market because those workers are being paid a lower wage, it stands to reason that the profitability of those companies would be higher and when they sit with the unions, the unions would be in a better position to demand higher wages instead of their suggestion, that wages would be dragged down.

Sir, migrant labour plays an important role in some sectors of Barbados. If there was this large abundance of migrant labour in Barbados and the policy went unchecked, the real impact of such a policy would not drag wages down but would be felt more at the displacement of local labour. I am saying that unions are strong and are guided by certain fundamental principles when they sit to bargain. It would not be felt at the level of dragging down any wage rates. It would be felt at the level of the displacement of Barbadian workers and the movement in employment figures, the

movement in the unemployment rate in Barbados certainly over the period that the Honourable Members on the Other Side are contending that this migrant labour policy is not being managed properly the movement in the unemployment rate does not suggest that.

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. He is using his own statistics to mislead the House. Sir, when the survey is done, the workers who come here are not part of the employable statistics of Barbados. If they were counted as employed in Barbados, it would show a figure significantly higher than Barbadians who are working but this figure is subtracted from the employable figure and which gives a reduced figure which is used for the unemployment rate. Sir, if you want to find the true employment rate, you have to go on the streets and count the actual number of people. Sir, we are not counting apples and apples but apples and oranges.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Sir, Guyanese nationals work for a wage less than the reservation wage in Barbados. The reservation wage is the difference between a person joining the workforce and not joining the workforce. Sir, those persons who come from outside of Barbados to work make decisions in keeping with the reservation wage that exists in the country from which they come as opposed to the reservation wage in Barbados and that is how they based their decisions. 4.30 p.m.

Sir, all I am saying is that we need to understand why these folks make the decisions and they always build their argument on comparing with the reservation wage in Barbados.

Sir, all we are saying is that they compare the wage that is available in Barbados, I am not saying that I agree with how some of them are being paid, but I am just explaining what is likely to allow them to make these decisions. They look at the reservation wage in Guyana or where they are coming from and say that a reservation wage in Barbados or another country in the region would be such a wage that would allow them to leave their domicile, go over to the other country and, indeed, make a reasonable living and put themselves in a position to repatriate some funds so as to keep the family going.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Member, you have one more minute.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: The last point I want to make is on the issue of education and if, indeed, the Barbadian public or persons in the region are sufficiently well-educated about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy arrangement. Sir, every time I hear this, we are admitting in this Honourable Chamber that we are failing the populace and the process.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I said in June 2004 that providing public education about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy arrangements, the benefits to be derived, the threats and the potential adverse consequences that the Caribbean Single Market and Economy will have for the respective territories is everybody's responsibility. We cannot come in here and say that based on the results from the survey and make statements that we walk down the streets and ask people questions and they say that they are not sufficiently aware of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy arrangement. We have a duty as politicians to make sure that the Barbadian public is sufficiently well aware and properly educated about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. That is part of our national responsibility to make sure that it happens and we have to stop coming in here...

Mr. D. St. E. KELLMAN: On a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading this Honourable House by giving the impression that the Honourable Members in this Honourable Chamber are not speaking to the public when they seek education on this matter. I am sure that when the person approached the Honourable Member for The City of Bridgetown, that the Honourable Member was prepared and delivered an explanation on the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. It is wrong for the Honourable Member for St. Philip South to criticise the Honourable Member for The City of Bridgetown.

Hon. A. P. WOOD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am very glad that the Honourable Member for St. Lucy cautioned me because I should have said that the Honourable Members on the Other Side are not performing their national duty in a way that Barbadians would like them to do.

Sir, providing education to the public and, indeed, the region about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy is everybody's responsibility. It is not only the people at the university's responsibility but all of us have a duty to play in that regard. The Honourable Member for The City of Bridgetown spoke about this Government's decision to finance the Workers' Education Programme dealing specifically with Caribbean Single Market and Economy and the labour market. It is obvious to me that some of the Honourable Members on the Other Side will have to be first educated about it before they in turn could educate others.

I thank you.

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: I beg to move that this Sitting be now suspended until 4.50 p.m.

SUSPENSION

The question that the Sitting be now suspended until 4.50 p.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without

division and Mr. Deputy Speaker suspended the Sitting accordingly.

4.35 p.m.

RESUMPTION

Hon. R. C. EASTMOND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the forces of history require that as we approach the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, we look back at a number of developments over the years, Sir, in order to evaluate the extent to which we, in both the Anglophone and non Anglophone Caribbean have endured a colonial past, and to look at a number of developments over time which clearly highlight the fact that we in the CARICOM area, including Surinam and Haiti have, not just a common historical background, but a definite common destiny.

I think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that in the context of where our destiny is going to lead us and make us experienced, we must bear in mind that regionalism as conceived by the founding fathers, really mandated that in the Caribbean, we work together in the interest of the common wheel.

When I say this, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not by any means unaware of the fact that a lot of what we had hoped to achieve was very badly constrained by insularity, xenophobia, inaction and in many instances by an absence of the political will to get the business of integration going well.

I start, Mr. Deputy Speaker, by making those observations because, in the context of what we are looking at here today, we are debating a number of amendments to legislation, so as to remove stumbling blocks and barriers that would have stood in the way of meaningful integration.

Many of the particular Acts which are being amended had been grounded in insular philosophies, placing the national interest first at different times in our history, before the intensification of efforts to fully integrate within the Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, perhaps you would permit me to look at Barbados' role in the integration process before I go on to consider a number of matters that were raised here today during this debate. If we look back at Barbados as a nation involved in the Caribbean and West Indies experience, we would be quick to observe that persons of the likes of the late Rt. Excellent Sir Grantley Adams, the late Rt. Excellent Errol Barrow, the late Rt. Excellent Hugh Springer and others, always had a vision of the Caribbean uniting.

In the case of the late Rt. Excellent Sir Grantley Adams, he not only subscribed to the question of integration, he went even further beyond economic integration and not only endorsed political union, but ended up being the sole Prime Minister of the Federation of the British West Indies.

I make this point, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to put matters in context. The late Rt. Excellent Sir Grantley Adams had a vision of political union and as fate would have it, the federal experience was short lived, but four or so years after the collapse of the Federation, the late Rt. Excellent Errol Barrow, along with Mr. Vere Bird and Mr. Forbes Burnham founded CARIFTA as a free trade area, the veritable precursor to further integration. But, the late Rt. Excellent Errol Barrow, Mr. Bird and Mr. Burnham were not contemplating political union as such, but were fostering a philosophy that required closer collaboration of particular Caribbean States. It is doubtful if in 1968 at the time of CARIFTA whether there was any contemplation that countries like Haiti and Surinam would have become part of a process of the integration movement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, to also consider other historical factors, there can be no question that in the context of what we are discussing now, the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, the period 1900 to 1965 witnessed sustained efforts by regional labour leaders to promote the question of CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you research the history of the labour movement between the formation of Independent, responsible trade unions, and the period 20 years after the end of World War II, you would come up with evidence that labour leaders actually, not only contemplated what we are trying to bring about here, but they also took definitive steps towards promoting this notion of a single market and single economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as fate would have it, political factors and influences would be required far more than industrial relations enthusiasm to get a single market and economy going. In any event, when those great labour leaders of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were planning this question of Caribbean union, they would have been doing so at a time when there were other forces that were clearly militating and putting a damper on their enthusiasm.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it has transpired that during the course of this debate, Honourable Members have looked at the question of labour and the movement of labour within the context of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy. Various observations have been made by different members looking at this matter of labour, the movement of labour of what one Honourable Member calls, inward migration and such like.

Sir, what will distinguish the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and differentiate it from other similar economic trading and political blocs, is that it is by no means commonplace for the free movement of labour to be encouraged internationally.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you look at blocs and groupings of countries that have united for purposes of integration, and you look outside of the European Union, it is by no means a popular thing outside of the European Union and outside of CSME, for free movement of labour to be encouraged.

It is to my certain knowledge, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that there are countries taking part in the global experience at the WTO level, which would promote the rights of establishment, common markets, freedom of investment, freedom of the movement of goods and services and such like, but stop short of the free movement of labour.

Sir, as indicated, the European Union does actually encourage some movement of labour within that union. The CSME is contemplating a situation where we also practice free movement of labour. In time, no doubt, the reservations that people have as to how efficacious the free movement of labour can proceed and how fairly it can be practised, will be averted.

Sir, no country seeing itself fall victim to a lopsided and prejudiced policy or group of policies is going to permit itself to be used. I believe that there were Opposition fears, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that if we allow free movement of labour then we may regret it and the hint was, coming from the Opposition, that if Barbados allows a large number of other persons from the Caribbean to come into Barbados, and there are no proper reciprocal arrangements where other countries take Barbadians, then that and other forces could see Barbados carrying a disproportionate burden in this process. I have inferred that out of the reservations made by Honourable Members from the Other Side. They are saying that in circumstances where there are hints in the Community that Barbados' exuberance in taking part in this process is not matched by equal enthusiasm coming from other Caribbean countries, that we in Barbados might end up receiving rapid inflows of investment from abroad and a huge number of people and then if there is no proper reciprocity that Barbados will be flooded by many an immigrant and a lot of non-Barbadian investment and there could come a stage where when we look back to see what has happened to Barbados that a regrettable situation would have evolved because we have carried more of the responsibility than others. I have reached that conclusion based on careful listening to Honourable Members on the Other Side.

5.00 p.m.

However, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Government of Barbados, much as it always obeys and meets its regional and international obligations, will never sit idly by and sell out the rights of Barbadians nor mortgage the future or patrimony of Barbadians to any rapacious creditor or creditors. So Honourable Members on Both Sides can be assured that in a situation where the concept of free trade

and free movement is being encouraged by the Government of Barbados that there will be systems in place where there will be checks and balances.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us consider the situation where another Caribbean country may want to flood Barbados with its products but may not want to reciprocate. Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are rules in the process which speak to the issue of free trade and fair trade that will deal with any particular moves or manoeuvres by others to get out of Barbados what they are not prepared to put into Barbados. Barbadians can be assured that in the context of what we are doing, the Government of Barbados is alert to every provision in the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas and knows clearly how far to go and not to go.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I continue within the context of the free movement of labour, measures are in place within the CARICOM experience to set in train particular labour policies which would eventually redound to our benefit so that within the next four or five years, we could see a basic flow of rights for Caribbean workers. We in Barbados are certainly committing to a basic flow of rights for Barbadian workers, and it is just a question of how soon they would come.

The Honourable Member for St. Philip South in reference to this question of the free movement of labour and the possible abuses that migrant labour can experience, mentioned what I call the fact that trade unions would encourage best practice. In all this, Mr. Deputy Speaker, this Government is going to encourage best practices in labour relations, trading relations and the rights of establishment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we in Barbados have to use this opportunity to sit in a dispassionate and detached way and take stock of where we are at the level of the Barbadian worker and the Barbadian investor. In circumstances where we have experienced and practised some insularity and xenophobia, the time has clearly come when that segment of our community known for investing must get the will to see the opportunities in the rest of the Caribbean Common Market and in the CARICOM Single Market and make use of those opportunities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I heard Honourable Members in here lamenting the fact that we have investors who are timid to leave Barbados to invest elsewhere. The spirit and the intent of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, when it directs its attention to this question of the rights of establishment, is precisely designed to encourage the free flow of capital for investment.

This brings me to the point, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that in all this when we sit back in a detached way and reflect we have to consider the extent to which we in the Caribbean have active capital markets. A view can be put that what we

have in the Caribbean are not capital markets but financial markets. To the extent that financial markets occupy a lower round in the taxonomy than capital markets, then we in the context of considering the rights of establishment must do our utmost to ensure in the short run the establishment of stock exchanges and capital markets and in the long run the clear aim must be that in the context of regionalism we must move to a proper Caribbean stock exchange accompanied by other institutions that point to a proper capital market out of which there would be outflows of funds directed toward investment which is designed to promote business activity and to do many other things including creating employment opportunities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, permit me to address a concern that was expressed by the Honourable Member for St. Philip West who said that he would not commit his judgement to describing what we are discussing as the CSME, he would stop short at CSM. The reason why he says that he would not call what we are doing a CSME is that he is unsure whether a full Caribbean single economy is at hand.

Permit me also, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to indicate that in the Treaty of Rome some 47 years ago there was a conscious decision by European governments to establish an integration movement, but years after they cannot say that they have completed the process of developing a proper European economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the economy side of things will evolve. Economic development and economic growth will not be a one-off event. Economic development and economic growth will be an evolutionary process developing in stages. To that extent, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we cannot quarrel with Barbados' commitment to wanting to see a single economy, even if, as in stating the case, such a single economy would follow the single market. In fact, developments in the market itself should serve as signals, signs and inspirations for us to put our hands to the plough and get the Caribbean single economy going.

I will go off a little bit, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to consider the position of Suriname and Haiti in all of this. To my mind, Suriname demonstrates an enthusiasm for integration in the Caribbean that is second to none. However, when we reflect on where Haiti is and its willingness to take part as partners with us, we now have to ask ourselves if the level of achievement that countries like Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana have achieved are existing in Haiti, and when we look at it, the answer is no. What we have to do is to go back to the drawing board and look at what we did in the 1930s and 1940s by way of developing important infrastructure. If all the more developed countries of CARICOM have an obligation to Haiti, that obligation has to be routed

in offering technical assistance, encouragement and direct support for the proper preparation of infrastructure. I am worried that infant mortality in Haiti is high. Mr. Deputy Speaker, if infant mortality is high and if life expectancy generally is about 45 to 50 years, then the human resource component of the Haitian population that should work toward triggering economic productivity and human development, is very badly kept back. Therefore, we, among the more developed countries, and even some less developed countries of CARICOM, owe it to Haiti to share with them our experience and technical expertise, investing in health and physical infrastructure in the form of roads, and using our influence in the international community to get aid for Haiti.

5.10 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbados may be too proud now to see itself as being a willing recipient of aid but if there is one country of CARICOM which deserves aid, which we, in the more developed country, should get for them, would be Haiti. We should, therefore, work with them to be able to bring them out of that morass of low longevity, high infant mortality, poor educational systems, *et cetera*. We can help Haiti with health, education, physical development and even though we lack the financial resources, we can use our experience and influence in this world, to try to persuade those that can, to help Haiti.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I come to an area which is very close to my heart. I am a proud Barbadian, indeed, I am a proud Caribbean person. Whenever I get time to view Caribbean art, I see something special. Whenever I get time to listen to indigenous Caribbean music, I feel proud to have come from a country where such an art form has been well developed and refined. When I see and read the works of Caribbean literary writers, whether they are short literary writers, poets or novelists, I feel proud.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the point I am making is that 10 or 15 years ago, we, in the Caribbean, saw art and culture as either recreational or as a source of entertainment but for many years we lost out on the fact that these cultural industries were potential sources of strong and vibrant economic activities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, since 1994 the Barbados Labour Party Government has identified cultural industries as a source of positive economic activity. We have, therefore, put in place legislation designed to ensure that through the protection and encouragement given to them, through our copyright and other legislation, that our artistes, musicians and writers, can not only make a living but can invest in businesses.

Sir, in Barbados the fastest growing areas of investment is in the creative arts. If one were to check with the Registrar

of Corporate Affairs, the evidence will be that those who invest in culture are creating businesses at a faster rate than any other segment of the community.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I mention culture because the Caribbean, including Suriname and Haiti, do present evidence of a strong, unique and vibrant culture, for example, our folk music, our calypsos, our sculptures which are works made out of wood, our normal visual art, our folklore and other things. We, in the Caribbean, have a rich culture which is the envy of many non-Caribbean countries. There are tourists who come to the Caribbean purely to savour our culture, whether it is Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago, Nine Mornings in St. Vincent and the Grenadines or Kadooment in Barbados. There are tourists who would say that our culture is so rich and enlightening that they are stimulated by it.

Sir, it is a pity that a lot of our artistes and musicians do not have the market that they deserve. If some of our top musicians had a market of 250 million people, a lot of our musicians and artistes would have made it big because there are persons coming from the metropolitan world whose talents are inferior to that of our Caribbean people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am pushing the question about the role of culture in Caribbean regional integration because out of cultural industries, when every Caribbean country invests and encourages investment in cultural industries, we will create a veritable niche in this world. Sir, our novelists and musicians have international reputation. At least even where they have been robbed of the opportunity of performing year round in markets, they have a talent that is second to none.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I conclude my brief intervention by indicating that Caribbean Governments, not only in 1989 at the Grand Anse Declaration but subsequently, have developed an attitude within their bosoms that our integration movement should go beyond the non-European integration movements and should look to the question of how labour can play a role in the integration process.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am one who will willingly subscribe to the 'bottom-up' approach in terms of integration. It cannot be that Caribbean people in the streets and in their houses should feel left out of this process. It cannot be, neither is it right. It cannot be that we as leaders in the entire Caribbean are seeking to impose our will on persons who are not willingly taking part in the process. If the people see themselves as being left out, that represents a serious disconnection between those who govern and those who are being governed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Jamaica has already developed systems for the training of its labour force, where, as artisans, they will be given qualifications. Jamaica

has a programme where artisans are going to be certified, which will permit them to go elsewhere in the Caribbean to demonstrate that they have competence in those practised skills. Trinidad is not far behind Jamaica in terms of qualifications for artisans, developed on the job, in circumstances where a one-off final examination is certainly not the norm.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbados too is not far behind. We are working, as the Heads of Government have mandated us, on a programme by which we offer certification and qualification to artisans. The idea being that with there being common standardised artisan qualification throughout the Caribbean, we will be able to verify competencies as people move across the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as a simple and honest Barbadian, I have no difficulty whatsoever in supporting this Bill. The reason being that as Caribbean people, we have to tell ourselves that if we do not swim together, the alternative would be that we would drown separately.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, with these few remarks, I thank you.

Hon. N. A. LYNCH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I join this very historic debate with a sense of disappointment but more so with a sense of sadness. I speak from the position that we must look at this as an historical debate in many instances, unavoidably concerned with possible futures for our people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that today many of those who would have come before us in this Honourable Chamber, many of those who are now considered to be the heroes of our country, must be turning over in their graves when they hear some of what has been said today by the Honourable Members of Her Majesty's legally constituted Opposition. First and foremost, I give full endorsement to the initiative before us. Although I respect the view and stance that Members of the Opposition would take relative to their critical support couched in some mechanism of critical analysis, I am saddened by the fact that their only basis for saying this is some nebulous concept of putting Barbados first but couched in language of enlightened self-interest. Sir, if they couch it in terms that they are putting Barbados first, I believe that if we do not look down the road that we are putting Barbados last.

5.20 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, first of all in this initiative there is a legal obligation for us to treat other CARICOM nationals the same way we treat our own. It is a natural inclination to be wary of new initiatives of the kind we are embarking upon. The whole concept of free movement of skilled nationals which seems to be the essence of the problem and is the initial concern of the Opposition. I think that most

Members of the Opposition forgot that the initial stage is the free movement of skilled nationals and not every national of the region.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that most of the concerns are in themselves unfounded. The question of maturity should be the basis on which we talk about the Caribbean Single Market and Economy because like any other institution, it must be given time to mature. I believe that the first step being taken, the movement of skilled nationals, is in itself a good step but we need to give the institution time to mature within the region.

The underlying theme from the Opposition, in my opinion, is to plant fear in the minds of Barbadians about what would happen under the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and that there would be this mass dislocation of Barbadians from everything they hold dear. Sir, if we take that approach to this issue, we as people are going nowhere quickly.

