
THE

House of Assembly Debates

(UNOFFICIAL REPORT)

PARLIAMENT 2018 – 2022

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, June 23, 2020

Pursuant to the Adjournment, the Honourable the House of Assembly met on Tuesday, June 23, 2020, at 10.15 a.m. at the Parliament of Barbados located at Worthing Corporate Centre.

PRESENT

His Honour A. E. HOLDER, LL.B., (Speaker)
His Honour G. A. CLARKE, J.P., B.Sc., Dip. Ed. (Deputy Speaker) Hon G. W. PAYNE, Q.C. (Minister of Housing, Lands and Rural Development)
Hon. R. St.C. TOPPIN, LL.B. (Hons.) (Minister of International Business and Industry)
Hon. Miss MIA. A. MOTTLEY, Q.C., LL.B. (Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Investment)
Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY, B.A., B.Sc. (Leader of the Opposition)
Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE, J.P., L.C.P. (Minister of People Empowerment and Elder Affairs)
Hon. D. D. MARSHALL, Q.C., LL.B. (Hons.), L.E.C. (Attorney General and Minister of Legal Affairs)
Mr. T. A. PRESCOD, B.A. (Minister of Environment and National Beautification)
Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS, B.A., LL.B. (Minister of Tourism and International Transport)
Lt. Col. the Hon. J. D. BOSTIC, MVO, B.A. (Hons.), (Minister of Health and Wellness)
Hon. E. G. HINKSON, LL.B. (Hons.), L.E.C., LL.M., (Minister of Home Affairs)
Hon. D. G. SUTHERLAND, B.Sc., M.Sc., M.B.A. (Dist.), (Minister of Small Business, Entrepreneurship and Commerce)
Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADSHAW, LL.B. (Hons.), (Minister of Education, Technological and Vocational Training and Leader of Government Business)

Dr. the Hon. W. F. DUGUID, J.P., B.D.S. (Comm.), F.D.S, F.D.R.C.S., (Minister of Transport, Works and Maintenance)

Hon. W. A. ABRAHAMS, LL.B. (Hons.), (Minister of Energy and Water Resources)

Hon. Ms. C. S. V. HUSBANDS, B.A., (Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Trade)

Hon. R. R. STRAUGHN, B.Sc. (Minister in the Ministry of Finance)

Hon. Miss. M. K-A. CADDLE, M.A., (Minister in the Ministry of Economic Affairs)

Hon. C. E. JORDAN, B.A., (Minister of Labour and Social Partnership Relations)

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY, B.A., (Minister of Maritime Affairs and the Blue Economy)

Hon. I. A. WEIR (Minister of Agriculture and Food Security)

Hon. A. R. FORDE (Minister of Youth and Community Empowerment)

Hon. C. McD. GRIFFITH (Minister in the Ministry of Housing, Lands and Rural Development)

Hon. P. R. PHILLIPS (Minister in the Ministry of Transport, Works and Maintenance)

Hon. J. A. KING (Minister of the Creative Economy, Culture and Sports)

Mr. G. P. I. GOODING-EDGHILL

Dr. S. E. BROWNE

Mr. R. A. THORNE, Q.C.

Mr. N. G. H. ROWE JP

Prayers were taken by the Reverend Mark Harewood.

Mr. SPEAKER: This House is in Session. Minutes of the meeting held on Tuesday, June 16, 2020, are to be deferred. Honourable Leader of Government Business.

Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADSHAW: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the aforementioned Minutes be deferred.

Hon. E. G. HINKSON: I beg to second that, Sir.

The question that the Minutes of the meeting held on June 16, 2020, be deferred, was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

PAPERS

Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADHSAW: Mr. Speaker, I am commanded to lay the following:

1. The audited Financial Statements for the Board of Management of Deighton Griffith Secondary School for the Financial Years, March 31, 2009 to March 31, 2016.
2. The audited Financial Statements and Annual Report of the activities of the Board of Management of Harrison College for the Financial Year, April 2013 to March 2014.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Leader of Government Business.

Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADHSAW: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the suspension of Standing Orders 6, 16, 18, 20, 42(5), 43 and 43 for the remainder of today's Sitting.

Hon. E. G. HINKSON: I beg to second that, Sir.

The question that the mentioned Standing Orders be suspended for the remainder of the day's Sitting was put and resolved in the affirmative without division.

Mr. SPEAKER: I just wish to inform the Honourable Chamber that in relation to the Private Members' Business each Honourable Member will be allowed a maximum of 30 minutes. With the House's permission, we will start with Order No. 4.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

ORDER NO. 4

To move the passing of a Resolution that the House of Assembly, acting on behalf of and in the name of the people of Barbados:

(a) reconfirms the commitment of this nation of Barbados to champion and advocate for the cause of freedom and respect for human rights, inclusive of the eradication of all forms of anti-Black racism,

(b) extends sincere and profound condolences to the immediate family of the late George Floyd, to his extended

African American family and to all American citizens irrespective of race who were deeply hurt by the tragedy,

(c) expresses support for the principle that 'Black Lives Matter' and endorses the notion that it will not be possible to unequivocally assert that all lives matter unless and until all Black lives are, in theory and in practice, treated with the respect and regard that is their due, and

(d) confirms that Barbados would be more than willing to contribute human and other resources and to participate in any regional, hemispheric or international initiative that is aimed at providing assistance to nations that are currently struggling with their national efforts to eradicate racism in general and anti-Black racism in particular.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for Christ Church South. Mr. R. A. THORNE: I am obliged to you, Mr. Speaker. I beg leave of Your Honour just for a few seconds to express my own sympathy to those two young men who tragically died yesterday. Please permit me to call their names. Mr. Glenroy James and Mr. Christoff Griffith. I believe Mr. Griffith was involved in the business of journalism, and the business of journalism and the business of politics often coincide. This is all the more reason that we shall miss him terribly. To his family, friends and colleagues at the Nation and to his larger family at the One Caribbean Corporation, I express my own sympathies and I know that the House will join in this expression. I am obliged to you Sir.

Your Honour, it is my honour and duty to move today's Resolution as read by the Clerk of the House. In doing so, I will not pretend that this is any reinvention of the wheel. The Resolution itself will remind this Chamber that similar Resolutions have been debated and passed in various international fora, not least of all the United Nations. It is not to say that we regard the United Nations with any greater reverence than the other international bodies like, the Organisation of African Unity, the Organisation of American States, and the European Community. Several international bodies across this globe have in the past recognise the importance of these Resolutions and they have recognised the importance of a commitment, a man's recommitment to the eradication of anti-black racism as it afflicts all corners of this Globe.

Mr. Speaker, I suppose it was just another street corner, perhaps it was just another city, Minneapolis, but it is important that it was in the United States of America which has in recent times been defaced with incidences of violence against black men on the streets of that country that we like to say is a great country.

The World has responded from Japan to Germany, to England, in the southern hemisphere, in Antarctica, those

countries in the Antarctic, and South Africa. All of the young people, and I say the young people across this Globe have reacted with the voice of protest, to this event, to the killing of George Floyd. Why this one? Why is this one so different? Why is it that this one has attracted the attention of the World in the way that it has? Your Honour, I think it has to do with the nature of that violent transaction. It was almost as if the lenses in our eyes were reduced to slow motion. It was a murder cold and brutal that extended itself in the eyes of the World for some nine minutes. That is unusual, that a man sits on another man or rests his body on another man with apparent nonchalance and squeezes the very life out of that child of God. Cold calculated vicious, and deliberate murder.

Your Honour, perhaps the World that saw it came to symbolise or should I say, the nature of that criminal act, encapsulates a relationship between Europe and the rest of World, between Europe and Africa, because that will be the focus of any debate on racism in this World.

We were informed that the incident itself took nine minutes and my position is that it recaptures an entire relationship between Europe and Africa. It was as if a minute represented a generation, and I believe a generation is 33 years or thereabout. It was as if three minutes represented a century and nine minutes represented three centuries of a terrible relationship between Europe and Africa.

Your Honour, at the edge of that arena of death, was a voice of a young man. I watched the video and I glimpsed him only for a split second. That event was one of violence. The philosophers and writers who will tell you that the colonial relationship was essentially one of violence, and they are others who will tell you that it is organised hatred. However, at the edge of that arena of death, there was a young man whose voice was heard, [and I will call him the criminal], pleading with the criminal to save the man's life. Your Honour, did he plead with the language of violence? No he did not. If you revisit the recording, he used the language of brotherhood. I think the word is "bro". He said, "Bro, he is not moving", "Bro, are you serious?", so that his resistance for this violent act was in the language of brotherhood, and that is an amazing thing. He did not return violence with violence. That is important to note.

Hence, we come to this place and the World comes to this point in which it seeks to express revulsion against historical violence between Europe and Africa. However, how do we interpret this events? How do we bring a sense of understanding to what happened on that fateful day in May I think? Perhaps, in trying to interpret the event, we revisit life's basic philosophical question, which seeks an answer to the relationship between the spiritual and the physical. We ask ourselves, is life an accumulation of

physical events, or are the actions of men guided by a spirit resident in a soul.

I speak in the presence of Your Chaplain and the Leader of the Opposition whom I respect as a man of the cloth as well. With their permission, I want to draw this House's attention to the good book Ephesians 6:12,"[^]For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Let us focus on the word spirit and spiritual. The "Good Book", reminds us that life is not exclusively an accumulation of physical events - that there is a spirit that guides the actions of men and Ephesians tells us about spiritual wickedness in high places.

Those of us of African descent, who for the past three to four hundred years have known only powerlessness must meet what the book of Ephesians calls spiritual wickedness in high places. Do we meet it equally with spiritual wickedness, do we or do we search into our souls and respond with virtue and with a spirit that is opposite to what we have met? When I say we, I am talking about the Africans and the people in the Caribbean, what we have met for the last three or four hundred years. In short, even under oppression is their space within our being for acts of morality? Can we as a people find it within our souls to respond in the way that the young man responded at that arena of death when his brother was being killed, he found the language of brotherhood, he found the language of love. In ordinary life, when we are oppressed one of the most difficult things to achieve is that response based on love, that response based on brotherhood. Can we as a people locate it within our being, it takes faith, your Honour. It is a leap of faith into that reservoir into the soul and finds the spirit of love in response to hatred. The "Good Book" again will tell you that faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, such is the power of this thing called, but it is a difficult path to travel. We know it, and we admit it, it is a difficult path to travel, but faith reminds us that it involves hope, faith reminds us that even though we do not see the results, even though we do not see the evidence faith is so strong that we experience it, we feel it. We may not be able to convince others of the existence of faith, perhaps the man at the edge of that arena of death, had faith but the other man would not have done what he did, but he kept his faith, and he called him brother. Where there is faith and where there is hope you are reminded that the greatest of these three is love. This theme of love always comes back to us.

The American theologian, Walter Stoff, I think is his name, reminds us that justice is nothing except a manifestation of love. We come to this place, we go to the Courts in this country, and we talk about justice, your Honour. The theologians remind us that justice is but a manifestation of love, so that love is at the heart. Politicians

do not speak of love very often, but it goes to the heart of the being of man and allows man to give a response even to the most callous violence because his soul runs deep like the rivers.

The American philosopher, Cornel West, tells us that the African in the Western world, has responded to systemic racism in various ways and one of those significant ways is the expression of music. He always refers to the great Jazz Artist, John Coltrane, who displayed the ultimate in musical excellence, the tune called Love Supreme. Again, if humankind is able to dig deep enough into his soul, all of us will come one day to realise that the best response to hatred is love.

Shakespeare would have written at the begging of his play Twelfth Night if music be the food of love, play on, play on. That is what the African in the Western world has had to experience, powerless, often no arms, no guns but he has reached into his soul. He has responded to systemic racism, to what Cornel West himself calls organise hatred and he has responded to that organise hatred with love.

Around the time that Shakespeare was writing those words, Europe and Western Europe did not know the language of racism, this is interesting. What we call racism today is a modern concept, did not exist at that time, and at that time, perhaps it was only done taking shape. Race was a cultural and national difference, it denoted, or signified cultural and national differences. Race after that was to establish itself as a social hierarchy where men were evaluated in society not according to merit, not according to their capacity to love each other but according to the colour of their skin. How did the mind of man become this corrupted that a man's merit meant little in the face of his fellow man?

That is where enters Christopher Columbus, our earliest introduction in our Primary schools was that this gentleman was sent by Queen Isabella, to discover these lands. You smile, Sir because you know that I am about to say that you cannot discover lands where people are already resident, but he came and told the Europeans that he was going to discover lands for them. Let us move, pass the elementary aspects of Columbus and Columbus' expedition. He came to the Caribbean, and like all expeditioners, he would record what he had experienced, and he wrote some journals. He wrote of the beauty of these islands, amazing he had never seen anything like it but then your Honour, he came to a discussion in his journals about the people, the Amerindians who were living in these islands and who were living in this hemisphere across the pond from Europe. I want to say to you Sir, and I want to say to the larger audience, what Columbus wrote back to his Queen Isabella, and told her about the Peoples that he encountered in this part of the

world and I quote: "They would make fine servants". I repeat, Columbus said of the Amerindians that he encountered in this part of the world they would make fine servants. So already he is establishing a relationship, he is establishing a social hierarchy. He is seeing these people for the first time, clearly their disposition and demeanour reflected pleasantness and friendliness, and rather than entering into wholesome human intercourse with them, he sees them as servants. Sir, that is the beginning of a relationship between Europe and this part of the world.

This is the beginning of the relationship between Europe and Africa. He did not stop at establishing that hierarchy. He did not stop at establishing that he was master and they were servants, potentially. His diary continues as follows:

"With 50 men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want."

He boasted to his Queen that all he needed was 50 men and a whole population of these islands in this hemisphere. He could subjugate them all and make them do whatever he wanted, so that the relationship is not only master and servant but it is violent. He contemplates violence against the people that he encounters for the first time in his life.

Sir, it is the beginning of what we know as the colonial relationship. The relationship in which one man sees himself as the superior, the other man as his inferior and that they are joined by that belief. If he could convince the other man he is inferior, then the relationship in his corrupted mind is complete. Historically, we entered the phase of Amerindian genocide. History would tell us that the Amerindians largely disappeared. They moved from the genocide of the Amerindian. I refer to England when I say "they". Let us not be squeamish about speaking of England. England itself is apologising for these past acts of violence and inhumanity.

They moved to Irish servitude. The English brought the Irish here to make them servants and do as Columbus contemplated ought to be done. It was to establish a

relationship of master-servant. After the experiment in Irish servitude, the moved to the experiment in Indian servitude; indentured labour I believe they called it. Thereafter, African slavery came. Let me pause and opine that the relationship of master-servant was qualitatively different from the relationship of master and slave. Let me unapologetically make that clear to be my position. This relationship and racism had its ideology because if the political and commercial superstructure in England want to convince their own populations that what they are doing has a moral justification, then the moral justification that

they discovered for themselves was that the African was inferior.

If a man is inferior, then you can dehumanize him. You can make him into property and animal fit only for sale, barter and labour. We discover that these parts of the world were never designed as places for social living but these places in which we are now resident were designed as factories or production. The African was not brought here as any experiment or exercise in social living. The African was brought here as a means of production. The relationship became established and it survived for many years and the march of modern man in this part of the world has been to dismantle the symbol of that relationship; the symbol of violence and dehumanization of an African population.

However, it is one thing to dismantle the physical plantation but when the attitudes survive, then the problem still exists. I was so happy, Mr. Speaker, when I observed by the media the march which took place a few weeks ago in Barbados. The young people protested not exclusively against the death of George Floyd but against a historical relationship of injustice. It was pleasing. Why was it so pleasing? Why was it so different from other protests? We have had several protests in this country before. We have had several protests in London before. We have had several protests across the Western Hemisphere but now it reaches into Japan, and young Japanese are protesting against a history of injustice.

Even Barbados found it possible that the sons and daughters of Europeans, Africans and Indians march together. What beautiful humanity. How beautiful is humankind when it is joined in a common cause. Mr. Speaker, it was the beauty of human conduct that is worthy of emulation. They marched at the crossroad at the top of Broad Street. When a man comes to a cross road, it implies that his journey is not yet ended. A journey never ends at a crossroad. I spoke earlier of the relationship between the police officer and the George Floyd extending itself over nine minutes. I spoke of that nine minutes symbolizing itself into 300 years. The challenge to mankind today is, what shall we do in the tenth minute? How shall we respond in the tenth minute?

Again, I pause and congratulate those young Barbadians who are Africans, Europeans and Indians that are all God's children that embarked on the tenth minute in a legitimate search for justice. I applaud them. They found companionship and I suspect they found it with each other. I suspect that when Guyanese poet, Martin Carter wrote these words 70 years ago, he could not have imagined the words from the poem, *The Discovery of Companion*, would become as relevant and prophetic as they are today. Permit to quote, Mr. Speaker. The poem reads as follows:

'This tower of movement bending in the world

Is shocked to motion

Crumbling knee and face

In the strange sands of discovery

A gasp of fear is the first fear unto death

The first wave of a hand

The first heartbeat

But the return of a rival is merciless

Is a pool of dark water

A terrible mirror

To bend on a planet of misery is revelation like apocalypse No longer the trunk of a palm The trunk of a tree but pillar of endurance Yes, to be born again Astonished and made bear is awareness of companion While the blue swords of lightning kill Knowledge is intense and scorching fire Only when a man is clad in flame can he be made to know companion.'

Those young people in Bridgetown, clad themselves in the flame of past injustices and theirs has been a most noble search for justice and I applaud them. I really do applaud them and hopefully, the legacy of my generation left to future generations should be that we transform those places that memorialise and celebrate past injustices that we should transfigure those places to beautiful vistas, to beautiful gardens in which our children and our children's children will live generally in peace and in harmony and with love one for the other as God ordained that his world should be ordered. If I must end on that note, permit me to end again with the poem again from Martin Carter, "For My Son". That is the name of the poem and it is a name that implies legacy. What do we leave for our sons, what do we leave for our daughters, what do we leave for our beautiful children who occupy this country; our beautiful children of Europe, our beautiful children of Africa and our beautiful children of India and less thy forget, our beautiful children of the Amerindian population, those of them who survived the genocide. Here once again is the voice of Martin Carter.

*'The street is in darkness Children are sleeping
Mankind is dreaming It is midnight'*

When they left that spirit was left quiet, Mr. Speaker, 'left quiet'. How shall that square be transformed? Let us return to Martin Carter.

'It is midnight The sun is away Stars peep at cradles
Far seems the day Who will awaken One little flower
Sleeping and growing Hour and hour Dew is awake
Morning is soon Mankind is risen Flowers will bloom'

Again, Mr. Speaker, can we find it possible to transfigure these memorials of past injustices to beautiful gardens where flowers will bloom and the children of Europe and the children of Africa and the children of India and the Amerindian population that survives where they can run among those gardens and be free and be completely free.

Mr. Speaker, I ask your permission to allow me to move this Resolution and I have done so with nothing except honour and a sense of duty and I humbly ask and beg of you, Sir, to move that the Resolution do now pass.

I am obliged to you.

A rousing round of applause.

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: I beg to second that, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Leader of the Opposition.

Bishop J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, and if I also may be allowed I would like to associate my position here and the Office of the Opposition with the sentiments of sympathy expressed to the families of those who tragically lost their lives yesterday in the incident of which was spoken.

During the debate, Mr. Speaker, in support of the Resolution, in its entirety but I want to locate my remarks especially so around Clause C of the Resolution part of the document which expresses support for the principle that "Black Lives Matter" and endorses the notion that it will not be possible to unequivocally assert that all lives matters unless and until all black lives are in theory and in practice treated with the respect and regard that is their due. There is in political philosophy and social development discourse the notion of the Just Society. One remembers well the former Honourable Member for St. George South was very much associated with advocacy of this notion of the Just Society. I would like to think that from time to time, if I am heard and listen to, that I locate my sentiments where his were located and do advocate and promote the concept and notion of the need for the Just Society. This particular debate, Mr. Speaker, I would have set my remarks and the beginning line reference to the notions of the Just Society present my remarks in this frame. I believe, as I am sure all of us here do, in the sanctity of life. We may not always behave like that, that is man but we all believe in the sanctity of life. We believe in the dignity of humanity

whatever label it wears. I believe strongly in the efficacy of the black race. There are those who would be happy to have those of black ethnicity settle for a token space on the periphery of life a blessing and I believe that the notion of the efficacy of the black race suggests that the black man not only deserves a place of equal prominence with all other ethnic groups on the basis of the sanctity of life and the dignity of human but on the basis of the efficacy of his contribution. He has earned that right of a place of prominence. The notion of a Just Society there are certain theoretical elements that come along with that which I fully believe from time to time we have to hold up to scrutiny and to question as we seek to improve the situation with reference to the black race, our black population, our majority population here in Barbados. There is the element of the other nation of equality of rights and liberties. That is a concept. Equality of rights, equal rights, equality of liberties. That is a concept, Mr. Speaker. What matters more and what has to be held up for serious scrutiny is the matter beyond the concept the application of that concept in practice because we can talk in flowery and eloquent language of equality of opportunity, of equality of rights but we have to search by honest examination the application, the context of which those rights and those liberties are given and given vent to. Barbados still must honestly do that. Barbados still must honestly do that. Examine the context in which we promote the concept of equality of right and equality of opportunity and liberty. We must do that with respect to how those rights and liberties are applied. This discussion again offers us a moment for national reflection and rant. There is the notion of equality of opportunity but as we move from class to class, Mr. Speaker, I am sure you know. You are a deep thinker on these matters. Your experience tells you that in Barbados still of 2020 we have issues here. I do not believe it is so much a matter of equality of opportunity but is equality of deserving, that is my own concept, because what might present opportunity for Person A in Class A may be something denied Person B in Class B and therefore the opportunity which notionally I am said to have I do not have because it is the circumstances that obtained around me which are thrown up by the system or systems under which I live and therefore I speak to equality of deserving. The person who is in "Class B" is equally deserving of opportunity as is the person in Class A, and might I add I believe in Barbados we do not have such a problem with race as we do with class. If you want to locate the reflections in this discussion the debate in the United States of America or any other metropolitan country feel free to do that but in the context of looking at the black struggle I want to locate my thoughts and reflections in what happens right here on ground in Barbados and I will want to promote the concept of deserving. If I come from urban Barbados in Richmond or in Savannah Road but if I come from a rural district in Church Village in St. Philip or if I come from the Bayland urban populated centres where poverty is rife and community erosion is evident I am

equally deserving as the person who lives in some heights or some terraces or some garden or some park.

The system now may not allow me equal opportunity that I want to lay claim to being equally deserving and I will continue to knock on the doors until the system recognises there is no meaningful equality of opportunity until it is recognised that each equally deserves and therefore the system must address the circumstances that attends our lives as black people enrichment in Bush Hall and Church Village and Bayland such that the notion of equal opportunity takes on more meaningful relevance.

There is the notion of distributed justice and it has to do with the question of the allocation of resources.

Mr. Speaker, I have said it before and I will say it until I can no longer say it for whatever reason, we have to address ownership patterns in Barbados, ownership with respect to land and capital and business opportunity and business function. I use this paradigm all of the time when I reflect on these matters and the struggle of blacks today is much about this. There was a time, Mr. Speaker - the Honourable Member for Christ Church South referred to that -- an ugly dark day when we were slaves in their fields, when the system allowed us to graduate and be promoted to become servants in their mansions, in their manors and in their houses. My mother was one of those, Mr. Speaker, so it is not so far removed from me, and I suspect your mother may have had like experiences, how far removed from. We were servants in their houses and the days yielded as we pushed against the doors and so that the system may survive and because of our efforts and energy removed from being servants in their houses to become stewards in their storerooms and in their offices and we were and still do the labour of manager and accountant and lawyer on their behalf. We are still working for them. Slavery has past. That period of servitude is passed, but that notion of stewardship is very much still alive. We need to move beyond that and become successors with respect to ownership of land and business and capital. You know why, Mr. Speaker? Because black lives matter. You know why, Mr. Speaker? Because all black lives matter and so that paradigm must continue to change and progress must continue to be had and to be realised. He who now works as a labourer on the land must be able to aspire to own a piece of the land. He who now works as a labourer on somebody's plantation must aspire one day to..., like a friend of mine, to own a plantation. That is what it is about. The reality, Mr. Speaker, is black lives matter. In the whole world black lives matter and if all black lives matter these things are pertinent and these things fall immediately to our concern, our consideration and our reflection and they fall immediately within our power to address.

Every business in my view, Mr. Speaker, of alien landholding legislation which still allows privileged people

blessed with capital to find a place upon which they can abscond themselves then here occasionally for relaxation and entertainment not investment while the majority of us cannot own what we call a piece of the rock.

I believe that legislation needs to be addressed such that if you want a piece of land in Barbados because you are investing and you are going to employ people and you are going to help us to earn foreign exchange we can provide for that. Whether we come simply because we want to have a vacation home for four, five or six months in the year. Mr. Speaker, that has its benefits but it also brings its significant disadvantage to a land-scarce community in which the majority are dispossessed when it comes to landownership and we have to address that in my view and I humbly suggest.

There is a process under this notion of the just society and that is why I am sure interestedly much as a just process. The just purists speak with how justice is administered and dispensed and how people are treated in the face of the justice system and how law and order is provided for. Mr. Speaker, we still have the feature in our society today of delayed justice. We adhere to that maxim that justice delayed is justice denied but we still delay people their moment of justice and we have people sitting up in Dodds for months and years and you cannot get them out, Mr. Speaker, you cannot get your cases to be heard, brilliant and enlightened a luminary as you are or neither you or the Honourable Member for Christ Church South together in a combined effort can get them out. That is justice delayed.

Mr. Speaker, I do not have much time to focus too much on them but these things are realities. If black lives matter it must matter that a man sits in prison for 10 or 14 years and the prison suddenly realises the man should not be here. You "mekking" sport in Barbados in 2019. Justice is denied people because they must sit up there for too long because the system is not as accommodating as it should be. No one is suggesting that there is a mischief put in place to ensure that it happens. I am not saying that, you would have to tell me about those things, I cannot advise you on those matters but certainly the system should be made to have such facilities that we can treat to that matter in a better frame. I do not believe (and Mr. Speaker, Sir, again you can tell me with greater certainty) that generally we have police brutality in Barbados. And you seem not to agree. Mr. Speaker, Sir, from my position, my distance, I do not believe that generally we have a problem with police brutality. As much as we speak to black lives matters, I think there is the response to a perceived and real police brutality related issues. I do not know that we have that generally in Barbados, this matter of police brutality. What I would do is to admit of, to urge, and to call for, that there be greater levels of accountability in the process with respect to how people are treated when they fall subject to

the inquiry of the law. There must be greater accountability. There must be greater transparency. There must be a greater level of independence of the mechanisms that witnesses the matter of police query, when the public or an individual raises an issues, when it seems that an injustice is being perpetrated or when it is allowed (I should better say) that we need to have a system which with greater independence, transparency and accountability speaks to those issues. We have got cases if not before the court (and I do not know the details of these things) but we have cases/incidents here in Barbados which are still very prominent with respect to public speculation and rumor. Now, we are talking about George Floyd, that is alright, I understand that, but there are local names here that we can mention, and cases here that we need to hear spoken of. There is that moment when they might make the front page but then they fall silently off all of the pages and nobody knows what is going on, and we wonder if justice is being done, or if justice is being denied, and we wonder if all black lives matter.

I do not know the ins-and-outs of the case, this has to do with a family from your constituency and I happened to be present at that march. I was there to support that family and also to support you. I do not hear anything about that, and I am not making any allegations. All I am saying here is that if we are talking about just process, we need to treat to certain realities that confront us, and justice must be seen to be done; a system that criminalizes a great number of our young males, that criminalizes them easily has to be reexamined. We need to see how much further we can go to ensure that if people do run afoul of the law [that] we understand why and we could respond to them in such a way that they learn discipline, or [that they] learn right conduct or right behaviour but our first option should not be to make criminals out of them and put them in a system which would only further criminalise them. I think these things matter, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when it comes to the black lives, black movement, the black struggle, then certain people whose names are referenced with prominence, persons like Martin Luther King is one of them. If you get beyond the beauty, the imagery, that he uses of his language, if you get beyond his colorful language, and the philosophy of nonviolent process and a vision for a changed societal system and structure, you would hear him call [for], among other things, very pragmatically, a guaranteed minimum household income (a guarantee minimum family income) because “All Black Lives Matter.”

We have spoken about those things here. I have made a call for that. I know the party in office has spoken to that [but] we have to go the next step and do something about that because it must matter that there are too many people who live below the poverty line in Barbados. It must matter that there are people who are barely eking out

a living in Barbados of 2020. You say things are hard now, in 2018 and 2019, because the economy had really gone through a really deep low. In 2008, 2018, if you want to, you can say it repeatedly if you have to, things became bad and our economy went downhill and so we can understand that there are people who are living that misery of poverty. But even before that, in days of plenty, in days of prosperity (if you want to locate that) in the pre-2008 period, there are still too many people in Barbados [who are] living that life of hardship and misery and too many are unnoticed or not responded to by the limitations of the system. All black lives matter, it cannot be simply those who operate at a certain level in the society, those who drive a certain brand of vehicle or wear a certain type of suit, all black lives matter. And so Martin Luther King would have made that call for the address of the income position of those at the bottom of the scale.

I went into a place yesterday. I did not ask this fellow anything but he said to me: “Listen, man, you talk about black lives matter and all of that, listen, I work for \$238 per week. Do you think that is fair? And they work me real hard in here.” Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not even know his name. He [went on to] say: “And next, the bus fare alone, four buses. I do not say this to be political or to get under the skin of one or two people over there, I am just repeating what happens. There are other things that create hardship apart from bus fare. He said that he catches four buses per day. You can work the math: five days per week at four buses a day, at \$3.50 per bus, and you will see what he is left with after working for \$238, approximately \$160 or \$170 he is left with to do all the rest. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you see, all black lives must matter, not just the ones who went to Combermere or [Harrison] College, the ones that went to St. Leonard’s and St. Lucy Secondary; all black lives must matter and if this debate provides the opportunity for us to reflect on these things, I pray that you would do so with a serious and sober mind to see how better we can address the deficiencies in the system around us.

My Honourable Member friend, the Member for St. Michael East will speak much to the African heritage and the contribution of African, leaders Zukuma would be one of prominence that would come to mind. He has a paradigm that interested me when I first heard it and it stuck with me because it draws almost a parallel, really, as as my friend, the Honourable Member for Christ Church South was doing this morning. In the Bible it said seek ye first the kingdom of God, but my friend said, seek ye first the political kingdom and then all societies can be transformed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is in theory, that is an ideology, that is a philosophy.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we now have and have had in Barbados in charge of governance for decades a black political class (a black political class) and I would not stand

and say here that nothing has been done to change, markedly, the situation of Barbados. What I would admit is this, that we have not done enough, and that we have not gone far enough, and sometimes we have had to question the level of energy and effort, and the level of vision and quality of that vision that obtains. I am saying there is a lot of room for improvement.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you seek to reduce reliance on the power and influence of the economic class behind the scenes that pulls the strings - (Mr. Speaker, Sir, are you with me? I suspect you are) - we must seek to reduce reliance. This is the black political class I am talking about. We must seek to reduce reliance upon the political influence and clout of the elite economic interest that operates behind the scenes. All political parties thus far have been subject to that influence; whatever label they have worn. Prepare for a new dawn, prepare for a new day that those who serve the country's interests now might be enlightened. I am not talking party here, I am talking about the political class across parties; people like my young friend from St. Michael South who comes with an energy and a sense of vision, and a little bit of innocence, yes. We have to accept that because he has just started. I am being complimentary. When you get up, do not trouble me.

Asides.

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Sir, we must reduce that reliance. I said when I was over there and I will say it still. A 30-minute mandate re-emphasises that. The fact that you are reduced to 29 does not in any way reduce the significance of the mandate. When you are fully reduced, that mandate will still stand. I have said that I believe the prime mandate of this Administration now in office is to further the process of economic democracy in Barbados. The first Adam (Sir Grantley Adams) led us in a struggle -- some may question the use of the word "struggle" -- for democratic privilege, and unless you have democratic privilege you will not accede to the economic privilege which we seek. You see, he led us toward the expansion of democratic privilege. The Right Excellent Errol Walton Barrow.... Let me get this right because people will then say you are disrespecting. I am not disrespecting anybody. I am trying to save some time here because I have only about 15 minutes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, you have five more minutes.

Asides.

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: The Right Excellent Errol Barrow popularised and universalised free education in Barbados; absolutely necessary. I will not get into any debate as to who started it. He popularised it and universalised it in Barbados, and significantly that has

helped to make Barbados what it is today, and significantly that has contributed to the composition of this Chamber itself here today. The second Adam (J.M.G.M. "Tom" Adams) -- that has a biblical analogy too for the Honourable Member for Christ Church South -- introduced a sort of revolutionary policy with respect to plantation land which benefited a number of Barbadians, even some in urban Barbados; several families benefited through that. Owen Arthur expanded on that same policy in Barbados in terms of the landscape. Mr. Speaker, you know this very well because you are the Honourable Member for St. Michael Central and you see the change in the quality of housing that has come about in land ownership across urban Barbados because of the Urban Tenancies' Transfer of Tenant programme.

Sir, what I am saying is that there are things which the political class has done from time to time and which have improved life. I am saying that the primary mandate for this Administration is to further the process of economic democracy in Barbados by further universalising and democratising ownership patterns in Barbados, whether you are talking about land or capital or business. If they do not do that, irrespective of whatever else they may achieve, in my view, if that is not done by this Administration in the time that it has, then I would have to say they have failed to fulfil a significant mandate. Mr. Speaker, you have told me that I have five minutes more and therefore in that last....

Mr. SPEAKER: At that time, Honourable Member. Sir, your minutes have elapsed, Honourable Member.

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: Ultimately I am saying you have to deal with policy, the discriminatory and exclusionary kind of system under which we live, and we have to provide for people wider opportunities that are more meaningful and rewarding. I saw some fellows a couple years ago not far from me in bright, fluorescent garb, and I knew that they were people involved in the debushing programme. I have spoken about this before, because this happened before, and the same reaction is needed. I am glad that they can find something to do to make a little dollar or two. It breaks my heart because I believe the system under which we live has not done enough to help them realise that the ceiling can be set a little higher than that. They should not have to have that view that this is all they can aspire to, that seasonally some politician would give them the opportunity to weed the roads and debush and beautify Barbados, which is important. We have got to teach them and make them understand, "I can aspire to better than this and my ceiling is beyond this," because all Black lives matter, Mr. Speaker.

Decent housing; we need to get rid of that "outhouse" out there, Mr. Speaker. You know what I am

talking about, Mr. Speaker. If you are going to establish through the political class the primacy of that political kingdom and its functionality with respect to bettering the interest of the majority of Black people, we have to stop that party dependence on elite economic interests, we must move away from partisan appropriation of resources, we must move from systems that are dysfunctional in relation to the interest of the majority, and we must move from situations where the law is a product or dictate of select groups. The call that we make usually to people to share in the pain must become one to share the privilege. I am a member of a party called the PdP (People's Party for Democracy and Development) -- the other Members do not remember the name very often, so I will remind them -- and we understand the call to share the pain. We advocate very strongly the need to make that call and make it happen that we share the privilege as well.

Sir, this party has disbanded the Pan African Commission.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, can you start to wind up?

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: I am winding up, Mr. Speaker, and I thank you for your liberality. This Pan African Commission was one of the first agencies that went on the chopping block under the BERT (Barbados Economic Restructuring and Transformation) programme. I do not know that it is the right thing to do. You can do that if you are going to establish something better. I think Government must clearly set out what better it has established because the Pan African Commission was set up as one of the entities to help us in this struggle and there were some fine objectives which I just referred to. There is a document that speaks to the debates when it was established. The introduction was a system of community-based government....

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, can you start to wind up? I have given you more time than you deserved.

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: I am going to be done. This is my last sentence. It may be long but it is the last sentence.

Asides.

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: This speaks to alien land-holding legislation as well; the establishment of community-based cooperatives, removal of the Queen.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable, I understand English too....

Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. ATHERLEY: I thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. The point is made and I thank you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. James Central.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, and like my predecessor who is now taking his seat, I would wish to endorse and to signal my support for this Resolution and primarily locate my contribution at that aspect of the Resolution which speaks to the endorsement of the principle that 'Black Lives Matter' and endorses the notion that it will not be possible to unequivocally assert that all lives matter unless all Black lives are treated with the respect that is their due. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take as the point of departure that philosophical position because it was eruditely "exspiciated" upon by the Martiniquan intellectual, Frantz Fanon, in his well and widely documented work, 'The Wretched of the Earth'.

This opportunity that we have today and my judgement, and I wanted to start by signaling my respect and my profound appreciation to the Prime Minister of Barbados for ensuring that this was located early on the Order Paper of this House. Because, it is a very important discussion and in my judgement, it relates to some fundamental issues, not just about the level and type of justice that is meted out to persons of African descent, not only in America but around the World, and in that regard, the Leader of the Opposition is entirely correct when he asked us and invites us to focus on Barbados. However, it also must speak to the issues of the equitable treatment of black people and their equitable access to resources, the equitable access to opportunity and to the distribution of resources, not only in the United States of America, but here in Barbados as well.

What has not been said in this debate, or what I think needs to be said, is why it is relevant for us in Barbados? Hence, it is important for us to accept and understand that this country was once the colony that allowed the British or in which the British were able to perfect the system of plantation slavery. Not only to perfect the system of plantation slavery as a model, but to export that model from Barbados to the Southern United States of America, specifically to the Carolinas, and that allowed for people who were perhaps among the most elite of the plantocracy in the Caribbean, certainly the most elite of the plantocracy in Barbados and not only among the most elite of the plantocracy, but the most barbaric of the plantocracy, the most pugnacious and rapacious of the plantocracy to be granted titles, royal charters, titles of lord proprietor. They went on in some instances to become the second and third governor of the Carolinas. Sir, people like John Yeamans, who once ran that which we now know as St. Nicholas

Abbey, and Colleton from the famous Colleton Great in St. Peter and others.

Mr. Speaker, the importance of that ability for this colony to colonise another colony, and in fact it is the only time that happened in history, that a colony colonised another colony, was the transfer of a system, a paramedic structure of oppression and exploitation based on race. The importance of the transfer is seen in the fact that the first slave laws written in the United States of America were enacted in Boston, Massachusetts in 1641, but it was 20 years later that the Barbadian plantocracy were able to settle the Carolinas and transfer the system of plantation slavery and all that went with it in 1663 and beyond.

Mr. Speaker Sir, there is something therefore that connects us in Barbados to that which is the social, psychological, and the cultural reality of the United States of America. Sir, our journey have been exceptionally similar and the social psychological structure of supremacy based on race, elitism and indeed class in the aftermath of slavery experience, is all part and parcel of the same puzzle. Therefore, Sir, while on humanitarian grounds, we can obviously understand that there is a deep concern about that which has happened to George Floyd and others before him. Sir, we must also understand that it is part and parcel of that story that we have to tell in Barbados. As the Leader of the Opposition quite rightly says, to dig deep into exploring where the continued weaknesses of deficiencies in our social structure life.

Mr. Speaker Sir, as I said it is not only George Floyd. 12 days after him, it was another unarmed black man in a car park of Wendy's shot in the back by another white policeman. Two days ago, a Father's Day greeting was a noose for America's only race car driver in his garage stall at the famous Talladega speedway in Alabama, Deep South. The thinking remains the same Mr. Speaker Sir, and it is not a question of the atrocities being new or the atrocities being more frequent. The atrocities are captured by modern technology and there are therefore something that is there for the whole World to see and perhaps for those who are more conscious to become horrified about now. However, the point of departure for us must be to understand that these things all bear witness to the message that was immortalised by Billie Holiday in 1939 when she wrote that which became the Time Magazine song of the century, "Strange Fruit hanging from Southern Trees."

