

NEWS MAGAZINE

FOR BRITISH WEST INDIES AND BRITISH GUIANA IN SOUTH AMERICA

Third Quarter, 1957

IN THIS ISSUE

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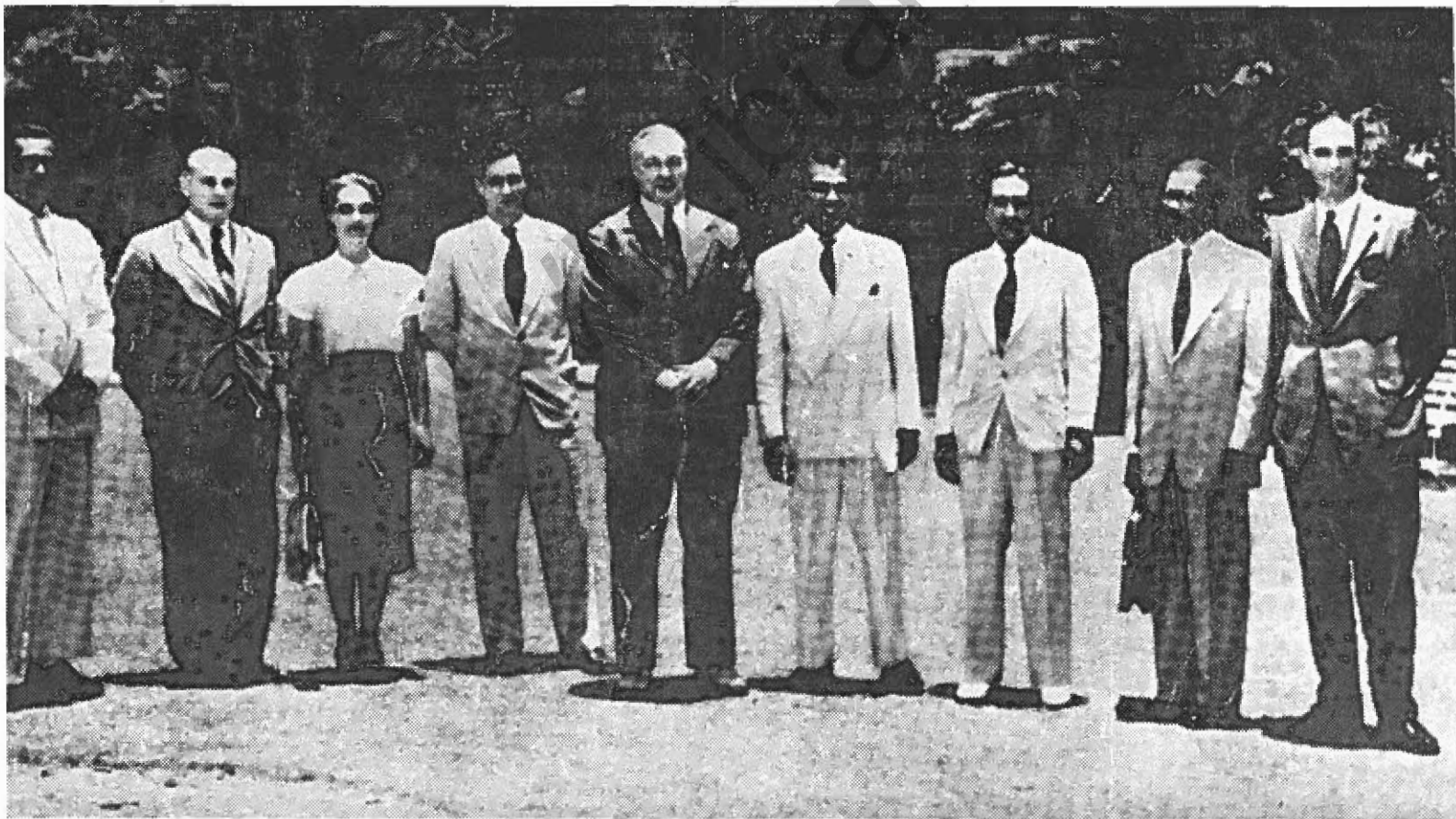
The Stories behind:

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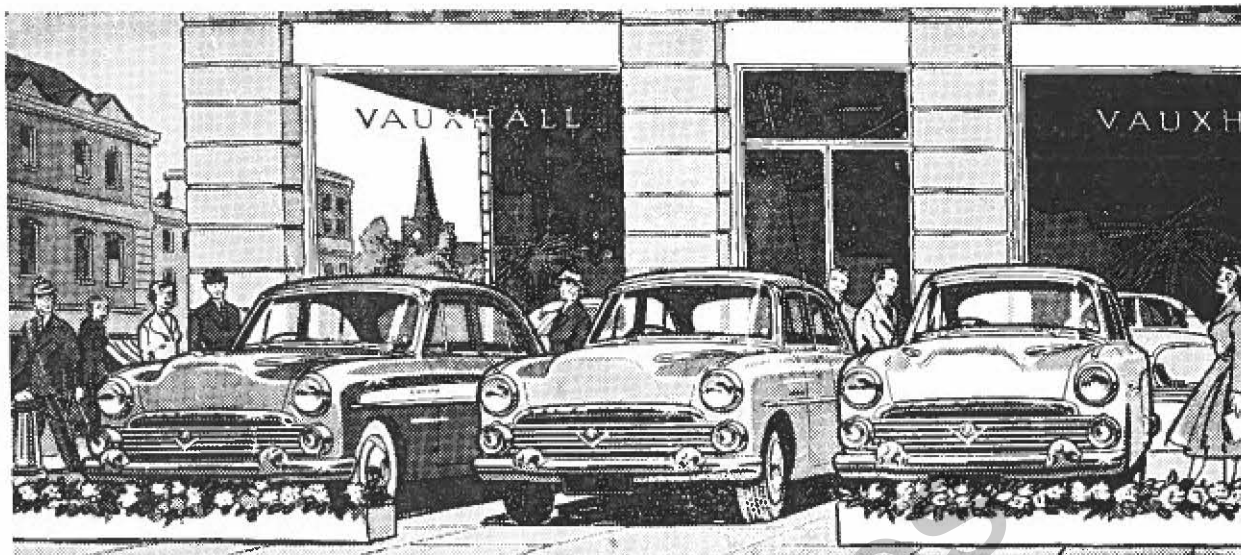
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NEW LEFTIST-DOMINATED BRITISH GUIANA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WITH A RIGHTIST PROGRAMME.

L. TO R. RAM KARRAN (MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND WORKS); FRANCIS ESSEX (FINANCIAL SECRETARY); JANET JAGAN (MINISTER OF HEALTH, LABOUR AND HOUSING); DERRICK JAKWAY (CHIEF SECRETARY); SIR PATRICK RENISON (GOVERNOR); CHEDDI JAGAN (MINISTER FOR TRADE, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE); EDWARD BEHARRY (MINISTER FOR NATURAL RESOURCES); BRINDLEY BENN (MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT); ANTHONY AUSTIN (ATTORNEY-GENERAL). THEY INHERITED A THOROUGHLY ORGANISED CIVIL SERVICE PERMANENT STAFF, AND ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, BASED ON WORLD BANK REPORT, BUT NO MONEY OR SCOPE TO FULFIL LEFTIST MANIFESTO PROGRAMME. SO ELECTED POLITICIANS SWUNG RIGHT AND DECIDED TO ACCEPT ALL IMPERIALIST GUIDANCE AND FINANCE.



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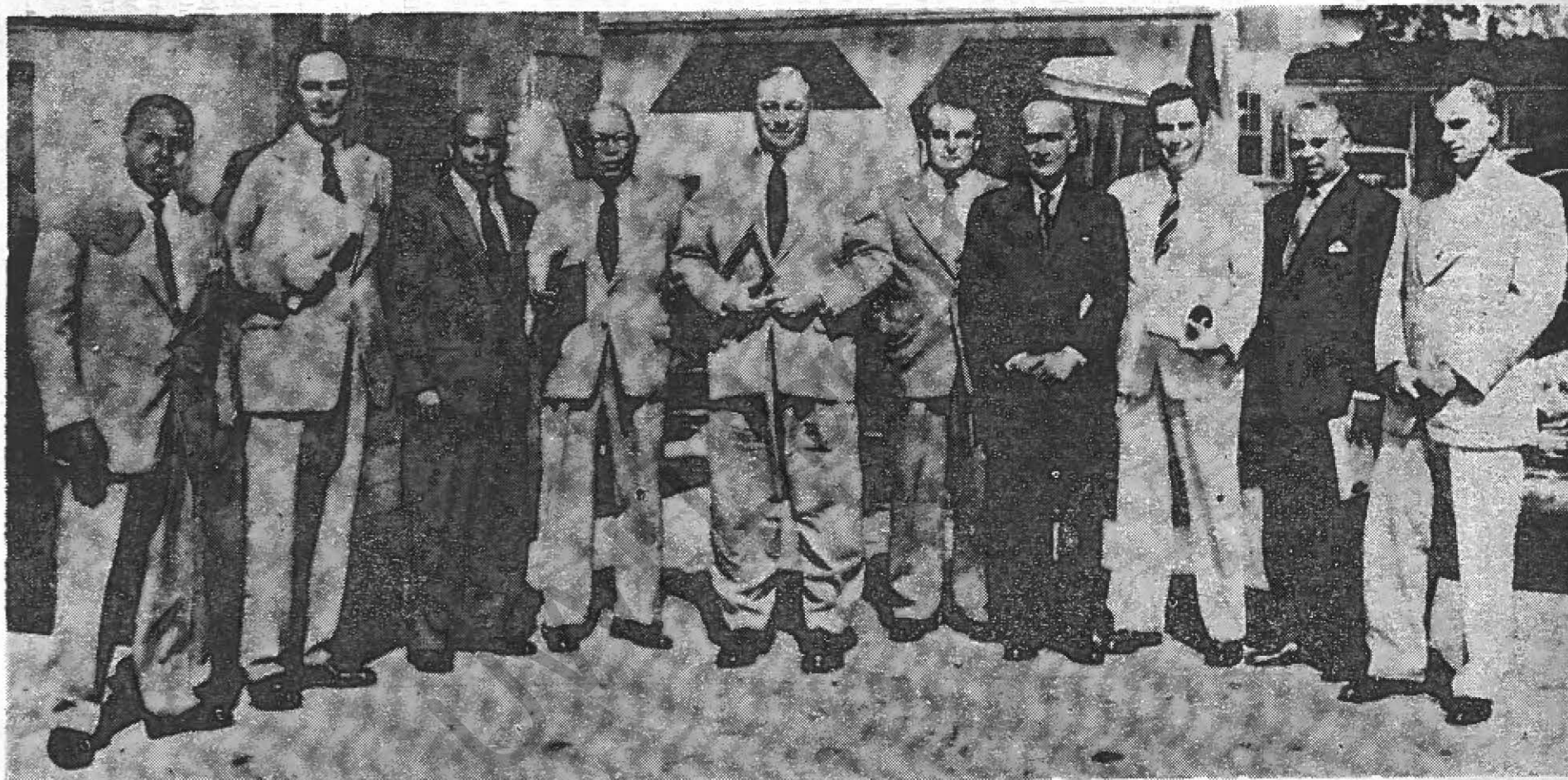
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B.G.'S OLD NOMINATED GOVERNMENT THAT PASSED OUT AUGUST, 1957.

L. to R. W. O. R. Kendall (Member for Communications and Works); Anthony Austin (Attorney-General); P. A. Cummings (Member for Health, Housing & Labour); Sir Frank McDavid (Member for Agriculture, Mines and Forests); Sir Patrick Renison (Governor); Francis Essex (Financial Secretary); Cyril Farnum (Member for Local Government and Social Welfare); Derrick Jakeway (Chief Secretary); R. B. Gajraj and Rupert Tello (Members without portfolio). They initiated and financed a development programme with huge housing programme and self-help schemes despite vigorous P.P.P. reaction, and established the ministerial concept in British Guiana.

Guiana Times

NEWS MAGAZINE FOR BRITISH GUIANA & WEST INDIES

B. G. Affairs

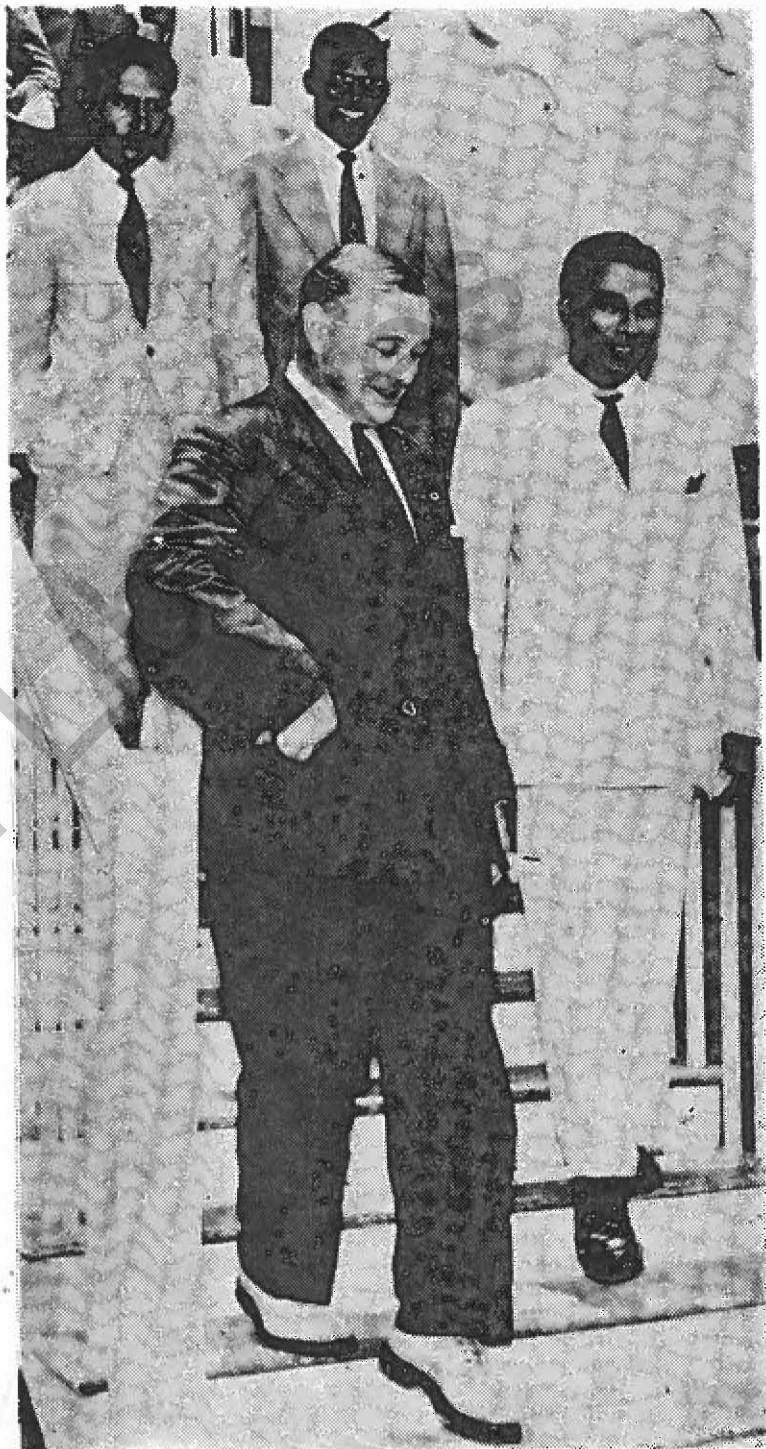
New Government

Precisely at 8.25 o'clock Tuesday morning September 3, a blue Vauxhall saloon car rolled into Government House Annexe in Carmichael Street, Georgetown, and out popped British Guiana's most familiar pair. Tall, handsome, slightly greying East Indian, Dr. Cheddi Jagan practising dental surgeon, who for the second time in four years, led a left wing political party to victory at the polls to be made once more Government Leader, emerged from the driver's seat. Dressed in tropical fawn suit and two toned shoes, a brown flying tie replacing his familiar polka dot bowtie, he moved with easy confident stride. With him was his efficient-looking blonde American white wife Janet, in white nylon bodice light brown skirt and wearing dark glasses. As party secretary she was the guiding genius behind the organisation, while from the back seat out stepped her able lieutenant Boysie Ramkarran, Party treasurer, looking strange in his brand new sharkskin outfit.