Sir, there is a larger theme and responsibility which we have as leaders in the Caribbean. Although there should be critical analysis, we cannot be running hot and cold at the same time. We cannot be endorsing the initiative under the concept of analysing it critically but then seek to score cheap political points by seeking to create paranoia and fear across the region, particularly among our nationals.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in this less accommodating global environment, it is very clear to me that we cannot do it alone, even if we thought so in the past. Initially, there will be limitations as Caribbean people because these are small societies, with small populations, small workforces and limited scope for revenue making from the traditional sources that we know through domestic means.

If we take the independence experiment and what came out of it, issues abound when it comes to where most of our smaller territories are going particularly with the OECS. If we look at countries that have populations of merely 60 000 people or a country with a workforce of 15 000 of which only 5 000 pay taxes, an environment is created where many of the other forms and flows of cash and Government revenues are going to be eliminated, then you can easily see the issues as to how we need to integrate more effectively. Mr. Deputy Speaker, so much more can be gained in an environment if we pool our resources and, Sir, many opportunities would abound.

I have just returned from the World Travel Market in London and even though many of our economies are under pressure, each island sent their own mission and each turned up in a chauffeur-driven Mercedes. Sir, each island is under pressure yet each was trying to show the world how things are done when, more effectively, we could have concerned ourselves with how we create one basis for one level of

representation at the World Market. Sir, we are not competing against each other but against other regions of the world like Mauritius, The Seychelles and Dubai but we think that our immediate competition in tourism is Grenada and Jamaica and Antigua and, Sir, I put it to you that is not so.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the whole issue is how we create a national stance. There will be some measure of dislocation initially but how we handle that dislocation and create opportunities for our brothers and sisters is the key.

I am not saying that the Opposition should not have the right to analyse as it sees fit the issue of where we are going and whether or not our economy is set up to take the brunt of regional integration at the level of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I warn and I caution that at the same time we plant these seeds of doubt relative to the formation of this movement, that we limit our chances and abilities to advance the movement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not concerned about the critical analysis they claim to make. Sir, on one hand they say they agree, that they are committed regionalist but on the other hand they set up straw men and then knock them down when they tell people that we will ultimately not survive because people from the region are coming to Barbados to take land and work away from Barbadians. Sir, we have to be careful how we create that level of doubt among our own people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the concept of opening up markets create in itself opportunities for wider hemispheric and global movement. The pooling of resources create a cross-cultivation of skills and knowledge which create a wider and greater ability to effectively participate globally. Mr. Deputy Speaker these are the concepts that seem to be missing in this debate by the Honourable Member of the Opposition.
5.30 p.m.

Sir, you can hide behind some bushes and be narrow about it but the pooling of resources and the cross cultivation of knowledge and skills create, in my opinion, a greater ability to participate at the global level. Also, the movement of people, capital, goods and security...

Asides.

Hon. N. A. LYNCH: I do not share the paranoia expressed by the Opposition and I will not join the course of fear that underlies the supposedly enlightening and endorsing speeches that they claim to be making. Sir, I am an unapologetic regionalist and I do not care who joins me in the expression. I am an unapologetic regionalist. I believe that Barbados is more than economically prepared because no matter what the Honourable Member for St. Philip West would say, I believe that our economy is structured and

performing well enough to create a basis for this regional integration movement under the Caribbean Single Market and Economy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in every economy, no matter how sound it is, issues will abound but I believe that we have proven over the past 10 years, being at the helm of Barbados, that we have run an economy sound enough to integrate. I know that the type of economy that the Democratic Labour Party ran when they were in Government could not integrate with anyone because of what they did to it. I know that we would have had great fears then but in the last 10 years we have proven that even with the concerns that we may have, that our economy is sound enough.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are not paranoid about people moving to Barbados and being overrun by other CARICOM nationals. There are timing issues relative to how the legislation is dealt with across other territories in the region. The Honourable Member for St. Philip West spoke about concerns regarding other territories passing legislation in the same way in which we did.

Sir, there are built in mechanisms in the system to deal with issues of non-compliance in the legislation. I do not think that we are crazy people. I think that the leaders understand the issues. Does Barbados, as a CARICOM leader and particularly a regional leader in the sense of the OECS, have a moral obligation to its neighbours? Does Barbados, being charged as a nation in the OECS and, I believe, with the strongest economy, not have an obligation to its more vulnerable neighbours or is this concept to regionalism a mere shallow concept?

Sir, I believe that initially Barbados may get more immigrants than other countries but when we hear talk about poor people and the cliché that we made the same trip on the same ship, do these nice sounding thoughts translate into reasonable initiatives and actions or is this just shallow talk?

I believe that we have a moral obligation to our brothers and sisters in the region. I also believe that if initially there is an issue of dislocation, I believe it will correct itself once the initiatives are put in place and we observe the law.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, all the loose mouthing backed by little substance relative to how we deal with the situation and I repeat that initially there may be some dislocation until the institution matures, but Barbados must be the regional leader in this regard.

Sir, do not let anyone tell you that we are wrapped up in our neighbours but when the time comes for us to prove that in a tangible way we back off and create doubts and fears. I am not a part of that, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this system is not only on the right track but it creates the opportunity for free exchange of commodities, labour and capital but it will create conditions for those markets to function.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we make jokes about other territories and their systems of governance. We talk about peace and order, the rule of law, non corrupt administrations, stable fiscal and monetary policies. Sir, if we have these things in Barbados, do we not have an obligation to share and ensure that the rest of the region comes within that pool?

In addition, there is the provision of transport, infrastructure, health and education. If Barbados is doing something right, we have that obligation to allow other people to come and see what we are doing and then return to their country and report their findings. I believe that regional leaders and good governance have a price and many parts of our region would benefit significantly from a first-hand experience of the Barbadian way of life and how we do things.

Sir, I do not believe that it is only about coming to our country and relocating here forever. The same way in which we have used, in the past, other developed countries to advance our standard of living, that is how other people would use Barbados to develop themselves and I do not believe that all of them would stay in Barbados. Some of them will return to their homeland and use some of this knowledge and experience that they have gained.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, to view this as a come and grab situation and to disadvantage others is a narrow concept. Once other countries comply with the law, this initiative will allow us to move forward and develop as well.

Sir, I do not understand why the only issue is about people coming to Barbados. If Barbados already has certain advanced skills there would be the opportunity for businesses to move into those less developed States. Why is that not the stance? Why is it only about people coming to Barbados to create dislocation in Barbados and not about Barbadians being able to move advanced skills across the region? Business development opportunities will abound in territories where the systems are not as developed as ours.

Sir, I believe that there should be some level of reciprocal movement as well. The issue cannot always be that we will be dislocated. There is also the issue of tilers being brought to Barbados to work on the Hilton Hotel. The Minister of Tourism did not bring any tilers to Barbados because he does not work at the Hilton Hotel.

Sir, if the Hilton Hotel brought tilers into Barbados, as far as I am concerned, I have never seen it, heard about, do

not believe it and it has not been proven in any instance. These loose remarks are being made without any reference or validity. Some Honourable Members come into Parliament and make remarks and hope that the media would run with them. I think that we have passed that stage in Parliament where remarks are being made.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that anybody who is being employed by the Hilton Hotel would be here legally employed. If there was this huge dislocation of labour, even without the Caribbean Single Market and Economy in position now that we are supposedly overrun, I do not think that our unemployment figure would be what it is now. It would not be under 10 per cent. I believe that the figure would have increased and not remain as constant as it has been.

5.40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this constant reference to how we are being overrun by skilled nationals from other places, not even taking into account how they deal with issues of knowledge transfer, and this issue of Barbadians being dislocated, I believe would have long been reflected in our unemployment figures.

I will not let the Opposition get away with that, because they come here and drop little loose remarks that they do not substantiate and hope that the media picks it up and Barbados runs but I am not in that. Their fears, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in my opinion are unfounded.

I believe that we have all the opportunities in the world. I am worried about these self-interested objectives that sound imperialistic, such as, we want to grab everything for ourselves, security, communications, land, raw materials, manpower, rent, and taxation which do not sound like sharing to me. They sound very imperialistic in their thoughts and thinking.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are a lot of public goods that need to be shared, such as trade and investment, law and governance, and education. I say that any marriage will start out, in my opinion, a little uncertain. Everybody who got married did not have everything they have now. The relationship has to mature over time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as Caribbean people, especially Barbadians, we must stay the course, because it is for our good and our future. We could either hang together or we are going to hang separately. This is our opportunity, and we need each other more than ever. There are some valid educational and public relation issues but, at the end of the day, this initiative speaks to the future of every Barbadian.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I give the CSME my full endorsement without any reservations. I am a committed, unapologetic regionalist and I hope that other Honourable Members will join with me as we seek to push this nation forward.

I am obliged to you, Sir.

Mr. R. D. JONES: Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I had to title this presentation that I am about to make, I would title it, 'Steady as You Go'. I am not going to get on like the last speaker, the Representative for St. Michael South and make the claim that because I am a committed regionalist, I would just jump right into the boiling cauldron without looking, making the necessary steps, setting myself up so that I would make a successful leap over that particular boiling cauldron. Sometimes in our enthusiasm to seem to be highly supportive of any venture, we tend to commit suicide.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Barbados has been a leader in promoting regional integration, in seeking to have established those institutions and organs of Caribbean peoples and movements over the years. If we go back to 1976, just a mere 37 years ago, Barbados stood in the forefront of moving the people of the Caribbean region into a free trade area, referred to then as CARIFTA.

We have moved from that period of time to this particular period of time, where we are speaking now to the establishment of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy. Sir, our people who exist within a particular polarity with its own peculiarities will have to exist with other people in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Surinam or wherever who also have their own set of peculiarities.