The younger Members of this Chamber who find a lot of time to go to Machel Montana, but will not learn about those things at a Montana concert, need to know that, "southern trees bear strange fruit, blood is to be found on the leaves and blood on the root. Black bodies swinging in the breeze, strange fruit hanging from popular trees." Sir that was the song that expressed the tortured social reality

of the 1930s in the United States of America. However, Mr. Speaker Sir, it also gave birth to social investigation which was being done by intellectuals like W. E. B. Du Bois, who like the two speakers who spoke before me were prepared to approach this matter from a position of studied and steady, conservative schools of analysis. It is nothing wrong with that, because quite frankly that is where Dr. King was located.

Mr. Speaker, the reality is that even as W.E.B Du Bois was to witness the lynching of a man called Sam Hose, and he sought to intellectualise this and he wrote a letter that was to be published in a newspaper and he making his way to the newspaper to drop off his letter to intellectualise that which horrified him and felt he could reason with the American society, the white supremacist of the south. He passed a shop where he saw Sam Hose's hand for sale, the charred knuckles of the black man that had just been cut down from a tree, where his body was burnt and then dismembered. His limbs were now being offered for sale. It was at that juncture that W. E. B. Du Bois came to understand that there was a social and psychological reality buried deep in the American system, buried deep in American culture and society, very similar to the vain of that which has been buried deep in Barbadian society that says that their dispensability, an unessential nature to black people and the way in which they are treated.

Mr. Speaker it is important to understand that the W. E. B. Du Bois then made an observation that I think continues to haunt all of us till this day that we as a black race are confronted with a double consciousness. On one hand, we are invited to accept the democracy in which we live, and we reach out for this ideal, we grasp it with both hands, our people, we all here are here as a part of that process where people go every time an election is called and they vote in hope and in anticipation. Then the other side of that consciousness Mr. Speaker, is that they are greeted very often with disappointment and disillusionment and they are visited with a denial of opportunity and a denial of equitable distribution of resources and a denial of those things which can empower them as a people, Sir. So, for developmental purposes, yes, we all can hold hands and properly agonise and sympathise about that which is taking place in the United States today.

Sir, for humanitarian purposes that is one thing but for developmental purposes, we have also to look at the lives in Barbados and to be sure that they are treated as though they fundamentally matter. That is the point to which the Leader of the Opposition spoke and I must confess that I agree with him wholeheartedly on that matter. It was a week ago to the day that I stood here in this House and I made the observation that there are certain people who invest in this country, who have benefitted from large concessions and the way they have responded to

labour, the way they respond to the people who sent me here, Mr. Speaker and who sent you where you sit is that they visit on them a three-month contract. So that their relationship to employment is one of three- months. The question for those people is, how do they epee out on existence? How do you go to the bank and negotiate a loan on the basis of the fact that you are working for three-months? How are you able to fix the house in which you live, to get the financing on the basis of that evidence that you are there for three months. It was in this House, not this physical location but this Parliament, a year ago, that I spoke.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I speak this way because I begin with regard to the Ministry that I am given the privilege and opportunity to lead. A year ago, I came to this Parliament and explained the fact that in the Bridgetown Port there was a company that would have had the benefit of 85 per cent of the business passing through that Port in terms of human traffic, cruise, and visitors to this Island, Eighty- five per cent but there are 300 taxi drivers in the Bridgetown Port who get five per cent of the business. Do those lives not matter? Are these not the issues that we must now intervene in, in order to make sure that there is a distributive intervention in the interest of justice? That there is equality of opportunity, equality of access to resources that is what the debate has to be about in Barbados. Sir, it is not a matter of waging war against anybody of any colour, it is a matter of trying to make sure that we rectify imbalances that have haunted this society from time immemorial, as far back as the memory of man death run. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is important for me, I feel as a member of this Parliament to speak this way in this House because this House was the tool that was used to systematically oppress the working-class people of Barbados, the black people of Barbados for all is the same.

I heard a distinction being made by the Leader of the Opposition as to whether it is race or class, well let me explain to the Leader of the Opposition that is an artificial dichotomy. The reality of this thing is that the working class are the black people in Barbados. You will find one or two in one or two parishes of the Island but they represent a very small handful of exception. We all know that skin colour in Barbados gives opportunity to many things and denies opportunity equally to many people.

Mr. Speaker, in 1708 this Parliament passed an act to prohibit inhabitation of Barbados from employing Negroes in selling or in bartering. It was in 1733 that this Parliament passed an act for the better governance of Negroes that is why it is call to prohibit them from huckstering, going after the poor people. The knee is on the throat of the poor people. Not satisfied, in 1749 this Parliament was used as the tool to pass an act to prevent Negroes from assembling in huckster shops, the working class, there were no white hucksters, none. In 1774 this Parliament passed an Act to

prohibit Negroes from carrying goods, wares and merchandise and to prohibit them from selling house to house around the Island. The knee was placed in the neck of the working class people of Barbados, black people in Barbados who were trying to eke out an economic existence, Parliament was the tool used to stop them. It goes on and on, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in 1811, all black vendors to be removed from Roebuck Street, Swan Street, Broad Street and prohibited from vending in any form in those locations, this Parliament. If it is so familiar to you, Mr. Speaker, Sir it is because of your lifetime and mine, We have seen it where the authorities use the same streets, the same locations in Bridgetown to hound working class people into submission because there is a structure very deep vein of this society that believes that there are certain locations where certain types of people can do business and others cannot and that has to be rested to the ground.

Sir, the reality is that we now have come to a point where the issue in Barbados as the Honourable Prime Minister said during the last election is how we close the circle of enfranchisement. To give black people the economic opportunity that they have been denied historically. Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of things that we have to look at.

Immediately behind me is the Honourable Member for St. George South who has been able to introduce for the first-time trust loans in this country. It gives to working-class people, and it is commendable because it gives to working-class people an opportunity to raise a little money to advance a business interest without having to deal with this thing call collateral. The bank is the hardest place to go and face anybody. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in my own Ministry, we in an effort to respond to the challenge at the Bridgetown Port created the Barbados Alive Taxi Venture, which allows for taxi operators to be given the training and the access of opportunity in the same way that the big tour operators do. Unfortunately, COVID-19 came along and killed that as soon as it starts but the COVID-19 will not be here forever, we will get it going again. The importance of it is to make sure that working-class people get the same access to opportunity as others have benefited from.

We also must go further Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must now speak the language in this Country of making sure that there is a financial literacy across Barbados.

All of in us in this House know that in part of our constituencies and in some cases the whole constituency virtually there is a difficulty understanding because of the class of the person and in every instance that class is also in debts to the race of the person, unfortunately. Difficulty in understanding what you are talking about and how certain things work, let me give you a few examples, Sir. How many people in your constituency if you go and tell them about crowdfunding today will know what you are talking

about? There is a lot of cons in your constituency, but if you tell them about crowdfunding, you have to break it down and work with them to understand it. There is another category of Barbados who not only understands it but have been given the opportunity to study it and then to practice it and implement it. No equality, we have to face that reality. We have to face the reality that something as simple as share ownership is a challenge. I can say in this House because I have had to deal with the issue about the divestment of Harrison's Cave. I have had to deal with the issue about divestment of Grantley Adams International Airport that even the Trade Union Movement

would tell you that first thing to be dealt with is that workers have to be able to talk about getting a wage increase.

I said the wage increase is to two or three per cent. They said it may translate into \$100. It is what they understand. I am saying that there must be a better understanding of what it is to own shares, especially in an entity like Grantley Adams International Airport that will only see profit going forward and could have only ever been brought to the situation it is in now by a global pandemic. It is a challenge that has to be confronted. Again, the Honourable Member for St. George South is in the prime position because financial literacy in this country is the banner that his Ministry must carry. Mr. Speaker, there are other things such as writing a business proposal.

Every young man in Barbados should be able to sit, write a business proposal with confidence and know how to approach a financial house or credit union. How many can? How many go through school and never saw a draft of a business proposal? How many have never had a conversation with anybody as to how to put one together, Mr. Speaker? If this is the reality, how can be saying that we treat all lives in this country as though they matter? What about those who by dint of hard labour have done all that they could possibly do to pull themselves up by their boot straps, look after their families but later in life have started to experience hard times? They live in a big concrete home with three bedrooms. Some have four bedrooms, two floors but by virtue of old age or some incapacity it starts to collapse around them and they need to raise resources. They do not have access to any other land but around the world people are talking the language of reverse mortgages. Your equity means something and you can take it to the bank and leverage on it. You built the property, paid for it, 25 years passed, virtually paid off the entire mortgage and wish to reverse it to get money to do a bit more on the property for offspring to carry it. Unfortunately, the offspring is not in the position to help now but down the road they will inherit it, so they will finish pay off for it. In 2020, no bank in Barbados would do that, Sir, not one. What happens in that mortgage market? Why is it that we are not taking the necessary steps

to make sure that we close that circle of enfranchisement and empowerment, so that black lives in this country can be advanced?

We all know that one of the issues we have in Barbados is to find creative tools of making sure that people who do not have access to land- that is what the colonialist did to us- can get through. Mr. Speaker, you and I know that the Chancery Court consolidated the plantations and as usual, they went to white families. Reality is that a lot of people in Barbados have no access to the land to the extent that you have tenantry land. The value of it is substantially less than in the heights and terraces. Sir, many people in Barbados has assets. There are motor mechanics with \$100 000 in assets such as the hoist and other equipment used to fix the vehicles.

They cannot leverage one of those assets because we have not moved to that place where we can have a collateral registry so that people's movable assets that have value can be leveraged. Instead of having to rely on land in order to get a little collateral at a bank or credit union, you can use your movable assets. The fisherfolk in Barbados who have assets cannot leverage them for anything. How do they build out a fleet? How do they move to the next level? We content ourselves by saying that enough has been done and the banking system is good. It is not good. It now has to do work to empower the people of Barbados. It now has to start to do work.

If they cannot do the work, then we have to make sure we create through this Parliament that has been the fetter and obstacle to progress for centuries before we arrived, it must now be the tool to empower people whose ancestors were previously restricted and restrained. This is the point, Mr. Speaker. It is to take the knee off of the necks financially of the people in this country. It is not only about a white man named Derek Chauvin kneeling in George Floyd's neck and suffocating him. There is a different way that people have found in Barbados to suffocate the working class people and we have to stop that from happening too. Mr. Speaker, I am saying to you respectfully that this use of movable and personal assets on collateral gives people who are not land owners access to secured finance. All of us in here know that the biggest challenge for small and medium enterprises is how to access finance. However, what small and medium enterprise often has is assets but under our current system those assets cannot be used to leverage capital. I do not want to stop without speaking access to technology because we must also understand this facilitation is not about a multi-millionaire from Europe coming here and wanting to invest \$3.5 million in a venture and how best he is accommodated. Business facilitation is about making sure the coconut vendor along the highway does not only have to rely on cash for his transaction for him to be robbed when his evening shift is over.

We must now move to the technology which exists. If I go to the Bahamas, I am seeing people with a device around their neck. You take a credit card, put it in front of the box and the money goes straight to the vendor's bank account. When you take a taxi, you do not pay in cash. The taxi-driver would have a similar gadget where you pass the credit card over to pay him. You have to use the technology to facilitate people who need to be facilitated because they are cash dependent. The watersport operator is cash dependent. All of them, Mr. Speaker, are cash dependent and that is why I have the difficulty with the Leader of the Opposition because I think he is slightly compromising on matters you do not have to compromise on.

Let us be frank and faithful to the truth in Barbados. There are no white coconut vendors. There are no white people who are doing that but they too must be facilitated. There are working class black men who must be facilitated and their lives matter. In all of these skillsets that we are pointing to, we all know that people at the base of this society struggling against the greatest of odds needing not a handout but a helping hand up. The Parliament of Barbados must be the place and the Ministries of Government must be source of that assistance in the same way that it was the source of resistance in previous years. Therefore, I genuinely believe there is much merit to be found in this debate. However, this debate cannot only be seen in the narrow context of the unfortunate fate that was meted out to George Floyd or any of the countless hundreds and probably thousands across continental United States of America (USA).

The reality is that for us in Barbados we know the symbols of oppression. We help as a colony to export to the USA the structure that led to their oppression. There are people who by virtue by the colour of their skin at birth continued to be at the bottom of a social pyramid. There are people who by virtue of the colour of their skin at birth continue to be at the top of the social pyramid. Mr. Speaker, it our task in 2020 to pull back the veil, let us now look at the substance of the society and do the type of social interventions and engineering that is necessary to correct the wrongs of history and to secure the imbalances to make sure that generations of tomorrow, the sons and daughters of negroes, the sons and daughters of black people, let us be frank and faithful to the literature, the sons and daughters of those people who would have been told that they live in the 'nigga yard' must now be in a position to control the commanding heights of the economy and until we able to see our offspring and our grandchildren making justifiable claims to commanding heights of the economy in Barbados then the struggle must continue and we are a long way from that, a long, long way. We have to speak truthfully to each other about it. It is a conversation that the country must have faithfully because, Sir, the reality is that it is not only our banking system, it is not only our financial system, it is not only, Sir, our

educational system, the structure of the way in which the insurance system works, I could go on and on if time would allow. The legal system, Mr. Speaker, and I realise that time will not allow.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is correct, Sir.

Hon. K. D. SYMMONDS: I noticed the intervention you are about to make, Sir, the legal system. Mr. Speaker, without wanting to way too deeply delve into this other matter, I simply say this: I am now at an age and stage in life where I am not interested in the optics. You could pull down a thousand statues, it will fill nobody's belly. I am interested in filling people's bellies. I am interested in making sure that people have comfort when they sleep at night that their children have satisfaction that they are going to inherit something in the land of their birth and, Mr. Speaker, until we come to that point we are having an artificial debate. Let us come to the point where we are dealing with the substance. Psychologically, it may make things better. In terms of the optics it may make people feel that there has been an achievement, but that can be debated. I am neither for nor against, quite frankly, but my feeling is that the substance, we cannot take our eyes off that ball called substance. Do not take your eye off of the ball called substance and the substance is, how do we economically empower the working class people of Barbados so that they can and their sons and daughters can be those people who are the guardians of the commanding heights of this country's economy.

I am obliged to you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central.

Hon. Miss M. K-A. CADDLE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Sir, there is a flash of a moment when one wakes in the morning before you come to a real consciousness, before you remember the events of the previous day or start to reflect or to plan. There is that moment when you open your eyes when you do not quite remember what has happened and for everyone who has suffered any kind of life-changing loss, the morning after the events surrounding that loss cannot be described.

Sir, this morning at 4.41 a.m. when I opened my eyes, I had one split second before I remember the events of yesterday afternoon, so before I moved on to the matters concerned with this Resolution I have to take a moment and I thank you for giving me the permission, to call the name of Mr. Glenroy James, who passed yesterday, and in particular to honour and acknowledge a constituent of St. Michael South Central, a friend, a young man who I had become quite fond of, Mr. Christoff Griffith who passed tragically in those events yesterday. I want to say that Christoff was an example of one of these young people

who was helping to lead the charge of revolution and transformation, even in his quietness he was fearless and had the kind of gentle but bold nature that we do not see much of nowadays. I do offer condolences to his parents, his siblings, his entire family, to the community in Britton's Hill and all of South Central who miss him deeply and we will continue to miss him deeply, to the journalism fraternity, to all of us, to Barbados. We have lost someone who would have gone on to great things.

Sir, I enter the debate on this Resolution concerned with Black Lives Matter to first acknowledge the death of George Floyd who for 8 minutes and 46 seconds was the subject of an extrajudicial killing in the United States of America (USA). When these things happen we start a native often about the kind of person that the individual was, how many degrees they had, how well they had done for themselves, how much they represented the best parts of the black population, but the truth is that none of that matters and were something like that to every happen to me, do not talk about my degrees, Mr. Speaker. I do not care what the individual was doing in the moment, I do not care what they were found doing, I do not care how upstanding or not upstanding you deem them to be, there has to be a strong statement that says we as a nation, we as a civilisation do not allow extrajudicial killings and as a state, do not sanction them in particular when the act is done to black people. What you have evolving in the US and around the world is State-sanctioned genocide of the black race. That is what is unfolding before our eyes. The reason that is moment is so important is not because it has never happened before. It is because a people will not wait forever for justice. It is because that a few centuries after centuries of being shown over and over again that there is no justice for you in a system people have to stand up and demand justice for themselves. There is always such a moment in any civilisation that does not deliver justice to all and that is what we are seeing happening. It is not just happening in the US but the reason why it is resonating around the world is that we are all reflecting on how well or how poorly we are realising the mandate of equality in all of our countries, in all our regions, in all of our communities, we are all reflecting on it so for those who would say, why march for George Floyd, the march was not and is not just for George Floyd, it is for all of us to take that moment to examine whether we are doing the right thing for the people and the future generations of our society and often, as happens when the equality discussion comes up, people will hold up tokens. People will say, as happens on the discussions on gender equality, but you have a woman as Prime Minister, but you have a woman as Governor-General, but you have women here, there and so on, and while it is important to acknowledge where strides have been made, it is also important to understand the systemic nature of the inequality which you are seeking to address so that when individuals or even groups rise to a certain position that is not enough, unless you address the

systemic issues that mean that you can actually predict equal access to resources and to justice. Unless you can reasonably predict that it would happen in every case you are not yet there.

Similarly, there are people who will congratulate us for having the number of women that we have in this honourable place. There are people who will make the point that in Barbados we have black political power as they would term it but black political power for the few means nothing without black economic power for the many and that is the business that we are here to complete. We have had black political power for decades and we started the path and the job and the project of black enfranchisement especially under previous Barbados Labour Party Administrations. I am sure that colleagues to come will, as others have before me, make reference to that historical trajectory so I need not do it here in my short intervention but we are not yet where we need to be, we have not yet completed the journey and in many ways we have to now get into the needs of that project to understand what it means to really deliver economic, social and political enfranchisement.

Sir, there is this notion that there is a black political class that has political power and surely that is a representation of the fact that we have racial equality in this region but it is interesting how we cast this political power. Sir, I actually reject that expression "political class" because it suggests to me that those of us who operate in this honourable place are somehow separate, somehow distinguished from the reality of living as Barbadians and I find it a dangerous characterisation even though it is something that we say freely, I myself choose not to use it, I do not invite anyhow for choosing to use it, but it perpetuates the notion I think that somehow politicians in Barbados are in some way to the manor born. I did not fall out of the sky yesterday and land here in this Honourable Chamber and so I do not identify myself as a member of any political class. I asked the people of St. Michael South Central to send me here to do a job to complete a project, I am working and I think it is an important distinction that we have to make because it sends the message that the task is to achieve membership in a class, that is not what the work we are doing here is about.

There is also another association with political power and I use that term very loosely because it is not as powerful as you think. There are those not all and perhaps truthfully not even most who want us here to complete their own personal wealth agenda, that is what they see of the role of politics and political life, and no one else's. They see us merely as the administrative arm of their empire. As the Honourable Member for St. James Central said before me it is not about waging any war but I think that we have to be true to ourselves in speaking to the realities that we have lived over the last few decades. There are even those

without empire who believe that we are here to follow their instructions merely because they believe they occupy a position of supremacy occasioned by their ethnicity, by their share and by their status. Not all, not even most but there is that sensibility that reflects itself in the mistrust that people often have for politicians. Sir, that is not why I asked the people of St. Michael South Central to send me here to further anybody's wealth agenda. I am not in that, but what I am concerned about is to making visible some of the issues that I myself confronted as a young woman growing up in Haggatt Hall going to football in Dash Valley, going to football in the Pine, walking to school to go to Belmont Primary... We are real people who occupy this space and so this is not about taking on, my mother would say, "Picking up somebody's fire rage". This is our experience and I feel so pleased to be able to have the opportunity to address these issues with honesty because I feel the country is ready.

Sir, there is a notion that calling for greater police accountability means that you do not like the police, let us be real. There is a notion that if you say I want to know what happened to that young man who went into that police station on this date, come and tell me what happened, that if you support calls for transparency and investigations into accounts of Police brutality that you are anti-police, that could not be further from the truth. Sir, I think it is actually the opposite. I want the Police to be trusted by citizens because if the Police are trusted by citizens it makes them more effective at their jobs and therefore it makes us all safer so we need to have a Police Complaints Authority that works and that responds in a timely way. We need to have a culture, a tradition and a practice of if there are questions around any kind of police activity that that question could be easily answered with records and with evidence that we make this business transparent because suspicion and mistrust destroy societies.

Sir, while we as we must put important resources into making sure that the Police have the resources that they require to do their work, one of the most important resources is a relationship with the community. Back in the early 90s when we had some increases in violent crime in communities, part of the response had to do with officers developing relationships with their communities, coming to football practice, talking to the guys, talking to the young women and being able to have the community feel that we are on your side and we are working together to keep everybody safe. Sir, it is not just about police, it is about all of the institutions of the State, so I as a Member of Parliament and I as a Minister of Cabinet want us to use every single tool at our disposal to keep me accountable because I detest the notion that people who come to serve in political life cannot be trusted. I detest it. Every action that I have taken over the past two years and that I would ever take can and always will stand up to scrutiny but it is not

enough for me to know it or for me to say it, I have to show it, we have to show it.

Sir, I promised that I was not going to delve too far into the policies and the programmes and the things that we are doing, one of the reasons that we brought Integrity in Public Life legislation first, and that we will complete whatever is required to make sure that people have that confidence that we as a Barbados Labour Party Administration did not want to be associated with that previous decade that had tainted what a politician is. So I have no issue with accountability, I think accountability needs to [be] attached to all state institutions, to all of us in here, to be police, to anybody who has power over other people, because that is the real equalizer. Accountability is the real equalizer in any power relationship and so we have to make sure that it happens.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is also the reason we have to take a closer look at how we fund democracy, how we make transparent issues of campaign finance because Sir, without transparency we see the notion that something dark is going on behind the curtain, and especially after that last decade of 2008 to 2018 [where there is] so much unaccounted for, [where there is] so much unexplained, [where there are] so many examples we saw of wealth already created for a 'select few' and a concerted effort to keep that wealth concentrated in the hands of those 'select few.' After that, the country feels that the wealthy majority is controlling political action, and as long as the economic model of democracy is one based on large private donations people are going to feel that way, whether it is true or not. The unfortunate thing about it is that it might cause us to paint all owners of capital with the same broad brush, it ascribes ignoble and nefarious motives to all when that is simply not the case. There are those who support campaigns and I acknowledge that these are not topics that we find comfortable [discussing] but if not now, when do we speak to these issues? As the old people would say, "We don't have time put down" and I feel that the country is ready for some of these uncomfortable conversations.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are those who support campaigns who have no expectation of preference or privilege. In my limited experience, the overwhelming majority (in my experience) want Barbados to work for all but as long as we maintain a system of non-declared campaign donations, as long as we insist on decoupling state expenditure from democratic governance, [then] people are going to wonder, so there is a cost to democracy. And I believe that the State should be concerned with funding democracy because if there are state appropriations that contribute to the electoral cycle that have full transparency, then there is less of a suspicion. It is a contribution to accountability and to democracy and it is not going to happen overnight, the trust that needs to be recreated is not going to happen overnight. And I know

there is going to be controversial issue but we need to pull back the curtains because often the curtain that we draw in but there is nothing untoward that is happening behind it. We have to be willing as the State to bear the cost of real transparent democracy.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you know, 2020 has been a year unlike no other. We have seen a pandemic that has reset everything we thought or believed to be true. We have this moment where the entire world, the entire African nation all over the world, and allies of African people are standing up to say no more and I think, Sir, that Barbados must have a race conversation. I think it has started, they were not waiting for us. But in order for that conversation to be authentic those who have privilege that relate to the colour of their skin, that relate to the identity of their ancestors, that relate to the inheritance of wealth or status built on the backs of slaves must recognise their privileges.

Sir, I am not going to enter into any persecution Olympics with anyone or any group in this country, because the fact is that not everyone is operating from an equal position in this conversation. Some of us just first have to listen. That is all you are required to do right now. In cases where an entire civilisation is dealing with trauma of centuries, sometimes others of us just have to first listen. And if your country (men and women) in their overwhelming majority tell you that a statue erected to serve to honour white supremacy disturbs them deeply in their souls, why would you want to hold onto it? If you are an ally of the equity project with respect to race in your country, why would you want OT hold onto it? This notion that it erases history, I wake up with the skit every day in this country and when I go to different parts of the world I see the reaction that it gets. I see the reaction that it intends to get right here. I do not need a statue to remind me that Barbados was the site of the great slave experiment in this region. Here was where they wanted to create the perfect slave society and then the perfect post-colonial society. There is no possibility of forgetting that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the notion that tourists come from far and wide to look at a statue to white supremacy should make us feel ashamed because if we have nothing else (and I am sure Honourable Member for St. James Central would certainly object) in the way of a tourism product to offer to people then something is desperately wrong. I do not know too many guests of mine saying they want to come to Barbados and, "O my goodness, I want to see that gentleman in Heroes Square. I have always dreamed of seeing him." The notion that that kind of homage to white supremacy can be equated with historical buildings that still serve and function today, they can be equated with institutions of faith or centers of worship, is a false equivalency.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I promised myself that I was not going to turn my intervention into this particular discussion but I want to be able to speak to it once only and set it aside. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do agree with the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East that the country has to come to terms with what it wants to do and that we would be guided. That is the model of governance in which I believe. But equally, I cannot understand, just as I cannot understand how you could go up in a majority black country of between 95 and 97 per cent black for your entire life and there are white persons in this country and somehow neither you, your children nor your children's children could count one black friend. I want to use the word "apartheid". People think that it is melodramatic. I think that we have to be willing to speak truth to power on these issues. It does not mean everybody is making enemies. It does not mean that we do not all have non-Black associates who are allies. There are many but we need to have the conversation.

Sir, we all know of that very popular song by Bob Marley, 'War', and in 'War' he says, "We Africans will fight." Now, Emperor Haile Selassie I in his speech had said: "We Africans will fight, if necessary". Bob Marley said in his song, "We Africans will fight. We find it necessary."

There is a world of difference there. "And we know we shall win as we are confident in the victory of good over evil."

Like Bob Marley's entire discography, I know every word by heart, except, Sir, I am not as confident in the victory of good over evil. Evil wins all the time, especially when good women and men do nothing, so I ask the people of St. Michael South Central for their support in coming to this Place to do something. If you look all through the Manifesto of this Barbados Labour Party Government, you will see the will that we committed to do something. I do not have the time and I do not even wish to go through all of those. I count on my colleagues in this Place to help put that thesis, but I do have to mention a few that I feel very strongly about. The truth is that where I have the privilege to sit in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Investment, it really is a privilege for me because it is a place in which I can be personally associated with the project of completing economic enfranchisement for my generation and for generations to come. I would not have come here if I did not think that these men and women in this Chamber were equal to that task and would deliver on that mandate, because I do not have any aspirations to be in any political class; I do not even know what that is.

Sir, the 'Equity for All' Home Programme is one of the ways of completing what was started under the Tenancies Freehold Purchase Act. We still have some work to do in being able to give people title to their land,

but in the meantime we are being outnumbered by the sheer volume of people who just need affordable housing, Sir. The 'Equity for All' Programme is the way in which we provide access to affordable home ownership, Sir; 1 300 homes in the first instance, and once we are able to roll that out we will work to re-capitalise to get to 3 000. While we say that we have completed the work of putting the things in place to give people a piece of the Rock and now we are focusing on a piece of the action, it turns out that we still have to do the work of giving people access to a piece of the Rock while we give them access to a piece of the action. We can walk and chew gum. We can consider the place of a statue to white supremacy and whether it should be there or not, and we can continue with our enfranchisement agenda. It is not "either...or". They are all important projects.

Sir, the planning obligations that are now a part of the planning and development legislation is also a part of that enfranchisement and that equalisation of wealth and opportunity. If a development is standing to benefit from the country's patrimony, from the sea, sun, sand, healthy environment, air and ambience, it gives us the wherewithal for those developers to be able to give back and to balance the impact of that development by also having another social impact in providing access to land for the housing programme on which we are embarking and for other projects, Sir. Planning obligations are not just about land, however. They also provide us with ways -- and we have started already with an important hotel development in the City -- to give people access to an equity stake in the development, to have people invest so that we can get on with this business of creating intergenerational wealth. It is not enough - we have seen it -- to give a couple of people in a home or household jobs in order to make them financially independent. It is not enough, because what will happen is this: Dependency ratios tell us that if there are five or seven or ten people depending on that income, those people are going to become poor again. Unless you create the wherewithal for people to invest, to create wealth that will stand up for generations of their children and that will really make them economically secure, then we are not doing anything.

Sir, we talk about renewable energy and medicinal cannabis projects having to have a certain minimum investment from local business and local operators. I want to emphasise that we are not in the business of giving access to grow a bulk commodity. We are not even in the business of focusing on the growing of the bulk commodity. We want to give people access to the companies that would be generated from the value-added production in the Medicinal Cannabis Industry. That is the enfranchisement content of that. I realise that there then must be a conversation once we have completed that process of where we place cannabis in the law. I accept that there must then be a conversation that addresses those

people who are now sitting in a particular place as a result of a custodial sentence associated with possession of that same cannabis. I accept that this is a conversation that the country wants us to have. It is a valid conversation.

Sir, we came here to debate a Bill last week, the Barbados Optional Savings Scheme (BOSS) Bill, and one of the reasons we found it important was that it is to give us access to \$1 million in capital expenditure in order to enable us, yes, to get people employed, yes, to get economic activity, but also to make sure that this Scheme is a part of the economic enfranchisement project. Sir, we found that while we had more flexible procurement legislation in terms of access to procurement, we want small businesses to be formed. We want people to start companies and to have access to Government procurement, but as was said earlier, this is not always the only gap in people's access. There are all kinds of gaps. There are all kinds of structural reasons why people find that they cannot successfully have access to this procurement, and the road to one of these has to do with the information which people have at their disposal. Simple things: How do you bid for a contract? How do you put together a successful bid? How do you put your company in the place to be able to take a part of this? If we continue to say well it is open for all, I opened the door, what happen that you did not walk through? You look out the door and you realise that the door is open, but somebody's knee is on that person's neck.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your Honourable Member has two more minutes.

Hon. Miss. M. K-A. CADDLE: We have to get down in the weed Sir and look at the real reasons why people do not have access. That is one of the reasons why we are starting a program to actually do a bit of that handholding, to find small contractors in their communities and to make sure they have way with all to access these resources.

Sir, in my final moments, I will say only this. I realise that this topic is controversial, I realise that it is sensitive, but I could not continue to be who I am to represent the people who sent me here if I did not say these things. These things did not become true because I walked in here. For me, these things have always been true, this has been my life. This is the life of the people of St. Michael South Central and many others. Hence, I support this Resolution. I welcome wholeheartedly the conversation. It is time and it is an opportunity that we would not soon get again to bring about real equality in this country. Mr. Speaker I am obliged to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Leader of Government Business.

SUSPENSION

Hon. Ms. S. J. O. BRADSHAW: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I beg to move the suspension of the Sitting until 2.05 p.m.

The question that the House be suspended until 2.05 p.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. SPEAKER suspended the House accordingly.

RESUMPTION

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. Michael East.

Hon. T. A. PRESCOD: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I want to make the required adjustments to suit the moment immediately after lunch. You know there is an old theory and probably reflecting on cricket parlance will guide me much better when a fast bowler eats too much food prior during the lunch period. Most of the time, not only that he becomes slow, but his judgement becomes flawed, he gorges himself into a state of stupidity. I do not know, Sir if this effort was made deliberately to make sure I had to face a push back from this morning, I was hoping to speak very early from this morning, and I had to do everything that I can to keep the spirit up for the moment.

Sir, what I can assure you, is this subject matter to me is the most important matter universally in the history of humanity that is it for me. Other people will trivialise this debate, some people will romanticise it, and others would hide behind the curtain and mimic and give the impressions that they are committed to this struggle “Black Lives Matter”. I do not trivialise this matter if there is anything in my life that I would live for is for the pride and the upliftment of my race.

I am a ‘Garveyite’. I am not going to reduce this debate to be about the economy. The economy is also underpinned by a poisonous prejudice that there is a specific type of people on the face of the earth that born with special entrepreneurial qualities endowed by the creator. In other words, these people were born to combine the factors of production, and they know it better than anyone of us.

We are the labouring class, the consumers and this whole capitalist system have been set up on that, and it has been practised without being questioned at any specific time by many people who believe that is the correct direction for Barbados. Most of the time, the people who are steeped in the discipline avoid the main issue that keeps us in a state of ignorance. In other words, nobody is concerned about economic enfranchisement for the people of Barbados, the black people, of course.

All of them rush to the University of the West Indies and come back and beg for a job as a clerk and little white boys and white girls in this country head to Lodge and Harrison College who cannot read or write, never pass an exam yet, but they are rewarded with being the managers and directors of the businesses across Barbados. It is the same now as it was yesterday and some of us accepted then and still accept it today.

Sir, they stripped us of our persona as human beings, and they did it for a purpose. They put monuments up, and they did it for a purpose, and they must come down, that is my position, they must come down. This is not a storm in a teacup, and they believe that it would easily pass over, it cannot pass over because the youth of Barbados is on the march as well. They are not on the march because of any political party. Children of professional black men in Barbados and women are on the march, I saw them, and I interact with them. I was in that institution that learning institution called a march and a demonstration on two occasions. We saw a little Black boy, Islamic boys, European boys calling for humanity. We have no intention of continuing to believe that people who teach us that we were in that Christianised world and that they came to save heathens from the crumbling of Africa. We are not going to go along with that even as a psychological scar, we will purge our minds of those things.

I know, Sir when you speak like this in Barbados you become an endangered species. People do not want you; people do not want you to talk this way. What is a rustic, like him doing in the halls or the presence of an Assembly like this one, it does not belong to you. The very people that we, put out of here in 1951, are the very people who are critical of these bad skins in here expressing the ritualism of all that they have done to us. They prefer to see black skin but white masks, they prefer that. They want people to run neutral in all of these institutions across Barbados. I do not want to be critical about anything that Government says because they will say that that man Trevor Prescod always talking a lot of foolishness.

I listened last week, and I was talking to a young man with everybody talking about bonds none of these people ever hearing about no bonds when they were in primary school or secondary school. The closest thing to a bond that they ever hear about is when a person goes before the Court, and they give him a bond. Youngsters could not understand, in other words, there is a lack of education in the system. That allows us to perpetuate the level of ignorance that we endure every day and until we put that right, we will experience all that we are experiencing. Some of us would be able to get our bellies full, nice clothing, massive houses, good cars, good education and everything but the people of what we call the working class, and I want to put that one in my view.

I heard the Leader of the Opposition saying that in Barbados classism is important, and it is one of a fundamental public issues that needs to be addressed, it is. Most of the time that classism derives from the racism itself and how racial structures divide and rule principles in the society itself. You get a whole stratification, different layers of different social groups in the system itself. So, you get some of them calling themselves brown skinned, light, mulatto all kinds of things. Our black people that are calling themselves a million different titles, on the face of the earth, that is what we have. Each one of them has unique values because they believe that they are better than the other and this petty bonsai type that runs around Barbados dominating all the institutions of this country from the judicial, legislature, financial institutions that always look down on working class people. The poison has destroyed us a lot because sometimes when working class people begin to make any form of social mobility in the system, they want to tell you who you are. I do not wait to be told.

As I have said to you before, I am Ruby's black boy from Howell's Cross Road, the Ivy. I grew up there. I know that I lived beside a rum shop. My father owned a rum shop and so did my mother. I know how they treat to us. This debate must not be trivialized. This is no storm in a teacup. I am not going to allow it to be trivialized as long as I have breath in my body. I am talking like Admiral Nelson when he tried to ill-treat William Wilberforce and you want to preserve him. I am not joining no band, in no party or no friendship to support Horatio Nelson standing at the top of Broad Street as any national hero; impossible.

I cannot speak of Bussa who fought for the liberation of black people. How can I explain Bussa as a national hero and also respect Horatio Nelson in National Heroes Square? One fought for freedom and the other fought against freedom for black people. Explain that contradiction, Sir. Please explain it. It is what the young people almost spontaneously led by a Garveyite, some people would call him a simpleton, just as they called Garvey and as they compared Garvey with William Du Bois in the early 20th Century. Du Bois was intellectually superior but what is intellectual? Du Bois felt that we could not make any mobility unless we were part of the talented tenth or unless we had something in our veins that is a manifestation of the European influence. While talking about black consciousness, he was also tarnished with disbelief that we could not do it if we were exclusively of African origin.

Certainly, he was not of African orientation but I do not want to burn the house down by stripping Du Bois. I respect him and consider him to be part of a Pan-Africanist family, so I am not going to cut his throat at this time. He was very anti-Garveyite from the first of the 20th Century. He could not understand how Garvey got thousands of

people running behind him. He was running the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) and could not understand how Garvey who was running the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) could attract so many people around him. However, the issue was trust. He was attracting a body of bourgeoisie who did not want to go too far. I have seen it in Barbados in religion as well. One group going here, another group in African traditions, one group goes close to the border stating they are Baptist but not at the border.

I want to compliment the Baptist Church. Apart from the Leader of the Opposition who was there with the people and I also had my colleagues such as the Honourable Kirk Humphrey Minister of Maritime Affairs and Honourable Marsha Caddle by my side in the march because the people come first, although we were not sure if all of our colleagues would be fully supportive, I did notify the Prime Minister. She did not show any objection. We went there. I want to thank them. I want to thank Bishop Atherley for being there as well. I wish more of us would have been there and I hope in the future as they move on, we might send a message because this fight is not a parochial fight.

This fight is about race first. When you tell people race is first, they call you a racist. All of these bright people cannot make a distinction between what race first means and what racism is. This is the danger with the education system because other people do not have to talk about race first. They are first in their mind. They know they are first. They develop ideologies to prove they are first. Sir, all of us are the offspring of heathens according to them. We are children of the cursed Hamites; all of us. We are painted with a black pigmentation so that wherever we go symbolically you know we are unworthy of ascendancy. We beat them everywhere in the schools. We survive as vendors when they put obstacles in our way. We still survive.

The system at the level of the Government cannot continue to accommodate that kind of behaviour. People try to rationalise an ideology to justify wrong over right and that black people are inferior. They believe they have a divine right to certain special privileges in this country. Why is it that the DLP or BLP Government, National Democratic Party (NDP) aspirants and the People's Empowerment Party (PEP) that at the centre of power cannot openly denounce the presence of a statue, an inanimate thing or compare it with something that is animate? It is craziness for a man to tell me that he sees no problem with a statue at the top of the commercial pocket. Do you think the people who put it there are thinking the same way?

You put Admiral Nelson at the top of the commercial pocket in the major and central street in Bridgetown, then you put the Mutual Building at the

bottom. You walk down and you see that. You walk up and you see Lord Nelson. Do you not understand what it means? You do not have to read a textbook. There are a million textbooks that tell you what it means. The principle or what is not even principle of dominance of a specific social type whether you are talking about it biologically or sociologically, they understand the psychology of the importance of every little girl and boy walking Broad Street asking their mother what is that. The mother cannot explain what she is looking at because she never read a history book that would tell her how wicked Admiral Nelson was.

This is a wicked man. All of us in here seated presently, if Admiral Nelson had his way could not walk around. We would still be in the backwoods surviving in the Western world. If we talk about coming into the House of Assembly, it would have never happened. Black people in here should feel ashamed not to understand how wicked this man was.

