

AMALGAMATED PRESS OF NIGERIA LTD.
DAILY EXPRESS SUNDAY EXPRESS

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5 & 7 Apongbon Street,
Lagos, Nigeria.
Telephone: 23675
Cables: AMALPRESS, Lagos.

Mr. Peter Abraham
c/o Colonial Office,
London.

16th August, 1960.
Ref: AD60/Ind.S/239

Dear Sir,

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Federation of Nigeria becomes independent on October 1, 1960. As this is a very important event in the history of this great nation, we are planning an independence souvenir edition in a big way.

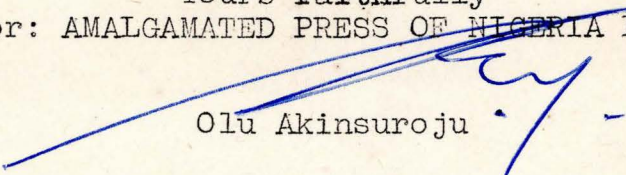
We do hope that you would like to rejoice with this Federation on this occasion, hence we are forwarding you this letter, respectfully asking for a goodwill message of not more than 500 words for inclusion in the independence souvenir edition.

It will be highly appreciated if you would be kind enough to let us hear from you by September 13, 1960 or earlier.

We regret the delay in sending you this letter.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully
For: AMALGAMATED PRESS OF NIGERIA LTD.


Olu Akinsuroju

Peter Abrahams,
c/o The West Indian Economist,
164-66, Harbour Street,
Kingston, Jamaica

c/o M.R.Aub,
4, Cambridge Gardens,
London, W.10.
England.

December 6th, 1959.

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

You may be aware that a protest is being organised in this country against certain aspects of South African government policy. This protest, to take the form of a boycott of South African products by British consumers, is planned, in the first instance, for one month (Feb. 1960). Negative action of this kind is potentially dangerous, and may have so varied aims, methods, and results, that some investigations are necessary before it is used. To clarify the issue, the Cambridge University United Nations Association has appointed a Commission of Enquiry, so that any action the Association may subsequently take may be based on a rational and factual footing.

As Jamaica was the first country to advocate such a boycott, it would be very useful for the Commission to know what arguments were advanced for and against the boycott in Jamaica. Was this boycott intended as a demonstration only, or was it hoped that it would have effects within the Union? In the latter case, what effects were envisaged, and to what extent can they be achieved? Furthermore, how was it proposed to limit the economic effects to those whose opinions need to be influenced, and by what means was this influence to be achieved? Certainly, a badly planned boycott, or one which got out of hand, might aggravate the situation, by increasing the economic burden of the African, and by hardening public opinion among the Europeans against the very policies which the ban is designed to further. In this connection the benefit of your advice and opinions, both as a South African and as an Economist, would be of very great help to the Commission in the preparation of its report.

At the present, the Commission is canvassing the opinions of informed people, both within and outside the Union, many of whom are in public posts, or for other reasons chary about giving their opinions. Although we subsequently intend to canvass the public by means of the press, we feel that any publicity which the enquiry might receive at this time might prejudice the replies which we hope to receive.

As the Association must make any decisions it desired to make before the beginning of the national boycott, the Commission must submit its report at the very latest in the middle of January. While we would welcome information whenever it might reach us, we would be extremely grateful if you could spare the time for an early reply.

We hope that this request for information will not severely inconvenience you, but I am sure that you will understand that we must canvass as many people as possible, and obtain information from all informed sources, if the action of the Association, representing about a third of the students of the University, is to be sensible and useful, rather than blindly emotional.

With thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Conrad F. Aub

Conrad F. Aub

17.12.59

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MINISTRY OF MOBILIZATION
INFORMATION AND CULTURE

1 DEVON ROAD,

P.O. BOX 272,

KINGSTON 6, JAMAICA

July 24, 19 79

PLEASE QUOTE OUR

REF. No. _____

Dear *Mr Abraham*

Enclosed please find Programme of Events for National Independence Week.

Two tickets will be available for you to all events. If you need other tickets, please purchase them through this office.

So, please indicate to us as soon as possible which events you will be attending and the size of your party, so that proper arrangements can be made to receive you.

Yours sincerely,

Arnold Bertram

Arnold Bertram,
Minister.

Enc.

Tel. Contact: 76228 or 75675



**NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE WEEK
CELEBRATIONS**

PROGRAMME

PROGRAMME

DATE	EVENT	VENUE	TIME	DATE	EVENT	VENUE	TIME
SUNDAY JULY 29	NATIONAL CHORAL FESTIVAL (Featuring the best of our national choirs in a presentation of Religious, Gospel, Folk and patriotic songs).	Kingston Parish Church	6.00 p. m.	FRIDAY AUGUST 3	NATIONAL LITERARY EXHIBITION (Continues)	Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library	9.00 a. m.— 7.00 p. m.
MONDAY JULY 30	LUNCH HOUR CONCERT	Institute of Jamaica	12 noon— 1.00 p. m.		NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10 p. m.
	OPENING OF THE NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	7.00 p. m.		LUNCH HOUR CONCERT (Continues)	Institute of Jamaica	12 noon— 1.00 p. m.
TUESDAY JULY 31	LUNCH HOUR CONCERT (Continues)	Institute of Jamaica	12 noon— 1.00 p. m.		NATIONAL DRAMA PRESENTATION	Creative Arts Centre U.W.I.	8.00 p. m.
	NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10 p. m.	SATURDAY AUGUST 4	NATIONAL LITERARY EXHIBITION (Continues)	Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library	9.00 a. m.— 5.00 p. m.
	BRAGADAP (A traditional Folk Concert—featuring roots of Jamaican cultural heritage in verse, music, dance).	Ranny Williams Entertainment Centre, Jamaica House	8.00 p. m.		NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10.00 p. m.
WEDNESDAY AUGUST 1 EMANCIPATION DAY	NATIONAL CULINARY ART EXPOSITION	Ocho Rios Intercontinental Hotel	5.00 p. m.		JAMAICA SONG FESTIVAL SONG CONTEST FINALS	Ranny Williams Entertainment Centre, Jamaica House	8.00 p. m.
	NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10 p. m.	SUNDAY AUGUST 5	PICKNEY SINTING (National Dance Theatre Company's Children's Show)	Library Ranny Williams Entertainment Centre, Jamaica House	6.00 p. m.
	LUNCH HOUR CONCERT (Continues)	Institute of Jamaica	12 noon— 1.00 p. m.		NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10 p. m.
	"MEMORIES OF CARIFESTA" (Features Jamaica's delegation to the 3rd Carifesta held in Havana.)	Ranny Williams Entertainment Centre, Jamaica House	8.00 p. m.		FASHION AQUACADE	National Stadium Swimming Pool	8.00 p. m.
THURSDAY AUGUST 2	NATIONAL LITERARY EXHIBITION	Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library	6.00 p. m.	MONDAY AUGUST 6 INDEPENDENCE DAY	NATIONAL LITERARY EXHIBITION	Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library	9.00 a. m.— 7.00 p. m.
	THE NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Continues)	Pegasus Hotel Ballroom	10.00 a. m.— 10 p. m.		INDEPENDENCE PARADE AND GALA SHOW	National Stadium	6.00 p. m.
	LUNCH HOUR CONCERT (Continues)	Institute of Jamaica	12 noon— 1.00 p. m.				
	"MELLO GO ROUN"	Ranny Williams Entertainment Centre, Jamaica House	8.00 p. m.				



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1961

Dear Mr. Abrahams:

I am in receipt of your letter of July 13 concerning information on housing difficulties faced by African diplomats.

The problem basically has been in the past unwillingness of real estate owners to provide accommodations for African and Asian diplomats. Very encouraging developments, however, have occurred since you left Washington. The July 7 conference to which you refer culminated in the formation of a Housing Committee comprised of real estate owners, Department of State and other government officials, whose goals are to secure adequate housing facilities for all diplomats.

As a result of the committee's activities, real estate owners have opened many first-class apartment buildings to African diplomats. In fact, enough were opened to house the staff of twenty-five African nations now in or enroute to Washington. Progress so far has been most encouraging and I believe that future events will show continued progress toward a final elimination of present difficulties encountered by African and Asian diplomats.

I am enclosing a copy of the list of present Housing Committee members. It is our hope that the membership of this group will be enlarged. I am also enclosing a copy of a report on a canvass of Northwest District of Columbia apartment buildings. The canvass was conducted during June 1961 by a group of volunteers at the request of the District of Columbia Conference on Community Relations. The Bureau of Social Science Research coordinated the work and prepared the report. The canvass was conducted as an entirely neutral inquiry on the availability of apartments for African diplomats and their acceptability as tenants as apartments become available. The Special Protocol Affairs Section of the Office of Protocol has been successful in assisting many diplomats to obtain suitable housing facilities and the overall picture has improved considerably since the submission of this report and the formation of the Housing Committee.

One...

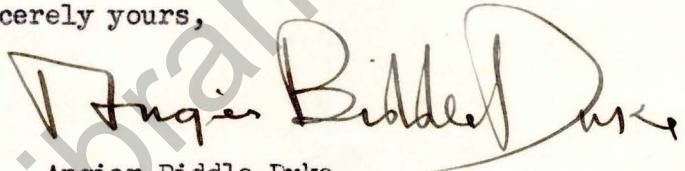
Mr. Peter Abrahams,
"Coyaba"
Red Hills P. O.
St. Andrew,
Jamaica, W.I.

One of the many responsibilities of this office is to maintain listings of available properties in the Washington area from realtors, brokers, agents and private property owners. These listings are brought to the attention of diplomats who seek our aid in locating desirable properties.

The projected implications of these activities would be advocacy of open occupancy to all diplomats and to all citizens regardless of racial origin. Dean Rusk has stated that our diplomatic problems cannot be resolved until the privileges of our society are extended to all citizens.

I trust that the enclosed information will fulfill the needs of your request. Please let me know if I can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Angier Biddle Duke". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent initial "A".

Angier Biddle Duke
Chief of Protocol

Enclosures (2)

U/PR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, U. S. A.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS



Mr. Peter Abrahams,
"Coyaba"
Red Hills P. O.
St. Andrew,
Jamaica, W. I.

King's House

My wife and I are very glad to be able to send our Christmas greetings and our good wishes for 1960 to the people of Jamaica.

The year 1959 has been momentous because it has seen the introduction of a new constitution carrying with it full internal self-government. But this great advance has brought with it few outward changes; most things seem to be going on very much as they did before. And so it is perhaps difficult for those of us who are living at this time of great change to realise the full significance.

History will, I am sure, record the events of 1959 in more dramatic form. Those who come after us will be able to read how the final move from colonial rule to internal self-government came in a spirit of harmony and accord. And those who come after us will also be able to read how Jamaica continued to move steadily forward during the first year in which her people were solely responsible for controlling her destinies.

And so, as we come to the close of 1959, it must be the hope of us all that 1960 - and the years which follow after - will bring with them still further progress for Jamaica, and still greater happiness and prosperity for her people. It must be the hope of us all that this steady advance in the future will be based on the traditions of honesty and fairplay inherited from the past, and will be inspired by the spirit of progress which animates the Jamaica of the present.

My wife and I are indeed proud and happy to be in Jamaica at this significant time in your history, and to be permitted to share your successes and your disappointments, and your hopes and your fears.

Christmas is a family festival for all of us in the Christian world. And my family and I are indeed happy to send to all other families in Jamaica our very best wishes for a happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

K.W. Blackburne

GOVERNOR.

Christmas, 1959.

CENTRAL PLANNING UNIT,
OFFICE OF THE PREMIER,
P.O. BOX 512,
KINGSTON,
JAMAICA, W.I.

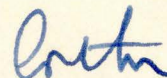
8th January, 1960.

Dear Peter,

I am enclosing a note on Central Bank.

I hope this is written in a form which may be useful
to you. What I have tried to do is to raise a number of questions
and have suggested answers.

Yours sincerely,



(G.A. Brown)

Mr. Peter Abrahams,

19-1-60

CENTRAL PLANNING UNIT,
OFFICE OF THE PREMIER,
P.O. BOX 512,
KINGSTON,
JAMAICA, W.I.

17th December, 1959.

Dear *Peter*

You may be wondering why you have not heard from me. The trouble is that the day after you spoke to me I was given two days' notice to pack my bags and go to Geneva. This meant I had to do what I could to clear my desk. I returned to Jamaica on Saturday only to find that I am being sent off again to Trinidad today and I am writing this just before boarding the plane.

This explains why I have not been able to produce papers on the matter that you asked me to look about. If you will let me know, however, whether they are still needed and what the deadlines are, on my return which should be around the 24th of December, I will see if I can tackle them.


Best wishes for the season.

Yours sincerely,

G.A. Brown

(G.A. Brown)

Mr. Peter Abrahams,





PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
P.O. BOX 512,
KINGSTON,
JAMAICA, W.I.

28th August, 1963

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

Thank you for sending me the scripts of your
broadcasts along with your letter of the 27th August.

Yours sincerely,

Walter R. Bustamante

PRIME MINISTER

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,
Coyaba,
Red Hills P. O.

PETER ABRAHAMS.

TELEPHONE:- MOUNT FRASER 233

COYABA
RED HILLS P.O.
ST. ANDREW


27th Aug, 1963

Dear Mickey,

I think you should see the attached, which I received last night. It refers to commentaries number 822 of Thursday August 22nd and Friday August 23rd, number 823.

I think it might be a good idea for you to look at these commentaries in the light of the P.M.s letter because his objection is honestly beyond my comprehension. Perhaps you may want to let him see the scripts themselves - I don't know. It sounds as though he either only half heard what I said or else completely misinterpreted it. Anyway, I think this letter is something you should know about.