Sir, we are seeking to say that regardless of our peculiarities, either in nature, systems of trade, business systems, the way we speak, behave, react, whatever our cultural patterns that exist, we must come together as one people for survival and all will be accepted.

I am at a loss to understand that when other Honourable Members on the Other Side get up to speak, they take a position from the outset that the Democratic Labour Party Members of Parliament are completely and diametrically opposed to the notion of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

The Honourable Members who spoke today have been at pains to point out that we will support it, and we have to support it, because of our whole historical movement and our involvement in promoting regional integration, and that the total concept of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy

is the beginning and, ultimately, as we work out those areas of difficulty which sometimes in our minds appear to be insurmountable, we would move towards a single economy. Sir, it is a fair analysis and idea to put to the people of Barbados.

I think it is unfortunate and maybe to some extent unfair, for the Honourable Members who have spoken...

Asides.

Mr. R. D. JONES: I am not putting in that group, the Honourable Member for the City, but all those others who have spoken who do not have her understanding of the total global reality and, of course, I am ruling out the Honourable Member for St. James North as well, because at some point in time he wore the same robe that I did and, therefore, since he was properly schooled in education, he would not commit the same kinds of large mistakes that others have been making on the Other Side.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have to guide our people in the process, and that is what we are seeking to do, and no amount of grandstanding would provide that guidance. It has to be the careful nourishing of the process, the putting down of those pavement stones to guide persons comfortably towards the construction of what I would refer to as the House of CARICOM or the CARICOM House that we are constructing.

Sir, we are not the only builders. If we were the only builders, then there would be no need for this debate. There are 13 other builders of this CARICOM House. Sir, not all of them have the same kind of skills, resources, talents and attitudes, as we in Barbados might possess. Therefore, where you have 13 or 14 builders, even though there is a plan set out, persons read the plan differently but we are asking all of those persons to engage in a simultaneous construction.

Sir, one has to encounter many flaws in that construction because many persons are involved at the same time and, if we recognise that, we will know that inherent in that process would be some difficulties, and that is what we are pointing out. Maybe, I am seeing things differently. I am not seeking to offend anybody who makes their living in Barbados, because I truly recognise the point that has been made. Barbadians have been movers across the planet for decades maybe even centuries. We have been trying to make a living in other jurisdictions for ourselves and for our families in Barbados. I have said when we look at the previous legislation that we have gone far and wide. We have invested those resources that we have garnered from those countries into Barbados, and so it will be with others who have moved from other countries.

5.50 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us not pretend that what is appearing to happen now is not slightly different within the Caribbean context. We have always been movers from within the Caribbean to the metropolis. By and large, the greater numbers have always gone to places like Canada, the United Kingdom, particularly England, and the United States of America especially in the 1950s and the 1960s. In Barbados we have had St. Lucians living here for longer than I was born. We have had Vincentians living here for longer than the Honourable Member for Christ Church West was born. So there is a history of people of the Caribbean living here either legally or illegally.

Asides.

Mr. R. D. JONES: I have never been concerned with that. They have added flavour to our environment. They have added warmth to the beds of many Barbadians, either male or female according to your particular proclivity.

I am sure I got the animation of the Honourable Member for St. Michael West Central. When you speak in those terms, he becomes highly animated, I wonder why. In this case I am referring to heterosexual liaisons and nothing else. Those are the only terms in which I speak.

Sir, many of our leaders have married Jamaicans and they have lived here and have their children and their beings. They have married Guyanese and have their children and have their beings.

There was a point in time when Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were leading economic and social polities in this region. Barbadians moved to Guyana. Barbadians moved all over this Caribbean. We have moved and established communities and became integrated in those communities. What is happening now is a reversal of that process because of economic fortunes. When the Haitians board a 40-foot boat with 500 people on it, it is not because they are madmen, madwomen or suicidal, it is because they are hungry in their own environment and that need for survival drives them into almost suicidal circumstances in order to survive. The same thing has happened now to persons within our Caribbean region. Because of difficulties within their own particular environment they see Barbados, Grenada and other countries that seem to be 'reasonably' alright economically from their vantage point as countries where they can move for some period of time and have a living. Yes, it is causing some tensions, but let us understand that is real.

Sir, when Barbadians moved in the 1950s and the 1960s to the United Kingdom, it was not a walk in the park, they lived hell in the United Kingdom and maybe some still do. All of a sudden we want to suggest to ourselves, maybe

because we are supposed to be more enlightened, that the red carpet should be spread out. We can spread the red carpet out and we are doing that through all of these various pieces of legislation, but there are people in Barbados who because they consider that they are facing a particular reality reject what we are doing and we have to embrace their views as well. That is not doing disservice to ourselves. It is an on-the-ground reality. We have to soften on their behalf the steps that they are making for their own survival within Barbados. It is not a rejection of a Guyanese. I have Guyanese and Grenadian relatives. In fact, right now two of my first cousins are living at my aunt because my aunt married a Grenadian and lived there for years. They are two beautiful, lovely maturing little girls and I hope that some time down the road some lovely Barbadian might marry them because that is the nature of what we do.

Asides.

Mr. R. D. JONES: Even though I embrace, as we embraced, the notion of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and even though we will eventually embrace the notion of CARICOM Single Market and Economy, with the removal of all the difficulties, do not let us say to the people that all will be well then to be found out to be liars and hypocrites, we cannot do that. If we say to the people that all is a bed of roses and then when they lie down they find thorns, they would not blame the Government for being pigheaded, strong-headed and rushing through the process, they would blame all of us because at the end of the day all of us are involved in the process. So let us take it steady as she goes.

Sir, we have a responsibility in Barbados, through our Prime Minister, to be the lead on the process. Understandably, when you are leading a process, you have to drag others along but in dragging them you must be talking to them as well. That is how it has to be. If we just drag them screaming but they are not hearing, when we get to the final destination all we would have is a dead person. We must drag them until eventually they stand up and listen as we move them along towards what would be an ultimate fulfilment.

We are highly aware, Mr. Deputy Speaker, of how precariously we are perched as a region in the wider global context. I have said before that nobody really is the friend any longer of the Caribbean region, we have to be our own friends first, that is the bottom line. Jamaica has to be the friend of Barbados. Barbados has to be the friend of Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad and Tobago has to be the friend of Grenada who has to be the friend of Dominica who has to be the friend of Haiti. Mr. Deputy Speaker, that is why I have understood and respected the contributions of the Honourable Member for St. James North, relative to our brothers in Haiti. We cannot be comfortable in our small

environment, while another person starves. We see the pictures on our television screens at nights and turn away and do nothing. Sir, we cannot be comfortable when our brothers in Guyana cannot make a decent life, neither can we be comfortable if our own people cannot have sustenance in their own country. We have to create the domestic mechanisms for our people in Barbados but we also have to create the mechanisms for our regional people.

6.00 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Bible quotes: "In my Father's House, there are many mansions" and we have to create those mansions in every Caribbean territory. Guyana is a difficult arena to manage. In the Caribbean, through our various organs of Caribbean region, we have to help bring Guyana back into the limelight. Guyana is too powerful a country in resources for it to be lying idle on the tip of the South American continent. As one travels to Guyana and sees the landmass, it boggles one's mind and one wonders why such riches could not be used for the development of the Guyanese people and to the wider Caribbean people. It is the same thing with Suriname. Barbados has a limited land space, it can accommodate that space and no more. We, on This Side, have said that the density of the population is high. We have difficulties with issues of unemployment. We still have issues with education and health, as we work through improving our social services. We still have issues but I am not saying that to neglect a wider responsibility as we work through CARICOM Single Market.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us not be wise after the fact but before. Let us work assiduously, not in these sharpened swords called words that might have emanated from the mouth of the Honourable Member for St. Michael South but from persons who are truly committed to the liberalisation of our region and our country, to the edification of all countries within the region. That is what it has to be.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we speak a lot across Barbados about Pan African and I want to talk about Pan Caribbean. About two weeks ago, I was in Trinidad and Tobago and I was told, not by a Bajan but by a Trinidadian who said: "Jones, I heard you come to Trinidad and did not call me, but I am going to collect you in two hours." Sir, it was a Trinidadian who I had met over 20 years ago. While there, I interfaced with over 100 Trinidadians and a number of Barbadians, while enjoying myself as only Trinidadians can.

Asides.

Mr. R. D. JONES: I did not eat much of the foods, neither did I touch the drinks because they were not of my particular taste. I did a number of dances and suffered from hurt knees afterwards but what I am saying is that we must build liaisons and friendship right across the region. The same thing must happen in St. Vincent and the Grenadines or in Grenada, Jamaica or Guyana, and there must be that

reciprocation here, so that we live that reality of understanding and friendship.

Sir, we must not deny our own people. One of our Honourable Members on This Side made the point in the first instance, that our primary response is that in the construction of this house, it must be for Barbadians. Therefore, when, about two weeks ago, a Barbadian said to me, and in a tone that I did not fully appreciate but could have understood after he had expressed his anger, he asked why these people doing this and doing that, and why he could not get work. Sir, I had to explain to him that under the CARICOM Single Market and Economy, it is established, in the first instance, that these professional cadres of persons will be able to move across the region but that from time immemorial we have had to some extent, undocumented persons who come here for a limited number of months and then leave.