Do not let me read for you because I cannot read too good, go and read it and see what he said to Wilberforce. Go out and see how the man behaved and he did not only speak to Wilberforce. He constantly over that period of time opposed any form of freedom. How could you rejoice about freedom but want to support Nelson? Tell me what it means to you if Nelson goes into the Wharf, if he goes at the corner of Nelson Street, if they put him in the middle of a cane ground in St. Thomas, what does it mean to you? Why do you not argue for Bussa or Clement Payne or Israel Lovell or Marcus Garvey because if I start to talk to you about that you would tell me, man I am not telling you about Garvey because Garvey did not come from Barbados, but you have Nelson. Listen to the warped thinking. You want Nelson, you know a lot about the same Wilberforce I am talking about, you know about a whole set of British characters but you cannot see the value, the symbolic value of Marcus Garvey. Here is a strange place. We quarrel if we give Usain Bolt a running track at the University but these people in Barbados have a big statue of Frank Worrell in Jamaica. Something is wrong, Sir. I strongly believe that this is the hour, this is the moment and that is why I keep saying to you, there will be no turning back. What has happened to George Floyd, a hurt resonated across the globe, probably spiritualists may be able to explain better than anyone else in here what he means because this is a common practice among these people, lynching people, stripping while on the wheels ... by setting a horse to the left and one to the right, putting people in syrup and putting ants all around them, breaking their backs on the wheel, killing people and not being charged for murder because they have no persona. We fought these people over and over again just to be respected as human beings and when we talk and tell the truth they will set -- I want to use the word dogs -- they set agents on you and the agents look like us. They do not even do it themselves, they

never even did it to the plantation themselves because the overseer was so cruel to the ordinary farm workers to complain every time. The overseer was cruel. He walked around with a Bull Pistle and beat black women in the field as he liked because he wanted to prove his loyalty to his master so not only the master was cruel, and I understand that in relation to cast differentiations, but you cannot let them off the hook because we also have a domestic issue. We belong to one common house, no divide of stupidity because the Americans made it very clear who was black and who was white, so the Honourable Member for Christ Church West with a light complexion cannot talk to me and make me believe that he is not as black as I am. He is a black man, the Honourable Member for St. Michael South East is a black woman, you, Sir, are a black man, so I would not get fooled about mestiza and mulatto and all of that. Black people when they hit the United States of America (USA) it is kicks, butts and a man would put his knee in your neck and look calm and have a right murder, look calm and casual in murdering a man by putting a knee in his neck and you want me to believe this is an academic debate? Can you be so insensitive that you cannot understand why black people in Barbados must pay attention to what is happening in the United States of America (USA)? You saw it ... I saw the man could not do anything and the man calling for his mummy, calling for 'ease off man', and they murdered the man. Can you not understand that? You have confederation statutes all about the world and you cannot understand why they are pulling it down? They pulled down Marx too on the basis of a political ideology. This is a humanitarian cause, superiority to any political ideology. We witnessed all forms of discrimination, inequality and things in this country. These people continue to perpetuate special privileges even in land distribution in this country, I found myself in butt in recent times overhearing some people that I was shocked that they could not understand the action that was taken, legal or illegal. You think that the people in South Africa could have allowed apartheid, fixed and sanctioned by law, to survive? Black people on their own continent could not survive on their own continent because a few white men ... who got together and passed laws that even if you wanted to go into the City of Johannesburg or the Whip Water Land wherever you wanted to go, you had to get a pass to work and get back home in the pens that they had for black people living up there before six o'clock and anytime the police held you without a pass it was jail. You want to tell me that Mandela did nothing, Steve Biko did nothing, Winnie Mandela did nothing. You want to debate on another, if she was stronger than him and who was more revolutionary, wasting time. You are willing to burn the house down. You had these problems. You want to debate whether Martin Luther King Jnr. was more effective than Malcolm X and Elijah Mohammed or Nkrumah? You know about the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), you do not even know anything about the African Union. You know the

African Union? Everybody has all of these acronyms about what does this thing mean. They have people now that have a special alphabet on these things. You know who inspired Nkrumah. Do you know that Marcus Garvey went to Nkrumah ...Do you understand what these wicked people did to King Jaja and demean the man's personality and his legacy by making him look like a clown? Just living opposite Ilaro Court, nobody would not even look at the building and see this is a historic building but they would look at George Washington House and you went looking around for about 16 different buildings and then you ended up saying this was the right one. One at the corner of Beckles Road, I think, by the gas station. They had that George Washington House for a number of years and people went up there taking pictures and had the wrong house. Do you know where King Jaja lives...

Asides.

Hon. T. A. PRESCOD: Yes, that the woman had a big "botsie" and King Jaja used to come out every morning and would not let Becka alone because he watched the rhythm of the two jaws. That is what these people want you to believe about yourself. They forced King Jaja into captivity only because the man said you would not have access to the land or you would not have access to the main plank in the economy which was the pan oil and they said no and like most black people when they get an invitation to these houses they go and eat up and drink up so he got invited on a ship and the next thing he is down in St. Vincent. Do you think these people are easy? After Henry Christophe did the same thing in 1791, a country that was the first successful liberated black country in the western hemisphere... They invited him on a ship and that is why I was a little cautious just now, Sir, when you took a break and I had to go to lunch. I could not understand if this was tactical. I did not eat much, Sir, I had about two forks of sweet potato and I decided 'no boy, if the psychologist is correct I will not gorge into any form of stupidity at all'. I thought I would find it difficult and my friend Adrian, I won't tell you what we had to do, told me that a little medicine is important.

Sir, look these people went into Bridgetown... I am going to tell you about a man whose name I think is Milton King. Sir, I want to praise the Barbados Labour Party then for what he did. He came in 1951 with a black seaman on board a ship, went into the city, was beaten up by white racists in South Africa and the grandfather of our Prime Minister and Sir Grantley Adams went in the forefront of the attack or the counter-attack to what was happening in South Africa. They murdered the man, beat him up. The police took him into custody and murdered him and Barbados took action. My view is that when we see things like this happening across the world we cannot be so soft and retreat on these issues. I am not interested in any poets in here. If I want to read poetry, I read Martin Carter. I am

not interested in any poetry. I am not inTO any powder puff presentations. I do not waste my time in here. I talk on the behalf of the youths that I saw marching on the streets. That march and that gathering was like a university. There was no ageism in the grouping. We had Trevor Marshall there and we had textbooks showing you all of the evidence on Lord Nelson, irrefutable, no assumptions, look here, well respected authors. Some of the books you never see in a school in Barbados. I feel passionate about that because I saw it, I read it. I did not even know that Lord Nelson went here until Trevor Marshall showed me that. I have videotapes on my phone from as far back as the 1980s with a Pan Africanist called Leroy Yearwood, he used to teach at the Lodge School, calling for the removal of Lord Nelson. I could also show you Mr. Maxwell the former speaker of the House who wrote a small text - most of you probably have not seen the book yet. I was searching all morning for this book and could not find it - and asked for the removal of Lord Nelson as well. Throughout the 1930s with the UN, one of the major items on the agenda was the removal of Lord Nelson. There cannot be any sane human being in 2020 that can tell you that they do not understand this just call.

This Barbados Labour Party indicated that it was going to do that and filibustered. This Barbados Labour Party also said that we were going into a republican form of Government and filibustered talking about a referendum as well. This new dispensation must correct those wrongs, we have to. We also put reparation on the agenda. We went to Chile and to South Africa. The present Prime Minister was part and parcel of that team and shared her ideas on how we should attack the racists. It was reported to me that the biggest culprits in the South African meeting were the Americans, these people that took us to fight a war in 1776 for independence and kept us in slavery after the war. Black people went to war in order for them to own more land, 13 seaboard states and they own the whole landmass and then they also had the expansion theory that influenced them to go beyond and what, we are still living in slavery.

When the British said 'Go' in 1834 it was not because of any humanitarian concern, because slavery was declining, they already started to make preparation for the industrial revolution, they were shifting the economy, they sold land all across Barbados, Carrington's Village and The Ivy in 1839. They were selling all of that land. They subdivided it not because they loved us but because every time we make a move in commerce they undermined the move. When they forced us in the early 20th Century, 100 years to date this year 1920, and we come back and send money back here from the Panama Canal when the silver men, they called us silver men, black people were silver men. You were paid accordingly but had the most work to do. Between 40 000 and 60 000 black men left women and children in Barbados and went off to the Panama Canal and broke up the black family and less than half of that

population survived and returned. They not only passed their money back here, the remittances as they call it, that is the pretty word, so that we could have some economic grounding in the society itself, they put restrictions on the friendly societies overnight - and you know what friendly societies are all about, you were just talking about a national friendly society called the "Sousou", called a meeting turn - and they did not allow you to buy more than an acre of land. The ones who bought a whole plantation they never even passed on any title deeds for the plantations. They stole it from them again. You have in abundance of information.

We cannot miss this moment, Sir. They have done it to us very and over again. We cannot even get them to say: "I am sorry." These people are so determined to stick to a faith (I call it a faith), it is more powerful than any church, it is a faith that these Caucasians have embedded in their psyche, tricking you all the time, keeping you ignorant. I went to deal with some land and there was a man who was doing as he liked, he does not respect the Honourable Prime Minister. If the Honourable Prime Minister likes that, that is alright, not me [though]. If I helped to put you there and you reach the level of being an Honourable Prime Minister, [then] no nincompoop can disrespect you. If the Honourable Prime Minister said that it cannot be done, then it cannot be done, and tell them that I know more than they think that I know, too. I pushed down the coconut trees, I do not want any support from anybody in here, I pushed down the trees. If the Government feels like taking up \$30 000 belonging to the taxpayers and give them, how come there are people who Government has taken up their land ever since, these people are not given one cent, [but now] all of a sudden there is something about the land's true worth being \$30 000. How is he going to get it? Well, if he could get it, why not pay the rest of the people, including my mother for her land where piece had got cut off when you used it? It cannot work.

You are dealing with Mrs. Ram situation, how are you going to get \$30 000 because he put trees on the land that belonged to the State and when all the black people go there to enjoy their recreation, he is telling me that he has the right to land from the shores of Barbados, right out to Castries, St. Lucia, because he has a right to some common law principle called accretion, that none of the lawyers cannot explain yet. They will never be able to explain it to the world, but a special right... You have Parliament here ever since, you have a body that can make a decision and can say that this is not right, the lands and the beaches must belong to the State. If you want to invest here you have to understand those lands belong to the State.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, you know I normally have to tell you to wind up? I know we are still in COVID-19 and the helicopters cannot come in but wind up, please. I am just forewarning you.

Hon. T. A. PRESCOD: Sir, the matter of the beach land will not be dormant either. This is my view and I know the view is right and when I know the view is right, nobody can stop me from going that way, even if I am the last man standing and I have put this to the young people. I have had discussions. I do not want the Mighty Gabby to sing "Jack". Well, you could not separate the land but we separated him from the land. But we all had discussions among a number of people (that is the position). I would like to know if a Government will have a top-down approach where individuals who have been mis-educated in the universities that they went to, who do not understand that the educational system needs to be (not reformed) but revolutionised. Not reformed. Reform what? Tell me what I said to you today that you have seen in any history book in Barbados? [It is] not that the books are not there. Tell me any interpretation because any historian still has to be philosophical, he still has to interpret the material facts that he found. So when they tell us about emancipation and apprenticeship and all these things but still in Africa in 1884 subdividing the land in Africa and cutting up the whole landscape and giving piece to France, piece to Portugal, piece to Britain, to Germany. It is about a race issue, not what you get in 166 square miles, because they are playing the game all the time. If they were bringing in yachts and they told you that they must have something and you do not give it to them, they would say: "Alright then", and give it to St. Kitts. Do you understand what is happening now, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, [please] start to wind down.

Hon. T. A. PRESCOD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a "Willie Lynch theme" that is hanging over our heads. The "Willie Lynch theme" is underpinned by simple letters: divide the black man and continue to rule; put a man who believes that he is middleclass because he puts a little cream on his face to take away the bumps, or gets a regular haircut and wears a suit and a bowtie; put a man who is six feet, six inches alongside a man who is two feet, three inches and try to make him believe that he is a different human being, or a man who lives in a chattel house alongside a man who has six-storeys house, and nobody questions that, very like the white man who is the man who hunts down every little boy who steals a tin of corned beef. That is how the system has been running: men going to prison for foolishness in Barbados. Only this morning I heard that a little symbol of redemption has occurred.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member. Honourable Member.

Hon. T. A. PRESCOD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to thank you for allowing me to finish the preamble but hopefully at a later date at a debate as central as this, you would allow me to continue. I think, Sir, I [have] probably

left a lot of areas looking very grey and I would like to bring some clarity to the things that I have said today. I just want to urge the Government to listen to the voices of the youth, to listen to the voices of the senior persons who are relatively progressing, not people who are just enjoying these mundane things in life, living sweet off the pockets of the masses of the people and have no commitment to transforming society itself. Thank you very much, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for St. Peter, you have the Floor.

Hon. C. E. JORDAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the last speaker, the Honourable Member for St. Michael East, spoke about a man 6'6" standing next to a man 3'2" and I am not sure if the Honourable Member was referring to him and myself but I am going try not to be distracted by that analogy made. I think this is too serious a debate to go there but I am supporting this Resolution listed at No.4 on the Order Paper today. There are a lot of words in the Resolution (four paragraphs) but I think it speaks to a critically important matter.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I begin to give the context within which I will approach this debate, I subscribe to the view that in scripture there is a call to speak on the behalf of those who are not being heard. In scripture there is repeated the matter of looking out for, looking after, and giving voice to people like widows, orphans and the poor. There is a common call for those who know better, those who have moral character, those who are ethical, [for them] to speak on the behalf of those who are oppressed. I am not preaching a sermon but I would say that Jesus himself referred to a passage in Isaiah when he said that he was sent to deliver captives and to deal with those who were bound. It is in that context within which I speak. I also speak within the context of human beings understood by me to have been created in the image of God; all human beings. When I speak on behalf of Black people, I see Black people like myself as being created like every other human being in the image of God. There is also something else which I want to mention in terms of the context, because sometimes people of faith are a little bit scared to get involved in some of these conversations. The Bible speaks about us being the light of the world and being salt. Mr. Speaker, it is easy to be light because you can stay from a distance and project that illumination, but the God I serve calls on me not just to be light but to be salt. In order for salt to impact, it has to get in there and interact closely with that which it intends to impact.

Mr. Speaker, that is the reason why I join this debate today because I have an imperative placed upon me to get in close with issues like these and to say what I think right-thinking people ought to be saying in relation to matters like these. I also enter this debate as the Minister who has been entrusted with the responsibility for creating and

maintaining the Social Justice Committee, Mr. Speaker. It is in its embryonic stages but I need to remind this Honourable Chamber that this Committee speaks to issues that affect people. It speaks to issues of equity. It speaks to issues of equality, for example, before the law. It speaks to the matter of giving voice, not only to the voiceless but to give voice to those who others refuse to hear, who others refuse to listen to and give an ear to. It also speaks to the matter of availability versus access. Oftentimes in societies, including our own society, there is the view that once something is available then why are you keeping noise. The thing is there and you can get it if you want. There is a significant difference between availability and accessibility, so that in Barbados for a long time education was available but for the vast majority of people, beyond the grades of first standard and second standard which my grandfather spoke about, it was not accessible.

Sir, my late father told me why he could not go to the school which he wanted to attend; because his father was a joiner and he just did not have the money to pay the fees. Education was available but it was not accessible. Those are issues of social justice, and that is the context within which I enter this debate, Mr. Speaker. There has been much injustice in this world over millennia. The Honourable Member for St. Michael East talks about B.C and A.D in sometimes lighthearted ways, but from B.C and way back there has been injustice. Even in today's world, there is injustice but there has been no injustice in this world that has equated to the injustice meted out on the African people. There has been no injustice that has so systemically sought to dehumanise as the enslavement of African people, Mr. Speaker. That has had the worst of impacts and the longest standing impacts of all the inhumanity that has been meted out to any group or any race in the history of this world, Mr. Speaker. There has been much injustice where many people have died in all kinds of conflicts and genocide, but none has had the ongoing, longstanding impact.

Sir, the enslavement of African people had at its root the dehumanising of the African; the systematic changing of the outlook of a human being to be something other than a human being. Mr. Speaker, when you hear me in this Honourable Chamber say to you that I dislike the use of the word "labour", even though it falls in my ministerial title, it is because I am of the view that the construction of the economic substructure, as Karl Max called it, saw people who worked hard in factories and in other kinds of businesses as factors of production. Not just what they did was a factor of production but the person became, in my view, a factor of production. When I look around Barbados and the world, I am convinced that that view is correct based on how some workers are treated. People are seen as factors of production. In other words, less than human beings. That is a matter that we must continue to speak to

and it is a matter that falls to our generation to do something significant about.

Sir, the enslavement of African people saw Africans being seen as property, things can could be traded, things that had no conscience, no frontal lobe, treated as chattel. Slavery attempted to do this. When I was thinking of what I was going to say, I was actually going to say that slavery degraded and dehumanised but an African can never be degraded and an African can never be dehumanised. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade sought to dehumanise the African, my ancestors. It sought to degrade my ancestors. It did not succeed but it succeeded in damaging our people. It succeeded in damaging how we see ourselves. It succeeded in damaging our family structures. The Honourable Member for St. Michael East spoke to the migration to Panama, but even before that the use of men, strong men, as sperm donors and sperm banks, who were only good for impregnating Black women to create more slaves to support a heinous system, was part of the destruction of the African family unit, so that now we live in a world where the family unit -- I hear this in Barbados pretty often -- of other races is held up as what the family unit should be. There are people who say that without taking into account that the African family unit was just as good but was systematically destroyed in this matter of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Mr. Speaker. A deliberate attempt to destroy people, their self-concept, but also to destroy that unit, which works to reproduce and make stronger and better the race from generation to generation.

Mr. Speaker, racism builds on that matter that founded the idea of slavery. Because, racism as the foundation of slavery, has at its core a understanding that one race is inferior to another. It has at its core, the view that African people are inferior to other people. We could almost say that that is at best. At best it sees an inferiority superiority construct. At worst, it sees African people as less than human. That is the essence of racism. Mr. Speaker that is why from the time I was a young boy, hearing conversations and discussions about racism and race relations in Barbados, I have always held the view that there is no such thing in Barbados as reverse racism. It is not something we hear about now, but it used to be a hot topic in my father's house.

However, the only way I could accept that there is reverse racism, is if I accept that white people, Indian people, oriented people or some other people group are lesser than black people. Because that is the essence of racism, the view that one race is superior to another. Not the view that one race wants to be recognised as a race of people. That is not racism. Racism has at its core the view that one race is inferior to another, and so if I ever get to the point where I believe in reverse racism, it means that I believe that the other races are lesser than the black African race.

Mr. Speaker, today, and I do not mean just today Tuesday, but today at this time, I believe that we have come to a pivoted place in our history. Mr. Speaker, we have come to the place where we have to say, we are duty bound, we are bound by our own morality and ethics to say that enough is enough, we have come to that place. Racism must be debunked as a theory and it must be dismantled. The idea and all of its manifestations. We have come to the point where racism has to be debunked, where racism has to be dismantled as a construct. Mr. Speaker I want to say to you that today, science becomes complicity and the people of St. Peter have said to me, I cannot be complicit, and so I will not be silent on this matter.

Racism from the 1400s, 1500s, even when it existed before, was the foundation of the enslavement of African people and is still very pervasive. Slavery may not exist, but the racism is pervasive. It is also systemic. My dad always told me, and you always hear me refer to my father, because he is my hero. He always said to me and these were quotes he picked up from all different kinds of places, "there are none so blind as he who will not see". Hence, I speak to those who want to see. I am not speaking to those who necessarily want to agree with me, but I am speaking to those who are honest enough with themselves to want to see, and those who want to see as they look around, will recognise that racism is present, it is pervasive and it is systemic. Just because it is not put on the table in front of everybody all the time, just because people do not talk about it all the time does not mean that it does not exist. It exists.

Mr. Speaker, earlier I spoke about the damage. I said that slavery did not degrade or dehumanize, it attempted to, but it did do some damage. There are a couple of things in my experience and I always try to speak out of my experience. There are a few things out of my experience that have stayed with me, and there is one that I speak to very often. It has never left me since I was at primary school. I have never been able to come to grips with the fact that at primary school when we were asked to draw people, and I may have shared this with you before, but when we were asked to draw people, when we got to drawing females, both us boys and the girls would draw a circle, one stroke down, the two legs, the two arms and then on the head we would go to the middle of the head and we would draw a line around the head, down the side and a nice curl at the bottom. I have never understood because I never went to school with anybody who looked like that at primary school. I never understood why when we were asked to draw people, we drew people who did not look like us.

Mr. Speaker, I am not a psychologist, but I am of the view that this matter of reducing people from human to something less than human may have got into the psyche of some of us, so that when we were drawing human beings,

we drew images that did not reflect who we were, because maybe, we did not understand that we were human being as well. I have grown up and I have heard of good hair and bad hair. I have heard about nice hair. I have heard about nice skin. I have heard a number of things that have told me over the years there is a problem, and those who will see will in an effort to fix the problem have to go to the root of the problem otherwise, you are just fixing the peripheral things. In order to fix the problem, we have to go to the root of that problem, and if you go to the root of that problem, we see that pervasive systemic racism at work and play in our society even today.

I heard the Honourable Prime Minister speak, I think at a Social Partnership meeting two Mondays ago, about people coming into a room. I am still talking about experiences that I have had that has made me pause, think, and reflect and understand what lies at the root. She spoke to the matter of people coming into a room and immediately gravitating to the back of the room because we have been thought, Mr. Speaker that we are not good enough. You know sometimes we hear people talking about not having a front seat face, we have been thought that we are not front seat people. I use these examples only to say to this Honourable Chamber, Mr. Speaker that we have a challenge and we have a challenge that we need to confront and to confront honestly and openly it has to be dealt with. I am saying today, Mr. Speaker that we have come to that point. We have come to the point where we must deal with these matters.

There has been mistreatment, it happens at schools, I went to a school where in one corner of the quadrangle, we used to call it South African. There has been and there continues to be sometimes differences in treatment based on what a person looks like, ethnicity, race, there has been treatment. I just want to maybe give a disclaimer, but it is not set in my craw, but I remember we use to get to geography first period after lunch late almost every time there was geography. I remember a group of us being sent to the Principal, I also remember very clearly that those of us who were black it seemed to me came very close to getting flogging. One of our group who was white, so the young gentleman about to get flogged and the lady is being treated a little bit differently. These are the things Mr. Speaker, that have been part of my own experience that informs my own view.

So, when I speak to a Resolution that has in paragraph or sub-clause C “Black Lives Matter” and then some may say that that term was coined in the United States of America. I am saying that in my own experience having only ever lived in Barbados in terms of any significant period of time, I am saying that the racism that informs the mistreatment that causes people to rise up and say Black Lives Matter, I have seen in this country in which I live, this country that is my own.

I have seen in my own life in business, white businesspeople treated differently from black businesspeople. The stories are bound, especially in the banking sector, because there is a presupposition that one race is not as good as another in carrying on a business.

I am saying to you, Mr. Speaker and I say to this Chamber that view consciously or subconsciously finds its location in that pervasive systemic racism that we must confront that exercise from our society and reality.

Marcus Garvey made a statement, and this is not a bootstrap statement. I say this within the context of saying to those who look like me that we do not have to be kowtowed and made to feel inferior based on the misguided silly stupid racist perceptions of others. Marcus Garvey said once “up, mighty race, accomplish what you will”, a reaffirmation of the humanity of Black people. A reaffirmation of the endless possibilities that are ours but Mr. Speaker, they can be ours if we destroy those shackles, those hindrances that will stop us from being able to reach the heights that are to be ours.

We must eradicate racism, beyond racism, we must eradicate all forms of discrimination. We must also ensure that our systems, systems of education, systems of social welfare, systems of justice, we must ensure that our systems do not imbibe consciously or unconsciously these ideas that are really racist in their orientation.

I want to say something very specific about St. Peter, I spoke about Garvey earlier. In the 1920s, there were six chapters of the United Negro Improvement Association in Barbados, six chapters. I want to say to this Honourable Chamber, including the Honourable Member for St. Michael East that four of those chapters were in the North of the Island. Four of those six chapters, Honourable Member for St. Lucy, were in the North of this Island. St. Peter was the locus for the Garvey movement.

One of my predecessor JTC Ramsey who represented St. Peter in this Honourable Chamber in the 40s, he was a Garvey light influence by the UNIA and the teachings of Garvey in the 1920s and the 1920s. In order for people to understand the possibilities, I think it is important for those people, Black people to celebrate its heroes, we have to celebrate our heroes.

Mr. Speaker, coming out of that understanding in the 1920s that would have seen the centre of Garvism in Barbados located in the North when St. Peter speaks about the achievements of Black people and the struggle of Black people, we go back to 1675. Just a couple months ago in February before Black Lives Matter became a movement at least the movement that it is now. In February, we were celebrating the struggle of Black people to break the shackles of racism and chattel slavery.

In our celebration, we had a lecture called “From Cuffy to Owen Arthur” because we recognized we had to assert ourselves, shake off the shackles of slavery, do everything that we can to break those bands and dismantle this racist thinking that still pervades our society. Mr. Speaker, this is why on February 28 we honoured who sat in the place where you now sit and renamed the Speightstown bypass road after K. N. R. Husbands, so that road is now known as the K. N. R. Husbands Highway in honour of the first black person to be the Speaker of this House of Assembly. I said that

afternoon and will say here again, that step cannot be underestimated.

In 1948, when K. N. R. Husbands sat in the Speaker’s chair you could bet your bottom dollar and yours may go pretty far, but when you get to your bottom dollar you can bet that those who did not look like “Doc” Husbands would have made comments such as, “He only gone to dirty up the chair”, “Look what the Speaker chair come to” or “Look what we come to in Barbados.” This is the era within which he lived and that is why we in St. Peter do not underestimate the fact the man who lived and represented our parish at the time was able to become the first Speaker. This is why we celebrate him because we are saying to ourselves but also to those who would be the perpetrators of the racism that still exists in this country; we are going to celebrate our own.

We will celebrate our own. In the struggle of workers in this country which is the struggle of black people because the vast majority of workers in this country have always been black people. In that struggle even 100 years from now, that struggle will not be spoken about without the recognition of the Right Excellent Sir Frank Leslie Walcott. He is another product of St. Peter and the leadership we have taken in the matter of the struggle to break the bounds of racism and to put ourselves out there as leaders in this society. Mr. Speaker, I want on this day to make a call because a people must have visuals as motivators. I want to make a call for a monument to be erected in Speightstown in honour of Cuffy.

Even though we do not want any monarchs in this country, Cuffy was in the planned uprising of enslaved people and he was to become King in Speightstown. We want a monument erected in Speightstown in honour of the struggle of black people in this country against racism and slavery in all its forms. We want the monument in Speightstown for two reasons. First, Cuffy was to be crowned King of Barbados in Speightstown. However, it also needs to be in Speightstown because out of Speightstown was exported the worst form of slavery. Mr. Speaker, in some respects that may have been a contributing factor to the death of Mr. Floyd. Out of

Barbados was exported the dehumanizing, nasty chattel slavery into the Southern USA.

We need that monument in Speightstown as part of our atonement and cleansing of the collective mind of the society. In our practice of Government, we....

Asides.

Hon. C. E. JORDAN: This Government has treated so far, and some of these things have been mentioned before, in what I consider to be an evolutionary way to redressing the imbalances that exist in this country. There is education in terms of access as opposed to availability. Under the last Government it was available but not accessible. We have restored accessibility. I have always been of the view that if you have to pay for education, the rich people will still be educated. Those who will not be educated are the poor people. If you are 95 per cent of the population, then you can do the math.

Access to land is another matter that this Government has been addressing. The matter of having credit unions at the table of the Social Partnership, Mr. Speaker, is one that should not be underestimated. As a matter of fact, that Act was a signal Act. The last Government celebrated all kinds of small foolish things and we have done some significant things, but we do not push them so much because we are so much focused on leading and governing that we see these things as part of the course. We have had for many years the banking system at the table but those institutions that hold the funds of ordinary Barbadians; we have not had at the table. This Government has invited and placed at the table as equal partners with the commercial banks, the credit unions of this country.

It is what this Government is all about in our approach to the matter with the dismantling of a system

that is both oppressive and repressive. I want to end with a quote. I end how I began. I am ending with a quote from a leader in my denomination. He is the Director of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty at the General Conference which is our headquarters in the USA. He made a statement about three days ago in a meeting we had. Dr. Ganoune Diop said as follows: ‘Mr. Speaker, until every black person is recognised as part of humanity worthy of respect, deserving the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, freedom of safety in public, until that happens, humanity would have relinquished its deepest calling, that calling to live in solidarity with all members of this one human race.’

Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to you and I say to you and to this Chamber, Black Lives Matter.

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

Hon. E. G. HINKSON: I thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rise to join in this debate on this Private Member's Resolution which, of course, I am in full support of. I wish first to thank and pay credit to the Honourable Prime Minister for allowing this debate so soon after, as well, the incident in the United States of America (USA) which has triggered protests and rightly so throughout the length and breadth of this world and I wish also to thank the Honourable Member for Christ Church South for first laying the Resolution and introducing it today before this Parliament. This has been said by all the speakers, no trivial matter. This is major, Sir, because as the Right Excellent Marcus Mosiah Garvey, national hero of Jamaica said, a black person who is unfree anywhere means that all black people any part of the world are not free. Injustice against any black person any part of the world is an injustice against all black people.

We watched in absolute horror last month when for 8 minutes and 46 seconds a policeman in the United States of America (USA) sworn by oath to serve and protect, intentionally with absolute mens rea took the life of a person for no other reason than for the fact that he was black. He knelt with his knee across George Floyd's neck and intentionally took away his life and looking like if it did not matter. It was just like if you are killing an insect that is bothering you, hands in his pocket, kneeling down, three other policemen there watching, people telling them the man is gasping for breath, calling for his mother and saying he cannot breathe, they feel no pulse on him, but it did not matter.

Sir, you are attorney-at-law in the criminal practice and you yourself would have tremendous difficulty defending in such a case because that is murder number 1. I do not care what he was charged for, Sir. At first he was charged with murder number 3 or something so and then they changed it now afterwards. At first, in fact, the Coroner said that he did not die because of the asphyxiation because of the knee on the neck. That is what we have to deal with, that he died from something else when the whole world saw what happened in this 8 minutes and 46 seconds for no other reason than an allegation that a \$20 bill was fake. In other words, \$20 was worth more than a man's life, but then black lives do not matter to some people and in some countries. Something that did not turn out to be fake in the final analysis anyway. Even in the terms of the charge, murder number 2, you cannot charge him for murder 1 because, I am not an expert, of course, on American law but I believe if one person in a jury were to say that is not murder he goes scot-free period, scot-free as hundreds, thousands, previously before him, who killed and murdered black free went scot-free. It is just, Sir, that today we live in an age, of course, where everything is on

video, everything is on social media. What is done is seen by a whole world and that police in America now have the cameras and even those do not work well because in credibly just a short two or three weeks after that incident you get another one where two policemen murdered another black whose only sin was to be sleeping, tired, waiting at a Wendy's. That was that person's sin and from that, his life is lost, shot in the back, running away, no threat physically or otherwise to the policemen. A laser gun that cannot injure you but two shots in his back because the American police is trained to shoot to kill black people because black lives do not matter to them. They are nothing. After all, America had a law throughout a large part of its history that black people were only three fifths human, Case 1877 that verify that. Even after slavery finished in America in the 1860s black people were still not worth anything, they were only three fifths human beings and to be treated as such so for years and years, black people were lynched in America, black men were killed, their churches burnt down, North Carolina some black people in, I think the 1920s set up a district thriving Black Wall Street, I believe it was nicknamed and white people went and burn it down. Nobody was charged. If a white woman alleges that a black man looked at her, white men would go and lynch them, dead, nobody charged. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) elements of which still exist in the United States of America (USA) today, Sir, and in other parts of the world people of similar ilk and that is what the world in 2020 the third decade of the 21st century has to deal with still. It is abhorrent and it has to be condemned. I am, quite frankly, proud that people all over the world black, white, Indians, Muslims, have marched and protested as one in a movement against what is clearly systemic and institutional racism and minds of individual people, too many individual people that this is how you should behave. When you look at it, Sir, most of these people preach about the Bible. In these Southern States in America, it is Bible, they are God-fearing, they do not believe in abortion because that is killing a human life, but a life of a child not yet born is worth more than the life of a black man or a black woman who was shot in her home in the United States of America (USA), with police going into her home, her castle, a no knock policy, go in and shoot her dead just like that. Another one last year or two years ago was a St. Lucian close to our home a white policewoman going in an apartment which was not hers saying that she thought it was hers, I do not know you could mistake your own apartment, your own home of abode, your own yard, and shot the black man dead. This is what has been going on in the United States of America for decades and for centuries and only now as I said because everything is on social media through this phone camera that transmits to the whole world that something is happening if not all of these policemen and all of these people would be getting away still with this. You had an incident again about four months ago with a black man jogging on the road, keeping fit - I did that this morning before I came here - and a father

and son in some truck took out the gun cornered him and called somebody else and man dead because he should not be jogging out there, he has no right to be there, and then told lies that the black man was attacking then. They were not charged, no charges laid for three months until other evidence comes out to say that they are lying so, in other words a whole system institutionalised against black people, the police, the prosecutors the judiciary system. The concept defies my understanding and experience of how you could have a judiciary system where you have to be elected, you got to run for the post like a politician in the United States of America so that itself breeds corruption at the Bench in the United States of America so everything slated is against black people and America is happy with that at the political leadership level. One of the top United States of America politicians when asked to say that black lives matters he said he cannot say so, the words cannot come out of his mouth. He said all lives matters he cannot say black lives matters so you know from that how he feels. You do not have to be a genius, an Einstein to understand how he feels about black people if he cannot come to say that.

Sir, the reality is that black people are at the bottom economically of about every society in the world. This is something that the Honourable Member for St. Michael East said that this is the moment. Quite frankly I believe that if this moment is lost by the time most of us in here dies not much is going to change globally if this moment is not taken by the crux of its neck, no pun intended, and utilised because black people throughout the world in virtually every country in the world are at the bottom of society economically. In some places yes blacks have the political power that is true but not the economic power. Here we had a 'lost decade' where you had all black Government that is true but at the whim and caprice of corrupt practices.

Sir, it is not lost on me that the former Prime Minister used to say on many occasions even in this Parliament how you have corruptors and corruptees too. Well, he knew what he was talking about. In other words, that you should not only blame his Ministers for being corrupt but you got to blame those business people, he used to say those words, who corrupt them. Sir, we know wo the business people are who used to corrupt a black Government in the 'lost decade' between 2010 and 2018, the Democratic Labour Party. Sir, that is what we have to deal with and that is what have to be addressed the fact that black people are at the bottom of the economic ladder in every society virtually in the world in every country even where they have political power and domination. It will not happen here you here, Sir. You heard the Honourable Member for St. Michael South Central spoke just before lunch on the issues of transparency and accountability and integrity which have to inform this Government, which

does inform this Government and must inform any future Government of this country.

Sir, we know the genesis of this, a period of slavery starting 500-odd-years ago where Europe systematically underdeveloped Africa, the Caribbean and Asia, a period of colonialism, the worst period in the history of mankind. Sir, you know the Jews talk about a holocaust. -- I am not in any way belittling that. I understand the Jews fight for their race and I admire that but six million people died in a short period of time when millions and millions of black people died all over the world through colonialism. Those who did not died physically died from other things and the depression and the deprivation and the inhumanity, man against man in the name many times of the church. I am not getting into fight with the Church of England, the established church here today the Anglican Church, but they have to make reparations too. An apology just does not cut it. The Honourable Member who just spoke from St. Peter spoke and drew a reference up to two weeks ago... Yes, I was there, the Honourable Prime Minister speaking about people not wanting to come forward and we heard that all the time.

Sir, all of this is part of the psyche that we have to fight, that a lot of black people do not feel that their place is at the front, that they naturally go to the back and you have to tell them come up to the front. Sir, the church has a lot to play in that because as we know the Church of England as defined by the Anglican Church here black people could not sit in the front pews they were reserved for white people. The church that most of us including me were born into and baptised in perpetuated that. Of course, the church and the State were the same up to 1968 in Barbados when you had legislation disestablishing the Anglican Church separating it from the State. The church has to in my opinion further examine its role and the church in Barbados too, the Anglican Church, the traditional church still own a lot of land that was obtained from the blood, sweat, tears and death of black people, the slaves and coming up even after where there were (located) Lands Acts, where you if you lived on the plantation land you had to work on that land, and if you leave the plantation's employ you had to take up your chattel house and leave that land, and the church has to examine its role and determine about giving the land that it has to the descendants of the slaves whose ancestors were responsible for the church obtaining all this land. Not only in Barbados but all over the world the Catholic Church is one of the richest institutions in the world.

Sir, this is where we are, this is what this debate today is about, because racial discrimination and oppression has to be overcome. This cannot be happening in 2020. Mr. Speaker, Sir, a lot of people see me. I suppose they do not know me and though I am a public figure, I still like to maintain some [degree of] privacy. Yes, people see

me as someone who is always smiling, but I know I can be very serious and so I have to speak about what is in front of me because like Honourable Member for St. Peter said, it is a question of your character formation. I mean, at age 16 months my parents took me to England. My father went there to study law. I lived there for five years, which were the formative years of my life, of my mental capacity, my psyche, early to mid-1960s and everything I remember about England in that period was based on race. I was in a bus with my mother one day and I remember a white man telling my mother that I was going to be a bus driver. I remember my mother saying no, that I was going to become a lawyer like my father, grandfather and uncle. The white man was so embarrassed that he got off the bus at the next bus stop. [I also remember incidences of] white people in the road spitting at you. [Also] when you go to an apartment which was advertised for rent you would see a sign saying: “No dogs, no cats, no blacks.”