Even as they came out on the curb, another Vauxhall saloon rolled to a stop outside the gate, and in came Party vice-Chairman, Edward Beharri, immaculately attired in tropical nylon suit. As he strode in to join the three, there swung into the gateway Party Chairman Brindley Benn. Not being the proud owner of an auto Brindley, pelted down Carmichael Street from Kingston area in his stiff tweed suit like a deacon late for church service. Police sentry on guard duty smartly snapped to attention, his gleaming fixed bayonet glittering in the morning sun, as they all came together near the gate. They were top brass in the victorious marxist-lined People Progressive Party invited by Governor Sir Patrick Renison to become members of his new Executive council and to hold ministerial portfolios as the government of the country.

At the annexe doorway, waiting to greet them in person with firm handshakes was Governor Renison

Third Quarter, 1957.



GOVERNOR RENISON AND CABINET
"I'll lead, you'll follow—and no nonsense".

himself. With him were the "big three" British officials to join them in making up principal instrument of government. Dapper-looking Chief Secretary Derick Jakeway led the introductions, followed by tall broadshouldered Attorney General Anthony Austin and short serious looking financeman Francis Essex. They were assembled to take the oath of office and secrecy and to begin the first meeting of the new Executive Council to deal with the considerable problems of the country.

PROBLEMS

Ever since the 1953 suspension which deposed Jagan and his then party boys, the out-going Executive Council installed under the Interim Government had its hands full tying up loose ends of legislation in preparation for advent of another leftist PPP government. British Government was pouring about \$100,000,000 in funds part loan part grant for huge development programme of rural electrification, road construction, telecommunications, housing, a new hospital, land settlement etc. Under Sir Frank McDavid, as Member (minister) for lands mines and forests, they had done their best to reorganise East Indian dominated rice, as second major agriculture industry to much-maligned sugar, by establishing a huge single seller organisation in the Rice Marketing Board, eliminating small mills, introducing big central mills and gearing the industry for export market, by taking in huge reclaimed areas like the Torani scheme in Berbice and Bonasika scheme in West Demerara for land settlement and cultivation. In addition Sir Frank himself had gone to Windies as RWC delegate and tied off the country's expanding rice production with a monumental contractual agreement with all island governments.

But as a government of nominated persons it faced the most monstrous opposition at every turn from left-tist propaganda about "Imperialism and Colonialism". Soon after his arrival in British Guiana Governor Renison realised only an elected legislature could stem the tide of reaction. Quickly he announced new elections in August this year. But so powerful the Jagan propaganda, so vigorous the "Independence" campaign that Essequibo rice farmers protesting closing down of small mills (which lived by exploiting the guts out of them) decided to stop rice-planting in order to boycott

big mill. Said one nose-cutting face-spiting Essequibo farmer as the big Anna Regina central mill became idle "We go see what government gu do". Then like so many of his colleagues went to the polls in that August sun, and swept Cheddi into power with an implied mandate to stop government closing small mills, convert Rice Marketing Board into a mere distributing centre for millers, who would do their own exporting, and thus convert its huge upkeep funds into profits for rice

farmers; also they banked on Jagan being able to take away more lands from prosperous well watered sugar estates to give each of them for more rice planting. Thus after elections rice farmers became the happiest people in the land with Jagan in power. But when they decided to go back to fields and re-planting, a great drought afflicted the country side. Said a Berbice farmer this time looking over his parched paddy fields "Me gu see wha govament go do."

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CONSTITUTION

Under terms of amended Interim Constitution, Governor was free to pick any 11 persons he felt, with the three officials and 14 elected for legislature and any seven persons (nominated or elected) to go with the three officials to form the exco even without taking their advice to boot. Realising however, problems galore and terrific anti government campaign he did a smart thing. No sooner Elections results were proclaimed he called in victorious leader Cheddi to come up to discuss formation of new government.

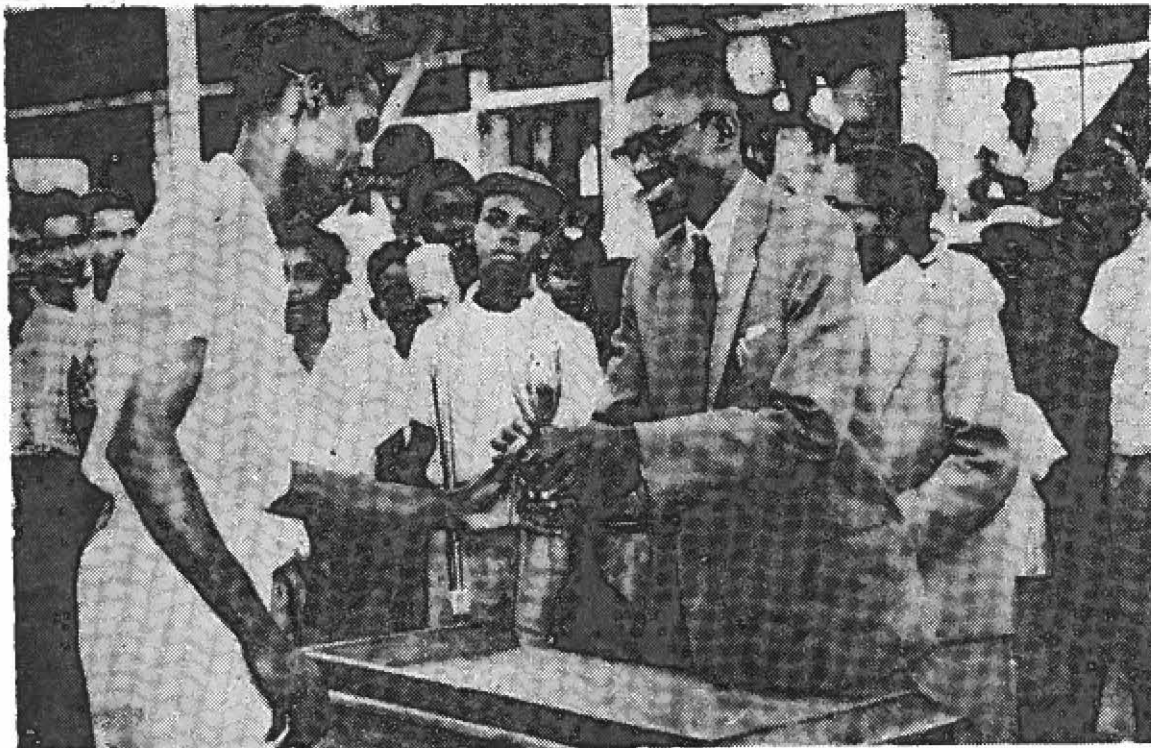
After some six meetings they compromised on six non-party selectees to put with Cheddi's victorious nine to give him an overall majority in the Leg-co, then he granted him complete control of the ex-co with the five elected party men to sit with three official and hold ministerial posts. Studious-



American-born Mrs. Janet Jagan in 1954, going to jail for the fun of it in the "democratic struggle for liberation of Guyana from imperialist-fascist oppression and colonialism."



Mrs. Jagan in power in 1957 with Permanent Secretary Ivan Seelig. As Minister of Health Housing and Labour, she discovered hundreds of 1954 PPP supporters whom she helped agitate for free Houses, now owed Government \$26,000 back rent for Laing Ave Flats, built by the Savage \$44,000,000 "national bribery" funds. She uncovered rackets in Housing department to tune of some \$80,000. Now threatens to eject rent defaulters and fire or jail all bribe-receivers. But Party Chairman Brindley Benn now, Minister of Education and Social Welfare, plans to make prisons as comfortable as hotels for future offenders. Janet's main problem now: How to find money from "Imperialist" sources to provide more Laing Ave flats and houses, for increasing housing problem.



Minister of Education Brindley Benn now in limelight of publicity in the once-denounced capitalist press. As party chairman and editor of Party organ "Thunder" dedicated to pro-Soviet propaganda, he carried his final journalistic blast condemning "Brazen U.S. move" and so called "Eisenhower doctrine" in the Middle East. But with no money or experts to carry out campaign promises his colleague Edward Beharry sought U.S. I.C.A. experts to come to B.G. in a kind of local "Eisenhower doctrine".



First session of the new Legislative Council with a P.P.P. leftist majority running a rightist government and opposition of three leftist Burnhamites (now registered Peoples National Congress) and three other party men. W. O. R. Kendall only survivor of the old order is seen replying to Governor's message in swearing in of new Council



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MARXIST CONFERENCE

Last March, when Dr. Kwame Nkruma, one time prosoviet Marxist revolutionary who rose to power as first premier of Independent Ghana, sent cheques to pay return trip to England of both Dr. Jagan and Barrister Burnham from

official political adviser to Nkruma, had arranged that the invitation be sent to no other personality in British Guiana but the two deposed ministers of the 1953 PPP Government. Reason behind the move: Ghana Independence celebrations were to be an occasion for a big conference of key colonial marxists.

Marxist socialism, as a revolutionary movement of modern times has for its aims the destruction of the

the name of the so called "Working class". Next the elimination of every form of opposition and the introduction of state control of all means of production as well as of every worker. Such a corporate state of socialism could then be easily aligned to the so-called "socialist" countries behind the iron curtain.

Thus it was, that in 1951, when the Waddington Commission set up



Ghana's Kwame Nkruma and British Guiana's Cheddi Jagan.
THEY WERE CAST IN THE SAME MARXIST MOULD.

British Guiana after the great Ghana independence day celebrations, there was considerable understanding among them. Nkruma's invitation to them both was engineered by Trinidad-born leftist writer in London George Padmore. Anti-white anti-English Moscow-lined George Padmore acting as a kind of un-

present constitutional system familiar in western world with the principle of the "Indispensable opposition." Although all marxists campaign to power demanding every form of freedom, once in power it's a horse of different colour. The object is to substitute thereby a corporate state run by an all powerful group in

by Labour Colsec James Griffiths appeared in Georgetown, both Jagan and Burnham as self-styled Marxists of the then newly born People's Progressive Party, appeared before them with high pressure demands for an all-elected one-house constitution. When Colsec Griffiths in conjunction with Governor Sir Charles

Woolley established the new constitution with a bi-cameral system, out of the Waddington recommendations and opened the door for new elections in 1953, the Jagan-Burnham PPP Campaign was true to marxist form. Together they swept the country denouncing the constitution calling for complete independence and demanding the widest form of democracy:—equality of representation, the principle of the recall, the referendum and unconditional freedom of worship, speech, press and assembly, besides government guarantees of work education and leisure to every citizen. Naturally this proved to be delicious lollipops to the unthinking masses, who swept them into power as the only organised political party in the country.

But no sooner in, than they served notice demanding the abolition of the State Council as only serving "the purpose of curbing the will of the people and reactionary and undemocratic purpose." Then they proceeded without delay to establish their corporate state—tying off trades unions, setting up "peoples police" introducing legislation to harass landlords and capitalists and the "patriotic appeal" for the much desired one-house all elected government whereby any bill or piece of legislation that passed through the Council, dominated by this majority party becomes law almost immediately. They started a big strike prior to a minor revolution and were going great guns when British moved in troops suspended the constitution and installed the Interim Government of nominated persons.

GOLD COAST

In the Gold Coast in Africa on the other hand, another British appointed commission mostly Africans had worked out a constitution that provided for just what the B.G. PPP wanted:—an all elected one-house government, and no sooner Nkruma was brought out of prison by his victorious party he was given a government wherein any measure became law as soon as it passed its third reading in a house dominated by his party. But suspension of the B. G. constitution taught Nkruma a great lesson. During some corruption inquiry of 1953. the British decided to give him the alternative of tossing all die-hard reds out of his party or submit himself to same treatment of B. G. PPP. Nkruma quickly acceded and decided to work the

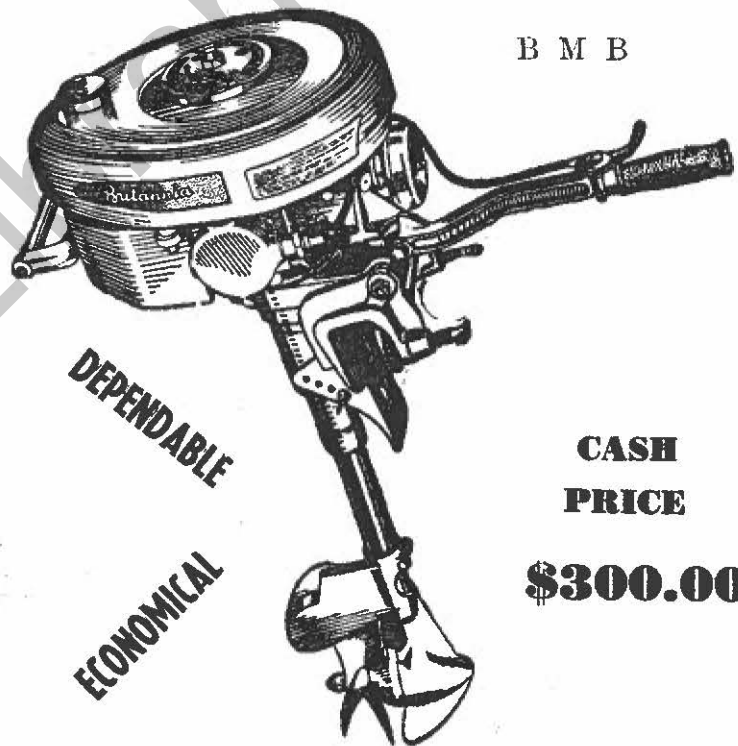
constitution with such great care that the British had no other alternative but to set the date for Self Government for Gold Coast. In turn this proved a great lesson to the British Guiana deposes some of them restricted in their own country. At the same time the British poured some \$44,000,000 in grant loans into British Guiana with Governor Sir. Alfred Savage and established a giant credit corporation, initiated big plans for Housing and Public works, Since Peace Progress and a semblance of prosperity was being restored to the country, new Governor Sir Patrick Renison

decided to recommend a slight alteration in the Interim constitution, in order to introduce 14 elected members in the new house and set August for elections. The invitation therefore to Burnham and Jagan to come up to Ghana for celebrations was to compare notes of lessons in a great conference of Marxists in Accra.

