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University of the West Indies/University of Sussex

CENTRE FOR MULTI-RACIAL STUDIES

Attached is the full transcript of the Inauguration Ceremonies of 15th and 16th April, 1968.

It is emphasized that, with the exception of Lord Caradon's speech, which he has provided for us in edited form, the transcription has been done direct from the tape.

It is hoped at a later date to produce an edited version of the proceedings for publication.

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University of the West Indies/University of Sussex

CENTRE FOR MULTI-RACIAL STUDIES

INAUGURATION CEREMONY

15-16 APRIL, 1967

Vice-Chancellor of the
University of Sussex,
Professor Asa Briggs

As Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex it gives me the very greatest pleasure today to welcome on behalf of the Chancellor of my own University yourself, the Honourable Prime Minister of Barbados, representatives of Governments, of the United Nations, of universities and other organizations, and all our distinguished guests from the Caribbean, and from many different parts of the world.

Today is a most important and happy day in the history of my own University and in the history of the University of the West Indies. It is not often that an idea gets translated into fact as quickly as has been the case in the history of this Centre.

Many people are responsible for the speed of execution in relation to the transformation of idea into fact and I shall try to thank some of them later on. Yet what I would like to stress at the outset is that the idea itself, which lies behind this Centre, has carried with it from the start a sense of urgency for two main reasons.

First, multi-racial studies dealing with all parts of the world are urgently necessary at the present time. They raise some of the most difficult and some of the most serious issues of the 20th Century. The pace with which they are developing is changing all the time and so, too, are the perspectives. We cannot evade these issues, wherever we are, and we desperately need academic and other centres where they can be examined seriously and discussed systematically and critically but constructively in the light of all the different disciplines which represent the traditional bodies of knowledge - History, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Economics, and others. And I think because of the nature of the subjects with which this Centre will be concerned, the idea itself carries with it that urgency. Second, education itself, of course, in our century, carries with it the same sense of urgency. In my own University of Sussex which has grown in less than 7 years to a university of over 3,500 students and faculty, we feel that we are reflecting pressures which can be traced in all societies in all parts of the world; so too does the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies here. The speed of educational change and our own venture - a partnership between Sussex and the University of the West Indies - represents the kind of international academic co-operation, I believe, which is essential in the 20th century and which, I hope, will flourish in the future here. Indeed, I have every confidence that we shall be able to develop here a genuinely creative partnership which will enrich both sides.

Turning from the idea and the urgency which lay behind the idea to the fact and the achievement of the fact - we would not be here today if there had not already been a partnership between many different agencies and many different people. And I want to try very briefly in the time at my disposal to pay tribute to some of them, hoping that you will forgive me if, for reasons of time, some necessarily get left out. First, I would like to offer thanks to the Prime Minister and to the Government of Barbados, which gave us this beautiful site in this beautiful island and have taken the

greatest possible interest in the venture from the start. Most recently they have offered to place here the Richard Moore Library and thereby they have undoubtedly enhanced the power to attract that this Centre will have in all parts of the outside world. Second, I would like to thank most warmly the Ministry of Overseas Development in London which gave to the University of the West Indies a sum of money for the construction of the building; also I would like to thank the architect, the builders and the contractors who have managed to move with considerable speed - they too, when the economic situation alone has been pretty difficult and disturbing at various times since the exercise first began. Third, I would like to thank all our benefactors - only a few of them can I mention by name, but I would particularly like to single out, if I may today briefly, Mr. Thomas Bata, Sir Raymond Smith, Geest Industries (W.I.) Ltd., the Barbados Lions' Club, who made the gift of the Richard Moore collection to the Government of Barbados, and to the Government of Guyana, whose gift of wood for the book shelves will make sure that the inside of this building is as attractive as the outside. And we have, indeed, on display today one of the bookshelves which will eventually form part of the general furniture of this building. Fifth, I would like to thank my sister university which has been involved in every stage of this venture, and in particular this campus of the University of the West Indies, its administration and faculty who have given and continue to give that moral and practical support to the venture without which the Centre could not possibly hope to function.

Before I invite the Prime Minister of Barbados formally to declare this building open there are two other points which I would like to make - one general, but basic, - the other specific and direct. First - this is the basic point: while a building by itself is a fact, I hope that this building will serve as a centre for research for individual scholars and for teams of scholars and provide a conference centre; it will also be the base for an organized research programme to be worked out jointly by the University of Sussex and the University of the West Indies, dealing with such questions as integration and conflict in inter-ethnic relations, the special features of the cultures of the Caribbean and neighbouring areas, which rightly interest scholars of many countries, and which make this the natural place for a Centre of this kind. And not least, the comparative dimensions of inter-ethnic questions and the relationship of ethnic to other factors. Associated with this research purpose, however, which will take a long time to mature, I hope also that there will develop very quickly in Barbados and in the Caribbean a feeling that this Centre belongs to Barbados and to the Caribbean; that there can be a programme of conferences and other activities here which will be meaningful and relevant to citizens living on the spot. It will be the object of Professor Henriques, its Director, and Miss Sheppard, who is living in the Centre, to ensure that this is so and that thereby ideas having been translated into fact, facts are translated into deeds. I would like, if I may, as Vice-Chancellor of Sussex, to pay a tribute to Professor Henriques and to Miss Sheppard: to Professor Henriques for the imaginative boldness with which he first conceived the idea which lies behind this Centre and for his enthusiasm in talking about it; and to Miss Sheppard, who has worked very hard to make today's meeting possible. My second point is specific and direct, and here I turn back to the mood at the beginning of this meeting. In the light of the events of the last two weeks, which have shown how explosive and tragic inter-ethnic issues can become in this century, I should like, on behalf of our two universities, to have the hall in which we are meeting today named the "Martin Luther King Hall". I find it quite impossible to make any speech today without having the name of Martin Luther King in the very forefront of my mind: the greatness of his life, the horror

of his death. No scholar, no statesman, can be happy about a world where senseless prejudice can produce such a terrifying catastrophe. The least we can do, politicians, or academics, is to concern ourselves in our own spheres, practically and above all, morally, with the reasons why he lived the life of commitment he lived, and why he died. I am sure that he would have approved of the sense of purpose which I would like to feel lies behind this venture which we are inaugurating today.

My final task, and it is a very happy one, is to invite the Prime Minister of Barbados to address us and to declare the Centre officially open. I have enjoyed all my meetings with him and the way in which we have been able to talk freely about prospects and opportunities. On behalf of the Chancellor of my own University, its Council, its Senate, its Faculty and its students, who are particularly interested in what we are doing here, I would like to express to him and through him, to his colleagues, how deeply we appreciate both his generosity and his endeavour; we look forward to the same close co-operation in the future which we have already enjoyed in the past.

Prime Minister of Barbados,
the Honourable Errol Barrow

Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellors, Pro-Vice-Chancellors, your Excellencies, my lords, ladies and gentlemen: three short years ago I was made aware of the work which had been started in the United Kingdom by the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies of the University of Sussex. After only 12 months of activity in this field, the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies had developed such a high degree of confidence in the need for its investigations that it began to look around for a likely place to set up a new theatre of operations. I should like to think that the final selection of Barbados was influenced by the physical attractiveness of the island and the enlightened nature of its parliamentary institutions, coupled with an insatiable intellectual curiosity on the part of our people. However, those who look upon the innumerable blessings bestowed upon us by a benign providence are more likely to attribute our good fortune in this particular instance to the ripeness of our society for critical sociological analysis. The truth, however, abides exclusively neither with the one school of thought nor with the other. Sufficient it is for me to say that no conference of West Indian governments was summoned, no editorials planted in the local or foreign press by zealous candidates, no interminable public debate initiated, no reasons given, nor asked, but a simple formula was invoked - borrowed from the wisdom of the ancient kingdom of China wherein the only suitable candidate for a post was informed that the powers and authorities that he would deem it a great honour and privilege if the esteemed and most distinguished candidate would consent to be associated with so insignificant and unworthy an employer. This is a formula which the founding fathers of the Regional Development Bank might well consider adopting. Approached in this flattering manner, the Government of Barbados might well consider accepting the invitation. We are not really in the running, but we are willing to be drafted. In the same way, of course, as we unhesitatingly accepted the approach made by the University of Sussex and subsequently endorsed by the University of the West Indies, our own institutions, and the Ministry of Overseas Development of the United Kingdom. The Government of Barbados has been pleased, with the advice and consent of both houses of the legislature, to grant a lease of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land for a period of 99 years to the University of the West Indies, acting in collaboration with the University of Sussex. The buildings in which we sit and which surround us have been erected in good time on this land. And the Ministry of Overseas

Development has defrayed the capital cost of their construction. The Centre has come into being, therefore, through the cooperative efforts of two countries and two great, young, forward-looking universities; at a time when the attention of mankind is being focused in a manner which could have never taken place earlier than the beginning of the second half of the 20th century on the problems of multi-racial societies. At no period in history has it been more dramatically brought home to nations all over the face of the earth that the proper study of mankind is man. We do not expect that the investigations carried out at this, or any other Centre, will solve all or any of the problems with which we are confronted in our time. If, however, the Centre serves as a means of identifying the problems and providing sign-posts to governments, pointing to the directions in which we could usefully deploy our resources towards the successful victory over poverty, prejudices, and racial antagonisms, then the fate of those who have contributed time and effort and money towards its establishment, and the fate of those who, in like manner, will, we hope, carry on the work will be more than justified. The martyrdom of those who have toiled without the hope of any reward, will be more than vindicated.

Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellors, Pro-Vice-Chancellors, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Government and people of Barbados, I should like to welcome you all to our country, in the hope and expectation that you will continue to demonstrate the same interest in the working of the Centre as you have done by your distinguished presence here today, I have great pleasure in declaring the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies open.

Vice-Chancellor of the
University of the West Indies,
Sir Philip Sherlock

Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor, Honourable Prime Minister, Honourable Ministers, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen; it is a great pleasure to be associated with our Pro-Chancellor in saying how happy the University of the West Indies is to have a part in this important venture. We are particularly pleased to have with us so many friends; there are here members of our Council like Senator Pierre and the Honourable Mr. Francois, and Mr. Ronald Tree; we have also members of Council who served us so well in the past, like Sir Grantley Adams and Sir Garnet Gordon; and we have with us representatives from many learned institutions and universities - the President of the University of New Brunswick, Dr. Vera Rubin of the Research Institute for the Study of Man, Mr. Alan Earp, from the University of Guyana and many others. It is a very great pleasure to have you all with us this afternoon.

Forgive me if I say a special word of welcome to Lord Caradon; in the days when he was Sir Hugh Foot, the greatly loved Governor of Jamaica, he had an important part in the early strengthening and establishing of the University of the West Indies. He would sometimes come up to us at a time when it seemed to me that I was living in the midst of turmoil, and with a benign smile look round and say, "Well, this really is a beautiful ivory tower, isn't it?" But in spite of that, we owe a great deal to Sir Hugh, as he was then; he always, of course, had trouble with his name; on one occasion, Lady Foot and himself arrived at Falmouth Baptist Church, got there a little late because of trouble on the road, and just as they entered the choir, which was large and in great volume, sang "How Beautiful are the Feet". The change

over to Caradon doesn't really help him very much because on her last visit to Jamaica Lady Caradon was introduced to the congregation of another church, make it Anglican just to be fair, as "Lady Cardigan;" and the church warden, who was an old friend of hers, on escorting her out of the church, addressed her as "my sweater girl".

Those others who are here from the University of the West Indies attach considerable importance to this venture. We have many happy relationships with many universities and it is just on that last note that I would end - that I believe that in this last 20th century of ours, because with the space age, the new century has started - in this new age, university communities have a special role in addition to the traditional roles of teaching and research. We meet here this afternoon on an island in an archipelago, and throughout our history the shore has been a boundary between sea and land and a barrier between man and man.

And so in a special way, perhaps, the Caribbean archipelago symbolizes the present dilemma of mankind in which races are divided by the bitter tides of hatred and suspicion and distrust. And all this at a time when modern technology has diminished distance, the archipelago in which we live is now much closer together than it was in the days of the sailing ship, and tomorrow, with the jumbo jets, Miami will be half an hour away from us. While science is constricting the physical environment, we do not yet understand how to live as neighbours and as brethren. So that anything which helps to establish the fellowship of man and the dignity of the human being is of supreme importance; and this amongst others, is the important task of the university in our age. So that perhaps it might all be summed up in the words which Adlai Stevenson used at Mona some two years ago when he pointed to the need for man to understand man if he was not to be destroyed by man and described this world of ours as 'a little space ship from which there is no escape hatch'.

So, in this Centre, and in the life of Barbados and in the Caribbean community and throughout the world, we face now the inescapable and the supreme task of bridging the old insularities and making clear that no island can be entire to itself but is a part of the continent, a part of the main.

Pro-Chancellor of the
University of the West Indies,
Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister
of Trinidad and Tobago.

Prime Minister, Vice-Chancellors, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Honourable Ministers, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: the opening of the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies in Barbados is a tribute to the continuing vitality of both the University of Sussex and the University of the West Indies. The University of the West Indies has of late shown an increasing awareness of community problems and regional needs. This is all to the good, since the University is serving a group of emerging countries such as the Commonwealth Caribbean territories, and can never afford to adopt a position of ivory towered detachment. The problems of the environment must be identified, investigated and illuminated. This applies not only to the natural environment of, for example, soils, fishery resources, mineral resources, animal husbandry, and the broad area of technological research in general. It also applies to the human environment

of economic and social relationships between men in the community and to the functioning of our economies and our societies. It is fitting and proper that among the disciplines which seek to explore the manmade environment, multi-racial studies should be introduced.

Historically speaking, the Caribbean has been an amalgam of different races. In fact, the introduction of different races was part and parcel of the need for the very basis of the traditional West Indian economy, the sugar plantation. To survive in a world of from the 18th century onwards was becoming increasingly competitive. In recent years in the West Indies we have sought to assimilate all the racial elements into a unique West Indian culture and we have attained a level of tolerance which might well be the envy of most other multi-racial societies. But much remains to be done; we cannot afford to be complacent, and the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies will have an extremely useful role to perform in analysing all the intricacies and subtleties of race relations in the Caribbean, and to formulating approaches for a better climate of race relations.

We must also not forget the imagination and energy displayed by the University of Sussex. The University of Sussex has come to be identified with all that is progressive in the contemporary British University. Three years ago, in the company of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Philip Sherlock and Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Barbados, Mr. Sidney Martin, of the University of the West Indies, I had the opportunity to ascertain this for myself in the course of an extended tour of British universities, and, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, we might consider this Centre for Multi-Racial Studies as one of the most important fruits of that tour three years ago.

But the University of Sussex is not content to approach boldly contemporary problems in Britain, it is outward looking as well and seeks to understand the world at large, a very befitting task for a university. In this connection I would like to take this opportunity to compliment the recently established Institute of Development Studies of Sussex University, which on present showing, has every prospect of becoming the leading Centre in Britain for the study of one of the central problems of the second half of the 20th century - the problem of the economic and social transformation of this so-called third world.

As Pro-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, I feel very closely involved with the new Centre for Multi-Racial Studies and am sure that it will be successful beyond all expectations. I extend to the Institute, to Dr. Henriques and his colleagues my best wishes for all success in the future.

Right Honourable the Lord Caradon
Permanent U.K. Representative at
the United Nations

LECTURE

"Race Relations in International Affairs"

I had many reasons for eagerly accepting the invitation to be here today.

Any invitation to come back to the West Indies where I and my family spent a decade of our lives, I need not tell you, is like an invitation to come home.

I was specially glad to come here to witness the inauguration of this Centre for Multi-Racial Studies - which seemed to me to be a unique and imaginative enterprise. I wanted to come to add my congratulations in praise of those who conceived and delivered the child we christen today.

I was also glad to be able to escape for a day or two from all our anxieties and preoccupations of the United Nations to come back to seek inspiration - and I find that inspiration usually comes from meeting people rather than from official instructions.

No one is more convinced of the need for international action than I am. Indeed the dangers of the world are now so great and growing so fast that I am sure that national action alone is not enough, by whatever nation however rich and powerful. There is no hope now of tackling the vast and menacing problems of the world, including specially the dangers of racial conflict, except by a combination of individual and national and international action. All three are necessary.

The processes of international diplomatic communication, I need hardly tell you, are sometimes wearisome. When I hear long formal speeches in the General Assembly of the United Nations I often recall the words of the English poet who said more than a century and a half ago:

"Earth is sick
And heaven is weary of the hollow words
Which states and kingdoms utter
When they speak of truth and justice."

But I am sure that I shall go back to my labours in New York refreshed and encouraged by the inspiration of what is being started here in Barbados today.

I want to say something about race relations in international affairs. We know that questions of race increasingly dominate the national affairs of many countries in the world. We were brutally reminded of that when we heard the dreadful news from Memphis, Tennessee, eleven nights ago. Increasingly racial issues have come to dominate international affairs as well.

We who work at the United Nations have long been aware of the rising tension of race in world affairs. This may well be the most important development of this generation. It is likely to be the main problem of the remainder of this century.

I want to think with you why this should be so, and what the international community can and should do about it.

Many of the problems of the world - problems which somersault over one another day by day at the United Nations and in the capitals of the world - are, I need not remind you, complicated, baffling, perplexing. Who will be so bold as to pronounce confidently on such subjects, for instance, as the results of the recent United Nations Conference in New Delhi on Trade and Development - or on the ramifications and perplexities of international finance? Who can say that he knows for certain the solution of such questions as Kashmir, the Middle East, or even Viet-Nam? When I was in Cyprus we used to say that anyone who understood the situation had been misinformed.

Yes; there are dilemmas and complexities enough. Some of these problems seem to defy solution. If we disagree on them we have at least the poor comfort of knowing that the experts disagree amongst themselves even more vigorously and violently. We have perhaps excuses if we are uncertain, divided, confused in many of these questions.