Yours



*Have done this
myself*

*P.S. I should like to have
it back when you've done*

27th Aug, 1963

My Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday's date, which I must confess came as a surprise to me because I was the first to defend the government's action in the Nalley incident.

In any event, I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to read the actual texts of the two broadcasts I made on the matter. I am enclosing them herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Abrahams.

The Hon Prime Minister.



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
P.O. BOX 512,
KINGSTON,
JAMAICA, W.I.

26th August, 1963

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

As a commentator you should first have knowledge of your facts and if you have not got it, it is your duty to investigate and obtain information before you make wild comments.

I do not particularly listen to your comments but when the radio is on I do not turn it off. I could mention many things in which your comments are groundless but I am making specific reference now to Nally. It is my gentle advice to you in future to verify your references before commenting and this is a public advice.

Yours truly,

PRIME MINISTER

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,
c/o Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation,
South Odeon Avenue,
Kingston 10

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,
JAMAICA.

15th. March, 1956

My dear Peter,

This is not revenge as your conscience might suggest, but the truth is that I have been waiting to get the second half of the Hansard with the Land Bonds debate which I still haven't got to this day. I am sending the first part along in the hope that there is sufficient in it to fill your need.

Your long overdue letter came at a time when I was particularly busy. I had Ash from Trinidad, then Henry arrived and then Evans from C.O. was with me. Now I am packing to go to a Information Officers conference in Barbados next week. After the conference both Henry and I shall run over to B.G. and then to Trinidad to get a look at various things.

Jamaica hasn't changed much since you were here. My office is now situated in the Ministry of Agriculture where the Chief Minister is going to be after May coming. There are plans for wholesale removal of Ministries and there is going to be a ninth Ministry --Development--shortly. Plans have also been announced for a self-governing constitution by the end of this year, so in this direction at at rate we are moving on.

The Glaves are still two but ~~try~~ trying hard. Cissie had a bad attack of the flu just after Christmas but is quite o.k. these days. I have changed my car for what I am sure you would call a big one--an Austin A-90--but that is about all that I have changed. I had two accidents between Christmas and the end of January, both involving Englishmen and I could hardly have been more innocent in both cases. In each case they paid for the repairs but I referred back to my native superstition and it said "bad luck pon it man!" so I sold and bought as above.

If you remember Male Harvest very well you will remember Roy Walford very well. He spoilt my Christmas for me by getting himself shot up in a fight and it was touch and go for his life for a long time. It seems that there was a Police Constable in the village with whom Roy didn't get on so they had it out in a bar one night and the Constable pulled a revolver and shot him three times in the chest and he still lived. The chap is now facing trial and Roy is about repaired. (notice that my letter head is franked at the bottom instead of the top)

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,
JAMAICA.

-2-

I have not been back to the mountain since you left because I do not know what the position is regarding your claim. I have not seen Hemming lately because he has severed his connections with the Jamaica Times and is now devoting his attention to the more profitable business of real estate trading. I hear from good authority however that the mountain is still there.

Henry is staying at the DeHaneys so I see them fairly often. Often enough to hear that they had heard from you, at last! It made them very happy I am sure. They really like you a lot and they were quite disturbed when your silence persisted. They are both very well. The old lady as lively as when you knew her first before her accident and the old man growing richer in his stories of the days that used to be.

The Manleys--all of them--are fine. I see Doug about every Saturday when Cissie drags me into the Hi-Lo market. Michael is the outdoor boy of course and is particularly busy with his trade unions now that the sugar crop is going full blast. The old people you probably saw while they were in London for the Federation conference.

Sir Foot fell from a Polo steed and hit his pate. He has been in hospital since last Friday and is expected to be out of business for another week or more. He had concussion of the what-ever-it-is and was unconscious for some time. He really ought to have known better at his age though!

You should see our cat at which you so rudely laughed. He is now a real Puss by any standards. We haven't got a dog yet because his life would be very precarious in our present surroundings. There is one big fellow there that kills every other dog that comes in, so we have to wait until we leave No. 91.

I have given up drinking for Lent. I needed to because I was weighing 204lbs (14 stone 8lbs to you). I am doing fine. I now go on at 194lbs. and Cissie is climbing up on me. She is now 145 (she was 130 after her operation) and she is still gaining.

All our bars are still open in spite of your absence and my abstinence. Just goes to prove that we are not as important to the bar maids as we think we are. I have come to the end of paper, to give my best regards to your wife and hide this para from her.

yours
Hal

larceny of £175 cash, and larceny of clothes and furniture occurring at Bailleston in Clarendon was reported to the Police?

2. Is Government aware that one Edwin Leopold Allen, a Justice of the Peace for Clarendon, took statements in this matter and submitted to the Attorney General who promised to get the Police to make investigations?

3. Is Government aware that a Detective spoke to Mr. Allen about this matter several weeks ago, but that the Police have not taken statements as promised?

4. Will the Honourable Minister explain the reasons for the failure of the Police to take action in this matter?

The Chief Minister replied as follows:—

1. A report alleging that such an offence had been committed was made to the Police.

2. Government is aware that Mr. Allen (Sir Alexander Bustamante: J.P., Bachelor of Arts) (laughter) — submitted statements in this matter to the Attorney General. The Attorney General forwarded a copy of Mr. Allen's letter and the original statements to the Commissioner of Police for whatever action he might deem fit. By letter dated the 7th June, 1955, the Attorney General informed Mr. Allen that the statements and a copy of his, Mr. Allen's letter, had been forwarded to the Commissioner of Police. At no time did the Attorney General promise to get the Police to make investigations.

3. A Detective Sergeant interviewed Mr. Allen and subsequently collected further statements.

4. It is not correct that the Police failed to take action. A report was sent to the Attorney General who advised against the institution of a public prosecution.

In answer to Mr. E. L. Allen's Question No. 39.

1. Is Government aware that an Assistant Revenue Bailiff in North-Western Clarendon threatened to use his office to victimise, and actually used his office to victimise persons who he suspected voted for a certain candidate?

2. Is Government aware that this matter was reported to the police and that the police have failed or refused to take certain material statements from important witnesses in this matter?

3. Is Government aware that the Clerk of Courts ruled that there was no case for prosecution in this matter?

4. If the truth of these allegations is challenged will Government direct the Commissioner of Police to hold an inquiry and give the opportunity of producing witnesses?

The Chief Minister replied as follows:—

1. No, Sir, but Government is aware that such an allegation has been made.

2. Government is aware that a report containing such an allegation was made to the Police Officer in charge of Clarendon by letter dated the 26th March, 1955. The matter was investigated by the Police and statements taken from all the witnesses named in Mr. Allen's letter and from one other.

3. Yes, Sir.

4. No, Sir.

In answer to Mr. E. L. Allen's Question No. 40.

1. Is the duty of the police to report serious breaches of the Representation of the People Law committed in their presence?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative will the Minister say whether this duty

has been carried out in cases where such breaches of the Law adversely affected J.L.P. Candidates during the last General Elections?

3. If Government believes that this duty has been satisfactorily carried out how does Government explain the fact that four J.L.P. Candidates have been prosecuted by the Crown for illegal practices during the last General Election, while the Crown has never prosecuted a P.N.P. Agent, or a single P.N.P. platform speaker or singer for illegal practices since 1944.

The Chief Minister replied as follows:—

1. Yes, Sir.

2. Government has no evidence that the Police failed to carry out this duty either in respect of J.L.P. candidates or P.N.P. candidates. Twelve cases were investigated by the Police in relation to possible breaches of the Representation of the People Law by candidates or agents of candidates of the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. Of these twelve, eight affected members of the J.L.P. and four affected members of the P.N.P.

3. The facts above set out speak for themselves and there is nothing further to explain.

In answer to Mr. E. L. Allen's Question No. 62:—

1. Is the Chief Minister aware that a public statement has been attributed to him to the effect that junior members of the Civil Service who are dissatisfied with the recent regrading of the Service are traitors who are envious of the regrading of their seniors and that if they are not satisfied they should resign and see how quickly their places would be filled by others?

2. Is this a substantially correct report on the remarks of the Honourable Chief Minister?

3. Does this statement (in question 1) represent the attitude and the present policy of Government towards the regrading of junior members of the Civil Service?

The Chief Minister replied as follows:—

1. The Chief Minister is not aware and does not believe that any such public statement has been attributed to him.

2. The remarks attributed to the Chief Minister in the first question are not a substantially correct report of what was said.

3. The attitude and the present policy of Government towards the regrading of junior members of the Civil Service have been set out in a statement made to the House.

In reply to Mr. E. L. Allen's Question No. 60.

1. Is the Minister aware of the recommendations of the Working Party's Report under Head 44, page 48, Registrar General's Department?

2. Is the Minister aware of the congestion and delays existing at the Registrar General's Department?

3. Is the Minister aware that as a result of this congestion delay the public is suffering great inconvenience?

4. Is the Minister aware that the main difficulty is the inadequacy of staff?

5. What plans, if any, does government have to relieve this situation?

The Minister of Health replied as follows:—

1. Yes, Sir.

2. I have been aware for sometime of the congestion and delays at the Registrar General's Department. . . I am satisfied that the inconvenience suffered by the public is not caused by any fundamental fault in the organisation of the department but agree that it is due to an establishment which is

not adequate for the unprecedented demands made recently by the public for registered document.

The Government has accordingly approved the engagement of ten additional officers with effect from the 1st October, 1955. The appointment will be temporary at first, and the question of permanent increases to the establishment will be considered in connection with the General Estimates for 1956—57.

3. See answer to 2.

4. See answer to 2.

5. See answer to 2.

In reply to Mr. E. L. Allen's Question No. 56:—

1. When does Government propose to implement the Christiana and Spaldings water supply scheme?

2. Will this scheme include more adequate water supply for White Shop, Sanguinetti, Zinc Shop, Santa Hill, Nine Miles, Baillieston and Alston?

The Minister of Local Government and Housing replied as follows:—

1. The detailed surveys and investigations which must necessarily be done on any scheme such as this are now proceeding. Until these have been completed it is impossible to say when the scheme will be implemented.

With a view to commencing the scheme at the earliest possible moment, an initial provision of £40,750 has been made in the Supplementary Development Estimates for the current year for construction work on the scheme. The cost of surveys and investigations is being met separately. It is hoped that it will be possible to begin work during the present financial year.

2. The answer to this question must await completion of the surveys and investigations referred to in the reply to 1 above.

Mr. E. L. Allen gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Labour—

1. Is the Minister aware of a Press report that an Englishman arriving at the Air Port in Jamaica intending to seek work in the Island was not allowed to enter the country?

2. Is this report substantially true?

3. Is the Minister aware that circulation of this report in England may adversely affect Jamaican workers now living and working in England?

4. What steps if any has Government taken or does Government propose to take to remove any misunderstanding or to forestall or mitigate any unfavourable repercussions with regard to this matter?

Mr. E. L. Allen gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Chief Minister and Minister of Agriculture—

1. Is the Minister aware of a newspaper report that Mr. Harold Cahusac in addressing an audience at a 4-H Club Function to congratulate the 4-H Club Cattle Judging Team, made a speech of serious political significance and was not restrained by the Chairman for doing so?

2. Does the Minister agree that it is most undesirable to introduce politics into the 4-H Club Movement or into the Jamaica Agricultural Society?

3. Will the Minister bring to the attention of those responsible for administering the Jamaica Agricultural Society and the 4-H Club Movement the undesirability of allowing any person or persons to use the platforms of these Organisations as Political Forums?

Mr. E. L. Allen gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Finance—

1. Does Government propose to debate the Hick's Report on Finance

and Taxation in Jamaica? If so, when?

2. Does Government propose the early appointment of a Public Accounts Committee as recommended by the Hick's Report? If so, when? If not, why not?

Mr. E. L. Allen gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Labour—

1. How many Jamaicans migrated to England each calendar year between 1948 and 1954?

2. How many Jamaicans have migrated to England so far during 1955?

3. Does Government provide any means by which intending emigrants to England can receive proper advice and assistance before leaving Jamaica?

4. What Welfare Services are provided for Jamaican workers in England?

5. Does Government propose any improvement in these Welfare Services, and if so, what improvements?

6. Does Government contemplate taking any steps to protect dependents living in Jamaica of emigrants living in England. If so, what steps?

Mr. E. L. Allen gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Finance—

1. What is the total acreage of Leicesterfield Land Settlement?

2. What was the total amount of taxes paid by the last previous owner of this property on the last occasion before Government bought this property for Land Settlement?

3. What is the total amount of taxes for which settlers are now being assessed on this Settlement?

4. How many acres were sold off this property by the last previous owner to private persons?

5. What is the total amount of taxes for which private persons referred to in question 4 have been assessed?

6. Is the Minister aware that taxes on Leicesterfield Land Settlement is considerably higher than taxes upon Freehold Lands in the same vicinity?

7. Does Government propose to reduce taxes upon new Land Settlements to the rate of taxes upon neighbouring Freehold Properties?

8. What was the price paid by Government for this property?

9. What is the total price at which the land on this property is being sold to settlers?

The Minister of Trade and Industry (Mr. Isaacs, Kingston C.): Then you not asking me anything? (laughter).

Mr. E. L. Allen: No; I am going to set up a lumber business first.

Mr. Barrant gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Finance—

1. Is it a fact that the loan floated by Government for £600,000 have been over-subscribed?

2. Will the Minister state if the interest and sinking fund on the loan will be paid through the normal channel from taxpayers' money?

If the answer to the above question is in the affirmative will the Minister state which Firm or Firms, person or persons are the subscribers to the loan, and how much each firm or firms, person or persons have subscribed?