But Dr. Jagan and Barrister Burnham arrived in Ghana no longer the flashy pair that toured the world in 1953 to "put their case before the bar of public opinion". They were at loggerheads. Burnham steadfastly refused to meet

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Jagan. So bitter the rivalry that they had to have them at separate talks. At the first marxist meet Padmore, Nkruma, a Bevanite prosoviet Labour ex-MP named Geoffrey Bing and others met Dr. Jagan. Nkruma after upbraiding him for playing into the British imperialist hands, got over the point that in the "struggle against Imperialism" it was stupid trying to fight them without guns or battleships. Best method was just what he had done:—"play ball with them until you got independence". He pointed out he still had his pet ambition of establishing a "Union of socialist republics of West Africa". Now that celebrations were over he would be making an introductory visit to his neighbours the French Camerouns. He promised to visit British Guiana on his way to the U.S.A. and Canada after the Prime Ministers conference in London where he would be the first negro premier to attend, or after going to U.N. session in August. He declared he already evolved his own road to socialism. Explained he "We have taken communism and adapted it to fit our conditions as the Chinese have adopted it in their way." He told Jagan that unlike British Guiana, foreign investors in Ghana control only gold and diamond mining and commodity imports, but not the retail trade.

AFRICAN MARXISM

Marxism, said Nkruma, properly understand, is a "guide to action." He pointed out the Ambassador Hotel housing all distinguished visitors was built and managed by government. His government had established a large up-to-date publishing house where the state would produce all the daily, weekly and monthly publications. All he wanted from abroad was managerial experience. His government also had plans of forcing out of existence the British owned **Daily Graphic** largest circulating paper in Accra and added "We want no more vestige of 'Imperialism.'" He conjured up visions of a Ghana Armed Services with the first all-African Air Force, and Navy, and was sending a 'trade mission' to the Soviet Union for just that purpose.

Padmore made the point to Jagan that if the British said they wanted 'capitalists' to come in the country, there was nothing wrong about that. But when Independence came, anything could be done after. At the same time Socialist barrister Geoffrey Bing took a new line. As a left

wing Queen's Counsel he proved to be a great deviationist like the other famous Queen's Counsel Denis Pritt. As a former Bevanite M.P., he was a great friend of Anurin Bevan and his wife Jennie Lee who kept close contact with the Jagans in British Guiana, all through the crisis days, and raised every Jagan issue in the House. Now he was in Ghana to advise Nkruma. He gave Cheddi the smartest of all advice: In future eschew all talk about communism. play down the Moscow line, and become a sincere nationalist — until independence came.

He advised Jagan that when he went up to London he must take good care to avoid all communists haunts and people, because the communist party was in disrepute in Britain following the Hungarian crisis. He advised him to get in contact with Fabian Socialist Society and people like Rita Hinden and others and arrange to meet the various parliamentary groups of both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party. Nkruma offered to mediate between himself and Burnham in order to provide a united front so as to win the elections together and bring British Guiana into the family of Socialist states. Jagan expressed willingness to reunite with Burnham but it all depended on Forbes.

At a subsequent meeting Padmore and Nkruma met West Indian leaders. They carefully excluded Jagan but had Burnham in on the talks. This time the talks were more racial. Subject under review was really the future of new Negro states. Barbados's Grantley Adams and Jamaica's Norman Manley were particularly proud of the trust reposed on them by Colonial officials, and they swore they could get almost anything they wanted out of Britain. They thought plans for the Federation were going fine.

They wanted British Guiana in the federation with Burnham on top. They discovered he was an extremely likeable, brilliant, keen witted young man with considerable promise for the future — if he could only drop his superciliousness and accept realism and not idealism as a fact. Together they showed some distrust for Indians both from India and from the colonies. They believed that if Dr. Jagan failed to make British Guiana a Soviet satellite state, he may turn it into an Indian satellite state. West Indian leaders went to work on Burnham for actually messing around with communism and communists like Jagan, and

pointed out that it could do him nor his country no good, and what every country needed was friends. They insisted on him to come out on a strong anti-communist line and advised him to go back home and link up with U.D.P's John Carter and try to defeat Jagan at the polls. Striking his stomach with emphasis Manley declared "I Norman Manley would take the matter up with the Colonial Office and promise you that within a few months of elections the Waddington Constitution would be restored to British Guiana."

AFTER GHANA

DR. Jagan and Burnham left Ghana Independence celebrations more disunited than ever before. In London where Dr. Jagan arrived first and as was instructed by Bing, he carefully avoided his old communist haunts and was able to address parliamentary committees of both Labour and Conservative Party groups. He tried to impress on them his change:—"That the issue in Guiana was not communism but the country's economic position that it would soon run bankrupt. He pledged himself as a good nationalist more concerned about the economic fortunes of his native land; that the issue of communism would be settled by America and Russia in about ten years time. He made no outright denunciation of Communism or retracted any of his past performances. But he never succeeded in convincing the British powers that he.

In the House of Commons early in May, Conservative member Nigel Fisher declared "Things are going very well in the Caribbean. Only one colony, British Guiana has there been a reverse. I hope and believe the set-back is only temporary, because I do not think the people there are any more communist than the people of Great Britain". Then he added "I am bound to say that I met Dr. Jagan both in British Guiana and Great Britain. He seeks to give the impression of sweet reasonableness. He says he would work a democratic constitution. I am bound to



say I have my doubts in my mind. Certainly he was communist in 1953 and so was his wife — his very attractive and highly intelligent American wife, and I do not think their principles and policies have changed very much since the time. I do not believe we can work with the Jagans, and I do not believe the leaders of the other West Indian opinion in other colonies will work with them either." Fisher thought that the recently formed National Labour Front in British Guiana headed by brilliant young barrister Lionel Luckhoo, if elected would provide a stable and progressive government for British Guiana. "I do not think" he added, "one could say the same of any government led by Dr. Jagan in British Guiana".

Labour spokesman on Colonial affairs James Callaghan figured the difference between Jagan and Burnham was like Tweedledee and Tweedledum and asked "Will the Governor undertake to use his power that the will of the electorate is not frustrated. If we are going to have an election we really cannot afford it on the basis that we will only concede the result providing that a particular party does not win." He added, "I do not see how you can try at this stage to tie up the result in such a way that even if one of the communist parties get a majority we are going to prevent it from functioning by nominating sufficient people through the governor, so that there is not a majority for the party."

Replied John Profumo Under-secretary for Colonies, "I know the governor is concerned that there should be real advance and it would be really wrong for us to say anything by way of committing the governor or Her Majesty's Government as to how these nominations should be made. Clearly the British Government was in a heluva a dilemma. Should Jagan win the elections by an overall majority what would the British Government do after pledging not to tolerate a communist government in the colonies?"

AFTER GHANA

BACK in British Guiana both Jagan and Burnham held huge Bourda Green meetings on their Ghana trip. Jagan's theme by sheer habit was the familiar soviet-line dissertation on International politics. The fact that Ghana got immediate independence proved that British Guiana too should get independence. That the Imperialist British had ulterior motives for

giving Ghana independence but wanted to keep their grip on British Guiana. Then he issued a public open invitation for Burnham to re-join the fold when he returns to British Guiana and they go to the polls as one big happy family fighting for the "Independence of Guiana," as they did in 1953.

On May 5th, Burnham just back from his long tour that took him through independent Liberia as well as the U.S.A., took the Bourda green rostrum before an even mightier Georgetown crowd. Like Jagan he only glossed over his Ghana visit but at once launched into a vigorous attack on his erstwhile colleague. He made it clear that since October in 1953 he had seen no change in the method of the left wing faction (Jaganites) that the party which had acted against his advice in the past and to whom he had made concessions in the interest of unity. "Our aim" he declared "is national independence, and every effort must be concentrated on the achievement of that



Barrister Burnham scored a three seat win in Georgetown area with an apathetic African electorate.

goal. Anything that stands in the way be it communism or christianity as bad, and any number of shibboleths copied from Soviet Times or "From a lasting peace" is not relevant to our situation in British Guiana. They cannot save us. We have got to win our independence. Those (the Jagans) who called Nkruma a stooge have lived to see him win independence. . .

Reaction to the speech from the Jagan was swift. Party Secretary Janet issued a statement drawing attention to previous Burnham's article in *Thunder* when they were one big happy family struggling for Independence. Then he had written "patriots were massacred and imprisoned even though there was no accusation of communism. Communism had not yet become a popular word". The Jagan statement added that "from the remarks of Mr Burnham on Bourda Green, communism has now become a popular word. So popular that he has now joined the others in using it as a spring board to attack the

P.P.P. Why are Mr. Burnham and his party resorting to crude thread-worn anti-communist red herrings of our enemies?"

Other parties took up the attack on Burnham. NLF Secretary Gangadeen described his attack on his former colleague as "ill grace" while UDP's Secretary John declared Burnham's speech "savoured of the usual ambiguity".

But late that night of May 5, when that huge crowd of Georgetown folk moved disconsolately away from the Bourda green, the furious controversy began as to whether Burnham was sincere in his break with Jagans, whether he was right not to unite again like 1953 and whether the two parties stood a chance at the polls. It split the country into two real factions Jagan followers and Burnham followers—the former in complete control of the Indian packed country districts, while the other in control of the Negro packed Georgetown area.

BRITISH GUIANA ELECTIONS

BURNHAM counted on the fact that although Indians outnumbered Africans in the overall (230,800 Indians to 163,000 Africans), the voters list in all but one constituency (Corentyne) was packed with more African voters than Indians. But he overlooked the fact that Africans in rural districts, although more enlightened, were the hangover of the old voting system with individual candidates dominating the campaign. Then, most voters appeared ready to sell their Votes to the highest bidder or free-drinks treater. Indian voters on the other hand were comparatively new with universal adult suffrage. Party cadres operating on the "Apan Ghant" (vote for y' own) principally carefully taught each one to vote party—the man picked by Jagan. Moreover there were more African supporters of Dr. Jagan than there were Indian supporters of Burnham. Worst of all certain Indian names like Ramper-saud, Singh, Bibnie, Sookis, etc., became so commonplace on the list that they gave rise to considerable jiggery pokery.

August 12 when the Polling booths were opened, in every district, almost every Indian voter found his polling booth. However ignorant or illiterate he knew how and where to affix his cross. In Jagan's own district on the Corentyne most of the polling clerks were active Jaganites who openly directed illiterate voters where to affix their crosses—near



Victorious Cheddi Jagan being swept to victory in rural areas on the "Apan Ghant" (vote for y'own) movement.

Jagan's name. On the other hand Africans even in Georgetown stayed home, (some hoped that some zealous candidate or agent would send a car) others waited for free drinks or stood arguing after work who would get most votes.

When the voting was all over, of the 212,000 on the electoral roll only 55 Percent went to the polls as compared to 71 percent in 1953 of an electoral roll of 208,000 and P.P.P. was new. Indian voting was almost 90 percent of Indian names on the list. Thus the Jaganites polled 47 percent of the votes cast scoring nine seats in all rural districts. Burnhamites scored 25 percent with the three Georgetown seats, while the United Democratic Party scored the only seat in New Amsterdam and the Luckooites N.L.F. in the Northwest district.

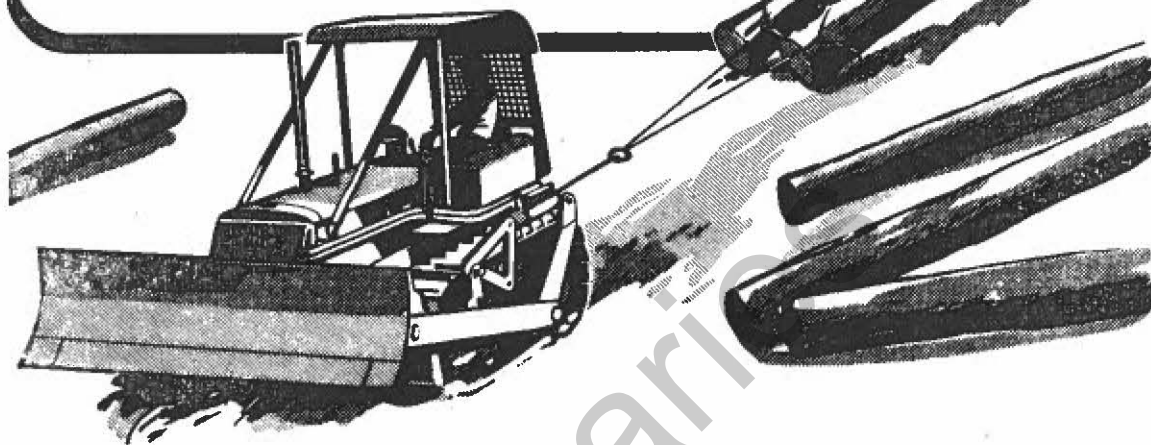
Promptly Governor Sir Patrick Renison called in Jagan, for one week of conferencing on how to form the government. Sir Pat finally

agreed to compromise with Jagan to give an overall majority in the Exco and hand picked citizens in the legislature, on condition Jagan agree to work the development programme as set out in the World Bank report and agreed by the Colonial Office.

Next week he called in Editors of daily press and extracted from them a promise not to harrass the new government and give it all co-operation for the good of everyone. But in party circles it was known that Jaganites plan to work the government for 18 months then agitate for self government. Jagan dabbled in the last federation conference merely to ask Islanders to help him agitate for self government and more cash from Imperialist sources. But plan to stay out of the Federation in order to pursue original aims set out in his famous party statement made last year March to his congress. (See second Quarter G.T.)

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CRIME

20TH CENTURY BUCCANEER

Monday morning July 29, Judicial committee of the Privy Council, consisting of some of Britain's most learned jurists, Lord Justice Jowitt, Lord Justice Denning and Lord Justice Cohen met in solemn conclave in their London Downing street offices just off Whitehall to hear the special request from two condemned men from the island of Trinidad. A shy youthful bible-reading Maracas Bay Lifeguardsman, Boland Ramkissoon and a husky diabetic ageing professional gambler named John Boysie Singh, lying in condemned cells of Port-of-Spain's Royal Gaol were seeking leave to appeal against the sentence of death for murder of a missing B.G. born Dancer named Thelma Haynes.

Barrister Kellock arguing the case for Ramkissoon said that the fundamental difficulty of the case was that no body had been found, no motive established and no eye witness had ever seriously suggested any attack. "There is no evidence whatever my lords," argued Kellock "of what happened to the girl Thelma Haynes". He added that of the various statements made by Ramkissoon two of them had denied ever seeing the girl at all on the fateful night of July 30, 1956.

Boysie Singh based his appeal on the grounds that the refusal to grant a separate trial for himself had created a miscarriage of justice and that circumstantial evidence adduced was not conclusive in linking him with murder. But those hardened, but learned men of the highest British law tribunal, decided to deny them leave to appeal. On Tuesday morning August 20 with a huge curious crowd milling outside the gates of Royal Gaol, Boland Ramkissoon and Boysie Singh walked the last few yards to the hangman's noose to pay the extreme penalty.