If one understands that the impact of those persons in the particular polarity at the time will affect some person, for example, those in Barbados. There are some persons who do not care about the law of the land. They do not care about employing illegal immigrants. Sir, like some persons in the United States of America who do not care about employing illegal immigrants, we have the same mentality.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe there are hundreds of Barbadians who I consider to be illegal immigrants in the United States of America, who have not been found out as yet. I do not quarrel with that because they are trying to make a living. There are persons in Barbados who occupy that same kind of space and are affecting somebody who wants a job but I am not going to destroy those persons, neither am I going to destroy those who complain or those who seek to hide to support their families but who, in six or seven months are gone with over BDS\$10 000 in their pockets, so that when they go to the cambios in Guyana to change their money, they are rich people who can feed themselves for a very long time. They can also construct houses which will boggle the mind of the Honourable Minister of Housing, Lands and the Environment, with the cost that they will do it in Guyana. In fact, the Honourable Member might want to relocate with the Guyana's Minister of Housing because of the availability of resources in that great country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, let us not fool ourselves that there are not going to be some initial repercussions regarding the movement of persons. Let us not fool ourselves that there are not going to be repercussions for the movement of capital, goods and services across the Caribbean region. But until there is some settling, those realities are going to be there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker the same thing is going to be happening in St. Lucia, and they are debating it in the same way in which we are now debating it. I hope they are not

quarrelling and grandstanding as some of you are doing. I hope they would come to a greater understanding and a greater reality of the process and the systems that must be employed, to make ourselves worthwhile citizens of the Caribbean space. That is what it must be, otherwise all would have been lost after 1967, in the establishment of CARIFTA.

Sir, I do not want to be a part of any generation that squanders but if some of the Honourable Members on Government's Side take this very intractable posture, then we might very well end up on the proverbial rocks, crashed. I would want to say that maybe other wiser ones among you will guide you because I believe there are wiser ones among you.

6.10 p.m.

Therefore the kinds of postures and belligerence, almost intolerant attitude they and the Honourable Member for St. Michael South take as other members of this country speak to the issues of the people must be forgiven. It must be forgiven because sometimes they know not what they say nor they know not what they do.

Sir, we have a soft and forgiving heart on This Side and we forgive them for the attitudes and postures they have taken today on this matter because they are Barbadians born and bred just like us but are misguided by their assumption of learning which is a betrayal of the investment of our people. Therefore, let us trek this journey and build this Caribbean house carefully. Let us invite all people in Barbados and the wider people to be part of the construction and let us not castigate for the sake of it.

Sir, members on This Side do not raise issues because we are paranoid or xenophobic because persons from the Caribbean live in each and every constituency and many of them have the right to vote because they have become citizens of Barbados. Therefore, let us be wise before the fact and journey carefully and successfully as we engage with our other brothers and sisters of the Caribbean. We understand that we have to be responsible as they have to be responsible.

We know that we have to fight off the global tyrants who do not care for us but we first have to exercise care for ourselves and then for others.

I hope that those who have spoken in such disparaging terms of the contribution of Honourable Members on This Side, as they go home, would reflect on their pathways and recognise that this must be a carefully orchestrated dance and not a 'wuk-up'. It is a carefully choreographed dance which would lead us successfully into unification of the systems to be established under the Caribbean Single Market and eventually under the Caribbean Single Economy.

I am sure that persons would look back upon this debate and upon the guidance done by the Government and Opposition in these matters and, in time, say that they have done justice to Barbados and the wider Caribbean.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I thank you.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I will not be long on this debate because a number of Honourable Members have spoken today on the importance of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy to the region.

Sir, as I listened to the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central, I remember many years ago listening to a speech from the BBC by a parliamentarian, Enoch Powell, who said exactly the same thing that the Honourable Member said. He said that Britain was first for the British but today a number of Barbadians live and work in Britain who have sent back lots of income to help build this economy. The Democratic Labour Party is giving critical support but they are not doing what they are saying. They are saying that Barbados is for Barbadians only.

Sir, in the Caribbean we have to look at the Caribbean man....

Mr. R. D. JONES: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading the House. Honourable Members on This Side are not saying that Barbados is for Barbadians only. We are saying that we must take care of our base and then spread our arms wide. Sir, the Honourable Member must not mislead this House.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we on This Side are saying that the Caribbean is for the Caribbean man and woman and that there is room for everyone in the Caribbean. Sir, in the Caribbean we have enough land space for everyone because we have a limited population of seven million. The time is ripe for us to move this Caribbean forward rather than say that St. Lucia is for St. Lucians and Jamaica is for Jamaicans.

The Honourable Member from St. Michael South Central also made the point today about a referendum in 1961 but, Sir, there was no referendum in the Caribbean in 1961. There was a referendum in Jamaica but not in the Caribbean. The referendum in Jamaica said they wanted to move out the federation.

Mr. Speaker, I am also of the view that the movement of capital...

Mr. R. L. SEALY: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member is unwittingly misleading the House. I never said there was a referendum in the Caribbean.

I said there was a referendum in Jamaica and if Honourable Members care to, they can check it because it occurred on September 29, 1961.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, the point which needs to be made is that we already have movement of people in the Caribbean. Honourable Members on This Side have spoken to the fact that movement of labour has always been in existence in the times of the Carib who moved up and down fishing in the Caribbean waters. We want to say to Barbadians that we are only formalising something which already existed and Members of the Democratic Labour Party need to understand this. Sir, T. Geddes Grant and Neil and Massey have invested throughout the region. The question must be asked, are we prepared to hold onto getting preferential treatment from the British and Europeans? Are we prepared to do this?
6.20 p.m.

Sir, I think that the time has come for us to say, as a region, that we have to move together. I am not like the Honourable Member for St. Philip West who is of the view that the Guyanese are coming here and robbing our labour and accepting a small pay. I am saying that we need to teach our people to be efficient.

Asides.

Dr. D. C. ESTWICK: On a point of order. The Honourable Member is misleading this Honourable House. I do not think that I would ever utilise the terminology that Guyanese are coming to Barbados and robbing our labour. That would not be verbiage used by Dr. Estwick. The statement that was made by me was that, we have to be cautious not to embark on a position of open market and unlimited movement of labour in Barbados. That is the statement made by me.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that if Guyanese or St. Lucians come to Barbados and accept a wage that is lower than the norm, it is because that is what the people will pay them and we have to understand that. As the Honourable Member for St. Philip South pointed out, it does not cause any problem in the economy if two or three persons accept a lower wage of what is being paid at the time. It cannot cause any problem within the economy. Sir, if these things happen we must not be alarmed because most of our people travel abroad. Why can Barbadians travel to the metropolitan States and Guyanese cannot come here?

I want to make the point that I see investment in labour, especially in the credit unions. This point has not been made today and that is why I ask for some time to do so. I believe that once we develop the credit union movement in Barbados and the region, this would help to move our country forward.

Sir, thirty years ago the credit union was just a small institution. Today in Barbados the credit union has millions of dollars to reinvest. Do you not see a situation where labour can move its capital in the credit union and control the financial sectors of the region? I can see it and this is what we really want to see happen. We want to see a regional credit union movement.

Sir, we say that the less developed countries (LDCs) are moving slower than the more developed countries. I believe that more developed can help develop those LDCs because those countries are the buyers of our resources and by helping to put money into those less developed countries, it would help our economies as well. It is important for us as developed societies to help those LDCs. We have to move the Caribbean together.

I also believe that there should be a commitment to standards and excellence and excellence in the arts, literature and cricket. We need to produce better cricketers in the like of Sir Garfield Sobers. We need to produce persons like Derek Walcott and songwriters like Sparrow, the Gabbies and the Bob Marleys in the region. I am saying that the region has the capacity and we must not doubt ourselves and I think that we are doubting ourselves. We have the capacity here and all we need to do is to move the country forward. We as Parliamentarians have a duty to move the sector forward.

Sir, we are committed to the Caribbean Development Bank. The Caribbean Development Bank and the University of the West Indies have helped to develop the region. We are all products of the University of the West Indies.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I must say that the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central, as a teacher, must know how CXC was criticised in its formative years. Today CXC is now being recognised across the world. I am saying that years in the future Caribbean Single Market and Economy as a region will be recognised but we have to start somewhere and CXC is an example of this.

Sir, the Caribbean Single Market and Economy offers hope for our economy and we must, as leaders, push this forward. There is adequate room for all businesses in the Caribbean to expand and this is not the time for us to doubt ourselves, as the Honourable Member for The City of Bridgetown said, it is time for us to promote our economies in the most powerful way.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I also see a need to look at the information age. Every day we hear about CNN. I want to suggest that time has come for us to have a regional institution in the Caribbean where we can hear about what is happening in Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname. I do not think that we hear enough of what is happening in those regions.

Sir, we hear fifteen minutes of news per day about these countries. We want to be able to tune into the Caribbean network where we can hear what is happening in our sister countries and not only a one minute of news. We need a local entity where we can be made aware of what is happening in the region.

Finally, the Architect Registration Bill has gone before the subcommittee and it should be before Parliament in the coming months. I want to say that those two pieces of legislation would be coming to this Honourable House shortly because we recognise that it is necessary to clean up some of the problems that exist within that Bill because it has a regional focus.

Sir, this is God's world and we are God's people. The region must be for everyone and I think that this is the way we should go because the people are saying that this is what they want and we have to guide them.

I thank you.

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

Dr. W. F. DUGUID: Mr. Deputy Speaker, thank you for the opportunity for me to make my humble contribution to this great and historic debate. First, let me say that I will not contribute a lot of time to this debate but I will contribute significant substance unlike the Honourable Members on the Other Side who contributed a lot of time but not a lot of substance.

Sir, apart from one luminary, ...and I must salute the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central. I really enjoyed his speech. He was certainly apolitical and I think he really got to the heart of the matter. I have to definitely join with him in the debate and in the particular points which he brought to this debate. It was enjoyable, accurate and absolutely to the point.

6.30 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we in this region share a common history. We share a common destiny and we must shape our future in a common and sincere way. It is absolutely important that we take the appropriate and correct steps in shaping our future. I, like the Honourable Member for St. Michael South am an unapologetic regionalist.

I also believe, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that Barbados would benefit significantly from having the barriers of free trade and free movement dismantled. I also believe that Barbados is especially poised with its important, improved and significant high level services and service economy to be able to export those services throughout the region.