But in what I believe to be the greatest issue of our time, the issue of race, the choice is clear for everyone. Every one of us is called upon to make up his own mind. Each one of us must take his own personal decision.

Here is a great world issue which every one of us is able to understand. Nations, political parties, even families may be split on this great issue, but none of us can escape from a personal decision. Everyone of us is involved. Each one of us must decide for himself alone.

Before I turn to international considerations let me therefore say a personal word.

I have three sons born in different parts of the world - one born in Arabia, one in Africa and one in the West Indies. It is good to have an Arab and a Nigerian and a Jamaican in the family. They are proud of the countries of their birth. My daughter was sufficiently unimaginative to be born in England but she has been making up for that ever since, and all of us in my family are strongly united, I am very happy to say, on the question of race. We hate racial discrimination more than anything else. Our admiration and affection for Arabs and Africans who have taught us these lessons is one of the dominant influences of our lives. We learnt our lessons in Amman and Lagos and Kingston. We learnt the lessons of courtesy and generosity and courage from the Arabs. In Africa we have seen how great are human potentialities when once men and women and children are released from the prison of poverty.

But it was here in the West Indies that I learnt most. I learnt here to detest any kind of oppression of one country or race by another. I learnt to detest any form of discrimination, racial or otherwise. I learnt to detest privilege in the sense of any permanent advantage maintained by one class or party or community over another. These are the convictions I learnt here in the West Indies. They have stood me in good stead. Everything I have seen since I left the West Indies confirms those convictions.

I have not forgotten these lessons now that I have graduated from the school of colonial administration to the University of international affairs.

All of us here can rejoice in those convictions. We can rejoice in our cause. We can all congratulate ourselves that we have such a gross and ugly evil to fight. In a world so full of doubt and dilemma we are happy to be sure. We can

even say that if we are to fail or fall against the rising forces of racial hatred and racial injustice in the world we shall be content to suffer reverses in a cause in which we feel so confident and so proud.

It is sometimes said that I am by upbringing a non-conformist, by training an administrator, by accident a diplomat, and by instinct a politician. I might add that if I had any choice I would be a West Indian by inclination.

I wish to speak to you today not in academic calm but from my own personal conviction and my own personal experience.

As I attempt to comment on the wide repercussions of race in international affairs I emphasize again that this is first of all a personal problem. It is a question of individual conscience. It is an issue which we cannot leave to governments or to international authorities. We cannot hope to make progress except by arousing and enlisting strong personal feelings. There must be personal feelings of intense protest. But we are far from being negative. We have to devote ourselves to the most constructive and the most honourable and perhaps the most difficult task in the world - the task of conciliation.

One of the best known stories they tell in Jamaica is the story of William Knibb, the Baptist missionary, who fought to free the slaves of Jamaica in the early days of the last century. Many of you know that story, how William Knibb was reviled and persecuted, but how he continued a leader in the cause of emancipation. At last the date approached when all the slaves would be freed at midnight. That evening - you remember the story - a vast congregation of slaves assembled in William Knibb's church in Falmouth on the north coast of Jamaica. The congregation turned from the preacher to watch the hands of the clock. As midnight, the hour of emancipation, approached the excitement became intense, and when the hour struck, William Knibb threw his arms in the air and cried, "The monster is dead".

Slavery as William Knibb knew it may be dead. But the domination of one race by another, the exploitation of one race by another, the cruel repression of one race by another, they are not dead. The monster lives. It threatens to play havoc with the world.

There is no need, I am sure, in this company to speak long about these dangers. It is sufficient to use the words of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This is what he said: "There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and, finally, eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels. Such a conflict will eat away the possibilities for good of all that mankind has hitherto achieved and reduce men to the lowest and most bestial level of intolerance and hatred. This, for the sake of all our children, whatever their race and colour, must not be permitted to happen."

I am concerned today to make two comments, or rather to attempt to answer two main questions. First, why is it that the issue of race has moved to the top of the list of world priorities? And what has been and is likely to be the consequence of that in the whole field of international relations?

You will have heard people say: Why do you get so excited about racial questions? Why so often single out southern Africa? Are there not tyrannies and oppressions and injustices elsewhere?

Certainly there are. We have no cause to deny or to belittle them. But there is an essential difference. Nowhere else in the world except in southern Africa is the domination of one race and the oppression of another made the official purpose and the acknowledged policy of the government in power. This is a tyranny plus an insult and an injustice to coloured peoples everywhere. Nowhere else is racism made a religion. This is ^{the} deification of evil. This is the unique offence. This is what distinguishes the despotism of southern Africa from all other despotisms in the world.

Nor is it merely a moral issue. It is a very practical and pressing one.

In Africa the forces of African nationalism come down through West Africa, East Africa into central Africa right down to the river Zambesi. And now more than two hundred million Africans north of the river control their own destinies. While south of the river except in three comparatively small territories, two of which were and one is still a British colony, no single African shares power in the central government of his country. The forces of African nationalism face the forces of white supremacy across the river. This is the confrontation which threatens all Africa, for we know that if race conflict starts in Africa all Africa will be inflamed - and the whole world involved.

Nor is it only an African problem. For we know that three greatest problems of the world - the problems of race and of poverty and of population - are all one.

By far the greatest danger in the world, so it has long seemed to me, is that there should be a division, a growing gulf, between all the Africans and all the Asians and all the Communists - for at least on the issue of race the Russians and the Chinese agree - on one side, and the white West on the other.

There is a further danger that those of us who come from the white West will be so occupied with our own comforts, so selfish and self-centred, that we shall fail to see and comprehend the danger till too late. It is the danger of a division in the world between the comfortable, complacent, affluent minority on one side and the overcrowded, impatient, discontented, hungry majority on the other.

I have been saying these things for a long time. You may well tell me that you know the dangers only too well.

Now in the United Nations we find that all our work is becoming overshadowed by these racial issues. Last month it was considerations of race and poverty as much as those of economics and finance which occupied the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi. Later this month racial considerations may well dominate the United Nations Human Rights World Conference in Tehran. So it has been in the Security Council. So it will be in the Twenty-Third Session of the General Assembly next September.

Some of us at the United Nations complain that whether we are dealing with legal or economic or human rights questions, or whatever subjects within the whole range of international interest we have to face, always there is a preoccupation, an obsession with race.

Some of us also complain when in fury and frustration the General Assembly resorts to resolutions which are unenforceable and consequently futile, resolutions which raise hopes they cannot fulfill.

Yes, such complaints and criticisms are, I believe, sometimes justified. I was always taught that one of the worst sins in public life is to lead people to believe and expect what cannot in fact be delivered.

There is consequently the further danger that the international community will over-reach itself, weaken or even destroy the faith placed in it, widen the credibility gap - to use a fashionable phrase - and itself contribute through frustration to the desperation of despair.

So much for the dangers. What can be done about them?

I shall not attempt to deal today with the action required in national policies in so many countries in the world. Last week was an historic week with the presentation of the Race Relations Bill to Parliament in London on Tuesday, and the signing of the Civil Rights Bill by the President in Washington on Thursday. But we know very well how much has to be done in England, in America and in many other countries as well. We know that such national action is desperately urgent.

But what can be done in the wider sphere of international action?

I am constantly conscious of the limitations. We have to recognise what can be done and what cannot. We must honestly face those limitations and honestly admit them. Vain gestures and sweeping declarations will not solve anything. They may even do harm. They may raise false hopes. The forces of domination and reaction are strong and arrogant and well organised and well led. The forces of conciliation and understanding are often weak and hesitant or scarcely led at all. We shall do no good by failing to see the power of our adversaries, or by attempting to do too much too soon. I often say that the task is one not for the cavalry but for the sappers.

So it is in Rhodesia. We have been dealing with Rhodesia during recent weeks in the Security Council, and we may go back into the Council on this issue this week. There are some who say that all we have to do is to sound the bugles and order the charge. Something less dramatic and less spectacular may be all that we can achieve.

But the most important thing is to show to those who have embarked on a course of maintaining racial domination that that way leads only to eventual failure in economic stagnation and in political isolation.

We must show that on our side we will not give up. We must show that even when the positive action open to us is limited we shall not fail to take it. We must show that for us there will be no going back.

There was a time in the last century when my country took an honourable lead, when political leaders of all parties - men as diverse as Pitt and Fox and Palmerston - worked first for the abolition of slavery and then for the suppression of the slave trade. Parliament voted twenty million pounds, a vast sum in those days, to free the slaves. The Royal Navy for nearly half a century at further great cost fought the slave trade on the high seas. Reactionary opposition in Parliament, the obstinacy of the white colonists, the support of foreign powers, all were overcome.

What hope have we in my country of writing another honourable page in our history to be compared with that?

I go back to what I said at the beginning. The hope lies in two things. First in youth. Whenever I can I go to universities in my country and in America and on this issue of race I find everywhere a healthy impatience, a new readiness to understand the needs and aspirations of the wider world and a new restlessness not for national gain or national pride but for international service.