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was the only black child in the school and one day a white student threw which almost took my eyes out. The teachers called my mom telling her what happened and that they were taking me to the hospital. When my mom reached the hospital I was there sitting by myself, the teacher had left me alone. That is England, that is what we are fighting against almost 55 years after. People would want to tell you that this is relevant answer, because each and every one of us here has relatives in England. That was the time when a man called Enoch Powell, a Member of Parliament spoke about “rivers of blood”, a speech people still remember. I think that was in April 20, 1968, that too many black people and Indians were coming into England and that there was going to be rivers of blood (race riots) because you were going to have to kill these people. Sir, England subsequently got racial discrimination legislation which then outlawed illegal racism but institutional and systemic racism still continue in England, as it does in all of those white majority countries. That is the reality and so it took me a good 30 years to overcome the psychological scars of racism against me before I could go back to England. I went back to England, passing through to go to an International Bar Association Conference. Sir, you know, you read these things in history, history was my best subject. I am a student of history, but then to see it before your very eyes, to go into New Zealand, to go into England and to other European countries or to European countries that were colonial, the same of the days of the third world countries of the Caribbean of England and Africa the money, the crown jewels that the queen puts on, and the Star of India, and the Royalist Diamond of South Africa, all of those in the British museums and the Tower of London and those kinds of places, and you go in France and Paris and see the same thing and astounded by Paris and the gold and other European cities and Italy and the gold that was stolen from our territories up in European museums and monuments, as if these things belong to them. And question of reparation

on the table for the last two decades of more. More than two decades, yes, but coming to the fore just over two decades ago and nothing happening, no reparation made. Yes, here and there a university in England would say that they would give the University of the West Indies \$20 million, okay, I congratulate I commend them for so doing but there has been no plan systematic return for reparation to Caribbean people to African people to Asian people to what was done to our black people over centuries. And we ask understandably for reparations in terms of the health and education because these are the two areas now that can uplift our people. And then we look at health even now there is a disproportionately high percentage of black people in America are having COVID-19, that is not by chance, sir, that is systematic because black people do not have the access to healthcare in America that white people have; the first thing is that black people have to pay for it in a lot of cases, but you do not care two tails about them because they dying does not matter they are just a statistic, that is how the American political leadership as it presently stands looks at them, and studies and unquestionably showing that a large percentage of black people suffer from hypertension, high blood pressure because of history, because our ancestors were slaves, they were mistreated and under pressure. They did not even like to think about it, and that that has passed on from generation to generation, down to this generation, so that a significant percentage of Barbadians and Caribbean people suffer from high blood pressure, certainly after age 40, and diabetes too. Sir, all of that is connected to slavery. All of that is connected to what we are here today debating. All of that is why black lives matter and why reparation should be given by these countries that raped our people and our countries, to bring some kind of balance that in good conscience this is what should be done. [Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the same thing] with education, because by education we could be uplifted.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we cannot just speak about racism and its history in other parts of the world and not about Barbados. Of course, as we all know and as was said here today, Barbados was built up as the perfect slave society, the leading slave community in the world, the only colony to form a colony in the Carolinas, the perfect slave community. Tremendous wealth was made by British slave owners and traders out of Barbados, Sir; a Barbados that today is struggling, with the Government of Barbados doing its 250 per cent best for our people but we should not be in this position. We were the wealthiest colony in the world at one time. All the money, all the resources were repatriated to England. Multimillionaires benefited as Lord this and Viscount that and Earl this, Sir; all of that is what we are dealing with in this debate here today.

Sir, I will say this because a lot of people do not know this: Under the Right Excellent Sir Grantley Adams, Barbados was certainly the first country in the Commonwealth that banned South African goods in the

1950s. The Honourable Member for St. Michael East spoke about it today. Sir Grantley Adams, political leader of Barbados, banned South African products from coming into Barbados, Sir, when we were still a colony. People say how we were conservative, Sir. That is why as a student in Ottawa in 1985 I marched in front of either the United States or the British -- I cannot remember which -- High Commission or Embassy there, because at that time, of course, Britain's Prime Minister was Margaret Thatcher and America's President was Ronald Reagan, and they could not understand why they should have severed economic ties with South Africa. Nelson Mandela had been in jail since 1964, and his colleagues were in jail as well, while England and America were supporting the apartheid regime of South Africa. As Thatcher said, white people in South Africa were her kith and kin so she was not going against them.

Sir, I marched on an afternoon with others. This is not a white-black thing here now, because there are now white people marching all around the world and protesting against this as well, and Barbados would find itself left behind if, as the Honourable Member for St. Michael East said, we do not seize this moment here now. That is the truth, Sir. The moment has to be seized. The young people are seeing it and they are calling for it, Sir: to seize the moment. I again commend the Honourable Prime Minister of this country who, as Minister of Education and Culture in 1999, established a National Heroes Square and Gallery Development Committee. That committee comprised people of all colours, Sir. It was multi-racial. It included David Comissiong, now Ambassador, and Alissandra Cummins, and this Report was made in this Parliament so I can speak to it. The committee included Penelope Hynam, Henry Fraser and Karl Watson. There were white people on it too, Sir, and they recommended the removal of Nelson's Statue. That was 20 years ago, Sir, but this is now a controversy again in Barbados.

The Report was laid in the Parliament of Barbados, and I strongly believe that if the Honourable Prime Minister had continued to be Minister of Culture, we would not have to be debating about Nelson here in Barbados today, Sir, but in 2001 she was shifted then to the Office of the Attorney General. Sir, that committee had three town hall meetings, it invited and obtained many written submissions, Sir. The reality of the situation is that you cannot have a Horatio Nelson statue in National Heroes Square, Sir. The then Prime Minister the Right Honourable Owen Arthur came to that conclusion: it is a dichotomy, it just does not operate, Sir. Nobody, certainly not I, is talking about taking it down and pelting it into the Wharf. There's a maritime museum, there is the Barbados Museum. The Prime Minister has spoken and described this as a wedge issue, and the people are free to speak about their personal beliefs on it, Sir. My belief may not coincide with everyone in this Parliament and I accept that,

but that is what a wedge issue is. I stand firmly behind the fact that it is abhorrent, and not only to Black people but it is abhorrent to Barbadians on the whole. It is abhorrent to white Barbadians too, and this farce and pretence and double propaganda about how less British tourists will come here if Nelson is not in Broad Street is the highest form of nonsense and idiocy that can be perpetuated in this country, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member has two more minutes.

Hon. E. G. HINKSON: Sir, the fact of the matter is that symbols and psychology matter. Symbols matter and this is clearly shown, Sir. Again, the Honourable Member for St. Peter spoke about it; how children in his time would draw pictures of a female who was not Black. In the case of *Brown v Board of Education* (1954), the United States of America Supreme Court, evidence was given by the psychologist that Black children were given white dolls and black dolls and told, "Choose a doll", and they would invariably choose a white doll. That is the kind of perpetuation of psyche against Black people throughout our history, Sir. In a lot of parts of the world, 1954 was no different than 2020, Sir, and this story that Nelson saved Barbados from the French is what I used to hear when I was at school. I heard that Nelson was good for Barbados and he saved Barbados from the French, as if French colonialism was worse than British; it was all the same thing. It is true the French had the "code noire" but Britain had everything that was bad as well. There was no difference. It is abhorrent and it continues today in terms of how the (OECD) Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development treats toward us as a people, as a country fighting to build up our international business system and our international financial services, which they encouraged us to get in the late 1970s. At every step there is the shifting of the goalpost, Sir, and blacklisting us. No whitelist; blacklisting us. All of that is part of the psyche and the symbolism to keep Black people down, to keep us at the bottom because there is still this inherent feeling among a lot of white people that they are superior to Black people; this racism that has to be abolished.

Sir, that is why I commend the Honourable Member for St. Michael South East and the Prime Minister, for even at this time of COVID when Barbados is out \$500 million -- a half-billion dollars -- the issue of state-funded university education is not on the table. We are maintaining that because poor Black people must get free education or education paid for by the State, Sir. Sir we have to find the money, do not mind the half billion dollars out now. Under the last Government, the first thing they did, after the 2013 election, came to Parliament and said, we are finish funding state education, look for it on your own. Hundreds of black people had to drop out of University, even when they were in already or could not go to University. The

effects of that is still continuing today and will continue Sir, for a good many years.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your Honourable Member please wind up.

Hon. E. G. HINKSON: Yes Sir I thank you. Sir, this is where we are at. We have to eradicate the many negative racial legacies that were deprived from centuries of criminal enslavement of Africans and people of African descent as this Resolution has very wisely stated, and we in Barbados stand as the last paragraph say, to be part of global initiative eradicating racism in general and anti-black racism in particular once and for all the time must come. As Dr. Martin Luther King said that people must be judged by the content of their character and not by the colour of skin. Sir as I said, this Parliament stands nobly stands today debating the sensitivity but an issue in which all people in Barbados have to join hands together. Sir it is not us and them, it is all people, every right thinking person in Barbados has to collide their brains, their efforts, their wills on this particular point, and condemn racism wherever it shows its ugly face, wherever in the World. I am obliged to you Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. Philip South.

Hon. I. A. WEIR: Thank you Mr. Speaker. A pleasant good afternoon to all Barbadians following this presentation. I rise in full support of the Resolution before us today. I wish to confess that in seeking to determine how I would approach this, I spent long hours on my back last night trying to reflect on how we will handle such a bold debate at a time when it is much needed. Mr. Speaker “I cannot breathe”, words echoed on May 25, 2020 by George Floyd who was pinned to the ground by the knee of one police officer, Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis. To the extent that I cannot breathe has become the cornerstone of black lives matters forces me to accept that the doctrine of all lives matters is nothing short of a racist thesis that seeks to remove the muscularity from a statement, black lives matter.

Were there fair equality in the World Mr. Speaker, the doctrine, “black lives matter” would not have been necessary, but if I am to reflect Sir on the fact that all lives matters, tell me why was there ever slavery. Because I would have difficulty understanding at the being were only differentiated from you by colour, has been used as machinery and part of an ownership structure, an economic ownership to the disadvantage and brutality meted out on a race that did nothing other than form part of this World. Mr. Speaker, perhaps it is on that that I would like to remind this Honourable Chamber of a period one which on October 15 to November 7, 1962, where a champion of black people went on trial in the old Synagogue Court and

Pretoria South Africa. All he did, was dear to say that the rights of the black man is just as important as the rights of any man under any auto shade.

Mr. Speaker I struggled last night, because I know black people for achieving greatness. Black people have proven against all of the odds that when called upon to perform, none can touch the greatness of black people.

Mr. Speaker, I draw your attention to when all of the powerful Olympics teams perform well, in the frontline were the black Americans standing hand on chest reciting Stars-Spangled Banner, and that in this very place, you can have George Floyd repeat the words of Eric Garner, who uttered those same words in New York, July 17, 2014, when he too was being apprehended with brutal force and was placed under police brutality to give way the last breath, the oxygen that only the father controls, was taken away and his life went in the twinkle of an eye uttering the same words, “I cannot breathe”.

Mr. Speaker, I would have been fairly console if action was taken then that we had seen the end of these dark days. Mr. Speaker, Christopher Lowe on July 26, 2018 in Fort Worth, Texas, uttered the same words, “I cannot breathe” under the same type of police brutality. Mr. Speaker you will think that after all of this, we would have seen the end of such cruelty meted out against a race that did nothing other than seek to hold its place in this place we call our World. Mr. Speaker they are others. Javier Ambler II, on March 28, 2019, in Austin Texas, said, “I cannot breathe” under police force. Mr. Speaker Derrick Scott, in May 2019 in Oklahoma City and then Brian Williams on September 5, 2019, in police custody in Vegas.

Mr. Speaker this not by accident. This cannot be classified as anything other than extreme hatred meted out against the colour of a human being who has demonstrated nothing but greatness for all America in Carol Lewis and Michael Jackson. All America in people who have made America great long before in the temptations and the OJs, Mr. Speaker, the day when Motown was king, run by Black people and to this day after the great contribution of Black people to the economic welfare of a nation, you can find Black people having to recite “I cannot breathe” only to give way the last breath of oxygen that has been given by none other than the great architect of the Universe.

Mr. Speaker, I have to tell you that I have a champion. A champion, a Nelson Mandela, I say so because in spite of all the challenges Mandela said, and please permit me to quote, Mr. Speaker:

‘I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. I hate systemic

inculcation of children with colour prejudice and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind, here and abroad, are with me in that. I hate the racial arrogance which decrees that the good things of life shall be retained as the exclusive right of a minority of the population, and which reduces the majority of the population to a position of subservience and inferiority, and maintains them as a vote less chattels to work where there are told and behave as they are told by the ruling minority. I am sustained that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind both in this Country and abroad are with me'.

He closed by saying:

'Nothing that this Court can do to me will change in any way that hatred in me, which can only be removed by the removal of the injustice and inhumanity which I have sought to remove from the political and social life of this country'.

Mr. Speaker, back in 1962, and I am hesitant to tell you, that I would be still on nipples of the mum at a time when this type of hatred towards Black people, took place and one man stood up and call it for what it is.

I do not think that I have to be flashy about a very simplified and innocuous debate, Mr. Speaker because that is what it is, you have to call it for what it is. It is extremely innocuous in that we are speaking to an issue that should never exist in the 21st Century.

The fact that we have to stand in this Honourable Chamber today to discuss this matter speaks to boldness on leadership. First of all, because this is a debate that could have taken place before and I had just called off a chronicle of any cases that could have prompted this debate before.

Mr. Speaker, I am reserve in my mind that any walk to freedom must be a walk built on the words of the same Nelson Mandela. He said, "our march to freedom is irreversible, we must not allow fear, to stand in our way".

Mr. Speaker, it is significant that today we note this because the walk to freedom is not a conversation about how well or how bright we can sound; how intellectual we are. A walk to freedom must understand the struggle of those people who end up having to do crime for survival, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I have spoken to this before simply because I saw it with my very eyes as a boy growing up, I did not have to be here. The pressure that you go through in your life when you grow out of the struggle, Mr. Speaker. Struggle to see Grandma with a dung basket and a hoe going to the plantation to weed and there were no bathroom facilities and if nature called on you the only place you can resort to is the cane fields or the bush. Today I as Minister of Agriculture and Food Security will bring an end to the

notion that people working in the field should not have proper bathroom facilities.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen many things as a businessman, and sometimes I feel a little bit loath to mention my experience in business. I understand the cut and thrust of politics as well and I do understand that for you to be able to extol the successors you have had in business you are fingered in a more severe way. Simply because you dare to speak and the challenges that face in order to be able to achieve something called success.

I want to say to all Barbadians that our reality still resides within our hands. The fact that Ambassador Doctor Anthony Gabby Carter gave us that beach is mine to signify that even if we want to share our country with people that our reality is that we should not be excluded or block from access to our beaches. That is only part of a complexity that permeates this Country in a manner that only we can control.

I say that simply because I have seen plagiarism in business, I have seen your critical information can be taken and carry not to start another Black business but to build one that would never entertain you or anybody like you. Those are the things that we now have to get through the minds of our own people in this country as well because there is a reality check that we must also look into. When people start to finger politicians in the manner that they do, they fail to recognise that the tenants upon which we have been able to establish a political class in Barbados were encouraged in the last ten years.

In the last ten years what took place in Barbados would never happen again given the type of legislation we have passed first and foremost, but equally that there is a different breed of politicians under a different type of leadership that stands for what is right for people. You must ----- and if you are elected to help and you stand and cannot help a man he then loses his confidence in the system, he loses his confidence in you, and then we continue the same conversation politician living big and large getting fat off of taxpayers' money and is not helping nobody, that conversation we must visit and Mr. Speaker, I am asking that we visit that conversation under something call Public Sector Reform. It is foremost, in my mind for several reasons, sometimes if we are going to succeed at helping people, we must be non-linear. Mr. Speaker, too many layers of bureaucracy, has led to all kinds of different things that could have been avoided.

Mr. Speaker, I simply believe that the majority of Barbadians are impacted by the same doctrine; black lives matters. I have said before and want to say again in this Honourable Chamber, that I want to see the largest of the black businesses in construction as well. I want to see them. I want to see the largest of ownership in tourism as

black. I want to see a complete dismantle and restructure of the economic structure of this country where equal rights are seen as what it is. If we have to empower and enfranchise people in order to give them the leg-up, then we must do so because this struggle will never end, Mr. Speaker. We can be pretty and that is why I am telling you to my mind it is innocuous.

We could be pretty, sound good and bright but if we are not taking the action to empower and enfranchise people in a manner like how the Honourable Member for St. George South tried with the Trust Fund Loans, and the Member for St. James Central made reference to it this morning. Also, we started the Farmers Empowerment and Enfranchisement Drive in Barbados to give to Barbadians what they did not get in the past which was the ownership and access to Government land that is running fodder in this country, growing bush and that everyone except our own can have access to. I had made that change simply because I believe that the ownership structure of the country must change if black lives matter.

Mr. Speaker, I must say that in this debate we must look inward as well. As we look inward, we have to do a total self-examination, Mr. Speaker. I am not one who is drawn to hypocrisy and prepared to ignore the voices of our people who have elected us and spoken in very direct terms. If Admiral Horatio Nelson statute is offensive to people who have elected us to govern and was a discussion that took place before, but that George Floyd, Eric Garner, Zavier Ambler, Emmanuel Ellis, Christopher Lowe, Derek Scott and Brian Williams should be our reminder that no matter what happens people of colour will always be subjected to a type of inhumane, undignified, most aggressive and brutal treatment, then we are playing with danger.

The one thing I know is the man that feels he is outside of the tent will take objection to you but the moment you embrace him, bring him in and make him part of the structure, he will hug and possibly kiss you for making part of the structure that has been created. This has dogged us for many years, Mr. Speaker. It has done so because many times we are constrained in our ability to make decisions but equally, we tend to forget. This is the message I get every time I traverse Barbados. When somebody says to you that they help you or get you there, do not take that lightly. It is a message. There is a message to all of us and if black lives matter, then this must matter as well.

We are not going to get everything right. We will not but we must have a bucket list of things that we want to get right by a certain time in the name of the people who we have asked to help us to get to where we want to be. Mr. Speaker, when I tell you that I have been called to

consciousness in following that case in 1962 when Nelson Mandela said as follows:

‘The will of the people is the basis of the authority of Government. It is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilized world and constitutes the basic foundations of freedom and justice.’

Mr. Speaker, struggle is not easy. I have been there and I have alluded to the fact that it is only perseverance and an admiration for people such as Sir David Simmons who have treated to people like human beings.

When people like him and the late Prime Minister, John Michael Geoffrey Manningham “Tom” Adams went to Church Village to see the condition we were forced to live in as a people not because we wanted to but we could not afford to do better. It took leadership for us to get running water which is a basic human right. It took leadership for us to get electricity, so that we would not literally live in darkness. It took leadership for us to be able to communicate with the world by getting the telephone system in Church Village and Clifton. “Tom” Adams came with the Tenantry Freehold Purchase Act and I am a product of those initiatives. I benefited from that.

I could have gone the other side, possibly to Riverside. However, the reality that I stand here today is not just for me but it is for those very people who have struggled with me. They have seen us struggle, Sir, and have transformed their lives only from being given an opportunity to participate and that is the significant difference. Nobody is asking for a handout all the way but a significant difference is if you go to Church Village or Clifton now where I grew up as a boy. I want to share my experience as the Honourable Member for St. Peter did.

When I grew up as a boy, what you see now was totally non-existent. There were fields all around us, no electricity or water and potholes. How do you exist and be ignored this way? The fact that transformation took place, I made a determination back then in 1976 that I would stand in this Chamber one day and represent Black Lives Matter in this country. This is why I am here today. I am here out of pure determination that I would stand here one day in the name of the very people who I saw struggle and lives have been transformed by visionary leadership. I do not take away from the Right Excellent Errol Barrow. I have seen his work too. I do not take away but I equally understand that we have had champions for leaders.

We have had champions in the Right Excellent Sir Grantley Adams, Right Excellent Errol Barrow and Mr. J. M. G. M. “Tom” Adams; the Right Honourable Owen Arthur as a champion in his own right as well and today the country has taken us to another level by giving us a female that would surpass longway all the work that was done in

the past simply because these times call for a different type of leadership and that leadership is at the core of our very existence as a Government and as a people, Sir. Mark you, Mr. Speaker, when we are finished because the last time I recalled any such debate taking place in this Honourable Chamber it would not have been because somebody was bold enough to introduce anything to talk about race. I recall Mr. J. M. G. M. "Tom" Adams making reference to racism and his opposition to racism. I do not support racism, Mr. Speaker. I do not in any way support racism but I support the rights of a race. I support the reality that if you have to struggle, Mr. Speaker, to be considered equal in this world or to be considered human beings then I support your fight and I support your reality to be able to be a part of a structure that is inclusive of you and that you are not outside only because your skin colour is different and that is where I segment the entire discussion, Mr. Speaker, because this cannot be, in a 21st century, a conversation about racism. This is a conversation about the rights of a race. That is the distinct difference, Sir, and that we have to have this conversation today is shameful because as we evolve, Sir, the many things we have changed, mobile phones, mobile applications, Mr. Speaker, we have achieved so many things in life in this 21st century, how dare you tell me that there is still a struggle for black recognition? How dare you tell me that blacks should still be subjected to brutality? How dare you tell me that I should be on the ground with your knee in my neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds saying I cannot breathe while you watch me die? Mr. Speaker, that is where I have my passion in this conversation and the reality of it is that it did not happen once, it did not happen twice, it did not happen three times, it did not happen four times. I have all of six, God knows, there may be many more cases where black lives were stripped away simply because the person, the oppressor, the one who believes that only he has a right to breathe God's air was prepared to take from you that freedom and that right that no man can give to you, Mr. Speaker. We have tried many things, we have done a lot, send people to space. We have created some of the best aircrafts in the world and I know for sure that trials have already been done for planes to even fly without captain and pilot. We have achieved a lot, Sir, but how do you tell me that we have achieved so much and we still have a struggle for blacks to be a part of an ownership structure and an existence that they themselves had no control over in the first instances. Nobody ever than the grand architect of the universe created this space we are in, Sir. When you had in 1625 the arrival of the Portuguese in Barbados and then you have colonial control in Barbados in 1627 going into a massive sugar industry note that the same ones who then went to the African continent and took a free man, enslaved him, brought him to the Caribbean to be a servant under the most inhumane conditions in the world and then on the plantation you had to be a Genghis Khan so that you got greater sap to produce more. You are a special fellow, but that you, when otherwise you are nothing more than an

inferior being in the sight of the very owner. Black sisters being dragged from a pond and raped for the pleasure of a man who bears no love and has absolutely not emotional attachment. It was a serious thing, Mr. Speaker, but because you can attach the title ownership you can do as you like. Mr. Speaker, I do not hate anyone, I do not. I want to make that clear. I have moved away from what has taken place. I will not erase from my memory what I know but equally, I understand, Mr. Speaker, that the one thing we have to do now and do it well is to make sure we do not have to hear someone else saying I cannot breathe because of the colour of his or her skin.

One night I was going through Netflix and I saw they brought up these slides of different movies and documentaries and I felt for some comedy and this one with Chris Rock came up called Tamborine. It is riddled with expletives but it makes sense and the Honourable Member for St. James Central is smiling because clearly he has seen it already, but you know he made the comparison that if in the police diary they reached a point that they say, "oh shoot, we are at 16 blacks, we gotta take a white now" then you would start to believe that this is nothing more than police doing their work, but that does not happen, Sir, and Tambourine, to me is a complete documentary, people call it a comedy, but it is a documentary for me, of what actually transpires in a society where the colour of your skin determines how you jostle for space and in your jostling for space you have to bring something to the table. The proudness of black athletes, Mr. Speaker, cannot be ignored because Star Spangled Banner must mean something at the Olympics so the proudness of black athletes must mean something. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that the one thing Japanese, Chinese, I travel to China and I have travelled most places in the world, Sir, and even with language barriers people know who Michael Jackson was, what he did. Even with language barriers, Sir, people know about The Temptations, people know about The O'Jays, Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding and James Brown. People know them even with language barriers and their contribution to economic activity globally speaks to a gift and it speaks to a contribution that can very well be better made if we stop suppressing and stop seeking to control and restrict the talent power and the right to existence of person of black skin colour.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member has two more minutes.

Hon. I. A. WEIR: Mr. Speaker, I thank you. Mr. Speaker, I want to use these two minutes to anchor my contribution this way. There was a concert for Al Green that I saw and there were two black people sitting in the front row, so they had front row faces - they were young, not many people knew who they were at the time because it was an old concert that was being aired - Barrack Obama and Michelle Obama. If I had seen that 10/20 years ago

their faces would have made no difference to me but their contribution has forced me to recognise who they are.

The contribution of black people has forced the world to recognise what black people can do, and I am saying, Mr. Speaker, we have to dismantle and unshackle ourselves. I am coming home now, Sir. In St. Philip in the constituency of the Honourable Member for St. Philip North we have a park called King George the V Memorial Park but further down is Bayley's Planation from which Bussa came, and I am calling just like the Honourable Member for St. Peter did, and the Ambassador Dr. Anthony "Gabby" Carter would have heard me discuss this with him before, I want it to be called the Bussa Memorial Park and if we cannot do that call it Jim Wedderburn Park because he was one Barbadian that made it to the Olympics and if we cannot do that call it Ambassador Stedson Wiltshire, Mac Fingal and John King because these are icons of St. Philip.

With that, Sir, I want to thank you. I am obliged to you, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Leader of Government Business.

Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADSHAW: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of this Resolution brought by the Honourable Member for Christ Church South, and with the input of the Leader of this country, the Honourable Prime Minister, which I believe all Honourable Members feel very passionate about this afternoon and throughout the course of today.

Sir, we have not come here with a light burden on our shoulders. I strongly believe that just as the Honourable Member who just spoke had a lot to think about last night I think for the last few weeks as we all would have watched repeatedly the video footage of George Floyd with a police officer's knee in his neck, shouting for his mother, shouting that we could not breathe, I think it has impacted on each and every single person who has watched that video regardless and irrespective of whatever race they may be.

I recall, Sir, that when I was growing up, as the Honourable Member for St. Michael East started to speak earlier, a lot of times we do not quite understand why people say things that they do but as you get older you start to realise the intricacies of the Barbadian society and you put things in a historical perspective. I remember when I was at primary school being teased as a child because of my complexion at the time - and I was a lot paler than I am now, I have not been able to be in the sun as I would like recently but that is also because of Covid-19 - because any time the grass was being cut my sinuses would act up, I would start to sniffle and my nose would go bright red and the children would taunt me and say: "Santia, you are

Rudolph the Red Nose Reindeer". They would also say this is a white child basically. I would be taunted and stuff that I was lighter than a lot of the other children. Fortunate for me within the household that I grew up in I come from two sides I suppose of the Barbadian society. On one side of my family I have the red legs, what they would call the "Ecky Beckies" from St. John - I often used to remark to the former Honourable Member for St. John and say I have more roots in St. John than she did - and on the other side of my family I also have family in Edgecliff and Clifton Hall as well and I would often realise that obviously with having the history that I did it is not about picking sides but it was also in my household about understanding where you had come from and having a strong sense of being a strong sense of self because whether people would taunt you and say you were white or you were brown or you were pale or whatever, growing up I understood who I was and where I came from. To this day, Sir, I still hold very strong to my history and my understanding of history and of self. I am a proud student of history. The Honourable Member for St. Michael South who is also a member of the intellectual powerhouse of the Barbados Community College, the History Department, tutored by none other than Trevor Marshall as well, and I have a long history in debating a long history in understanding not just American history but also Caribbean history and certainly also African History. All of these things helped to shaped me.

Sir, while it is that I understand where we have come from and I understand that it is only by knowing where you have come from that you know where you are going, I also believe that we have a responsibility once we understand where we have come from to do all within our power, whatever people may call us as a political class or as leadership in a country, and we have a responsibility with the knowledge and the understanding of self and of creating an awareness of who we are, we have a wider responsibility to our people and certainly to the generation to come to ensure that we pass on a lot of the knowledge and we do not try to take away aspects of our past because it is our past that is supposed to take us where we must go as well.

It is for that reason, Sir, that even on my journey to study in the United Kingdom I experienced as well racism. I experienced what I consider to be an indirect racism because I was no longer pale or Rudolph the Red Nose Reindeer but I was now described by British society as mixed race, of mixed parentage, because for them once you had a lighter complexion you were now broken down and classified a little bit more. It took me back to where I was as a history student where I understood what the words of William Lynch, a planter from the United States of America, meant who basically said that if you try to break down the black race in such a way that you separate them by the basis of their colour that it would divide the black race for generations 300 years and I believe now we are

seeing more than 300 years that we have been divided on the basis of colour, so there was optic rooms, there was all of the different permeations of what colour was when people had a lighter complexion.

There was the separation of persons on the plantation. They pulled out people who were of lighter complexion to be able to oversee other persons and it continued to perpetuate a social divide amongst our people. I know, Mr. Speaker, that you are very familiar with this as one who is what they would call of a lighter complexion as well. Mr. Speaker, whether of lighter complexion or darker skin all of us understand the struggle of the black race, all of us understand in one way or the other where we have come from and again certainly where we have to go.

Sir, I recall also having an aunt who left Barbados to go to the United Kingdom to work and I remember her telling me constantly that when she first went to the United Kingdom the racism was a little bit different, it was such that there were signs that she would see when she went to secure employment that said that there was work available and from the time she walked into the establishment the sign would be replaced with no blacks allowed. The Honourable Member is shaking his head because I know he has been raised in England as well so he can appreciate this. But it however did not stop our people, Sir, and I say this because while my aunt understood what racism was and she understood what a race that was different from hers was trying to do to her and to her people, she was the most positive person whom I have ever met as it relates to ambition, education and making sure that all of her children were able to have a sound understanding of Barbadian society, of where they had come from, and of their struggle, and also a responsibility to give back to country and to community as well.

During the time that I was in the United Kingdom, and the information of all I have seen there, the indirect racism, the direct racism which my family members had experienced when they were there, I was in some ways a bit conflicted because I came from a Barbadian society where we had prime ministers who looked like us, we had black people who were in power, who controlled the House of Parliament. I remember the first time I saw a white garbage man picking up garbage I was dumbfounded because I could not imagine that white people picked up garbage. I remember remarking this and my family smiling and stuff because it such a culture shock for me on my first few trips to United Kingdom, but it also led me, as I saw the indirect ways in which racism existed in the United Kingdom and the way in which people of African origin were not only treated or disrespected in the same way but the way in which the very system itself almost seemed to be set up in a way to keep them down, and for many of them they did not have that connection to the Caribbean that I did, certainly not the connection to know that black

people in the Caribbean had been doing very powerful and great things.

I remember when I asked my nine-year-old cousin at the time what she wanted to be, she said that she wanted to be a bus conductor, and it was because the only other image that she had known within the family at the time was a godmother who was a bus conductor. Having lived with her for three years, by the time I left England she went on to the university and studied law. I say that, Sir, in the context that while I fully appreciate that we have to know from where we have come, we also have to be empowered by our past and the struggle of those who came before us to also know where we are going. So as we stand in solidarity during this session today in relation to this particular Resolution, I want to remind Barbadians that while we stand in solidarity with a movement “Black Lives Matter” at this point in time in American history, we must also be reminded that black lives matter in Barbados as well, because while they are in a movement against a brutal scene towards a black person and while they are reminding us that even after the million man march several years ago, almost 20 years ago [where] the Nation of Islam and others took to the street to march against injustices against the black race: black Americans being locked up, brutalized or killed by the police, 25 years later we are still here in the same position talking about it, advocating about it, empathizing with what has happen. Sir, I remember watching a video over the course of the last couple of weeks of a black man in the company of other black men in particular, his son, and this gentleman was ranting and raving about the fact that 25 years ago he marched along with others in the million-man march, [that] his son would now end up marching in protest against George Floyd and others, and things have not seemed to have changed, despite taking to the streets and protesting and exposing to the world all of the things that had been going wrong with the black race.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I pause because I realise it is not just about us saying what the wrongs are, but this debate really is about what each of us are doing to change the course of time because we can talk, we can complain, we can advocate but if at the end of the day when we sit down and we have not transformed a life, [neither] have we educated a generation, [if] we as policymakers have not been at the forefront of effecting change in Barbadian society, it does not say what we say in this debate here today.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I look at a lady called Shirley Chisholm, and I think most of you would know of her Barbadian roots and her connection to the Vauxhall Primary School. She was also the first woman to have run for the Congress in America, as well as for President of the United States of America. Sir, Shirley Chisholm made a comment about racism. She said racism is so universal in

this country (meaning the United States of America) so widespread and deep-seated that it is invisible because it is so normal. Sir, I hope that we never reach a point where we believe that the things we know to be wrong become normal. I think we have a responsibility as politicians, as leaders of this country to ensure that we educate others about their history.

I have a 'beef' (and I am glad that I have the opportunity to be Minister of the Education, Technological and Vocational Training to be able to make the changes that are necessary) but I had a 'beef' for a long time about our educational system. I had a 'beef' because I had always felt that while I benefited from going all the way through doing history to "O" Levels, then going on to the Community College to do "A" Level history, that there are many persons with whom I had been surrounded who did not have that foundation, who did not have the understanding of Barbadians slave society and where we had come from. We had in Social Study some collision with history, but unless you take the journey to continue your education oftentimes there is a gap after the period of Emancipation and post-emancipation where there is no other history that is taught unless you go on to the University of the West Indies or you go overseas to be able to be engaged in some course in history. And therefore a lot of people do not quite make the connection as to what our true history really is about and where we have come from, and what Barbadians have actually achieved. I feel that if we are going to be renaming buildings and putting up statues, we also have a responsibility to tie that into educating our people in the schools. We have to ensure that you are not just painting and naming the building but that as recently happened, (and Sir Anthony Carter will tell you) when we did a mural recently on one of our schools in the City of Bridgetown on which his image is on the building, I made the point that it was no longer about just painting the buildings but that it was also about making sure that every single child understood the struggle of the people who were painted on the buildings, that they understood that they could also themselves achieve not just the greatness of those who came before them, but that they too would be able to understand and to shape their world to be able to surpass the greatness of those individuals. And Sir, I strongly believe that we in the Ministry of the Education, Technological and Vocational Training have a responsibility to revamp the entire curriculum. Had it not been for COVID-19 we would have started the conversation about the 11-plus examination, because I think both the Honourable Prime Minister and I are on record that we have to let go of some of the things from our colonial period that have kept us. We have to recognise that having been educated, [that] that time has now come for us to be able to dismantle some of these systems that we have held dear, but also those systems that have perpetuated the differences that have made some black people believe that their lives do not matter because they went to a particular

secondary school, or because they went to a particular primary school. We have to dismantle those notions that the creative arts do not have a place within the mainstream educational curriculum. Because we all enjoy the music, as we have been seeing, (white people and all the other people enjoy our music) but when it comes to us as a people being able to appreciate and to make sure that every child may be able to explore its own creativity, we shudder at the thought because we have been brainwashed into believing that every child must be a lawyer, a doctor or a veterinarian. Sir, unless we recognised that in our own transformation in Barbados we have to look at our own black lives, our own black lives of children matter, that children must not come out of school without certification, that the system and the structure that we have set up that ensures that the same children who are underperforming in an examination are going to the same institutions repeatedly, then it means that we have not accepted and internalise that Black Lives Matter, that those lives matter. That is what this debate is about; this is not just about George Floyd. This debate is wider than that. This debate is not about saying, "The white people did this and the Black people did this." This debate is about what we do in Barbadian society; the very fact that we are even in this Chamber debating this. I do not think that the other Caribbean territories and many countries have taken this on board, and it speaks volumes about our leadership and it speaks volumes about our seriousness. The proof is really going to be, at the end of the day, in what we do in our respective Ministries to make that transformation happen and be able to ensure that our young people are equipped with the knowledge about the Panama Canal and about the people who left Barbados to build that canal, because it is not taught in our schools.

Sir, the fact that people will wear African attire for a period of African Awareness Week or a day but have no understanding about any part of Africa or where the continent is in relation to the rest of the world, or the difference between any of the material they are wearing, speaks volume about the fact that those lives matter as well as do ours and our understanding of who we are as a people. Sir, I wore a crown for 25 years on my head; my dreadlocks for 25 years on my head. I wore it proudly, Sir. I wore it as a Black woman, as the Honourable Member for St. Michael East has pointed out. I am a Black woman, Sir. I am a Caribbean woman. I am a proud woman of this soil, Sir, but I also understand my history and I understand where I have come from. When I listen to our Prime Minister she is always talking about us making sure that we have a national consciousness. When I think of the Barbados Labour Party and what we have done and what we started at the beginning of this year; to make sure through the 'We Gatherin' concept that territory after territory, parish by parish, was able to identify and to lift persons who had contributed to this country, and to create an awareness of who we are as a people. When I think of

this, I see it as significant. Had COVID-19 not happened, I know that it would have set a platform and a tone for what would happen in terms of our educational reform and in terms of everything else that was happening.

Sir, I think what it did in the first few months for all of the Members who were able to push forward the agenda for 'We Gatherin' and for all who started to prepare, was that it made us dig a little bit deeper into our history and learn about the people in Barbadian society who have made a difference. It allowed us through the Pride of Barbados Awards to be able to identify people who may not have been lawyers and doctors and the like, but ordinary Barbadians who through our legislation in the last few years have been able now to be recognised. They do not have to wait for some award from the Queen. They do not have to wait to be on an Honours List. That is what this is about: It is about us realising that we must have a sense of who we are, and as legislators being able to pass legislation that will make a difference in the lives of people.

Sir, I come from a proud legacy of a Barbados Labour Party family that has been at the forefront of ensuring that Black lives matter in the form of housing. I know that we have a lot on our plate, we have inherited a lot and we have not been able to accelerate the housing in the way we would like, but I know it is coming. I know that it has been given the priority, because I understand that if I am going to say to the people in St. Michael South East that their lives matter, then their social and economic conditions have to be improved where they are no longer restricted to cramped conditions in which they must live and raise their children, Sir, but they must be given the equality with others who have more than them to be able to allow their children to do their homework in a separate space or not to have to make decisions about who should sleep in the one-bedroom unit in which they live, Sir. That, for me, is what is going to make sure that Black lives matter in Barbados. It has nothing to do with the white people or the Black people, as I said. This is a debate and it must be a debate about the things we do as a Government but also as a society to make that transition.

Sir, Barbadian society is very mixed. There is no point in us taking up the fire rage of people elsewhere, but what I believe we have to do is to call a spade a spade because we cannot be saying that we are making transitions but we are holding onto a colonial past. We have to accept who we are, and we are not just of our African origin but we are also of a very European origin, whether we like what they did or not. Therefore, we have a responsibility to find balance. That is what Nelson Mandela, whom we speak about, did. He did not come out of abolishing apartheid and then reaching a point where he discriminated against the same people who created the apartheid system. Nelson Mandela said no discrimination for sex, for race, for anything, and that is the point that we must get to;

where we find that balance, where we can understand who we are by our architecture and our European civilisation but we understand the struggle of the people across the seas who were brought here as slaves to this country and who settled here and who struggled and who have gone through a system of brainwashing which we must now purge from their system to be able to create another generation who walks tall, as the Prime Minister says, who can stand tall with their heads erect and their shoulders back, who are not afraid to walk into a room and walk across the room in front of everyone. That is the type of Barbadian we must create but we cannot create it but instilling hate. We cannot create it by making people uncomfortable as they made us uncomfortable. I will not be a part of that because I have too much running through my veins.

Sir, I accept who I am. I say to Barbadians that we advocate, we agitate, we educate but we must never discriminate and we must never put ourselves in a position where we make people so uncomfortable in their own skin when there are people out there who, regardless of what their history has shown them that their forefathers did, want to join our struggle. What do we do? We cannot turn our backs on them. That is not the Barbadian way. Barbadian society of itself has been made up of all kinds of people, and I think we have to come to a point where we accept who we are, where we dismantle some of those barriers that have obviously held back our people, and restart it. When you think of the Trust Loans, they were meant to empower Black people. The Prime Minister says you have to risk on your people. If the banks are not going to give you the loans, the Barbados Government will give you the loans to be able to set up your businesses, and when you are successful you will pave the way for others to become successful.

This is about dismantling the social welfare system so that, as a Member said earlier, people are not dependent on the political class for their livelihood. That is the only point at which Black lives are going to matter in this country, where people are not waiting on handouts from the political class but that true empowerment comes from the mindset that people have to be entrepreneurial. The Honourable Member for St. George South and I have been in discussion about a Paper he is bringing soon on the Financial Literacy Bureau. We have been in discussion about how we can get our young people to understand things about bonds and investment from the youngest age; not just for the adults. We have discussed it especially through this exercise of the BOSS programme, and the Prime Minister and all of us on the committee have taken great lengths to talk to a country and walk a country through investment initiatives because it is something that under a different era would have been out of our reach. It would have been something that never would have been put on the table to be discussed. It would not have been a

part of a consultation which Black people would sit in a room and talk about or even be able to ask questions about.