Mr. Barrant gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Communications and Works—

1. Is the Minister aware that little or no work is being carried on by the Public Works Department in the Eastern Constituency of Saint Thomas?

2. Is it the policy of this Government to discriminate in using public funds?

If the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative will the Minister state how many projects are now in progress in Eastern St. Thomas and how much money has been allotted to each project?

Mr. Barrant gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Agriculture and Lands—

1. Is the Minister aware that approximately 300 acres of Crown land in the Rio Grande area in St. Thomas on the Bath-Moore Town Road have been decided on to be rented to tenants?

2. Is the Minister aware that the ex-Minister of Agriculture, with the acting Conservator of Forests, visited the area of which the decision was taken that that area should be rented to would-be tenants and that a policy of food forestry would be established?

If the answer to the above is in the affirmative will the Honourable Minister state what is the delay in having those lands rented to would-be tenants?

Mr. Barrant gave notice that at the next meeting of the House he would ask the Minister of Finance—

1. Is the Minister aware that a branch of the Government Savings Bank, attached to the Post Office at Bath, have been raided by one of the Asst. Post Mistresses?

2. Is the Minister aware that the Asst. Post Mistress who is alleged to have committed the offence is now in London?

3. Is the Minister aware that the matter is now in the hands of the C.I.D.?

If the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative will the Minister state if the Criminal Investigating Department are carrying out their activities in the normal way, and if so what action does Government contemplate in bringing the Asst. Post Mistress to justice in Jamaica?

Mr. Glasspole having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to Amend the Representation of the People Law".

This was seconded by **Mr. Manley** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time. Notice of second reading was given for next meeting of the House.

Mr. Manley having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to make provision for the satisfaction of the whole or any part of the purchase money or of the compensation payable by the Government of Jamaica in respect of the purchase or in certain specified cases of the compulsory acquisition of any land and of certain costs or expenses incidental or related to such purchase or compulsory acquisition by the issue of bonds, and for the issue, negotiability and redemption of such bonds and the payment of interest thereon and for matters incidental to or connected with any of the foregoing purposes".

Seconded by the **Minister of Communications and Works (Mr. Coombs, St. James N.W.)** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time.

Notice of second reading was given for a later stage.

Mr. Manley having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to Amend the Judicature (Supreme Court) Law".

This was seconded by **Mr. Coombs** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time.

Notice of second reading was given for the next meeting of the House.

Mr. Manley having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to Amend the Country Fires Law".

This was seconded by **Mr. Coombs** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time.

Notice of second reading was given for the next meeting of the House.

Mr. Manley having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to Amend the Sugar Industry Control Law".

This was seconded by **Mr. Isaacs** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time.

Notice of second reading was given for the next meeting of the House.

Mr. Manley having obtained Suspension of Standing Orders, asked leave to introduce and have read a first time a Bill entitled "A Law to Amend the Constabulary Force Law".

This was seconded by **Mr. Coombs** and agreed to.

The Bill was read a first time.

Notice of second reading was given for the next meeting of the House.

Mr. Manley: I beg to move Suspension of Standing Orders to move second reading of the Land Bonds Bill.

The Motion was seconded, put to the House and carried.

Mr. Manley: ~~Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Law to make provision for the satisfaction of the whole or any part of the purchase money or of the compensation payable by the Government of Jamaica in respect of the purchase or in certain specified cases of the compulsory acquisition of any land and of certain costs or expenses incidental or related to such purchase or compulsory acquisition by the issue of bonds, and for the issue, negotiability and redemption of such bonds and the payment of interest thereon and for matters incidental to or connected with any of the foregoing purposes be now read a second time.~~

Mr. Speaker, this Bill brings to its last stage a matter that has agitated Jamaica for the last sixteen years. I will subsequently give a short review of the history of the measure—suffice it to mention now that it first became a topic of active discussion as far back as 1939 when a Government Board recommended that such a measure be brought forward.

I have adopted a procedure with regard to this Bill of making months ago an advance announcement of Government's intention to enact such a measure, with a short explanatory statement, and as a result of the considerable public attention that it attracted—and I welcome public attention—we thought it right to publish the Bill itself and a much fuller statement of its origins, aims and intentions, and the manner in which it would be operated, so as to give the public the widest possible opportunity of criticism, recommendation, condemnal or what you will, before the measure was introduced into the House. Care was taken as well to send advance copies to all the members of the Opposition so that it could not be suggested that they had not more than ample opportunity to consider its terms and to come here today prepared to adopt them. It has proved a very interesting exercise—this pre-publication

and invitation of criticism and comment. For, in addition to newspaper articles which have appeared, some of which have been laudatory in the extreme, more of which have been dubious, some of which have been condemnatory, some of which have been well informed, some less well informed, and some, if I may say so, just plain stupid—in addition to all these things, I have received a considerable number of written communications, some from organisations of great repute, and more or less conservative outlook, and some from individuals who have been concerned to make useful and sensible suggestions.

And what has been interesting about it is that as a result of those criticisms—and I may say they have been largely among those that I have privately received—I have been able to accept three or four very important modifications of the original proposals which I am sure will meet with the approval not only of the critics who made the proposals to me, but of many other people who would sincerely like to see the Law succeed because they recognise its necessity in the interest of the country.

I am never disturbed, Mr. Speaker, about ill-informed criticism, nor yet about criticism merely designed to be sensational, but I think every Government does well to listen to the reasoned opinions of those who are sympathetic to the interests of the country and understand its needs and how hard-pressed any Government would be to meet those needs.

So, as I say, I would like publicly to thank all those who have made honest and sincere contributions; and to those who have talked a lot of hot air and nonsense may I say they have served to enliven the August period which is always wanting in contributions to remove the ill which oppresses the soul.

And now I propose to inform the House in some detail about this measure. When people talk nonsense about Socialism and Nationalisation and the rest of it, it is interesting to note that the acquisition of land was a measure brought forward by a Conservative Government in England, and not by a Socialist Government; nor was it in aid of nationalisation, but, on the contrary, in aid of the better distribution of land. And that is precisely what started off this topic in Jamaica in 1939; because it was in 1939, when people were thinking with some boldness and some willingness to try new things—a willingness which I hope will never die out of the land—and be overcome by timidities and fears about nothing—that a Government body known as the Food Production Board, a Board deeply concerned with the need to get the best use made of the land of Jamaica—and entirely liberal and conservative in its constitution, advocated that all acquisition of land by Government for land settlement should be by Land Bonds, and that Government should have the right to resort to Land Bonds as far as it required to do so. And the thing was put upon the same ground as it is put now: that is, that a country with needs as large as ours, and with the enormous difficulty which everybody understands in raising money for all you want to do, is entitled to resort to whatever financial devices it can resort to to enable it to overtake its public obligations.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Robbery without violence.

Mr. Manley: Now, the consequence of this measure was that Government itself in 1940 set up a Committee to recommend to Government what re-

forms were necessary in connection with the present Tenancy Law and to advise what steps should be taken to effect those reforms. That Committee, which took a long time over its deliberations and received representations from practically every well-known organisation in this country that was concerned with development, including an organisation then known as the Bustamante Industrial Union, now known as the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union—

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Improvement.

Mr. Manley: Reported in 1942—this was fragmentation—and the Committee recommended in 1942 that Government should take power at its option to pay for any lands compulsorily acquired in bonds secured upon the assets and revenue of the Colony and bearing interest at reasonable rates.

It proposed that the bonds should be redeemable in not less than 21 years, and actually went as far as to recommend that income from the Bonds should be exempt from income tax. Now, Sir, that was not a revolutionary Committee, but one headed by the late respected Mr. Harold V. Alexander, and members of the committee were Mr. Charles A. Reid, Sir Charlton Harrison, a retired Civil Servant, Mr. H. H. Croucher, who afterwards became Director of Agriculture in British Guiana, Mr. Arthur Thelwell, the present Chairman of the Christiana Land Authority, and Mr. R. S. Martinez, a well-known Civil Servant now retired.

And I would observe how much further that proposal and all the other proposals that were made year after year went towards the drafting of the present Law.

Now the next public notice taken of it was that the Jamaica Agricultural Society at a half-yearly general meeting in 1943 passed a resolution supporting the proposals, and following on that, one of the then Members of the Legislative Council, now still a Member of the other Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Kirkwood, wrote a memorandum advocating the introduction into the Island of the system which the British Government had introduced under the Irish Land Acts. And so the matter came before the then Legislative Council in 1943, when on a motion by one Mr. Terrier on the need for expanding land settlement, a Committee was set up to co-ordinate the policy and activities of the Lands, Agricultural and Housing Departments.

That Committee ultimately reported in 1944, and recommended that all land acquired for land settlements within the period determined by the Law should be acquired by Land Bonds, and that an option be reserved to Government to pay the purchase money in cash, but in special circumstances only, and not without the express permission of the Privy Council; and further, that Land Bonds could be used to discharge any mortgage.

You will please observe, Mr. Speaker, how opinion in the country itself stood, because this Committee recommended that Government should not be allowed to pay cash for land settlement except in special circumstances, and then, not on the authority of the House but only with the express approval of the Privy Council.

And they went so far as to recommend specifically that mortgages should be discharged in cash.

I expect to hear some very extravagant language about these proposals. I have already heard people say they are Socialistic. We are on the first stage towards nationalisation. Some

say they are dishonest—some say they are robbery,—

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Without violence—

Mr. Manley: and so on and so forth, but may I point out—Who were the people who made these recommendations? Who were the vagabonds of those days? The Hon. the Island Treasurer, who was the Chairman of the Committee, the Hon. the Attorney General, the Director of Agriculture, the Hon. Mr. Lowe, the Hon. Mr. Theodore Williams, the Hon. Mr. Kirkwood, the Commissioner of Lands, and the Hon. C. A. Reid.

You will go far to find a more respectable-sounding body of vagabonds in the history of this country; and those were the gentlemen who recommended in effect that it should be compulsory for Government to acquire land by Land Bonds.

But in those days people's minds were very concerned with the needs of the community and the responsibility of Government to devise ways and means for its programmes of development. And then it came about that perhaps the most broadly composed Committee that has ever been set up in Jamaica was appointed to consider agricultural reform generally, and to make a special report on land settlement.

I had the honour to be a member of that Committee. So did the Leader of the Opposition, and that Committee unanimously recommended in favour of these proposals for the compulsory use of Land Bonds for the acquisition of lands.

Some people may change their minds, but I have not changed mine. I do not have to remind this House that that was a Committee composed of the most experienced and distinguished agriculturists in Jamaica. The large landed interests were very solidly represented on the Committee: it had merchants on it, it had small agriculturists on it, it had Government officials on it, led by Mr. Wakefield, whose name is very much honoured in this country for his far-sighted and courageous thinking on agriculture; and it even had the politicians on it.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Statesmen.

Mr. Manley: Politicians.

Mr. E. L. Allen: There were no Statesmen in those days.

Mr. Manley: None of the politicians had grown old enough to repent of their beginnings. Politicians when you start, but Statesmen when you repent at leisure. But what does all that mean, and what is its particular significance? It means that for some six years there had been a unanimous body of opinion drawn from every class of the community and including the most sober, sensible, solid and honourable element in the community in favour of this proposal.

And I remember the time when one person, and one only, uttered an adverse criticism. The same person has repeated in a letter a copy of the letter he wrote at that time attacking Mr. Kirkwood. And I can say without fear of contradiction—and anybody who was both alive and watching public events in the years 1939 to 1944 will know—that there was a completely solid block of opinion in favour of the measure, and it extended to all classes of the community.

And this is important, because if one is going to introduce new measures it is important to know how far those measures have the support of sensible opinion in the country. The subsequent fate of the proposals was interesting.

In 1946 adult suffrage had come; Elected Ministers had come—

Mr. E. L. Allen: Ministers in embryo—

Sir Alexander Bustamante: And the Father of the Nation came—

Mr. Manley: Long before that (laughter); and for the first time a Government completely conservative-minded had taken control, a Government sensitive and tender to property claims, and willing to put them before the needs of the community. What did it do? It introduced a Bill into the House for acquiring land by Land Bonds on a voluntary basis.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Oh, that is different.

Mr. Manley: Oh, yes. In other words, it was persuaded by the ultra-conservative view against the solid views which had been expressed by all classes of the community over a great many years. But as I say, times had changed. Embryonic Ministers were there, and Statesmen-to-be were there, so times had indeed changed.

But what happened? When they got before the House, the House itself took such strong exception to the watering down of the original proposals that within half an hour of the start of the Debate my Friend the present Leader of the Opposition, got up and said Government proposed to withdraw the measure.

It was whilst Mr. Lindo, who was then a Member of the House, was speaking in strong terms and was arguing that if you put it on a voluntary basis you make nonsense of the whole position that the Leader of the Opposition and the others who were then in the majority, made their attitude so plain that it was decided to withdraw the measure.

Then it came back to the House in the same emasculated form. But this time the Minister of Agriculture of the Labour Party who introduced it, said, and I quote: "I recommend this Resolution to the House. I doubt if there will be any controversy, because whatever controversy existed in the past shall be the same today, except that we now realise that we should give the non-controversy system a chance before we embark on the compulsory system which is a twin sister of acquisition, and some people are not enamoured of the idea; but if we found it necessary to institute such a system I think this House will not hesitate, as that is really the idea of this House from the inception."

That is what the official statement said, taken from Hansard. That was an apologia. Try it this way. If it doesn't work, we are all united in Resolution to try it the other way. And on that assurance the House put it through.

But what did the Government, who gave that assurance, do?