Sir, many Honourable Members spoke today as though everybody coming to Barbados is going to be an itinerant who has nothing to do but to take up a labour job. Sir, that is not necessarily the case because business people are going to come as well. Once the barriers are removed, they will have an opportunity to set up businesses in this country and employ Barbadians as well. We must not miss this point. I do not necessarily mean big businesses, because small business people will come and give Barbadians an opportunity to work with them. They will come and impart knowledge which Barbadians will then be able to take on and use to set up small businesses themselves and improve the economy as a whole.

The people that come here still have to eat. They still have to go to the doctor and the dentist. They have to use the transportation systems. They will still be contributing to this economy. Sir, just as Barbadians will move to other Caribbean nations, we have to be prepared to accept people coming to live here as well.

Yes, I do appreciate the Honourable Members' contributions that there will be some teething problems – please forgive the pun – but these are necessary if we are going to build a strong economy and a strong nation called the Caribbean.

Sir, I understand that the Honourable Members on the Other Side have difficulty understanding Caribbean unity. They do not even understand unity in their own Party.

Asides.

Dr. W. F. DUGUID: Sir, how can they understand unity in the Caribbean? It is an absolute fact, Mr. Deputy Speaker, and until they can understand unity in their own Party, they will never be able to understand unity in the Caribbean as a whole.

Asides.

Dr. W. F. DUGUID: Mr. Deputy Speaker, even though I say that I am an unapologetic regionalist like my friend, the Honourable Member for St. Michael South, I think that the unified Caribbean, free movement and dismantling of barriers have so much to offer this region and this country, it is phenomenal. We are at the gate of a great opportunity and a great time for this nation Barbados and for this wider Caribbean. I am sure that under the leadership of Mr. Owen Seymour Arthur, the Rt. Honourable Member for St. Peter and Prime Minister, he will guide us through these waters and he will bring us to the promised land.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this movement has been going on for years. I know of many dental practitioners who travel through the Caribbean and offer their specialists services. This is nothing new but what we are doing now is to

dismantle those barriers that stop more people from taking advantage of the whole wider economy.

A market, Mr. Deputy Speaker, of 250 000 people cannot compare to a market of six million people. We have to expand our market. We have to be able to provide the services to larger numbers of people. We have to be able to pool our resources and make this region stronger. If we are able to fill this Caribbean space well, then it means that the extra regional entities will not be able to fill it because we have done a good job. It will no longer be attractive to them because we have provided the services the best way we can and there would be nothing left for them to come in and do. These are the things we have to understand and appreciate as we move into this CSME with eyes wide open.

I thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to conclude this debate. There will be debates in this Parliament, from time to time that are of such historic significance that persons who are interested in public affairs will make reference to what was said by respective Honourable Members on the occasion, especially so, Sir, to get a feel of the perspective of those who are at this time, charged with the awesome responsibility of charting the destiny of our nation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, every debate in this House will not assume those proportions but, generally speaking, some debates will. A debate pertaining to the passing of legislation to cause Barbados to become part of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy has the potential to become a debate to which reference will be made in the context of a status as a defining moment. Therefore in concluding, I need to treat to the manner in which this debate was dealt with by this House from the standpoint as to whether it rose to that historic platform.

Generally speaking, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think that the House acquitted itself commendably, insofar as this House gave its full support to our country becoming part of a CARICOM Single Market and Economy. The Honourable Members who spoke and those who did not speak should not underestimate the significance of a consensus on Barbados' part on this most significant matter.

Across the Caribbean, countries are in doubt about their own destiny. Institutions whose establishments should be first nature and should be welcomed, those institution's creations are being greeted with cynicism, skepticism, great doubt and a spirit of national division that sometimes is so bitterly extraordinary as to boggle the imagination.

It is a sad testimony, for example, that something as significant as a Caribbean Court of Justice in the 21st Century is the subject of such tremendous controversy in

some Caribbean countries, when 50 years ago, the people of the Caribbean could support a federal court which stood out as a symbol of the excellence of the Caribbean people.

Sir, this House has to commend itself for its maturity in finding a consensus on a matter of such historic significance and it grows in significance because, as the Leader in the Caribbean with responsibility for the creation of a single market and a single economy, one of the surest aspects of the foundation from which I speak, is that I can go to the rest of the Caribbean to say that at least in my Parliament, there is no division on the fundamental aspects of the unity of the Caribbean people.

6.40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to thank the House for it because it is something we take for granted, but it is a treasure. I hope that whatever happens to us in the future that at least on issues relating to our support for Caribbean unity, there would be no narrow, partisan and unnecessary divide. Therefore, to the extent that this House has seen it fit to agree that this is a measure that we want to pass altogether, I want to thank the Parliament and all those who spoke for it.

Sir, the Members of the Opposition obviously have to do their work. They complain about things, but the very things that they complain about are the very things that I thought, based upon the history of the Democratic Labour Party's relationship with regional unity, they would be coming to this Parliament to voice the strongest support for. Sir, may I say to the Honourable Members on the Other Side that they should be proud about the tremendous history of support for integration.

Sir, this Party, through Grantley Adams and the pioneering work of the Barbados Labour Party in the 1940s, led the way in putting together the basis for a Caribbean Federation. However, the truth is that the modern approach to Caribbean integration was energised in large measure by the work of the late Right Excellent Errol Barrow. It was Errol Barrow with two others in 1965 who formed CARIFTA and the rest of the region followed. Again, it was Errol Barrow in 1973 in collaboration with Mr. Michael Manley, Forbes Burnham and Eric Williams who created the Caribbean Community and the others followed. Then in 1989 the impulse to transform the Caribbean Common Market to a single market and economy was part of an effort at Grand Anse in Grenada in which Barbados was led, not by a Barbados Labour Party Prime Minister, but by the Democratic Labour Party in the Right Honourable Erskine Sandiford.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, may I say that in this debate there has been the tendency of the Democratic Labour Party to feel that they have always to oppose for the sake of opposing.

Unfortunately, in this debate the things that they were opposing are the things that were agreed to by Mr. Erskine Sandiford at Grand Anse.

Sir, I keep making the point over and over again that people very often speak about integration in the Caribbean without reading the historic documents. People would debate CARICOM issues without having read the Treaty of Chaguaramas, the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, the Grand Anse Declaration or any of the other reports that have been put together to allow us to constitute the region as a unified area.

Sir, the Opposition is making an issue out of labour mobility. Sir, the inheritors of Errol Barrow's legacy are in no position to make labour mobility a negative issue in this country, and for a good reason. In 1973 when Errol Barrow agreed to be one of the founders of CARICOM, he built a basic deficiency into the original Treaty of Chaguaramas. That Treaty of 1973 at Article 38 says that, and I quote:

"Nothing in this Treaty shall be construed as requiring or imposing any obligation on a Member State to grant freedom of movement to persons into its territory whether or not such persons are nationals of other Member States of the Common Market."

Sir, our integration process as conceived in 1973 did not flourish because the basic resource upon which they had to build Caribbean development is the human resource. However, the original Treaty of Chaguaramas creating the Common Market says that we are not imposing any obligation on Member States to allow labour mobility.

Sir, fourteen years after, Errol Barrow came back as a Prime Minister of Barbados and in his last speech in Guyana, and speaking for the ages, he made a statement which now apparently cannot follow from the mouths of the Members of the Democratic Labour Party who would want us to believe that they are the inheritors of his legacy. Sir, let me read slowly for their benefit what Mr. Barrow said and explain why he would be so disappointed in them if he could hear the tenure of their debate today that in some instances has sprung from a kind of narrow, misplaced nationalist chauvinism. This is what Mr. Barrow said in 1987, Sir.

"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. The 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 their legitimate business – what people call the underground

economy. It is true that the laws of each country 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 spontaneous though unassisted, and legitimate though unregulated. The regional integration movement is a fact of daily experience. It is a reality which is lived, but which we have not yet been able to institutionalise."

Sir, the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas and the effort to create a single market and single economy started by accepting a development precept that the development of the Caribbean as a whole or in its individual components must be based upon the fullest utilisation of the human resources of the region. Therefore, you cannot have integration only by liberalising trade. You can only have liberalisation in the region by releasing the energies and the talents of the people of the region and by removing the impediment that was built into Article 38 in 1973 that caused our integration process not to realise its full potential, that the law of Barbados had got in the way and what was a lived experience was not institutionalised. Hence the 1988/1989 Grand Anse Declaration says let us begin to institutionalise what is the lived experience of the Caribbean, that our integration is not about moving capital first and foremost but about moving people.

Sir, the DEMS are trying to make it appear as if they are so nationalistic, that they are opposed to this and that we are thrusting labour mobility down the throats of the people of the Caribbean.

Sir, the Grand Anse Declaration says that we are determined to work toward the establishment of a single market and single economy in the Caribbean Community in the shortest period of time. In this regard, we were committed to an arrangement by January 1991 for the free movement of skills and professional personnel as well as for contract workers.

Sir, built into this by Sir Lloyd Sandiford, not us, is provision for the movement of skilled people and professional personnel as well as for contract workers by 1991, the elimination by 1990 of the requirements for passports for CARICOM nationals travelling to other CARICOM countries and the elimination of work permits for CARICOM nationals beginning with the visual and performing arts, sports and media workers.

Sir, this is a classic case of people spitting up in the air and the spit falling in their own faces. The provision for the mobility of labour as part of the single market and economy was agreed to and made a fundamental embedded part of the Grand Anse Declaration.

Sir, the Opposition wants to be on Both Sides of the issue. They want to be in support of it in principle but opposed to it in practice because they want to appeal to a base instinct that labour mobility is going to cause people to lose their jobs and things of that nature.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am the only person perhaps in this House who cannot quarrel about labour mobility. I spent ten years of my life working very productively in another CARICOM country. The truth is that I had to go periodically to the Immigration Department and swear that my wife and I continue to share one and the same matrimonial bed.