That is the second reason for hope. In this there need be no national frontiers. Everywhere, as far as I can see, young people are contemptuous of the old barriers and old injustices. They are of one mind on this. Their convictions are not restricted by the old nationalism and the old isolationism and the old prejudices.

The new generation in many countries, so I believe, is ready to make a fresh start on the great issues of race. The new generation is eager to do so not from a position of narrow nationalism but with a new enthusiasm to work for international order.

When I speak of the new generation I am not thinking only or merely of the West. I am thinking of the new generation in the new nations. So far the new nations of Africa and Asia have been led by men trained in the previous colonial era. That was not so long ago. Less than a quarter of a century ago my country administered more than a quarter of the population of the world. What will the new generation in the new countries be like? What new ideas and new forces will emerge as they take over?

We cannot know. But we can at least be sure that the new generation in the new nations will be on the side of racial justice and political equality and economic emancipation.

When I went down through Africa a few years ago they told me in one country after another that more than half the population is under eighteen years of age. And now more of them are going to school. More of them are becoming aware of new horizons. These young Africans and Asians will not be content to go back to scrape a miserable livelihood from eroded and by antiquated methods as their fathers did before them.

We have not much time.

There may be little hope that the older generation will see more light or escape from the habits and attitudes of the bad old days. But the new generation can say to the old dying world in the words of a famous British statesman:

"But you have power, you have wealth, you have rank, you have organisation; you have the place of power. What have we?"

"We think that we have the people's heart; we believe and we know that we have the harvest of the future."

I was glad that the invitation to this ceremony came from both Sussex University and the University of the West Indies for that joint invitation was a symbol of what I believe is the most hopeful thing in the world - the hope of a wide coalition of youth in many different countries in what might become an international crusade against racial injustice. I believe that that coalition, that crusade, could show itself more powerful than the influences of old-fashioned party allegiances and stale ideological slogans and a reliance for our future only on the balance of terror. Victor Hugo's well-known words are still true: "One thing is stronger than all the armies of the world, an idea whose time has come."

I have long felt that the West Indies have a special contribution to make. The people of the West Indies are in a unique position to understand both East and West and North and South. They are in a unique position to teach and to show that we must not live in future in islands of isolation. They know that we must draw our inspiration not from the narrow patriotism of geography but from the wider patriotism of brotherhood.

I remember that when I was speaking in the University of the West Indies two years ago I tried to look at the problem of race through West Indian eyes.

The blood of Africa and of Asia and of Europe and of America runs in the bloodstream of the West Indies. From this the West Indians have drawn their strength and their confidence and their rich vitality. West Indians will, I am sure, remember both the bond and the debt of their blood. They will pay their debt to Africa and Asia and Europe and America by teaching and showing and living the wider patriotism of equal brotherhood. I believe that West Indians are better qualified and better equipped to do that than any other people in the world.

We have today witnessed the creation of more than a centre. We have opened a bridge - a bridge between the old world and the new. It is a bridge which spans more than the Atlantic: it spans a gulf of mistrust and suspicion. May it last and may it succeed.

Before I finish I want to leave in your minds one or two questions.

In this whole field of race relations, is it fanciful to think and speak of a new initiative - an independent and international initiative?

Is it possible to imagine a coalition of youth - an international coalition to fight the monster of racial injustice?

Is it realistic to dream of a crusade of youth - an international crusade for racial justice? A demand to shake all the powers that be from complacency and inertia? A warning that in this world-wide issue the rising generation round the world is not prepared to wait or to be fobbed off with platitudes and procrastinations?

Is it possible to see a new movement which can enlist the constructive enthusiasm of young men and young women everywhere - an international movement with its own creed and pledge, its own policies and projects, its own international volunteers?

This could be an idea whose time has come.

In the daily lives of every one of us, on our own doorsteps, in our national politics, in the new parliamentary diplomacy of the United Nations, wherever we may live and work, this is something near to us, something which cuts across national and ideological divisions and boundaries, something which could challenge and enlist and absorb the energies and enthusiasm of the young in East and West and North and South, something to protest about certainly, but something to preach and plan and act about too.

I can think of no better commitment and no better cause. I can think of no better place to start than here. I can think of no better time to begin than now.

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CLOSING CEREMONY, TUESDAY, 16TH APRIL, 1968

Director of the Centres
for Multi-Racial Studies,
Professor Fernando Henriques

Your Excellencies, Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: it's my great pleasure to introduce Professor Meyer Fortes to you; he is, as you know, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and has many claims to distinction, but I should like to mention that - I don't know whether this is a claim to distinction - but in fact, he has been my teacher, indeed my mentor, for a great number of years, and you might say that our being here today is very much his responsibility. But without more ado, Professor Fortes.

William Wyse Professor of Anthropology
at the University of Cambridge,
Professor Meyer Fortes

LECTURE

"Race, Culture and Collective Identity: Fact and Myth"

Your Excellencies, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: I don't know quite what to say in answer to that; however, having reached the advanced age not only of parenthood but grandparenthood, I feel that responsibility is something one can tolerate a little bit; anyhow, to be responsible for this is a very great privilege and a very splendid climax to a considerable period of activity.

I'm afraid that today we are going to come down to earth, perhaps, as I say, I'm just an academic and that means one is apt to be a little bit pedestrian and factual and I was going to say realistic, but I am afraid of that word, after the inspiring messages and exhortations we had yesterday which moved me as much as anybody else. So I address you with some diffidence, as I say, because there are, in fact, many other people here in the audience who are much better qualified than I am to talk at length about the matters with which this Centre is going to be concerned; scholars who have spent their life times studying problems of race and men of affairs whom you heard yesterday, who have been living and working with it. My main claim to being here, apart from the gesture of piety which Professor Henriques has just admitted to, is partly that I happen to have lived with the facts of race for all my life in one way and another, at both ends of the scale, so to speak.

I was born and grew up in South Africa, where on the one hand I had the experience of knowing what it means to belong to a privileged white race; but, on the other hand, I also experienced what it was, what it means, to belong to a minority within the white race. As a Jew, I experienced the aspect of discrimination and persecution even which is not normally associated with being white in South Africa. Then, I spent the rest of my life engaged in anthropological studies amongst tribal peoples in Africa, and there one had the most extraordinary experience of finding that you had these tribal peoples commonly spoken of and regarded as backward, savage, call it what you like, for whom the notion of race as some mysterious, discriminating, peculiar entity doesn't exist; there were whites and there were black Africans and whites, of course, the powerful and knowledgeable and so on - but that was really rather felt to be one of those curious accidents, they wouldn't have said, of history, but

it just happened that way; it wasn't a matter of some inborn quality of blood, it wasn't a result of some entity transmitted by heredity - it was just one of those things. And the great thing about tribal peoples, of course, is that they have absolutely no feeling about superiorities or inferiorities within the context of the tribal setting. I am speaking of Africa, of course, not of other parts of the world where discriminations do occur; discriminations to which we will refer in a moment.

There are some here, who, I think, realize that it is just 120 years ago since a political tract was flung into the stream of history which heralded a new era of thought and action about human affairs. It began: "A spectre is haunting Europe". As I said, I'm an academic and not a man of practical affairs whose concern is with swaying people to his way of thinking and getting things going in the way he thinks right. And one of the misfortunes about being an academic is that you operate with the idea that there are facts; there is truth, and if you seek in the right way, by the right methods, you will find out the truth. Perhaps you might say it's a chimera, but it's an academic way of thinking. However, we are not so unrealistic as to fail to realize that it doesn't always work out that way. Truths, facts, you can hold off, go into circulation, and they become, what I will call for the moment, mythologized, dressed up in ways that represent them differently for the people who take decisions, who have to act.

I recollect a conversation with a colleague of mine, a very distinguished economist who is a great authority on planning for developing countries; in talking about economic planning - he shook his head sadly as he held out to me a great wad of paper - he had just come back from one of these planning missions - and he said, "You know, my plans are perfect, I've got all the facts, I've got all the theory needed; it's only people that are the trouble. If only they would be reasonable, the plan would work". And that's the trouble we're running into all the time - it's the folks, as the north countryman says, who are queer. And people are the professional subject matter of an anthropologist, sociologist, psychologist; people are going to be the primary concern of this Centre here; so when I mention the spectre and I referred to that ancient spectre that was haunting Europe 120 years ago, I had in mind the spectre that is haunting the world now - I wrote this before Lord Caradon's speech yesterday - and what I am saying is simply to echo in some ways his remarks, when I say that this spectre is the spectre of race. And it's haunting the whole world. Now, of course, spectres or ghosts or zombies, it depends on what particular language you want to use about them, are not facts like this table, or this lectern, or this gathering of people; for I know that perfectly well, I've never seen one nor am I able to produce evidence that there are such phenomena. But, in my profession, one is constantly meeting with spectres in the minds of men, in their beliefs, in the way they set about managing their lives. And you soon learn to realize that this class of phenomena which I've called spectre, works in the minds of people exactly like the belief a child gets very quickly that if he puts his hand in the fire he'll be burnt. It's just an idea, and you've heard Lord Caradon yesterday on the strength of ideas. But it is there.