PASSING OF BOYSIE SINGH

BUT hanging of Boysie Singh removed from the scene one of the most colourful figures in Colonial underworld. Extremely flamboyant, Boysie was at various times fisherman, gangleader, clipjoint operator, zuit suit fashion-setter Preacher and man-about town. Described by the Trinidad underworld as the pirate of the Gulf of Parria, and by Time magazine as the modern Black-beard Teach, he was twice tried for Murder. As Ramadhin and Valentine became to West Indies Cricket so

Boysie became to West Indian gambling. His winning brought him three night clubs and a \$50,000 bank roll. Like the Whappie king that he was, he gambled for high stakes, and used human lives in his games with his most bitter adversary—the Trinidad police. Finally, however, this onetime gangland emperor sank to the low depths of a meal-ticket murderer and the police noose dropped tightly around his neck.

CAREER

Born in some hovel, behind residential Woodbrook in Port of Spain some 53 years ago Boysie had lost his father early in life and was supported by a mother and sister



BOYSIE SINGH
—from Whappie king to meal-ticket murderer.

who sold Indian condiments at street corners. In the days just before first world war, he developed a reputation as a young "fightman" in the neighbourhood and chalked up fame as a young hoodlum. He had to seek safety in flight out of the district when police began tagging his heels. Later in the St. James area he became attached to two notorious Peru brothers who were eventually hanged for murder and housebreaking. Boysie graduated from crime school with honours. For graduation exercise he crouched low one night with a razor and tried to slash off a money bag tied to the capra of his sleeping step father. In the darkness he cut the old man whose screams made

him drop his bloody razor and run. But it earned him his first jail term. A wilder and bolder Boysie came out of jail only to be back again for thuggery.

Much later in his young manhood, he took to fishing—his first love ever since he was a short pants school boy. Starting with outrigger boat he pioneered on the high seas near the Bocas. Soon he had a fleet of thirty fishing boats, and was putting away nest eggs as fast as the money poured in. He started a little gambling shop in Prince Street, Port of Spain. It became a venue each night for number of fishermen, butchers and odd characters who swotted it out all night and next morning cashed their chit currency with an eastern Market butcher who made a tidy bit in the exchange of gamble currency.

One day Boysie said to him "Why you don't play scalding, and mek a bright bit, instead of small change?" Scalding or whappie is an ingenious card game that gives even the most seasoned gambler some hot thrills. The butcher took Boysie at his word. Instead of being stockbroker for gamblers he decided to become a stock holder in his own gambling show. But Boysie had even brighter ideas. He financed teams of card sharps to visit the butcher's joint with heavy stakes, and before long ran him through for a song. The butcher awoke one day to discover Boysie owned his joint. Not despaired he started another. Boysie financed other sharps who fleeced day-lights out of him again and for the second time Boysie took over.

With proceeds thus collected Boysie set up his famous Sunrise club in Prince street in the days just before outbreak of second world war and by the time war came he had a new hot spot at the famous Dorset at 55, Queen street where he gathered together a band of the worst Trinidad cutthroats. When the lend lease bases-for-destroyers swapping arrangements came into force with the establishment of air and naval bases in Trinidad, he had two clubs raking in business to the tune of about \$1,000 per night.

CLIP JOINTS

AS business boomed Boysie switched to bootlegging. Every Sunday his Buick was parked in Frederick street delivering or receiving stolen liquor. Soon he built up a huge fortune from liquor and prostitution houses. But one night something happened that made him

change his tactics. In his Baltimore club establishment one of his prostitutes named Clarissa was entertaining two Yankee sailors in a drinking session. Suddenly in merry mood one sailor reached for a tastily decorated hat on a nail and tore it to shreds. Clarissa shrieked. She had spent a high percent of her takings to decorate the chic little head gear for a wedding, and feminine-like the sight of its destruction sent her in tandrums. She spat savagely at the little sailor. In drunken fury Bill and his buddy proceeded to turn Clarissa's bedroom into shambles.

Crouched over a whappie game on the verge of a jackpot, Boysie heard the rumpus. He dropped his cards and took one peep, then hurried for his knuckle duster that had busted up many a jawbone before, then confronted the little sailor like a jackrabbit.

"Look fella" said Boysie as he dressed his big fist with the vicious looking brass knuckles "ah gwine teach yah when yu come to Trinidad how foe treat we women". The slip of a sailorman braced his back to the wall and waited like a cornered mouse for pussy's spring. The Chivalry lecture over, Boysie drove home his big brass covered fist. To his chagrin and dismay the roaring sledgehammer connected up—not with the intended Jaw, but crashed on the wall right where the little yank's head stood. In his wrath Boysie turned to see the sailor standing where he was. The tables were turned right around. Another blind sweep and the knuckles hit space. Then the Yank moved in for the kill. Afterwards said an eyewitness "The boss took a beating of his life". Bill and his buddy speedily departed leaving Boysie Singh a battered mess on floor of his own establishment.

After that he changed his tactics. He hired cutthroats to hi-jack sailors. The technique was quite simple. Many a sailor from the numerous ships that sought refuge in Trinidad entrepot were approached by touts with the familiar "Hi sailor Want a piece of skin." Invariably they did, and were piloted to dives, knocked cold and a piece of cotton wool soaked in stolen chloroform applied to the nose. Next morning many a sailor was found propped up in some deserted street or near Woodford square his every possession rifled and not

knowing what or where he was the night before.

55 Queen Street apart from its gambling bootlegging and prostitution, became the fence for stolen booty brought in by his gambling guests. Many of his cut throats like Joe Pakuka or Batman were paid to bump off meddling cops. This made it difficult for police to raid his den. It became a veritable arsenal. Thugs and touts slept with pistols under their pillow.

PIRACY

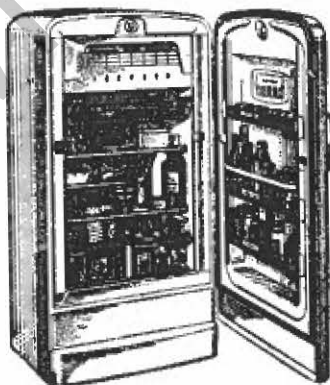
After a while Boysie got his boys to make what were called "torpedoes" out of explosives swiped from the various US Bases. The Police never got the slightest hint of what they were for, until within recent times. They were diabolical.

In those swirling war days smuggling became big business in the Gulf of Paria. Fast motor launches usually operated by Venezuelans

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ran a ferry of stolen traffic, between Trinidad and Venezuela. The load included such things as opium jewelry etc. Boysie decided why not become an unofficial Coast Guard of Trinidad. At that time part of his fishing fleet was based at Cocorite Bay near Port-of-Spain and another part based at Cedros on the other side of the island. Included in the fleet was a powerful craft "Black Swan" with an engine "contacted" from the Chagaramus naval base. It could outrun any craft of its size on the gulf, and yet look as innocent as a junk.

Oftentimes many an unsuspecting smuggler chugging across the Gulf with a load of booty would find an unsuspecting fishing boat innocently pulling in fish line. Suddenly it would galvanise into speeding action and come bearing down on them with a crew dressed in sparkling uniform of "Customs officers". The chief "Customs guard" was a handsome smiling East Indian, who was none other than the notorious Boysie Singh, complete with epaulets and a deadly pair of .45 revolvers. He was the modern version of Captain Kidd, of bygone days, who raided the Spanish main—perhaps in the same area. Boysie and his uniformed gang of pirates swoot aboard many a hapless smuggler's launch ordered quick transfer of goods at gun point, settled all arguments with bullets then finished the job with the 'torpedoes' destroying every vestige of the craft.

When local fishermen began to disappear, Singh denied he ever had anything to do with their disappearance, but the Venezuelan Coast Guard had seized many of his fishing craft and for that he carried out a relentless war with Venezuelan fisher vessel.

HIGH SOCIETY

Back in Port of Spain Boysie grew rich and fat. He had about 13 properties and some \$60,000 in cash, and moved around town dressed in George Raft hat and Cab Calloway outfit. Withal he acquired a reputation for extreme generosity and freehandedness. Presently he developed social ambitions. A Syrian friend introduced him to a high level gambling club in Port-of-Spain frequented even by Judges of the supreme court, American businessmen, Jewish financiers, Syrian merchants and visiting tourists and fortune hunters. At first these snooty people

turned up their noses at the idea of having an underworld scruff in their midst. But his name spelt money, and a certain few decided to milk him. First thing Boysie discovered was that in high society, they had no use for such low down games as Whappie and all fours. The current game was Poker.

At once he took special lessons in poker and soon thought he knew all the tricks in the game. His first night performance at the club, was a thorough walk over. The people there appeared to be a bunch of chumps, and his take home each night from poker games was highly encouraging. Then one night his fortunes changed. It was a two man jack-pot involving several thousands of dollars Boysie hardly knew his society opponent had a marked card at the bottom. As the game progressed he stretched out all his aces in the pack confident that an ace coming up, was the one he had set. But when he made the three aces which is a good hand in poker he got a burst of cold sweat. His opponent turned up one queen in the hole and three exposed which was three times better than what Boysie had. That night they collected \$60,000 out of Boysie Singh. It bounced him out of high society back to the smoked filled Dorset club at 55 Queen street with its smoke filled rooms and its Whappie and all-fours.

To recoup his heavy losses, Boysie turned to something new. Running illegal immigrants to Venezuela. As war days ended, a sudden rush of West Indians began seeking passages to Venezuela starting on a prosperity boom. Since their immigration laws became strict against West Indians, easiest way to get there was through the back door. Boysie let it be known that he could land any one on Venezuelan soil for a special fee. To this day no one could say how many persons reached Venezuela that way. But a San Juan woman who was in Boysie's boat with a Chinese shopkeeper broke the silence on what happened on such a trip. She declared that late one night Boysie nudged the Shopkeeper and said quietly "Get up out and walk"—in the Ocean. The shopkeeper had a few thousand dollars with him when he boarded Singh's boat at Cedros. Naturally Boysie knew he had his lifesavings on him. As the Chinese hesitated Boysie whipped out his pistol and shot him dead. He cleaned out his pockets then tossed him overboard. Then he turned to the San Juan woman who looked on in

horror. "He took my bracelets" she narrated "and was about to get rid of me, I pleaded "How Boysie yu mean that after we bin so friendly so many years yu gwine do this to me. Tek me jewels but spare me. I promise never to utter a word about this". "Boysie turn the boat back and brought her to Cedros. The San Juan woman kept her silence until it was known that Boysie would be hanged early this year.

FIRST FLOATING CORPSE

One night in 1950, one of his henchmen named Philbert (Bumper) Payson brought a Norwegian merchant officer to Boysie at his headquarters at 55 Queen street. The officer evidently decamping his ship had several thousand of dollars and wanted to be taken to Venezuela. That night his drink was doped, but somehow didn't prove effective. A clothes basket was brought to the cubicle where the doped sailor lay. But when Boysie came to rifle his pockets he woke up. In terror the Norwegian shrieked for him to take all his money but let him live, and take him to Venezuela as promised. He laid out all his money and knelt pleading with Boysie for his life. Instead Boysie reached for a curved-end sword and in a single swipe severed the head from the body. The headless torso was found floating in peagreen waters off bayshore some days later. Police never knew how it got there.—until recently. Bumper's turn came later.

Sometime before, there was a young 17 year old waif known as Loomat nicknamed "Red Indian" who one night sat down with a big visitor for a game of whappie in the Dorset. Soon the youngster had collected \$17 in winnings. Up rose the big fellow with a laconic compliment "Arright bwye Ah see yu know de game. But ah was only trying yu out, Gimme back me 17 dollars". For answer the little fellow sprang to his feet snatched a Rum bottle nearby smashed it on table. But before his liquor soaked antagonist was on him Boysie Singh appeared, with a stern command "Lef e alone". His fist was covered with a famed knuckle duster that had battered so many fast jaws before. After that incident Loomat and Boysie became friends. Loomat became to Boysie his veritable shadow. He toured town with Boysie through dark dismal alleyways of eastern Port of Spain where police cars prowl, to Cedros and beyond

with the Singh fishing fleet to Cocorite where Boysie had another hide-out. He joined in all the burglary raids by Boysie's thugs.

Loomat described the real mystery behind the floating corpse murder when 'Bumper's weighted body was pulled out of Bayshore water. According to Loomat Bumper and two others and himself went on a raid of a shirt factory on George Street one holy Thursday night. They got upstairs by passing through a yard in George Street and climbing up the backstairs. They cut their way through the cellotex till they got to the clothes room. They took a good bit of cloth came back down and hid it in the yard. But they had no where to take it." I told them the best man for the job was Boysie Singh" narrated Loomat. "I went for him. He brought his truck and parked it right in front of the factory. We brought out the clothes and bundled them in the truck and took it to the Club (Dorset) with Boysie driving".

FLOATING CORPSE

HE paid us off. The next night the factory was raided again. The next day he paid us off. Then Bumper came to me and asked how much I got. I said about \$200. Bumper said Boysie hadn't given him enough! Said he "It looks like Boysie double crossing us", and added "Boysie Singh playing with me. He ain't know I'm a dangerous man, I'll see him in jail".

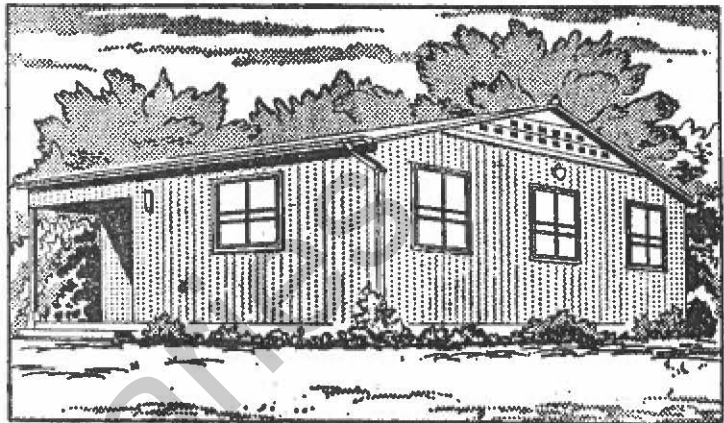
It did appear that Bumper must have told his mind to Boysie and warned him that if he didn't get enough he'd inform on him to the police.

A few days later Boysie called Loomat to the window of the Club to see Bumper speaking to an Indian police constable, in the street below, and said "look at him. Look at him".

Loomat retorted soothingly "Man dey musbe talking dey own business". Boysie turned his murder-filled eyes away from the talking Bumper down in the street and planted them on Loomat with a look of distaste and anger. From then, Loomat declared, he knew that Bumper's days were numbered.

Afterwards, he explained, "It was two men who did the job. On the night of April 14, 1950 at the Dorset they drugged him with doned roti... so he won't make any noise. when they kidnapped him They took him to Cocorite jetty in Singh's van, and put him in the launch They took him for a ride and did the deed far

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out in the harbour. They stabbed him and beat him to death with an iron. After the murder the two men who did the job out in the frothy sea off Cocorite stayed on in Trinidad for a while. But they were never brought into court".