Asides.

6.50 p.m.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, they did not ask if I am sharing it with others, and that was a good thing.

Sir, even before the single market and single economy, our whole regional economy has been based upon the movement of Caribbean people, although as Mr. Errol Barrow said, it was spontaneous, though unassisted, and legitimate, though unregulated. What a wonderful turn of phrase.

Sir, it is really doing this process of regional development an injustice, for persons to say that they are supporting it in principle but want to oppose it in practice, that they want to go to the 'little persons' in Black Rock and say: "That wicked Barbados Labour Party Government, they have allowed all the St. Lucians and Vincentians to come here and to carry away the jobs that are yours. Vote against them." This is what this attitude by the Democratic Labour Party is about. Sir, it is unworthy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Caribbean does not have a shortage of skills or an excess of labour. An excess of labour is only in relation to the capacity to find a way to gainfully employ it. We have bottled up the potentials of the Caribbean to employ labour, by restricting economic activities too long. The removal of the restrictions are intended to open up the economic activity of the country but more expressly, to help us to better balance the supply of, or the demand for labour, wherever there tends to be a disarticulation between the two. There are some places in the Caribbean where there is a demand for unskilled labour, which cannot be met from the domestic supply of the region for whatever reason. Therefore, it is good that we can now have this process to make that bottleneck less of a bottleneck in the future for Caribbean development.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there are places in the Caribbean where skills are in short supply and where countries that

have strong skills will, in the future, see themselves as having new markets available. The promise for Barbados of participating in the single market and single economy comes precisely from that, that we have made a tremendous historical investment in our educational system and we have come to this moment in Caribbean development with the skills to sell the rest of the region. Sir, integration, hitherto, was about the movement of goods. The next phase is about the movement of skills and services. That is where our advantage lies, and we cannot be speaking about proceeding, being fearful about some of the jobs that we have to yield to others, but it is the trade-off and the balance that will matter.

Sir, I think it is vital that Barbados sees itself in that capacity as the country that can make perhaps the greatest gains in the shortest period of time from the opening up of marketable skills. I think we are also beginning to benefit, not only from the influx of unskilled workers because people quarrel about it but there are Caribbean countries, other than Barbados, that have made greater allowance for other Caribbean skilled graduates to come to their shores. Since Barbados has instituted the provisions of the single market relative to the free movement of graduates, over 800 graduates of other CARICOM origin have come to live in Barbados, thereby enriching our skills pool. The only other country that is near to it is Trinidad and Tobago with 400 graduates by comparison. Sir, it is that benefit to us that we cannot ignore.

Sir, I was disappointed that this matter became an issue in this debate today. I say that because the single market and single economy that we have created in the Caribbean, differs tremendously from most other economic and trade integration pacts. Ordinarily, labour mobility is not made provision for in integration processes, only in Europe. One of the great criticisms of globalisation is that it promotes the liberalisation of capital, the movement of goods and the movement of services but it says that you cannot have a movement of people and of labour.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we, in the Caribbean, say that it is creating an imbalance in the global society, that those who own capital can get opportunities for that capital to move; that those who own production capacities can now see the world as their oyster, but those who have skills do not have space in a liberal economy. Therefore, we cannot criticise the process of globalisation for its imbalances in relation to liberalisation and then want to institutionalise those same imbalances into our integration process.

Sir, perhaps the greatest criticism of the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas is that that process also lacks aid and dimension and that it is not at all addressing serious labour-related issues. Therefore, as a result, the real benefits that could have accrued from a region or hemisphere enriched with people and skills might be mitigated because it does not make provision at all, and there is no chapter being negotiated for labour mobility.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to convey to the Honourable House the perspective that there is going to be an unbridled approach to labour mobility. In point of fact, and I do not like to criticise former Prime Ministers, but Mr. Sandiford was supposed to have put this in place by 1991 and it was not done. He is now calling for us to do it on a phased basis as if, in point of fact, this is not what the revised Treaty of Chaguaramas precisely sets out to do.

Sir, if you are familiar with the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, Article 45 states:

“Member States commit themselves to the goal of free movement of their nationals within the Community.”

Therefore, it is a goal to be achieved and we start by doing it on a phased basis. We will start with five categories and then expand, therefore, nobody has to tell us that we can simply leap to it because we cannot have labour mobility until as such time as double taxation agreements are put in place, to allow for the portability of social security benefits. Sir, more expressly, we cannot have full mobility of labour harmoniously managed, until we have addressed, in a serious and substantial way, issues relating to the right of people moving and their right of access to the social services of the respective Caribbean countries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I recently gave a lecture in Suriname on this issue with regards to how contingent rights are treated in Europe and how it ought to be treated in the Caribbean. Sir, I do not like to advertise these things but Honourable Members who want to understand the issue should read it. Sir, even as we were preparing for the single market, we recognised that there were things that could not be completed at the time and that our revised Treaty of Chaguaramas at Article 2(39) has provisions for a built-in agenda. Furthermore, we recognised that we should have an inter-governmental Working Group addressing issues as to what rights persons would be able to enjoy, as they move from country to country, as a result of their enjoying related rights of having mobility within the CARICOM Single Market. Therefore, persons coming from one Caribbean country would have the same rights as nationals, to enjoy access to free health care facilities, education, *et cetera*, given that they are taxpayers. Under the Double Taxation Treaty of CARICOM taxation is at source, so CARICOM nationals living in Barbados will have to pay taxes in Barbados.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in fact the Democratic Labour Party would note significantly the taxation treaty because they said it would have destroyed our International Business Sector. The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West, who was not advising the Honourable Member for St. John properly, told him not to sign it but the Double Taxation Treaty says you pay taxes at source, so that a

CARICOM graduate who is living in Barbados would be subjected to taxes in Barbados. We now have to develop a protocol where that person who becomes a national taxpayer would be entitled to all the other benefits as any other national taxpayer in a different situation. These things now have to be put in place, that is why it has to be managed on a phased basis. Sir, there is no doubt that the intention is to proceed to deal with this as a goal to be achieved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I need to report to this Honourable House that at the Special Prime Ministerial Meeting which took place in Trinidad last week, we have agreed that having established the beach-head which allows graduates and others to move freely, we now have to move beyond that where teachers, nurses and others will be allowed to go where their skills would be needed. We have agreed that the prime Minister with the responsibility for Labour will now look to the way in which we can expand the category of persons who enjoy the automatic right to move freely in the Caribbean, and I think it is a good thing.
7.00 p.m.

I think we should all support it and stop quarreling about it because it is in the best interest of the region.

Sir, the Leader of the Opposition said that he felt that we should remove the discrimination between LDCs and MDCs. If he were familiar with what Sir Lloyd, a previous leader of the Democratic Labour Party agreed to at Grand Anse, he would not say so.

The Grand Anse declaration said:

“We are determined to work towards the establishment in the shortest possible time of a single market for the Caribbean Community taking into account the need for the continuance of special measures for the LDCs.”

Sir, the Grand Anse declaration enshrines the concept of special measures of LDCs and in the very chapeau of the declaration is a basic and fundamental precept.

Article 56 of the original Treaty of Chaguaramas recognises that special measures have to be accorded for the LDCs but it goes beyond that. Those persons who were part of the theme to negotiate the first LOME Agreement between the Caribbean and Europe relate the fact that the Caribbean was struggling to find a way by which it could express to Europe the need for special measures for lesser developed countries. A certain person on the Caribbean delegation by the name of Cameron Tudor, who would be recognised by the Other Side, said that the precept was articulated long ago by a man called Aristotle which goes this way.

“As between equals, equality
As between unequals, proportionality.”

Sir, the point is that if you have persons operating in the same equal circumstances, they have to be treated in the same way but if people's circumstances are radically different, you have to treat each proportional to their circumstances. Once you bring people into the same economic space, once their circumstances are different, they have to be treated differently. What bothers me is what this new philosophy in relation to integration says about the way in which the Democratic Labour Party intends to approach its relationship at home, if it ever were to become a Government, God forbid.

I am to believe that the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West feels that you have to treat and subject the people in the Pine and the Farm who need affirmative discretionary action of the State by removing all of the benefits to them. He believes that Government should not have any affirmative programmes for those who are disadvantaged because he said they should be wiped away.

Sir, this is what is called right wing conservative republicanism in its most virulent form. The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West said that Government should remove all kinds of discrimination and all of the affirmative action that Government in their enlightened wisdom, has recognised that it should extend to the unfortunate in this society. As Cameron Tudor said, as between equals, equality, as between unequals, proportionality.

The leader of the Democratic Labour Party who I must now call a Philistine, in one cavalier, immature moment sweeps away everything so that no Government, in his view, in future would have the right to be discretionary in who get public benefits. As far as the Honourable Member is concerned, no one should get the benefit of a subsidised bus fare. We will soon tell the public that we are not allowing bus fares to rise, that we will continue to subsidise them but he would have to oppose it because he said there should be no form of discrimination of that kind whatever in any modern society.

Mr. C. A. MASCOLL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Member for St. Peter is misleading the House. He cannot extrapolate from my concerns about the regional discrimination that occurs now between LDCs and MDCs and seek to suggest that it would be imposed on the state of affairs locally with respect to bus fares. I was suggesting in the debate that given the question of discrimination as the major tenet for globalisation and trade liberalisation that there is need to address the distinction between the more developed countries and the lesser developed countries within the region because to some

extent it offers a psychological disadvantage. When you look at the reality of life, most of the LDCs in the region have now so managed their affairs that they can now be regarded as MDCs when compared to some of the MDCs like Jamaica and Guyana throughout the region.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Sir, when the Honourable Member made that point, I warned him about the strategic direction in which he was carrying his thoughts. He went on to say that all kinds of discrimination should be abolished altogether. Sir, it is not only about LDCs and MDCs but he would tell you that the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, God made them high and lowly and order their estate. The Honourable Member says that in Barbados a Government cannot have any right to intervene, tell a person he is poor and that it wants to help in a way that discriminates in the favour of that person.