So what then is this spectre of race I'm talking about? It may be that I am especially aware of it just now and feel its sinister quality, its spectral quality, because I've just been living in America for the last 6 months and there you feel it's pervasive, it's all over the place, behind you, in front of you, wherever you go. But I do want to remind you that it is not confined to America; spectres have a way of being in 100 places at the same time; and this is the case with the spectre of race. It's all over the place in our time; there's

not a corner of the globe one can think of where race is just a neutral phenomenon like the landscape or like anything else at this moment of history. I don't have to talk about its history to explain to a Caribbean audience that it's nothing new, either, in the world. It's been well known to the people of these beautiful islands for a long time. And it's been well known, it's not a new thing either in the United States of America or anywhere else in the world. If you go back to the beginnings of American history you'll find its presence is there already. And lest we, who pride ourselves perhaps, are tempted to think of ourselves as living in the homeland of modern western civilization, in Europe, lest we be tempted to think that it's not a European phenomenon, let us not forget Hitler and remember that even his killers were only the climax of a movement in the thought, belief and activities of Christian Europe which began perhaps 1,000 years ago and resulted in more continuous persecution of minorities than perhaps the world has ever known. This is irrelevant, a reminder here, by the way, because the University of Sussex, so deeply involved in the present venture, also has, I happen to know, another venture, an institution - which is much concerned with this aspect of human nature and which will, I am sure, collaborate with and make some contributions to the work of the present Centre.

But now I must say that there is an aspect of today's haunting, today's spectre, which is peculiarly disturbing. If we go back 40 years - 40 years is just about the time when I began to take an active interest in these matters, began to do some work on this kind of problem - you find that it was a time when a number of academics - psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians and others in my own country of South Africa at that time whose studies are peculiarly and specially concerned with race in all its aspects - a number of academics of this sort were just then beginning to try to - I was going to say - to grapple with that spectre, but perhaps that is not the right word. I don't think any of us, then, thought or think now that there is any question about the reality of race as a fact of human life. It's a real phenomenon; there are white skinned peoples and dark skinned peoples, yellow skinned and red skinned with all sorts of shades of difference. A geneticist whom I recently met out in California has been calculating how long it would take for the people of America, if there was what we call random intermarriage irrespective of any barriers whatsoever, to become a uniform colour; and he decided that it would need at least 900 years. When he told me that, I said, "Well, not in my lifetime"!

So, we're going to have the facts of race as realities all over the world; we're going to have them with us for 900 years, and we had better get used to that. And also, peoples of different races - I'm using it in the simple, straight-forward way in which the man in the street in any country in the world now thinks of race; he doesn't go into the complexities of blood groups or things of that sort, he thinks, crudely, simply, directly, in terms of colour and a few associated characteristics like that. So that if we take it in that simple sense we know that from time immemorial, people of different races have lived in different parts of the world, have lived in different climates, have had different ways of living, different sources of livelihood, different languages, different customs, and habits and so on. The Eskimo, as you know, have what some regard as a very intelligent way of disposing of the aged since they cannot provide them with pensions, or with maintenance, or with welfare, or with some other kind of support - it is something that I have been thinking about as I approach age - that the Eskimos have a very intelligent way of dealing with it - they simply leave them on an ice floe and let nature take care of it. That sort of custom at one extreme and our own custom at the other extreme, which as you know, **most of you, has quite**

a different point of view and preserves them sometimes miserably and anxiously to live out painful days. This is just a very simple illustration to suggest to you that we've been familiar for a long time with the facts of racial differences associated with differences of where people live or how people live and this is very important to realize that these things go together - they are mixed up with one another - that race and culture as the anthropologist calls it, are entangled with one another in most intricate ways. And that is why, when you talk about race in one context, before you know where you are, you're moving into another context; for instance, in Africa now, there is a great deal of talk about tribalism. These two kinds of issues - the spectre of race, the spectre of tribalism, shade into one another and must be thought about and dealt with both scientifically in a scholarly way and in practical affairs, in the same context of analysis and thought. Now, I'm saying that 40 years ago people began to look at this phenomenon as psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and that it was understood and accepted then, as now, that there are such phenomena - there is a human phenomenon of race. It was also accepted and understood that, of course, there are differences, and that some of these differences are very important. We didn't need very much anthropology to know that there was no African peasant, however large his herd of cattle or his cornfields, who could be as well off in terms of material possessions as the missionary, who was preaching a new way of life to him, or the Colonial Government official, who was sitting up on the hill in his residence there. We knew very well that no African tribal ruler, however magnificent the pomp in which he lived, the ceremonies and rituals in which he surrounded himself and so on, that he knew he could not do as much for his children dying of malaria as two white pills which came from the white man's pocket; let alone the fact that however many warriors he might get together - one whiff, of not grape shot but a Maxim gun, would soon dispose of them. So these differences were known and understood and recognized facts and there were many more of this sort.

But the really important problem was this: how do we interpret these differences? The academics provided a lot of information, descriptions, data, great wads of intelligence tests for instance, were done by academics all over the world; I dabbled in that myself and it had a very extraordinary effect on me because I soon discovered when I tried to deal with race in this way that the trouble was the tests were wrong, not the races; this led me to change my whole way of life. And so there were many academic probings and investigations and so on in this field. And the data was produced and the data as it happened was sorted out by people who took political and social decisions in ways that were, shall I say, most extraordinarily like certain preconceived ideas on the subject. Here, fact, truth, what seemed objective, somehow or other, made sense in terms of a way of looking at these facts and truths which the academics had not originally contemplated. For as you well know, these facts received the interpretation that there was a scale of races from the lowest to the highest - this is an old idea - it went back into the mid-Victorian period and earlier - that there was a scale of races. But the Victorians had one peculiar point of view about it, illusion if you like, - they believed in evolution. They thought that these races differed, there was a scale of races from the savage right up to the civilized - I mean the civilized world were the Victorians themselves - who practiced monogamy as the climax of human morality and a few things like that and they had this belief that there was a thing called evolution which would go on.

But I'm talking about a period 40 years ago when, on the whole, in the countries that I know, like South Africa at that

time, the United States notoriously, of course, and elsewhere, I think, the idea of evolution had been thrown overboard. There was no conception in the backs of the minds of the people who were interpreting these facts that this was a temporary state of affairs - to give it the most charitable interpretation. No, there was a scale, there were superior races and inferior races. And they were inferior in intelligence, in morality, in capacity for being what was called civilized. And if they were drawn into the orbit of the advancing economy and society as it was thought of, they had an appropriate niche, an appropriate place which was well defined in the scriptures - white man's scripture - which talked about hewers of wood and drawers of water. There are people, there were people, there were areas of the world, where it is believed that these differences were originally established by God, as you know. So, there are facts, rather doubtful facts, we had interpretations couched in terms of a series of preconceptions. Now I must say this for my own profession, that when the academics got down to examining the evidence in detail, they arrived at the conclusion that this business of race superiority and inferiority as an innate intrinsic quality of the blood, the bone, the being of creatures, something that was there, something hereditary and genetic, immutable, they arrived at the theory that this particular way of looking at race differences just wasn't right; that it was a myth. A myth very often, in certain contexts, could justify superiority, privilege and domination. Well, you may say that the academics who reached this point of view were being influenced by their own odd, personal experiences perhaps, or their private, political biases because after all, academics also are human. They don't like paying taxes, they have liberal or not liberal points of view in politics and in human affairs. They, also, bleed when they're cut. So, you may say it's that - there are, after all the Australian aborigines and the Eskimo - they really are a little different from modern, white, advanced civilizations if you'd like to put it that way. And there's never a question, there never was a question, there never is a question of denying that this is a reality, a fact, a truth. The point is, how to interpret it; this is the real crux. And here we must draw not only on the academics' observations but on experience of all kind.

And so, one is led to realize, the academics were led to realize, and to declare, that the differences lie not in the immutable substratum-biological, physical-of race, but in the mutable, changeable, superstructure if you like, of history, or climate even, environment - we are in a building here which shows that you can do a lot in climates and environments to counteract the direct influence and above all, of inherited traditions and ways of life - a thing that anthropologists call culture. So, it was not in the brains of people, of human groups, that the difference lay, but in their social, and to some extent, a very great extent, psychological clothing they put on in different environments; this is the point I am emphasizing and driving home.