That is how Black lives will matter in this country, and I am proud to be part of an Administration that is prepared to de-construct -- to use your word, Prime Minister -- and reconstruct, because every morning I wake up it is about how we can do things differently. We all are frustrated from time to time with the processes of Government, but the processes are us because if we continue to perpetuate a system that is full of processes and do not get the job done, then we are no better than the processes that have been created. Because you know what, the processes have been created by us, and by people who look like us in some cases and by people who do not look like us as well, but the fact of the matter is, it was created by people, so people have the ability also to dismantle the processes that are making it hard for black people to loans, for small business owners to be able to set up their businesses, for people to be able to get access to housing and to have running water and all of those things. If black lives were to matter, we have to stamp out corruption, in high and low places and we have already started that movement to be able to ensure that people are held to account for wrong doing.

We said we want to be transparent, we want people to be accountable, that is what we said, and that is part of making sure that black lives matter, that you are not pointing a finger and you are saying a black person is elevated to a position because he or she was part of a political class and left the others behind. That is when black lives matter, and I wish that some members of the last administration could have appreciated that in coming to office it was not about being responsible for the lives of a Democratic Labour Party set of persons mattering. We have come to office on a ticket that is giving us such a resounding victory and we as an Administration have a responsibility to ensure that all Barbadian black lives, all lives in this country actually matter and that we can a difference.

I support this Resolution. I thank the Honourable Member for Christ Church South for bringing the Resolution to this Chamber. I believe that there is much to be learnt from this experience of what we have seen. I know that even within our own society we have our challenges from time to time, but I know that we do not have it to the extent of what we see perpetuated outside. Let us be clear and focus on what it is that we are supporting. I know that we are empathetic to what is happening the United States and perhaps because of the leadership at this juncture in the United States it is perhaps more alarming and it perhaps outrages people more in terms of their sensibilities.

The fact of the matter is we have strong leadership in Barbados and we have to accept and appreciate that Black Lives Matter and this Administration is doing all within its power to ensure that all lives in our society matter. To that Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Prime Minister.

Hon. M. A. MOTTLEY: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker, Sir. I rise in this debate to lend my voice to the Resolution which has been appropriately filed by the Honourable Member for Christ Church South. I want to thank him for facilitating this debate that is not a debate with the whip on, it is a Private Member's debate, and it allows us to speak on matters for which we are passionate, but also on matters that are critical for those in our region and in our country to have a better sense of how and what we are faced with.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say at the outset that for this Parliament to find time to accommodate the Member for Christ Church South with this Resolution, is a matter that makes me absolutely proud. Because, over the course of the last 30 years, in my political career, and indeed before, I never had to wonder about where I stand or who I am. I never had to wonder about the battles which I choose to lend my voice to and my energy to.

Mr. Speaker, fortuitously, I had the good fortune of doing a number of things across the course of my life that have allowed me to better appreciate why these struggles are critical for us to continue to carry. The irony is that we may not complete the race, but we have to run our leg of the race and pass on the baton, comforted by the fact that we have done our best to carry people to the next level and to remove injustice wherever it is found.

Mr. Speaker, in these debates, you can sound powerful and high-browed or we can get to the core of the facts. When you listen to the lyrics that reinforce the message of the Emperor Haile Selassie as he delivered them at the United Nations. The speech then would have moved the room and would have moved the passion of Pan-Africanist and others who may have felt that they were the victims of injustice across the World. However, it was only when Bob Marley took the lyrics and popularised them in the song "War", that we were able to start to see those lyrics caused people to think differently: "Until the philosophy which holds one way superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned everywhere is war."

When these lyrics were sung, there are so fundamental and basic that it is difficult for anyone to disagree with them. Until the philosophy that holds one way superior and another inferior transpose that now to the reality. By holding one man superior and another inferior,

one woman superior and another inferior, that is what regrettably the Americas in the Post-European colonisation of the Americas from North to South, that is what was imposed on us as a philosophical construct. When you hear people talk about Barbados being the first postmodern experiment in racism, many of us know about it more than we are prepared to talk.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I have given more speeches out of the course of the last 30 years on this matter than I can probably remember. There are times when I have done it with anger, there are time when I have done it with pride and there are times when I do it with almost tears, reflective of a construct of power globally that does not know how to make real at the international level even that which they fail make real the national and domestic level.

I do not think that there is any image in recent times that has been more heart wrenching than the sight of a boot on the neck of a tall, large, big black man and to hear a man call for his mother in the way in which George Floyd called for his mother is what I think more than anything else has sparked the emotions of a global community.

Mr. Speaker, things do not change overnight, and I heard the member for St. Michael East saying that he thinks that this is now the moment, I pray it is the moment, and we will work towards it. I have seen the construction of power divide us as easily today as they did centuries and decades ago. I have seen the absence of solidarity in the small things that we do that should cause us to wonder what is it that we are really trying to fight for.

I want to locate this Government but also myself in understanding and helping others to understand that this is a journey that we cannot abandon at all. It is one that is unlikely to give us what we need and want immediately. That is why you hear me talk all the time about claiming ground and moving and building the platform for the next one to come and to come and come.

I cannot imagine that I have an uncle who would have been cast as a rebel and an outcast in this country. In the late 60s and the early 70s simply for saying that the working-class people of this nation should not be unfair or should be given opportunities that hitherto they did not receive or in understanding as far back as them. We need to be able to fight for economic enfranchisement. He understood what economic enfranchisement and economic power were fundamentally about choice. That is why you hear me talk all the time about closing the circle of enfranchisement because while having been started by the Right Excellent Charles Duncan O'Neal, Grantley Adams and others who fought in those early days and passed on to the workers. Such that the Workers' Union was formed three years later in 1941, Sir Hugh Springer, Sir Frank Walcott, and others carried the battle. Then social

enfranchisement came, but as all of you have said in here today, the most difficult has always been and will always be the economic enfranchisement.

I cannot imagine that this Parliament in which we debate today would have at one time been that instrument of oppression. Mercifully, this political party which I have the Honour to lead, would have done more to be able to turn this Parliament from an instrument of oppression to a tool of empowerment than any other political party in this country.

I say this conscious that, that is what roots us but having remove the vestiges of legal discrimination for the most part. I say this only for the most part because the Honourable Member for St. Peter has to bring before this Honourable Chamber two pieces of legislation -- one that speaks to anti-discrimination in the workplace and the other one that seeks to bring this country to the point where it needed to have been. That is to ensure that discrimination is justiciable not only when the State commits the act of discrimination, but when the people of the nation commit the act of discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, you know better than most that while the fundamental rights and freedoms of our constitution impose that in a limited way and the State there is no such imposition on private individuals in Barbados, it is wrong, but it will be dealt with.

The Honourable Member for St. Peter both as the Minister of Labour as well as the Minister responsible for the Social Justice Committee, I hope that he will secure the support of the Honourable Leader of the Opposition. He too, I know was one who put forward to me the concept of the Social Justice Committee.

Asides.

Hon. M. A. MOTTLEY: That is true, the Honourable Member for St. Michael West put forward to me along with a number of others in this Honourable Chamber the concept of a Social Justice Committee. We could have ignored it, but he did not, and he did not ignore it because we understand that the pursuit of Social Justice must remain that one thing that all Barbadians go after. When you have a history as we have, that has divided us, torn us apart, and discriminated against us, individually, collectively. We need to have a continuous understanding that we must never embrace a philosophy that holds one race superior and another inferior.

Mr. Speaker, if we recognise that, then we recognise that social justice is not only about the legal vestiges of discrimination but it is about the practices of how we treat each other, the failure to provide opportunities, the ability to be able to discriminate even if not in a tangible way but

the manner in which we treat to other people and that is not all and so much did we recognise it that that is one aspect of the call.

The other aspect is the continuous undermining and degradation of the environment within which our people must function. What do I mean? The construct of racism could only succeed for centuries if it was allowed to permeate every aspect of human activity, physically, mentally, socially, economically. My uncle was to be seen, as a bandit in the Black Power movement and everybody else who wore big afros were to be seen as rebels.

I cannot even begin to understand that there was controversy in Barbados in the mid-80s about emancipation lectures. You understand that within our lifetime that this country was almost torn apart as to whether there should be an emancipation lecture. Emancipation, without which none of us would be standing here. So, it became immediately apparent that what has been foisted on us for centuries is not going to dissipate easily. In a very real sense what you are seeing in the USA is different stages and phases.

They were always fighting a battle that was always more difficult than ours because of the power construct there. Why? Our emancipation came earlier than theirs. We talk about Universal Adult Suffrage here in 1951 with pride, as we should, and the removal of qualifications to choose your destiny and to vote. Yet, I have family in the USA who are still fighting help register people to be able to vote that are being disenfranchised for all other kinds of reasons that we do not quite appreciate because that is not quite our system of Government. If you cannot vote and have a say as to who choose, then you are at risks of being subjected to policies that would disenfranchise and disadvantage you; literally leave you out to sea.

You have the mental space. Do not stand outside for too long in the sun because you will become too dark. Why do you not try and comb your hair? Why do you not as black women put a bit of Goldies in your hair? Last time, I spoke about the bleaching. I am saying to us that the one thing we will not be able to do in today's world is to block information. In any event, our race does not tolerate censorship well because of the deprivation that came for centuries. We have to root our people and it is our obligation to root our people. It is our obligation to educate them. It is our obligation to create the opportunities. I think I heard the Member for St. Michael East who referred too tangentially, to the World Conference on Racism. I led that on behalf of Barbados for a year and I made the point before that the only reason I did not end up in Durban was because of domestic Cabinet reshuffle on the day before I was to travel when I became Attorney General, and I asked Sir Hilary Beckles to take over for me.

I thank him for carrying the battle well but I know what it was to be in Chile and go into a room. I have never in my life seen so many black Latin-American people in any space, as I saw in that room in Chile. It is not the image that is portrayed across the world other than World Cup football or other sports. I made the point that we have a real issue that has to be discussed and resolved with respect to reparations that is not a spiteful battle. It is not meant to be a wicked battle but to recognize that you cannot extract wealth from these nations over and over, carry it somewhere else and then, tell them to make their way with what they have. When they make them independent, there is no development compact to give us the opportunity to fill the void from the continuous extraction of wealth, not to mention the social disgracing and the personal bad treatment that went with it.

We have to be able to hold now our own as a people, confident that we have come far but that there are still aspects of our own society where the vestiges of discrimination and in some instances hatred reside too comfortably for us. We have to, not just as a Government, but as "Bajans" undertake that responsibility, especially with respect to how we treat each other and treat to the unit of strength and success in our society; the family. I do not mean the normal nuclear family. I mean the big family; the village family. Mr. Speaker, I pray that we will continue on this course. Why does the Covenant of Hope have as its first objective settling the issue of national consciousness and the renewal of our identity? I have been on this earth now long enough and seen what it has done to too many people who could strive for more but who have a difficulty because of the extent to which they feel they are not equal to or good enough for.

All of these are part of the things that cause us not to be able to do more as a country and reach further as a nation and a people. In addition to that, it is why we have said always there will be difficult conversations. I do not know how many Members in this House have read these two volumes but you need to. You need to read them not as a Bible but read them also as a reference point to see how far we have come in the 20 years. Equally, read them to be reminded of how much further we have to go. This is the Report of the Committee of National Reconciliation that Sir Keith Hunte would have chaired.

The Cabinet on July 1, 1999, would have established this committee. Mr. Speaker, it was delivered in December 2000. It is to my regret that the country does not embrace it and use it as a platform for deeper conversation because reconciliation is going to be "yes" on race, but there is also going to have to be an understanding and reconciliation on the basis of age. One of the things that stood out in this and I see it so clearly in front of me, the difference in perspective of those who are younger and not frightened to ask for change in the world. We are seeing it in the USA

and almost every other country that has seen people get up and speak that enough is enough.

When you hear me call for a global leadership initiative, it is not because I do not believe that countries are irrelevant but I recognise that United Nations (UN) was established 75 years ago at a time when there was no independent nation called Barbados. There was no independent nation called Ghana. There was no independent nation called India. You set the rules of global engagement before we existed and saw us. I am not sure that is the reason why they do not see us sufficiently. I give a speech on lamentations as a black woman, black leader and a leader of a black nation because the power continues to be constructed in a way where our voices are marginalised and where the oxygen that we need to fuel economic growth is diminished. This is nothing with countries I am talking about now, I have not even gotten down to individuals and that the framework for economic deprivation, the taking of oxygen that is necessary to fuel economic growth is removed from the room so that the young nations of the world, the small nations of the world have to ask themselves can I breathe too or is it that I am simply to be here and to counted and noticed two or three times a year, Namaste, Namaste, Namaste, good to see you and that is it, or do we matter sufficiently for us to take on the battles. The Caribbean countries have been calling for a vulnerability index for 30 years. I have spoken ad nauseam about it and why? Because if you say you cannot go to this bank, you cannot go to that bank, you cannot borrow for this, you cannot do for this, you are effectively constrained me. How different is that constraining of us as a country from the constraining of an individual who does not feel as though they belong because whatever they do in the system they are criminalised and penalised and sent on a path from which they can be no redemption and even God provides redemption. When we are taken with the elixir that makes us forget and we are given some freedoms that make us fete and make us drink and make us do all of these things, or when we are the subject of divide and rule, then it is easy to continue to bear the pain of these injustices. It is easy to continue then to ignore the fact that you really did not get anywhere. As far as we go, as far as we carry this nation the injustices of the global society will continue to constrain us because however much you say that we are a sovereign nation with certain rights under an international order there are some who are more equal than others. They are called the "Permanent Five" in the Security Council and the rest fight for that vote, divide, for that vote, but we are all equal, when there are those who say only certain members should have nuclear power. I do not think anybody should have nuclear power. How do you think others feel when you accord to yourself certain benefits and you say to the rest, none shall eat, none shall have, none shall do and therefore I ask myself: what have we done to continue to deserve this? When are we going to realise that the power of the people is greater than the people in power,

international and nationally and that we have a responsibility to bring our people along but as we bring them along we have a responsibility that we must root them too and they must be rooted because if we do to each other that which we should not do then how do we distinguish ourselves from those who did to us. That is the point the Honourable Member for St. Michael South East was making and that is why I say all the time that I am a New Testament girl. I really am. I believe in the power of love. Ambassador David Comissiong talks now about the humanising spirit of the Caribbean. I believe in these things so much to my own disadvantage sometimes because you want to help everyone and we do not yet have the capacity to help everyone as we would like because we have now to keep growing and growing and growing but for that to happen we have to root our people and make our people understand that it is not simply about somebody coming to liberate you, it is about you liberating yourself. It is about mental emancipation. It is about understanding that if you go looking for the little 'tra-la' that somebody might offer you, then you have lost the ability to stay the course. I am not judging anybody but I just want to make the point that these are the things that stop us from reaching the destination that we need to reach because they understand that human beings are more often than not lulled into different paths by reason of their wants and needs and not held back by their principles. Our duty is the help change that. Mr. Speaker, we are not perfect and this country has not given us that perfection either but it is up to us to pursue it and it is up to us to create the ambiance to create the environment that small children, black, white, Indian, Chinese, whomever, understand as we see in that brilliant video that is going around with the two little boys running to each other and hugging, that it is up to us to honour our people, honour our history. When this Government introduced the concept of the Freedom of Barbados it was because we felt that we needed to have an expression of an honour that was ours truly and not in the imagine of people who would have been otherwise using their honours to exploit and to gain. When this Government chooses as Minister of Education and reminded us with Trust Loan if we do not take a chance on our own, Mr. Speaker, tell me who will. When the last Government to which I belonged chose to establish the Police Complaints Authority, they established it because they know that you have incidents by everybody. You have good and bad politicians, you have good and bad men, good and bad women, good and bad sinners, good and bag managers, good and bad police, good and bad doctors, good and bad teachers, that is just the nature of life. Those who spend time on their phones trying to take out 60 seconds or 30 seconds to make a political point that does not even resonate, I say good to you, but what we must not do is to so ascribe to ourselves powers of divinity as if we are that one race that is superior or that we are that one race that is inferior. We all bleed. We all breathe oxygen. The pandemic has laid us bare from leaders to paupers exposed to a virus that has come to

decimate and to reclaim parts of the earth some may argue and parts of our humanity, a virus that has taught us the value of life, a virus that has taught us the value of family, a virus that has taught us the value of family, a virus that has taught us the value of work, a virus that has taught us the value of our environment, in reset that many will argue as absolutely essential for humanity but a virus also that has laid bare the racism of the world for if that virus had not come and if this pandemic was not virulent the potential for the response to George Floyd's death would never in my view have mushroomed as much as it did, but we had the attention of the entire world because the world was not busy running and making money and fighting battles and doing this and that, the world was trying to heal and in the midst of healing an act that is all too familiar to our people, that is all too much a part of our history, became a part of our present and threatened to want to continue to be a part of our future.

Mr. Speaker, no human being is perfect but human beings must aspire to treat each other with dignity and with empathy. A young girl with great courage stood by and taped what happened. Was she conscious of the consequences of what might befall her for what she did? I do not know but we give thanks for her courage and we give thanks also for the reality that this younger generation is prepared to speak truth to power in rare and powerful ways but that they also have a tool that previous generations did not have in the same way and it is the power of technology to mobilise, it was the power of technology that led to the 'Arab Spring', it was the power of technology that has led to other different political movements across the world, it is the power of technology that will call out injustice wherever it is found from the United States of America to Timbuctoo, from Barbados to Europe, from Africa to China, wherever it is found, but it is up to us to also use the power of technology to allow our people to lift themselves up, to lift each other up and to allow us to recognise that the globe needs the humanising factor of us in this region, the fact that we are still capable of thinking and caring about each other in small ways and not just in big ways, of the fact that we are still prepared to call out injustice even if it means that sometimes we carry the penalties.

Mr. Speaker, I told you that many times small states leaders have had to pay for their beliefs but the mark of our successful journey on this earth is not the wealth that we amassed in cash but it is our ability to look into the mirror and to see ourselves, to love ourselves and to remain principled to the things that matter knowing that sometimes you may fall but get back up and dust yourself off. Is this a highbrow speech? Probably for some. Is this fundamentally about what this journey on this earth is about? Yes, it is. I have said enough to show that even in my short space on this earth in this country I have seen the differences come but I also say that as we pursue the additional progress that

we must make and to create the opportunities for our people that I do not want us ever to be so powerful that we forget who we are and so powerful that we forget the journey.

Sir, sometimes when I hear the ease with which others are prepared to lay off people in this country I ask myself for real, were we really carrying that much pain that you had to drop everybody just so or could you hold on for a little bit longer because in this season we will not succeed if everybody insist on their absolute rights because there just simply is not the capacity to entertain it given the disruption that has been caused by this pandemic and what therefore matters is coming together as one people with one mission and recognising, not that a little with content is great gain in the way in which we were told that because that was told to us to keep us down, but that the pursuit of all that you want to the exclusion of everyone else is a perfect recipe for anarchy. Mr. Speaker, that is why our humanity is structured in such a way for us to care and to empathise because it is in that caring and empathising that there is first and foremost the most important thing to me in my life and in my judgement of people generosity of spirit. If you do not have a generous spirit you cannot walk this life easily and add value to others and quite frankly benefit from others and that generosity of spirit requires an inner confidence in who you are, of the ability to look into the mirror and love yourself.

Mr. Speaker, I want to remind us, this is one paragraph from this document, because even as we come to grips with the horrific murders yesterday we have to understand that this country cannot continue to build the work of mental health problems anymore and that there is no disgrace in treating people physically for illness, there must be no disgrace for treating people mentally for an illness. We have seen at least nine people, I believe the Attorney-General reminded me, in the last 15 months lose their lives in this country, at the hands of three people whose mental capacity was at the very least questionable if not one. Mr. Speaker, that mental health requires more than not being bipolar and it requires more by not being schizophrenic, it requires wellness and for wellness to happen it requires first and foremost accepting who you are and loving who you are welts and all, strength and all, and if I have to pass judgement on what is the greatest difficulty that we have in this country it is that we have not sufficiently rooted our families to love each other, to take care of each other, to be peaceful with each other and to remove the other disorder of public health, not Covid alone, but violence. Mr. Speaker, if we are going to do that then we must call it for what it is, when it happens, where it happens and how it happens. Yes, for the boot on George Floyd's neck yes for the other little boy who might be shot over a deal that has gone bad or shot under a tree, Mr. Speaker, Sir, like you and I both know for a gambling disagreement, or attacking your spouse because you and

your spouse can no longer ‘get’ along. The disease of violence, the public health disorder of violence is rooted fundamentally out of, in my view, lack of identity, and that is why this Government (and I pray to the point of wanting to cry) those who have responsibility for leading this country going forward will continue to recognise that the most important thing is rooting our people. We are accustomed to gale-forced winds. We are an island of 166 square miles, the north-east trade winds blow all over us, but because we are accustomed to gale-forced winds we have to root our people and to root them such that they may sway with the winds, but never shall they break because they know who they are and they know what their responsibilities are and not simply their rights. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this will not be achieved by a single electoral term, it will not be achieved by a single Government but it can be achieved by a people, and I pray that whether it is the voices of those in here in this Parliament or whether it is the youngsters who want to be global citizens with Bajan roots, or whether it the elders like those who we should not see in the Gallery but who are most honourable.

Asides.

Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY: And since I do not want Westminster to choke me I would say the Most Honourable Anthony Carter. Whatever it is we have to settle on a mission that there has to be a culture of love and a culture of peace to raise people in a way where they can go out and do well, where they can do good works. [You can] forget about Christianity then if you do not want to hear good works, go to the Koran, whatever religious you come from there is a fundamental coincidence and interest on the issue of life and of caring, of peace and of goodwill. And we somehow speak about it only when we are in a building designed for it: a church or a mosque, or we speak about it when there are certain ritual events, but we need to speak about it daily in the small things that we do and in the large thing that we do. And I end therefore by saying a culture of peace must be based on a firmer foundation from the absence of conflict. These are the words of distinguished Barbadians who met for just under 18 months and who at the turn of the millennium (black and white, old and young. I am rooting into the records for the purposes of the future) chaired by Sir Keith Hunte, the Right Reverend Rufus Brome, former Bishop of Barbados, the great distinguished elder who has now left us, Professor Kamau Brathwaite, David Commissiong (now Ambassador), David Ellis, Sir Allan Fields, Mr. Ishi Kessaram, Sir John Stanley Goddard, Reverend George Seale, Joy Workman, Senator Roy Trotman (now Sir Roy), and Chantel Monroe-Knight who was perhaps the youngest of them all. They all said that, “a culture of peace must be based on a firmer foundation than the absence of conflict.” Did they have the foresight to know that that absence of conflict would not necessarily necessitate peace in the land of our birth? It is as prescient a statement as I know. They went on, “but this

observation underlines the importance to Barbados of building a strong sense of community across all potential fault lines demarcated by class, race, ethnicity, gender, religion or political affiliation”, (and I will add to that the taboo, sexual orientation.)

You cannot have little boys and girls in this country who are worried about the fact that people will not like them because of their colour, height, size, gender, class or sexual orientation because when we do that we do not get the full potential from them. George Floyd’s daughter will not see her father but we know of so many others in our own family who were the victims of separation and who could not be here for each other, and hence if we knew that that was part of our past [then] how do we remedy it for our future? How do we accept responsibility for each other and each other’s children? As I said as recently as Saturday night in talking to the Diaspora, talk with each other and not to or talk at each other.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope that this Resolution will spur in the minds of all that if each of us, as Mahatma Ghandi said, [wants to see] the change that each of us wants to see in the world in which we live, then perhaps the Honourable Member for St. Michael East might not be only hopeful but might well be able, along with others, to see a pace of change at a faster pace, because change has happened. The question is, how we make it faster because injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere. And when we do that at the individual level within the country, how do we rightly take it in the international community such that there is no one race that is superior and another that is inferior, such that there are no lamentations about the use of biased and unconscious bias and privilege that make some people the standard-bearers, without an election, without consensus, without anything. But the power of might in schools (called bullying) we deprecate it but at the global level it is called power based on premises and philosophy that holds one race superior and another inferior.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have the capacity to out-maneuver and out-fight but we can only do it united as one people. And that is why over and over again I ask what the mission is. If the mission is clear, then the only answer that we want to hear from the rest of the population is the answer that comes to the question, are you on board to make this country a better country and to create opportunities for people, in spite of what happened in the past? Can we leave from this point knowing that we have the responsibility to move people? Never forget what happened in the past. It inspires us but the day that we behave like those of the past behaved is the day that we will not get where we need to go because it will just be the spark of another race being superior and another inferior, and “me say, me say, me say that is war”. It was war 2 000 years ago, it was war with the Moors and the Europeans

almost 1 000 years ago, it was war in Africa, it was war in India, it is war today in parts of the world that should not be taking place. It is true that the power of technology is repositioning the power of the individual over the power of the state in ways that we have not quite come to grips with and how we are going to manage it, but if we lead honestly and fairly and give people opportunity then I truly believe that the power of the nation-state that is being circumscribed by those who believe that they belong to a superior race will be complemented by the power of the individuals globally. There are nation-states and others who say that: "I have the capacity to reason. I have the capacity to know that I bleed and I breathe no differently, and to that extent I will not tolerate injustice anywhere."

I thank the Parliament of Barbados for being courageous enough in the Year 2020 to have a mature discussion. It is not easy but the blows of the cat-o-nine or the mutilation that went with the institution of slavery was not easy. The economic deprivation that takes place either domestically or internationally is not easy, and therefore the conversations that must inevitably come are equally not easy. Are we up to the task? I do believe so. Are we on board for the mission? I trust and pray so. Will we make it? It is up to us but if enough of us get on the train to make the journey and to undertake the mission, then I believe that there are those who will stand not here but probably in the next Place in this Chamber 50 years or 100 years from now, and in the same way we reflect on what the 1930s Riots did as an expression of a determination of our people to claim their destiny, I trust and pray that those in the future will look back at this moment in time and say, "In spite of the risks of retaliation for simply speaking your mind and for simply embracing a philosophy, the people in the Parliament of Barbados stood up and took a stand."

I am obliged to you, Sir.

Asides.

Mr. SPEAKER: Can you all give way to the Honourable Member for St. Philip North?

Dr. S. E. BROWNE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I will not be long. First off, I want to extend my sympathies and condolences to the families of Messrs. James and Griffith, who lost their lives so tragically yesterday. Although I do not know you, my heart is with you. This is one of the hardest speeches I will make because I am speaking after the Honourable Prime Minister and that is by no means fun. Anyway, we shall go on. I too am aware of the instances of the blatant and absolute disregard for life through racism in the United States. I too agree with the Members of the House who repeatedly added their thoughts with respect to the murder of George Floyd.

I too am aware of instances in our very Barbados where I met a black lady once who took a dip in her employer's pool. The next day the pool was drained because of the colour of her skin. I know of instances where staff in Barbados of hotels and restaurants would have been called "nigger" by white guests. I have witnessed myself people of lighter colour than I who, instead of waiting in a waiting room, chose to sit in their cars until the Black people were gone. I got to the point where I once told a receptionist of mine, "If you go to the car to retrieve her, do not come back." You have to demand respect for yourself.

I, like everyone here, sympathise but maybe to a lesser extent empathise with the march that was held outside of the United States Embassy recently. I understand it, I support it to some extent but there are deeper issues there. Maybe I would have chosen another day when the staff would have been at work. Maybe I would have dealt with issues that would have been confronting Barbadians and the rest of the Caribbean. In applying for a visa I never had the problems, fortunately, in an open room and being embarrassed by the questions being asked, being rejected after paying sometimes the price of a plane ticket to come here and apply for a visa, and being refused because of the fact of your not wanting to come home to Barbados and instead choosing to stay in the USA. I, for one, believe that any person coming out of the United States should ask for a visa to come to Barbados and not the other way around.

Asides.

Dr. S. E. BROWNE: As the Honourable Prime Minister would have said recently, everybody else may have had a few hours from three o'clock to about five o'clock this morning, unable to sleep with thoughts of how to present this. I, too, had to have a look in the mirror for our people. Yes, there is blatant racism out there. We do not see it in the obvious ways in Barbados but at the same time I had to ask myself, "What are the Black people of Barbados doing for themselves with respect to correcting the atrocity of racism?" I had to ask, "Black lives matter to who?" Do Black lives matter to us Barbadians? Black lives matter to whom? The Opposition Leader spoke earlier to our attitude, and said the attitude of the people has to change, and I have to agree. We still have people in Barbados who are somehow subservient to white people, for want of a better word; somehow feeling diminished being in their presence. I have watched people actually shake speaking to Caucasian people.

Sir, I once met a lady. I think I spoke about her. She was a patient of mine and she had a light-skinned son and a darker-skinned son but the darker son she considered ugly. She had grown up amid the plantocracy. I would have asked her, "Why do you think your son was ugly?" and she said to me, "Because he is dark. White people are much

prettier.” That kind of attitude has to leave our psyche, and this is one of the reasons why we are being held back by the burden and the weight of racism. We have to look at ourselves. We have to look inwards, and I am speaking about areas like agriculture. I have spoken about this and I am very disappointed by it, but there is an issue where the farmers in St. Philip have to put up with a white landowner damming a stream against all the laws in Barbados -- old laws, by the way, but still valid -- outlines the ways to dam and how many hours. We have people up there suffering for water because one landowner decided to block a stream to have a recreational lake. It is beyond a pond, it is a lake. I think these are issues that we need to band together on.

Black people do not need to stand for it, but for some reason we do. A group of Black farmers should have been able to fix this problem with the help of our Ministers. We need to band together and look at ourselves. We are asking why the powers that be are not acting when the laws are written. These are serious issues. Many small farmers have problems with Praedial Larceny and guess what, the thieves’ looks like me. The people who steal from land owners that are black, small farmers and sometimes large farmers look like me. Why do we have to be like that towards ourselves Mr. Speaker? Black live matter to whom. Yes, some of us might say that some of the larger land and farm owner are white and they are stealing from them, but who works for the larger land owners? Who is not going to get that bonus, and I know for a fact that \$40 000 in produce were stolen. It is a hoax to us, so black lives matter to whom?

We are with riddled crimes, luckily the COVID stopped some of it. I hope we can blame it on that, but we are riddled with crime of black against black. Black lives matter to whom? Do we the black people think about these things when somebody that looks like me breaks into somebody else’s house that look like me. When someone rapes a daughter also usually looking like me. When we have a problem like that and the police officer comes and tries to negotiate with the parent of a five-year-old victim of rape, for them to sit down and talk with the perpetrator so that no arrest will happen. Black lives matter to whom? I try not to get passionate with this but it is really hard.

We have black people I assume, I do not know if they have the assailant, but more than likely, who decide to break into houses like the one in River, in the dead of the night or early morning or however you choose to look at it to kill people that look like them, black Barbadians. It makes you wonder black lives matter to whom?

We need to invest in the police force. We need to appreciate what they do and we need to add to the police force. We need to spend some of the resources to them. There is a perception and I am happy that the Minister of Education is who she is, because I believe she means well.

For many years, many Governments, people consider the town schools that is what real people call them, anything out of St. Philip is town. Why are large schools in town that are perceived as being better and are treated better? However, we have a good Minister of Education and I know she is fighting to correct that. I think the last number I heard was 6 500 black students and I am assuming black and it has to be mostly black students who would have been lacking for IT equipment for school. How many of those were black people? You know what is the problem? Black people have a tendency not to support themselves. Black lives matter to whom. My mother always said to me, and I am going to use a proper word this time, “look at the Indian man that is selling clothes”, he starts with a bicycle, his family gets together and then he has a Suzuki van, after that the family gets together and owns a store in Swan Street. How many black people do that? Why we cannot emerge out of the racism is partly because we accept it. We do not support each other. Many races consider black people to be like crabs in a barrel. We need to get out of this mentality.

We have made progress. Everybody talked about free education regardless to who is taking the claim for it. Many of us would not have gotten this without free education. We do well in school, sitting beside the white student, and I am not racist by any means, this is observation. We do better than them and go onto University. A lot of them play the fool, I knew some of them, but that end of the day, a friend of mine used to say ‘good bread is better than ham’. We go overseas on scholarships and get a good education and come here with not a job in sight, but yet the best job you can get is something under your qualifications and the man above you is the manager and is white, because that is daddy’s company. Why black people cannot own more companies and hire our own? Black lives matter to whom. The impact is looking down on me so I have to be correct.

I will admit that I was never brought up in a home where I felt that I was beneath anybody, but I was raised by parents who looking back now would have been conscious of where black people belonged and where white people stood in the community. I have a twin sister in which we went in two different directions of education. She was adamant to become a chemical engineer and got a scholarship. That was the first argument between her and my parents, whereas my father said, chemical engineering to come back here and do what, work in a factory. It was real for him, but even though she comes back with those qualifications, the white class owns these places, so she changed her career that same day for the better. He brought us up to be entrepreneurs and as this point I have to give kudos to the Honourable Member for St. George South and the Honourable Member for Christ Church West Central for the initiatives that they are bringing and I am very grateful. Black people, black children and black young

adults need to see these things happening for us, because black lives matter to us.

Asides.

Dr. S. E. BROWNE: Thank you. Then we speak about brain drain, but if you can find a job overseas that would pay you twice as much as you could come back here and find, the brain will have to be drained. Because, the truth is, if I were in that position I am not sure what I would do. If I can study nursing and then cannot get a job and have to work at a gas station or be a cashier. I have people that did accounting and are cashiers in supermarkets, because black lives matter.

I am going to take my time because I do not want to miss anything I wrote. We then have black owned and white owned businesses. At the end of the day we saw COVID nearly brought many small businesses down to the ground and also many large businesses. The market was opened up and some of the small food and vegetable vendors did well, but do you know what the rush was? Chefette Restaurants, none black owned establishments we are willing to patronise rather than our own. Black lives matter to whom?

These are the things that are in the mirror when I look into it with other people behind me. We have establishments, I do not want to call their names that treat their black staff badly. I know about all of the health regulations, but how could you in good conscience opt to throw away good food, rather than giving a single mother the left overs to take home? I have known people who have fired for this. Believe it or not, food that will end up in a toilet the next day. Funny but true, think about it. It is true, food for thought.

Sir I own a breakfast program. The truth is I do most of the cooking myself, every morning, five days a week for entire terms. I have been doing this for one year and a half now. I reached out to the black business owners in St. Philip North, in town and I think I got a favourable response for one. I am feeding black children in this country and I cannot get a donation from black business owners in Barbados to help feed my black children, but the white man might give me one. Black lives matter to whom if we do not respect and appreciate our own, what is the fight about? How long will the fight last? Because it seems this happens every what, two decades? I was not present for Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. For years this have been happening and now we have George Floyd and Barbados is getting on board. I agree we need to support our own, but we need to support our own black people as black people.

A couple members mentioned the banks and the opportunities open to the banks. I would not belabour that

because it was mentioned already but thank God for Credit Unions that were designed to help people like me to save, to get loans to get mortgages, kudos to them.

The Honourable Member for St. Michael South East already spoke about housing. I have people in my constituency if I show you pictures, houses in pieces on property that is not their own. We reached out to organisations, we, reach out to Ministries, cannot get help. I do not intend to go to the next elections with houses like that in my community having that approval, I have not got a clue where to go right yet, but I will get it worked out. We have to support our own, we have to.

Recently, and I meant to write an article on this, but this is how much "Black Lives Matter" to some that look like me. The newspapers, a couple of them, were flooded with pictures of one of my opponents, I am confused, I am not sure who my opponent will be, real confusing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, I do not think you will have any in the next election, *ceteris paribus*, all things being equal.

Dr. S. E. BROWNE: Thank you, Sir, but they saw it fit to put pictures of people that look like me handing hampers when Black people like me have their dignity, I would not be doing that.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, trust me, the person who, you saw handing out or delivering those hampers will not be a candidate in the next election.

Dr. S. E. BROWNE: Sir, this is why I say I am confused. I am very confused because next week there might be, another one, nevertheless, that is using my Black people. How many white people you saw giving out hampers and taking pictures with their family? How many Indians doing it, not one? Our black people, cannot be sacrificed for votes, we have to move them out of the mindset that they need to contact their political representative to get a job somewhere, to write a letter to even apply, I am sick of complaining about this. A person with the qualifications does not need me or should need me to apply for a job in any Ministry or anywhere.

I saw a fellow yesterday, plumber, carpenter, masonry, and all the papers. He remembers people going to school with him that was friends with some Minister somewhere all of them got top jobs, not a qualification, and he feels slighted and abandoned by people that look like me. "Black Lives Matter" to whom?

I can take the opportunity, I forgot, I will read back to the donations. Now the media, I saw, and I was so disappointed. The NATION newspaper recently, two families in St. Philip constituencies, they saw it fit to put in

the newspaper, and it was obviously a mental problem where the person was a hoarder, mentioned her name, mentioned that she had two children. Good God Mr. Speaker, one of them was thirteen years old, he has to go to school, he has to face the public, but it is better to sell papers by sacrificing my Black people because it works. It took a newspaper article to get a woman to be helped, and I am not blaming the administration, but there are neighbours, people around, so you really do not know her story. I took that for people to understand where she is living and pretty pictures of the children that have to face other children. Have you ever been teased by a child as a child? You cannot do this to my Black people they should know better, and that was bringing me to say that I am glad I had the opportunity today.

Not much longer, Mr. Speaker, but I want to close more or less by saying that Black people need to support each other. I have been to a business place once, a couple years back when I was building my house, and I went to buy tiles. Walked in looking like an idiot cannot get help, a white woman walks in, how much tiles do you want? I walked out, I am not putting up with foolishness my father did not raise me so, but “Black Lives Matter to whom”. We still have that innate sense of slavery that I do not know the Member for St. Michael East is going to get it out, but that needs to go. All that being said when we leave in here what is next?

I would admit this to the House, never admit it to anybody but my family, the first time I walked up the Steps of Parliament and I am not ungrateful to get here and I am happy that the people voted me in to get here, but I felt little. I did not feel the flutter in my chest like some of the other members felt because I felt like I was walking into a colonial, the Minister of Culture would have to help me, it had too many vibes with that sense. I went home that day and one of my Black people that look like me text me, this is a woman from my office that owe me money, by the way, you need to buy brighter looking clothes, you have to get some clothes for Parliament that is what they are looking at, you believe it. I wear a sleeveless dress today, truth is to make a point because that system is still in us where all of the men, in here is cold, so I will forgive you all have to wear suits and ties in hot Barbados, the tropics where outside is 32 degrees, you know why because we still have the white in our heads.

My great grandmother was white, so I am not racist but when will we get out of this, I will have on the jacket soon because it is cold, but my point is we need to make our own culture, we need to understand what Black people live through and what we need to fix. We have so much power, it is obvious in Barbados because we are the majority by nature, do not tell me that we cannot own Black businesses when we are the majority. We have some of the brightest minds in here, and outside and we are being

brought up to work for somebody, which somebody has to work for somebody but we can do a lot better than we are doing now. Black Lives have to matter to us, not only to white people Black Lives have to matter to us.

I want to end by saying each person is unique, a unique expression of God regardless of colour, crude, shape, size each person is sacred, each person is worthy and worth it. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for Christ Church West Central.

Hon. A. R. FORDE: I want to thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. First of all, I want to lend my voice in extending condolences to my good friend the photographer, Christoff Griffith and Mr. Glenroy James, who were involved in a travesty of sorts yesterday. I extend my sympathy certainly on behalf of all the voices of Christ Church West Central to the family.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to be very brief tonight, and I am sure if I go over the eight minutes forty-six seconds that George Floyd was exposed to that you would take the preverbal knee from my neck and allow me the other 21 minutes 14 seconds that is allotted for me.

The reality Mr. Speaker, Sir, is that and, unfortunately, we are in the third decade of the twenty-first century is faced with a debacle where the question of colour, class, race, creed, religion would lend itself to a debate across the world. When the entire world was focused, and their lines were sturdy on surviving a pandemic of sorts referred to as the COVID-19 virus, unfortunately, black people around the world have been exposed to another pandemic; racism, discrimination, atrocities, genocide.

