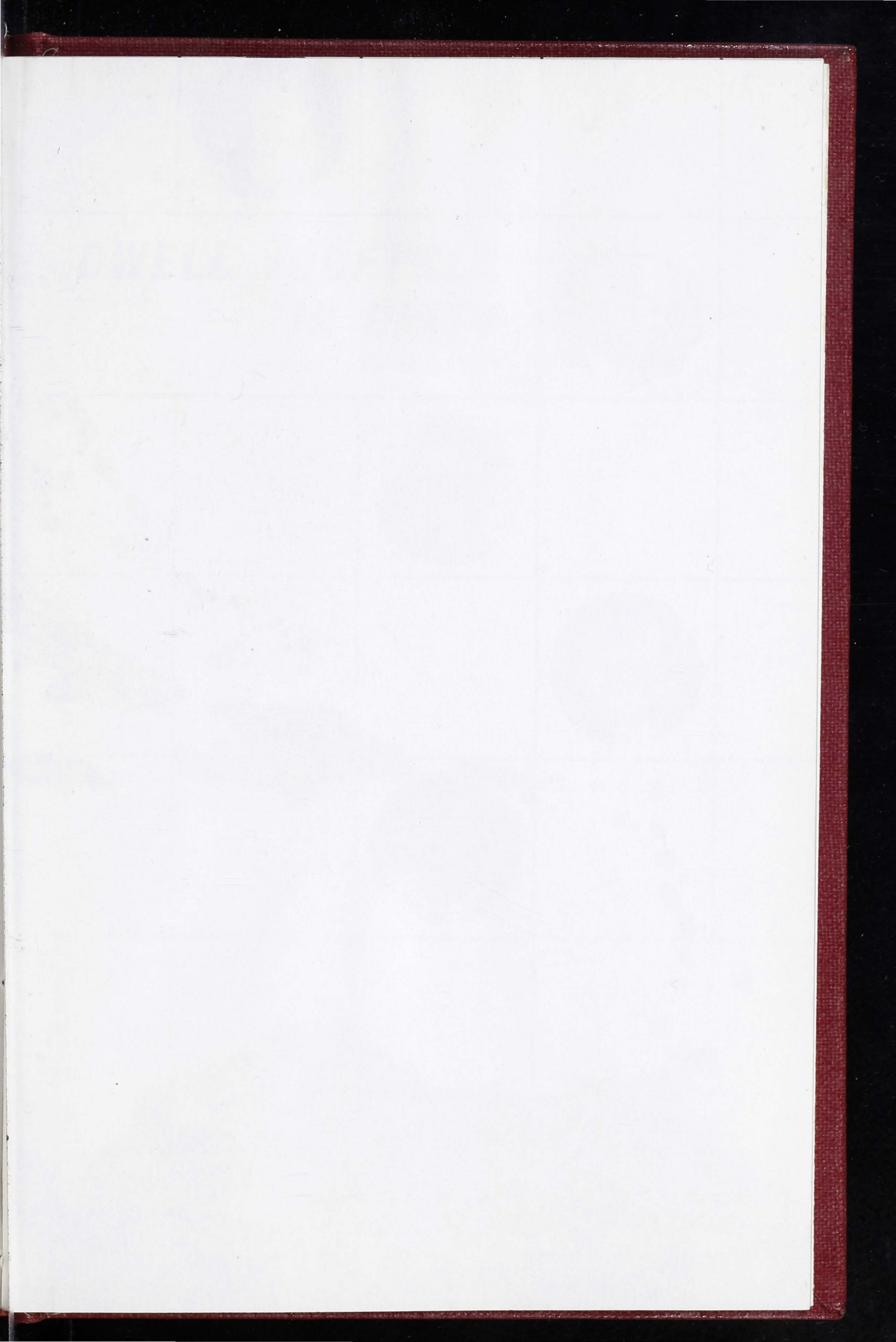


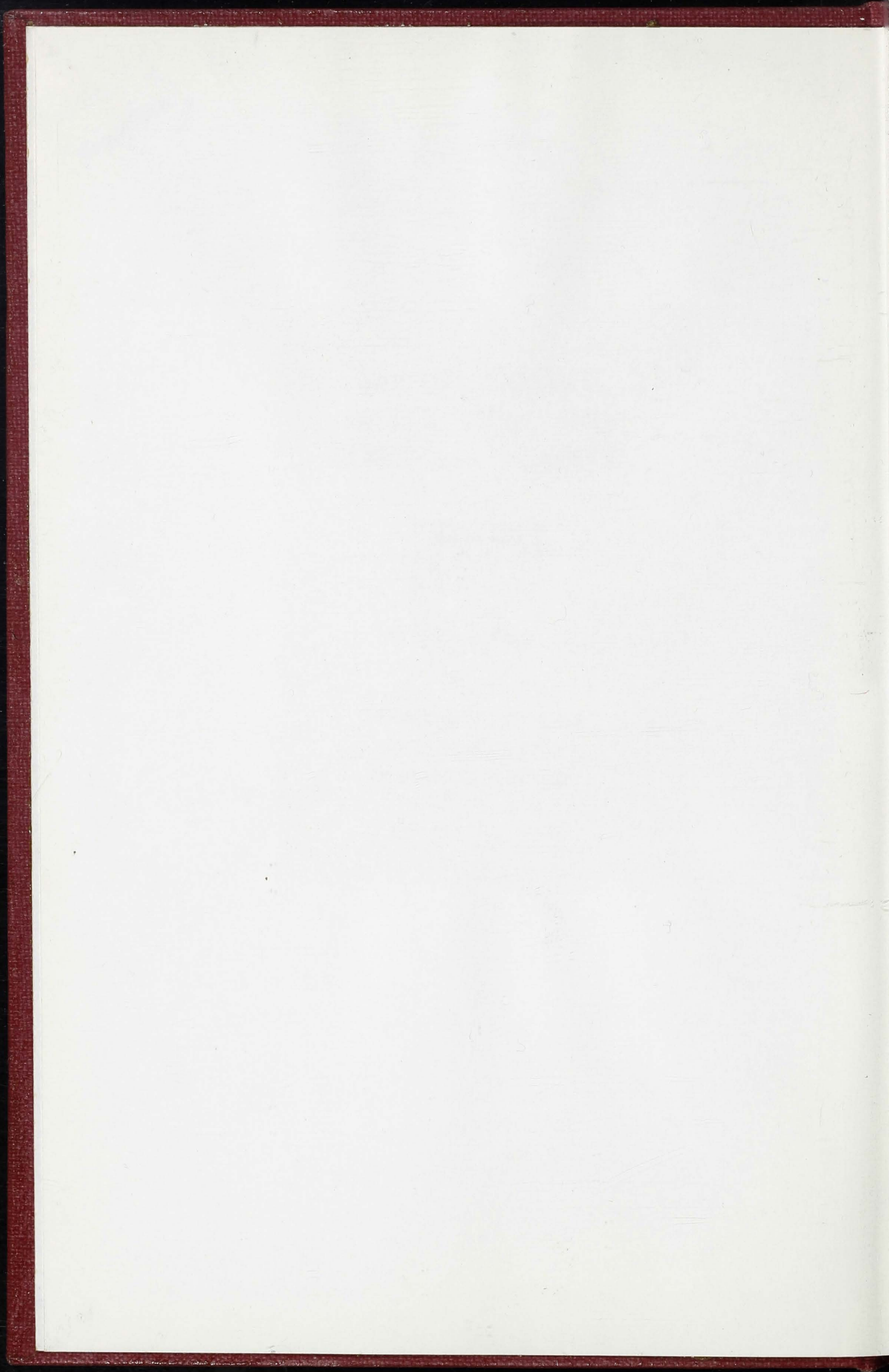
Room 181
(Chemist)

BRITISH LIBRARY
OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE



LONDON SCHOOL OF
ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE



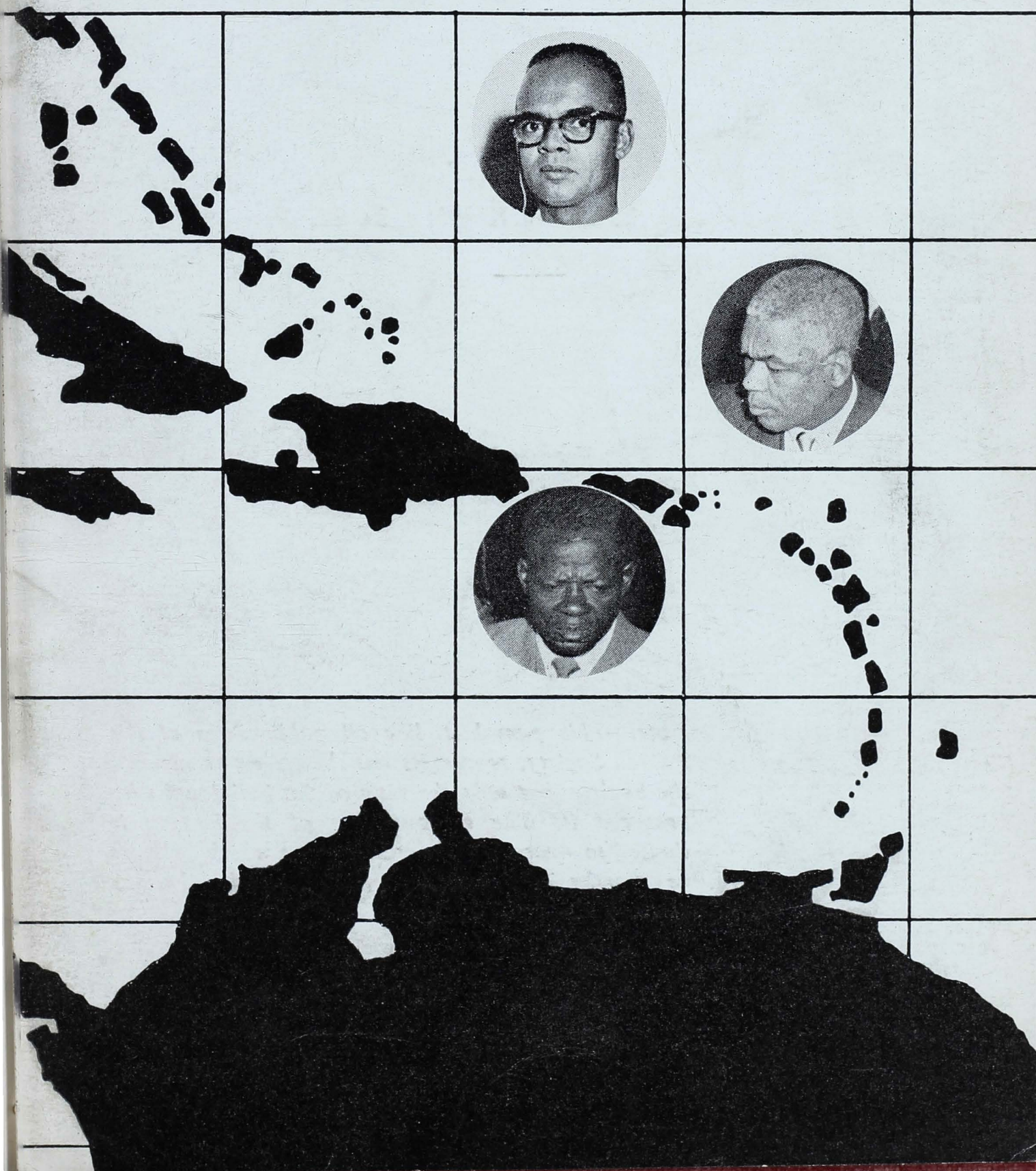




BP 16 1511 (31)

DWELL TOGETHER IN UNITY

JOHN HATCH



JOHN HATCH is Commonwealth Officer of the British Labour Party. He visited the British West Indies in 1957 on behalf of the Labour Party, and at the invitation of the West Indies Federal Labour Party.