Days later when the body was dragged out of the peagreen waters of the Bayshore area, police sleuthing took them to the Dorset Club and Boysie Singh. First they clapped him behind bars and hordes of them descended on the Dorset and tore it apart with a vengeance. They found his strong box, his armory, his manufactured explosives, his stolen chloroform and tools of operation. Above all they found the amount of liquor in stock, bore little resemblance to what was recorded in the club's books nor did it tally with any permits by dealers. Next they moved over to the Baltimore Club and gave it the same treatment. At the same time Boysie deliberately incriminated four other of his colleagues unconnected with the deed. They went on trial with him. Loomat became King's evidence but explained "The police took me in the station...if you see licks! I couldn't take it, I gave in".

Nevertheless, all through the trigger tense trial the Dorset Club went on as usual. The boys turned up for the sessions of whappie, their black marke drinks and their night girls, although the licence was taken away.

While Boysie's wife came over to B.G. to consult a famous obeah man, a jury disagreed in the trial of the century. Then came the retrial which brought a guilty verdict. Fighting desperately for their lives, the five took the case to the appeal court. The judges described Crown witness Loomat's evidence as "Tainted with inconsistencies, prevarications and failures of memories. Contemptuously they quashed the verdict and Boysie Singh walked out a free man.

AFTERMATH OF MURDER

PROMPTLY Loomat sought safety in flight. He had heard that Boysie's relatives and henchmen were looking for him to cut off his neck and other parts of his anatomy. So he melted from the scene—for months. After a while he heard Boysie had acquired a motor cycle and became an inspired wayside preacher of popular acclaim. Accord-

ingly he came out of hiding, stood on the fringes of the crowd and heard Boysie use for his theme. "If somebody like me can change I dont see why anybody else cant."

Explained Loomat "He would have fooled anybody the way I heard him talk. I frankly don't believe he was inspired." Instead Loomat theorized it was the background to more scheming. This seemed to be right. On the night of January 8, 1955, the Rising Star bar which Boysie was after for some time was burnt down with stock and building costing some \$6,000. One police constable testified at the preliminary hearing that on the night in question he saw Boysie Singh moving away from the direction of the building in a great hurry" and soon after there was a loud explosion. But the hearing never reached the supreme court. It's still pending.

In the meantime Boysie began combining his preaching with familiar gambling. He became a frequent habitue of the China town night clubs in noisy neonlit Park street where he developed a new game called whe-whe. It made excellent contrast to his preaching. One man recalls Boysie irreligious act of preacher one night in a spot near Ka Chung grocery in Cockreine street in Eastern Mainroad in bustling Tunapuna, and then impudently hauling out his whe-whe board and settling down in the exact spot for a session, with the collection he made.

But as his preaching days declined, diabetes began eating away his body. At about the same time in Maracas Bay, a youthful life-guard named Boland Ramkisson was wrestling with a two-wife problem. He told his colleague he had decided to ask Boysie to get rid of one of them either his married Indian wife Dorathy, living apart or his african commonlaw wife Thelma Haynes. On July 11 while in bed in a striped pyjama pants suffering from the dread disease, a newspaper photographer snapped him in earnest conversation with Boland and another woman. That set the seal of the doom. The boy also remembered after that Boland and Boysie in frequent confab at the Coffee Grove club. They appeared to have decided on doing away with Thelma Haynes, and Boysie followed the familiar bumping off method via Cocorite jetty into a launch and far out to sea where no body could be found. But Boland's various confessions later put Police Detective

Leslie Slater on his heels. As the case reached breaking point he became more and more a familiar but nervous sight in the billiard room of the Chrystal palace restaurant in El Socorro road in San Juan. And on the night of September 10, 1956 Boysie came into Chrystal Palace restaurant from a matinee show with a friend. He had read the Evening news which stated that arrests in connection with the Thelma Haynes murder was expected momentarily. He also knew that Boland had been seeing a lot of the Police and making confessions. He had put two and two together and said to his friend as he entered "Anytime now within the next twelve hours the police will come and get me."

He moved over to the billiard rack selected a cue and sent scorer Sabodat off for a cold glass of CC Mel. Even as he settled down to pot the red balls, several police cars packed full of detectives came silently to stop to the curb outside the restaurant, and by the time the shot, packed with unerring aim scattered the balls in the pocket the room door burst open and the squad headed by Inspector Haynes quickly entered. Dramatically announced Haynes, "Boysie Singh. You're under arrest for murder."

Mechanically Boysie leaned his cue and replied 'I been expecting you.' Mechanically he collected his hat, dusted it philosophically and strode resigningly out. Said Slim Sahadat, "When I came back the police were all over the place and Boysie was just getting in a car. That was the last I saw of him. I had to drink the C.C. Mel myself." The trail was another theme of the century. After the hanging a closed van swept out to Mucupo cemetery where they laid his body beside another famous Singh . . . Dr. Dalyp Singh.



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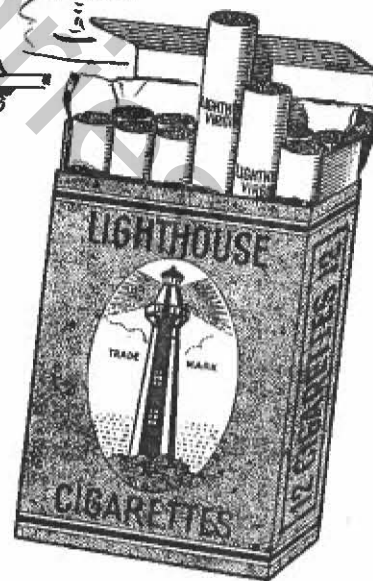
NORTH BORNEO. "English Electric" diesel generating sets and other electric equipment was supplied for the new power station at Jesselton.

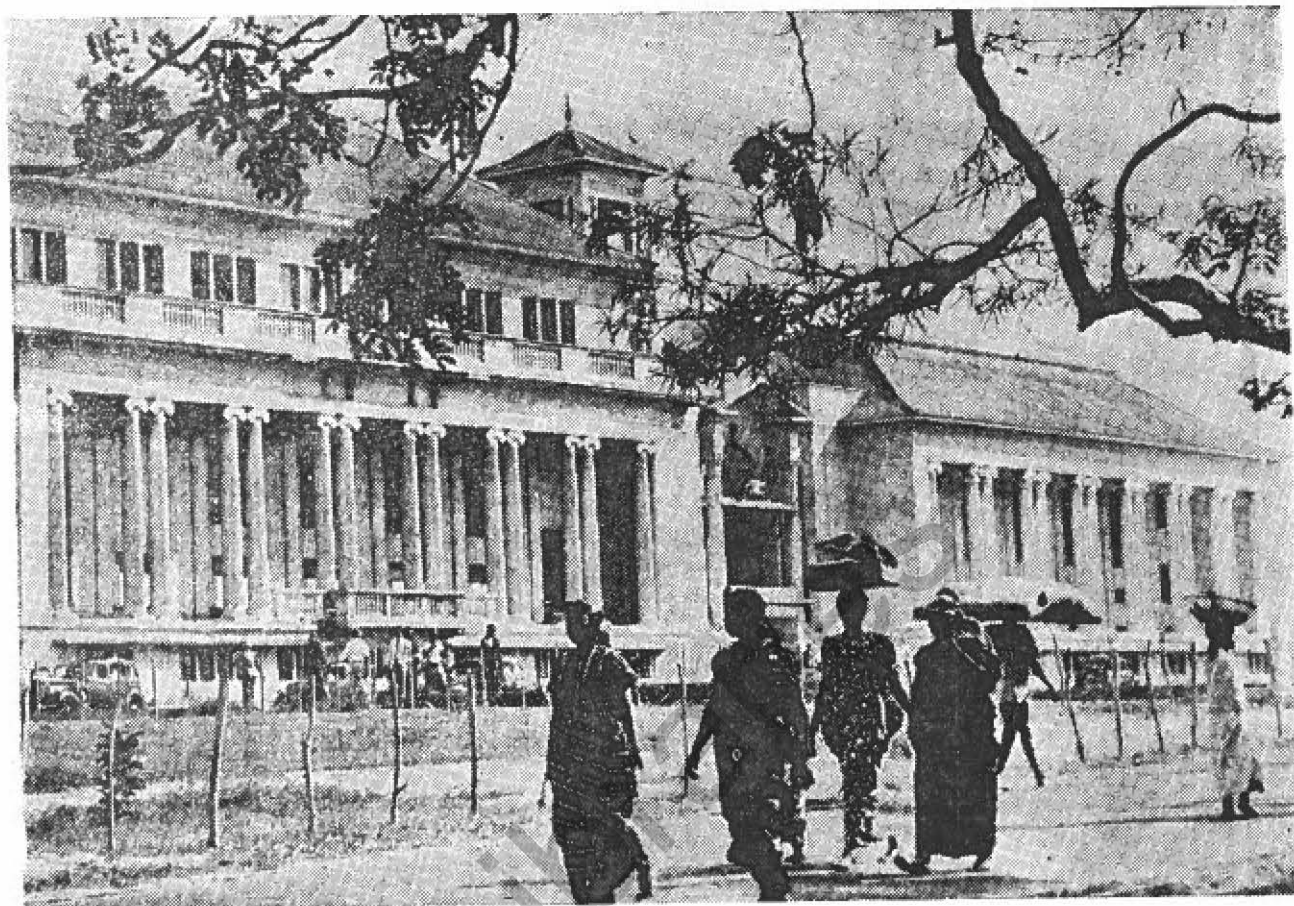


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CIGARETTES





The Ghana Parliament Buildings and Supreme Court. In the one Dr. Nkruma, Edusei and Co., with absolute control of an all-elected one-house Assembly, passed laws to impose one-party dictatorship on the country. While in the Supreme court British Barristers Shawcross and Michael Bing fought each other for rule of law vs. dictatorship of a faction.

Commonwealth Affairs

NKRUMA'S TROUBLES

CONTRARY to popular belief the black spot of both eras in the new Commonwealth African Dominion of Ghana, had absolutely nothing to do with the familiar Race theme (that Negroes can't govern themselves); nor the old colonial theme (about Imperialism). Unlike the case of Governor Faubus of Arkansas who defied Federal Law, imposed his State's will and interfered with U.S. Supreme Court Order to integrate Negro children in state schools, the Ghana situation hadn't even a touch of the race issue. Amazingly enough it developed into a toe-to-toe struggle—not between Africans and Whites, but between two white Englishmen in a strictly African scene of grafted civilisation. On the one hand was British Bar-

rister Christopher Shawcross, Q.C. of the famous Shawcross Legal brothers. On the other hand was an odd character out of the modern fairy tale of British left wing law politics—the amazingly anti-British British born Barrister Geoffrey Bing, Q.C.—the one the upholder of traditional right of rule of law, the other advocate of the new marxist concept of factional rule in a corporate state.

Anglo-Saxon tradition recognises the majesty of the law. Under an unwritten British constitution, although Her Majesty could do no wrong, the tacit implication exists that if Queen Elisabeth broke the law in a private capacity she could be brought before the courts as *Reg. vs. Elisabeth Windsor*. On the other hand, Marxists believe in the dictatorship of a faction who must campaign to power demanding every form of democracy above all

expert use of the law courts to put over the point.

IN 1948, when Dr. Nkruma and Co. were picked up by the British-controlled Gold Coast Colonial Government, after such a marxist revolution to establish his "Soviet socialistic republics of West Africa", detailed plans were discovered to assassinate all persons in authority including native chieftains, in their revolt against any form of authority. Similar ideas pervaded Kenyatta in Kenya—to eliminate even traditional chieftains. British Guiana Marxists of pre-1953 era, in their self-government-seeking campaign, in familiar marxist style, also talked glibly about "eliminating" certain persons of authority. But all together—in Kenya, Gold Coast and British Guiana—they won universal acclaim in every non-white colonial territory as the new heroes of the now anti-colonialist era.

FREEDOM

TAKING his cue from events in British Guiana, Dr. Nkruma of the Gold Coast steered an orthodox course to the impassioned goal of self-government. Pilot of this great scheme was an astute Governor, Sir Charles Aden-Clarke. He stayed overtime (7 years) as governor to guide the new state on its feet on the road to British democracy. Independence day March 6th, Ghanians shouted themselves hoarse with yells of "We are Free" Overlooking the Atlantic Ocean in Accra Harbour, they stuck up a gleaming white Independence Arch with the state motto "Freedom and Justice".

But a new era of freedom developed after Independence. Sir Charles Aden-Clarke announced his retirement and Dr. Kwame Nkruma got himself a new mentor in the person of left wing Marxist-trained British Queen's Counsel Geoffrey Bing. In June Premier Nkruma arrived in London as the first African leader of the first African dominion launched "as a pilot plant of African democracy to show South African racialists how blacks could govern themselves."

Back home he appointed Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., as constitutional adviser to the Prime Minister, and with the new power behind the throne, P. M. Nkruma proceeded with plans for the establishment of his socialist state of Ghana. As a first move towards that one party rule he introduced measures whereby civil servant district commissioners, be replaced by party henchmen. The very idea of their tribal affairs in Kumasi being directed by what they called city slickers from Accra, with their new fangled ideas, almost incensed Moslem Ashanti people to rebellion. Announced Nkruma, "Henceforth we shall see who is ruling the country." He moved into the lately-vacated Governor-General's mansion, the 296-year-old Christianborg Castle, put his head on Ghana stamps and announced his intention of putting it on the country's coinage. Finally he ordered the erection of a 20 foot statue of himself in the centre of Accra.

OPPOSITION

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all the colonial world. In Accra the House of Assembly, where Premier Nkruma controlled 71 out of 104 seats under the all-elected one-house constitution, his cabinet split down the middle. British educated Joe Appiah, who made world headlines a few years ago with his marriage to the daughter of Sir Stafford Cripps promptly resigned his key cabinet post in the Governing Convention Peoples party and crossed the floor, in the British styled Parliament House, to the National Liberation Movement opposition benches. Together with Opposition Leader K. Busia, they denounced Nkruma's acts with "attempts to usurp the functions and privileges of the Queen constitute illegality". Appiah added "Indeed the opposition wish to go a step further and say these constitute acts of sedition and treason against the Queen." Busia also protested the ban on the Queen's message to commonwealth youth being read at Commonwealth Youth service.

Nkruma's Convention Peoples Party Paper yelled in defence "What would be the significance of independence if we continue to allow the Queen's head to be on everything". The paper added "It is strange how some Africans support anything Imperial as against our own symbol of African authority". At the same time his other West Indian born Marxist adviser, George Padmore wrote a Ceylonese cabinet minister asking him to talk to Ceylon's leftist premier Banderanaik to recommend a Ceylonese to be Governor General of Ghana instead of a white Englishman. Government threw cold water on the Capitalist plans put forward by a United States commercial mission visiting Accra to survey the \$230 million Volta River project. The American companies represented on the mission were the Foreign Construction Associates Houston Texas; Utah Construction Company of San Fernando and others. But while stalling them Dr. Nkruma wrote to Russia's Premier Bulganin expressing hopes for "further strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding between Ghana and Russia and announced that a delegation would shortly visit Moscow. Next he wrote Egypt's premier Nasser asking him to receive a delegation to discuss the sponsoring of a great conference of independent African states.

The Opposition National Liberation Movement boys peppered the government. Heading the attack from outside Parliament was the British owned Daily Graphic leading Accra Daily which Minister of the Interior Aki Adjei told a news conference would soon be banned.