And the other point of great importance was this: that the conclusion was reached that very often, in fact one can generalize and say that mostly, these differences that we are talking about really represented something very peculiarly human, if you like, the capacity of humans, the genius of man which makes man standing on his two legs the highest of the primates - just a little different from the apes and the monkeys - nevertheless different, and that is, the capacity to invent, devise, ways of living in circumstances that would otherwise destroy groups of people, that manage to keep them going for generations and generations. So, these differences represent human inventions, human adaptations, adaptations of

genius when you come to look at it, to environment, to historical conditions and so on, and not a fall from grace, as one particular school of thought held. And most of all, I think, if we go back to the 30's and the 40's just before the war began, it would have been quite impossible to persuade most anthropologists in Europe, America, United States, most white anthropologists, let me be quite frank - there were very few non-white then - in Europe and America outside of Germany, which had a very peculiar bias, that it would have been impossible to persuade them that the moral values, the moral capacity and the educability especially, but most of all I want to emphasize this idea of the moral capacity of these African tribes or New Guinea tribes or people not 100% Aryan, was anywhere lower on a comparative scale or inferior to the moral capacity of Europe. Perhaps we were in a period of agony and distress about what was going on in Europe and we may have been a little biased by that, but the fact remains that we felt, anthropologists and other anthropologists here will confirm what I say - seem to have the evidence that these Australian aborigines, these Eskimos who put their old people out on the ice floes were carrying out these actions; these Africans who certainly, - I've lived with African people, - who in the old days used to carry out what was called human sacrifice. Of course, they were not able to do it instantaneously - instant killing - the way we've heard about the other day, it was a bit of a longer drawn-out process. But one soon discovered in these things, as indeed was pointed out long ago, on a scale of universal morality if you like, was certainly not inferior to the morality of Christian Europe, outside of Germany. So that we have got to this position; we've got to the position, you see, that during the war when we had a lot of experience of the capacity of people of all sorts of races to be trained very quickly to use Bren guns, and what better evidence could there be of the capacity for civilization, and a few things like that; we got to the position when a wave of optimism swept through the ranks of some academics. There was a feeling that, perhaps these facts will now talk; that perhaps race was out, in the middle 40's shall we say. Not only was the race myth we hoped dead because of this kind of research, not only was a spectre laid, but it was also you will remember, the period of the passing of colonialism as it was called. And there was a great feeling of optimism that the vote, for instance, and a few other of these trappings of advanced political sovereign states and so on, meant the end of this kind of discrimination, of these kinds of ideas - they were built-in differences which made some people privileged with a right to privilege, a right to superiority, and others non-privileged without any rights in the great human heritage. I won't go into detail on that, because there are a lot of people here I am sure who passed through this phase of optimism and hope and felt that that, at any rate, is out now.

As we saw new nations developing in Africa and elsewhere, there were some slight set-backs; I remember very well, and again, perhaps this is personal that it was a bit of a shock when it seemed that India could not divide itself except through a blood bath on race lines, on tribalistic lines, on religious lines, but still it was hoped that this was a passing phase.

But what's happening now; you glance around the world and you see that the spectre has revived in the most exuberant and menacing way. And, of course, we see all over the world now, not only in the United States, the revival of conflicts, stresses, and shall I say, acts which don't as we know stop short of assassination and what amounts to, what I think has been well christened genocide, in the assertion in claiming, back again to the 40 years ago, that there are race differences, that they are significant, that they are important.

No longer can we, some of us, depend upon this optimistic view that in fact what's going to happen in the world is that other criteria of differentiation are going to emerge. Marx and Engels when they conjured up that first spectre thought that class differences were going to be the most important thing. And I think many of us before the war when the race question was thought an urgent and problematical one, would rather have, well, hoped, felt, it was a good idea that class differences could become the issue because certainly from where we were in the U.K. the idea that there were class differences which could be solved by political action, with justice etc., being put in its place seemed possible, plausible and realizable. But now we see this is out and it's not only, let us remember, where white and black are juxtaposed; you read the press and you'll see what's happening to the Kenya Asians. Sovereign African people came to independence and autonomy by a long, arduous and bitter struggle as soon as their own society begins to produce a small, educated elite, because I think the more we look into this the more we see this is an important thing. Start on the principle of Africanization - they push out a community which objectively in terms of facts, in terms of history, has played an enormously important part in bringing about the exact situation of economic and social and political autonomy that is possible in Kenya now. So it's not only where whites and blacks are side by side. I need hardly mention the tragic and horrible civil war in Nigeria which is blatantly couched in terms of the differences which I mentioned earlier - race, culture, religion, and so on. There's no attempt to conceal that at all, and so on.

I won't talk about the Caribbean, Latin America, because there are people here who know a lot more than I do about it and I certainly had better hold my tongue about my own country - United Kingdom - in view of certain recent actions there. So, today, disillusionment raises its head amongst us; and if you're sitting in America amidst riots and turmoil commemorated in the name that was yesterday agreed to give to this place; you know, I must confess to you that there were times when I suddenly thought perhaps the South African theory which is now, as you know, being advocated by Mr. Stokely Carmichael and his friends, - the theory of regional apartheid, separation, which is preached in South Africa - they are only malpracticed there; perhaps there is something in this after all, who knows; and that I must confess to that as an instance, as a declaration, of certain kinds of disillusionment that academics of my kind, like me, suffer when we look at the world today. After all, we did believe that facts would win; remove the colonial stranglehold and peoples would be free and have a proper regard for what is called, I think rightly, human dignity. We believe that possibly the facts were such that with more education to abolish ignorance, economic emancipation to give people a livelihood, medical care, and so on and so on - national independence and so on - there would soon be - the idea would be reached where every individual was an individual regardless of his race.

But what has come back with a vengeance as you know, is that colour becomes once again a criterion of worth, colour of skin. And I mentioned Kenya - I need hardly mention Rhodesia; that may remind you of Indonesia, what's happened there, where the Chinese, great Chinese communities have been exterminated, annihilated by a society given their sovereign independence and not under an old-fashioned regime of allegedly backward chiefs but under a modern left-wing, communist, up-to-date, scientific, call it what you like, form of government. Whatever they do, they end up by exterminating the Chinese over there. So, we are faced with this fact; of the world today.

Now, what are we to make of this - this is the problem. And I have brought it up in this way because I'm throwing it, your Excellency, into the lap of the Director of the Centre here. I'm reminding him of what he is confronting today; what you, Sir, the Vice-Chancellor and your colleagues who have established this Centre are going to have to face in the next period of history on the subject of race. We need only look at the United States, the cockpit of the struggle in a way, torn, ravished as it is, to see what kind of problems exist and are going to develop. Because after all, first of all, they've been there an awful long time, which is a reminder that you cannot really study the problems of multi-racial societies without looking into the historical side in depth and very extensively. The most awful thing about history is that it is never past; you live with it all the time; it keeps on coming back, like a bad dream. So, it's been here an awful long time, but I would, incidentally, here plead very strongly with the Director of this Institute and those concerned with it - not to keep their eyes focused only on the local scene and on the immediately neighbouring scenes - scenes in which you have the two streams of culture and history - the one that came from Africa, above all, the one that came from Europe intermingling, fashioning and mixing - I would plead with them to keep an eye open to many other parts of the world, for instance, to look very carefully at what's going on in India, with its caste system which was based on traditional, cultural and occupational differences in theory though they themselves thought of it in their philosophy of caste, it's a philosophy of race, in their idiom of thought. But to look at that carefully as a model of ways of multiplicity, of plurality, in the social system that involves race, culture and associated characteristics and again see how, if you like, how tenacious that system is in spite of all the fine ideals.

So, I think we now come and ask ourselves this question; perhaps it is - we've reached the position where perhaps we should say that the conspicuous and overt differences between peoples, between groups, which we see epitomized in this difference of skin colour between black and white in South Africa, the United States and elsewhere; perhaps we've got here one of those hard facts of human nature, of the human way of life, of human existence, which we had better not brush aside, but take a close look at and come to terms with, and ask ourselves, what does it really represent? And this, of course, is where the present Centre comes into the picture - and well, I won't make a speech to add to what was said yesterday about it - except to say that speaking purely as an academic without any vested interest at all from that ancient, decrepit university which is falling into the background now in the back of things, I will say that it seems to me to be an extremely valuable, creditable endeavour on the part of these two young institutions; and I hope that they do well with it. But it does seem to me very important to be able to say, now, that we have to look this thing directly in the face, academically, scientifically, morally, socially, and come to terms with it. And this Centre must provide the data and the inspiration for that. I'm not saying that there is a possibility of solution here, it so happens that I personally believe that there are no solutions to human affairs; every solution breeds new problems, perhaps that is simply because the experience of parenthood, let alone the experience of being a university teacher, soon shows you that every solution brings new problems. So I'm not prophesying or even suggesting or even hoping for solutions; all I'm saying is 'solveto ambulando', bit by bit. We might be able to handle and cope with things; to cope is enough - not to solve. And this is what I suggest this Centre must aim at, provide the material for.

But I think, if I may have a few minutes longer, your Excellency, I would like perhaps to make a few remarks about the kind of challenges in this field that this Centre is already confronted with and is going to be confronted with and ask a few questions about it.