FABIAN TRACT 313

Price in the United Kingdom 3s. 0d.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY
11 Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.

Note.—This pamphlet, like all publications of the Fabian Society, represents not the collective view of the Society, but only the view of the individual who prepared it. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving the publications which it issues as worthy of consideration within the Labour Movement.

April, 1958

Foreword

A NEW free nation in the Commonwealth is in process of being established. The initiative for the Federation was taken by the British Government, but it owes its being to the people of the West Indies themselves, who with many discouragements have shaped it through their representatives and endowed it with the authority it has now assumed. The individual colonies have steadily moved to democratic self-government in recent years, while the idea of Federation has taken root. The powers of the new Federal Government are just those which the individual territories have surrendered to it. The new association has sprung from the belief that a closer union of the colonies could produce not only the dimensions, resources and stature of a self-governing nation, but could also bring a mobilisation of resources which would promote the welfare of the people generally. The Federal Parliament is now elected, and the Federation inaugurated with British financial aid. There are considerable difficulties ahead, but great obstacles have already been overcome, and with faith and work the West Indies will succeed in attaining the independent status they seek. John Hatch in this pamphlet gives us the character and politics of the islands which make up the Federation. He writes of the problems confronting this first experiment and the personalities and parties which give colour to its lively political life. He made a journey for the Labour Party a few months ago with the intent of assisting the labour political movement in its organisation throughout the Federation, and now he informs us of the political and economic problems which face the movement. His pamphlet is therefore especially appropriate in this first year of the Federation's life.

A. J. CREECH JONES.

Foreword

NEW has arisen in the Communist Party in process of being established. The initiative for the formation was taken by the British Government but it was the chief of the work of the War Office that the main responsibility was placed upon it. It is a very important matter and it is the only one that has not been discussed and discussed in the past. The fact that the Government has now assumed the initiative in this matter is a very important one. The Government has now assumed the initiative in this matter is a very important one. The Government has now assumed the initiative in this matter is a very important one.



I. Peoples of the West Indies

WEST INDIANS are gay and effervescent. Whether they are happy is another matter. Can anyone be happy living on £1 a week in a single room built of bamboo and palm thatch haunted by the constant spectre of unemployment? Yet these people have developed an irrepressible sense of fun and whimsicality. They have learned to laugh at their own troubles and at those of their neighbours. Everything has its comical side, whether it be a broken leg, falling off a bicycle, or defeat in a test match. Perhaps this is their screen against miserable realities. It certainly sends constant waves of laughter across all these dazzling islands, but it sometimes seems to stem from a sense of hopelessness, a feeling that effort is pointless.

West Indians are noisy, quarrelsome, cheerful, and above all they are always colourful. Against their background of lush tropical greens, scarlets, yellows and deep marine blues, they scorn the drab and insist on matching the vivid hues of nature in their own dress and ornament. Virtually all of them are immigrants to the islands, and they bring with them the colours, customs and appearance of Africa, Asia and Europe. Black, yellow, brown and white faces mingle together with the infinite variety of shades produced by centuries of inter-union; the Moslem mosque lies between the Anglican or Roman Catholic church and the fluttering Hindu prayer flag. Colour, variety, noise and restlessness are rampant everywhere.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

The original inhabitants of the islands have completely died out. When Columbus first discovered these volcanic humps during his famous 1492 voyage, he found three sets of people; a handful of primitive cave dwellers, the peaceable, agricultural Arawaks, and aggressive Caribs who had invaded from the mainland. The Arawaks were completely destroyed by the Spaniards through warfare, massacres, disease or forced labour. The Caribs were tougher and their communities survived for three hundred years. There are, indeed, one or two small Carib communities still living in certain islands, particularly in Dominica, though most of them now are of mixed descent.

The Europeans who crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies came as conquerors, pirates, settlers, or traders. They were drawn from a wide variety of European nations: first Spain and Portugal, then England, Holland, France, and later even a few from Latvia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

THE SLAVE TRADE

Already, when the Spanish settlements began, African slaves had been imported into Europe by the Portuguese to work in the households of the rich. When the Spanish settlers found local labour unsuitable for their West Indian gold mines and sugar estates, therefore, they turned with experience to African slaves to supply their needs. Thus began the slave trade across the Atlantic which was to last for over three hundred years, to become one of the most lucrative commercial enterprises of Western Europe, and to supply the West Indies with the vast majority of their inhabitants. At the height of the trade, during the eighteenth century, an average of over 20,000 a year were torn from their African homes, transported in the notorious slavers across the Atlantic, there to be sold in the markets of Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua and the other islands to plantation owners. Most of the slaves were taken from West Africa and came from all walks of life; chiefs, elders and commoners indiscriminately herded together from a wide variety of tribes, Fanti, Ashanti, Yoruba, Ibo, Jollofs and the rest. They spoke different languages and observed diverse tribal customs; there was thus little opportunity for the slave peoples to establish a single community. Even today there are differences amongst West Indian Negroes which are traceable to their varied ancestry.

Caribs, a variety of Europeans, Africans from different roots and countries — what other community has known such a mixture? Yet there is one more racial group to be added to this kaleidoscope. After the slaves had been freed in the nineteenth century another labour shortage soon appeared. It was filled, as in many other colonies, from Asia, mainly by Indians but also by a number of Chinese. The Asians usually came as indentured labourers and stayed to adopt their new home when their indentures were completed. They too came from various parts of the Indian sub-continent and from China, bringing new tongues, customs and religions to the West Indies.

DIVERSITY AND LIFE

Thus, throughout these islands, the West Indian peoples are made up of immigrants from a wide variety of societies with varied cultures and traditions, often speaking different languages and following different religions. Each is making its own special contribution to the rich, colourful diversity of this multiple community, and from the amalgam something is now emerging as specifically West Indian. Just as many West Indians combine various proportions of African, European and Indian blood in their veins, so there is slowly developing a culture and consciousness which draws itself from each of the streams which together make up the West Indies, but which is a new entity in its own right.

Four principal factors have influenced the development of the West Indian peoples. The first was European control. For centuries these islands were prizes continually fought over between the Spaniards, English, Dutch and French. Many of them changed hands several times, and in the process adopted cultural traits from different European nations. A French patois, for example, is still widely spoken in the British islands of St. Lucia and Dominica. This emphasis on European interests has also tended to lay the lines of communication between the islands and Britain or North America, leaving practically no contact between the peoples of the islands themselves.

SUNSHINE — AND STORM

The second influence is climate. Like most tropical lands, the warm sunshine and plentiful vegetation has made life comparatively easy to sustain at a subsistence level, but enervating humidity and lack of natural resources has made it much more difficult to find the effort or opportunity to develop a modern standard of life. Moreover, the whole area constantly suffers from hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tropical floods and droughts, which frequently destroy human life and all the progress made in developing natural wealth.

The third factor has been the predominance of sugar production. The Spaniards introduced sugar growing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it rapidly became the one important crop produced throughout the area. It could readily be sold in Europe, where the pattern of life was changing through the industrial revolution, new tastes were being acquired, and large numbers of people flocking into the towns where their food had to be supplied cheaply and in bulk. But the production of sugar needs certain social and economic conditions. It demands a large supply of cheap unskilled labour, together with the facilities for processing quickly before the cane perishes. Not only are plantations required, but also sugar mills with their power, furnaces, vessels and transport. Most of the islands are still dotted with ruined windmills which originally supplied these needs. Growing sugar successfully, therefore, required considerable capital and labour, creating a social pattern of wealthy landowner surrounded by thousands of slaves. What is more, the price of the commodity fluctuated widely according to circumstances external to West Indian life itself. As a consequence economic security has been practically unknown throughout the history of the West Indian peoples.

SLAVERY LEAVES ITS MARK

The most profound influence on West Indians, however, conditioning character, temperament, and social outlook, was the institution of slavery. Slave society, even when operated with the maximum humanity,

necessarily brutalises. It is essentially based on complete possession of man by man. But human beings are not commodities and can never permanently accept that guise. When, as is equally essential to slave society, large numbers of men, women and children are the absolute property of a handful of masters, fear becomes the primary social tension. The oligarchy of masters lives constantly surrounded by the masses it has enslaved. Extremes of wealth and poverty live daily side by side, the one dependant on the other. Rebellions may be infrequent, but they are always anticipated. Humane masters or managers are immediately suspected of being traitors to their class. Violence and harshness are insisted on as the only protection. Not only the masters but the slaves themselves inevitably become conditioned to brutality. Cunning and sychophancy are the premium for patronage and promotion, whilst strength of character, self-respect, and dignity are considered dangerous insolence. Men offer their wives, sisters and daughters to their masters in the hope of preferment, whilst the highest ambition of a slave woman is to become mistress to a superior.

GREAT WEALTH — GREAT POVERTY

Even in an age in which extremes of wealth and poverty, accompanied by violent sanctions for the protection of property, were commonplace amongst free men, slave society took on a specially revolting character. The great house, set in its gardens, such as Rose Hall, still standing in the north of Jamaica, with its fine gentlemen and ladies, its treasures of art, silver and glass, its series of great balls and house parties, was the centre of ostentatious, luxury living. Two or three miles away stood the mill, with its manager, overseers and foremen, often coloured, in charge of the waterwheel or sails, furnaces, coppers and casks. Nearby lived the mass population of slaves, men, women and children, working in the cane fields or at the furnaces and crushing machine during the day, returning to their straw hovels and tiny small-holdings at night. They were constantly guarded and goaded by Negro guards and drivers, armed with continually cracking whips.

From this society many of the wealthiest British families made their fortunes. Plantation owners lived in Britain as much as possible, contributing little to the development of the islands themselves. Merchants fitted out ships for the triangular voyage from Liverpool, Bristol or London to the West African coast to collect their slave cargoes, cross the Atlantic, crammed with a manacled and haltered human cargo, to the islands where the slaves were sold in the markets. There the ships loaded with sugar, molasses and rum, returned to their British ports. Sugar and slavery brought fantastic profits to be spent in Britain, providing an important part of the capital on which British industrial

society has been built. Left behind in the West Indies was a conglomeration of people, often soured, embittered and thwarted, with scant social or economic resources, with no stable pattern of society, fodder to the juggernaut of European industrialism.

PAYING THE PRICE

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the legacy of this history survives right down to the present day. As late as 1937 in some islands one child in every five died at birth. Death rates were more than twenty per thousand and over half the wage earners received less than ten shillings a week. Unemployment is still so widespread that it cannot be calculated. Malnutrition, with its inevitable consequences in malaria, hookworm, tuberculosis, yaws, is endemic. Population pressure on the land, especially in Barbados, is amongst the highest in the world and increasing rapidly. Slave society not only prevented the development of stable family life, but broke up the social structure of the peoples which it enmeshed. The Africans were torn from their tribal customs and disciplines, whilst the Europeans, removed from the social sanctions of their home society, were offered unlimited license. As a result, little coherent social fabric has developed in the West Indies, family relationships being casual, and illegitimacy rates normally well over 50 per cent. Promiscuity may help to promote the happy-go-lucky, carefree atmosphere of the community, and may even avoid the destructive frustrations and rigid conventionalism of Europe, but it also takes its toll in juvenile delinquency and lack of security.