What happened afterwards was Gilbertian, if not improper. The Bill went up to the Legislative Council and it was passed into Law. It exists here in the file before me, sealed with the Great Seal of the Colony and signed by the Governor in testimony to the fact that it has been passed into Law by both Houses, and it says at the beginning—"This Law shall take effect on a date to be proclaimed by the Governor by publication in the Gazette."

Yet the Government that had passed the Law and assured the country that if it did not work that way they would work it the way the people wanted, contrived with great impropriety to see that no date was ever proclaimed, so

that it now becomes necessary to repeal this Law, for it is still Law.

I wonder if in the history of our Legislative set-up an impropriety like that has ever taken place! That a Law should be passed and signed, and the Governor told behind closed doors that no date should be proclaimed.

Mr. Isaacs: What a thing Leopold! (laughter.)

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I think that is just rhetoric, you know.

Mr. Manley: Those are cold facts.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: My Friend must have been peeping behind the door.

Mr. Manley: The Bill is now being introduced in the form it was advocated in 1939, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944 and right down to when it came before this House in 1946. It is a good measure and I will explain why.

I pause to remark that a good deal of the opposition seems to be based on no better ground than that the Bill is being introduced by this Government. In fact, I have read comment to this effect. It is as good as saying that this Government is only introducing this Bill because it was part of its election programme. But, Mr. Speaker, the country has got used during the past ten years, so used to a Government without a programme.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Here it is—

Mr. Manley: so used to a Government that never said what it was going to do, or if it did, did not mean it, that it is now possible solemnly to argue in print against a measure because it appears in the programme of a Party—it has disappeared from the political thinking of this country that people should be elected on a political programme which they advanced and promised to carry out.

Well, let me say this: this Party published a programme, and this Party is going to carry out the programme it published—no less and no more, but all of it; and maybe after a few years' time it will cease to be thought significant to say this should not be done because it was promised to be done.

Minority Party Members laughed.

Mr. Manley: Hai hai hai—laugh as you like.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: My Friend thinks he is on the stage.

Mr. Manley: Now, Sir, what is the basic problem? Does anyone think it is less than it was in 1939? Do the leaders of thought think Jamaica's present position has less difficulties than in 1939, or more? Do they think the demands on our resources have got less or more? Do they think the needs of our people have got less or more? Do they think that the people's refusal to be content with less is not growing and increasing every day?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: But they are getting less.

Mr. Manley: Let me remind some people of a few facts.

By 1961 at the present rate—

Sir Alexander Bustamante: You and I will be here.

Mr. Manley: Speak for yourself, Sir.

By 1961 the population, at the present rate, will be 1,800,000, and in ten years from now—only ten years from now, it will exceed 2,000,000. When the World Bank Report set out its programme of expenditure of £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 and attempted to estimate what it would achieve, what did a careful reading of it show? That at the end of the time you

would merely have held your own, and you would still be faced for real purposes with the same problem of unemployment, and the same problem of unequal resources.

One of the consequences of that was—that not an unparalleled show of courage: shall I say proper for election year?—the then Majority Party, the present Opposition, decided to formulate a Five-Year Plan for the expenditure of £22,000,000. I got the figure £22,000,000 from the Hicks Report. Later it revised that figure to £30,000,000. But that was after the authors of the Hicks Report had had access to the files.

This Party prepared a programme and estimated that the least requirement over the next five years in the field of public expenditure would be of the order of £30,000,000; but what nobody had attempted to do was to show precisely where the money was to come from. And both Parties had assumed a level of assistance from the British Government from one source only, Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, of the order of £8,000,000.

There has been a short-fall on that estimate of £4,500,000.

Does anyone think you can walk in the street and pick up £4½ millions?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Yes, you can do it in the U.S.A.

Mr. Manley: As a matter of fact, the matter of raising money has been considered with considerable energy and comprehension by the first Minister we have ever had who understands financing.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: The only one.

Mr. Manley: The first, and the only one.

Mr. E. L. Allen: One other person understands it. Cadbury.

Mr. Manley: About half a dozen of those who understand it would be a generous estimate, and I would not include you among them (laughter).

And when he introduces some of his ideas we are told on the other side that we are engaging in reckless activities and will endanger the economic stability of the country; and all sorts of over-night Jeremiahs sprang up making strange noises in chorus together. However nobody is frightened, except possibly themselves; and what alarms them is that nobody else is frightened.

And let me mention another point. Everybody who is studying monetary trends realises that the money market in England, has in the last six months become difficult in the extreme, and the probabilities are that the difficulties are going to increase, and not decrease.

The picture is of extreme grave difficulty in finding the money which we are all agreed is necessary. Look at another aspect of the problem. Look at the character of the demands on our revenue today compared with the possibility of getting more revenue. There is no doubt about it at all that the Opposition enjoyed three years of unparalleled expansion of revenues. But this was just as well, because the effects of the policies being pursued was largely to increase the strain on recurrent revenues.

But no sooner had this Government come into power that it had to face a first major problem of increasing demand on the revenues of the country, because before two or three years are out the Civil Service regrading will add another £1,250,000 to the bill the country has to face. The money will have to come from some-

where, and the more money is taken from those sources, the less will be the balance to contribute to any aspect of development.

The consequence of these circumstances is that the need for money is going to be increasingly apparent with every passing year. Already today — and it has been so for years past — there is a clamour for money for every sort of purpose. You have only to sit and listen to a Budget Session of this House, and listen to the insistent talk of districts needing roads; the need for the improvement of the roads here and there which everybody is talking about; the demands for the extension of hospital services; the discovery that after ten years of very sincere effort to expand the educational services there is still a steadily growing need for further expansion, and still a large claim on the capital resources of this country; the demand, too, for medical and health services — all without touching the basic development of the country. In the face of all these things how can anybody — as many critics of this measure have dared to do — how can anybody say that Government cannot establish a need for raising money at this time by Land Bonds!! I see people who pretend to be arguing honestly daring to say that the basic objection to the measure, which would be perfectly all right for Government had the need to raise money existed, is that there is no need. I cry shame on them, and I say they are either stupid or dishonest.

No Government sensible of its responsibilities would ignore any means whatever consistent with honesty and fairplay of adding to its resources for development at this time or of tackling any urgent problem that arises.

I am quite satisfied in my own mind so far as need is concerned. If we can avail ourselves by recourse to the credit of the country for the means to tackle urgent problems of development it is our solemn and bounden duty to do it; and there must be a time when people will realise that the needs of the country as a whole have some say in the affairs of Government.

How long have all programmes in relation to land use been bogged down by the fact that Government says it cannot find the money for the essential services Government should undertake? Whether the land settlement policy be good or not, it could be made good. Look how it has had to be cut down steadily year by year over the last ten years, till it has now in the last couple of years disappeared altogether. And when people came here, as I did, and asked why could not money be spent on a more progressive policy than this iniquitous tenancy, they were told "No money."

But mark you, the problem was there, and in the last ten years by bits and pieces a considerable number of those tenant properties were acquired.

Now I pass to the specific purposes for which this Law is intended.

The original proponents of the idea that underlies this measure had advocated that all land acquired by Government for land settlement should be acquired by Land Bonds compulsorily. Maybe they were right, but this is a much more restricted proposal. There is something to be said against the acquisition of land which is being fruitfully put to use by compulsory purchase at all. There is something to be said for it, and therefore even more to be said against compulsory purchase by bonds; and it is not pro-

posed to apply the Law to any but two limited categories of land, which in both cases involve a problem of critical and vital importance.

One is the category of lands substantially used for renting to tenants; the other is the undeveloped land in a development area.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is the situation of the tenanted property? I have been both amused and surprised at the irrelevancy of the comments on this part of the proposal, and at the abysmal ignorance, indicated by the public comments I have seen.

It is argued that all you need to do is to improve the conditions of the tenants. The Government set up a Committee for that purpose fourteen years ago. Government has passed two Laws dealing with it, and every man who knows anything at all about Jamaica knows that the situation of the tenants has not been improved one particle by the Tenancy Laws that were passed.

Those Laws had regard to English practice and an English system which had grown up over the centuries. It is well understood they have never been capable of being applied to the conditions that obtain in Jamaica, and if you keep them on the Statute Book from now till the trumpet sounds, they will never be properly applied! Those who sit down in Kingston and write these stupid articles know nothing at all of what goes on in the country-side. They are the worst type of arm-chair critics.

And what has happened to these country lands? Ask all the Members over there if it is not one of the crying needs of the country to put an end to a system whereby a man goes on land as a year to year tenant. He stays there through a generation. Some have been there, and their families sixty and eighty years. The tombs of their fore-fathers are on the land, and still it is not theirs. And what is the consequence? Go to any of those places and see the devastation of the land. You cannot get a man under those conditions to adopt proper agricultural practices on land that he may be turned off one day, and it is idle to tell a man "if we turn you off, we will give you compensation."

It does not make sense. Go to a property like Allsides, and look at the ruin of what was once the most fertile part of Jamaica, and consider that it can happen at any time that the original owner may die and his son decide to give notice to all the tenants and turn them off.

And what will you do with them? Even the bauxite people have discovered that when they had to turn off old-time tenants for mining purposes they were compelled to buy other non-bauxite premises and settle them! Because in the name of heaven what will you do otherwise? I know of my own knowledge of cases where tenants have been turned off who have lived on land for years and years, for whom it is the basis of their whole existence, who are left to face the world with nowhere to go, no money to buy land and no means whatever of supporting their families. In the interest of humanity and in the interest of good agricultural production and proper agricultural practices let us realise that the time has long since passed when the problem has to be cleared up.

And this Government is going to clear up the problem. We promised electorally that we would do it, and we are going to do it. We are not going to make any foolish excuses and say it was only an election promise.

Now, why are Land Bonds appro-

priate for compensation? The answer is simple. You take any one of those properties, examine the rent-roll, the cost of collection and the average failure to collect, and you can predict correctly within five percent what is the income a man makes off it. There is no property for which there can be a more close prediction, nor is there any investment on which the interest is less likely to expand, because the rents are fixed, and if you try to raise them you will never get the money. They remain the same £1, 25/- or 30/- a year. Consequently if you give a man Bonds that will return to him the same interest, you have fundamentally left his situation unchanged. It is exact, fair and adequate; but you are giving him something more, because whereas he had all the problem and trouble of collecting the rents, now he can sit down and get his income under Government guarantee with no trouble in collecting other than to receive the cheque: quarterly or whatever the time may be and he has got a negotiable security which he can transform into money.

Mr. Golding (St. Catherine W.): The Bill does not say what time the money will be payable, whether quarterly or yearly.

Mr. Manley: You will soon hear.

Mr. Speaker I turn to another class of land. It may surprise this House to know that there are parts of the United States where you are not allowed to keep land if you do not develop it: they just take it away from you. No country today can afford to regard land as unfettered private property. It is now a common place thought, except among the ultra-conservatives or the stupid, that land ownership is a trust for the community, because upon it the whole life of the community is based.

No man is allowed to do what he likes with his land. You are no more allowed to brutalise and destroy your land than you can your children, because you hold them in trust. This ancient concept that land is something peculiarly belonging to a man to do what he likes with it is totally out of date, and I have not the slightest opinion in the world for those people who still nourish those ancient and antediluvian ideas.

A man who owns land is under a sacred obligation to use it or develop it, or means must be found to put it to use for the benefit of the people as a whole. This country cannot afford to have one acre of idle land. With our population pressure what it is, as far as arable land is concerned this country cannot afford to have any idle land — it is almost already one person per acre, and it is going to be less in another five to ten years time. And you are going to allow people to sit down and do nothing with such idle land!

What nonsense! All the arguments I have heard against the measure are nonsense, based on this one idea that you can keep your land because it is yours to do as you like with and you need not develop it.

I have already made it quite clear that it is not the policy of this Government to interfere with a man who is spending his money to develop his land. And what is more, he should be helped: be he big or small, he should be helped. But the man who is sitting down doing nothing I have seen with my own eyes areas in which the last Government spent enormous sums of money on capital works designed to develop those lands, and the largest land owner in the area would not

avail himself of the help Government gives.

He will not use his land for one single purpose and is making it impossible to put the scheme on an economic foundation, because he sits there and does nothing but watch his land go up in value because of the opportunities created by the capital Government has sunk in it.

His one idea of service to his country is to keep £5 per acre land and as soon as the Government works are established and people are rushing to the area to live he will sell the same land at £75 and £100 per acre.

Well, let me say that this Government is not going to sit down and tolerate that sort of thing anywhere in Jamaica. If Government spends money laying down irrigation works, creating special agricultural services, doing research work on new crops and inviting people to seize those opportunities and develop the land, no man will be allowed to sit there and exploit the country and Government by holding that land get a rise in price.

This is the reason for the selection of this second class of land in the Bill. It is intended to deal with the class of people who have land in development areas and will not develop such lands, but are sitting down for no other purpose but to enjoy the benefits of the increased value of land due to Government efforts.

I am so satisfied in my own mind of the justice of the Bill that I will defend it before the whole world. It is soundly conceived and it will be soundly applied.

But it is important in any measure that is introduced that fair play should be given to everybody. It is not proposed to interfere with the ordinary machinery of compensation.

All that is going to be done is to give a marketable negotiable gilt-edged security.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Gilt-edged! With not a penny in the Government's Bank.

Mr. Manley: And I am glad to think from the number of very sensible and intelligent people—many of them quite conservative-minded—who have communicated with me about this thing, that the need is well understood; that the principle which confines it to these two critical classes is well understood; and that as far as the country is concerned it is measure that meets with universal approbation.

I will be happy to hear why those who are against the interests of the small people they oppose this measure. I shall like to hear those who want the owners of the broad acres to sit down and do nothing with them and get fat at the expense of the State and the small man, and I look forward with the greatest pleasure and anticipation in the world to hearing them.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Rest.