They have been exposed to being disadvantaged in a system that is not fair and equal. It is a system where only a selective few would have entered this august Chamber. As I locate my speech in this locale, I have to be mindful that we have come a long way as it relates to black persons. We have come a long way in the fight. Through the echelons of history, the reason why this conversation has become so worldwide is because one particular colour and race has been put squarely under the microscope.

As Minister of Youth Affairs, I want to take this opportunity to thank the young persons in this country who have broken the barriers as it relates to understanding the importance of marching, staying and fighting for something they believe in. We have a different group of young people, Mr. Speaker. We have a young generation who believe in fighting for their cause. They believe they must be able to champion their destiny. They understand the idea of breaking the barriers. They understand the meaning of

intestinal fortitude. They understand the meaning of blackness, the reason why they have to redouble their efforts, fight the extra fight and go the extra mile. We have a group of young people who understand that in order for Barbados to live beyond the horizon as we know it, the line which has significance as it relates to our history books and as the Member of Parliament for Christ Church South alluded to earlier, a line that Christopher Columbus claimed that he discovered the countries in the Western hemisphere.

I say “claim” because as the Member rightfully alluded to when he elucidated to say that you cannot discover something that was already there. When we revisit history, we must understand that our young people must not see this line as a barrier. The line that separates the sea from the sky must not be seen as a barrier for them to explore the world. We must provide equal opportunities for all of our people, irrespective of race, colour, class or creed. My simple message today is not only that black lives matter. Mr. Speaker, all lives matter. It is my clarion call to ensure that all of Barbados understands that whether black, blue, brown or white, we are fighting for the single existence for Barbados. Barbados will not be defined and should not be defined by race, classism and economic ability.

The only way we are going to survive as a country is if Barbados is defined by the collective efforts of every Barbadian. It is the only way. Therefore, it is to this extent that we now have to protect the unborn child who will lead the charge for Barbados over the next 100 years and beyond, Mr. Speaker. As a poor black boy from St. Andrew bordering on St. Joseph, I always refer to myself as a Christ Church-Josephine. I am a man who came from St. Joseph and arrived in Christ Church in the epicentre of Christ Church West Central. It is a constituency that I am dearly proud of.

I want to say to you, Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of poor, black young persons in Christ Church who are voiceless. They sometimes go off-track and need that guidance. I want to give an example not only as a Member of Parliament for those youngsters but some person that would have walked that same journey. I am saying to them that once they keep on track, do the right things and fight the good fight as we saw in the marches recently, then we can lift Barbados up together as a country. Mr. Speaker, I want to say that this Government has put measures in place. If you draw the philosophical line in the sand, there is no party that has championed social democracy in Barbados like the BLP when it comes to the fight for the disadvantaged and those at the bottom of the spectrum.

You can go back to all of the laws we have passed, in terms of social reform and you can see that the BLP has a tangible stake in the lives of ordinary Barbadians. This is

why today I am proud as Minister of Youth Affairs given the mandate from the Prime Minister to build out our young people not only in a literal way, but in a figurative way as well, in terms of the Building Blocks Project where ordinary, poor and black disadvantaged youngsters have an opportunity to have a commercial space in this country. The economist may call it the countercyclical measures. Today, I say in this august Chamber, it is the only measure that I know, in terms of empowering our young people and allowing them to put down the weapons of destruction, and picking up the tools of empowerment.

This is the message that must be sent to every black, young Barbadian in this country. We are going to engage them as a Government. We are going to give them the opportunity to have a tangible stake in this country and if we are serious about black persons and about Black Lives Matter we have to be serious about giving young persons the opportunity to shine. I know there is an Honourable Member in here who sang about Black is Beautiful. When black is not beautiful is when we seek to destroy our own, that is when black is not beautiful. It is not beautiful when we ostracise those young people, that is when black is not beautiful. It is beautiful when you have some septuagenarians in here but I am fond of when they make their contributions, Mr. Speaker, but when black is not beautiful is when, Mr. Speaker, we stop our young people from having the opportunity to live the Barbadians dream. That is when black is not beautiful. Black is not beautiful when black persons cannot sit down in university and have the opportunity for free tertiary education. That is when black is not beautiful and over the last lost 10 years black was ugly, some people may call it inartistic, I do not know the fancy words, I am not a logographer like you, but black was not beautiful when you had an albatross around the necks of ordinary black Barbadians who were aspiring for a tertiary level education so they can climb the proverbial ladder. That is when black was not beautiful but under this Government and under my ministry, I have a mandate to make sure that black is beautiful and that any colour is beautiful, as a matter of fact, once you are a young Barbadian aspiring in this country. That is the simple message but there has always been a fight with this particular race. A fight in the morning, a fight at noon, a fight in the night, a fight. We had a lady, again, in the beautiful constituency of Christ Church West Central and the Honourable Member for St. Michael South East spoke about her earlier, Shirley Chisholm, a congresswoman who in the 1960s fought hard for black persons and ran for President as the first black woman in 1972. A woman who is nurtured in Vauxhall, Christ Church, whose roots and navel string was buried in Vauxhall, certainly in the epicentre of Christ Church West Central and I have made a commitment in the not too distant future to honour her legacy, Mr. Speaker. We are in the embryonic stages of having that discussion as to how

Asides.

Hon. A. R. FORDE: I do not mind the asides. Christ Church West Central is the epicentre of Christ Church. The person who studied geography would tell you that and I am sure the 20 000 people who live in the constituency would say that the Member of Parliament is correct. We will honour Shirley Chisholm. We will give her, her right in this geographical space in Vauxhall, Christ Church because she has made a significant contribution. She has fought and been an advocate for black persons when racism was at its worst in America. Her words were “never give up the fight” and “we will overcome” and “Unbought and Unboss” those are the words that must resonate in every single young Barbadians and in the elderly too. Those in the twilight of their years. They know about not being bought or boss. I am sure the Honourable Member for St. Thomas would tell you so and like Shirley Chisholm she is a teacher of sorts as well and a highly respected teacher and the good people of St. Thomas understand and believe that she will continue to do a good job on their behalf even in the twilight of her years. Mr. Speaker, we have to recognise those who would have walked the walk and took on the journey and the fight for our brothers and sisters and I am saying today Shirley Chisholm must have that place in the history of Barbados and I will do everything in my power. I will work with every collective part of my being to ensure that her name is on the mouthpiece of every single young Barbadians in this country. According to the Honourable Member for St. Thomas, enshrined in the echelons of history. That is what she said. You can always learn from the elder, Mr. Speaker, and I love the elderly so I am willing to learn from them. You should always listen to the Trojans and the mentors in this society, Mr. Speaker. If our young people are able to be nurtured by those chosen and the elderly in our society then we have a better young population. That is what we have, Mr. Speaker, and we are encouraging those in the twilight of their years to give in terms of their experience and knowledge to our young people because black is not beautiful when you have young black men and you are a lawyer, Mr. Speaker, you understand what I am saying, to solve disputes and resorting to violence. That is beautiful then. It is not beautiful when domestic abuse is primarily amongst one race in this country. Black is not beautiful. We have to set an example for our people. We have to bring them a level of consciousness where they understand that what they do in this country is a reflection of Barbados and how they react to circumstances shape the way how this country is seen in the international space. We have a country that I am certainly proud of and I can say without a shadow of a doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the levels of racism in this country is at an absolutely lower, if there is any at all because we have always had good leadership and, Mr. Speaker, it will continue with the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East, good astute leadership, fair leadership and

leadership that cares about every single person in this country irrespective of race, colour, religion or creed.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy today be able to call you, Mr. Speaker, as a black Rastafarian man and I say so because it bothers me when, in this country, the Royal Barbados Police Force has an archaic rule where the Police women who wear dreadlocks must remove them or put on a wig so that they can fit into some type of norm, so that they can be Europeanised in this country. When we talk about black being beautiful these are the types of things, institutional changes that we must make if we are going to be serious because black is beautiful when a young lady is able to wear her hair in its natural way and if this same rule had applied to this August Chamber, probably the third oldest Parliament in the Commonwealth, Mr. Speaker, I would not be able to address you today. I am saying it is wrong and I say so without apology and I hope we move with a pace to get this rule change because when I see policewomen carrying out their duties in Barbados with a wig on because they cannot show their natural hair it hurts me to the core. That is not beautiful, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, unless we are prepared for institutional change where we recognise that the system must change if there must be fairness across the board. As I said just now the discrimination that happened in the “lost decade” where ordinary young men and women, bright young men and women, who aspire for to have a university degree so that they could have social upliftment to help support themselves and their family when you told them that they had to pay tuition at the university, Mr. Speaker, black was ugly in the “lost, dark, black decade” and I make no apology for saying so. You cannot be serious about growing people, you cannot be serious about educating our people and giving them their fair chance in this world if when you climb the ladder you kick it from under your feet so that others cannot progress in this country. Black is not beautiful then.

We have to be serious about this level of consciousness not only about the colour of a person’s skin but about a systemic change where we recognise that a lot of our laws are archaic and anachronistic and needs serious review so that every single person will be able to live their true identity and express themselves in the way how black persons are genetically inclined to, the way how we dance and the way how we dress. I heard the Member of Parliament for St. Philip North speaking on it just now. In this hot tropical climate we are expected to put on the heaviest suit. She is a doctor and she understand full well the issues of hyperthermia and dehydration. We cannot be serious when we are talking about black persons.

Mr. Speaker, as I said I would be very short. We have a number of speakers to elucidate on this matter but I want to leave you and this country in the words of Marion

Anderson, a gospel artiste, a black American lady, who said no matter how big a nation is, it is no stronger than its weakest people, and we know who the weakness people is referred to here. Mr. Speaker, as long as we keep those persons down, some part of you has to be down there holding on to those same people. The end result, Mr. Speaker, is that the entire country remains at the bottom of the chasm and would not and cannot soar as you might otherwise expect it to. It basically means, Mr. Speaker, that when you keep a race down you keep an entire country down and by extension you keep an entire world at the bottom of the chasm.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

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

Hon. Miss C. S. V. HUSBANDS: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I stand to join my colleagues in speaking on this matter of black lives matter and I want to congratulate the persons who have spoken before. Those people have spoken from the heart, people have spoken with passion and people have outlined how they feel about black lives matter. As I thought about the topic as I engage the process that was unfolding across the world in response to the death of George Floyd it took me back to an experience I had when I was at university, I do believe Mr. Speaker, you were there at the time, and I remember a lecture expressing frustration because he said when you examine every part of the globe black people seem to be oppressed by somebody else no matter where you turn, where you look and his voice begged the question is there something inherent in us that causes us to be always under the knee of someone, he did not use the term the knee, but caused us to be at the bottom of the pile. Mr. Speaker, I will tell you that that question disturbed me greatly, it disturbed me no end and I remember purposing in my heart that one of the things I would do with my life was to dedicate myself to helping people to break free, to thrive, to prosper to have opportunity and to have a space in which they can be all that they can be because, Mr. Speaker, at the bottom of the problem that faces this world the problem of racism is the inability of the human to understand the importance of difference, the role that difference plays in human life and human existence and we fall short in how we respond to it. Indeed, difference in the earth's design is not an accident but a very deliberate programme designed to assist humans to be their best self: (1) to create a place for each one of us to be needed because there is something we can bring nobody else can and when we work cooperatively with each other we are able to create new opportunities, create new growth come up with new things, bring innovation and what this would bring to the world is endless possibilities and endless possibilities will help us to craft a new economics and we can shift from an economic of scarcity to an economics of abundance that recognises that if we

can develop the potential of every single human being humans would always be innovating and creating and that we would all be able to benefit from that which we create. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, some of us as humans were never able to rise beyond making the difference between ourselves and others an evil in them, a defect, that give them licence to treat that other person differently, to treat that person badly and still go into church and praise God.

Mr. Speaker, it is the work of generations sometimes to break these strongholds and it is work that our generations have because it is the inability to deal with difference that has given rise to fanaticism, sexism, ageism and racism. Now how do we change this? Martin Luther King Jnr famously said you would not solve the problem of begging by throwing a few coins in a beggar's cup but rather you must address the system which consistently produces the beggar, and that is the work of our generation, whether we in Barbados are dealing with our health systems, how do we change how people eat so that they live healthy lives. This is one of the reasons our ministry is not just the Ministry of Health but also the Ministry of Health and Wellness. What are the changes that we are going to bring to education? Because until we help people change how they are thinking we cannot get them to prosper as we would. The question we have to ask each system is how best can you serve the humans that you have been designed to serve? How can we best adjust what we are doing in the Civil Service, for example? How can we build systems that serve the people of Barbados that help them to prosper, thrive and to be their best selves? This is the same question we have to ask in business, how can we shape business to help the consumer to prosper? So a new Barbados is going to require that our Administration stay focused on our course of action which is to bring empowerment to the people of Barbados, to look at those systems and to bring change to those systems so that those systems begin to serve and free up Barbadians.

One of the things that I think has captured my mind as I pondered and watched the video of the policeman with his knee on the neck of George Floyd, the casual indifferent way in which it was done as if this was an everyday occurrence. To me, it took my mind back to the work which has been assigned to me, that is, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, simply because it exemplifies what is happening at the international level, in the international arena. It was expressed here tonight by the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East. The truth is, the systems that are birthed and shaped in racism are going to flow from the family to the street, to the community, into the boardrooms, into the Parliaments, into Congress, then it is going to shift into the international platforms with their rules and regulations. Sir, that entire chain that wraps the entire world system around is what is causing brown and black people in communities and in countries to gasp for breath saying: "I can't breathe."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the knee of the financial system in our necks that is withdrawing correspondent banking from this region, making it more and more difficult for us to do our transactions that would allow our economy to continue to grow. With the removal, with the shrinking of the space in correspondent banking, that is a 'knee in our neck'.

It is in an insurance system where you cannot get reinsurance, where we pay 'through our teeth' to be able to protect the property that we have laboured to purchase but we cannot insure it properly because of the cost of reinsurance. Sir, it is not to say that having a banking or insurance system is wrong, I am saying that however it is organised, however it is fashioned, whenever you look the brown and black people of the world suffer the most from the administration of those systems because they were not designed to protect us and to prosper us. Sir, we see this at the international level, whether you are talking about these small nations that have embraced international businesses who now find themselves part of an international system that says to them their business is legitimate but they have to stop it because they say so. They bring rules and regulations that when we seek to meet them, whenever we meet them, they change the goal post again. From the time we came to office we have been chasing behind those rules and regulations.

Sir, you see it in the demands that are made of us, whether they are standards that they insist we must meet, regardless of whether or not we have the resources or the technical capability, and we must meet it in specific timeframes. So whether it is about airport not meeting a [particular] standard, they are going to blacklist it; whether it is about our port or our tax system, everybody now wants to dictate and narrow our space for sovereignty where we cannot choose how we are going to deploy our resources to benefit the people of a country, but we have to keep responding to these demands that no matter how fast you meet it, they change the goal post and we are back in trouble again. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that knee is constantly in our neck and we cannot breathe.

So Mr. Speaker, Sir, it makes it extremely hard, for example, we are now looking at two schemes that we have established to support the formation of enterprises, to enable them to export. But there is a concern that these two schemes might not be compliant with international requirements and our division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade is examining to see whether or not this is compliant because without these schemes it is going to be impossible for our enterprises to have sufficient capital, to have sufficient guaranteed credit to be able to borrow that they can grow and export. So while we work hard with the Youth Entrepreneurship Scheme, with the "Block" Entrepreneurship programme, with the Trust Funds, with the Financial Literacy Bureau, without the

capacity to give support to businesses and business people who because of the same racism in history that shaped the economic landscape, that prevented us from participating in the wealth and benefiting from the hard work which we put in to build these nations, when we try to equalize the foundation that they can compete by offering credit guarantee, the international system says no, because it is not compliant.

On the matter of subsidies, again, Mr. Speaker, Sir, you see the same problem, that countries are not supposed to subsidize various sectors because, as they say, it would distort trade, [that] it would unfair other entrepreneurs elsewhere, but that rule in practice is a rule only for developing countries because when we put in subsidies we are deemed [to be] not compliant, they will haul us before the various agencies and we [would] find ourselves in problems. Yet developed countries across this globe, the big and the powerful, offer subsidies to their entrepreneurs and distort trade in a major way that makes it impossible. I think some of the most egregious are the agricultural subsidies which make it impossible for farmers in developing countries to be able to compete with goods that are going to be so much cheaper than theirs so that they can not only export, [but that] they have difficulty holding their own domestic market. And what does that do? It makes it impossible for these small nations to create food security which is what we have been pursuing, [while] recognising how important it is that every country has food security. But according to the economists, agricultural subsidies undermine the capacity of these small nations to be able to so to do. In the writing of Peter Shelton, it confines thousands to poverty and hunger.

I think one of the most painful things this week was for me to read an article which has stated that in 2015 Britain finished paying off the 20 million-pound loan that it took out in 1833 to compensate the plantation owners for the loss of their slaves. When in this Chamber we talk about a Parliament being used as an instrument of oppression, there is nothing more grievous to us than that. Here we were, the oppressed, the beaten, the tortured, the mutilated, the imprisoned, suffering for hundreds of years, and when it was ended reparations were made not to those who had suffered but to those who could no longer torture and imprison us. By 2015, of this century, they finished the loan.

Mr. Speaker, I will be honest. When I thought of that, it did upset me but then it brought to mind my colleague, the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central, because it means that Britain was able to get a loan of 20 million pounds which in today's world would be two billion pounds, and they were able to get a loan for 183 years. Imagine that! We cannot get such a loan to help us out of our own problems. They cannot find it in their heart, in their human heart, to sit and do reparations properly, to

do reparations in a way that demonstrates that they understand they have done wrong and they must do restitution for that which they have done.

Sir, I want to be able to salute and honour those who, while being in the lockdown and watching George Floyd, for the moment had their hearts and minds captured by the scene that unfolded before them, that horrified them that this was being done in their name, that their nation could allow and tolerate such behaviour. I want to congratulate the people of America who have recognised that this is wrong. I want to thank all those who stood up in the fight and who have identified with it; black, white, brown, coming from all walks of life. I want to salute the Nascar competitors who stood with 'Bubba' and the athletes who were about to play a game and took a knee on behalf of 'Black Lives Matters' in the United States, and had to have their eyes affronted by the spectacle of a plane flying over with 'White Lives Matter', as though that was in question or in doubt.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say a "thank you" too to ambassadors and high commissioners here; people who come to represent their countries here in Barbados. I will tell you why: They come here to live and to work among us, but because of that interaction they have come to learn about us, they have come to understand better our circumstances. They have come to understand how things affect us in a way that they could never have appreciated sitting in their own home countries, sitting as a public service officer, a high-ranking public service officer in their capital. By coming here, they have come to understand that which we face, and among them we have found some who have become friends of Barbados, people who seek not to create a win-lose result but people who recognise that it is time for a win-win. I want to salute them for their support, for their championing of our cause. We need to have those who are champions wherever we are; regardless to whether it is in the United Nations, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, International Monetary Fund, World Bank. Wherever there are champions, we are asking you to help to make that shift so that we can breathe again.

Sir, I want to end by sharing about what our responsibility is then to ourselves and to our own generation. One of the things that has become clear to me by being involved in International Trade is that I have realised that we have to stop playing the game as it is laid out. We have to stop playing in games that we cannot win. We have to stop looking for human saviours who do not come. We have to start questioning what is put in front of us, the rules, and start pushing boundaries. To break out from this does not require us to hate another person. What it requires is for us to recognise that we can look and establish what would be our own game and our own rules. It is about loving and affirming and celebrating ourselves,

celebrating our designs, our smarts, our intelligence, our creativity, our music. That can only happen as we keep changing education and as we keep lifting up what is beautiful about ourselves. It is about the work which the Honourable Member for St. Philip West has been tasked to do; that culture must go beyond our music and our arts but it must be about our values and the type of Barbadian that we want to shape

Sir, it is about telling our story loudly, proudly, carrying it across the world while enjoying the stories of others. It is the only way we are going to change our economic fortunes, because if you do not celebrate that which comes from out of you, how can you offer it to the world? How can you stand behind it and fight for it to give it a place at the global table? We have to transform how we see ourselves so that in terms of a result that would come as we do that, we would begin to see in Barbados a global fashion industry, we would see that Blackbelly sheep industry taking off and having a wonderful leather goods industry that we can market across the world. We would be producing tropical, healthy foods that we can entice others with, and we can have an educational system that will help us produce people who will globalise our proud heritage.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for that Sunday evening programme called 'My Community'. It is well-designed, well-packaged, pulling out the gems that we can celebrate about ourselves. We have to become the solution, and there are a number of things which we need to do to be a part of our own solution. One of the first things we have to do is to make our money work for us, and the Financial Literacy programme will assist in going a long way in teaching us the things we need to do with our money. I want to encourage Barbadians: It is not only about saving, it is not only about investing but it is very much about where we actually spend our money and who we spend our money with. If we can start to change that, it can make a difference. It means thinking about what happens to the money that you put in a banking system which has \$51 billion across this region in savings that is not being mobilised to build enterprises and is not being mobilised to finance education or to finance infrastructural development to take these countries forward. That is another knee in our neck, and I want to encourage every Barbadian that when we have the opportunity to put bonds out on the table to help support the development of the country and to advance the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME), to build the production capability for us to be able to strengthen our economies, I want them to take courage and invest in those bonds so that our money can do more than sit on a bank and catch a few pennies of interest but rather it can create a future for their children and that it can create a future for their old age, so that when they retire, they can retire in a nation that functions well and is capable of taking care of its elderly.

I want to encourage every single Barbadian that we have to work together, but you need to understand the plan. As the Honourable Member for St. Michael North East lays out the process by which we are going to take Barbados from where we are through this COVID moment and move onto prosperity is important for each Barbadian to understand there is a role for them to play and that they can prepare themselves by being a part of the national transformation initiative, to become a star Barbadian and to find their place to be able to do what is necessary to make this a truly prosperous country.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for indulgence, and I want to express to you as did my Honourable colleague, how proud I am that you have had the opportunity to be Speaker of this House. Indeed it is a breakthrough from the traditional with its underlying racist tendencies to allow you and give you the opportunity be one of the best Speakers of the House that Barbados will have. I thank you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Leader of Government Business.

SUSPENSION

Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADSHAW: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the suspension of the Sitting until 8.30 p.m.

The question that the Sitting be suspended until 8.30 p.m. was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and Mr. SPEAKER suspended the Sitting accordingly.

RESUMPTION

Mr. SPEAKER: This sitting is resumed, Honourable Member for St. John.

Hon. C. R. GRIFFITH: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Mr. Speaker, I intend to be brief, today's session was like the West Indies of old pace, pace, pace, so I am going to introduce a little bit of sprint.

Mr. Speaker, I too want to support this resolution. George Floyd was killed on May 25th, 2020 and that created a ripple effect across the world. The reality of the situation is that for me to embrace the concept of "Black Lives Matter" is something that, I think I was doing all of my life. So, to speak today is not something that is new to me because the truth is, I understand what it is like to embrace that concept.

I want to touch a little bit or just mention that on April 3rd, 1968, and several speakers today would have mentioned Martin Luther King in that speech where he indicated he went to the mountain top. He said Mr. Speaker

that something is happening in our world people are saying we want to be free and this was 52 years ago.

Mr. Speaker, I do not necessarily want to go to the mountain top, I want to take the other position because, on the 13th of June, I went to a house of a 90-year-old to try to see how best through my Ministry that we could do some repairs to her home, at the end of her rainbow, 90 years old. She said to me, "I am 90 years old and I soon leave this earth." I said, "look, the truth is that we are going to repair this place for you so that you can have some comfort at the end."

I asked because the house is in a state where she would have to move, and I asked her, do you have someone that you can live at during the repair period. She said to me Mr. Speaker, I have a brother who is living in St. George, but he is living on the mountain top and I am in the valley.

Mr. Speaker, I want to anchor myself to her in the valley because that is where I spent all of my life and the last couple of months as a result of COVID-19, I have been in the valley of the shadow of death. The reality is that I came to political life to ensure that persons within the constituency of St. John have a better way of life.

One of the things they want me to say today is the elephant in the room in St. John wherever I go it is that water problem. The issue of water and they are saying to me if we talk today on this particular topic make sure that you indicate that our lives matter and we need water in the constituency of St. John.

I have had reason over the weekend to indicate to those persons in St. John because I understand the issue of the same vein that the Honourable Member for St. Joseph is feeling the pressure and I am feeling it too. I would have explained that we are putting measures in place to ensure that the problem of water in St. John is something that is rectify.

Mr. Speaker, that is something that I know will come to an end but I want to talk to some things that I have been seeing in all of my life in that valley that I believe we need to change as a people. Somebody said this morning do not mention the political class but I think that I should mention the political class. If we seriously believe that "Black Lives Matter", I think we have to remove the cloak sometime of this motion of importance.

Mr. Speaker, almost every single week in this country when I go to businesses to shop, I run into problems with persons at the cashier and I will tell you why. Oftentimes, I go to the cashier and I am standing behind someone and the bill is \$ 20.50 and I see individuals take out fifty dollars and ten cent pieces and five cent pieces and put it on the counter but then they are

holding for the change they hold out their hand and I think it is disrespectful. If back lives matter, you can check it for yourself or anybody in this room can check it for yourself, then the same respect that we give to those persons who are supposedly high in society, I think we should give to the cashiers. You know what they say because I ask and I certainly look, in the same that they vein that they put the money on the counter, look away and put the change on the counter and you know what they say they always go and complain for us because of this notion of arrogance, this notion that we are more important than the other person.

COVID-19 is throwing up a situation where we are seeing that the real people who are in problem are those persons at the gas station, the persons in the supermarket who are pulling the load but we believe that we move in big rides and we live in big houses and therefore Black lives do not actually matter.

I am saying Mr. Speaker that we need more and more to move into the valley with the 90-year-old who indicated that here family member is living on the mountain and is clear, clear what she is saying, she cannot go to the mountain.

My political journey is to ensure that I help those persons in St. John to climb the mountain a little bit at a time, because like I said I am the blood of the blood. I campaign on a mantra of home drums beating first and they are still beating first, regardless, I will do what I have to do. I campaigned with a song that said 'change is going to come' and as a result of COVID-19 as a result of the death, the murder of Floyd, we have seen the changes are coming. I stand here today fully embracing the concept because I have been living it every single day of my life, every single day of my life I have been living it.

Mr. Speaker, recently in the paper, I would have seen something where an individual was hitting at our Honourable Prime Minister and I do not need to defend the Honourable Prime Minister because I know she is very, very capable of doing it herself. You know we spend a lot of money in terms of education and being qualified. This a guy who has Doctor in front of his name and is saying I am not hearing anything coming out from the Honourable Prime Minister or the Government about Black Lives Matter.

Mr. Speaker, in the valley where I came from I always heard that actions speak louder than words. I am very fortunate to be a part of a Government that is doing a whole set of things to ensure that "Black Lives Matter".

Remember I said Mr. Speaker, that what I am doing in the constituency of St. John is to ensure at an incremental basis that people get to the mountain top and that their eyes could see the glory as well. The truth is that

we have a government that is showing repeatedly every single week that we come into this Chamber that "Black lives matter". In St. John the free education, the return to university is a clear example that this government is showing that Black lives matter. At my ministry pit toilets and the Roof Eradication Programme is showing that Black Lives Matter, Mr. Speaker.

What it is doing is allowing persons in the constituency of St. John to have a level of dignity, as it relates to the removal of those pit toilets. Black lives matter, Mr. Speaker. The Trust Loan Fund that is being pushed by the Honourable Member for St. George South is a clear indication again that black lives matter to this Government. All of these things that I am mentioning this evening are being felt in the constituency of St. John. When I heard that individual saying there is nothing being said about black lives from the Government and its actions, the truth is I was involved in the Civil Service from 1995 as a result of a BLP Administration when I worked as a Youth Officer.

Even from back then, things were happening on a regular basis to show that black lives matter. I was in youth work and I am suggesting today that if we believe in truth that black lives matter, then we need to reach out to the youngsters one by one and embrace them. If we do that, then we will swing around even more lives. We had the ghastly situation yesterday where two individuals were killed. Like the other Members, I want to extend my sympathy to the family but I fear that if we are to turn around what is happening in the country with the young people, then we need to reach out to those youngsters and show them as a Government that we care about them in a significant and meaningful way. If we do not, I fear we will have that bloodbath that we do not want to have on this island.

I know that the Minister of Youth Affairs is doing what is necessary within his Ministry to ensure we reach the youngsters again because it happened from 1995 to 2008. It was happening, Mr. Speaker. I am suggesting that those 10 years if the former Administration can show anything of note on the country where you can point to it and say that black lives matter, it is impossible to find. You had a Minister of Youth Affairs with a Youth Manifesto with nothing absolutely happening from in the manifesto. They claimed the summer camps were under them. Mr. Speaker, one individual from 1995 was responsible for impacting the lives of thousands of children across this country.

Black lives really matter then. You came and spent \$6 million in the first instance on the summer camps and it was a total mess. We have reformed youth affairs. The Minister is doing a fantastic job, in terms of how he is treating to the young people in this country. Black lives

matter to me and in the constituency of St. John. I will continue to work in the valley because that is where the bulk of persons that are in need are located. They are not on the mountain top. At the same time, I would want to say that black lives matter, especially in St. John, there are different people living in St. John. I have Indians, whites and predominantly blacks.

Yes, black lives matter but at the end of the day people matter to me. This is my push in the constituency of St. John. For me to focus only on the lives of black people would be excluding those other persons who are part of the constituency. One of the things that I want to say is that there are persons in the constituency that have businesses there that are not black and who are also embracing the concept of black lives matter. During this COVID-19 period, I have had assistance from several of those persons who have businesses in the constituency of St. John and are outside of the constituency that are not black, but they assisted as it relates to those persons who are struggling in the valley of St. John.

Like I said, I will remain in the valley until everyone in St. John no longer has a pit toilet. This is one of my political goals before I exit which is to change that because black lives matter to me. This is not from being in here and having to make a speech. It is what I feel and live because I am from the blood of the blood as it relates to that. What you see, is what you get. The “Mandingo” in me would not allow me to do anything else. It is the reality my friend. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to be long tonight. I just wanted to share the information as it relates to my thought on “Black Lives Matter”.

It is something for me that I embrace and that is not now a buzz word. I have been living it all of my life. Prior to political life, I was involved in several youth groups and organizing activities in St. John. As A Youth Officer, I would have engaged in having Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) classes for persons in St. John so that they can have entry level qualifications. They cannot only have entry level qualifications for work but for university. From 1995, black lives mattered to me. I was doing work on the ground prior to my political journey and will continue to do it for the constituency of St. John, the people who live there and from my perch at the Ministry of Housing I will do it also for the wider country.

I will close because I know they have a few others who want to speak after me. Often in this Chamber, persons go to the Bible and I will close there as well.

I quote from the Chapter of Timothy. I have heard it in before and believe I should repeat it now because black lives matter. “I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course and have kept my political faith”. Black lives will always matter to this Mandingo.

Thank you Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I want to say how proud I am to have been able to sit and face this former Youth Commissioner and dynamic young man who represents the interests of the people of St. John. I am very happy to be a part of this discussion. I want to say at the outset that I support this Resolution. Black lives do matter, so I am in total agreement with it. As a young girl in the 1970s was a very integral part and was trim at 110 pounds, but I had one of the most beautiful Afro hairstyles you could ever want. I wore African gowns because I loved Elombe Mottley and the African approach he had.

Therefore, there was a very interesting concept coming through not only in Barbados, but of course in the rest of the world where black people lived. The entire African consciousness helped to cement in me and in so many thousands of lives in Barbados and across the world that we know who we are and what we stand for. Therefore, this kind of consciousness and understanding as to whom we are created the pillars on which most of those of my generation stand today. I have a proud history and nothing can erase our history. Our history is what we have inherited. We could not correct what happened before but we had pioneers who went out there and fought day and night. They were bruised, beaten and their houses burnt. They lost their partners, their children were taken into the land to be pond grass gangs and not allowed to go to school to be able to enjoy that quality education that many of us now take for granted and those children of those days did not get that opportunity and in that group, I refer to my foreparents who always lived in rural Barbados and, of course, I had one of the proudest mothers anybody could want. When it came to her and the work she did in the agricultural belt, but she was determined with her eight siblings each of them must go to school and learn something so that was the mantra of the day. You were black children, you were poor, you hardly had anywhere to sleep, you had very little to wear, but take that pride with you. Nobody must look down on you and every morning before we left to go to school those seven girls and one boy, she would say go to school and learn. Whatever the teacher has in here, you want. I have not had the privilege to go beyond Third Standard but I want you all to be the beacons in this village, though poor, do not look poor. That has brought me thus far and I am sure that if my parents were here today they would be extremely proud, not of me alone, but to see that we have a Parliament represented by all black people and most of us coming from very poor origins and we have to fight on the behalf of the people of Barbados whether black or white of whatever ethnic group, we have to fight for all of them because we are in this together as a proud Barbados. I am extremely proud to be here this evening speaking on the behalf of the people of Barbados, but more particularly, those of St. Thomas.

Mr. Speaker, when we look at each other, I do not know why we would have to see each other in colour. We see each other because we are framed in God's own imagine and therefore we walk around with this mantra on our shoulder that we are the best and the brightest and the greatest and the richest and many of us have forgotten from whence we have come. I have had the privilege, Sir, of being in this Honourable Chamber, well, the one in Bridgetown now and one of the Members of that last Administration looked down on me one day and said, "This is a Resolution we are discussing about the University of the West Indies (UWI) but the Honourable Member for St. Thomas cannot contribute because she did not really go anywhere. She did not go to any university and my response when my chance came to speak was, "Mr. Speaker, I did not go to the University of the West Indies (UWI) but I pulled up myself by my bootstraps out of poverty and thank you Lord, I have been able to go to the University of Common Sense that the Honourable Member did not attend." That was it. I am saying, why must we look down on one another because we may have come from a different environment, had gone to a different school, had different parents or parents who were middle-class persons and so on, at the end of the day there is an equalizer, there is a leveller and thank God that Covid-19 was so very managed in Barbados that the Honourable Minister of Health, the Czar and the frontliners and others, if that did not happen in the way that it was so properly coordinated and the services extended by the Honourable Minister and his team, there would have been a leveller in Barbados, Mr. Speaker. I am so proud that we have been able to control Covid because Covid made even those who were poor, poorer as I witness it every day in this island with people needing more and more not because they want to add to what they had stored but because they had nothing. Covid-19 has brought out some values from among us that have helped to stabilised this country that we can see you are here today and gone tomorrow. Today you are up, tomorrow you are down and the other leveller that we know, Mr. Speaker, is to do with earthquakes. Earthquakes brought the people in Haiti to a level where even the President's house or mansion whatever you want to call it, in 2010 crumble to the ground.

When there was the terrible storm in Dominica one of the first houses that got struck was that of the President and that would have thrown him in a tailspin so I am saying, why must we be walking around haughty as though we have arrived or that we are different from anybody else and at the end of the day, there is something called sickness, that boss boy called cancer and diabetes and so that level us all. We must come together as a proud people coming out of slavery and our forefathers working day and night being beaten and scorned and deprived of every privilege to be able to build the Barbados that we are here today so proud to know we have come through a system where we have had free education, most of us not me, but I

am proud to know that my colleagues and many thousands upon thousands of Barbadians have had the privilege to get free education, free healthcare and all the other aspects for living that have caused them to be the proud Barbadians that we are. Do you know what? I have found that sometimes when we go to international conferences and there are some other colleagues from the Caribbean with us they look at us as though, those Barbadians are really bright? I am not saying there is an envy but there is something about it that they see us as strong powerful people who can take our society from one level to the next and to the next, making sure that we embrace everybody.

Today, I am happy to know, Mr. Speaker, that the diversity of our people here in this country is so unique and so different, we know, Mr. Speaker, that cricket has pulled us together in the region. Education, Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME), Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and those other aspects that help to merge us as a people we must hold fast to whatever that offers because at the end of the day there is strength in unity or unity is strength. I am concerned, as a more senior citizen because I am unhappy with the kind of racism that I witness on a daily basis. Sometimes I get it too but that does not matter because I am adult and I know I have come thus far and I know how to give the retort but I know that in a lot of our schools there is racism. My two sisters attended a particular school, one of the highest in this island, they had the privilege, but I did not have it and they were tormented. They were treated so unkindly, according to their experiences and why must we do that. If it is going to happen in the school system where we should be nurturing young minds, and preparing our people for the future, you can tell it will permeate the rest of the society. I want to encourage Barbadians let us continue to come together and take out the subtle way in which the racism is experienced and let us see how we can look at the norms and the values that have brought us thus far and see how best we can connect with each other because black on black is really what bothers me at this time and it should not be happening among us when we have got perfect examples from our pioneers who have shown us the way we should live and what we should do to continue to be a successful people particularly understanding that adage that says it takes a whole village to raise one child is what is responsible for each and every one of us in here today and our Barbadians at the highest level, many of them.

Mr. Speaker, I heard, and I know what Mr. Floyd would have said on his way out when he was suffering with that knee in his neck and we have seen so many other black people murdered between those last two or three weeks and all those massive demonstrations and even up to yesterday we were hearing about what happened in Carolina, I think it was South Carolina, and I am saying it is not stopping. Somebody sent me a video and I know we have fake news and I saw about 100 white police officers who threw in

their handcuffs to say that they are resigning because they can no longer use the throat hold. I would like them to come to Barbados because that is what my father and them had to do to kill the pigs in the yard. They had to kill the pigs to maintain us so they put them in a throat hold and they did whatever to the animals but how dare you do it to human beings who are made in God's image and therefore it has taken across the world in a way that blessed me the only thing I do not like is the virulence that is emanating from it.

Last Saturday when that father went to Wendy's in the United States of America to pick up whatever it was for his eight-year-old daughter's birthday, it was the same day, he fell asleep in the car and he lost his life. I saw a little boy no more than about 12 and when I saw the video... I have stopped watching them now because watching them creates something in me that angers me and I know if it angers me what about those young people out there who are seeing them who have never had any bad experience or life experience that they may want to go to do it too.

I do not want them to keep doing it to our fellowmen though, Mr. Speaker, because the black on black and every minute you hear bang bang and another young man is shot and another young man is stabbed. We know of the sadness of yesterday and I would like with your permission, Sir, to extend deepest sympathy to the families of those two persons who lost their lives so tragically. Mr. Speaker, I am tired of hearing that, I am tired of experiencing it because we know how to resolve our issues. We know conflict resolution and we were always told to walk away. Any coward who runs away lives to see another day. Our young people are not running away or walking away. It is easy to follow the crowd. It takes courage to stand alone so when you stand alone when you see four other guys or girls doing foolishness you are the strongest in the crowd and you should be strong enough to say: "Man, do not do that, girl come along and mind your business, that is not worth it, your character is more important than anything else". I do not think that enough of the managing and the communication and the mentoring of older folks is trickling down to the young people. My grandchildren show me how to turn on the computer and how to do little things and of course in my young age I forget and then I say oh dear I lost it and they say oh granny you seem to be becoming a slow learner but they come right back and help and I say you come right back otherwise you need somewhere to live and therefore the synergies are there and sometimes we need to embrace them. They come right back and help me and I get the help. I am saying that unless we are doing the mentoring, unless we are doing the parenting, and we are making those generational linkages which come together we are going to lose more of our young people. When we had godfathers and godmothers we saw totally different aspects for living. The godmother and godfather parented and guided those young people. We are not seeing much of

that anymore and unless we do the generational links we are going to lose more of our children and it hurts because black on black and even if it were white on black I would object to it, it should not happen.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you would have had your wonderful experiences in the system as a social worker and one of the best I have been told, so let me congratulate you too, Sir, because I could not get the chance to do it otherwise and you know, Sir, how our young children our young people are being molested, how they are being abandoned sometimes by their parents and others and how they are being treated so unkindly because they have come out of poverty. None of us wants to be born in poverty.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member.

Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I alluded to yesterday in another place I do not think that they are being abandoned by their parents, I do not think that at all. I think they are being abandoned by mothers and fathers, it is very different. There is a distinction Honourable Member between a mother and a father and a parent.

Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, perhaps I need to understand what parents are.

Our children are being abandoned and they are being abused sexually, physically, emotionally and so and it does not have to happen and so that too for me is the black on black that is really destroying a lot of the pillars that have been built by our foreparents to let us know that we are to come together and nurture and uplift.

The black on black too, Sir, is also associated with the domestic violence. Many of our women are beaten badly and some of our men but very few. None should be beaten at all. The gender-based violence in this country is growing and our women have to be running with their children to the batter centres so much is happening and sometimes the maintenance is not there and the women are suffering with their children, sometimes the men are there, and they do not have the women, and they have the children and the women do not go to give anything. We have so many challenges in this society because we do not have proper communication and dialogue and unless we do it and understand you do not take that little child or those few children and cut them right down the centre that the dislike is for the parent, for me that is the black on black that bothers me and bothers so many others.

I also want to say, Mr. Speaker, as a result of what is happening with a lot of our young people, the get rich or die trying, that too is taking a toll on so many young men who are incarcerated, as I said so many of them who are

injured or who lose their lives. One person who gets kills tragically creates a painful experience in any household, in any community, in any environment at all.

I am hurting, Mr. Speaker, about our senior citizens. I get letters, I get phone calls, and there are so many others of us who get them, the numbers are so large now they too are abandoned, they too are robbed, they too are raped and they too are deprived of meals and so on. It is not the Barbados we know and therefore that for me is black on black that is destroying the world destroying our little society that we have grown so much to love.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say that many of our foreparents would have gone to Panama, England, the United States of America and to other countries to work and their remittances helped to build this country. I have one young sister who was married to a white man for more than 30 years. He is one of the finest men that I have met in my lifetime as a white man because I do not deal with white people otherwise except to give pleasantries, I am not familiar with them in that way but I am saying he was one of the best parents so I am not going to go down that racial line when you hate white people because they got this and got that.

My other problem is that the banks and the other lending institutions not so much the credit unions are willing to give black people \$50 000, \$60 000 or \$70 000 to buy a car but if they go with an idea to be able to do a small business they cannot get a single cent, because the car is so popular you go down the road a ZR hit it it licked up and car gone and then you have to be struggling again to be able to get back on your feet.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that the Honourable Member for St. George South has that project where young people and others can go to help to be able to get funding and training to be young entrepreneurs to be able to set up their own businesses. Mr. Speaker, it hurts me even more because as a young child every community had three and four shops and the children came into the shops and dispatch, that is our culture. If a father was a mechanic the boys came out and learned the skills to carry on that mechanic business. If the father was a carpenter, similarly. Then we said free education and our same foreparents only went to third standard and fourth standard but they were extremely bright and we determined free education is there or I am going to pay for a private school for you to go to learn and to lift us out of poverty and sometimes rather than lift them out of poverty these same children go into new environs and forget the bridge that they have crossed and then they are not going back they are not going to manage any little shop. That shop would have raised so many families, fed so many households in the village and then that shop becomes shut down and we are talking about why black people become entrepreneurs. We had N. E.

Wilson, we have the Jordans', we have the Bynoe's, we still have people but some of us believe it is the fussiest car they want or build the biggest house is the one and forget we need something to help to instil in us the balance of how we can improve our lot, how we can invest in chickens, gardening, growing food and in doing so many other things. A lot of us have got that mentality, let us go to work in businesses and we do not have to rely on the little house in the village and so on.

I am proud to be a member of this distinguished party, the Barbados Labour Party because we have been able to make strides over the many years and that Tenantry Freehold Purchase Act has been a beacon. When we talk about it with other countries when we travel people say: "Ten cents per square foot land for poor people?" Yes, [it is] for poor people who lived on those plantations, they gave their blood, sweat and tears. They [also] had to have a chattel house because if they did not go to work on a particular day or if they went to another plantation, they would have to take up that chattel house and 'scotch' it somewhere else. I am proud to walk through Hopewell, Lion Castle, Spring Farm, Bridgefield, among other communities to be able to see how our people have been able to be empowered as a result of that ten cents per square foot through the Tenantry Freehold Purchase Act in the early 1980s. I believe it was 1981/1982.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is not all, the franchise, Barbadians being able to get the privilege to vote. So many people in the rest of the world did not get that opportunity but our pioneers in the Barbados Labour Party were able to do that. They got vacation with pay, and we are proud to know, the Minister of Labour and Social Partnership Relations has started to pioneer, and look forward now for paternity leave so that our men can get that opportunity. It is visionary and it says this is tying into what is happening in the rest of the world.

Asides.

Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE: I know that two or three private companies are already doing it but it is what we should do to empower our people and give them that opportunity to let people say [that] black people have brains too and [that] they can be able to manage in the way their own affairs and [are able] to go to the next level.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I just want to encourage Barbadians, we have come thus far out of slavery, out of the depression and we have come to independence. We have the ownership of our lands, (most of us). Many of us are still struggling to be able to improve the quality of life that we have and it is our duty as our senior citizens, it is our duty as leaders and the ones to be helped to nurture and set good examples for us to get into our communities, into our villages and talk to our young people, share

experiences with them to help them with conflict resolution, to help them to learn to conform with the law. You have to give respect to the members of the constabulary, you have to give respect to your teachers in the classrooms. That is what black people were accustomed doing. We must work with them and let them know that they are important too.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say that it is incumbent upon all of us as a people to continue to plan strategically and to make sure that we give urgent attention to further educate our people. We cannot just hang there. Yes, they are back into the University of the West Indies, poor people children have gone back there. The other tertiary institutions and so on are serving the children and the clients well but I think it is important for us that we get back to curriculum reform. We are losing too many of our children in the loop. The worst thing in the world to happen under that last Administration of the last 10 years, 2008-2018, was to have closed the Alma Parris School. If we are diverse people we do not always learn at the same rate. My sisters were brighter and so they went ahead to their distinguished schools, but I was there plodding along and because of poverty I had to stop. I never stepped into fifth form yet, however, I had that entrepreneurial spirit and that capacity and that avarice to want to learn and my mother pushed and therefore here am I. I am saying that all children do not learn alike, some have the innate abilities, some are into the performing arts, some are into calypso like his Honour who is with us today, some are into doing so many other things with mixed abilities and we still keep pushing and shunting them through schools, when we know it is the same-o, same-o. We need to get to civics. I did civics in primary school and it put me in good stead. I knew everything that was happening in the Caribbean. There was no technology but you had to use books, you had to sit and read, you had to stand and read [out loud] so that the others could hear and when you made little errors you were not laughed at as it relates to you were corrected and that has helped us to become proud Barbadians.

We need to look at curriculum reform and change it around. If you are not scrapping the common entrance, (and I believe we are at the stage where we could do full zoning and take out some of the stigma out of education) I believe that we should be able to get our children do that General Paper which made the distinction in what was happening in education. Our children got to know a broader and wider aspect of living when they did that General Paper. It has been moved unceremoniously and it has been to our detriment. Therefore, I want to see curriculum reform where our children go from pace to pace to suit the capacity and level at which they are and not to be into the first to learning. Too many of our boys are left out of the loop because the boys learning styles are not the same. Furthermore, when you look at our culture you would see that most teachers in our primary schools are women.

However, sometimes they are women who are very angry and broken because sometimes their partners might have treated them unkindly, or their husband [would have] got up and left, whatever the difficulties were. Therefore some of them do not know how to raise boys because boys are different. In my classroom [you can] give me 50 boys. I will teach them and be successful. When it came to the girls they are crying and every little petty thing and there are some teachers who would rather teach all girls and not boys. Sir, our primary schools are suffering for male teachers because there are so many single-parent homes with women at the head and our boys are being shunted to a corner. Hence, I would like to see curriculum reform happen. I would like to see the civics happening in our schools. I would want to see values education being put on the school's curriculum so that we can look at the value system and let our children know about respect, about decency, ethics, sharing and caring, about volunteering and things of that nature. Black people have the capacity to do it, as are those of any other ethnic groups and we must come together and the black people matter.

The school of excellence, we have heard so much about it. There are some children who can pick up the skills, they can dance, they can do so much but unfortunately it is the rigid academic aspect of things that are being offered to them.

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

Hon. Miss C. Y. FORDE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I just want for us to get back on focusing on culture, teach them about the land ship, about the Credit Union Movement, teach them about 'su-su' or 'meeting turns', teaching them about ownership and about how they can look after their own property, and how they could become the best citizens that we would want them to be, and to lift their self-esteem. We must not sit back on our laurels. Each of us in here has a responsibility to be able to walk with, to hold hands, to nurture and to make a difference in light of what is happening in our country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure that if we go along that trajectory we will make a difference in what is going on in the world to make our people the best.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I close I want to say that I am so happy to be part of this distinguished chamber here today and to be able to witness the unfolding of a collective set of minds and ideas to be able to say to the people of this country that we have come thus far, let us continue to let the village be the one to raise the children, let us continue to share. We are going to have difficulties, we are going to have challenges but we can unleash that spirit of generosity, that spirit of sharing, caring and nurturing and once we do that I believe that Barbados will continue to be the proud country that we are. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I close with the great Bob Marley's song, I think the statement is

“One love, One heart, let’s get together and feel all right.” Therefore, if we come together with one love, one people and we follow our National Anthem and our Motto and do the things we know are Barbadian, we can make it together and we will be able to minimise the anger, the jealousy, the fighting, the killing and the shooting. When we come together under God’s watch, I am sure that Barbados will rise again, and I share the sentiments expressed by Honourable Members in the Chamber that it is not only about us in Barbados but it is about the rest of the world coming together because Black lives matter and human beings matter being formed in the image of Almighty God. I wish to thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Asides.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. Michael South.

Hon. K.D.M. HUMPHREY: Goodnight, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Like all Barbadians, I was affected yesterday by the tragic loss of life of Mr. Glenroy James and Mr. Christoff Griffith. I obviously wish, on behalf of my own family, to extend my condolences to those two men and their families. I take note as to what the Prime Minister said in relation to persons suffering with mental illnesses and how we treat to that in this society. I also wish to say a very special “thank you” to the Honourable Member for Christ Church South for bringing this Resolution and for the way in which he presented it to this House for debate, Sir. I find this particular Resolution to be of great interest to me, and like most of us born in this country we are descendants of people who were not brought to this country by choice. For any of us to think that we are better than anybody else, Sir, those who are of the same colour, it is indeed a tragedy.

Sir, I feel a pain and an angst when I think about the suffering of anybody. Sir, I cast my mind to Germany, particularly in Auschwitz in the 1940s and I feel bad for the Jews, Sir. It affects me on a human level. Sir, I think about what happened in Tiananmen Square in 1989, and I feel bad on a human level, because I said in the Election that we are all threads in the very same fabric of life. We are connected, Sir, but there has never been a crime as heinous as that of slavery. There has never been a crime as heinous as that of slavery, Sir, and I have tried in my writings to capture some of this. Sir, I wrote a verse, and if you would allow me.... At the time when I tried to capture it, I asked,

“Can you imagine being trapped like sardines in a slave ship, a victim of economics? Cheap labour, they called it, and you whole tribe in a panic ‘cause you left on a journey that shoulda take five minutes and never return. Taken, dragged from your family without notice. Placed on a ship for hard, hard days and nights in a space where you had to urinate and defecate in the same space.”

As dehumanising as it comes, Sir, so there is nothing as heinous as slavery. Slavery in the Caribbean became so perfected that they were able to export that cruelty to other places; the model for Caribbean slavery was then exported to other countries. So effective was it and so perfected in the Caribbean in terms of the kind of cruelty, Sir. I find it very difficult -- I will say this early, I was going to say it a little later -- for me to associate myself with any symbol that is a manifestation or a reflection of anyone who purported to be involved in slavery. I cannot understand, Sir, why in a modern Barbados -- like most young people in this country -- there is still a statue of Nelson in the middle of town.

Sir, I say so cognisant of the fact that some may think that we should not go this road, but I find it somewhat offensive, Sir. Allow me to read this, Sir. Nelson wrote this in one of his own personal letters, which is online. This is Horatio Nelson: “I have ever been and shall die a firm friend to our present colonial system.” This is him writing about the situation in England. He is die-hard in his commitment to that cause. He went on to talk about how he appreciated the West India possessions because the islands in the Caribbean and the people were possessions, Sir. He also wrote: “While I have an arm to fight in their defence or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable and cursed doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies...”

Sir, as you are aware, Wilberforce was the person fighting for Abolition, and Nelson is calling the man and his whole doctrine and allies hypocritical and saying, “I do not support it, and I want to put that out there in clear terms,” Mr. Speaker. I hope that we have a conversation about it but I also feel we need to have a bigger and deeper conversation. However, that is not the end of the game, Sir. I feel we need to have a bigger and a deeper conversation. I remember as a student at the Barbados Community College in History class when I did ‘A’ Level History that Trevor Marshall taught us about different aspects of slavery. He spoke about a Bishop Coleridge and a Bishop Parry who owned slaves, and we still have schools in this country named after people who proudly owned slaves. We need to have a larger conversation, Sir, about the way these things are placed into our psyche and the way they affect us as a people. Anybody who thinks that it does not matter has obviously missed the boat, Sir, because these things matter. These symbols are left there long after the original hurt, long after the original crime, but these things do more damage than the original hurt and the original crime. They are left there to perpetuate themselves into the future, Sir, almost into perpetuity to ensure that those of us who come long after the crime is done carry the same burden of that crime, Sir.

If I have a problem with Mr. Nelson, Sir, I hope nobody is offended by it but Horatio Nelson did Barbados

no favours. He did Kirk Humphrey no favours, Sir. He did the people who I have the honour to represent -- the poor Black people in St. Michael South -- no favours, and I have no problem, and I make it clear, with any white people, Sir. I feel that when we get to a point where we can have a mature conversation, honesty requires that I should look at a man and say, "Look, I know you have done this thing to me. I hope that we can get past it but you have to say, 'yes I understand too that I have done this thing to you' and be willing to say 'I am sorry'"; and hopefully be willing to say that Barbados and some other Caribbean countries deserve some kind of reparations. Sir, I feel these are the kinds of conversations which we need to start having in this country.

I listened to the Honourable Member for St. Michael East when he spoke, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I always listen to him but I listened as he spoke, Sir, and he mentioned the American Civil War briefly. Black people who fought in that war are still waiting for their 40 acres and their mule. It never happened. They never got it, Sir. They said it was because Lincoln got shot and Johnson did not support him, but whatever the reason, it never happened, Sir. For generations, whether it be here or there, Sir, this has been our reality. I must tell you, Mr. Speaker, that I honestly say this with absolutely zero malice in my heart. I listened to Malcolm X, I listened to Martin Luther King, but Dr. King had a verse which I liked. He said, "Darkness cannot drive out darkness. Only light can do that," and "hate cannot drive out hate. Only love can do that". Sir, so when I rebuke people I rebuke them with love in the hope that love can do that, but we all have to come to a point where we accept that some things were wrong and that those of us who have to carry on the legacy must be bold and be brave. If you want to be my friend and I want to be yours, it has to begin on an honest platform. Sir, it cannot begin in silence nor can it begin in fear. If you want to be my friend and I want to be your friend, it has to begin on an honest platform. Sir, it cannot begin in silence or it begin in fear. I am honest and I hope that you are also honest. One of my favourite Peter Tosh songs says, "I am a progressive man and I love progressive people", "I am an upfull man and I love upfull people", "I am an honest man and I love honest people". That is the case Sir and this is me. I present myself and I hope at the end of it, me and whoever can still be friends, but I live in the now. I read Walter Rodney's book, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", and Sir if you read that book, you would see the consistent constant exploitation of Africa by the Europeans. However, Sir, I feel that we need a new book and talk about how Africa developed Europe, not how Europe underdeveloped Africa, because I feel if we have that conversation about how Africa developed Europe, then you could look at all of your riches that have gained in the deal, if you call it a deal and then determine that I rightfully deserved X amount of it. That is the conversation that we need to have today. I do not want anybody to pity me now. I am not searching for

pity, I want to have an honest conversation about the systems and the societies that we built and that the fact remains that there has not been an honest compensation for the damage that has been done. That is the conversation that I want to have. Sir, I have more time I had an example, but I know I do not have a lot of time because it is late and I leave that for another time.

Mr. SPEAKER: I determine how much time you have.

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: That is true Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have time.

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: Thank you Mr. Speaker, Sir. Sir, slavery in the Caribbean and the United States was institutionalised manslaughter, it was institutionalised murder. There was a point at which more people were killed, the death rate was far higher for black people than their birth rate. Sir when you think about, it is ridiculous. The death rate was significantly higher for black people on slave plantations at one point than the birth rate, and they were not dying of natural causes Mr. Speaker, Sir. When I realised that institutional racism is happening now, this did not just start. This is a manifestation of carrying, if you will, of that which has started years ago on slave plantations. When that knee was in George Floyd neck that is the same institutionalised murder that occurred on the plantations. We have to be real about it.

However, here we are, many years later, and I make the point again Sir because it is important. I always hear comparisons being made about black people this and Indians or blacks and whites and different things. Blacks were the only race of all races that were taken from where they were, forced to work somewhere else, and deprived of their family, their religion, their language, their music and their culture, everything, stripped entirely. They were made to move from one place to another place deprived of everything that made them and us who we are. Sir when other people move they carry their family and music. They were allowed to maintain the family unit. Slavery saw completely to the devastation of the family unit. It was built that way. Do not tell me about what the other races do and how they carried on their family. They were not deprived of it. Mr. Speaker, blacks were deprived of it in the Caribbean. We cannot compare, it is not comparing apples and apples, you are comparing apples and perhaps nuts, dunce or something, but it is not the same thing. We were deprived entirely of it all, and it took us a long time for us to come around.

Mr. Speaker Sir, you know when I was young and even now where I lived in the Pine, they used to have a lot of Rasta men and I trod with them a few times. That is another story. I have never seen a class of people so

discriminated against and why. They were discriminated against because they represented everything that was black and we were taught to hate everything that was black. Sir we were taught to hate ourselves, so when you saw Rastas walking and they are growing their hair and they are saying this is my natural black hair, they grew it.

Asides:

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: I am preaching to the converted. Mr. Speaker Sir you would know. Sir, when they grew their hair people would say you have to cut your hair, what is the matter with you. The moment you grew your hair something is wrong with you. All of a sudden my brother grew locs, you hear, mum your son gone mad.

Asides:

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: You must be hear it. You are a bright light skinned fellow. You know what I mean, because they taught you to hate yourself, Sir. They wanted us to hate ourselves, it was a consistent thing and Sir I want to have in this conversation, it has to be an honest conversation. That is why there are things that I work on so hard. I also know the Honourable Leader of Government Business, the Representative for St. Michael South East must have had a hard time when she grew her locks and they were lovely. That is why I am happy that she is the Minister of Education, because we have to have real education in Barbados. The books that we are being taught to read, some do not tell our story. There is an African saying that says, until the lion tells the tale of the hunt, the hunter will always get the glory. Sir, until we tell our story, somebody else is going to get our glory. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is why I am glad that the Honourable Member is the Leader of the Opposition, because she understands, and she knows.

Mr. SPEAKER: Leader of Government Business.

Asides.

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: Leader of Government Business, Sir. That is such a slip. Sir, normally when I am here in this mood my vibe is normally towards the

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand.

Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY: Mr. Speaker Sir, I also feel the same about the need for us to eradicate pit toilets, I feel the same about the need for us to make sure people have access to water and I know the Honourable Minister of Energy and Water Resources is working desperately to make sure that happens. Sir, I feel the same about a lot of these things, but in my constituency, I was talking to a family the other night and they showed a place where Jackie Opel used to live at one point. I know he came from

the city but at one point he was living in Chelston. Sir, I also know across the street in city but I like to claim him because it is still the Bayland, where Sir Gary Sobers grew up. Sir these are heroes in our country and in my constituency to a certain extent. I am claiming him Minister Bostic, Honourable Minister of Health.

If I am going to put a statue in town, I want to see a Jackie Opel, Sir Gary Sobers, Suki King or the most Honourable Anthony 'Gabby' Carter. That is the statue we should have in town. I say so again, Sir I have no issue with any race at all, but if you have a problem when we talk about history, these are all facts, if the facts of the Class bother you Sir, then something is not wrong with me or those facts, the problem lies with you. Sir I am just stating the facts as I know them.

Sir I will wrap up now because it is getting late. However, these are the things that matter to me. Sir, we believe that black people in many cases still want handouts. That is not true. Sir, I do not even begin understand these things about a meritocratic society, a system based on merit. This idea that everybody got access to education, so why the poor people children are not benefitting from it. It is not the case Sir. A system based on merit is equally as unfair in many case as one that is not and I will explain. Sir, when children goes to school, all have access to education, but some going to school at the same school, one left home on a morning very, very hungry, the other left home having had a good meal, it is a system based on merit but is it really?

Sir, you get to school one child knows how to respond to a stimuli different from another child but our school system has been shaped in such a way that they favour one kind of response is that a system based on merit. In these circumstances we need a radical shift, when you get to A level, CXC's or whatever one set of children going to lessons for mathematics, English for everything, poor people children are not going to anything so. At the end of the child who have 10 CXC's will get the job, the child who got one or two cannot get the job but every had the same chance. Is it so? A system that is based solely on merits have its flaws, it has its flaws, and I think we have to have a real conversation about some of these things.

Sir, as I wrap up, I want to give off the part of a team that helps build Barbados but I have to do so as authentically. I must tell you that in the Ministry we are having conversations with the Yacht Club about teaching people how to sail. In those conversations, I said to them and it was a good conversation a very honest open conversation because I am always me. I said to them when we start ??? this program so that we bring more people into a relationship with ocean and the sea, I do not want to hear that there are no issues when little black boys from my

constituency strolling up and down through the Yacht Club.

Sir, today credit no issues so far and we will continue to this because I want to work with whoever wants to work with me but I would like to think at the end of the day that I have so empowered enough people so that we have enough Black people owning businesses, enough Black people being in a position to train other Black people and to not feel afraid or ashamed when you have to say I am Black or that I want to support Black businesses, you see it everywhere. When you go overseas, when you go in Chinatown, you do not see Chinese people eating in the Jamaicans restaurants. I do not have a problem with that but you do not see them eating in the Bajan restaurants although we do not have enough overseas, you see them going where they go. When I was in Boston and we were going out with the Africans they wanted to go and eat in African restaurants. There is nothing wrong with saying that I want to go and eat in a Bajan restaurant or a Black restaurant, I spend a lot of money in white restaurants too, and there is nothing absolutely wrong with it. I feel that we need to have a conversation about empowering people from the top to the bottom, from the start to the finish.

Sir, my last point is on the environment because believe it or not, the environment conversation is really a conversation about Black lives because who do thing will be most exposed in the event in Barbados should we be face with a tragedy, a category four, five hurricane. The low level areas in the City for sure. In your constituency Sir, mine and the Honourable Leader of Government Business all of these low level areas where poor Black people live. Hence every time I hear that there is a hurricane or a storm coming my mind races to my constituents Sir, whenever it rains. There was a time we got the situation fix, I must thank the Honourable Minister of Transport and works but whenever the rain would fall Clarke's Avenue would flood out, people could not get out of their houses. The same situation I am experiencing in Paddock Road, it has to change. I have same thing in Browne's has to change. I know that when there is an environmental threat it is Black people who will face it more and most.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the environmental issues are about black lives. Those of us who are on the frontline of this thing recognise. Well look at it when the Honourable Prime Minister speaks about our roof to roof program about building stronger houses, so that they could withstand hurricanes. About taking the roof and making them able to withstand category four hurricanes because a lot of our roofs cannot. Sir, who do you think we are talking about. Sir, when the COVID-19 pandemic started and there \$ 600 made available so people could live in this country during the hardest times, who were we talking about or the \$ 1 500 or so that we were giving to small businesses,

entrepreneurs so that they could get through a difficult period, who are we talking about? When people say that the Government did not do anything for Black Lives Matter they must obviously not be looking at the facts and I came to deal with the facts. The facts in our history and in this country and the facts of what we have done since we started this thing.

Sir, I have a lot of things to say but I wish to close with the idea, I heard the Honourable Member, representative for Christ Church West Central, my good friend the Minister of Youth say that all lives matter and of course they do. If I saw somebody drowning I would go and save that drowning man and you tell me every want saving, fear enough but that man drowning save that man. That drowning man's life matter, black lives matter and it is in that context that we need to have the conversation and I am not afraid to say it, Black Lives Matter. The history and the reality of things would seem to suggest that that may not necessarily be the case.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to close if you would let me with the end of a poem that I had written, my last verse of that same piece. It says, it is not a document of the House. Sir, last verse of the piece that I spoke of the struggles that we have been through, it says, "So yes I admit the damage has been done and we speak of one love when we really ain't one, so brothers listen cause this is the hour. We need to seek wisdom for knowledge is power and to stand on a mountain and proudly declare that Jah, you have blessed me with my African hair. We have lied to ourselves let us rise up from that because you are not ugly my friend, we are Black and Black is a mystery that is yet to unfold and Black is a story never properly told. And Black is pure beauty, so that is what I am. I am a warrior, a storyteller, a Caribbean African".

Sir, I am obliged thank you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. George North.

Hon. G. A. CLARKE: Mr. Speaker, I want to deliver a COVID-19 speech tonight, I do not intend to be too long. This debate is very important and therefore, I have to lend my voice to it.

Mr. Speaker, I want first of all to thank the Member for Christ Church South who brought this resolution here today. He has really touch the nerve of all right thinking Barbadians and I am sure that more and more persons are listening to this debate than we can imagine. Mr. Speaker, I want to say from the outset that I was born before Barbados independence, I am rooted in colonial times, I went to Primary School in a colonial era and just started my early secondary education when we got Independence. I want to say from the outset too that in those years, we heard about

a number of persons who we thought were supposed to be brave warriors, good men and you were told from the history book because I know a number of us quote history books and sometimes we do not usually look at the reason why we were told they were so good. I can think about persons like Guy Fawkes. Guy Fawkes was supposed to be a brave person and we celebrated Guy Fawkes every 5th of November, I do not know if you remember those days, Mr. Speaker. We were supposed to light starlights and bombs and so on. Guy Fawkes was ... We learned later that Guy Fawkes who tried to blow up the Parliament was supposed to be a good man. We learned also that Admiral Horatio Nelson fought in the Battle of Trafalgar, lost his life but saved the Caribbean from the French when they had invaded the Europe. He was supposed to save the Caribbean islands for the British.

You heard about Lord Combermere, Lord Codrington and Adolf Hitler who were supposed to be good men. Mr. Speaker, one of the persons we were told was a bad person was Fidel Castro. I remember always growing up in the 1960s and told that Fidel Castro was not only a bad person for the Caribbean, but the British and the Americans led us to believe that anything coming out of Cuba was bad and communism was the worst thing. We were taught this in our history at most of the schools. It was the history of the day. A new generation has come now and it has come a long way. It took us a pandemic for the world to change.

We are seeing a world changing right before our eyes that after this pandemic, we have seen that persons are willing not only to accept change but do more than we ever thought would have come. The world which we are part of must accept the change because the young people are demanding change. We must put measures in place today to help our people get over the psychological impact of slavery. We must put measures in place to rid our society of the whole notion of capitalist thinking. When I say capitalist thinking, what we speak of today is really rooted in capitalism versus socialism. I want to explain what I mean by this, Mr. Speaker. The expansion of Europe is what carried the entire world into a topsy-turvy.

In the 15th Century, many Europeans felt that the world was flat and if you go beyond a certain limit,

you would fall off. Mr. Speaker, I know you heard you could not go beyond the horizon. The King of Spain decided that he wanted to put his money behind any person who thought they could go beyond the horizon. This is what led to the expansion of Europe where you hear about ships sailing to expand Europe. It was a revolution which led to the invention of the wheel, engines, sails, et cetera. Hence, you had persons for the first time going as far as Asia, Africa and the expansion into the Caribbean.

When this happened, you had a situation where they found islands for the very first time islands beyond the horizon located in the Caribbean, West Africa and Americas. On the notion of capitalist society at the time where the demand for profits and more wealth grew, you had the situation where Europe felt they had to bring slaves out of Africa to supply labour into the Americas. This is what led to a situation where there was a conflict between whites and blacks for the first time. The history is there. The concept of white domination over blacks was noted for the very first time. The Member for St. Michael South spoke about Europe underdeveloped Africa and that people now demand it must be a reverse situation.

The clash we need to understand is how Europe put in place a situation that for the very first time you had the dominance of a white class over other minority groups. In the Caribbean, we saw a situation where the Spanish, English, French and Dutch came into contact with minority people and wiped them out. The Arawaks, Aztecs and Mayas were wiped out by the Europeans. This led to the capture of slaves from Africa into the Americas. The rest is history. The whites dominated all minority groups. The whites felt that the minority groups were inferior to them. This notion of inferiority and superiority came into focus. This is what has caused our society today when you look back at the injustices that were done to our people, not only blacks but all minority groups who were considered inferior to the whites.

Where are we today on all of this? I do not want to take too long, Mr. Speaker. I want to show what has happened to the world and why it has become what it is today. The entire notion of capitalist profit making is what caused whites to believe they are superior to all other races. Having said that, what has happened after 300 years of slavery by the blacks? We are talking mainly about black people. What has caused this society to be what it is today, where you have total injustices done to blacks? We do not have to go through injustices done and harsh treatment to blacks. However, after slavery was abolished what happened? You have 100 years of further injustices being done to blacks.

I want Members to understand that the whole question of capitalism is what caused this. Whites who wanted to make profits and wealth had to find a way of policing these things. You had military and police in place, so that the police system we have in the world today was brought forward by the Europeans as a means of protecting their wealth. The police in the Western world as we know it was born out of the idea of protection of wealth for the rich on behalf of whites. This in itself even after slavery was abolished and as I heard today from the Member for St. Michael North East, she said that slavery was abolished in the Americas, I believe from 1865 or just after 1865, so that the Americans had the harshest form of slavery of any

kind. After slavery was abolished, the conditions of blacks never improved within the Americas so that the American system remained entrenched. In fact, there is a video that was shown quite recently where a white man showing his son how to use a gun, when things got bad and he was intercepted by a group of black men his skin was changed from white to black. When he got home and may you saw that, his wife could not even recognise him and he was shot by his own son. It shows us today that the colour of your skin is what matters here.

This is very, very important, Mr. Speaker, because here a white person, his skin was changed by some form of injection and it is only because of his colour that his son shot him. It seemed to me, Mr. Speaker, that this whole question of white versus black is very important for us to recognise that something is really wrong. The thinking that anything black - and I heard the Honourable Member for St. Michael South mention it today - is bad and white is supposed to be good and we have to be able to transform our society. Today there are some whites who are now, for the first time, helping to show that they want to change society and they are moving with the blacks but why has that change? I believe many persons within the Americans and Europe have recognised for the first time that the colour of your skin should not matter and we have to be able to do that. When we say black lives matter, it is important that we do not see black as a colour or white as a colour today. I think, more and more people like looking beyond colour and I am glad to see that our society is moving towards that. I am glad to see that our society, Mr. Speaker, is moving towards a situation where you are seeing for the first time do not let us look at the colour of your skin, but let us look at the person that you are, let us look at what integrity you bring, let us look at how you behave in society. That is important. I think the colour of your skin should not matter today. I believe that when a number of young whites look at what their ancestors have brought to the table some of them are very ashamed of what they have inherited from their families some of them believe that the time has come to repay some of the damages that were done over the last century and we must look at a new system. I am not sure if the question of capitalism will come to the fore within the next generation but, of course, we will have to wait and see because, Mr. Speaker, as I started by saying, capitalism is behind this entire programme that we have today, when I say today, I mean about 100 years linking back to today, but a new system will have to be put in place in order to move our society forward. If we are supposed to look at Black Lives Matter and I hope that the persons who has moved this Resolution could look at what it is that we will have to do in order to move our society forward. Is it going to be a mixture of socialism and capitalism because obviously we cannot go back to capitalism? With capitalism you need profits and in order to have profits you have to safeguard your profits. In order to have profits you have to have

cheap labour but is it what we want? Then we have to look at, if we say, Black Lives Matter, should we be looking at a new system of education? Should we be looking at a new system of religion? Should we be looking at better healthcare for our people? When we look, and I want to just spend a minute on this, at our educational system for blacks within the Caribbean, Mr. Speaker, 40 per cent of those persons leaving high school come out without any certification. When you look in terms of minority in the United States of America (USA) we have a situation where the majority of minorities, about 40 per cent of the population, black in the USA and recently we heard that 60 per cent of the deaths are of blacks. It seems that most blacks suffer for healthcare, education, before the law, and of course, we have the police brutality and so on within the US system mainly. Capitalism is entrenched in our society today. We need a change. How do we make that change is left to the new generation? A mixture of socialism and communism where you have Government intervention. Clearly the American system would have to change. The American system is rooted in pure capitalism so that Governments play a minority role. Within our system we have a mixed economy where Governments intervene. We need to have more Government intervene so that you can protect the minority. We must have a situation where, for the new generation, the blacks must start to believe that they have a stake within our society. I want to see where young people believe within their hearts and, of course, we have to be able to teach the young people that they must believe in themselves. I think that is where it is. Too many people doubt their own selves and I have heard many persons in the cultural group especially when you listen to the Reggae songs coming out of Jamaica, and you listen to the rappers you would hear persons talking about what it is that we can do to change our society. What is it? Is it the need for -- and of course, I heard about Robert Nesta "Bob" Marley today and most of his thinking was about the injustices of the society then but today we are having other persons looking at how we can change our society for the better. I think this is incumbent on the new generation. Those persons who are now at college, maybe in their teenage life because we are getting old and we are going to be passing on very soon but we will want to see what the world would look like in the next 50 years.

My final thought, Mr. Speaker, is this. I would want to see our generation shift our educational focus. I heard people thinking about a new religious order. We may have to look at what role will religion play because in the past 100 years, religion has helped to entrench our capital system and we are taught that we must be obedient and we are taught that we must turn our backs, but what would happen in the new generation in the new world order when we do not look at skin colour but at what a person could bring to the table. We must look at this. We must also look at how do we differentiate or not differentiate between man and woman because we know that today there is a

difference. The whole sexuality seem to be changing as well so we have to look at what is the role of families in today's society. All of these are things that we need to put on the table if black lives are supposed to matter. I believe, Mr. Speaker, it is left now to the new generation to bring new ideas to the fore.

Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central.

Hon. R. R. STRAUGHN: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I certainly rise to thank the Honourable Member for Christ Church South for bringing this Resolution before this Chamber. Regrettably, I was not here this morning to hear his presentation but I stand to first express on behalf the people of Christ Church East Central our support for the concept, notion and philosophy, if you like, Sir, that black lives matter. It is important, Sir, that we contextualise where we are as a people and certainly how we see ourselves and how others see us so that we can for ourselves determine how we are going to move forward as a people, as communities, as families and as countries because to operate in this environment clearly is quite a tortuous one for black people but we do so out of a sense of pride, I think, sometimes with respect to how we have been able to demonstrate a level of civility in the face of hard harsh conditions, to display a level of forgiveness, a level of self-discipline, to not seek retribution for what has been clearly hundreds of years of disrespect at the very least, torture at its worst.

Sir, we have along the way determined that we would still want to live in a world where we can all be as one and that perhaps is the strength or some may say the weakness of black people because we have shown consistently that we will live with those who may have oppressed, we would live to pull ourselves up as they would say by our bootstraps and we would sometimes suffer in silence until it reaches a point where we can no longer be silent.

Sir, I wish to say, and I will not trespass on the law as that is not my space, that something has dawned on me because when I watched the video of Mr. Floyd's life being snuffed out, I cast my mind back to 1991 to Mr. Rodney King who did not die but was beaten it was taped and we all know the result. It went to court and the officers were acquitted, and we all know that sparked the riots. Sir, as Mr. Floyd was on the video begging for his life, I was saying to myself that these officers but really these murderers... According to the US system, Sir, you have to be tried by a jury of your peers so I asked myself if these officers, these murderers, are tried by a jury of their peers what would the outcome be given all that we know that portends the "justice system" in the United States of

America and then I asked myself a basis question: Would these murderers receive a fair trial, and by fair I mean in the context of innocent until proven guilty because there is no innocence here - but of course being a lawyer, Sir, that is the premise of the law - and therefore I cannot answer the question legally, I am sure that there are others who may wish to opine on it, but there can be no doubt in anybody's mind that any of those gentlemen were innocent at any time during the 8 minutes 46 seconds but I still asked myself the question because I am sure a good defence lawyer may be able to strike off many a juror because the whole world would have seen the video and would have clearly seen the murder unfold and therefore it is impossible for any juror in my mind to say honestly that they believe that any of those gentlemen could be innocent and that they can give them a fair trial. Sir, when I therefore say and give honest support for the notion of black lives matter, the system also has to reflect that but I will leave that one for the lawyers to figure out because if what we see now have some people upset I could only imagine in a few months' time maybe a year whenever the trial comes to an end and the result is in any way close to anything that took place in 1991 then I fear that we would then see that point where all gloves would be off because I say to you, Sir, quite firmly that when I read of General Bussa and what took place at Bayley's Plantation and how that sparked a series of revolutions across the West Indies, we have seen moments along the way where as black people we believe that things may change but I believe at this particular moment in time unless the system responds and recognises that black lives matter, then I fear that we would see a significant destabilisation of the globe on this very question. I hope that I am wrong, Sir. I hope that I am wrong. However let me go further because context is important. I watched the video and suppose like all, I cannot imagine anybody watching that video and not being horrified. However, apparently there were some who were not horrified by what they saw in the video, but more than the video you would recall there was an officer who was backing and to me of all the participants in the video for me personally that officer who stood there and did nothing is the real criminal in this scenario because that officer not just failed in his duty to serve and protect, but in a sense that officer is a representation of the rest of the society that pretends that they do not know what is going on and will not lift a finger when they see injustice. It is instructive, if I am not mistaken, it was either the day or two days before in New York there was a video of a black man who was videotaping a white lady in New York who telling him that she was going to call the police for him and that she was going to say to them there is a black man who was threatening her in the park. Now, if you understand that that is a representation of the 'white privilege' the term used because here is a guy in the park going walking and minding his business and a white woman is going to say to a black man that she is going to call the police on him and she is going to tell them that there is an African American

who is threatening her, on video, Sir. If you understand the psychology that it would take for somebody to do something like that then it tells me that when that officer was standing there watching Mr. Floyd begged for his life, it is that mentality, that psychology that exists in the society. Therefore the question here is a fundamental one, it is whether or not, certainly in America, black people wish to continue to subject themselves to a system that clearly has abandoned them. That is the fundamental question, Sir.

Now, Sir, I have traveled a few places in my very short lifetime and I have never... Well, obviously I am a black man, that is unmistakable, but I have never felt uncomfortable traveling anywhere else, except in the United States of America. Sir, I have driven [in some of these] places but I have determined (in my mind) that I will never drive in the United States of America. Sir, that was predicated on what you see on a regular basis but clearly it does not matter whether or not you are driving in the United States of America, it does not matter if you are at your home, they will still come and kill you, if you walking down the road with your family it does not matter and therefore as I said, the fundamental issue for black people [is that] they have to determine that if their lives are to matter, whether they wish to subject themselves to the system in the United States of America. Sir, [it is as] plain and simple [as that].