It is hardly surprising that from these conditions a spirit of revolt has continually arisen. Slave rebellions were followed by agitations for reform in the post-slave period. The Coloureds and Negroes waged campaigns for franchise and representation. Finally outbursts of anger and frustration spread throughout the islands between 1935 and 1938, resulting in widespread violence, injuries and death. Political intelligentsia and working class joined forces and, as a result of this general revolt, the Moyne Royal Commission was appointed in 1938.

The member of that Commission who is most widely remembered in the West Indies today is Sir Walter Citrine. The revolts of the previous three years had generally taken the form of working class strikes, in which demands for improved working conditions and political representation combined. In his travels through the islands, Sir Walter Citrine continually pointed to the need for building trade unions to give the masses an organised strength, and that advice was immediately taken up by the West Indian workers. New unions were formed and have had considerable support from the British T.U.C. Labour and socialist parties quickly followed, springing naturally from the unions. A Labour press

appeared in many islands and has often remained as the only daily papers available. In 1938 a Labour Congress of the whole West Indies was called, and from its discussions demands were voiced for adult suffrage, nationalisation, social and economic legislation, minimum wages and working hours, legal recognition of the trade union movement, compulsory free education.

SEEKING NATIONHOOD

Not least significant of the joint demands put forward was that for federation. The West Indian peoples had begun to stir from their lethargic legacy, to revolt against the kind of life which had been imposed on them, and, looking to their own strength to determine their future, resolved to unite in nationhood.

Thus, from the stirrings of the masses, led by labour and socialist leaders, war was declared on subservience to Europe and the historic challenge accepted to break down differences of race, colour, creed and language, to find strength in unity.

During these past twenty years the peoples in the different islands have struggled to improve their social and economic conditions and to gain political power. On a parallel path the political leaders of the different territories have sought closer association, with federation of the islands as its climax. Now, in 1958, the first goal has been reached with the birth of Federation. Its whole object is to found a new nation which will soon take complete control of its own affairs as an independent state. In this unique historic effort Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans; Jamaicans, Barbadians, Trinidadians, Antiguan, St. Lucians, and the rest, are called upon, whilst retaining their own individual characteristics, to recognise their highest common loyalty in West Indian nationality. The forces of disintegration brought by imperialism, foreign rule, and greedy capitalism have been thrust aside and the gates thrown open to a new combined march of West Indians to a common destiny determined by themselves.

2. Manley's Jamaica

TO MOST people today Jamaica means Norman Manley. That is not in any way to detract from the personalities of his colleagues like 'Crab' Nethersole and Florizel Glasspole, who would be the first to recognise their leader's pre-eminence. In the West Indies personality counts for more in political life than in most countries, and for many years it was Manley's cousin, Sir Alexander Bustamante, who held sway. Yet even Bustamante's colourful flamboyance was never as dominant as the quiet, almost academic mastery of Manley. Manley is now known internationally as a statesman of the highest integrity and when he decided in January of this year not to stand for the Federal Parliament there was sorrow in many parts of the world far from the West Indies, but universal respect for a decision which everyone realised had been made solely in the interests of his people.

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS FOR NORMAN MANLEY

Norman Manley was first given his chance by his widowed mother, who, in the face of considerable difficulties, gave him the opportunity of an education. This he took with both hands, becoming a Rhodes Scholar and qualifying at Oxford in law. Soon after being called to the Bar in 1921 he married, and his wife Edna has ever since given him a comradeship which has sustained his strength in public life, and contributed through her own intellect, cultural interest and passion for Jamaican welfare to a noteworthy partnership invaluable to Jamaicans. Having made an outstanding reputation as a lawyer, both in the West Indies and abroad, Norman Manley took up his leading role as a politician in 1938.

Riots had broken out in Frome on the sugar plantations and rapidly spread to other parts of the island. Norman Manley was negotiating on behalf of the discontents when violence began in Kingston. Bustamante had already been imprisoned, and Manley immediately set out to secure his release. After discussions with Sir Stafford Cripps he formed the People's National Party to provide a political organisation capable of voicing the grievances of the Jamaican people. The party was founded on socialist principles, and from its start put self-government at the head of its demands. Meanwhile Bustamante had established the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union to organise the masses in the industrial field.

'BUSTA'

Until the beginning of 1955 it was Bustamante who occupied the leading role, whilst Manley had to accept second place. The former

possessed all the swaggering arrogance that mobs love, and appeared more in the guise of a petty South American demagogue than as a statesman establishing the dignity of his people. Through the use of his trade union he was able to control the masses by appealing to their material interests, whilst he set up his own political party, encouraged by the employers, as a barrier to Manley's Socialism.

During Bustamante's ten years in office, from 1944 to 1954, greater powers were handed over by the British Government to Jamaica. The new constitution of 1944 introduced adult suffrage, and it was demagogue Bustamante, with his ironically-named Jamaica Labour Party, who won 23 of the 32 seats, whilst politician-philosopher Manley secured only four. Later the office of Chief Minister with elected ministerial colleagues was introduced. Yet, in spite of such progress, the Bustamante administrations were disgraced by proved corruption, and the conduct of the Chief Minister himself often appeared more appropriate to a circus than to serious political life.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY

Manley and his People's National Party had to learn the hard lesson that it takes mass propaganda as well as progressive policies to attract the electorate. From concentrating on policy discussions in committee they had to organise a mass political party with branches throughout the country. After continual trouble within the trade union movement they established their own union, the National Workers' Union, with first Manley himself and then his son, Michael, as officers. Communists had to be purged from the ranks of the P.N.P. and from the trade union movement. Bustamante's mob appeal had to be undermined and his confusion of policies attacked. Eventually this political and psychological battle reached its climax at the beginning of 1955 when the P.N.P., throwing in all its resources after its two previous electoral defeats, succeeded in ousting Bustamante and his party, gaining a majority in the House, and setting up the first P.N.P. Government.

LIVING CONDITIONS

What relevance had this political battle to the life of Jamaicans? There are one and a half million people living in the island, over two-thirds of them African, about one-sixth Coloured, and the rest East Indian, European and Chinese. There is only one considerable town, the city of Kingston, with a population around 150,000. The vast majority of the population still lives in the country, largely as peasants working on the sugar plantations, tending their small-holdings, and growing stems of bananas to sell to the fruit companies, though a continual stream of people flow from the countryside to seek a living in urban employment.

Some idea of the conditions of life in both town and country may be gained from these two extracts taken from the Report of the Royal Commission which conducted its investigation in 1938:

'It is no exaggeration to say that in the poorest parts of most towns and in many of the country districts a majority of the houses is largely made of rusty corrugated iron and unsound boarding; quite often the original floor has disappeared and only the earth remains, its surface so trampled that it is impervious to any rain which may penetrate through a leaking roof; sanitation in any form and water supply are unknown in such premises, and in many cases no light can enter when the door is closed. These decrepit homes, more often than not, are seriously overcrowded, and it is not surprising that some of them are dirty and verminous in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the inhabitants to keep them clean. In short, every condition that tends to produce disease is here to be found in a serious form.'

And :

' . . . in rural areas . . . it is next to impossible for the men to earn enough to support a family, with the result that the women have also to work and cannot devote themselves to the maintenance of the home and the care of their children. The children themselves may be set to work to supplement the family's income when they should be at school, or the older children of school age are kept at home to look after their younger brothers and sisters. Only the prevalence of "food gardens" even among estate labourers mitigates the severity of conditions in rural areas. Accurate facts are more than usually difficult to obtain in this matter; but we were satisfied that malnutrition due to insufficient and ill-balanced diets was common.'

A TURN FOR THE BETTER

It is only just to point out that considerable improvements have been made in some aspects of social life during the ensuing twenty years. Infant mortality, for instance, has fallen from 118.5 per thousand in 1937 to 54.0 in 1956, whilst the death rate during the same period has been reduced from 15.3 to 9.5. Nevertheless, in one way this only aggravates the main problem. As medical services increase and lives are saved and lengthened, so the population rises and unless new resources are found there is so much less to go round. What is more, the virtual closing of American doors to West Indian immigrants removes their traditional opportunity for seeking work abroad. It is largely for this reason that the number of Jamaicans coming to Britain has rapidly increased during the past few years, reaching a figure of 18,500 in 1955, though it has fallen off since then.

The fact is that Jamaica is essentially a land of sharp contrasts. It is not only the beautiful blues of sea and mountains which contrast with the vivid green of the lush countryside, the startling scarlet of the poinsettia and the blinding white of the sands; the appalling plywood and sacking shacks of Western Kingston throw a sharp contrast to gleaming

white public buildings and the fine bungalows of the wealthy in the hills overlooking Kingston Bay Town life itself is busy; bustling, noisy Kingston makes its own sharp contrast with the ambling baggage donkeys of the country roads; but the greatest contrast of all is that between the fabulously wealthy American tourists in the palatial beach hotels of Montego Bay or Kingston's famous Myrtle Bank, and the humid, stinking, fly-ridden squalor which surrounds the lives of most Jamaicans in town and country.

TROPICAL SOCIALISM ?

What, then, has Norman Manley, with his socialist principles, to offer to these Jamaican peoples? How is socialism relevant to a country with only one important mineral deposit, bauxite, and that only just beginning to develop; with its agriculture dominated by sugar plantations and bananas; with 50 per cent. of its people illiterate and at least 15 per cent. of its working people unemployed, many more under-employed; with seven out of ten children illegitimate; an average income of £60 per head, and a cost of living three times what it was before the war; with 18,000 inhabitants leaving the country each year because they cannot find a living; and with virtually no capital of its own and little to attract it from other countries ?

The relevance of socialism to these circumstances is surely the emphasis which Socialists place on the community's responsibility for individual welfare, with the logical corollary that the government, representing the people, must take the initiative in firmly planning the country's economy in the interests of its inhabitants.

Yet, in the colonial territories, with their lack of development and constant scarcities, government initiative in some form is the only alternative to stagnation. Previous Jamaican Governments had had to take some economic action. The P.N.P.'s 1955 election programme, 'Plan for Progress', therefore, did not introduce any revolutionary changes in the conception of government. Indeed, nationalisation had been dropped from the Party's programme as it seemed unlikely that there would be much worth nationalising, whilst the policy itself might well scare away capital essential for development. The P.N.P. placed its emphasis on the need for a planned drive to increase national wealth, particularly in agriculture and industry, a more equitable distribution of the national income, wider social services, particularly in education, and the achievement of Dominion status, either within the Federation or independently. The central object was to increase the national wealth so that the Government could ensure that its redistribution brought not only greater equality, but higher standards of living.

P.N.P. ACHIEVEMENT

As Chief Minister, Norman Manley immediately took the Ministry of Agriculture into his own hands. The Government set out to buy up neglected land so that all the lands of Jamaica were brought into cultivation and tenants resettled on it. Negotiations with the bauxite companies dramatically increased public revenue from the industry, securing to the Treasury £206 million over twenty-five years. Noel Nethersole, Minister of Finance, popularly known as 'Crab', patron of all sports and a trade union leader for many years, has travelled the world in search of development capital. He and his Financial Secretary, E. R. Richardson, are determined to establish a Development Bank so that capital will be available to pump into the economic system and provide the means for better living standards through both industrial and agricultural expansion. They have been gravely hindered by the financial stringencies imposed by the British Conservative Government.