ACTION AND REACTION

In Accra itself reaction set in speedily. Crowds paraded the streets with slogans "We don't want Russia." Once popular CPP ministers found stones and abuse hurled at them. Nkruma himself found he had to convert the once open Christborg Castle into a veritable fortress with armed police at every point of the now barricaded castle. Instead of riding in an open Cadillac in which he once received the plaudits of the crowd, he had to move around in a closed car. He lived in fear of his life. The strain was becoming intolerable. He had planned leading his Country's delegation to the United Nations session which was due to open early in August during which time his planned visit to British Guiana and these parts should have taken place. But he found it difficult to leave his country. In the Kumasi area the Ashanti people developed into a screeching opposition. Appiah told a huge rally of them on a N.L.M ticket that the opposition would "rise up in arms if necessary against the government which by its own actions would have proved itself disloyal to the Queen."

Counter reaction to this kind of opposition was typical in marxist style:— eliminate them. In a cabinet reshuffle he appointed Krobo Edusei for new minister of the Interior. As one of the old Prison Graduates in the revolutionary days Edusei had a pronounced streak of Marxism with a taste for luxury and power. He was one of the reds tossed out of government in 1953 after the corruption inquiries. But he did so well that one of his two wives boasts of her many \$200 dresses. He was now brought back into cabinet as Nkruma's hatchet man. At a press conference introducing himself, his manner was rough and facetious, his syntax confusing, his remarks sometimes almost unbelievable in their naivety or brashness. Accompanied by "My permanent secretary" a tall grave face man in a blue striped gown who laughed

agreeably at all the pleasantries, he said "I propose to introduce in parliament a bill which will empower the government to remove and detain any person who indulges in unconstitutional and subversive activities against the government". By way of explanation he added "Every body is at liberty to criticise the government but in a constructive manner... not to abuse people in authority. We have our intelligence officers who attend political meetings and they will report to me on speeches and the attorney-general will decide if action is to be taken. I want to make it plain that the deportation of undesirables will continue so long as the presence of such people is deemed not conducive to the public good." That turned out to be the "Deportation Act of 1957" empowering him to deport any one he felt like doing.

First blow fell on August 1 when he filed a blue paper on the deputy editor of the Graphic, Bankole Timothy deeming him an undesirable alien. Sierra Leone-born Bankole, a former worshipper of Dr. Nkruma had just published a highly successful biography of the Prime Minister. But recently he had denounced his dictatorial acts in bitter editorials. Minister Edusei now ordered his deportation within 48 hours of the notice. Being a Sierra Leone born, Timothy had no alternative but to submit to deportation. Since the only excuse that his presence "was not conducive to the public good", the move brought reaction all over the world (Imperialist).

Then on September 5, an extraordinary Ghana Gazette appeared two more deportation orders signed by Minister Edusei "by the Acting-Governor General's command". The orders were directed against Amadu Gao, Tribal head of the Goa community of Kumasi and Amamu Moshi tribal head of the Moshio community in Kumasi. The orders merely said the presence of the two men "is not conducive to public good and they must leave forthwith". A previous two deportations were Kumasi businessmen uncere-moneously picked up and bundled aboard a plane.

The deportation electrified the country. As things developed British newsmen, from observing British Dailies swept into Ghana to report developments. Among them was London Daily Telegraph Ivan Collins. He arrived in time to hear the

two Moslems appeal to the courts. As citizens of Ghana they made application to the court for an injunction restraining the Minister of the Interior Edusei, the prime minister Dr. Kwame Nkruma, the commissioner of police Collens, from deporting them.

When the case was called up in the Kamasi divisional court, there appeared for the government—not the Attorney General of the Government of Ghana but the "Constitutional adviser to the prime minister Geoffrey Bing. Like his far more clever bar colleague Dennis Pritt, Q.C. who came to British Guiana in 1954 to defend two of Dr. Jagan's "freedom fighters", Ulster-born Oxford-educated Queens counsel Bing was a one time socialist member of parliament. He made a name for himself as a left wing Bevanite, with his anti-American pro-Soviet pronouncements, and lost his seat after campaigning his constituency defending all Soviet grabs of Eastern Europe and everything Stalin and his reds did.

ENTER BING

When Nkruma and his CPP followers were arrested in 1948 and put on treason charges he was one of the several left wing Barristers from

Britain that appeared in the Gold Coast for their defence. And for the first time African colonials who once stood in awe of the majesty of the British Government and Monarchy heard even white lawyers ridicule all the aspects of the so-called "British democracy" which they said denied Africans the right to freedom. Defence of Nkruma in those days was an almost identical formula as Pritt's defence of Red Radicals in British Guiana, Kenya and Malaya for which he was awarded the Stalin Peace prize.

Lawyer Bing was in Accra during last March arranging with his former client Dr. Nkruma the final details of the great Independence celebration and met B.G. Marxist pair Jagan and Burnham. He gave Jagan the advice on how to play ball with the British until independence came. (See International)

Now he was defence counsel for the same people in the reversed role as Government doing the same thing they once protested against in the Courts. As the case was fixed for hearing Bing gave an undertaking that the two Moslems would be present in court for hearing despite reports that the government was preparing to deport them. But before the

hearing could begin tough minister Edusei pushed another bill giving the right to deport without any right of appeal. As the bill had its second reading the whole line of government ministers paraded with speeches on a matter subjudice and of which some of them were parties. They all were denouncing the moslem leaders seeking redress in the courts. That in itself appeared gross contempt for the courts.

Half an hour after the Bill was rushed through its final stages to become law English born Police Commissioner Michael Collens received orders to pick up at once the two Moslem leaders and deport them to Nigeria. London press boys in Ghana went to work on the story. Under the heading "Dirty Work", Ian Colvin of the Daily Telegraph described in detail the dispicable and clumsy handling of the new deportation act, by certain Ghana government officials including worst of all Bing. In their crude attempt to remove the two men from the jurisdiction of the court after Bing had given an undertaking, set the British world agog with interest. But trouble started in Ghana when the Ashanti *Pioneer press* in Kumasi reprinted the article, and a Daily Express editorial.

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In Accra all the big government lads got into a bit of a rage. They decided to teach Colvin a lesson. Early one day in September Colvin in his hotel room found himself served with an *ex parte* writ of attachment to state why he should not be sent to prison for contempt of the Ghana court and for scandalising the government of Ghana. The writ was signed by Geoffrey Bing "Constitutional adviser for Kwame Nkruma". Colvin cabled home to London for advice. Promptly the London Daily Telegraph flew out for his defence Christopher Shawcross, younger brother of Sir Hartley Shawcross one time Attorney General of Britain.

At the same time the London press took up the refrain on Bing. Wrote the London Spectator.

*Kentish Sir Bing, hat in the ring
Bidding the impudent Telegraph swing
Started his job of suppressing the mob
By giving each journalist one for his nob.*

*Critics may snipe and Liberals may gripe
What do I care if the mangoes are ripe.*

Once loudly they'd sing of leftist Sir Bing.

In the square of the Smith and the street of the King.

Now Ghanians cheer: Geoffrey is here

(Though what he is here for is not at all clear)

COURT BATTLE

SHAWCROSS arrived in Ghana to fight three great principles of British Democracy:— Freedom of press, Independence of the Local courts of justice, in relation to executive power, that is the government, and finally right of defence in a court of law for any citizen. Realising that the Kumasi area was a hotbed of reaction, Bing decided to have the case against both Colvin and the **Pioneer Press** owners heard in the Accra supreme court. That was a fatal error.

Monday morning September 10, when world attention was focussed on Governor Faubus of Arkansas using state troops to prevent Negro children attending High school in Little Rock and a new government was being installed in British Guiana, the hearing opened, of the application, at the instance of the Minister of Justice (Edusei) for a writ for contempt of court against reporter

Colvin and two newspaper proprietors for publishing articles "with intent to excite popular prejudice".

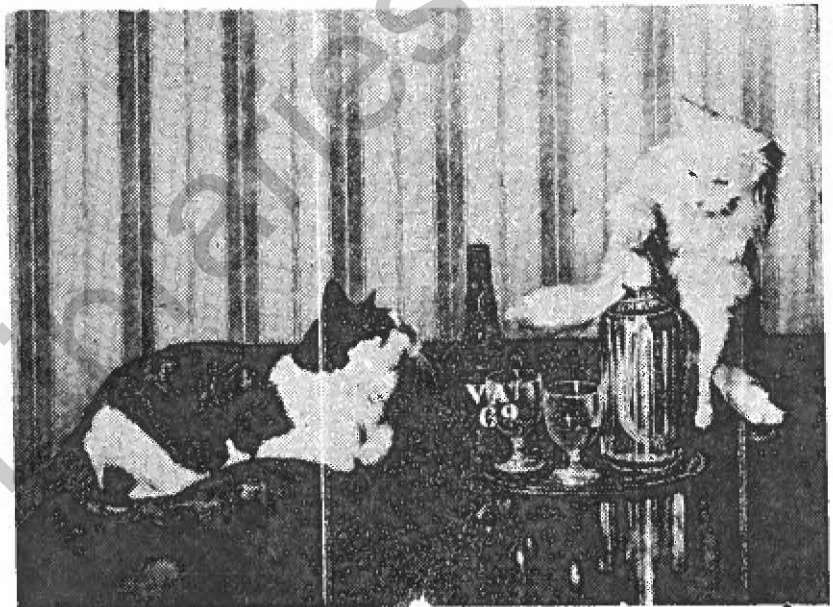
Outside the court house steel helmeted police with batons kept watch on the public but there was only curiosity. A stone's throw away were the Parliament buildings where Premier Nkruma and his hatchet man Edusei passed their laws. In the main court room sat three judges of the Supreme Court under a Royal court of arms against a panelled back. They were acting Chief Justice— Quashie-Idun, Justice Van Lare and a British Judge, Windsor Aubrey, in wig and scarlet robes worn for criminal cases. Before the proceedings started Barrister Bing was sworn in as Attorney

defence counsel in that case had not raised the point.

APPLICATION

OPENING his motion, Defence counsel Shawcross quoted some of the statements made in Parliament by Minister of Justice and Interior Kbro Edusei who was party in the present action.

Then he quoted "Odger's on Libel and slander", which stated that an application to counsel for contempt must be properly made and that the applicant before coming into court should not invite or take part in a discussion of the matter in the public press. That motions for committal made out of anger or ill feeling or with a view to obtaining



CURIOUSER AND CURIOUSER . . .

"Odd things humans do. Fancy all this just to make a splash!"

"Wise cats mind their own business. You don't catch me interfering with the master's favourite Scotch."

General in place of Grenada-born George Patterson.

First to be on his feet as the business of the court began was defence counsel Christopher Shawcross. "May it please your Lordships", he began, "It is unusual for a contempt charge to be heard in a court other than that against which the contempt was alleged to have been made." Then he moved on to another point of his motion that a divisional court could not consist of more than two judges. At that Justice Windsor-Aubrey quoted the case of **Rex vs Nkruma** in 1948 when Dr. Nkruma was himself cited for contempt before three Gold Coast judges. He added however that

costs should be severely discouraged although the conduct complained of might be technical contempt. Shawcross submitted that the application on behalf of minister Edusei came squarely within these terms. "This application", said he, "is made solely so far as I know by a Mr. Bing."

"That is most improper" interrupted Bing sitting at the same table.

Replied Shawcross: "I say Mr. Bing initiated the matter which resulted in the application being made and is therefore — whether as constitutional adviser to the prime minister as he was then, or as the Attorney General as he now is responsible for these applications."

He then narrated how on Aug. 17 there was an application in the court of Kumasi in connection with two actions (by the two moslems appealing their deportations). Bing appeared as Government Counsel to oppose the application and as such he had produced to the court and read portions of the reports of the previous injunction in the case which appeared in the London Daily **Telegraph** of Aug. 9. Next Shawcross attacked the breach of the undertaking given by Counsel Bing to Justice Smith at the Kumasi hearing, that the plaintiffs should not be deported from Ghana until the trial of the substantive action. He referred to the hurried passage in the Ghana Parliament of a special act and an immediate order made under that special act which made absolute nonsense of the solemn undertaking which had been offered by Barrister Bing to Justice Smith. "The law which was passed in itself constituted a contemptuous attack on the learned Judge in suggesting that he did not have the power, authority, nor strength to deal with the matter or that he might be intimidated by the articles published in Newspapers in London"

PARLIAMENTARY-CONTEMPT

He narrated that during the parliament speech the Prime Minister had said that the government considered that if the hearing of the case were resumed in Kumasi there was a real danger of hooliganism and disturbances. He also said that the government viewed even more seriously the attacks made on the integrity of Justice Smith. Shawcross insisted it was clearly wrong for the ministers or the Prime Minister to make these statements. They were immune from proceedings because of parliamentary privileges but he understood that an application would shortly be made to take proceedings against other parties who are not so immune. He went on to state that what resulted from these statements was that a bill was passed in parliament.

"This," Shawcross said, "contained the most flagrant contempt of that or any other court because it provided for the deportation of the two plaintiffs in the action in regard to whom Mr. Bing had given an undertaking to the court that they would not be deported before the

trial of the substantive action. In my respectful submission it would be a travesty of justice if a person in obvious contempt of the court were allowed to apply for a writ of attachment against somebody else." Shawcross charged.

Bing rose to his feet to reply. "I should have thought," said he, "that

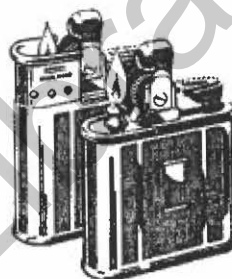
in an important matter of this sort the court might sit in this form. This is not a normal contempt case it is a case of scandalising the Judge."

Soon after African judge Van Lare retired from the trial but Shawcross came back now to challenge the court's jurisdiction on grounds



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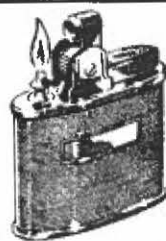
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that the contempt was a contempt of a different court. He submitted the old English common law of contempt in respect to the allegation of scandalising of a judge was part of the law of Ghana. The longest quotation by Shawcross, came from professor Harold Laski, whom Dr. Nkruma is known to have greatly admired. "It is one thing to make the judge secure and another thing to prevent the citizen comment." Shawcross added "It is my argument that in an independent and growing democracy like Ghana some comment on judgements was healthy and necessary." He further stated that if there was any power to punish for scandalising the court it was vested solely in the jurisdiction of the court that had been scandalised. It was highly important that the independence of the judiciary - its independence of the executive and of parliament should be preserved. And from his pile of law books quoted the famous west Indian case verdict that "Justice is not a cloistered virtue."

Next day, replying to Shawcross, Bing tried to make out that his learned friend had suggested that the parties might be in contempt because of the act parliament had passed, but he said the Attorney-General was a public officer, not a member of the government. Both he and the commissioner of police had important duties to perform. Both the Attorney General and commissioner had duty from time to time to tender advice to the government. "So far as the Minister of the Interior and Justice was concerned, he was merely one member of the government; under the constitution there was a provision for the collective responsibility of the government."

"I dont understand your argument, called out Justice Idun.

"How is the minister to be held responsible if there is collective responsibility?" asked Bing.