Mr. Manley: I have not started yet. But as I say, Mr. Speaker, there have been many sensible criticisms. I propose to meet some of them—even where I do not agree with them—because I am anxious that people should understand that it is the principle of this Government to do justice to all men.

It is important on the broader horizon that every Government of this country should stand for justice and fair play to all men. I am surprised that that should be cause for snickers. But there are no decent principles that may not be mocked at.

Now Sir, the Bill as originally proposed proposed that Government should pay for these lands in bonds

redeemable in accordance with Regulations to be prescribed, and bearing interest as might be prescribed. And in regard to compulsory acquisition it did not contain any measure which would have compelled Government to prescribe the normal rate of interest which would be applied to Government stock or to prescribe, except by Regulations which can be changed, the period within which the bonds shall remain outstanding. Representations have been made, and I have decided to concede that these two things should be fixed by Law.

Accordingly two important amendments are going to be proposed, and in respect of those amendments I have sent advance copies to the Secretary of the Minority Party and I have prepared copies to be distributed.

They are amendments in the main to Sections 7 and 8.

Mr. Speaker, Sections 7 and 8 of this Bill provide that the bonds are to bear interest as may be prescribed in the Regulations—which merely follows the Law drafted by my predecessors, and also provide that the Accountant General shall make arrangements for the redemption of land bonds by means of periodical drawings, but nothing specific is said about interest and the period of redemption is not fixed.

Well, Sir, I have decided to provide in Clause 7 in these terms: "Provided that no bonds shall be issued at a rate less than the rate at which the last issue of stock issued under the Local Registered Stock Law was issued." This means, taking for example the last issue of local stock—which was oversubscribed in 48 hours—that was issued at 4½%, therefore you cannot issue land bonds at less than 4½%. So people will be getting the same security which thousands of people in the country have thought good enough to subscribe to. Then Section 8 will be amended specifically to provide that bonds shall be redeemed within twenty years from the date on which they are issued. I think both these proposals are fair, because the first one ensures that at any time you must give that rate of interest which evidence has established is what the market will bear, and the second provides a moderately short period of twenty years which will greatly help to keep up the value of bonds.

It will interest Members of the House to know that if it were short term money Government was seeking they could get any amount at 2½%—it used to be 1½%. We can get a million pounds in Treasury Bills on short term at any time, but twenty years is an appropriate term of issue for Local Registered Stock. The reason for restricting the period to twenty years is entirely for one purpose—to create conditions which will make the bonds readily marketable and to uphold their value as near as possible to par.

Mr. Manley, having spoken for 45 minutes. **Mr. Coombs** moved that he be given a half hour more.

Seconded by the **Minister of Health (Mr. Stuart St. Mary W.)** and agreed to.

Mr. Manley: I hope everybody will observe, Mr. Speaker, that in any event there is no question of taking away from anybody what is his; in any event there will be periodical drawings of bonds. There is no question of taking away one iota of a man's money. The idea is to create conditions to make the bonds freely and easily marketable by those who want to realise them. And the first measure is to make the rate of interest

the same as that for Local Registered Stock and limit the period of redemption to twenty years. I may remark that the original proponents recommended sixty years, but we are going to go further.

The Bill will also be amended to provide that not only can these bonds be used to redeem land tax on the property, or to pay Estate Duty on the death of the holder, but the bonds can be used to pay any Estate Duty, which will undoubtedly enhance their marketable value.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: They can be used to pay Ministers and MHRs.

Mr. Manley: Yes. I shall make a note of it. If you prefer the bonds you will have seven per annum. I shall make a note of it. That could be done by an appropriate amendment to Section 8.

Thirdly, there will be an amendment which will provide that Regulations can be made to permit the bonds to be used to pay any tax that may be prescribed.

Mr. Douglas (Trelawny N.): Including income tax?

Mr. Manley: Any tax that may be prescribed. I am not making any decision as to what taxes will be prescribed, but all sorts of proposals have been put forward by those who are not sympathetic to the Bill. However, I wish to say that the value of the bonds will be preserved at all times. We shall consider making bonds available to pay taxes to the extent of the size of the Redemption Fund which will be built up year by year, because the Law lays down that any monies realised from the sale or lease of lands must be put into the Redemption Fund. It is an interesting proposal to make—that monies shall be available year by year to discharge specified taxes. And it is a protective proposal. But it has one danger about it. That is, if you are not careful you will be creating short term securities, in which event the rate of interest would be out of proportion. Government cannot afford to borrow money at 4½% on short term: We can get money at 2½% short term. These proposals ensure to a very large extent that the bonds will maintain—as I verily believe they will maintain—their face value; and, what is regarded as most important, that they will be marketable at reasonable speed.

Now, Sir, I call attention to Section 10, which provides for the creation of a fund for the redemption of land bonds and lays down that any monies derived from the sale or lease of lands shall be credited to the Land Bonds Fund. There are two or three technical amendments to that section. I won't trouble you now with them, but they merely remove certain highly technical and, we have thought, unnecessary provisions.

Section 11 is one of the operative sections of the Law. The machinery will be that only where the Governor in Council has declared land to fall within a particular category of the Schedule to the Law can it be compulsorily acquired. There has been a lot of criticism of sub-section 7 which provides that any declaration made by the Governor in Council shall not be questioned in any legal proceeding. I am proposing to delete sub-section 7.

Opposition Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Manley: Because I thoroughly agree with the argument that what is right should be capable of being questioned in a Court of Law—even the conduct of an MHR. (Laughter).

I call attention to Section 13, which limits the compensation to be paid

upon acquiring lands in a development area if an increase in the value of the land is due to Government's development expenditure. As it stands, it is quite clear that the section might work injustice, because it fails to impose a time limit on works of development that are to be excluded from consideration. So it is proposed to limit the effect of the clause to works of development which have taken place within six years of the date of acquisition — otherwise you might be going back into the past and in effect be applying this part of the Law to ancient history.

Then I would call attention to Section 15, which enables the House of Representatives by resolution to add to or delete from the Schedule to the Law any category of land. I don't really think, Mr. Speaker, that there is anything very much wrong with that, but it can be argued that since we have a two Chamber system, if a law is to be changed it should be done by the whole apparatus of legislation. Therefore it is proposed that the Section be deleted from the Law entirely.

Finally, I come to the last significant amendment which will be proposed—perhaps the most important of all, one about which I confess I have spent a lot of time and thought — and I might even say I have a certain reluctance about it. It is going to be proposed, Mr. Speaker, that section 16 be amended by providing that when proceedings are taken before the Compensation Tribunal under the Land Acquisition Law, the Tribunal shall be informed, and may have regard to the fact, that Government intends to pay for the land by the use of bonds. It has been suggested that to do this will be to indicate a doubt in your own mind as to whether the bonds are as gilt-edged a security as you would like them to be. That may be; but, on the other hand the most scrupulous regard for fair play supports the view that the Tribunal that is awarding compensation should know how the compensation is going to be paid.

And it will have one real value, a practical effect that appeals to my mind, in those cases where the Law will be most used—I don't anticipate much use of the law in regard to land in development areas, because it is the exceptional landowner today who sits down in a development area and refuses to take part in the plans for development. I must say that for this country that would be an exceptional case; those are the cases that are hurtful to the country; those are the cases that must be stopped. But in regard to the majority of cases where the Law will be used, and used as often as necessary — namely the tenanted properties — it seems good sense to look at it this way. If the Tribunal knows that compensation will be paid in bonds and that the bonds will bear interest at the rate of 4½%, it is easy for the Tribunal to say that, in assessing the value of a property, the man suffers no loss of income. Because £10,000 worth of bonds at 4½% yield £450, and if a man is collecting £450 in rent on the average and you give him £450 interest which he has no trouble to collect, at any rate you are not doing him any injustice. In fact the position is better than it was before. It therefore seems appropriate, in view of that consideration, that the Tribunal should know that compensation is being awarded in bonds.

I would like to point out with regard to the question of compensation that there is a Law—as Members here

know — which provides how compensation shall be assessed on the compulsory acquisition of land. It happens to be a very good law, because it enables those things to be taken into account which quite fairly should be taken into account, but excludes from consideration some of the things that used to be taken into account before that Law was passed but which modern thinking no longer recognises, because modern thinking is not so sensitive to the inviolability of the rights of landowners. For example, when you acquire land compulsorily today the Tribunal may not take into account the fact that it is being acquired compulsorily and give the man a little bit more because his land is taken away from him. In the old days it was natural to think that you should do that, but it is now recognised that when it comes to land acquisition in support of its policies the State must always be able to get land for development and use on reasonable terms of fairplay.

Let me add, this business of compulsory acquisition of land started generations ago. I should imagine almost before the grandfather of anybody in this House was born and I have no doubt when it was started there were arguments about the inviolability of a man's property and about the wrong you would do by taking away his land and—when land was wanted for things like railways—by going through his property and splitting it in two. But the principle was accepted long years ago in Jamaica that for purposes of development such as land settlement, schools, roads or any similar purpose, Government can compulsorily acquire land. It may be it is not so in every part of the world, but I am surprised at the ignorance shown by some correspondents who have written in the papers, some of whom do not even know cases where places have been compulsorily acquired for land settlement.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Most lawyers don't know.

Mr. Manley: I don't mind the ignorance of lawyers and one can excuse politicians being ignorant of the law but not the newspapermen (Laughter).

Well, Sir, with these amendments which it is proposed to make, I say this law is a fair law. It gives fair compensation and marketable security payable in a reasonably short term at 100 per cent of face value and bearing interest identical with that borne by millions of pounds in other Government investments, with the added features of attraction such as its availability to pay certain classes of taxes, which should enhance its marketability and render it even more speedily and easily negotiable than ordinary Government securities.

I am not going to be deterred by nonsensical arguments about that being a dishonest thing to do. It is not dishonest. Nor am I going to be deterred by arguments about expropriation, because to acquire land on fair terms where a Tribunal decides the compensation is not expropriation. It is intelligent use of the land for the needs of the community. I have great satisfaction in knowing that this law, which my Party has always supported, has received the approval of the best agricultural brains of this country over a period extending now for some sixteen years; that is has received the approval of the most sensible financial thinkers in Government circles and circles outside of Government over a period of sixteen

years; and that it is going to go on receiving the same approval from the sensible people of the country that it received sixteen, fifteen, fourteen and ten years ago. This Bill is going to be brought into law to the advantage of those thousands of unfortunate people who eke out a meagre existence on these tenanted lands, to the advantage of Government development plans and to the advantage of this country.

Seconded by **Mr. Stuart.**

Mr. Kenneth Jones (Portland E.): Mr. Speaker, before I start, Sir, I would like to say this, that the amendments which the Chief Minister sent to the Parliamentary Secretary only reached him at the start of this sitting today.

Dr. Lloyd: That is early enough.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: And these amendments, most of the amendments proposed by the Chief Minister to this law had been already taken up in our amendments that we were going to propose. These amendments actually alter the spirit of the law to a very great extent. I refer particularly to the deletion of Clause 11 subsection 7 and to the deletion of Section 15. I also refer to the fact that, what was not in the law, the fact that these bonds were for a stated period has now been stated and that was the same period that our amendment called for; and also the fact that the minimum interest rate for these bonds is now stated. I believe, in fact I am quite sure, that that minimum interest rate is a little more than the minimum interest rate that we were going to propose.

As I have said, these amendments completely alter the spirit of the Bill and I think that all of us, Sir, on this side of the House would like and want to see some positive action now taken on the position of tenanted properties, on those properties that have been tenanted for generations, with the same families there on the same bits of land.

But what the Law doesn't mention, Sir, is that that land is going to be re-sold to these people after it has been bought from its present owners. Because I cannot see the point, we cannot see the point, Sir, of changing one landlord for another landlord. If the tenants are getting rid of their present landlord, they should then be allowed to own their land themselves.

Opposition Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: And I think Members on that side will agree with that. And we will move an amendment to put in the words "acquisition and re-sale to the tenants that were on those properties".

Opposition Members: Hear, hear.

Dr. Lloyd: We cannot do it in the same Law.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: What?

Dr. Lloyd: You would need a new Law for that.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: Government might say that in order to safeguard that land, in order to see that the land is properly cared for, that proper husbandry is executed on that land, it is proposed to have leasehold instead of freehold on these land that will be acquired. We disagree on this side very definitely with that. The properties should be dealt with in possibly the same way as the pilot areas that have been contemplated for the Farm Development Scheme, and the resuscitation and rehabilitation of the land could be done under

where, and the more money is taken from those sources, the less will be the balance to contribute to any aspect of development.

The consequence of these circumstances is that the need for money is going to be increasingly apparent with every passing year. Already today — and it has been so for years past — there is a clamour for money for every sort of purpose. You have only to sit and listen to a Budget Session of this House, and listen to the insistent talk of districts needing roads; the need for the improvement of the roads here and there which everybody is talking about; the demands for the extension of hospital services; the discovery that after ten years of very sincere effort to expand the educational services there is still a steadily growing need for further expansion, and still a large claim on the capital resources of this country; the demand, too, for medical and health services — all without touching the basic development of the country. In the face of all these things how can anybody — as many critics of this measure have dared to do — how can anybody say that Government cannot establish a need for raising money at this time by Land Bonds!! I see people who pretend to be arguing honestly daring to say that the basic objection to the measure, which would be perfectly all right for Government had the need to raise money existed, is that there is no need. I cry shame on them, and I say they are either stupid or dishonest.

No Government sensible of its responsibilities would ignore any means whatever consistent with honesty and fairplay of adding to its resources for development at this time or of tackling any urgent problem that arises.