Florizel Glasspole, leader of the House and Minister of Education, a broad, jolly, dark-skinned man, also from the trade union movement, has been constantly at work seeking to improve the conditions of labour throughout the island.

These three are the main leaders, but they have been ably supported by all their colleagues, not the least of their achievements being the rapid increase in the number of children able to attend school. One of their bolder actions in a country with many Roman Catholic adherents has been to give Government grants to the Family Planning Association. Everyone concerned with the future of Jamaicans realises that as death rates fall so some method of limiting the increase in the population is essential if its resources are to meet the needs of its inhabitants. Yet the opponents of the P.N.P. try to make political capital out of this Government policy which is so vital to the future health of the nation.

Meanwhile, the P.N.P. Government has taken Jamaica forward to complete internal self-government. On November 11th, 1957, the last British colonial officials withdrew from the Executive Council, which was then constituted as a genuine Cabinet with Norman Manley as Prime Minister. Although the Governor retains certain reserve powers and responsibility for foreign affairs and defence, this is the last stage before complete independence, whether it be achieved as part of the Federation or as a separate island.

JAMAICA AND THE FEDERATION

The Peoples' National Party has thus infused a new breath of honest public life, service to the nation, and dynamic leadership to the people of Jamaica. As a founder-member of the West Indian Federal Labour Party it also organised itself to fight the Federal Election on March

25th. Jamaica will have 17 members in the Federal Assembly and the Party it also organised itself to fight the Federal Election on March deputy, Sidney Veitch, and Publicity Officer, Ivorall Davis, nominated candidates in all the constituencies and conducted a mass educational campaign to convince Jamaicans of the real significance of the Federation and if the importance of Jamaica's part in it.

After long and earnest thought Norman Manley announced in January that he would not be standing for the Federal Elections. This decision did not in the slightest degree indicate any weakening of his convinced adherence to the federal principle of which he himself has been chief proponent. But Manley knew that the success of Federation, particularly during its early years, will largely depend on the firm support given to the new Federal State by the more populous islands, Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. He had also observed that Bustamante and his Party were increasingly critical of the Federation idea, which they had previously supported, and seemed ready to sabotage it. Manley therefore saw that he must take the grave, unselfish decision of rejecting the opportunity to become the first Federal Prime Minister and devote his energies to completing the tremendous task he has set himself in Jamaica, ensuring that the Jamaican economy becomes strong enough to make its full contribution to the Federation. He will use all his wide influence to develop a firmly rooted Jamaican loyalty to the Federal State.

Everyone will respect this decision as that of a man who puts the welfare of his people before personal ambition. The West Indian Federal Labour Party members of the first Federal Assembly from Jamaica will thus be able to put their energies into making Federation a success in the secure knowledge that Jamaican progress will continue and its support to Federation progressively strengthen. Norman Manley, shy, dryly humourous, with his finely chiselled head and dark face lined with experiences of fierce and sometimes bloody battles in the service of Jamaica, will remain in the midst of his affectionate family at Drumblair, his unpretentious, dignified, informal home. Jamaicans and West Indians will learn to look with veneration at Drumblair, remembering that from this family home their eyes were shown a new horizon towards which their steps were led by the kindly, passionate Socialist, Norman Manley.

3. The Lively Leewards

THE LEEWARDS consist of three main volcanic islands, Antigua, Montserrat and St. Christopher, which is commonly known as St. Kitts. In addition there are also included Barbuda and Redonda, which are dependencies of Antigua, Nevis and Anguilla, linked to St. Kitts, and the Virgin Islands, which have contracted out of the Federation and therefore do not properly concern us here. The people of the Leewards wage a desperately hard struggle for existence and yet they have a spirit of progressive endeavour unsurpassed throughout the West Indies. St. Kitts, indeed, boasts of having been in the van of West Indian reform for many years, and is proud to be known as 'the powder keg' of the West Indies. It was the sugar strike of 1935 in this island which lighted the fuse of revolt throughout the islands.

SUGAR IS THE KEY

Sugar dominates the economy of Antigua and St. Kitts, but in Antigua the effects of the war, its drastic reduction in exports and its diversion of workers to American military bases, is still felt. Though the value of sugar exports has considerably increased, the actual tonnage is less than it was before the war. Cotton is another valuable export from all three islands, and provides Montserrat with its only considerable exported product. Both Antigua and Montserrat have to import much more than they export, and, partly as a consequence, have to rely on grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom Government in order to balance their budgets. St. Kitts, on the other hand, because of its successful sugar industry, can pay its way. In none of the islands are there any considerable industries other than those processing their agricultural products.

The Leewards therefore spotlight the problems of small communities living on tiny islands with scarcely any resources to maintain the life of their people. Antigua has a population of 52,000, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, of 54,000, and Montserrat 15,000. Almost the entire populations are of African descent. Their infant mortality rates, some test of a community's health, are high, varying from 69.6 per thousand in St. Kitts to 123.7 in Montserrat. There is only one teachers' training college throughout the Leewards, in Antigua, with an enrolment of only twenty. The sugar industry employs nearly half of the wage earners, but most sugar workers are only employed for about half the year, and have to eke out these semi-incomes from the few small-holdings available. One of the biggest problems continually facing each of the islands is recurrent drought, though the Antiguan, after long experiment, have proudly solved this problem by deep boring.

CONTINUING CHALLENGE

The challenge remains. How can these 120,000 people aspire to any reasonable standard of life in such sterile conditions? At present each island depends heavily on aid from the United Kingdom. Each of them has a development plan aimed at improving housing, education, social services, roads, electricity and agriculture. Towards the costs of these plans the United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare is contributing £796,000 out of £944,000 in Antigua, £234,000 out of £254,000 in Montserrat, and £497,000 of £1,445,000 in St. Kitts. British aid is to continue to the Federation for some years, the grants-in-aid being taken over by the Federal Treasury. But the central problem of finding the means of life will remain. This clearly highlights the challenging dilemma which the new Federal state faces.

Each of the islands now has adult suffrage and elects a majority of its members to the Legislative Councils. Nominees and officials make up the balance. Each also has elected members in the Executive Councils, so that the people themselves have become largely responsible for the policies designed to meet their problems. There is one Governor for all the Leewards and an Administrator in each separate island. The character of these men is a vital factor in the development of democratic and responsible political life. In this respect Antigua is particularly fortunate in the personality of its Administrator, Colonel Lovelace, who works sympathetically and in a friendly manner with his elected Ministers, creating the spirit of co-operative team-work which alone can wring progress from this bleak prospect.

POLITICAL LEADERS

The Leewards are also extremely fortunate in their political leaders. Vere Bird in Antigua, Robert Bradshaw in St. Kitts, and W. H. Bramble in Montserrat lead teams of devoted ministers. Their three personalities have dominated political progress in the Leewards, yet it would be wrong to suppose that these three men are either isolated from their colleagues or irreplaceable. In Antigua, the ministerial team of E. E. Williams, E. H. Lake and B. T. Carrott give full support to Mr. Bird. What is more, the Secretary of the Party and Union, Lionel Hurst, is undoubtedly the outstanding organiser of the whole West Indies. In St. Kitts F. Williams, J. N. France and Paul Southwell, the ministerial colleagues of Robert Bradshaw, form an outstanding team, leading not only government business but also responsible for the organisation of both party and union. Mr. Bramble is solidly supported by his colleagues in Montserrat.

Even before adult suffrage was introduced the Labour Movement dominated political life in the Leewards. Since its introduction, Labour

has held a virtual monopoly. In all three territories the Labour Party and the Trade Union are almost indistinguishable, with the same offices and personnel. This might lead to some difficulties in the future, as political and industrial action do not always make good bedfellows. But at present it is inevitable in view of the small number of outstanding people available in public life. It usually ensures Labour Party success in elections and indeed the parties in Antigua and Montserrat hold all the elected seats, whilst a similar monopoly of the Workers League in St. Kitts was only broken in 1957 when the party lost three seats. The combination is quite natural in the present circumstances, for in each island organised labour faces a feudalistic sugar plantocracy. The latter often seem to be still living 300 years ago and every concession from them has to be bitterly fought for. Even the opposition political parties dare not represent such social reaction and content themselves with criticising administrative practice and personalities rather than policy.

In all three territories the Labour Movement in Government is trying to apply its socialist principles to this island problem of endemic poverty. Their Governments are building houses to take the place of the trash, bamboo, straw and sacking hovels so common on the plantations. They have also evolved schemes of 'aided self-help' by which the Government provides materials and builders to demonstrate building techniques, whilst families and friends combine to do the actual building of their own homes. Land is being acquired to enable peasants to resettle and to begin production with Government-supplied plants. New roads are being built into the rural areas, telephone systems expanded, electricity developed, so that the country people can be provided for the first time with modern amenities.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Above all, each Government is concentrating on building new schools as quickly as possible, so as to increase rapidly the number of children given some degree of educational opportunity. In each island socialist practice may have to be somewhat different from that applied in the heavily industrialised nations. Yet, faced with the results of centuries of poverty and with resources pitifully scanty, these Labour Ministers are courageously applying the primary principles of the socialist philosophy by looking first to the elementary needs of their people and for the first time in history using their scanty resources to provide the basic necessities of life and further development.

Continually supporting the efforts of their Ministers, the three Labour organisations are achieving the heroic tasks of organising the people throughout the islands and educating them in socialist and trade union principles. It is a tremendous feat that both the Antiguan and St. Kitts

Parties publish daily newspapers, providing an educational opportunity for their movements which would be envied in many countries a hundred times their size. Meetings are large, enthusiastic and well-informed, combining political and religious fervour. Perhaps this is due to the church associations of many of the political leaders. Vere Bird, for instance, used to be a Salvation Army drummer, and has used his revivalist oratory to awaken the political and social consciousness of his people. All these leaders came into prominence during labour troubles, first in the Trade Union Movement, when they gave the workers a new sense of dignity and self-respect in face of the sugar planters who had traditionally ruled the life of the islands.

Party organisation is, of course, not so closely organised as in some of the larger islands. Nevertheless, there is a friendly community spirit in towns and villages, often going more deeply into the local community than any paper organisation. Men like Lionel Hurst, J. France and W. H. Bramble are known and trusted by all wherever they go in their islands, and this personal identification with the Movement brings a collective political consciousness, tremendously strengthening the policies of the political leaders.

NEWCOMERS

Robert Bradshaw stood for the Federal elections and this will leave St. Kitts without its present dominant personality. It may be that this will, in fact, help to strengthen the organisation of the Workers' League, for a single personality does not always lead to a strong party. His probable successor as leader is Paul Southwell, a man bubbling over with good humour, with tufty black beard, broad girth, and ever twinkling eyes. He will be admirably supported by the quieter France, the real organiser behind the Party and Union.

In addition to Bradshaw, Bramble from Montserrat is also going to the Federation, and may be harder to replace in his own island. One other Federal candidate was Norvall Richards from Antigua, editor of the local party paper, *The Workers' Voice*, whose opponent in his All Saints constituency in the last territorial election polled only 27 votes. He may well make a considerable impression in the Federal House.