COUNSEL Bing pointed out that what had happened was that after this Colvin article appeared in London and Local papers "there was a local campaign in the press for the purpose of inciting attacks on the police and making attacks generally on the civil servants who happened to be British" (meaning himself). He read a passage from



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a local newspaper *Liberator* adding that riots and holiganism in Accra followed immediately, and that an entirely new situation was created. The government had to decide what action to take to preserve law and order.

Curtly interrupted justice Windsor-Aubrey. "Is there any precedent anywhere throughout the world for people being told their rights of pending litigation had been taken away. Can you produce any precedent for such pernicious legislation?"

Replied Bing. "If for security reasons the government decides to deport two persons, it is power exercised by a sovereign power. It may be criticised politically. You may hold private opinion that this ought not to be done. But it is not a matter of law."

Cutting the argument to ribbons Shawcross declared that the point at issue was not so much where the alleged offence was committed as where it might be tried. The alleged offence was not, as Mr. Bing suggested, in transmitting information but its publication in Ghana."

MORE CONTEMPT

In the midst of the proceedings Minister Edusei, at whose instance the application was made, left Ghana for Egypt to open negotiations with Nasser for the big conference of independent African countries. Shawcross hit upon this as further evidence of contempt, and raising his voice announced: "In general terms I make these charges with the fullest sense of responsibility because this aspect of the case may be of the highest constitutional importance, and that Mr. Bing with the assistance of those whom he represents has in flagrant defiance of the court, **not scrupled to procure the preparation of a monstrous outrage upon the tender infant freedom of Ghana and upon the newly established system of the administration in Ghana of justice.**"

After three days the court handed down a simple judgement. Said the President: "The court's view is that the proceedings were pending in the divisional court of Kumasi

and that the present applications should have been commenced there because this court had no power to maintain the application should it be refused."

Immediately Shawcross was on his feet demanding indemnity cost on the grounds that the proceedings were oppressive and should never have been brought. Citing Lord Goddard and Atkin he declared: "The furtherance and widespread broadcast of the very matter the applicants sought to pretend they sought to punish was proof of contempt." But the Judges decided on nominal cost of only 250 guineas against the Ghana Government. Shawcross gave notice of appeal. But in the meantime his caustic comments in the courts had earned him the displeasure of Nkruma and his bully boys.

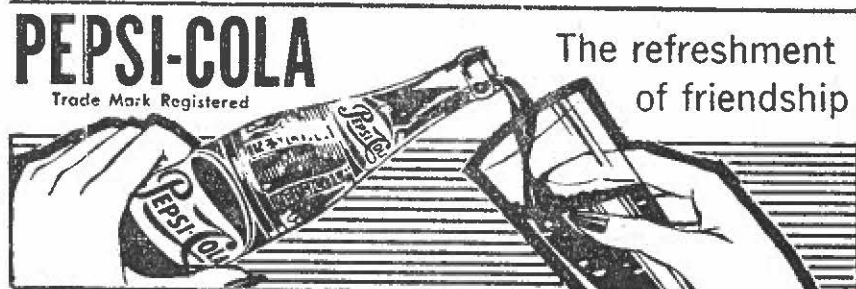
In British Guiana in 1954 leftist lawyer Denis Pritt argued that the "Crown could not go through life so that nobody could criticise the Crown. It would be disastrous for the Crown itself". In Ghana in 1957 his left wing colleague Godfrey Bing took the reverse role that it was wrong to criticise the sovereign power of the government and cited features of British Colonialism against which they once campaigned such as removal of the Kabaka of Buguda, Seretse Khama, and Makarios to prove the righteousness of their government. Then to demonstrate the exercise of immense power in the hands of the ignorant and warp-minded Minister Edusei ordered the immediate dropping of Justice Quashie-Idum as acting Chief Justice for handing down such a decision against the Ghana government for Colvin and the **Pioneer Press.**

Soon after the case, reporter Colvin and Barrister Shawcross decided to fly out to Nigeria to interview the two deported Moslems

whose case was still pending in the Kumasi court before senior Magistrate B G-Born Maurice Charles. Before Colvin could leave his hotel room police commissioner Michael Collens turned up to warn him that further proceedings were being contemplated and that any attempt to leave his passport would be impounded. Not until Barrister Shawcross gave an undertaking that he would return to Ghana with him that they allowed Colvin out. Meanwhile they prepared a summons for him under the penal code charging him with writing articles "to excite popular prejudice," with the case fixed for hearing before Magistrate Charles.

When the bully boys in Accra learnt that Shawcross had interviews with the two moslems in Nigeria Edusei issued instructions banning his re-entry into Ghana but demanded that Colvin return to face trial. Around the world protest poured in. A delegation of local bar associates called upon Attorney General Bing to remove the preposterous ban. Bing rebuffed them saying it was the Minister of Justice and Interior who was responsible. British High commissioner handed in a note of concern to Nkruma. But while he barricaded himself in his castle in fear of assassination his hatchet man Edusei told a big party rally: "If those four lawyers who saw the A.G. had come to see me I would have had them arrested and detained." He described the bar association as an attempt to interfere in the government's lawful action and warned that if anybody tried to interfere with the life of our illustrious Prime Minister or any of her ministers I will immediately order the arrest of the opposition leaders.

Another commie named Atta who is Minister of local government, told the rally: "Russia is not as bad



as Britain has made us to understand. What people of Ghana had heard from the BBC and read from British newspapers about Russia was not true. If Britain continued to act in the way she done within the past few days "the government and people of Ghana will have to rethink."

Meanwhile **Daily Telegraph** in London ordered Colvin home and announced that since he was unable to return with his counsel he was relieved from his undertaking to return himself to Ghana to face the new charge pending in Kumasi.

Said Magistrate Charles: "I postpone this hearing for 28 days." At the same time in London Shawcross filed a writ charging Nkruma, Edusei, Attorney General Bing, and Police Commissioner Collens with wrongful arrest of Colvin and claiming damages. The snag was: should any of them arrive in England they would be served with such a warrant. After two weeks of pandering, the Nkruma Government decided to drop the charges and Shawcross withdrew his applications. But on October 3 at a big CPP supporters rally in Accra, Bully boy Edusei told a huge crowd "I want to make it emphatically clear here again today that if any attempt is made on the life of our beloved leader Dr. Kwame Nkruma, any cabinet Minister leader of the Convention Peoples party or loyal government official the government of Ghana will take the most unprecedented and unsuspected action as yet found in history. We have the machinery to round up all suspected people in the opposition both in and out of parliament and they may never see the sun again. We shall clean this country most ruthlessly and make it safe for human beings to live in . . . in fact," he added, "The constitution will be suspended"

Then came on Show boy Nkruma who came out of hiding from his seclusion. Before those 15,000 people he bellowed into the night: "We won't put up with teddy boys in this country", but he added: "Talk of dictatorship in Ghana is nonsensical... Our struggle is for parliamentary democracy" after describing the aims of this government in typical communist-type contradiction, he said they must have pow-

er to see that first everyone could walk the streets freely and do his work and that there was no intimidation or harm. That curious twist of marxist mentality which gives them the sole right to intimidate others. Yelled he: "No citizen of Ghana and no noncitizen of Ghana should be afraid of anything so long as they follow the principles of parliamentary democracy and do things the right way." He added that the opposition were trained in England, Oxford and Cambridge

but they don't know the rules of the game" "Are we going to sit down and let independence go to the dogs? Amidst cries of "No" he yelled: "If independence does go to the dogs people will say "look at the black man", they will point the finger of scorn and say, "Given the chance he never made any use of it".

A few weeks later Professor Potekhin, Deputy Director of Soviet Institute of Ethnography arrived in Ghana to study economic and social ties.



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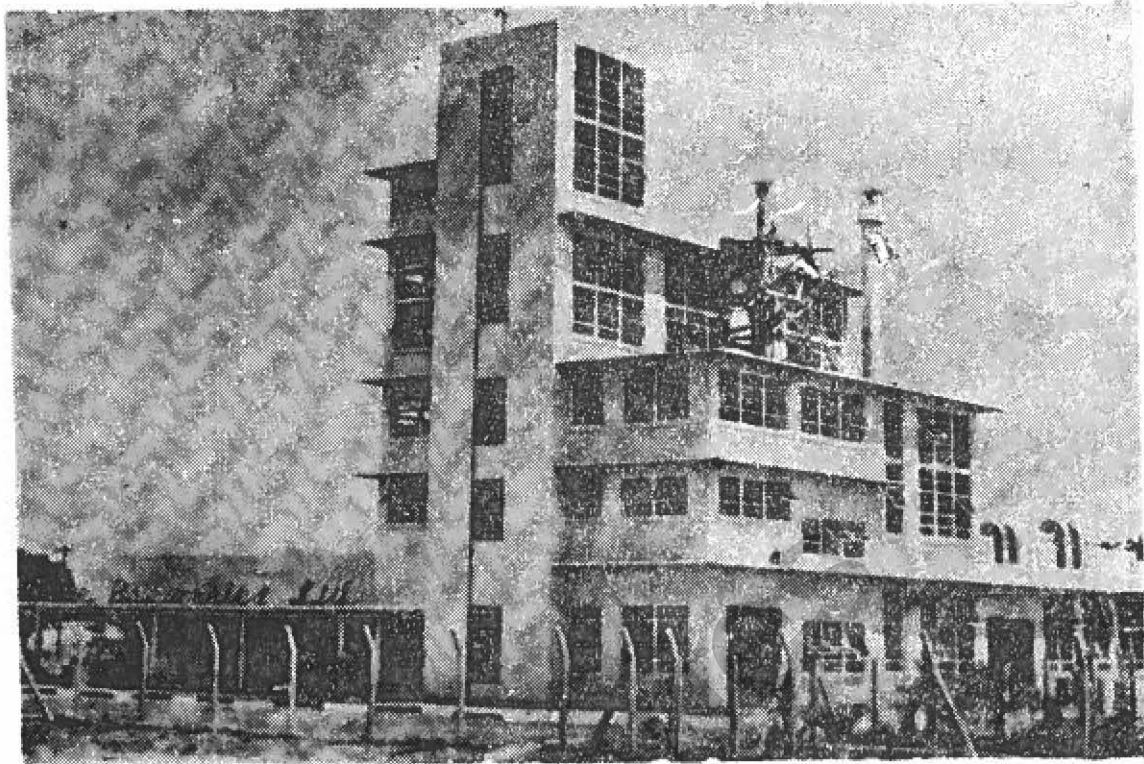
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British Guiana first \$1½ million public company Banks Breweries, went into production early in October with new national drink "Banks Beer". More than 3,000 shareholders came from all over British Guiana. Said Managing director and promoter Peter D'Aguiar. "First time in British Guiana where a company had so many shareholders"



Newly appointed Minister of Trade and Industry Dr. Cheddi Jagan with agricultural director A. F. McKenzie examining government-run Milk Pasturisation plant. Minister Jagan has a typical marxist problem: How to pay milk producers more money for raw milk and resell pasturised product at economic price to maintain plant, and pay high wages.



Bauxite town of Mackenzie, Demerara River, soon to be the largest industrial town and Jungle port in the Guianas with establishment of Alumina plant.

INDUSTRIAL

MINING DEVELOPMENTS

DECLARED quiet soft-spoken J. G. Campbell, Managing-director of the \$150,000,000 Aluminum subsidiary, Demerara Bauxite Company, in a Sunday-at-Noon broadcast: "As a Canadian, and one who has spent twelve years in British Guiana with Demba, you can understand that I must feel proud that Canada, the oldest Self-Governing Dominion in the Commonwealth, has provided a steady market for the Bauxite output of the country and has thereby helped to provide the means for a very significant part of the country's development".

Demba's Director was speaking to a country-wide audience just one week after the vigorously anti-capitalist left-wing Peoples Progressive Party, under marxist-minded Dr. Cheddi Jagan was swept into power for the second time in four years. But while all the capitalist world looked on in trepidation, Director Campbell took the occasion to express an extraordinary degree of faith in British Guiana.

Third Quarter, 1957.

Vigorously he outlined his Company's plans for the country's future. Extraordinarily enough other big investing concerns in the country, at once, took their cue from Demba. and showed minimum concern at the return of Dr. Jagan.

UNDER a more advanced constitution in 1953, when he was swept into power with big plans for nationalising industries, controlling foreign trade and sending bauxite to the 'socialist side of the world', the country's economy was shaken to its very roots. As minister of Lands Mines and Forests in that year, doctrinaire Dr Jagan, in a prodigious attempt to save the country from further 'Imperialist capitalist exploitation' sought to invoke the mining regulations against certain big mining companies by extracting 7½ cents per acre instead of the customary 1 cent per acre for certain types of exclusive exploration rights. Precipitously there was flight of capital from the country. Such pioneering concerns like the African Manganese Company seeking to explore some 660,000 acres of North-west territory for manganese began packing up to depart. But as one of oldest operating concerns in British

Guiana, Demba decided that its record of goodwill and good citizenship was more than enough testimony for Guianese to have every faith in the company.

Although after his dethronement in a great Moscow inspired propaganda-peddling tour of India, Dr. Jagan in his efforts to blame all of Guiana's political troubles on America cited the company as an "Offspring of that American Colossus" being used as an instrument of American exploitation of Guiana. But in explaining constitution suspension, a Robertson Commission report the following year, recorded "We have no doubt that British Guiana with its precarious economy cannot afford another crisis of the kind that developed in 1953."

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

THUS, soon after the political air was made clear with appointment of ex-finance man Sir Frank McDavid as Member for Lands Mines and Forests in the Interim Government, the Company sprang into action. Huge million-dollar walking draglines hauled into the riverain jungle for intensive battle with over burden

went into great earth-stripping operations. Immediate plans for operations expansion moved into the next phase. Finally the company climaxed its forty years of operations last December with the striking announcement of a further \$60,000,000 new investment for the manufacture of Alumina,— the fine white powder chemically extracted from the ore, before the final stage of Aluminium. Said Director Campbell making the announcement in calm exultation **"The decision, ... to invest further in this country, on so large a scale is a gesture of faith in the future of British Guiana by an established industry which is especially gratifying to the Government..."**

Now in 1957, with a more tempered Dr. Jagan back in power with considerable safeguards and restraints, the new government found not only that Demba had increased value of its production, but was even making a greater contribution to Treasury to the tune of one-third the annual revenue. And that plans for construction of the big alumina plant in British Guiana was well underway. By 1960 when this plant gets into stride the Mckenzie-Wismar area, scene of major operations 65 miles up the coffee coloured Demerara river, may be transformed into one of the most highly organised industrial community in the Guianas and first real workers paradise in these parts, ready to be handed over in due course to its own elected council under the marshall plan for reorganising local governments.

NEGOTIATIONS

STORY behind the negotiations is one of those epics in the struggle between practical economics of foreign investors in a virgin territory and the emotional conflict and prejudices of an undeveloped colonial territory hungry for foreign capital. First major problem confronting company officials was that the vast tracts of adjacent riverain territory had few title holders. Many were squatters. Few were lessees. Still more were lessees of lessees who didn't even know who were the original owners.