There is a question of fact which the academic, the researcher discovers, and a myth - two myths: the myth built on the fact of differences, of superiority versus inferiority, and the other myth - the myth, "there ain't no such thing, forget about it". Both myths are dangerous from the academic point of view as well as from the practical point of view. Let us first notice one interesting thing that these facts of race and the whole gamut which stretches through tribalism and all the way through, really becomes an issue as soon as you get it - let me call it in terms of this Centre - a multi-racial social system. That is to say, when you get more than one race within a single political society, a single economic community or even a single cultural community of some sort; that's where the trouble begins. As long as they are separate from each other they can only have relations on the basis of international law and understanding. Here again, as we know, the most satisfactory system of international relations ever invented was what was called the silent trade, when the pygmies of the Congo killed their game and deposited their game in an open clearing and went away and the Bantu cultivators came and collected the game and put - in its place a bunch of bananas. No war has ever resulted from that; no troubles - it was a perfect way of managing international relations. But we can't hope for that model ever to be accepted in a world which has satellites up there passing things all around and planes flying in all directions. My point is, race, tribe, cultural difference becomes an issue within a framework of common law, common sovereignty, economic interdependence, and so on; that's the interesting thing, because you see, when you begin to think reasonably and logically you say for instance, how is it that people who must realize their interdependence say, in a big, modern city - how is it that people, intelligent people who realize their interdependence for services, for the production of goods and services and their whole way of life, for the busses running regularly and the telephone system working regularly - how is it that they can mess up this logical, rational, organic solidarity as Dokan called it, which we achieve in these big cities now, can yet ruin the whole thing by this ridiculous attachment of significance to the irrelevant factor whether a person is black, white, or Chinese or Jew or Gentile; and yet this is what happens. So then this is the basic thing to get hold of - I think it is happening inside a framework of that sort where there is some idea of common purposes and values. In the United States the fact is that every American, black or white, inside the United States, has - I think there are now 15 amendments to the Constitution under one or other of which they can always get mutatis mutandis of course, making allowances for differences, legal help and so on. And some people say that this shows that the problem of race etc. and the allied problems really becomes difficult only where you have a state of affairs where there is competition; competition for jobs, competition for power, competition for status. But you might ask, why compete? Especially in an affluent society, such as the world is becoming, you'd think there's no real reason for competition because there's always enough around to give everybody to live on.

So, I pose problem number one to this Centre - why is it that these things happen inside an agreed and arranged social system which comprehends all ostensibly under a scheme of common values, of common law and so on, and not where you have real differences. This is the great problem in South Africa; that

the interdependence is such that neither race, none of the races, can really do without the others if they want to what's called maintain their standard of living. And you had the extreme view reached by one group of Afrikaner anthropologists who said, "well, obviously the logic of apartheid is that we must simply agree to give up a lot of these amenities of modern civilization and go back to the ox wagon and so on - well, we'll do it, in the interest of racial purity, we'll do it." But the trouble is that the ox wagon isn't big enough to house either modern jet aeroplanes, or the weapons that they are equipped with, and that was probably one of the deciding things. So we have this great problem of interdependence as the basis of these conflicts and you reach perhaps a cynical conclusion that the less interdependence we can have the more easily we will resolve these conflicts, you see.

Now, there is another problem I would like to draw your attention to, and that is, let us look at it from the other side. And again in the United States, if you are an observer, a spectator - you'll see this coming up in terms of, for instance, this very influential report which was recently made to the President; a committee was set up which arrived at the conclusion, perhaps not a very original conclusion, that the problem was "white racism" as he called it - as this committee called it. But the solutions are always offered in terms of certain kinds of mechanical external rearrangements, you see. More jobs, but what the underprivileged want isn't more jobs, they want particular kinds of jobs; they can get just as well paid - in America today as I had the experience - a plumber gets more pay, is better rewarded, than any of the university lecturers in my department. They don't want to be plumbers; it's not having jobs, having a livelihood, that if you like the underprivileged are concerned with, it is having particular kinds of jobs in a framework of occupations which represents a model of what they want society to be like for themselves. I won't develop it because, of course, this is another problem I'm throwing at the Centre here. The same is true of housing programmes; the emphasis is not on better houses, more comfortable houses, more convenient houses, that's not what the protesters want; they don't care how uncomfortable the house is provided it can be in an area where they are free to buy and live amongst whites. I'm putting it rather crudely, but I want to drive home the point that we're dealing with what's inside peoples' minds and not what is objectively, what seems objectively, the right thing. And so with many other things, that it isn't the mechanical external to like the objective arrangements that are the issue, but it's the meaning of these things to the people for whom these arrangements are being planned.

One of the most tricky of all these arrangements, these ideals, is the ideal of integration; a very fascinating, tricky problem, because here we need only look at history, we need only look comparatively at other parts of the world, at what happens under the rubric of tribalism and so on, to begin to ask ourselves whether if you do really end up as I've seen plans for forcibly ordering busses to go from one end of a big town like San Francisco to the other, carrying black children in one direction and white children in the other, to make sure that they get mixed in schools in some peculiar proportion which has not even a demographic basis, I mean if you did it in terms of having percentage-wise parity there's logic to it, but just in terms of a vague idea of mixing up - I think we begin to have studies in psychology - a lot of work has been done on the psychology of race and cultural prejudice in all white communities, especially by, naturally, initiated by various Jewish agencies which show that integration in that sense, mixing them up, as long as they still have cultural differences, as long as their own Catholic children want St. Patrick's day off, and the Jews want the Day of Atonement off, things like

that, as long as you had that, integration helps separation, except for the odd mavericks who crossed the borders.

A problem, I put it as a problem because it's one of those solutions that seem so logical with all due respect to the practical mind - mix them up, they'll get to know each other, this is sure to reduce the prejudices. We have no evidence from other researchers that it in fact does. It's a problem that confronts us, in the U.K. now, the theory that there is a quantitative factor - certainly, there is a quantitative factor in a multi-racial society. Things become conspicuous when they increase in size and in number, otherwise they just get lost in the mass. And of course, we know again, that here we must appeal to the historian, that there have always, there have long long, been people of colour in England who have simply got absorbed. Here, by the way, we see how purely academic research of a kind that's even more academic if you like, more scientific than the kind I represent, we represent, can be extremely revealing. A little while ago, 3 or 4 years ago, a colleague of mine at Cambridge, who is a biologist interested in blood groups, found a very unusual, rare blood group in a remote part of East Anglia. Now, East Anglia is more English than almost anywhere else in the country, it is far away from anywhere; if you might say, the nearest centre of civilization is, I suppose, Norwich, something like that. And they traced it by accident, through some hospital work, they discovered that this blood group, its proper home, its area of major incidence, is the Punjab. Now, how does a blood group which has its proper home in the Punjab end up sporadically in East Anglia? You can have a number of guesses, and you'll be guessing right. But this just shows that until there are quantitative differences, the race problem in a way, or such cultural differences, don't arise simply because they are very small minorities, although they have an enormous capacity for survival in certain respects, I know, I belong to a minority that has somehow stuck out ridiculously and stupidly for at least 2,000 years. They have this capacity, nevertheless, absorption is easier.

So, when we get to this integration business, there is a quantitative factor, there is a qualitative factor, which has to be taken into account, you see. But I really want to put my finger on what is the most important phenomenon as I see it, the most important phenomenon and that is the violence that's associated now with the race protest. It's America now, but it's going to spread; I hope there will be some light shed, academic and scientific light shed on the whole subject of violence by this other institution at the University of Sussex; I've forgotten what it's called, but I've been associated with it from the beginning; you might think that I was a sort of a naturalized member of the University of Sussex but I'm not; it just happens to be the case that one gets interested in certain projects and another one of my friends, Professor Norman Cohn, is being concerned with setting up this institution - for the Study of Collective Psychopathology, I think it is called, isn't it Mr. Vice-Chancellor? And I think we are going to get some very important information about this problem of violence in human affairs from there, you see. This thing to me, is tremendously important, historically, philosophically, academically and psychologically, you see. To see what is happening there - let me make a few obvious comments and questions; the black power movement, black panther movement is a young men's movement, not the aged, who are compromisers, want to be conciliators; this is a movement of youth, and youth in America particularly is extremely aggressive, belligerent at the moment and youth all over the world is becoming belligerent. So, let us remember that it's young people who are wanting to use violence.

The second thing about this movement is its groping about in the past for a place of attachment, psychologically and culturally. For instance, you find where I am in California, that a number of these young people who are concerned with black power and so on, they are beginning to go to classes in Swahili and Hausa and to adopt modes of African dress which are not at all African, are completely fictitious from the point of view of the indigenous, cultural history of Africa - hoping, groping, you see, for some point of contact, which will give them a feeling of historical depth different from the white man's culture into which they've been absorbed, and in which they were - well, I'm not going to develop the history of slavery and so on - we know all about that. So it's youth groping backwards trying to build up a myth of their own origins and identity and uniqueness. And, as you know what the slogan is, the slogan is, "black is beautiful", it's no longer inferior, it's rejection then of a certain value about race, which, paradoxically, the upwardly mobile themselves accepted; how could they do otherwise? Because it was associated with professional advance, with social advance with wanting to be what everybody else in America is. Black is beautiful, black is Africa, black is youth - it's the students who are the leaders in all of this, and intellectuals, the young intellectuals. Of course this is ancient history for us because it was the intellectual, the academically trained person in foreign parts, trained in ways of thought, European ways of thought, who went back and became Nkrumah and Kenyatta - Kenyatta and I were school-boys together - we sat at Malinowski's feet together, drank in many a pub together, and so on. It was those people who went as you know. Senghor is a Frenchman really, if you meet him; and we're having the pattern repeated - I'm just asking you to look at the comparative side - that it's the intellectual, the young intellectual, whose whole way of life, whole training; whose background, whose mentality is not black, not African, not culturally what he is claiming to represent, but it comes from the other side of the fence who is the leader in this.