The Leewards, indeed, may give the Federal State some considerable economic headaches; they will undoubtedly contribute a distinctive and valuable political cohesion to Federation.

4. Weakness in the Windwards

TO A certain extent the Leewards form a single community. They have common problems, and their inhabitants frequently visit each other. The Windwards, on the other hand, have little in common and inter-island communication is more difficult. The one common characteristic of all four islands is their vivid beauty; St. Lucia, with its precipitous mountains and spectacular winding roads; Grenada, with St. Georges' double-bayed natural harbour guarded by twin overhanging promontories; St. Vincent, with its volcanic black sand and bustling quayside market of Kingstown, overlooked by the old French fort; Dominica, its thickly wooded mountain range running like a spine the whole length of the island ribbed by 365 leaping mountainous streams.

HARD TO MAKE ENDS MEET

Though enjoying this common exquisite beauty, varied between mountain, beach and sea, each of the four islands of the Windwards has its separate economic, political and social characteristics. Grenada is perhaps the most prosperous, at least when cocoa prices are high, for its principal export income comes from this source. In all four islands, however, there is much more diversification of economy than is to be found in the Leewards. Grenada can export substantial quantities of nutmegs and mace, in addition to cocoa, Dominica, cocoa, vanilla, bananas and lime juice, St. Lucia, sugar and copra, and St. Vincent, arrowroot, copra, and cotton. Yet, in spite of their generally larger export figures compared with the Leewards, three of the Windwards, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, each have to receive annual grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom.

Poverty appears to be as widespread, health figures are worse, and social and political organisation nothing like so strong. Once again we are driven to the conclusion that these small communities, with their necessarily high administrative overheads and scanty, if varied, resources, are bearing intolerable economic burdens. They are made even heavier by the survival of feudal capitalism, whilst their exposure to the recurrent disaster of hurricanes frequently destroys any progress painstakingly achieved.

The constitutions of the islands are identical. One Governor is appointed for the four, with a central office in Grenada, and each separate island has an Administrator responsible to him. In the Legislative Councils there are three officials, including the Administrator, three nominees, and eight elected members. In the Executive Councils

the Administrator acts as President and the other members consist of two officials, one nominee and four elected members, three of whom are Ministers.

ST. LUCIA

Although the constitutions are identical, their political operation shows sharp contrast. The party system is most strongly developed in St. Lucia, where the Labour Party has formed the Government for some years and now has seven of the eight elected legislative members. As in the Leewards, Party and Union are virtually inseparable, which sometimes produces an involved situation when, for instance, one man finds himself as both Minister and trade union representative. Personality is still very important in St. Lucia, as in most West Indian islands, but no single figure has yet emerged with the dominance shown by leaders in the Leewards. George Charles leads the Trade Union and Party, supported in the Government by Carl La Corbiniere (who stood in the Federal elections), Hermann Collymore, and John Compton. Party organisation is not strong, though there is fervent enthusiasm at meetings, no doubt inspired by the Latin temperament induced through French origins. Even under the intense discomfort of torrential tropical downpours the crowds do not disperse, held together by vociferous renderings of old American labour songs, such as 'We shall not be moved'.

One of the problems of the Party in St. Lucia, which is also found in other islands, is the loss of many working-class children from the movement once they have secured higher educational opportunities. This is not uncommon in newly developing communities, for education is often first a chance to improve social status. Nevertheless, it presents a challenge, for the working-class movements need their young educated men and women, who themselves have a responsibility to serve the movement which gives them their opportunities. Indeed, many of the older stalwarts have made considerable sacrifices to provide their children with chances they never had.

The Labour Government has a good record in local social reform. It has increased the number of health centres and roads, increased rural amenities, and is attempting to get the people previously attracted to the now defunct American base back on to the land. Yet the Government has suffered from an absence of virile, constructive opposition. The Peoples Progressive Party is its only opponent and it is a negligible quantity. There are still a handful of feudal sugar planters in the country, together with wealthy merchants in the pleasant new buildings of Castries, completely rebuilt since the fire of 1948. They have little influence and take scant interest in political power. Government itself thus suffers from a lack of strong purposeful direction, combating rival

policies. Consequently much land in St. Lucia is still barren, awaiting development. There is certainly far greater scope here for progressive economic planning and initiative than anywhere in the Leewards. Agriculture could be considerably expanded, whilst the surpassing beauty of Castries Harbour, the sweeping broad beaches and the spectacular mountain vistas, outvying any Riviera scenery, would seem to offer lucrative attractions for tourism. A closer-knit, stronger organised Party will surely find wide scope for the application of socialist policy in expanding national wealth.

DOMINICA

Dominica presents quite different problems. Its party system is still in its infancy. The island is the third largest in the British West Indies, but off the main lines of communication. It has no airstrip, sea transport is haphazard, and visits by the amphibious Grummon Goose only occur twice a week. As a consequence Dominica is comparatively isolated from the rest of the islands.

For a country of its size, Dominica is surprisingly little developed. There are few roads, scanty social services, and even most of the town buildings are drab and unpainted. Although water from the rivers is plentiful, apart from one small power station installed by the Colonial Development Corporation, little use is made of what could be valuable water supplies.

Until recently the absence of any party system has prevented the development of a strong drive towards social reform. The trade union has gone through repeated vicissitudes in spite of many years' devoted service by Chris Loblack. The first genuine political party to be formed was the Dominica Labour Party, which was set up in close consultation with the British Labour Party in 1955. The 1957 elections were fought for the first time on a party basis, but, in fact, the party idea was not fully grasped by the electorate. The other party to fight the elections was the Peoples National Movement, which took its name from, but had no connection with, Eric Williams' Party in Trinidad. Its weakness is shown by the fact that it completely disintegrated once the elections were over. The eight seats were divided between the Labour Party, which won three, the P.N.M., two, and three independent candidates. After the election the two P.N.M. candidates left their party and joined with the independents to take office in the Executive Council under the leadership of Franklin Baron, an independent and former member of the Council.

The Labour Party, which had been formed under the inspiration of Mrs. Phyllis Allfrey, a Dominican-born white woman with political experience in Britain, the trade unionist, Chris Loblack, and an excellent Secretary, Veronica Nicholas, fought the elections on an open socialist

programme. In a Catholic country there were some doubts as to whether socialism was not identical with communism, often unscrupulously encouraged. In spite of clear explanations that democratic socialism was in fact the inveterate enemy of communism, this may have had some effect on the electorate. The party fought a strong campaign, stressing the importance of economic planning and government initiative in raising the living standards of the people and leading Dominica out of its shabby inertia. Amongst its successful candidates was a young man, Edward Leblanc, who may well make his mark on West Indian politics. He and Mrs. Allfrey were the successful Labour Party candidates in the Federal elections, endorsed by the West Indian Federal Labour Party

ST. VINCENT

Whilst St. Lucia, Dominica and Grenada are largely Catholic, St. Vincent is strongly Protestant. The substantial buildings and grey chapels of Bridgetown breathe an atmosphere of puritanical, solid worth, hard work and commercial success. This impression may well be false, for although its economy is comparatively diverse, including arrow-root, copra, bananas, cotton, ground nuts, potatoes and sugar, it is still a grant-aided island. There is, indeed, some little mystery in this fact, for on the surface one would assume that if it is possible for a small island community to support itself by hard work, commercial activity, and the production of varied crops, St. Vincent would have one of the best opportunities. Yet the people of St. Vincent can hardly be said to be prosperous when the men earn only about 5/- a day in both agriculture and industry, the cost of living is over three times as high as before the war, and budgets cannot be balanced.

Perhaps it is again lack of social and political cohesion which has prevented any forthright drive for planned development and fairly distributed rewards. The political situation is quite chaotic, the unions sadly divided, and emphasis appears to be on individual commercial endeavour rather than collective social services. Ebenezer Joshua, one of the more eccentric and irresponsible West Indian politicians, with his Peoples Political Party, won five of the eight seats in the 1957 elections, forming the first party Government. Joshua, who had previously associated with the communist World Federation of Trade Unions, was rejected when he tried to ally himself with the Trinidad Peoples National Movement, and then came to an arrangement with the Bustamante Federal Democratic Labour Party. Meanwhile, Herman Young's Peoples Liberation Movement, which won two seats in the election, has merged with the St. Vincent Labour Party, formed by barrister Milton Cato just before the territorial elections. They have now agreed on a new party programme supporting a socialist policy in the West Indian context, and have been accepted by the West Indian Federal Labour

Party. Cato and another member were candidates for the Federal elections. Whether a genuine party alliance will develop to face the problems and opportunities of the island itself is still to be seen.

GRENADA

Grenada again shows the weakening effects of poor political direction. It has had a substantial export revenue from cocoa and nutmegs, which in some years has more than balanced its expenditure on imports. Tragically these two crops suffered terrible destruction during the 1955 hurricane. Yet at no time has the island's progress matched its promise.

For several years up to the elections of 1957 the political scene was dominated by natty playboy Eric Gairey. Gairey had really awakened Grenada for the first time in 1951 when he returned from Aruba to take up the cause of the common people. His defiance of the Government and oratorical appeal to the crowds gained him mass support, some of which he personally has never lost. He failed, however, as an administrator, political organiser and trade union leader. The whole public life of the island seriously deteriorated and scandals became common. As a consequence the Labour Party sadly degenerated and was never tightly organised, whilst the trade unions are completely divided and, with one or two notable exceptions, have virtually no influence left.

The result has been that Grenada has lacked any united political drive and its administration has been badly neglected by elected Ministers. The price was paid in the 1957 elections, when the Party won only two seats, although Gairey secured more votes than any other candidate and had the largest majority. He was nevertheless barred from the Council on conviction of infringing electoral law. No strong opposition party has been organised, the Peoples Democratic Movement, which was a loose electoral association, gaining three seats, the National Party two, and the other going to an independent. One of the outstanding West Indian politicians, Albert Marryshow, who has been the longest proponent of Federation, comes from Grenada, and has held his seat in St. Georges' for the past thirty-two years. But until emphasis on personalised politics has been overcome and memories of the South American racketeering atmosphere of the last few years has disappeared, there is little hope that strong party organisation, based on political principles, will develop in Grenada.

The weakness of the Windwards in social, economic and political development is apparent. They will present very real difficulties to the Federation, offering a major challenge to its effectiveness. Federation itself, therefore, and particularly the co-ordinated strength of the Federal Labour Party, is called on to teach the Windwards the value of public integrity and that co-operative effort which is essential to any rise in their standards.

5. Proud Barbados

BARBADOS is one of the most maligned islands in the West Indies. No-one can question its glories; the marine colours, varying from indigo to palest green, washing gently the golden sandy beaches which attract wealthy tourists to the Golden Road of hotels and nightclubs; the greenness of its neatly patterned fields; the soft contrasts of cassava, machineel and willowy casuarinas, interspersed with rainbow coloured crotons and scarlet flamboyants; the crowded schooner harbour of Bridgetown, a forest of masts; or the fishermen's boats drawn up on the sand beside the Atlantic village of Bathsheba. Yet from other West Indian islands one is constantly hearing sneers about Barbados. It is commonly known as 'little England', whilst the socialist pretensions of Sir Grantley Adams and his Labour Party are frequently held to ridicule.

PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION

Such criticism is superficial and sometimes malicious. Considering that throughout its history Barbados has depended almost solely on sugar, that its population density is one of the highest in the world, and that there is little opportunity for contact with the other islands, Barbados has made tremendous progress in recent times. It has a constitutional status equal to that of Jamaica, with a Cabinet system and internal self-government. It uses its land to the full, has neat and clean, if small, homes, and is determinedly organising its resources so that they are distributed on an equitable basis. Barbados has probably the strongest parliamentary tradition of any of the islands, has largely overcome racial tensions, and has developed social services unsurpassed in the West Indies.

It is true that some of the Victorian and Edwardian English conventions are still observed, but Barbadians have sufficient humour to laugh at themselves and are essentially a friendly, progressive people. The Labour Government was first elected when adult suffrage was introduced in the 1951 elections. Its shrewd leader, Grantley Adams, essentially kindly and humane, educated at Oxford and a noted barrister, had become President of the Barbados Workers Union. His main object was to ensure that the profits of sugar production be distributed more fairly to allow Barbadian workers a decent wage and the opportunity for a reasonable standard of life. When he came to power in 1951 he represented a new spirit amongst Barbadian workers, a symbol that the black man had at last attained self-respect and dignity.

But Grantley Adams did not only represent his race, he was also a socialist and was elected on a socialist programme. The year after he had come to power, in 1952, his Government published a five year development plan. The plan was based on the use of government initia-

tive to develop the basic services, to experiment in new forms of production, and to expand the social services. Thus, water resources were immediately developed and water was nationalised. Natural gas has also come under state control, though nationalisation has not yet been fully completed. The Government is anxious to bring electricity under its authority too, but does not feel that it is yet wealthy enough to do so. The buses, which provide most of the transport around the island, are now mostly under national control, and are being rapidly modernised.

All this is in the field of basic services, in which the Government feels that it is its duty both to lay sound foundations and to ensure that their operation is controlled in the national interest. On the other hand, it is quite clear that Barbados has a long way to go before it can contemplate state control of production. It is true that the Labour Government has conducted experiments in improved sugar growing, has been using its influence to encourage food production and various agricultural schemes, gives active assistance to the tourist industry, and has established a development board to promote secondary industries. Yet there can be no question at present of nationalising land, agriculture or industry. The Government just has not sufficient resources. Fortunately the planters and merchants of Barbados have been remarkably amenable to trade union and political progress, many of them supporting the expansion of the social services and schemes such as the Labour Welfare Fund.

SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENT

Sir Grantley Adams and his colleagues have shown their intimate concern for labour in the body of social industrial legislation which they have introduced. Holidays with pay were introduced in 1951, Factory, Shops and Catering Acts set minimum wages and hours, whilst minimum wages are also assured to agricultural workers. There is some unemployment relief, workmen's compensation has been established and wages councils set up. This probably presents the best body of labour legislation in the West Indies.

Health and education have also attracted enthusiastic support from the Labour Government. Health centres and clinics are being extended to all areas. A new hospital is being built to serve the whole island, and plans are being made to establish a simple national health service. Primary education is free, but there are not yet sufficient schools to make it compulsory, though the school building programme is rapidly expanding to increase the number of school places. Secondary schools are fee-paying, but the Government is trying to find means of bringing the fees within the range of all Barbadians by increasing the scholarships available. A number of government scholarships are also given for higher study in Britain, Canada or at the University College of the West Indies.

Meanwhile, by complete reconstruction of local government under an ordinance of 1954, responsibility for local affairs has been spread widely amongst elected district councils and elected city council of Bridgetown.

MEN OF DISTINCTION

This story represents purposeful endeavour backed by conscientious administration to lay the foundations of a state in which the interests of the people will be paramount, and those interests served by the people's elected representatives. Grantley Adams is, of course, outstanding; he has an excellent team working with him, amongst who might be mentioned in particular Dr. H. Cummins, who is now Speaker of the House and was Minister of Social Services, the gay and sprightly Ronald Mapp, Minister for Communications, Works and Housing, the serious patron of the turf, M. E. Cox, Minister of Labour, dashing Freddy Miller, Minister for Social Services, and earnest D. D. Garner, Minister for Agriculture, Lands and Fisheries. Grace Adams, the Premier's gentle wife, whose name so perfectly fits her character, lends peaceful strength to the whole public scene.

The main weakness of the Barbados Labour Party until recently has been its lack of tight organisation in the constituencies. This has presented considerable danger to it electorally, for although conservative forces are very weak, the party has had two considerable blows from its own side. First, Frank Walcott, Secretary of the Union, who had been a staunch member of the party, resigned from the latter after some disagreements and has since opposed it. This is bound to weaken the whole Labour Movement, for a conflict of personalities could at any time break out into open conflict between the union itself and the party.

The second danger comes from a breakaway group in the party who have set up their own organisation, known as the Democratic Labour Party, which is now the largest opposition, holding five seats in the Assembly. This group criticises the Labour Party for lack of socialist direction, though doubtless there are some personal interests involved too. It might present some danger, however, when Sir Grantley Adams, with his dominant influence, goes to the Federal Assembly. The party has met this weakness in a forthright manner by appointing a full-time organiser to develop constituency groups. With the assistance of young goatee-bearded schoolmaster, Gilmore Rocheford, who is General Secretary of the party, new efforts have been made to provide the party with a foundation of sound organisation. When Grantley Adams leaves the leadership will presumably pass to either Mapp or Cox, either of whom will make an excellent successor. The future will largely depend on strong team work and constant effort in organisation. But there is little doubt that Barbados will continue to fly high the flag of Socialism in the West Indies.

6. Trinidad on a Tightrope

TRINIDAD lives on its nerves. Its capital Port-of-Spain, is raucous metropolitan and brash. The countryside is steamy, varying between the lush green hills around the capital, plantations of coconut and banana trees, swampy rice fields, ugly oil wells, thick tropical forests and palm-flanked Atlantic beaches. Port-of-Spain itself combines blatant commercial success with shocking slums and tough adolescent gangsterism. Its narrow streets are filled all day with noisy, bustling crowds and homicidal vehicles, whilst in Woodford Square a rapid succession of political arguments, cricket discussions and religious evangelicism give expression to the sharp wit and violent enthusiasms of Trinidadians. In this island the predominance of African features is modified by a high proportion of East Indians and Coloureds. The grace and beauty of both men and women portrays the success of inter-racial blending. Similarly Indian mosques, temples and prayer flags mingle, not only with the Christian churches of various denominations, but with the 'shouters' in their evangelical hysteria and the fantastically decorated houses of Obeahman, which reveal the widespread, deeply ingrained superstitions of many Trinidadians.

SQUALOR AND GAIETY

In spite of the commercial sophistication of the city, the approach from the East is first befouled by the odours of a nauseating swamp, and then flanked by the precipitous roads of thug-ridden John John on the North, and by the appalling shanty town known as Sea Lots to the South. Here squatters have thrown up single-room wood and sacking shacks amongst the muddy lands beside swamps and refuse dumps, alive with vultures, without sanitation or fresh water, inhabited by as many pigs, dogs and hens as human beings. Ironically the blue sky above often silhouettes flocks of lovely rose-coloured flamingoes.

As would be expected from this restless, materially-minded community, culture plays little part in life. There is plenty of entertainment, and this is the home of carnival, calypsos, and the unbelievable limbo dance, but with very few exceptions life goes little deeper.

Trinidad has a commercial activity far greater than that of any other island, with the exception of Jamaica. Its oil production, allied to that of sugar, has enabled it to pay for most of the food, tobacco, manufactures and machinery which it has to import. Although most of its people still work on the land, a wide variety of small industries have been established, whilst there are many opportunities for employment in commerce. As a consequence of this varied economic life, social amenities in the form of health provision, education, roads, railways, water, gas

and electricity supplies, are generally at a far higher level than in the small islands.

POLITICS IN DISREPUTE

Yet, with all these advantages, political life has never shown that unity of purpose or degree of integrity found elsewhere in the West Indies. Cipriani and Uriah Butler voiced national ambitions and labour protest before World War 2. Yet since the war, politics have often been little more than a lucrative personal racket, directly reflecting the cut-throat commercialism of Trinidad life. A variety of Labour Parties have had a mushroom-like existence but have rarely done more than use the popularity attached to the name 'Labour'. Schisms in the trade union movement have been frequent. Quintin O'Connor and John Rojas have shown considerable ability in organising the workers, but only recently, under the influence of Sir Vincent Tewson and the British T.U.C., has any strong unified trade union centre been established.

Public life, therefore, has been almost devoid of the spirit of service, whilst any sense of national unity has been strikingly absent. Commercialism and race antagonisms between Africans and Indians have constantly eroded the foundations of national life.

A BREATH OF FRESH AIR

It was in this context that the General Election of September 1956 was held. The result was a profound surprise to everyone. A few months earlier Dr. Eric Williams and his friends had founded a new organisation — the People's National Movement. He was assisted in this venture by a number of people, some of whom were strangers to political life, who were determined to give Trinidadians a chance of cleaning up the corrupt inefficiency of government and introducing a spirit of honest service to public life. The leaders of this Movement themselves hoped to win one or two seats in the first elections. In the event slight, bespectacled, academic Williams gave elephantine Albert Gomes a political hiding. The P.N.M. won 13 of the 24 seats. Gomes lost his own seat, as did all the other members of his Party. The second largest party in the Council was the Peoples Democratic Party of Bhadase Maraj, an extreme Hindu nationalist group. The rest of the seats were divided amongst the smaller groups.

Eric Williams is an intellectual and has introduced discussion, argument and reason into Trinidad politics. He brought together a team of thoughtful Ministers, whose main common characteristic was their reputation for integrity. Thus the famous West Indian cricketer Larry Constantine, with no experience of political life, as Minister of Communications, sits beside Dr. Pat Solomon, who has been in politics for many years and is now Minister of Education. What is more, Eric

Williams has been careful to ensure that the different racial groups in Trinidad, so often uneasily suspicious of each other, are all represented in his Cabinet. Along with those of African origin he has Dr. Mahabir, an Indian, as his Minister of Health, and Mr. O'Halloran, a white man, as Minister of Industry.

In spite of constant sniping by his divided opponents and, in particular, regular denigrating articles in the *Trinidad Guardian* from Albert Gomes, the P.N.M. Government has set out to clear up the governmental chaos which it inherited and to plan the life of the island according to the national interest. A variety of committees and commissions have been established to provide basic data hitherto neglected, whilst advice has been sought from Professor W. Arthur Lewis, the noted West Indian economist, from Manchester University, and the Puerto Ricans on economic development.

The more intelligent leaders of business and commerce have realised that good government is in their interests and some of them have given cautious approval to the P.N.M.'s approach, particularly after Dr. Williams had given the assurance that his was not a socialist movement. The bogey of nationalisation which might have inhibited attraction of American capital was thus removed.

ERIC WILLIAMS' COURAGE

The clearest indication of the new Government's intentions was revealed in their 1958 budget. After studying the oil legislation in Venezuela, Texas and Alberta, Chief Minister Williams was convinced that Trinidad oil should contribute more to the national revenue. He accused the previous government of irresponsibility and selling out the national interest in their oil deals. When, with characteristic austerity and personal intensity, the Chief Minister and his staff had worked right through Christmas and he had made a six and a half hour budget speech, the country woke from its lethargy to find considerable tax increases, including doubling that on petrol, to be borne by the oil companies, higher rates on motorcars, tobacco, alcohol and postage. The Chief Minister also indicated that during the coming year oil legislation similar to that in Venezuela would be introduced, from which the Government would get at least half the profits, after taxation, of the oil companies.