One day in April 1956, company officials approached Sir Frank McDavid with a proposition: that research over many years into techniques of alumina production from

Demerara bauxite made it feasible and economic for alumina production adjacent to bauxite orebodies near Mckenzie. They pointed out that technological developments had solved many problems involved in ocean transport of bulk cargoes of alumina. They wanted to know what facilities government had to offer to establishing such a new big industry in British Guiana.

Cool methodical ex-civil servant Sir Edwin Frank McDavid, liter-

Earlier, with Jagan out of the way, government had granted all required lease terms to African Manganese Company and persuaded them to stay put. They were now preparing for large scale operations next door to Venezuela. Operating in raw virgin territory, this company was moving in equipment for railway and road building to link located mines with projected port facilities near Waini River. Already 250 tons of mined manganese ore, were being prepared



Sir Frank McDavid (ex-member for Lands, Mines and Agriculture). horn-rimmed glasses to examine the idea.

ally unhinged his big horn rimmed glasses from his ears, cleaned them in a white hand kerchief and exclaimed "sounds interesting gentlemen." At the time he was thoroughly engaged in tying up bits of legislation protecting certain foreign enterprises in B.G. He was preparing for the day when another leftist party may be swept into power in the elections being planned. Naturally he jumped at the idea of an alumina plant. It could be the best achievement of his ministry under the Interim Nominated Government in inducing foreign capital into the country.

for sample shipment. Now came Demba with plans for alumina production.

Promptly he agreed to look into concession under a recently amended "Pioneer Industries Act" and to contact Colonial Office officials for relative data on mining and company tax concessions in Jamaica and Trinidad. He even hinted that land could be acquired by Government under Land Acquisition Act (used to acquire land for US Army base in Wartime), compensate claimants, then resell to the company. But company officials had a better idea. They let it be known that lands in

the area were badly needed (without mentioning what for). Afterwards said Sir Frank "It was the best kept secret in many years". So well kept the secret that there was no horse trading in lands. But it brought into the picture, left wing Barrister Jainarine Singh Secretary of Burnhamite wing of the now split Peoples Progressive Party. As a deposed minister in 1953 Jagan government, barrister Jainarine Singh had just emerged from a great political fasting stunt praying for the "Liberation of Guiana", and protesting emergency regulations that restricted him and other party colleagues in Georgetown. Reports of numerous land claimants needing titles, galvanised him into professional action. With help from Party leader L. F. S. Burnham (who made the mistake of going on holiday in islands just then) and other bar colleagues Fred Ramprashad and United Democratic party Secretary Llewellyn John, as solicitor, judiciously they sought out as many claimants, heirs and title holders and brought them before the court to establish title deed. Before long the company had people to negotiate with. In one great bulk purchase, Demba paid out upwards of $\frac{1}{2}$ a million dollars in purchase price to some 200 title holders. Needless to say Barrister Jainarine & Co collected tidy fees, some of which came in handy to finance their party's expensive electioneering campaign with a candidate in each of 13 out of 14 districts.

AGREEMENTS

MEANWHILE in the ministerial buildings in High Street, Georgetown a series of high level conferences began in the offices of the Minister of Lands Mines and Forests. Minister McDavid had learnt that in Jamaica and Trinidad Company tax was 40 percent of gross profits, while in B.G. it was 45 percent. There was no export tax in Jamaica but B.G. extracted \$1.00 per ton of Bauxite. Tax holiday in Jamaica was seven years, in B.G. it was only five. In fact other areas offered better inducement for foreign capital Company officials led by Managing Director Campbell took up one side of the mahogany table, while Minister McDavid, Government financeman Francis Essex and advisers took up the other. Together they worked out an interesting draft

agreement for the Governor-in-council.

First thing the company wanted, in order to secure investment for some \$60,000,000 was mining rights for 50 years and right of renewal for another 25 years under same terms and conditions or at the option of the Governor, on such terms and conditions he may deem fit. Next they claimed the five year tax holiday as prescribed and the "initial allowances" with respect to capital expenditure for such an alumina plant, under a "pioneer Industries ordinance amended by the Interim legco Financeman Essex agreed to waive import duties for all building materials, plant machinery, and appliances also certain chemicals imported for the manufacture of alumina allowed

Governor-in-council was laid on the Legislative council table for approval. At the same time came the breathtaking announcement from Demba's Managing director. To a country worked up for another general elections. Said he: "I am extremely pleased that it is possible to announce our decision to create a new local industry.... the whole project will cost \$60,000,000 to be provided by our parent company Aluminium company of Canada in Canadian dollars.... It indicates clearly our real desire to assist in the economic development of this country" He announced immediate start of construction: that installation will take 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years and provide temporary em



Jeeps and equipment moved into riverian jungle in greatest clearing operations since the Base days.

duty free. Company officials agreed that wherever practical and economic they must obtain requirements from sterling areas. Since it took two tons of bauxite to produce one ton of calcined ore, export tax on calcined bauxite was reduced from \$1.00 to 45 cents per ton. Government further agreed not to impose any form of discriminatory legislation which singles out the company for special taxation. Also they agreed to help the company acquire lands for establishment of the alumina plant expansions and access to roads thereto, if they were unable to acquire by treaty with owners.

ANNOUNCEMENT

EARLY in December 1956, the completed document of the agreement with the stamp of

ployment for between 1,000 and 1,500 Guianese, and when completed the new plant will provide steady employment for 700...." Director Campbell also talked about establishing in the area a trade school second to none in the whole Caribbean area, with some of the most expert technical staff from Canada and elsewhere.

A few days later the company concluded 3-year collective labour agreement with B.G. Mine Workers Union, governing conditions of employment and pay rates. Said the agreement "During 1957 the basic rate will be increased from the present rate of 49 cents an hour to 58 cents per hour. In 1958 the work week will be shortened to 44 hours and basic rate will be raised to 68 cents an hour. The work week will be

established as 40 hours in 1959, and during that year the basic rate will become 80 cents per hour" which is double prevailing rates in Georgetown and coastal areas.

REACTION to the announcement was almost immediate. While all sections hailed it as the big achievement, from the Marx-lined Jaganite faction of the Peoples Progressive Party, busily working up elections steam came the expected denunciation. Early one morning party Secretary Janet Jagan called up press men and issued the inevitable statement. The Jagan statement likened the agreement to famous Demerara Railway more than half a century ago and expressed "alarm" at the idea of "saddling future generations in the loss of rights over the natural resources of the country". While talking glibly about "We will encourage foreign capital" (without saying how) the statement expressed opposition to a foreign monopoly concerns even though providing us

immediately necessary jobs would in the long run frustrate and object our real economic development." In typical marxist reasoning and phraseology it declared "We fully aware of the fact that foreign capital has in many instances put before its own selfish interests of the country in which it finds itself" In familiar propaganda style it cited Egypt, Iran, and Guatemala as instances of capitalist exploitation.

JAGAN'S REACTION

WHILE bitterly complaining that the company had refused to carry the finished product to aluminum and harnessing of potential hydro-electric power, the Jagan statement expressing all the colonialistic emotionalism declared that Government should "enter into association with foreign capital provided that our Government had the majority holdings and control at least 51 per cent as is being done by the Government

of India" (India is now in economic hotwater). Jagan pointed out that when he was in power in 1953 he was trying to make such arrangements with Harvey Aluminum company but "the administration poured cold water on it". He declared that for next 50 to 75 years the major bauxite lands will be held by the giant monopoly thus shutting out competitors and that the country will be "doomed to the primary production of bauxite and alumina and not the finished product". Discounting long term gains he denounced the drop in export tax from \$1.00 for calcined ore to 45 cents thereby creating loss of \$100,000.

That Christmas week **Daily Chronicle** ignored the PPP propaganda release, but thrilled readers with an exclusive expose of a document issued by Dr. Jagan to his party congress the previous March, in which he outlined plans for another attempt to gain control of the country by the simple means of cooperat-



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ing with all parties on a nationalist front, and rededicate themselves to the struggle against Imperialism and capitalism in best communist traditions. Jagan for his part launched a big Bourda green meeting to denounce the bauxite agreement and how the company now became a monopoly to exploit the country. But rain spoilt the meeting, and that night he told a small crowd of heckling Georgetown working class, who had the most to gain from the plan, that government should have borrowed money in the same way they did for the Rice Development Company and go half and half with the Company.

But a company official explained "Why should Government borrow money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and invest in a company to earn $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent when it could be a sleeping partner in business and earn 45 percent of gross profits of the company's operations?" Clearly therefore had Dr. Jagan been still minister of mines and forests the Bauxite alumina plant construction might have been postponed forever and a day.

JOB RUSH

MEANWHILE the big job rush began soon after the holiday season. Sister subsidiary Sproston Ltd. announced the formation of a special organisation called Sproston Construction Company (Conspros.) under rugged construction engineer Philip Morgan to undertake construction. Engineer Morgan, fresh from his mighty construction job in Jamaica of another big alumina plant was no stranger to B.G. He once built the big three span bridge over the Demerara river that linked bauxite mines with big plant at Mackenzie.

INSIDE six weeks of the announcements, the greatest organised engineering development got underway. A veritable army of field labourers flowed out of Georgetown and from surrounding river area to go to work on a great clearing operations. Inside those six weeks 1,000 men had cleared an underbush of some 450 acres for bulldozers and scrapers to move in. A second army of skilled and semi skilled workers followed in the clearance. Carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, welders, painters aban-

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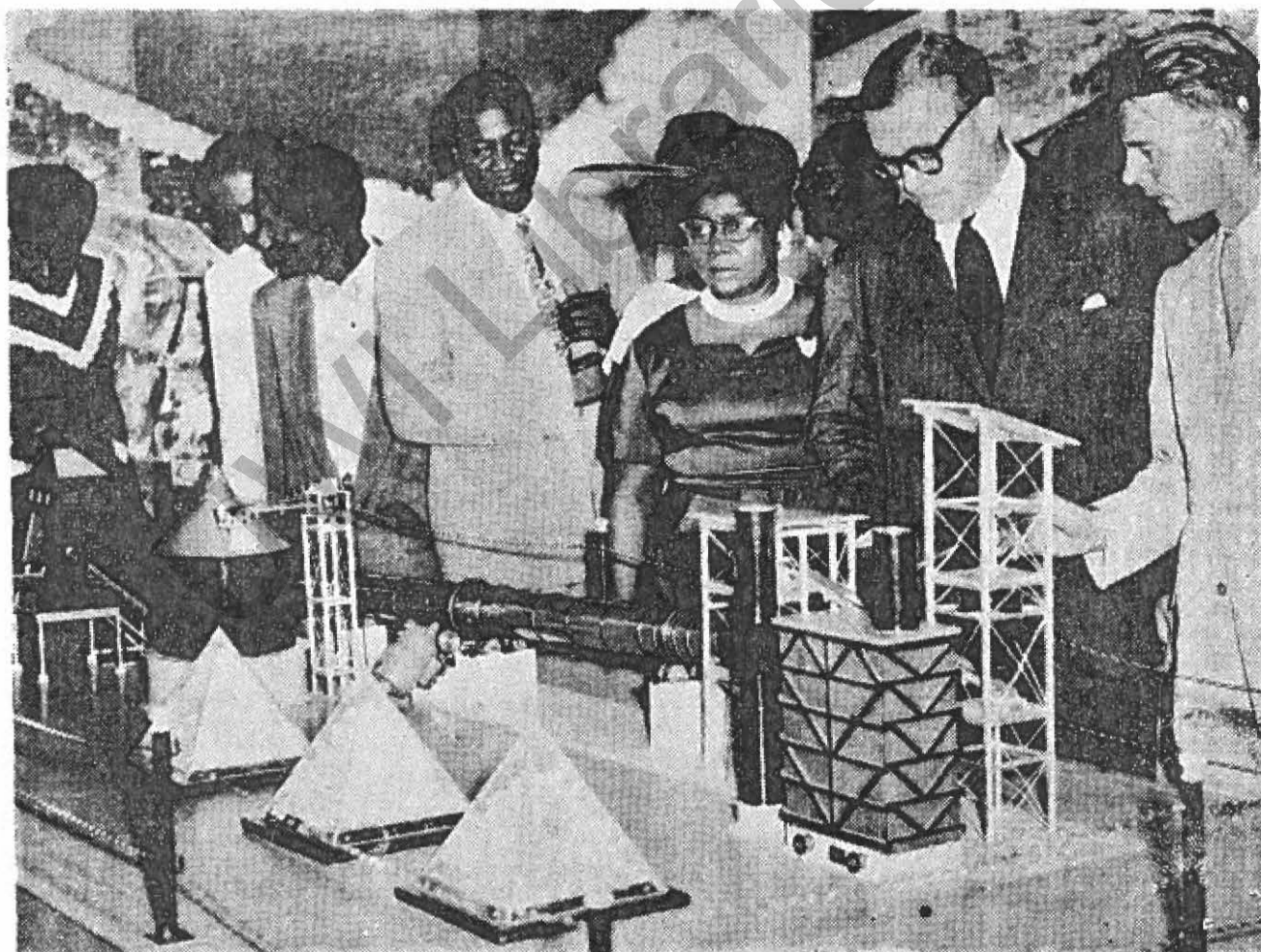
done the booming building trade in Georgetown and trekked up river. At the same time ship loads of material from Saguenay Terminals ships were unloaded at top speed on a temporary docksite. Over seven miles of good new roads put into use and some 200,000 tons of bauxite laterite brought in to surface them. 15,000 lenial feet of drains were made to take off the water from the swampy areas. New areas earmarked for employees housing and displaced persons from absorbed areas. Some 500 huge greenheart piles, ordered from every woodgrant in the Essequibo and Demerara Rivers were hauled into the area for foundation setting for the huge plant to be constructed. In the first six months of the year the whole area went through a com-

plete metamorphosis. Gleaming aluminum storage warehouses glistened in the sun where only a few weeks before mud oozed beneath twilight of dense bush. **(next issue see birth of a new township).**

Meanwhile general elections swung into full gear August 13 some fifty five percent of the electorate went to the polls yelling "Appan Jaap" (vote foe y'own). Although Mckenzie river area chiefly Africans carried the Burnhamite East Indian candidate Dr. Lachmansingh, Jagan's African candidate Fred Bowman swept the entire east Indian packed East and West Bank Demerara areas thus giving Jagan's party nine seats out of fourteen. Two days later Governor Sir Patrick Renison called Jagan in for talks about formation of a govern-

ment. Earlier Jagan had issued a statement announcing that his party had no more interest in Nationalisation of industries "for the moment" and had demanded that if he won the elections they had to be ensured of a working majority in order to accept the responsibility.

First thing Governor Renison demanded of him was an undertaking not to interfere with foreign capitalists. Jagan agreed. But in turn first thing he demanded was that Sir Frank McDavid be excluded entirely from the government. The governor agreed. Thus politician Jagan and governor Renison reached a compromise. The growth of Demba operations now appears taking shape without any fear of obstruction from leftists in the government.



Bauxite exhibit on production makes impression on public at recent LCP fair Georgetown last October.

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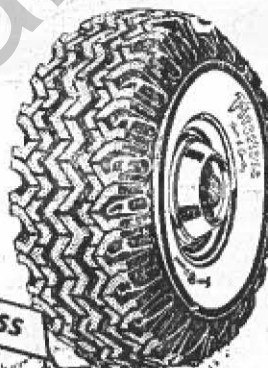
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