I am quite satisfied in my own mind so far as need is concerned. If we can avail ourselves by recourse to the credit of the country for the means to tackle urgent problems of development it is our solemn and bounden duty to do it; and there must be a time when people will realise that the needs of the country as a whole have some say in the affairs of Government.

How long have all programmes in relation to land use been bogged down by the fact that Government says it cannot find the money for the essential services Government should undertake? Whether the land settlement policy be good or not, it could be made good. Look how it has had to be cut down steadily year by year over the last ten years, till it has now in the last couple of years disappeared altogether. And when people came here, as I did, and asked why could not money be spent on a more progressive policy than this iniquitous tenancy, they were told "No money."

But mark you, the problem was there, and in the last ten years by bits and pieces a considerable number of those tenant properties were acquired.

Now I pass to the specific purposes for which this Law is intended.

The original proponents of the idea that underlies this measure had advocated that all land acquired by Government for land settlement should be acquired by Land Bonds compulsorily. Maybe they were right, but this is a much more restricted proposal. There is something to be said against the acquisition of land which is being fruitfully put to use by compulsory purchase at all. There is something to be said for it, and therefore even more to be said against compulsory purchase by bonds; and it is not pro-

posed to apply the Law to any but two limited categories of land, which in both cases involve a problem of critical and vital importance.

One is the category of lands substantially used for renting to tenants; the other is the undeveloped land in a development area.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is the situation of the tenanted property? I have been both amused and surprised at the irrelevancy of the comments on this part of the proposal, and at the abysmal ignorance, indicated by the public comments I have seen.

It is argued that all you need to do is to improve the conditions of the tenants. The Government set up a Committee for that purpose fourteen years ago. Government has passed two Laws dealing with it, and every man who knows anything at all about Jamaica knows that the situation of the tenants has not been improved one particle by the Tenancy Laws that were passed.

Those Laws had regard to English practice and an English system which had grown up over the centuries. It is well understood they have never been capable of being applied to the conditions that obtain in Jamaica, and if you keep them on the Statute Book from now till the trumpet sounds, they will never be properly applied! Those who sit down in Kingston and write these stupid articles know nothing at all of what goes on in the country-side. They are the worst type of arm-chair critics.

And what has happened to these country lands? Ask all the Members over there if it is not one of the crying needs of the country to put an end to a system whereby a man goes on land as a year to year tenant. He stays there through a generation. Some have been there, and their families sixty and eighty years. The tombs of their fore-fathers are on the land, and still it is not theirs. And what is the consequence? Go to any of those places and see the devastation of the land. You cannot get a man under those conditions to adopt proper agricultural practices on land that he may be turned off one day, and it is idle to tell a man "if we turn you off, we will give you compensation."

It does not make sense. Go to a property like Allsides, and look at the ruin of what was once the most fertile part of Jamaica, and consider that it can happen at any time that the original owner may die and his son decide to give notice to all the tenants and turn them off.

And what will you do with them? Even the bauxite people have discovered that when they had to turn off old-time tenants for mining purposes they were compelled to buy other non-bauxite premises and settle them! Because in the name of heaven what will you do otherwise? I know of my own knowledge of cases where tenants have been turned off who have lived on land for years and years, for whom it is the basis of their whole existence, who are left to face the world with nowhere to go, no money to buy land and no means whatever of supporting their families. In the interest of humanity and in the interest of good agricultural production and proper agricultural practices let us realise that the time has long since passed when the problem has to be cleared up.

And this Government is going to clear up the problem. We promised electorally that we would do it, and we are going to do it. We are not going to make any foolish excuses and say it was only an election promise.

Now, why are Land Bonds appro-

priate for compensation? The answer is simple. You take any one of those properties, examine the rent-roll, the cost of collection and the average failure to collect, and you can predict correctly within five percent what is the income a man makes off it. There is no property for which there can be a more close prediction, nor is there any investment on which the interest is less likely to expand, because the rents are fixed, and if you try to raise them you will never get the money. They remain the same £1, 25/- or 30/- a year. Consequently if you give a man Bonds that will return to him the same interest, you have fundamentally left his situation unchanged. It is exact, fair and adequate; but you are giving him something more, because whereas he had all the problem and trouble of collecting the rents, now he can sit down and get his income under Government guarantee with no trouble in collecting other than to receive the cheque: quarterly or whatever the time may be and he has got a negotiable security which he can transform into money.

Mr. Golding (St. Catherine W.): The Bill does not say what time the money will be payable, whether quarterly or yearly.

Mr. Manley: You will soon hear.

Mr. Speaker I turn to another class of land. It may surprise this House to know that there are parts of the United States where you are not allowed to keep land if you do not develop it: they just take it away from you. No country today can afford to regard land as unfettered private property. It is now a common place thought, except among the ultra-conservatives or the stupid, that land ownership is a trust for the community, because upon it the whole life of the community is based.

No man is allowed to do what he likes with his land. You are no more allowed to brutalise and destroy your land than you can your children, because you hold them in trust. This ancient concept that land is something peculiarly belonging to a man to do what he likes with it is totally out of date, and I have not the slightest opinion in the world for those people who still nourish those ancient and antediluvian ideas.

A man who owns land is under a sacred obligation to use it or develop it, or means must be found to put it to use for the benefit of the people as a whole. This country cannot afford to have one acre of idle land. With our population pressure what it is, as far as arable land is concerned this country cannot afford to have any idle land — it is almost already one person per acre, and it is going to be less in another five to ten years time. And you are going to allow people to sit down and do nothing with such idle land!

What nonsense! All the arguments I have heard against the measure are nonsense, based on this one idea that you can keep your land because it is yours to do as you like with and you need not develop it.

I have already made it quite clear that it is not the policy of this Government to interfere with a man who is spending his money to develop his land. And what is more, he should be helped: be he big or small, he should be helped. But the man who is sitting down doing nothing I have seen with my own eyes areas in which the last Government spent enormous sums of money on capital works designed to develop those lands, and the largest land owner in the area would not

Seconded by Mr. Isaacs and agreed to.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: It is in the method of applying it, Sir; and because of the fact that somebody else, some other Government, some other individual, might come along who will live up to the assurances that we have heard this afternoon in this House . . .

Dr. Lloyd: They will have to live up to the Law.

Mr. Shearer (Kingston W.): The Law is silent.

Mr. Evans (Westmoreland W.): The Law is not vested in any Chief Minister.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: . . . we are still going to put in the original amendment, Sir, that we had had before the Chief Minister gave us his amendments this afternoon, that there shall whether taken by a Land Bonds Commission or by the Governor in Council, to the Courts of this country. I thank you.

Mr. Barrant (St. Thomas E.): Mr. Speaker, just a few words on this Land Bonds Bill. Now I want to make it clear that Members on this side of the House at no time would really try to vote against this Bill, but I want to make it clear that the statement read by the Chief Minister from Hansard was not made at the time I was Minister of Agriculture. It was before that. I want to make that clear. It was not in my time, it was before. That was made long before I was Minister.

What I want to say — I must be frank about it — landlords in this country have been warned repeatedly of their action to tenants and some of them have been insolent to Government when lands were acquired on behalf of small people. We did our best with the Small Holdings Law which was brushed aside by legal advice all over the country. We even brought a Land Bonds Law but it was not respected. We hope, whoever the Government, that respect will be paid to this Law so that small farmers can have their livelihood without being molested as in the past. At the same time too much drastic measures will give pains. I take properties like Prospect and Oxford that was owned by the Harrison family. The tenants on them are still molested and the present owner offered it to Government at £90 an acre for Government to acquire and sell back to small people. That property lies there as fallow. We could not consent to a Law that would allow things of that nature to continue. I am not talking as a lawyer because many lawyers are gentlemen but some are tricksters like myself. And any Law that can appeal to a landlord to respect his tenants and restrict him is good for the country and good for this side of the House, according to the amendments we shall move.

Many parts of the country the people are heckling but Government must remember there has to be careful selection of tenants, because many of the headaches of landlords will be taken over by the Government. And I want to say that the promises made by that side of the House of free access to land and free farming, you are going to have trouble to collect rent. It is a warning. You may want to do good but you have to practice what you preach in the past. Many landlords are unscrupulous and hard, but they would have been more lenient to tenants — and I am speaking of small farmers as myself

— but if they get ten acres or three acres as the case may be they only work half; and some could even get 15 acres, they won't work more than a square without pressure. But I say really legitimate and hardworking farmers with ten acre lots will make good if they are helped financially under a good Farm Development Scheme like the one I have prepared and handed over to you. If that is put in progress it will be good for the country. (Laughter).

Subject to the amendments I say again that no Member on this side of the House will be so hypocritical as to stand and say they would really resist the passing of this Bill in any shape or form, other than the amendments which we will propose. After all, if we were returned to power something like this would have to be done. (Laughter).

I am not making wild statements as some Ministers today. I am making a fair statement. This is a fair-minded Jamaican talking. I am making a plain statement because there is no one over that side more fatigued at the way tenants are being treated than your humble servant, and I hope this Law brought forward by the Chief Minister today will work, subject to the amendments moved on this side. I hope it will succeed because it is done in good faith.

I say we are moving from one headache to another and you may not take that point seriously but I am making a serious statement that today small farmers, whether they are in a development area or not, whatever the inducements they can offer, find it the hardest thing to get labourers to work for them, especially if they are next to large farms where mechanical implements are used. If you want to work a ten-acre plot you have hard trouble in getting workers to work for you unless you can pay three times what the large property will pay. These are facts we have to meet up with.

I repeat again, Sir, the collection of your rent, you will have to make some compulsion there for the collection of your rent. More than that, Mr. Speaker, Chief Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers, small farmers in the country, they are not so accustomed to leasehold. Everybody wants a little scrap of paper as freehold and if the Land Bonds Law doesn't say they are to be the owners of the land as freeholders, you are going to have trouble.

The next point I would like to make, Mr. Speaker, is this: if under the development programme you don't intend to give the farmers money in comparison to what work is done on their plot, if you anticipate to give it away before the work is being done you are up for a next trouble. I give that warning seriously. I know that whatever is said in this House is misquoted but it doesn't matter to me. What I am saying, I am saying genuinely from my heart and I don't care about the result.

Now, Sir, I see here in the Law where Clause 11 sub-section (7) has been deleted, but I see under Clause 14, Regulations, that the Governor in Council may make such regulations for giving effect to the provisions of the Law as he may deem necessary or expedient. Will they be coming to this House? That is the question I am asking, because the Governor and the Cabinet can make regulation and put it into action, but since regulations become a part of the Law they should come to the House for consideration. I want to know if

Section 14 is the intention, if that is to be done. It so, why is an amendment not on this sheet handed to us? We say Section 14 has the sting of the serpent in the tail, where the Governor can sit in Council with the Cabinet of Ministers and make such regulations for giving effect to the provisions of this Law as he may deem necessary or expedient, and we Members have nothing to say about it. When we go into Committee I want to know what this is before us.

Mr. Nethersole: The serpent's tail has no sting.

Mr. Barrant: Oh no? (Laughter). Mr. Speaker, so as not to prolong the debate, because other Members want to speak, I say this without fear of successful contradiction, Members on this side of this Honourable House had fear when this Bill was produced without these amendments. Most of the amendments were drafted by us to be placed before the House today.

They may not have been put in the same words, all of us are not lawyers, but we have the same intention and even better intention than lawyers too. With the amendments proposed and subject to further amendments I ask you to accept in regards to Clause 14, I am hoping with all the good faith at our command that this Law will solve the problem of tenants in this country. We all know the lands in this country need to be put in productive capacity for the benefit of the country.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Mr. Speaker, I didn't intend to speak on this Bill but I have changed my mind; and I shall be very brief. Members on this side have been instructed to vote as they please on this Bill. I have not asked one of the Members to follow me this time. They may vote as they please.

I rise with almost a global objection to this Bill. (Laughter).

Mr. Isaacs: That objection is a good objection. Global. (Laughter).

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Time and time again, Sir, during the time that the Chief Minister spoke here this afternoon, he used the words, ignorance and nonsense, not at anyone direct, but I have never heard anything more nonsensical than when the Chief Minister said that these bonds are gilt-edged. Obviously my Friend has not dived in the Stock Exchange as I have in the United States of America . . .

Mr. Isaacs: That was guilt-edged. (Laughter.)

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Gilt-edged security means this is a bit of paper called a bond that is backed up by some gold reserves or some positive capital to take back that security when it matures. Where is the gilt edge when this Government has not one big copper, which is called a penny, in the Reserves?

Dr. Lloyd: We have to get some from you.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Government has no Reserves.

Dr. Lloyd: So long as you have, it is alright.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I have reserves. I have more reserves than this Government has. (Laughter). I have reserves for I can put my hand on £1,000 tonight which this Government cannot do without borrowing it.

Mr. Isaacs: Your bond is gilt-edged. (Laughter).

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Government today is depending upon speculation to pay for these gilt-edged bonds. Not a penny in their Reserves. Government is depending upon the rents they will collect from these tenants or upon the insufficient Revenues which cannot meet the demands of this country's needs. They haven't got a penny in reserve. Not a penny in reserve this Government has except the £100,000 they have borrowed from the Government Savings Bank. Nothing. It is a gamble which may place this country in absolute bankruptcy, which may cause us to return to Treasury control, thereby preventing us getting that which we all want, complete self-government. And I don't speak as a novice where finance is concerned. I speak as one who has a most thorough knowledge where finance is concerned.

What are they going to do? If this Government were going to take away tenanted land and re-sell it to the peasants, I would be able to see some sense in that. All the long talk my Friend, the Chief Minister, has done has not influenced me any more than if he had not spoken. If this Government were going to take up people's land with bonds and sell these lands to the tenants or peasants who need land, I would say it has sense and no political flavour. But what are they going to do? What is their intention? Their intention is to take the land and then become the new landlord.