It is obvious, therefore, that under William's leadership the P.N.M. Government is determined to find the capital for the national development it considers essential, mainly from the resources of its own people. The efforts to get further help by grant or loan from the British Government had failed and, although strenuous attempts are being made to attract capital from overseas, particularly from America, any success in this can only have a long-term effect. The P.N.M. is therefore calling for some degree of national austerity, particularly amongst the wealthier.

This is a bold and courageous policy to introduce to an island accustomed to a doctrine of unrestrained individualism, but nothing less is likely either to remove the gross social and economic inequalities of the islanders, or to lead to a soundly based national prosperity.

Because of its widely diffused support, the P.N.M. is probably the wealthiest political party in the West Indies. Certainly it has the largest number of paid staff. It is organised in a group system in the different localities rather than through definite constituency branches. Generally speaking it is Africans and Coloureds — rather than Indians — who are members of these groups.

TASKS AHEAD

Two major problems face the Party. The first is how to develop a homogeneity and common party loyalty when its members hold different political views and there is still some racial consciousness between Indian and African. The second is how to overcome the cynicism which is rife in Trinidad politics, particularly amongst the intelligentsia. In the professional classes, because of their scarcity, there are many opportunities for amassing personal wealth, doctors and dentists being particularly able to build luxury homes and live an ostentatious life, sharply contrasting with that of the workers. This not only provokes tensions, but tends constantly to destroy the attraction of genuine public service, which is so profoundly necessary to national progress.

On the efforts of the P.N.M. the future of Trinidad depends. If they should fall or be defeated, the life of the community will immediately degenerate into the unpleasant chaos of the past. Yet their attempt to raise the standard of public life has come dangerously late, and will be complicated by the establishment of Federation. Sooner or later it must be supposed that decisions dependent on political philosophy will have to be taken. The P.N.M. is a movement rather than a party, and as soon as political philosophy is introduced there is an obvious danger of schism within the organisation. Among the members are a number of Socialists and the P.N.M. has become an affiliate member of the Federal Labour Party. Yet many members are anti-socialist. Whilst adhering to the general outlook of the Federal Party, therefore, the organisation is not a full member and does not fully support its objects. Even though the need for external capital is realised, together with the fact that the P.N.M. alone can sustain the move towards honest public life, in the last resort the basic problems of Trinidad can only be solved according to socialist principles. Anything less can only aggravate the dangerous impulses of cut-throat individualism. Eric Williams is thus walking on a very thin tightrope and it may well prove that the prestige of a successful Federal state will offer him greater strength in facing his complexities than to any other West Indian public leader.

7. Birth of a Nation

ON April 22nd, 1958, Princess Margaret, representing the Queen, opened the first session of the West Indian Federal Assembly. Thus was formally born a new nation. It has reached the threshold of independent statehood and expects during its first five years of life to reach the pinnacle of independence and enter the fraternity of the Commonwealth of Nations as a full and equal member.

This achievement marks the climax of long endeavours by those with the faith to see that the people of the British West Indies could come to hold a common nationality and face their complex problems with the strength of unity. The efforts of West Indian Socialists have been the most important influence in this endeavour, for the idea of unified nationhood and political federation springs naturally from the emphasis which Socialism places on human co-operation across racial frontiers and common planning to overcome economic problems. In all the discussions and conferences leading to Federation, Socialists from the West Indies have steadfastly held to the faith that West Indians belong to a single community and their influence has been used throughout the islands in leading the common people towards this recognition.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The preamble to the Federal Constitution lays down the principle of religious freedom, proposes the greatest possible freedom for people and goods to move within the Federation, and sets the aim of establishing internal free trade and a customs union. The last is to be the subject of further discussions. The capital of the Federation is to be established in Trinidad, though there are still doubts as to whether the site at Chaguaramas, now used as a United States naval base, can be secured. This decision will depend largely on American recognition that a new nation must have the right to determine the usage of its own land.

There are to be two legislative houses: a Senate with 19 members appointed by the Governor-General, and a House of Representatives with 45 members, 17 from Jamaica, 10 from Trinidad, 5 from Barbados, 1 from Montserrat and 2 each from Antigua, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada. The Senate will have delaying powers of one year, but the House of Representatives has authority over all money bills. The Federation may legislate exclusively on such matters as defence, exchange control, migration, public services, its own agencies, including the University College. It may also pass laws on such matters as communications, banks, industrial arbitration, currency, customs, industrial development, postal and telegraph services, higher

education, trade and commerce, and trade unions. These matters are subject in addition to territorial law, but the laws of the Federation will prevail if there is any inconsistency. The territories will retain power over all other matters. Migration within the Federation is to remain in the hands of the territories for the first five years, but after that is subject to Federal control.

The powers still reserved to the United Kingdom are defence, foreign affairs, and financial stability.

SALUTE TO THE FIRST FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER

A Prime Minister will be elected by the House of Representatives and the Governor-General will then appoint ten other Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. At least three of these Ministers must come from the Senate, whilst the Governor-General has power to nominate three public servants to take part in the meetings of the Council. With the exception of the matters reserved to the United Kingdom, the Governor-General must act in accordance with the advice of the Council of State.

A Federal Supreme Court is to be established with a Chief Justice and at least three Federal Justices to be appointed after consultation with the Prime Minister.

During its first five years, the Federal Government will secure its revenue from a levy on the territorial governments and profits from the issue of currency. The levy is restricted, however, to BWI\$9,120,000 annually, or about £1,900,000. Jamaica will contribute 43 per cent., Trinidad 39 per cent., Barbados 9 per cent. and the rest smaller amounts of under 2 per cent. each.

The Federal Civil Service will be controlled by a Public Service Commission appointed by the Governor-General, and already a pre-Federal secretariat has been at work building its machinery.

The Constitution may be amended by Order-in-Council, which process may be invoked to include territories still outside the Federation and create additional seats for them. In any case, a conference is to be convened after five years to review the Constitution and other matters arising out of initial experience.

TOO LITTLE HELP FROM BRITAIN

For the first ten years the United Kingdom Government is to make an annual grant to the Federal Government equal to the budget deficits of those territorial governments which have been receiving grants-in-aid. The Federal Government will thus become responsible for aiding these territories and exercising some financial control over their expenditure. The British Government has also offered up to £1 million towards the cost of setting up the Federal capital. Until independence is attained, Colonial Development and Welfare Funds will still be available.

The fact has to be faced that the first Federal Government is being set up with weak powers and scanty finance. The present British Government has hardly given it an encouraging start by its parsimonious attitude and by the appointment as Governor-General of a politician with no previous knowledge of, or experience in, colonial matters. It has unfortunately given the appearance of being anxious to get rid of its colonial responsibilities as cheaply as possible, involving itself in the future of the Federation to the minimum. We have still to see whether the United States will show itself any more generous in its attitude to the capital site.

THE ECONOMIC TASK

The central economic problem of the Federation will be how, with its meagre powers, to exercise a co-ordinating and positive influence on the economic development of its constituent islands. If Federation means anything economically it must find a way to draw the economic directions of the territories together so as to make a united attack on the poverty under which the vast majority of its inhabitants are suffering.

There are two central difficulties here. In the first place, the economies of these islands are at present almost entirely competitive rather than complementary. They all depend very heavily on the export of sugar and citrus. Variety is introduced only to a minor degree with products such as arrowroot, nutmeg, cotton and cocoa, except in Trinidad and Jamaica, where oil and bauxite supply alternative revenues. It is thus not the case that Federation can simply make minor adjustments in production in order to create a co-ordinated plan in which the products of the different islands will become complementary to each other.

The West Indies are left even more exposed by the fact that they are at present totally unable to compete in the open market with American production in sugar or fruit. If liberalisation of trade continues and dollars become more plentiful, even the present shaky West Indian economy could completely collapse. Meanwhile, competition from African bananas and fears that the European Common Market may discriminate against Commonwealth fruit, add to the dangers.

SACRIFICE AND FAIR SHARES

The second major difficulty is the preponderance of Jamaica and Trinidad in the West Indian economy. Both of these islands might just possibly become viable on their own. Unless they are prepared to sacrifice this chance and continue to make real contributions to the welfare of the other islands, Federation cannot survive economically. On the other hand, in the long-term, both the larger islands can find deeper-rooted security and increased trading opportunities by supporting the Federal

conception. The question is whether they will be prepared to sacrifice short-term possibilities by investing in long-term opportunities. In the meantime the economic relations between the new Federal Government and the Governments of Jamaica and Trinidad will be of supreme importance, for if any genuine planning is to be done on a Federal basis, the two wealthy units must co-operate fully, whilst the Federal planners will have to take into heavy consideration the policies of both Jamaicans and Trinidadians.

These problems of uneven influence and the danger of conflicting policies have been recognised by the West Indian Federal Labour Party in its election manifesto. In addition to the great emphasis it places on economic planning and initiative, on securing the badly needed specialists, and on technical training, the Federal Labour Party proposes to set up a Council of Ministers representative of the whole British Caribbean area. Such a Council can play a great part in co-ordinating the economic policies of the different islands, though it will have to be careful not to supersede the functions of the Federal Government itself. If this Council can develop the socialist outlook of the Federal Party, which demands a real spirit of service to the whole Federal community, guaranteeing economic planning, implying some initial sacrifices, and an awareness of the dangers of relying too heavily on privileged external capital, it can provide the Federal Government with the sound foundations it will need on which to build gradually centralised economic direction.

THOSE WHO HAVE STAYED AWAY

A further contribution which this Council can make is to associate those territories at present outside the Federation with the general direction of Federal development. British Guiana, British Honduras and the Bahamas will not be original members of the new Federal state. Yet British Guiana, in particular, can be of the utmost significance to West Indian development, for it is the one British territory in the Caribbean with sufficient space for population expansion. Admittedly heavy capital investment is essential for the development of the Guianese hinterland, and at present there are no obvious means by which this can be found. At the same time, if the acute population pressures and scarcity of resources which are hindering increased standards of living in all the islands are to be solved. British Guiana is the obvious place to explore. Even if the brave Governments of Jamaica and Barbados are successful in educating their people in birth control, emigration opportunities are essential for the intensive development of the resources available and for building healthy social life.

It is encouraging to note that Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the leading Minister of British Guiana, is a supporter of the Federation principle and has

begun to act as an observer in certain Federal discussions. His chief opponent, Mr. Linden Burnham, is also a supporter of the Federation principle. If the fears of the Guianese that joining Federation will lead to dilution, fears which are both economic and racial, can be overcome by political education, British Guiana may well become a Federal member by the time the Federation is ready for independence. It can then contribute one of the most important opportunities for Federal success.

CLEAN-UP FOR THE BAHAMAS

The present confusion in British Honduras offers little hope for an early association of that country with the Federal state. But the situation in the Bahamas is quite different. These islands are at present controlled by a racketeering business clique which holds its power through the undemocratic franchise. The constitution of the Bahamas can only be amended by their own Legislature and, as the present ruling clique only retains its power because of a qualified franchise and plural voting, it is hardly to be expected that it will introduce reforms which would certainly destroy its present hold. On the other hand, recent unrest has shown that a considerable section of the people is no longer content with these unrepresentative conditions. The only way to break this deadlock, other than revolt, is for the British Government to suspend the constitution and introduce a new one.