Sir, I was shaken by the backwardness of the thought. It shook me even more because it was coming from a man who had earlier recreated the philosophy of the Right Excellent Errol Barrow. Sir, I was beginning to wonder where all the philosophy barrenness is leading the Party. His speech was a thoughtful one but it lacked mature reflection which will come in time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Minister of Trade in Barbados and all Ministers of Trade of the world are fighting a serious fight in the international community that we do not believe in the one cap fit all solution. We are arguing the case that where countries are so small that their activities constitute 0.0001 per cent of international trade and investment that they should not be exposed to the full blast of the rules that apply in general, that they should be subjected to rules proportionate to their circumstances.

Therefore, the notion of the unilateral application of discrimination is something that we cannot embrace. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it cannot come from this Parliament because it would undermine the process made so far. As the House may be aware, to date the WTO with some great reluctance was first inclined to agree that countries classified as LDCs under the UN classification should be given special and differential treatment. Sir, we regarded that as one of the great victories. At the start the DOHART Round was the acknowledgment that small vulnerable States have special circumstances that require a response from the international community proportionate to the extent of their vulnerability.

Sir, if we lose that point, then we would be the victims of a process of international deculturation that would depend on the distress of our vulnerability by making us as vulnerable States subject to the same international rules of trade and commerce as countries which do not have our vulnerability.

I urge a reconsideration of the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West which I suspect, unless he amends it, will come as a divide between him and his colleagues who by their sullenness even as he was speaking, were expressing their desire to rebuke him.

There is another matter that was commented upon which I need to speak to the country and region about through this House. It is about business that we need to tell people what is in it for them. Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are now being too much of a 'gimme' society. Sir, there is nothing that is important that is bigger than any of us, unless we can all reduce it to what is in it for me. I was at a Press Conference in Trinidad and was posed the same question by a journalist from St. Lucia. She said a Guyanese living in St. Lucia asked her what was in it for him. I asked her if she had told him that the very fact that he was in St. Lucia working was part of what was in it for him because he was being given a better life.
7.10 p.m.

Sir, I can tell this Honourable House what would be in it for the people of the Caribbean if we maintain the *status quo* and let us reflect on that. Mr. Deputy Speaker, fifteen small economies seeking to evolve separately, erecting the most formidable barriers among themselves in every aspect, very often conferring upon extra regional entities more favourable terms than they conferred on themselves or their own, and that history of isolated, fragmented and discriminatory Caribbean development has caused the region and many parts of it to either realise abject poverty or develop to its full potential.

Sir, that is the contemporary reality that the Caribbean has come to the start of the 21st century with two major deficits, and they are not fiscals and balance of payments. The big deficit is the gaps between our potential as a region and our economic accomplishments today and the other gap is between our performance today and the capacity of that performance to meet the basic needs of the people of this region.

Sir, the only way in which the region's economy together or singularly is going to go forward to deal with serious issues both of the eradication of poverty and the sustainable development for our societies is by removing the barriers that have separated us and bringing the regional economies together.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, how much better is it for us to be able to plan the development of Barbados, not confined by the limitations of 14 by 21 and a population of 280,000 but being part of a larger land base stretching from Belize to Suriname and a market of 15 million? Do the people not understand intuitively without being able to say that it means

this dollar for this person and that dollar for the other that it widens the scope of economic potential for all and what we need to do is to get it right and not squabble about who gets the benefit immediately before those benefits can be realised?

Sir, it is very easy to yield to this temptation that this debate has to be reduced to what is in it for me. Perhaps, over a wider range of our national life we might have to go back to the words of President Kennedy, "ask not what your country can do for you" because in many respects the development path is not being attained because the 'what is in it for me approach' that the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West said is the approach that we do not have to deal with, 'tell the man what is in it for him'. That approach has caused many people not to be able to contribute to a cause that is larger than themselves and in so doing build development through, what I call the psychic energies that come from the pooling of resources.

Sir, perhaps, that brings me to the fundamental point. Our approach to Caribbean integration is unique among countries, not only in relation to the fact that we are allowing for the mobility of labour but we are seeking to develop the region through competition and that the removal of the barriers is intended to allow for development through competition, but we are also seeking to promote development through cooperation. The creation of a single economy and the building, for the first time, a harmonised approach to the development of all of our economic sectors and policy formulation is the next great step forward in building the Caribbean single economy.

Sir, therefore, I need to report to Parliament that at the meeting of Heads held in Trinidad and Tobago last week, we agreed that the region as a whole can succeed in removing all the restrictions on capital movement, labour, as defined narrowly, services, rights of establishment on goods by 2005 and some of us would be ready by 2004, and Barbados can be. Sir, those who need help can get the help because the help that they need in order to do what they have to do is very small.

Sir, let me repeat the point, because it has to be said, that the creation of a Caribbean single market is about removing restrictions that Governments have put in place historically on capital movement in the region, the movement of labour, skills and the provision of services. There are actions that are required of the Governments only.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the programme has been agreed to and all of the restrictions have been identified and classified and all that is required is the political will, matched and backed sometimes with a little drafting help but that is all that is required.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the single market creation action only requires action by the State. However, the creation of a single economy will involve a greater complexity of economic responses, not only by the State but by the private sector and the civil society because we are speaking now about development through cooperation and development utilising private sector resources in many respects.

There will obviously have to be a sensible programme, and we have agreed to a programme to be implemented by 2008 to accomplish most of the important parts of creating a single economy, but there will have to be new institutional arrangements by which a single economy involving developments through cooperation has to be put in place. Mr. Deputy Speaker, the CARICOM Secretariat alone cannot do it and we have to find new institutional arrangements that bring the private sector, labour movement, the institution of the civil society and the University of the West Indies together to plan how we go ahead with this.

Sir, this brings me to this point. Chapter IV of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramus sets out the framework for action in many things but the precise policies now have, in many respects, to be elaborated. So, there is framework specified in the Treaty that says that the regional economy should coordinate and develop the agricultural sectors. The precise policies have never been considered and this is the same thing with fisheries and that was the point that I was making to the Honourable Member. Barbados, in the absence of the prescription of the precise policy, put on the table the outlines of some regional fisheries policy that can not fill in the blanks within the four corners of the framework. I hope that clarifies the issue that was being raised by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North West.

Sir, we are at a historical moment. It is clear that when you read the Grand Anse Declaration, agreed to by Sir Lloyd Sandiford, this was a triumph of hope above realism. They agreed at Grand Anse to have a single market and economy in place by 1993 but this could not have been accomplished. However, let me remind this Honourable House that Europe set out in 1957 to create a single market in Europe and that single market was created in 1992. It took Europe 35 years to move from a Treaty creating a single market to implementing it. It has taken the Caribbean, by comparison, 15 years to move from Grand Anse in 1989 to this historic moment in our Parliament where we are in a position to translate into concrete legislation the commitment given then by visionary people that our region should be so transformed.

Sir, if Honourable Members of this Honourable House do not feel that they are part of something historic, I do feel so. I do not want to tarnish this presentation but it is alleged that I was the victim of some very harsh words by a certain Honourable Member, the Honourable Member for St. John,

who is not here and I do not like speaking behind his back. In fact, I do not like to do anything behind his back whatsoever. It was about my not being in Parliament.

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Sir, this is a historic debate and I feel that I was savaged by a sheep when the Honourable Member could have accused me of not living up to my parliamentary responsibility by not being here. The Honourable Member was not here in this Honourable House when the Value Added Tax was brought to this Parliament. He missed that debate. He also missed the installation of a Governor-General and his mother is now writing him because she cannot find him. She said that when she calls him he is either in the bathroom, Africa or elsewhere.

Sir, I take the greatest offence that someone of his very low pedigree in relation to serious issues in Parliament could be criticising me about how I am discharging my responsibility. The Honourable Member will not be here because he does not want the Other Side to look good. His future depends on the Democratic Labour Party looking bad and this Opposition being torn down so that he can mount back a leadership by trampling on failure. The Other Side must never feel that he can come here to make them look good because if they look good the leader that is there will stay in place.
7.20 p.m.

Asides.

Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR: Sir, if this debate was in the penthouse nightclub and the police was there frisking and man handling him he would love it and he would be debating there but not here. Mr. Deputy Speaker, how many debates has he missed in this House?

The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West is taking him lightly but he is the greatest threat to democracy in this country because in his view, politics is a blood sport. He feels that by tearing down people's character that he rises, and he has troubled my character too often. He must feel that his nastiness, a painted child of dirt that stinks and sting, Sir, would inspire me over and over again, in the way his Party can deal with him but he should have been here.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, history will recognise the work and worth of all those who were here on this historic occasion to lend their support to one of nature's greatest causes to take the world's smallest and most vulnerable set of economies and try to make them united as one.

I am proud to have been part of it, Mr. Deputy Speaker, and beg that this Bill be now read a second time.

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

On the motion of Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR, seconded by Hon. R. R. FARLEY, the House resolved itself into Committee on the Bill, Mr. R. D. MARSHALL in the Chair.

COMMITTEE

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This House is now in Committee.

Clauses 1 and 2 were called and passed.

The Schedule became the Schedule to the Bill.

On the motion of Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR, seconded by the Hon. Dame Billie MILLER, 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 Rt. Hon. O. S. ARTHUR, seconded by the Hon. R. R. FARLEY, the Bill was read a third time and passed and cited as the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (Implementation) (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 2004.

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, November 22, 2004 at 10.00 a.m.

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

The question that this House be adjourned until Tuesday, November 22, 2004 at 10.00 a.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER adjourned the House accordingly.
7.24 p.m.

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