Mr. Manley: Where do you find that in the Bill?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: They are not going to take, they are going to buy the land with a bond, a worthless bit of paper. These lands are tenanted and the intention is not to sell the land to the peasants.

Mr. Manley: That is not true.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Then why is it not in the Bill?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: If it is not true I wish my Friend would prove that. Not one part says "We are taking this land under the bond system and we are going to re-sell to the peasants."

Dr. Lloyd: We don't need a Law to sell land. We have been selling land settlement without a Law.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: They are taking tenanted land so that Government now will become the landlord. Don't deceive yourself, Sir, these tenants who lease land from Government, if they don't pay their rent they will throw them off the land as they are turning tenants out of Government houses.

Dr. Lloyd: After you told them not to pay the rent.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: The P.N.P. told them that. But you turn them out. I have just been sitting one side watching and laughing at you. I have been a most silent Opposition.

Mr. Stuart: Useless then.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: The land is tenanted now and Government will take it and lease it to these people and it will still be not theirs. And the year they don't pay the rent or lease they will be turned off too. The tenants must not be led to believe that the land will be sold to them. That Bill is to lease them the land. It will not be theirs.

Mr. Manley: That is not true.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I wish my Friend would prove otherwise. If my Friend can give the assurance that

the land bought under the land bonds system will be sold to the peasants...

Mr. Manley: Mr. Speaker, I give that assurance.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Put it in the Bill.

Mr. Manley: I cannot. It has nothing to do with the Bill. This Bill is to provide for the acquisition of land by bonds. What happens afterwards is a matter of policy. I am asked a question, if I can give the assurance that Government will sell land to settle the tenants on the land. The answer is: that is the intention and everything I have said would be meaningless if that was not the intention.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: With the best of intention, how would I know that the spirit of the Bill will be carried through? It is not enough to say to me that I give you the assurance.

Mr. Manley: I thought you said it was. Has the Honourable Member changed his mind again?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: The only way I can have any security that the land which will be taken away from people with the bond system will not be leasehold is for that to be placed in the Bill. It can be placed in the Bill that tenanted land is being bought for sale to tenants on the property or those not on the property.

Dr. Lloyd: You don't need a Law to sell land. Look at the land settlements. Man, you should know that.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: It doesn't take a great lawyer to insert these few words. If it is to be in the Bill that the intention of the Law is not to allow these tenants to continue to be tenants but that the land is to be sold to them, I will vote for it because people in this country, however poor they are, each man wants a patient ass he can call his own; each man wants land and a bit of paper to that land called a title. But just to say that a land is tenanted and we are going to buy it under the bond system and leave the people as tenants, what good will it do to these people? None whatsoever. They are still tenants and if they don't pay their rent they are thrown off. If anyone in this House would tell me that if Government tenants don't pay their rent they will not be thrown off, and if these bonds were gilt-edged security with some certainty of redeeming them when the time comes, I would say it is a good thing; but to cause me to believe Government with no reserves or surplus can give this country a promise that they will redeem the bonds when they mature, they cannot. Government Revenue cannot do the thing it should today and it cannot do the things it should as long as we in Jamaica have a population that is rising through no fault of mine.

Mr. Coombs: You are not a contributor?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: There is not a Member on that side who owns land, except the doctor. I have lands but my land is well developed.

Mr. Glasspole: You are safe then.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: There is no room for much more development, only about fifty acres, and I am developing it now with coconuts. (Laughter). Let me remind Members on that side that we cannot run a Government for one section of the country. No Government can succeed if it is run for one section, and even that section for which you run the Government they will soon fail.

Mr. Coombs: That is why you failed.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: There is not one person on that side who would have land—and there is only one person who has land in St. Ann...

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: How you know? I have land myself.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: If Government went and said: "I want that land" and give you paper, you would revolt.

Mr. E. L. Allen: He would resign. (Laughter). He would resign from the Party.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I say if the land is necessary for the business of the country, it should be had but it should be had in an honest way. This Bill reminds me of an attack without violence (laughter).

If the intention of the Government was even to pay a part of the purchase price in cash, it would not be so bad. But you take that man's land, just because you have power to make a Law, and say, "Here is a bit of paper. Go and have it negotiated." No man in this country nor any bank is going to accept that bit of paper except it is given to him or them with a big reduction of the profit.

Mr. Gallimore (St. Ann W.): True.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: And the first thing the bank is going to want to know—but no bank here will lend

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Few of us are not failures.

Mr. Coombs: Your failure is proven.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Is it fair to go to a man who has tenanted land and say to him, "I want your land?" It is fair provided you are going to pay that man cash if he wants cash. But it cannot be fair to say to that man, "I want that land. I am a pauperised Government; I cannot borrow money but I am going to take your land." There can be no justification because he cannot break your shop and steal your bully beef. There can be no justification to go to a man and say you want his land. Then you pay him in bonds and give him any interest you think he should have. Talk about borrowing money at 2½%. I wonder whether you can borrow money today at less than 5%. You cannot get it. I wouldn't lend you a penny. Can it be fair to say to a man who owns that land, "I am going to buy your land and not give you one penny cash for it. I will only give you paper."

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Some people get land for nothing.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I have given away 125 acres of land for nothing at a shilling an acre. But that doesn't come in. I do it of my own free will. Those who do it of their own free will, it is alright.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: We have to force them.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: If you want a man's land...

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: It is not theirs. It is Government's land.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Like your drug store.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No, that is mine. But you have to pay rent for your property. It is not yours.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: When we started some time ago to increase taxation, a certain gentleman on that side raised Cain about it. And we were only raising it a little bit...

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: 9,000%. 9,999%. It was a wicked thing, man.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: There is not one person on that side who would have land—and there is only one person who has land in St. Ann...

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: How you know? I have land myself.

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Mr. Gallimore (St. Ann W.): True.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: And the first thing the bank is going to want to know—but no bank here will lend

this Government £1-million, no bank. They will want to know what is the certainty of my obtaining back my money when the time comes? What is the possibility of Government re-paying? And when they go into Government's accounts and see here is a Government completely bankrupt; not bankrupt but having no reserves. You think the bank will take up this security. If the bank would take up that security you could go and borrow the money at 4½% and take that same money and buy the land.

Mr. Coombs: You should have done that.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: No, I don't borrow money from the bank. I never owe the bank any money. I try not to exceed my account. What is mine is mine. I don't owe anybody anything.

You are going to pay 4½% to the landowner. Borrow the money from the bank at 4½% and buy the land and settle the people on freehold, not leasehold. People are not going to be in a better position if they are still going to be tenants on Government's land for Government is very seldom the best landlord. I tell you that.

At 5.20 p.m. Mr. Speaker interrupted the Debate and suspended the sitting of the House until 7.30 p.m.

THE RESUMPTION

At 7.30 p.m. the House resumed.

Mr. Speaker: The Member for Southern Clarendon will continue the Debate.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Mr. Speaker, I desire to make an apology to you, Sir. Just before the House adjourned you were on your feet but I didn't observe and I continued to speak. I would never insult the Chair even though you were an enemy Speaker, much more you are not an enemy Speaker.

Mr. Speaker bowed in acknowledgment of the apology.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: To my mind, Sir, we are rigidly against the Land Bonds Bill, and my face is set permanently against it, because I think it is not only vicious but dangerous to this country. I have been, I think, one of the most silent Opposition in the entire Democratic world. I kept silence chiefly to allow my Friends on the Majority Party to make good, if they can. But with the turn of things, I have no desire to remain silent and I don't intend to neither. If I should say anything that might be irrelevant to the subject of the Land Bonds Bill, you only have to look at me, Sir, and I will apologise and sit down.

There is no honest peasant in this country today nor an honest working man belonging to any working class who wants to know that people's goods were taken away from them and given to them, if that is the meaning of this Land Bonds Bill. Although the Chief Minister says nothing will prevent him putting it through, nothing on earth will prevent me opposing the Bill. The Chief Minister gave the reason why he is so determined to put it through, because the promises he made to the people must be fulfilled. Nice highfalutin words. They sound very nice. I think he continued to say the peasants must have land. I say that too. I also say the cost of living should be reduced. It is 24, 26 points higher than it ever was before they were returned to this country. Also small men's wages should be increased. Well, you know what happened about that. I have a perfect right to make reference to these

things as the Chief Minister led the way. It cannot be right; it cannot be honest; it cannot be moral to give a bit of paper to a man and say, "This is the price of your land. Have it and no cash." It cannot be even fair or just for the Chief Minister to have said that that bit of paper called a bond is gilt-edged. The only bond or security that is gilt-edged is when the assets of a Government surpass that of their liabilities.

Mr. Isaacs: Reserve gold.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Gold. Gold.

Mr. Isaacs: You would not take silver? (Laughter).

Sir Alexander Bustamante: No.

No one on the Majority Side could ever pretend to say that this Government's liabilities do not exceed its assets. It has no assets which I call liquid asset, not one penny, not one big copper. (Laughter). Then how on earth can the Chief Minister honestly say the bond is gilt-edged. It is not a big copper-edged. (Laughter). The bond has not as much value on it as the brass or whatever it is that makes a penny. The Chief Minister says that if the landlord or the money received from the tenants cannot meet the demands of the bonds when they are matured, a certain amount will be put back every year out of General Revenue. Where is that coming from?

Mr. Isaacs: That is gilt-edged.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: It would be gilt-edged if the revenue collected equalled the need of the country. But it doesn't equal it. It is a big copper edge.

Someone must tell the Chief Minister about Allsides. There is a property in Trelawny named Allsides belonging to Captain MacArthur.

Mr. Isaacs: Not General?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: No. Captain. I think there are 2 to 4,000 tenants on that property asking Government not to take away the property from Captain MacArthur but to purchase it and sell it to them. There is record in this Government to prove that the past Government was investigating the possibility of purchasing that property for these tenants.

Mr. Isaacs: That is all you did, investigate.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: We spent over £1-million purchasing land without taking away land from anyone. I don't carry documents. I carry things in my memory. God has blessed me with a diamond memory.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Wonderful.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Extremely excellent. Diamond, not golden.

But Captain MacArthur was then in England and we could not settle with him quickly enough so we bought a property in St. Thomas and one in Hanover. We had intended to purchase that property and one near Lluidas Vale this year, and it would break those people's heart at Allsides to know they are going to leave one tenancy to be tenants of another person, because that is all that is going to happen. People's land is taken away and they are given a bit of paper which won't have the value of a German mark during the war. And instead of obtaining their wishes that the land be purchased and sold to them they are going to be Government's tenants. What a disappointment for those people. They don't want leasehold.

I wish the Chief Minister had mentioned other properties too and I

would have given him the history of them. Some time ago the Chief Minister stood up here and said over 75% of the people who were settled on land settlement have left it and so 75% of the land you bought has gone . . .

Dr. Lloyd: You bought.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: My Government.

Sir Alexander Bustamante, having spoken for thirty minutes **Mr. Isaacs** moved that the time limit of his speech be extended by thirty minutes.

Seconded by **Mr. Winston Jones** (Manchester S.) and agreed to.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: If the present Government wanted to do something for these peasants who have no land, why have they not made up their minds to settle the people who have no lands on the land that 75% of the people have left? But they are going to start a new venture so that 75% of almost £1-million of land bought for cash by the past Government is being wasted.

You know, Sir, talking about fulfilling all political promises reminds me of a man who said: "I have no money to go to Halifax. I am in Jamaica and I am going to swim." The P.N.P. would like to nationalise the Jamaica Public Service Company and the sugar estates . . .

Dr. Lloyd: Irrelevant.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: You talked about nationalisation but now . . .

Dr. Lloyd: Irrelevant.

Mr. Isaacs: You talk, Busta. You talk.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Thank you, Parishioner. But that promise was too big, they could not bite it much more to swallow it. Talk about land. Suppose I was a manufacturer of brooms . . .

Mr. Manley: Brooms?

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Brooms. Brooms. To sweep the street, sweep the floor. Now suppose I was manufacturer of brooms.

Mr. Isaacs: Prunes or brooms? (Laughter).

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Brooms. Br. Br. Brooms, red ones. And the present Government discriminated against my brooms. All the investors who might not have been interested in brooms might say this: "They are discriminating against Bustamante brooms, and I am going to invest money today. Then my turn may come tomorrow." We without the slightest doubt created in ten years almost absolute confidence in investors, local and those abroad, and if anything is done to hurt one such investor it may act against the economical interest of this country. People may want to come and invest their money. They may have a new industry and Government give them about eight years free of taxation, but they may say, "What will happen to us after the eight or ten years? We too might be discriminated against. Our property, whatever it may be, may be nationalised." For this Bill is the first part of nationalisation.

Opposition Members: Hear, hear.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: All of us know the Chief Minister is a most eminent lawyer.

Mr. Cox (St. Catherine N.E.): And statesman.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Not only a lawyer but an eminent TV Star.

Seconded by Mr. Isaacs and agreed to.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: It is in the method of applying it, Sir; and because of the fact that somebody else, some other Government, some other individual, might come along who will live up to the assurances that we have heard this afternoon in this House . . .

Dr. Lloyd: They will have to live up to the Law.

Mr. Shearer (Kingston W.): The Law is silent.

Mr. Evans (Westmoreland W.): The Law is not vested in any Chief Minister.

Mr. Kenneth Jones: . . . we are still going to put in the original amendment, Sir, that we had had before the Chief Minister gave us his amendments this afternoon, that there shall whether taken by a Land Bonds Commission or by the Governor in Council, to the Courts of this country. I thank you.