And then, lastly, I must simply refer again to the horrible story of the shooting of Martin Luther King - that act - because black is beautiful and youth and all the rest of it goes with propagation of the idea we must all have guns, we must be ready not to defend ourselves but to kill. It's tied up with the idea that, well as you know, there is already a Government-in-Exile sitting in Washington, a Black Government-in-Exile as it were, sitting in Washington with their ministers and so on and they are ready to take power when black power comes. There is a demand for an independent black state, an apartheid; Give us the 5 southern states and so on. And there is the killing; and to bring these together is a very difficult problem and I again offer it to you as an example of a problem. What I want to emphasize is a very interesting feature and that is the streak of fantasy fulfillment that runs through a lot of this black power movement. It is reminiscent to an anthropologist of what we call cargo cults in Melanesia; millenarian movements. The fantasy of being able to have a government and all the trappings of office and so on. The power in the face of what the F 111's - fantasies like that. That's a problem, which touches on the psychology of race, the psychology of individual aspiration and fulfillment and brings another problem into the field here. And I mentioned King, I'll come back to that in a minute, because the point I really want to make is this; that here we have an example that seems to me of a movement thoroughly conscious of what they are after; they are after establishing for themselves an identity which differentiates them as a collective - they don't want to be individual Americans. They want to be a collective, an identity, accepting blackness as a reality, building on it, building around it, in opposition to

white America, a pride in themselves if you like, and so on. But it's a problem of establishing an identity which is somewhere between the individual, the small family in Megalopolis and the great big society.

And therefore, I think, people from this Centre and elsewhere must not react at once with horror, indignation, disgust, to the protestations of violence and so on, they must see that it's partly fantasy, megalomania if you like, but a fantasy satisfaction in a situation where real satisfaction is not yet possible. They must see this as a way of declaring this an identity; it may well be that there is something deeply in the whole nature of society that requires identities of that sort to be first established by an act of resistance and violence, whether it's the identity of a racial group or of a small nation or a large nation or of class of individuals. We must face this question in that sense and look at it in that way. And so we must face the fact of the slaying of Martin Luther King, perhaps not quite in the way that white America faced it, it was a bit upsetting; this sudden, may I quote this wave of masochism, this sudden, may I call it almost exhibitionistic rush forward to meet every demand that came from the black side, however silly they were, some of them. The whites are a problem in America today, almost more of a problem than the blacks. The blacks at least, now that they've got this leadership of youth and they've got this idea, the great point is to develop an identity of their own. Accept the fact - they may be on the path to something really important; but it's the whites who are in trouble. And so I ask the Director of this Institute and others to please have a look at the whites of the world as it were, they may be in greater distress and trouble than all the others in 20 years time.

That, Vice-Chancellor, your Excellencies, is really all I have to say and as you see it is perhaps not quite so inspirational as some of those we had yesterday but I hope it suggests to you what I feel very strongly that a Centre like this has got an urgent, responsible task to perform and that this particular place where it is is strategically of the utmost importance - it's a crossroads of racial intermixture and of all the problems that I've been talking about, very well symbolizing, I think, the kind of studies that will have to be carried out here, which will have to be at the crossroads between all the disciplines and with the aid of a great many others than just those sitting here.

Professor Asa Briggs

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, I'd like on your behalf to thank Professor Fortes very much indeed for coming along and giving this academic lecture on the second day of our proceedings at these Inauguration Ceremonies. I think that he has given a kind of an agenda of some of the problems which arise; he has also given, I think, a personal statement, as much as some of the personal statements which were made yesterday, implicit in what he has had to say. I think he has brought out quite clearly that there are extraordinarily intricate and complex questions of research; that there are no necessarily easy ways of examining some of the problems of research; that different disciplines are necessary; and yet in the meantime we are living in a world where the pace of change is so fast that we've not only got to carry out research but we've got to deal with matters as they are and there is a double dimension it seems to me, therefore, in the kind of activities which are necessarily involved with this particular kind of Centre.

I think it's interesting to realize how many different ways there are, if you like, towards a possible understanding and I'm sure it is the job of the Centre really to develop greater understanding about issues which I think we've realized during the course of the last two days, we've realized very strongly during the course of the last few years, are issues absolutely essential and central to this century.

So I would very much like to thank Professor Fortes very much indeed for coming to us from Cambridge via California to this crossroads of the world here in the Caribbean and to say that we look forward to his continuing interest in the work of the Centre.

I would also like to thank the people, at the end of these Inauguration Ceremonies, who have played such an active part in the course of preparation; Miss Sheppard and her colleagues, the ushers who showed us into our seats, everyone, in fact, who has made us feel at home. And I hope it will be a Centre where people will feel at home.

I would also like very much if I may, to welcome His Excellency, the Governor-General; we are delighted that we have him with us today at the end of these Inauguration Ceremonies; we are sorry that he couldn't be with us yesterday; we feel that his presence is a guarantee of the interest here in Barbados in the activities of the Centre, and I would like to invite him now to speak to us and to bring these Inauguration proceedings to a close. His Excellency, the Governor-General.

His Excellency, the Governor-General of Barbados,
Sir Winston Scott

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, my lords, your Excellency, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: it is a pleasure for me to be here this morning to say a few words as closing remarks on this very important occasion, not only important but also historic for the West Indies. I must first congratulate the Vice Chancellor and also Professor Henriques and Miss Jill Sheppard for all the good work that they have done in order to make this a very great success, and especially so, Sir, I may say I am very happy to know that you have named this hall the Martin Luther King Memorial Hall in honour of that great American statesman, I may say, a Christian man, who has shown us the Christian way of life and if I may say, just as our Lord has given his life for Christianity so I feel that he has given his life for the furtherance of a multi-racial society in this world. I hope that lots of us will appreciate considerably the gesture which this Multi-Racial Department has done.

Yesterday afternoon the Prime Minister in his Inauguration Address extended on behalf of the Government and people of Barbados a hearty welcome to the University of Sussex, a welcome expressed not only in words but by the gift of lands on which this Centre for Multi-Racial Studies stands. This happy occasion has brought to our island many distinguished visitors, men eminent for their learning, skilled in the art of government and public administration, and with a wide-ranging experience of men and affairs; and they have distilled from their knowledge and experience words of wise advice which should be guiding lights for the work of research which will be carried on at this Centre. This morning we have had a brilliant address from Professor Fortes, the William Wyse Professor of Anthropology in the University of Cambridge, which I am sure that you all have enjoyed. To him and all of these we express our grateful thanks.

We are particularly happy that the University of Sussex has selected this island as the site for this Centre, and if I may say so without appearing to be arrogant, I think the choice is wise as well as fortunate. Here, one hundred and thirty years after emancipation, we have learnt to live together without distinction of race or colour. There is no exclusiveness in our public life. Every citizen of mature age, irrespective of his race, colour, religion or financial position may aspire to public office. In our private intercourse, we mix freely together without discriminatory barriers, I shall not pretend, however, that what is known as colour prejudice has disappeared altogether but I am sure that any lingering vestiges are rapidly vanishing and that the research and teaching which will be done at this Centre will help to eradicate completely the last relics of this crude and dangerous myth of racial superiority.

For myself I welcome the establishment of this Centre for Multi-Racial Studies for the opportunity which it will afford young West Indians for training in social research and for the better understanding of the importance of human relationships. Today the emphasis is on economics, but in a world of the future harmonious relations between peoples of all races and colours will be the crucial problem of organised societies. At this Centre the root causes of disharmony will be ascertained by patient research and the hope is surely not vain that in the not too distant future the fears and prejudices which now mar human relationships will disappear. In this great work of spiritual purification and regeneration we hope that this Centre will play a distinguished part.

Professor Asa Briggs

May I thank your Excellency very much indeed for those words of encouragement and support of the Centre at the beginning of its work. May I also say in conclusion how much I look forward myself to that close cooperation with the University of the West Indies which is absolutely basic to the kind of research which is being planned; how glad I am that we have with us the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and colleagues from Mona, and this campus, who will be associated with us directly in the venture that we've got. We've obviously got plenty to do; and I do thank your Excellency very much indeed for coming along this morning and bringing these proceedings to a close.

I'd also like to say how much I personally have enjoyed the pleasure of meeting so many interesting people who have been with us, to thank again Lord Caradon for his extremely inspiring and moving speech, which he made to us yesterday, and all the other people who have taken part in these Inauguration Ceremonies which we now formally bring to a close.