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me come home to land my intervention here. As I reflect on the impact of COVID-19, I mean, we have all given our perspective in this debate but this is what I fundamentally believe as an economist. Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the day, as the Honourable Member for St. George North has just indicated, slavery, capitalism, everything is rooted obviously in economics and the world has been ordered, for the last four or five centuries purely on that. The history is there, it is undeniable. However in this pandemic in Barbados it has exposed something which we all know and we were all prepared, in a sense, to look past, but Sir, we have right now almost 50 000 claims for unemployment. Sir, do you know generally what is the real reason we have almost 50 000 claims for unemployment? Sir, it is simply because we have operated a system called tourism, that while people come to Barbados to vacation -- and there is nothing at all that is wrong with that -- the business that we were supposed to be playing our part in, Sir, has generally not seen ordinary Barbadians as part of their clientele and therefore when airplanes stop flying, even though there are 280 000-plus people on this island, and while I accept that the impact of the world's economy would have had certainly an impact on the Barbados economy, the reality is that if we had a truly integrated tourism sector that saw Barbadians (black Barbadians) as part of your client class we would not have almost 50 000 claims for unemployment in Barbados today. We would have had a different impact than that and therefore the

question that we have to ask ourselves repeatedly, Sir, is why is it that we continue to treat ourselves the way that we do. The answer to that question as fundamental as it is in a country that we have invested so much in trying to develop and build a society, why do we still have these differences of approach? Why do we continue to believe that if I came into a restaurant or a store that the service would be different from if someone from North America or Europe came into the store? Sir, until we get into our heads that we need to first treat ourselves with the kind of respect that we would offer to the rest of the world, then I know the economic impact that we are now seeing in relation to COVID-19 would not have been the same. I know that in my heart of hearts and therefore this debate, as important as it is, I believe that the country has to do some self-introspection, our people need to do some self-introspection because it is how we treat each other, how we make each other feel when we interact with each other. Sir, things will not always be rosy. You know that, we are mature people, but the reality is unless we see ourselves first certainly and clearly as our brothers' and sisters' keepers, which means that we have to give ourselves the same level of service which we would bend over and give to others, we have to give to ourselves. On this little Rock, it really can be a truly special place but we have to love ourselves first. As we move forward, Sir, I want to wholeheartedly indicate that this issue was complicated but it was a pretty simple one. We have to determine what we want for ourselves, and I say to all of those in the diaspora that Barbados is the best place in the world to live.

Asides.

Hon. R.R. STRAUGHN: Do not subject yourself to anybody's foolishness. If people feel that they do not want you around there, come home. Sir, I spent five years in England. I heard someone -- I do not remember the person who raised it -- but the truth is you can make some good money overseas. No problem, you can do that but there is a point beyond which you cannot go. In those five years, Sir, I recognised it and this was between 2006 and 2010, and it dawned on me because I was doing some work for a company which had landed a contract for a global business, Sir, but the company could not get the work done. They hired me, a Black boy from Bank Hall, to come and do the work. When I started I wondered how these fellows could get this work because they had no capability or capacity to get it done, Sir. I knew in my heart of hearts that if ever there was a level playing field, and if that concept was to ever become the reality...It is not that Black people want to take anything from anybody, Sir, but we will compete on the level playing field. We even compete when the playing field is not level, Sir. If ever there was a playing field to be levelled, I know that we would be able by our sheer force of will to do right by our people.

However, the deck has been stacked against us for the past 500 years, Sir, and with the current construct ever so often someone wants to put you on some blacklist which in and of itself is offensive. Yes, blacklist and 'greylist'. Offensive, because it is the last call of those who believe that we are still property. I do not want to hold up the Chamber much longer but we can go to any archive department in any part of the world and we will see the records that were well kept. Sir, property is one of those things which people always make sure they have the deeds for when they own something. Go to any archive in the world and you can chronicle all of the deeds with respect to slavery; all of them. Do you know what is interesting, Sir? We have a situation these days and there is a concept in some assessments where references are made to human trafficking, and it is interesting. We, in our part of the world, are now required -- imagine that -- to show that we are prosecuting people for human trafficking, Sir. It is a serious matter but we are now required to show that we are prosecuting people for human trafficking.

Sir, I ask myself how this could be when we have not prosecuted anybody up until now for the evidence that is there sitting in our archives. It is from Boston in the north all the way down to Brazil in the south. When we are going to have these conversations, then we have to have a frank and open conversation about this matter of Black lives, because until the debt for the suffering of Black people has been fully paid, this matter will not be resolved, Sir. We have to determine where we are going, not just as Barbadians but certainly as a collective, in terms of how we will engage the world. I know we have determined how this Barbados Labour Party will engage the world, and we know that through our engagement the deepening of our ties with countries on the African Continent is where our future lies, Sir. Therefore, it is in that context that I say this Government's actions have so far demonstrated our commitment and understanding that we have it within ourselves to chart a path which will give benefit to all of our people in this country.

Sir, I fully support the Resolution. It is not a subject matter that often comes before this Chamber in this way, but certainly over the last two years we have come to this Place to give action and to give light where the Government, operating in seriously constrained financial circumstances, has sought to empower and continue to deliver a better life certainly for all of our people. That is the commitment of this Government, Sir, but this fundamental matter requires deep thought, deep introspection and then deep action afterwards by all of us to be able to get the appropriate resolution. Sir, with those few words I am obliged to you.

Asides.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for Christ Church East.

Hon. W.A. ABRAHAMS: Mr. Speaker, I rise to lend my support to the Resolution that was brought by the Honourable Member for Christ Church South, my immediate neighbour. I am not surprised that he was the one to bring it. I am not surprised at the depth and thoroughness with which the Resolution was first presented. I want to compliment and commend everyone who has spoken so far. I find myself in the awkward position of having heard almost everything that was possible to be said on this matter, and the last thing that I had left to say was just said. However, being a man of initiative I will find more things to say. I endorse everything that was said so far with one exception. The Honourable Member for St. George North, said that we are all getting old and passing on. I wish to rebuke that from over this Side.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member, I heard the aside. Speak for himself.

Hon. W. A. ABRAHAMS: Sir, let me start on a serious note. I am going to be very brief. Not brief in the same way as the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central was brief, I mean actually brief. I just want to extend condolences to the family of Glenroy James and Christoff Griffith who met an unfortunate tragedy yesterday. It cannot be easy for the family, but I think the outpouring of sympathy and wishes would let them know that the whole of Barbados is sharing with them in their grief. It was unfortunate in how it happened and I just wanted to take comfort that Barbados is praying for them.

Sir, black lives matter, what does that really mean. We have heard black and proud, we speak about black pride and now we are at Black Lives Matter. This originated out of a heinous crime and indeed perpetrated against a black person in the United States, and everybody has spoken about that, it has been all over the press and ventilated to the point of exhaustion. I want to extract something from that is a bit more relevant to us here. When I did history for CXC there was a book, I cannot remember the name.

Asides.

Hon. W. A. ABRAHAMS: It might have been that, but there is a phrase in there that to control the slaves, the masters kept the slaves in profoundest ignorance. I believe, a lot of our difficulties as a race have to deal with how perceive ourselves how do we see ourselves. Our young people want to straighten their hair and bleach their skin. The World has almost gone on its head because the black women are trying to look like white women and the white women are padding their bottoms and pumping their lips to

look like black women. It seems almost that nobody is happy with how they look. For us to move forward as a people we need to first become comfortable in ourselves as a people. We need to become comfortable in our own skins. Yes, black lives matter, but black lives should matter most to us. It is all well and good for us to try to get people overseas and people who do not look like us to try to respect us and respect our lives, but we also do need to respect our own lives. It hurts me every time I see in Barbados another young man dead at the hands of another young man. I see some of those same people in the same demographic wearing the black live matter T-shirts and posting all of the black lives matter slogans on Instagram and hyping it on social media. However, I do not want them to just do it now, but the next time you are angry with another person, the next time you are moved to extreme anger or you feel that you have been wronged, recall then the slogans that you are chanting now and say that black lives matter and leave out the gun. Black lives matter and rather than going looking for the man who you think did you a wrong that you stay home and pray. When you think black lives matter, rather than going looking for trouble or going breaking into somebody's house, remember that person is probably black too and leave it out. Black lives should matter most to us.

Sir, the last thing that I actually wish to touch on. I am a very sociable person, I am as sociable as you get. Sir, when I was at law school, I was in the Hindu organisation and for Hindu week I was modeling in my sari, the Hindu wear, it is not a sari, you know what I am talking about and I was in the Hindu play. For the Muslim week I was up front and centre in my Muslim wear and in the Muslim functions. Whatever was going on regardless of who was putting it on, I Honourable Wilfred Abrahams was up there. I am not threatened by you who is the Muslim, I am not threatened by you who is the Hindu, I am not threatened by you who is the white person, and it has to do with how I perceived myself, not how you perceived me.

People fought for the rights for us to sit in the front of a bus. Rosa Parks sparked a whole movement by refusing to move from the front of a bus, but yet the bulk of our black people here in Barbados go into a room and we go and sit at the back. How many of our branch meetings, people come in and they head straight for the back. You go to lectures at the University, they head straight for the back. Actually we even love the back in the Cinema of an entirely different reason, but the point is, people fought for our right to come forward and we ignore all of that and we go back to the back. Sir when I go into a room I go to the front, I sit down in the front because that is how I perceive me. For us, our struggle has to start with the improvement of our perception of ourselves. When we start to see ourselves as worthy and we look in mirror and we recognise what we like, then we will look at the next person who looks like us also see them as worthy, because

we love ourselves, we love where we came from, we love all of the things connected to who we think we are. I am asking all of Barbados, as we chant this slogan black lives matter and as we wear the T-shirts black lives matter, as we put up the hashtag black lives matter, I want us to add on something else, black lives matter and black lives matter most to us because we are black.

Sir, having said all of that, I entirely support this Resolution and all that it stands for and I hope that coming out of this, coming out of the tragedy that led to this movement, that we can see this movement impacting our own people in Barbados, black, white or whoever you are, once you live here and you call yourself *bajan* let us see us treating each other differently and realising that we are all important. Sir, with those very few words, I wish to completely support this Resolution.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Member for St. Philip West.

Hon. J. A. KING: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I have listened and one of the things that continues to come across to me very clearly is that there is a lot of pain, anger, there is also in my mind a lot of work that needs to be done with our people.

Mr. Speaker, the situation that we are currently talking about with Mr. George Floyd has been going on in the United States of America from the very first time black people step foot on that place. It is nothing new. What has happened, is that with the social media platforms people have now gotten a chance to see these things happening in front their eyes, whereas they would have heard of it, but not seeing it, they probably did not respond the way that they would have responded now by having the chance to see it.

I want to put something to this Honourable Chamber, because I have heard people talk about what is happening in America a lot or what has happened in England and Europe. However, history has shown us that wherever the black man has been, he has suffered some sort of prejudice or some sort of racism. In the Middle East, Yemen, you see it. We were enslaved by Arabs, in Asia, we have seen it recently in China, if you search a little deeper, you see people in Japan talk about things they face too, you come in Americas it is the same thing. Whenever you see things like that it tells me that there is something about us that we do not even recognise in ourselves that makes the rest of the world have a problem with who we are. Could it be that others see the potential in us that we ourselves do not see and probably begin to fear this. Could it be that we have allowed ourselves in some ways to be our worst enemies? We have been having these conversations about Black empowerment for a long time. What concerns me most, let us deal with the Caribbean

alone, we have taken over reins of power so to speak, 60s majority of us, 50s some but 60s most of us. During this time a lot of the things that we keep talking about in my mind should have already been accomplished, so the question is what is it that stops us from doing the things that we know we should do for the improvement of ourselves time and time again.

I have listened and I have heard this talk about the educational system, I have heard this talk about religion, I have heard this talk about our inability to come together to do things but I think that this and a number of my colleagues have spoken about it, this may be the time, this may very well be the time when rather than spend time looking at what has been done to us, we begin to look to see what we have not done for ourselves and correct that. In today's world we continue to look to Europe to be our saviours, let us be frank.

The Honourable Member for St. James South would have mentioned the whole concept of reparations, how long have we been talking about reparations. I have sat and watch various people with academics, all sorts of people write long papers talking about reparations they have had the conversations from South Africa to wherever. Somebody mentioned 40 acres and a mule from the United States and the response has always been a resounding no. Are you going to sit down and keep asking about it? When are you going to understand they just say it is not coming? It is not coming. The time has come where we have to wake up and stop with this nonsense, nobody cares nothing about you. You trying your best to be everything to everybody except yourself, wake up nobody is giving you no reparation, you have to make your own way and the only way that you are going to do it is to stop talk, stop talking. That is all we get, talk. This is time to do and if you do not seize this moment and fall into the trap that you usually fall into, which is turning on each other like, keep my language clean, over nonsense, when there is a bigger picture to deal with a much bigger picture. Thank God that this Government has been able to do something that a lot of people do not seem to understand what is happening. This Government through the Ministry of the Creative Economy, Culture and Sport made the bold step to reach across the water to the continent specifically into Ghana to begin the process of bridging the gap between the continent and us in the diaspora in this part of the world. Significant strides in being in office for two years out of that what has happened? Parties from both sides have been to each other, nurses coming into Barbados, our sisters. Entrepreneurs from Barbados getting ready to do business, in fact, they have already started to do business in Ghana, which gives us a gate way to begin to shift where we spend our money and who we spend our money with. Since, at the end of the day, Marcus Garvey made the point, it ironic oh how we forget Africa for the Africans at home and abroad. We are becoming a part of the African Union and now Caribbean.

We have the opportunity to do something that will change the lives of people on both the continent and this region, Black people but now is the time to seize the moment. On this issue of reparations it cannot any longer be what a bunch of academics writing papers and going asking about it, this will require all heads of states where black people live must get up, all people who are in Parliaments where black people are involved must get up. People in the United States, Black people must get up and be a part of the conversation of reparations and People might ask: Why? I will tell you why, because we have been making a joke out of it for too long. If you are telling me that people sitting down in the British Parliament today, were paid by their own Governments for a loss of property it happened in their Parliament. They did not send academics out to go and talk for it. They put it into law in their Parliament to give reparations to the planters and descendants of the planters who still benefit from it today.

It was the equivalent of £300 billion today. We are sending all types of people except the leadership of the countries to talk about reparations. It cannot work. It is either you are serious or you are joking. Certainly, I cannot make jokes. Unlike a lot of people who talk, I know racism head on. I know what it is like to be walking into a primary school and have people call you a "golly-wog" or a monkey. I know it. Therefore, when I come to talk I do not talk from what I hear or see on social media. I know, feel and it is something I would not want to foster on my worst enemy because I know how it can make you feel.

What is even worse is when you come among your own and they want to make you feel less than a human being based on what? It is based on a person going to Harrison College, Queen's College, Combermere School or The Lodge School. So what? You are black as hell when it done and no white people do not care. None of them care. Take all of the black Presidents or Prime Ministers and put them in a truck and drive them through Europe with a big police entourage, people would wonder who are those criminals. Many people play that they are something big around here. Mr. Speaker, I went to Japan the other day. I have to talk now because I sat silent for a while.

I visited Japan and returned through Canada. I was the only black man in the baggage claim. A man came with a dog which sniffed my bags. I did not say anything. The dog said nothing and I did not either. Dog left and man returned with the dog again. This time he put his hand on my bag and the dog smelled. The dog had no reaction again and left. Next, another man with another dog came. I am now on the verge of losing it because if he comes twice, I can almost see that the handles of my bag were cut and undone, so I do not know what they were looking for.

The dog came followed by a different one which makes three. I had to tell my Deputy Permanent Secretary

that if a fourth dog visits, the Prime Minister will have to fire me because it will be hell in the airport. I am a Minister, Mr. Speaker, but the only black man in there. I went to the USA to represent Barbados and on leaving they asked me to stand and be scanned in the machine. I got scanned and on leaving, black employees told me that it was not done well and I may have to be re-scanned. I gave him a look and he said that he was only joking. I was not joking around though because I was finished with that. Those are my own people. He was not white, brown, yellow or purple. He was my own kind that did that nonsense.

When we are going to talk, we have to talk about how we treat each other. We have to talk about that because something is wrong and very wrong. I appreciate a lot of the things I hear people saying, including how Admiral Nelson's statue made them feel. However, no piece of cement or rocks or dead man cannot make John King feel bad. It would never happen. It cannot happen. How can a dead man make me feel bad? It means we have a problem that we have to solve. The thing is that we have to be able to stand in front of anything, anyone, anywhere in the world and be proud of who you are. You did not make yourself a slave, you were enslaved. They are two different things. You did not bring yourself down here. You did not put yourself in positions you find yourself in but ask yourself who other than us could take all of that and be here today. You do not even give yourself credit for what you do. We withstood all kinds of abuse; mental, physical and spiritual. Do not start me up because I am talking. You are going into church and bowing down. Everyone's God in the world look like them except our God. You tell me not to say this but why not? Why am I not to say so? Am I a clown? Everyone's God look like them. However, as soon as we have that kind of conversation everyone is vexed. I do not understand what you are saying about yourself. You cannot even say to yourself that you want your God to look like you.

I would find it very strange that I am being beaten up and injustice but when I go to church to say Hallelujah, I see the same man. Something has to be wrong. Mr. Speaker, I will not hold up any more of the time. We have to get serious about this because it is a serious problem. It is a very serious problem. I believe this is a moment where there is energy on the ground with our young people who may probably not be as exhausted as those of us who have been in this fight for so many years. They have the energy, they have all the things that you need to push through so if it is, the removal of a dead man statue, move it. If it is the removal of some things in the educational system that does not serve us, move it. If it is getting ourselves to look at ourselves in a completely different way, to appreciate ourselves for who we are, move it and as the Honourable Member for Christ Church East said, the violence against ourselves, move that too. I bet you that when we move that

and we move those things, all of the other things that are problems for us, will cease to exist and the good thing about it is, when you do it for yourself, nobody could not do it better.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I thank you for allowing me.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for St. Michael North West.

Mr. N. G. H. ROWE: Mr. Speaker, I know the hour is late and I will try to be as brief as possible.

Sir, I rise as a black man to act as a buttress to fully support this Resolution and the words echoed by my black brother and Honourable Member for Christ Church South. Mr. Speaker, I sat and listened to the Honourable Member for Christ Church South as he expressed his profound empathy against anti-black racism towards the lives loss in the United States of America (USA).

Mr. Speaker, it should not take George Floyd to lose his life to know that Black Lives Matter. It should not take Rashad Brookes to lose his life to know that Black Lives Matter. It should not take many others to loss their lives to know that Black Lives Matter. Mr. Speaker, Black Lives Matter no matter what the circumstances are. Mr. Speaker, Black Lives Matter no matter who you are. Racism across the world, Mr. Speaker, did not start today. Racism across the world did not start yesterday. The word race is a concept that was created as a classification of human beings with the purpose of giving power and to legitimise the dominance of white people over our black people.

Mr. Speaker, the United States of America (USA) where the late George Floyd died is a perfect example of this reality. When we bleed, we all bleed blood. We do not bleed white blood or black blood. We all bleed the same colour blood. When God created us, he did not create us unequal. I am a servant of God who wish to preach the gospel and I will quote Acts Chapter 10 and verse 34:

"So Peter opened his mouth and said, Truly I understand that God shows no partiality."

God created all of us equally. We, as black people, need to stand in unity at all times. We as black people cannot stand in unity only when a black man's life is taken by a white man who is racist. Mr. Speaker, we as black people need to send a strong message against racism. I have a friend that said to me three years ago, his boss at that point and time, Sir, was a white man and my friend stated to me that his boss said to him that if he knew putting guns in black people's hands would cause them to kill each other that is something the white people would have done back in the days of slavery. We as black people need to stop destroy each other in the eyes of those who are

racist. We as black people need to stop gunning down each other in the eyes of those who are racist. We as black people need to stop our wicked actions against each other in the eyes of those who are racist. Black Lives Matter and this message has to start among us as black people, Mr. Speaker. Black Lives Matter and we as black people, our lives are just as important as any white man's life who is racist. Mr. Speaker, Black Lives Matter and we, as black people, should not look down on our brothers and sisters in the eyes of those who are racist. Black Lives Matter, Mr. Speaker, and we as black people should not kick down the ladder of opportunities and betterment. We must not stop our black brothers and sister from becoming successful in the eyes of those who are racist. We as black people, our brothers and sisters must stand in unity at all times in order to fight racism across the world. We need to let those who are racist across the world know that Black Lives Matter. The late Martin Luther King Jnr. spoke about the three evils in the world. The three major evils, 1) the evil of racism, 2) the evil of poverty, and 3) the evil of war. I wish to echo the words of the late black brother, the evil of racism:

"Now let us turn first to the evil of racism. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racism is still alive all over America. Racial injustice is still the Negro's burden and America's shame. And we must face the hard fact that many Americans would like to have a nation which is a democracy for white Americans but simultaneously a dictatorship over black Americans. We must face the fact that we still have much to do in the area of race relations."

I conclude, Mr. Speaker, that we as black people must bond together and fight against racism across the world together. I thank you, Sir.

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

Mr. R. A. THORNE: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I trust that I would have met the mandate in introducing the Resolution some 12 or 13 hours ago and it is now left for me only to wrap up the entire debate but I could not do so unless I ask this Chamber to acknowledge the presence even at this late hour of the Most Honourable Anthony Carter. It is an honour most deserving and it is significant that he is here. I believe that he is here in a representative capacity and I believe that he would not mind that we mention the names of those other patriots who really carried this country to a large extent. When some of us in here were not even born they were giving identity to a new Barbados, himself, persons like Richard Stoute, Clarence Thompson, Lord Radio and now Sir Emile Straker who recited the physical beauty of this country in the famous song "Beautiful Barbados." At a time when Barbados was struggling to establish an identity, I call them patriots, these patriots were in the vanguard of

the movement to give Barbados its identity. All too often we tend to focus on politicians and if you ask who was the representative for a particular constituency in 1973, 73 per cent of the persons you asked would not remember but if you ask most Barbadians who sang "Emmerton" they will remember and if you ask most Barbadians who sang "Beautiful Barbados" they will remember and that is why I say that these were the men in the vanguard of giving Barbados an identity when we were struggling to establish that identity even after formal independence in 1966 and therefore most honourable Anthony Carter it gives me pleasure to see you here and to pay homage to you and to give you highest honours on my behalf and on the behalf of the Parliament. I know that you attended this debate for its significance and I will not speak about you for the entirety of this wrap up but to say to you that you have nothing else to prove in this country. After what you have done, after what you have written, after your voice of protest has been heard across this country and across this region and across this world there is nothing else for you to prove. You have made your mark; you have done your duty.

Sir, this debate is important. It touches on issues that all too often makes us uncomfortable and it is a tribute to this Chamber that it has extended beyond 12 hours including the lunch breaks of course. The test of this country's maturity is when it is able to discuss and debate the uncomfortable topics because we will not progress as a nation unless we are able to meet each other on uncomfortable terrains and to resolve the major issues that confront us and this is a major issue that confronts this country. Today I spoke of legacy, and none of us in this room, none of us in this Chamber will be able to truthfully say that this country or the state of this country at this point is the same as it was 40 years ago. Whether it has modernised or whether it has developed and it certainly modernised but modernisation is not always development but if we comfort ourselves with the view that we have developed 40 years later it is now our duty to ensure that 40 years from now that this would be a different country. We have not reached our ultimate point in our development and if this topic has been one that retards our development for our reluctance to discuss it, for our reluctance to confront it as a major issue towards this country's ultimate development, I think it has to be discussed and we have to leave this discussion as part of the legacy for a better Barbados 10, 20, 30, 40 years from now, and so I am pleased Your Honour that I have been a part of it, I am pleased that I received the mandate to introduce the Resolution and to lead off the debate. As I said it has been an honour, it is my duty as a Member of this Parliament and I would like to thank all persons who spoke. The views were divergent, in some cases they were funny and the good Lord knows sometimes we need some relief from the rigours of debate that is a little uncomfortable at times, but I would like to thank all those persons who spoke and I would like to thank all persons who also did not speak but

their presence here was important as moral support and to hope that this debate is not something that we shall visit as some kind of excursion but that we would recognise that it is fundamental and that it touches and concerns almost all areas of political life.

I heard the Honourable Member for Christ Church East Central says, and he says it quite often, I am an economist but he is also a politician and he is also a social scientist and he should not speak with any apology when debates of this nature come before him not only because he is competent and more than competent to address this issue but because this issue touches and concerns every portfolio in this Government and there is no Minister nor is there any Member of Parliament that will say that he or she will traverse the political terrain unless he or she is called upon to confront the issue that has met us here today. Let it not be a season but let it be the consciousness of this important issue visit all of us in our deliberations in our policies as we traverse the political terrain.

Your Honour I believe that I have expended the short time you have given me at close to midnight and I shall not trouble you any further except to thank you for your patience and to thank you for the opportunity that you have given to his Chamber to debate this matter. I am obliged to you and good night, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that this Resolution do now pass.

Hon. K.A. HUMPHREY: I beg to second that, Sir.

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

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS(Revert)

ORDER NO. 14 – RESOLUTION TO EXTEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH EMERGENCY

Mr. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for the City of Bridgetown, you have the Floor.

Lt. Col. the Hon. J. D. BOSTIC: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Resolution has its genesis really in the Proclamation that was issued on 28th March, 2020, and expired on 27th April, 2020. It was then extended until 30th June, 2020, and has not yet been revoked. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we are seeking to do here is to further extend the Proclamation to the 31st day of August, 2020.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think I owe it to this Honourable House to explain the rationale for the extension. I do so because I think it is kind of ironic that we are seeking the extension today, and [that] today is actually, I believe precisely, one month since this country had recorded its last

positive case in terms of local transmission. You would recall that we would have had five cases that were repatriated persons who on arrival would have been tested and the positive results were issued by the laboratory on the following day, but we have now gone about one month without having any [more] cases. Sir, I will forgive anyone who may ask the question in the circumstances as to why we are seeking this extension.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I need to say that today I would have spent the entire day attending a Pan American Health Organisation Executive Committee Meeting and there was a very interesting presentation on COVID-19 response within the Americas. Sir, a number of challenges were presented from Pan American Health Organisation, challenges to the countries of the region in dealing with COVID-19 and going forward. Mr. Speaker, Sir, of all those challenges there is one that stood out in my mind; it is the fact that it is said that there is a gap which exists between authorities communicating the risks associated with COVID-19 and the interventions that are required to mitigate those risks, against the perception of those risks by the general public (the perception of the risks by the general public.) Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to posit that the extension of the Public Health Emergency here is Barbados is the cornerstone in our efforts to close that gap between public perception of the risks and communicating the risks and the mitigation of those risks by the authorities.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to make it very, very clear that yes, we have not had a case in about one month, but that should not be taken to mean that there is no longer a problem, that there is no longer an international pandemic, and that we no longer have a public health emergency. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I say that because we are not operating in a silo and we do not live in a bubble; Barbados has a close and intimate relationship with the Organisation of Eastern Developing States and to extend that to CARICOM and we are [also] a part of the Americas. Sir, if you had been following the news recently, you would recognise that the Americas is the epicenter for COVID-19, the Americas, and out of the nine million confirmed cases of COVID-19 globally, approximately 50 per cent of those cases have been recorded in the Americas. Sir, if I can bring it a little closer to home, almost 4.5 million cases have now been reported in the Americas. The Americas is now the place for the most new cases and within a 24-hour period, for example, out of 152 000 new cases, 90 000 of those cases were recorded in the Americas. I want to indicate also that in the top ten countries in the world in terms of positive COVID-19 cases there are five countries in the Americas that are in the top 10 and the sixth country within the top 15 countries in the world: the United States of America with 25 per cent of the world's cases, approximately 2.3 million, followed by Brazil with 1.2 million or 12 per cent, followed by Peru and Chile with over 250 000 cases, then Mexico with 185 000 cases.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, why am I saying this? Those of us in here who know our geography would know that a CARICOM country called Guyana shares a common border with Brazil on its south and south-western sides, also Suriname shares a border to the south with Brazil. Mr. Speaker, Sir, all of that is to say to you and to all those persons in this Honourable Chamber that as long as the situation continues not only globally but in the Americas and when we consider the fact that although Europe is kind of leveling off at the moment but still the United Kingdom having 306 000 cases, our source markets, for example, Canada, United States of America, Europe, where we get our direct flights we still have to be extremely vigilant and that is why we are seeking to extend that Public Health Emergency because admittedly, we are in a good position at this point in time. Sir, being in this position is as a result of not only the hard work of public health officials and those other agencies such as the non-governmental organisations, the Social Partnership, Labour Movement, the churches, among others, but it is equally because of the cooperation and collaboration with the vast majority of Barbadians. there are very few people who might have been flaunting the protocols and so on but we are satisfied that Barbadians for the most part have been disciplined, sensible and have cooperated with us and that is what has led us to this point. However all of that could easily go through the window by a few imported cases if we do not have the right protocols in place.

Sir, the extension of the Public Health Emergency Bill would allow us to be able to escalate, if we need to escalate in terms of the measures that we are adopting, and also to facilitate the operation of several areas on our response to the pandemic. For example, the nurses that we have here from Cuba are here under and as a result of the Public Health Emergency Declaration because that gives certain powers to the Minister of Health and Wellness to be able to do that. Even at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital there are some regulations that have been passed in this Honourable House and enacted in this House to allow the hospital to add various compounds and facilities to the infrastructure for the management of this pandemic; for example, when we had the Blackman-Gollop School it came under the QEH. Harrison Point at the moment is functioning as a QEH facility for obvious reasons, so there is every good in what is being done here and I do not think I have to go into very much more long talk, really, except to say that all of this is to allow us to continue to manage what is still a public health emergency and a pandemic. There are going to be ebbs and flows. There are times when we will scale down the response as we are doing right now, but although we are scaling down the response we are now preparing for what can happen later, so that we would be in a position to manage our response and to stay on top of things. I dare say that the passing of this Resolution by extending the public health emergency will continue to provide teeth for the Ministry of Health and Wellness, and

by extension for the Government and country as we continue to manage the COVID-19 pandemic. Sir, with those few words I beg to move that the Resolution do now pass.

Hon. Miss M.K-A. CADDLE: I beg to second that, Sir.

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

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable Leader of Government Business.

ADJOURNMENT

Hon. Miss S.J.O. BRADSHAW: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. With that we have come to the end of today's Sitting. I just want to thank all Honourable Members for being patient for the course of today's Sitting. I beg to move that this Sitting be adjourned until July 7 at 10 a.m.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before we adjourn tonight's Sitting, on behalf of my family and I, the entire Parliament inclusive of the Clerk, the Deputy Clerk, the Marshal, the Deputy Marshal and all the ancillary staff of Parliament, I wish to extend sincere condolences to the families of Glenroy James and Christoff Griffith in relation to the horrific deaths that occurred on June 22, 2020. I know the father of Christoff personally; a very astute and good police officer, and I knew Christoff also because he attended Charles F. Broome Primary, the same school as my last daughter, so I wish to extend sincere condolences to the family.

The question that the Sitting do now adjourn until Tuesday, July 7, 2020, at 10 a.m. in the forenoon was put and resolved in the affirmative without division and His Honour THE SPEAKER adjourned the Sitting accordingly.

CONTENTS

PAPERS

- Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADHSAW.....2
1. The audited Financial Statements for the Board of Management of Deighton Griffith Secondary School for the Financial Years, March 31, 2009 to March 31, 2016.
 2. The audited Financial Statements and Annual Report of the activities of the Board of Management of Harrison College for the Financial Year, April 2013 to March 2014.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

- Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADHSAW.....2
- Hon. E. G. Hinkson, 2.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

- ORDER NO. 4.....2
- Hon. K. D. M. Humphrey, 6; Bishop the Hon. J. J. S. Atherley, 6, 9, 10; Hon. K. D. Symmonds, 10, 14; Hon. Miss M. K-A. Caddle, 14, 18.

RESUMPTION

ORDER NO. 4 (resumed)

Hon. T. A. Prescod, 19, 22, 23; Hon. C. E. Jordan, 24, 27; Hon. E. G. Hinkson, 28, 31, 32; Hon. I. A. Weir, 32, 35; Hon. Miss S. J. O. Bradshaw, 36; Hon. M. A. Mottley, 40, 41, 45; Dr. S. E. Browne, 46, 48; Hon. A. R. Forde, 49, 51; Hon. Miss C. S. V. Husbands, 52.

RESUMPTION

ORDER NO. 4 (resumed)

Hon. C. R. Griffith, 55; Hon. Miss C. Y. Forde, 57, 59, 60, 61; Hon. K. D. M. Humphrey, 62, 63, 64, 75; Hon. G. A. Clarke, 65; Hon. R. R. Straughn, 68, 69; Hon. W. A. Abrahams, 70; Hon. J. A. King, 71; Mr. N. G. H. Rowe, 73; Mr. R. A. Thorne, 74.

- ORDER NO. 14 – RESOLUTION TO EXTEND THE
PUBLIC HEALTH EMERGENCY.....75
- Lt. Col. the Hon. J. D. Bostic, 75; Hon. Miss M. K-A. Caddle, 76.

- SUSPENSIONS.....19, 55.

- ADJOURNMENT.....76
- Hon. Miss S. J. O. Bradshaw, 76.

SPEAKERS IN THIS ISSUE

ABRAHAMS, Hon. W. A.
ATHERLEY, Bishop the Hon. J. J. S.
BOSTIC, Lt. Col. the Hon. J. D.
BRADHSAW, Hon. Miss S. J. O.
BRADSHAW, Hon. Miss S. J. O.
BROWNE, Dr. S. E.
CADDLE, Hon. Miss M. K-A.
CLARKE, Hon. G. A.
FORDE, Hon. A. R.
FORDE, Hon. Miss C. Y.
GRIFFITH, Hon. C. R.
HINKSON, Hon. E. G.
HUMPHREY, Hon. K. D. M.
HUSBANDS, Hon. Miss C. S. V.
JORDAN, Hon. C. E.
KING, Hon. J. A.
MOTTLEY, Hon. M. A.
PRESCOD, Hon. T. A.
ROWE, Mr. N. G. H.
STRAUGHN, Hon. R. R.
SYMMONDS, Hon. K. D.
THORNE, Mr. R. A.
WEIR, Hon. I. A.

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EDITORIAL NOTES — NOT PART OF THE REPORT

Prepared with the transcript; for checking against the recording and the Minutes.

EDITORIAL QUERIES

Points noted while preparing this report from the edited transcript. The text has not been altered except where stated.

Q1. Masthead. The session is not stated in the source, so no session line is printed.

Q2. Order No. 4, Mr. R. A. Thorne's opening speech. Mr. R. A. Thorne's speech moving the Resolution (about 2,900 words) is printed under the label 'Mr. SPEAKER'; the paragraph begins 'Honourable Member for Christ Church South. Mr. R. A. THORNE: I am obliged to you, Mr. Speaker.' Printed as in the source.

Q3. Suspension of Standing Orders. The motion lists 'Standing Orders 6, 16, 18, 20, 42(5), 43 and 43'; the usual list ends '43 and 44'. Printed as in the source.

Q4. Speech labels. Some labels differ from the usual forms: 'Hon. Miss S. J. O. BRADHSAW' (Papers and Orders of the Day), 'Hon. K.A. HUMPHREY' beside Hon. K. D. M. HUMPHREY, and both 'Hon. M. A. MOTTLEY' and 'Hon. Miss M. A. MOTTLEY' for the Prime Minister. Printed as in the source.

Q5. Order No. 4, Mr. R. A. Thorne's opening speech. The lines of poetry Mr. R. A. Thorne quotes are set partly as separate lines and partly run together in one paragraph ('To bend on a planet of misery is revelation like apocalypse No longer the trunk of a palm ...'). Printed as in the source.

DEBATE SUMMARY

(Editorial summary — not part of the record.)

The House of Assembly met at 10.15 a.m. on Tuesday, 23rd June, 2020 at the Worthing Corporate Centre, with Mr. Speaker in the Chair; prayers were taken by the Reverend Mark Harewood. The Minutes of 16th June were deferred. Hon. Miss S. J. O. Bradshaw laid audited financial statements of the Board of Management of the Deighton Griffith Secondary School for 2009 to 2016 and of Harrison College for 2013-2014, and Standing Orders were suspended. The Speaker announced that each Member would have a maximum of 30 minutes on Private Members' Business.

Mr. R. A. Thorne moved Order No. 4, a Resolution by which the House reconfirmed Barbados' commitment to human rights and to the eradication of anti-Black racism, extended condolences to the family of the late George

Floyd, supported the principle that 'Black Lives Matter', and offered Barbados' help to regional and international efforts against racism. He first expressed sympathy for Mr. Glenroy James and Mr. Christoff Griffith, who had died the day before, applauded the young Barbadians of African, European and Indian descent who had marched in Bridgetown, and quoted Martin Carter. Hon. K. D. M. Humphrey seconded.

The Leader of the Opposition, Bishop J. J. S. Atherley, supported the Resolution but argued for distributive justice and policy change, referring to the 30-love mandate, alien land-holding legislation, community-based cooperatives and the removal of the Queen; the Speaker repeatedly asked him to wind up. Hon. K. D. Symmonds thanked the Prime Minister for placing the matter early on the Order Paper and referred to further shootings of unarmed black men in the United States. Hon. Miss M. K-A. Caddle said that calls for police accountability did not mean dislike of the police. After the suspension, Hon. T. A. Prescod said that monuments 'must come down' and that the matter of beach land would not lie dormant; Hon. C. E. Jordan traced racism to the foundations of slavery; Hon. E. G. Hinkson spoke of the 8 minutes and 46 seconds of George Floyd's death and said that symbols matter; and Hon. I. A. Weir quoted statements against racial discrimination.

Hon. Miss S. J. O. Bradshaw described racism experienced by her family in the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister, Hon. M. A. Mottley, recalled the controversy in the mid-1980s over emancipation lectures and acknowledged the presence of the Most Honourable Anthony Carter. Dr. S. E. Browne spoke of colour prejudice among her patients and exchanged remarks with the Speaker about pictures of people handing out hampers; Hon. A. R. Forde and Miss C. S. V. Husbands, who spoke on reinsurance costs, also supported the Resolution. The House was suspended until 8.30 p.m.

In the evening Hon. C. R. Griffith, Hon. Miss C. Y. Forde, who called for teaching about culture and the Landship, Hon. K. D. M. Humphrey, who described slavery as institutionalised murder and read from a letter of Nelson, Hon. G. A. Clarke, Hon. R. R. Straughn, who said he had felt uncomfortable travelling only in the United States, Hon. W. A. Abrahams, Hon. J. A. King, who raised reparations, and Mr. N. G. H. Rowe all spoke in support. Replying close to midnight, after more than 12 hours of debate, Mr. Thorne said that the test of the country's maturity was its ability to debate uncomfortable topics, and the Resolution was agreed to without division.

Reverting to Government Business, Lt. Col. the Hon. J. D. Bostic moved Order No. 14, the Resolution to extend the Public Health Emergency. He explained that the Proclamation of 28th March, 2020 had been extended to 30th June and was now to be extended to 31st August, although a month had passed without a case of local

transmission, and that the emergency underpinned the presence of the Cuban nurses and the use of facilities such as Harrison Point. The Resolution was agreed to. The Speaker extended condolences to the families of Mr. James and Mr. Griffith, and the House was adjourned until Tuesday, 7th July, 2020 at 10.00 a.m.