This is the demand made by the Progressive Liberal Party which leads the opposition to the 'Bay Street Mob'. The Progressive Liberal Party has had some association with the Federal Labour Party and if it were elected into office under a democratic constitution would certainly consider joining the Federation. In that case the federal influence could be used to help in eradicating the gross colour bar now prevalent amongst these tourist-dominated islands.

BELONGING TOGETHER

Most of the public discussion on the Federation is centred on its economic problems, opportunities and complexities. Economic achievement is obviously one of the main factors on which the success of Federation will depend. Yet material advance is not the only, nor even the most important, purpose of Federation. What West Indians have previously lacked even more than the material necessities of life is a sense of community, a feeling of belonging to one society. Only when involved in the fortunes of the West Indian cricket team has this sense of nationality appeared. If Federation can create healthy national pride, it will give the West Indians a sense of well-being far greater than any material benefits.

In striving for nationality West Indians have to overcome some of the most profound dividing forces of the twentieth century world and if their effort is successful they will have taught the rest of the world important lessons. They will have a better opportunity of solving each of their problems once they feel that they are approaching them in the security of a collective effort. Their economic difficulties, for instance, will certainly take a long time to overcome. Yet measures such as the existing Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, which benefits the West Indies through subsidies, and at times, as in 1957, allows Britain cheaper sugar than from the world market, can obviously best be negotiated as a collective unit. It is obvious, too, that determined attempts will have to be made throughout the area to produce the food necessary for its own people's health. Some beef and milk production is already being attempted, but a balanced diet is still unavailable for the vast majority. Fishing and its products could certainly be much more widely extended. At the same time, development of industry, particularly in the larger islands, the baiting of foreign capital, and the encouragement of tourism, are all of vital importance to the development of the West Indian economy. Dealt with on a national basis rather than separately, and often differently, by each territory, their results can be far more rewarding.

Similarly in regard to ignorance, only a collective and co-ordinated educational programme, in which students can be trained at Federal institutions, can undermine that weight of ignorance which delays all social and economic progress. The University College has a special part to play here, not least in the organisation of its extra-mural work. Much of this work so far has tended to be outside the comprehension or interest of the vast majority of the people. A virile adult educational movement, starting its discussions at the level of the common people, can be of immense benefit to the growth of national consciousness and social awareness.

EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD

Unquestionably the problem which gives the Federation its major opportunity to become really significant in world affairs is racial tension. Much of the racial feeling between black and white has been either overcome or by-passed in the West Indies. Some estrangement still lingers between African, Coloured and Indian. To set up a Federal State itself proclaims that race is no longer to be a dividing force in this community. The West Indian nation will be composed of white, black, brown and yellow, each with the same rights, each considered as an individual human being, irrespective of racial origin. The lie direct is being given to all theories of apartheid, separate development, or racial superiority. Central Africa and South Africa have both shown the

impossibility of building genuine national loyalty on the maintenance of racial divisions. The West Indies has taken the opposite course. If this great human experiment in nation building from diverse elements is successful, racialists all over the world will be confounded and the cause of human comradeship across the racial barriers will be given tremendous encouragement.

OPPORTUNITY FOR LABOUR

In every detail of this great effort in building a new nation the part to be played by the West Indian Federal Labour Party is of fundamental importance. In the first place, the leaders of this Party alone have established such integrity in public life as to be capable of upholding those high principles on which Federation itself depends. At the same time, it is the Federal Labour Party and its members who are the custodians of the other fields of community development through which experience in genuine democratic practice can be gained. The Trade Union Movement has a vital part to play in developing the spirit of democracy through active experience in its operation. Trade Unions are comparatively young in all the islands, and in some places they have become divided and competitive, often used for non-trade union purposes. A Federal Government, led by the Socialists of the Federal Labour Party, will ensure that machinery is created for genuine trade union activity, whilst the Party itself, so closely linked to leading trade unions, will certainly ensure that a true spirit of democratic trade unionism is developed in every territory. The corollary of political federation must surely be the development of a federal trade union centre on the lines of the British T.U.C.

It is equally obvious from everything that has been said about the problems of overcoming poverty that the Co-operative Movement is ideally designed to help the thousands of poor peasants to make the best collective use of their resources. In all the islands co-operatives already exist, though unevenly developed. Perhaps the most successful example is in the small island of Tobago, where agricultural societies, credit unions, consumer and marketing societies play an active part in community development. Tobago also has the first co-operative self-service shop in the West Indies.

Yet co-operation has never yet played as full a part as it can in helping to solve the problem of poverty. Producer and marketing co-operatives can obviously be of the utmost service to the peasants. Consumer co-operatives can reduce the cost of living, co-operative housing can help to build new homes. It must be emphasised, however, that much greater hard work and intensive cultivation is demanded if production is to rise. A lesson might well be taken from the experience of Israel. Never-

theless, the co-operative principles and methods, if extended and given greater assistance from Britain, can at one and the same time make more of scanty resources and practise that community spirit so essential to Federal success.

SOCIALIST NATIONHOOD

The West Indian Federal Labour Party has staked itself on the achievement of West Indian nationhood. It has won the first Federal elections, but only just. The disappointing result is the consequence of that vein of West Indian politics, lack of organisation. The job now is to increase membership. It faces a divided opposition. Bustamante, in reaction to its formation, has toured the islands to try and establish what he calls a 'Democratic Labour Party'. The links which he has achieved with uneasy bedfellows like Albert Gomes, Victor Bryan and Bhadese Maraj in Trinidad are tenuous and artificial. This party, indeed, is little more than a collection of individuals grouped together in order to win seats, based purely on expediency and without any political principle.

On the genuine Labour Party depends the success or failure of West Indian Federation. It is called to a great but delicate task. Its personnel resources will be widely stretched, for in each island it has to balance the necessity of getting the best men into the Federal House, whilst at the same time leaving sufficient ability to maintain the island governments. It will have to determine just how far and how fast it can increase the powers of the Federation without alienating the support of the major islands. It needs the services of all trained, skilled and intelligent men and women prepared to devote themselves to the creation of a new nation.

But if the responsibilities and difficulties are great, so are the opportunities. It is this Party, its leaders and members, who have seen the dawn on the horizon. They have set themselves the task of creating a free, democratic socialist state, in which men and women of diverse races, origins and religions can find a new purpose in loyalty to a united community. Their faith and courage ensures success. In this achievement they can teach important lessons to the rest of mankind and go forward in the strength of unity to make their unique contribution to the community of nations.

APPENDIX I

WEST INDIAN FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
As at 1st APRIL, 1958

<i>Territory</i>	<i>W.I. Federal Labour Party</i>	<i>Democratic Labour Party of the W.I.</i>	<i>Others</i>
Jamaica	6	11	—
Trinidad	4	6	—
Barbados	4	—	1
Dominica	2	—	—
Grenada	2*	—	—
St. Lucia	2	—	—
St. Vincent	—	2	—
St. Kitts.	2	—	—
Antigua	2	—	—
Montserrat	1†	—	—
TOTAL	25	19	1

* Reports that the two Grenada members will join the Democratic Labour Party have not yet been officially confirmed.

† Although Montserrat has only one seat it elects two members, who attend the Federal House of Representatives alternately.

APPENDIX II. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Territory	RACIAL DESCENT : PERCENTAGES								VITAL STATISTICS		
	Populn. Mid-1955 Estimate	Area sq.m.	Populn. per sq.m. 1955	African	East Indian	Mixed Descent	European	Other and Un- specified	Births per 1000	Deaths per 1000	Infant mortal. /1000 live b.
<u>JAMAICA, incl.</u>											
Turks & Caicos..	1,579,620	4411	358	76.2%	16.5%	2.4%	1.2%	3.7%	37.3	9.5	54.2
<u>TRINIDAD and</u>											
Tobago	721,000	1980	364	47.0%	35.0%	14.0%	3.0%	1.0%	36.9	9.6	63.5
<u>BARBADOS</u> ..	229,000	166	1379	77.2%		17.6%	5.1%	0.1%	30.8	10.6	96.7
<u>WINDWARD ISLANDS</u>											
Grenada ..	88,200	133	663	} 60.0%	} 3.0%	} 35.0%	} 1.0%	} 1.0%	40.8	12.4	81.4
St. Lucia ..	87,100	238	374						40.1	12.7	101.9
St. Vincent ..	75,900	150	506						46.3	21.1	106.9
Dominica ..	62,100	305	204						37.9	14.5	132.0
<u>LEEWARD ISLANDS</u>											
excl. Virgins											
St. Christopher..	53,900	153	352	} The majority are of African descent. No details available.					42.1	11.1	69.6
Antigua ..	51,900	171	304						33.0	10.6	87.9
Montserrat ..	14,300	32	446						31.3	13.1	123.7
<i>Federal Totals</i> ..	2,963,020	7739	383						37.1	10.0	n.a.

NOTES:

Racial percentages.

Jamaica: 1953 census.

Trinidad, Barbados, Windwards: 1946 census.

Vital statistics

All except Leewards based on 1956 figures.

Leewards based on 1954 figures.

UNITED KINGDOM, 1956

Population, 1955	...	...	51,195,000	Births per 1,000	...	...	...	16.1
Area (sq. miles)	...	...	93,053	Deaths per 1,000	...	...	...	11.7
Population per sq. mile, 1955	...	...	550	Infant Mortality	...	...	...	24

APPENDIX III. PUBLIC FINANCE AND TRADE

Territory	Revenue £'000.s	Expend- iture £'000.s	Imports Value £'000.s	Domestic Exports Value £'000.s	MAIN PRODUCTS AS PERCENTAGE OF EXPORTS BY VALUE					
					Sugar rum Molasses	Bananas	Coffee	Cotton	Minerals	Other Agric. Products
<u>JAMAICA incl.</u>										
Turks & Caicos..	19,082	18,519	58,312	37,741	35.1%	14.0%	2.8%		27.6%	6.1%
<u>TRINIDAD and</u>										
Tobago ..	18,431	17,959	62,917	67,083	8.2%		0.5%		82.2%	4.1%
BARBADOS ..	3,600	2,944	12,774	6,849	92.6%					0.4%
<u>WINDWARD ISLANDS</u>										
Grenada ..	962	1,051	2,614	1,013		2.8%				94.8%
St. Lucia ..	715	707	1,648	893	37.3%	35.9%				17.8%
St. Vincent ..	710	710	1,469	1,005		14.5%		4.4%		55.7%
Dominica ..	622	554	1,250	1,210		65.3%				24.8%
<u>LEEWARD ISLANDS</u>										
excl. Virgins										
St. Christopher..	914	938	1,943	1,948	87.5%			6.7%		
Antigua ..	1,132	1,235	2,154	1,025	69.8%			28.8%		
Montserrat ..	228	213	249	84				74.5%		7.4%
<i>Federal Totals</i> ..	46,396	44,830	145,330	117,851	23.6%	5.6%	2.2%	0.2%	55.6%	6.0%

NOTES:

Totals and percentages of totals show general trends only, since the datum years do not coincide.

Jamaica: Revenue and Expenditure relate to 1955-56.

Leewards: All figures relate to 1955.

All other figures relate to 1956.

MINERALS:

Jamaica: alumina and bauxite.

Trinidad: petroleum and products, and asphalt.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS:

Grenada: mainly cocoa, nutmegs, mace; *St. Vincent:* mainly arrowroot.