Mr. Barrant (St. Thomas E.): Mr. Speaker, just a few words on this Land Bonds Bill. Now I want to make it clear that Members on this side of the House at no time would really try to vote against this Bill, but I want to make it clear that the statement read by the Chief Minister from Hansard was not made at the time I was Minister of Agriculture. It was before that. I want to make that clear. It was not in my time, it was before. That was made long before I was Minister.

What I want to say — I must be frank about it — landlords in this country have been warned repeatedly of their action to tenants and some of them have been insolent to Government when lands were acquired on behalf of small people. We did our best with the Small Holdings Law which was brushed aside by legal advice all over the country. We even brought a Land Bonds Law but it was not respected. We hope, whoever the Government, that respect will be paid to this Law so that small farmers can have their livelihood without being molested as in the past. At the same time too much drastic measures will give pains. I take properties like Prospect and Oxford that was owned by the Harrison family. The tenants on them are still molested and the present owner offered it to Government at £90 an acre for Government to acquire and sell back to small people. That property lies there as fallow. We could not consent to a Law that would allow things of that nature to continue. I am not talking as a lawyer because many lawyers are gentlemen but some are tricksters like myself. And any Law that can appeal to a landlord to respect his tenants and restrict him is good for the country and good for this side of the House, according to the amendments we shall move.

Many parts of the country the people are heckling but Government must remember there has to be careful selection of tenants, because many of the headaches of landlords will be taken over by the Government. And I want to say that the promises made by that side of the House of free access to land and free farming, you are going to have trouble to collect rent. It is a warning. You may want to do good but you have to practice what you preach in the past. Many landlords are unscrupulous and hard, but they would have been more lenient to tenants — and I am speaking of small farmers as myself

— but if they get ten acres or three acres as the case may be they only work half; and some could even get 15 acres, they won't work more than a square without pressure. But I say really legitimate and hardworking farmers with ten acre lots will make good if they are helped financially under a good Farm Development Scheme like the one I have prepared and handed over to you. If that is put in progress it will be good for the country. (Laughter).

Subject to the amendments I say again that no Member on this side of the House will be so hypocritical as to stand and say they would really resist the passing of this Bill in any shape or form, other than the amendments which we will propose. After all, if we were returned to power something like this would have to be done. (Laughter).

I am not making wild statements as some Ministers today. I am making a fair statement. This is a fair-minded Jamaican talking. I am making a plain statement because there is no one over that side more fatigued at the way tenants are being treated than your humble servant, and I hope this Law brought forward by the Chief Minister today will work, subject to the amendments moved on this side. I hope it will succeed because it is done in good faith.

I say we are moving from one headache to another and you may not take that point seriously but I am making a serious statement that today small farmers, whether they are in a development area or not, whatever the inducements they can offer, find it the hardest thing to get labourers to work for them, especially if they are next to large farms where mechanical implements are used. If you want to work a ten-acre plot you have hard trouble in getting workers to work for you unless you can pay three times what the large property will pay. These are facts we have to meet up with.

I repeat again, Sir, the collection of your rent, you will have to make some compulsion there for the collection of your rent. More than that, Mr. Speaker, Chief Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers, small farmers in the country, they are not so accustomed to leasehold. Everybody wants a little scrap of paper as freehold and if the Land Bonds Law doesn't say they are to be the owners of the land as freeholders, you are going to have trouble.

The next point I would like to make, Mr. Speaker, is this: if under the development programme you don't intend to give the farmers money in comparison to what work is done on their plot, if you anticipate to give it away before the work is being done you are up for a next trouble. I give that warning seriously. I know that whatever is said in this House is misquoted but it doesn't matter to me. What I am saying, I am saying genuinely from my heart and I don't care about the result.

Now, Sir, I see here in the Law where Clause 11 sub-section (7) has been deleted, but I see under Clause 14, Regulations, that the Governor in Council may make such regulations for giving effect to the provisions of the Law as he may deem necessary or expedient. Will they be coming to this House? That is the question I am asking, because the Governor and the Cabinet can make regulation and put it into action, but since regulations become a part of the Law they should come to the House for consideration. I want to know if

Section 14 is the intention, if that is to be done. If so, why is an amendment not on this sheet handed to us? We say Section 14 has the sting of the serpent in the tail, where the Governor can sit in Council with the Cabinet of Ministers and make such regulations for giving effect to the provisions of this Law as he may deem necessary or expedient, and we Members have nothing to say about it. When we go into Committee I want to know what this is before us.

Mr. Nethersole: The serpent's tail has no sting.

Mr. Barrant: Oh no? (Laughter). Mr. Speaker, so as not to prolong the debate, because other Members want to speak, I say this without fear of successful contradiction, Members on this side of this Honourable House had fear when this Bill was produced without these amendments. Most of the amendments were drafted by us to be placed before the House today.

They may not have been put in the same words, all of us are not lawyers, but we have the same intention and even better intention than lawyers too. With the amendments proposed and subject to further amendments I ask you to accept in regards to Clause 14, I am hoping with all the good faith at our command that this Law will solve the problem of tenants in this country. We all know the lands in this country need to be put in productive capacity for the benefit of the country.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Mr. Speaker, I didn't intend to speak on this Bill but I have changed my mind; and I shall be very brief. Members on this side have been instructed to vote as they please on this Bill. I have not asked one of the Members to follow me this time. They may vote as they please.

I rise with almost a global objection to this Bill. (Laughter).

Mr. Isaacs: That objection is a good objection. Global. (Laughter).

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Time and time again, Sir, during the time that the Chief Minister spoke here this afternoon, he used the words, ignorance and nonsense, not at anyone direct, but I have never heard anything more nonsensical than when the Chief Minister said that these bonds are gilt-edged. Obviously my Friend has not delved in the Stock Exchange as I have in the United States of America . . .

Mr. Isaacs: That was guilt-edged. (Laughter.)

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Gilt-edged security means this is a bit of paper called a bond that is backed up by some gold reserves or some positive capital to take back that security when it matures. Where is the gilt edge when this Government has not one big copper, which is called a penny, in the Reserves?

Dr. Lloyd: We have to get some from you.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Government has no Reserves.

Dr. Lloyd: So long as you have, it is alright.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: I have reserves. I have more reserves than this Government has. (Laughter). I have reserves for I can put my hand on £1,000 tonight which this Government cannot do without borrowing it.

Mr. Isaacs: Your bond is gilt-edged. (Laughter).

from you, and we are going to pay you so much", and it is taken away and there is nobody to intervene to see that justice is meted out.

I noticed the Chief Minister told us that he is going to delete from the Bill 11 (7), but instead of deleting it is should be amended as suggested by the Member for Western Kingston, that any declaration so made by the Government should be subject to the question of legal proceedings in the High Court.

I consider this piece of legislation a dangerous one, and one should think twice before giving Government authority to seize anything belonging to individuals in the country, because it is not only lands.

Land is not the only sore-eye in the country today, for if a man knows you have money and he has not any he is envious of yours...

Mr. Cox: This is Land Bond — not money bond.

Mr. Gallimore: This is a start in the programme of nationalisation of which the Chief Minister says all the election promises will be fulfilled.

I want to say that I take strong exception to the continuous reference made by the Chief Minister calling people grossly ignorant, stupid, and talking about nonsense. They put something before the country and ask the people to express an opinion on it. They express an opinion, and not because it is not in keeping with their views that it is nonsense and stupid. We are trying to stifle discussion by telling people who you ask for their views and when they give it you refer to them as ignorant. Those epithets have been thrown at the people all the while by the Chief Minister.

There are certain Members of this House too who anticipated this Bill and took action to avoid it by selling out their holdings. I know of certain sales. The feeling is here that what I don't have I don't want the other to have, and I want you to understand that the country is made for all.

Mr. Speaker: Before the speaker continues, I heard a while ago that certain members sold their holdings for fear of this Bill. When a serious charge like that is made I am not going to have it like that. I am asking that no doubt be held on that question. I will not ask the Member to withdraw this time, but I ask all Members not to hurl that kind of thing across the floor at Members in the House.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Mr. Speaker, I did not come to speak on this Bill, but after hearing so much by Members, especially those who live on the asphalt, I have to get up and say something. I am saying frankly that this is not a today business. It is a thing I have been fighting for for the last 25 years in Jamaica, and I want to say now that this is one of the best Bills that the PNP has put forward for the benefit of the poor inarticulate people and squatters. And I give you practical reasons for saying so.

Before the Hon. the Chief Minister came to the House, and when I was the Hon. E. V. Allen in the old Government a property they had in St. Elizabeth by the name of Bartons of 3,000 acres was occupied by people, and every single man, woman and child lived there as squatters. Grand children were squatters, children were squatters, and it belonged to an Italian who lived in England. The Chief Minister came to St. Elizabeth

and he assisted me as the Hon. Member to get this property for a land settlement. People had acres of land with ackee trees, breadfruit trees, and now those people who formerly lived as squatters are now citizens, because they got those lands to buy, and there were no sales to outsiders until land was first provided for the people who lived there.

And the present owners could make wells for their children. You go to all parts of St. Elizabeth you see acres of breadfruit trees planted even by your grandfather.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Mine? Mine?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes. And those breadfruit trees belong to the owner. The late Hon. Phillip Lightbody said in this House that wherever you saw those breadfruit and coconut trees you should pick the fruit because it was your grandfathers who planted them. Now that you have a Bill, alleviate the conditions.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Really Mr. Speaker, I do take strong objections to the Member saying my great grandfather planted breadfruit trees.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: We will discuss that later. Now I hope when this Bill is passed the Chief Minister will see that it applies to St. Elizabeth. Take Middle Quarters to Ipswich — you drive 12 to 14 miles and you don't see one god almighty house. You see a few cows. The people live at the back of the mountains and the cows see when the tourists pass, and the people only hear when the horns blow. (Laughter).

From Black River to Mountainside, 8 miles, belong to one God man. If you are on the road and you see rain set up you get wet (laughter).

Mr. Speaker: The Member is now in another Members constituency.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes, I have to speak for you, for you cannot speak (Laughter). Eight people own St. Elizabeth. The whole of St. Elizabeth is owned by 8 people, and you know that yourself: How can that be fair? I was a member of the Valuation Commission. I attended 26 meetings when I was in the old House — the Legislative Council of that day, and it was decided to get a Land Valuator. He came here. They bribed him and they sent him away. We got another one. He came here in a position to do that work, and they put him in the housing business. The man came to value land, and they sent him to value houses.

I was talking with the Governor himself. I was driving in his car, and I told the Governor the man is drawing £2,000 a year and doing nothing, and they sent him away. You people over there talk like you come from Japan (laughter). From Malvern Hill right up to Malvern, 10 miles, and the whole place belong to one man. He won't sell it; he won't rent it. He will not even give it away (laughter).

You have these Jamaican boys go to America and come back. They come back with money in their pockets to buy a piece of land, and can't get it.

They use up the money, and all they have today is the wristlet watch which so many of them bring back with them. In fact after this Bill is executed and put into practice I can leave this House, because for the last 30 years I have been fighting for this thing. My dream will have come true.

The people want lands, not to rent. We want the Government to buy lands and sell it to the same people. The Chief Minister told you it can't be in full . . .

Sir Alexander Bustamante and Mr. E. L. Allen: Why not?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Well you see, you can't understand (laughter). After the Bill is passed it can be put into practice, I don't like to criticise your Government because . . .

Sir Alexander Bustamante: We are good friends.

Mr. Speaker: Please speak to the Speaker.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Whenever I speak I speak through the Speaker, even when I am not looking at him. But Sir, you know our little fuss in St. Elizabeth when you bought lands there.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: You mean Whitehall?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes. You promised to buy the property to make it cheaper for the tenants. Up to now it is not bought, and the tenants are going to prison. Look on the one at Malvern again. That is not land settlement. It is stone settlement; so you should be ashamed of yourself.

Mr. Speaker: The Member is attacking the Speaker (laughter).

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No, Sir. I am helping you out, and what I am saying is the truth. With all respect to those who laugh, I am speaking seriously. I don't laugh. And when a progressive Government makes a step to lift conditions you fight against it. You don't understand it.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Who is speaking?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Busta you know better than that, man. With all respect to what you are saying over there, if nothing I was happier about . . .

Mr. E. L. Allen: Well laugh . . .

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: You suffer from typographical error man (laughter). What I am saying is that we as a progressive Government, have put a progressive Bill, and you are fighting it. I have been here in this new House for 8 months since it came together and I was wondering how long the PNP was going to take to pass a Bill like this.

When I came here in 1935 the big men in St. Elizabeth did not like me. You know, in St. Elizabeth you travel 5 to 12 miles to White House, and you see pure land. Drive to Middle Quarters, drive to YS. YS is bigger than the Fiji Islands. In the last drought 10 cows died per day; and the owner came to me. I said "My good man, the river pass through your territory. Why not irrigate?" I told him they should die 60 per day instead of 10 (laughter), for if a big river passes through a man's property and his cows die from drought don't you see he is worthless?

You talk about unemployment. If these people are allowed to develop these lands it will reduce unemployment. I should like to talk to that Sanitary Inspector over there.

Mr. Gallimore: I take objection to that, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No. I did not call any name.

Mr. Speaker: You addressed him as the Member for Western St. Ann?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No, Sir. I never even called any name, Mr.

Speaker. (laughter). I did not even know he is a Sanitary Inspector (laughter). In St. Elizabeth one cook cooked two eggs, and the rich man discharged the cook for cooking two (laughter). When the Member said this afternoon that the men have no funds to develop their land, and here is a case of one rich man in St. Elizabeth and when he died Government drew £20,000 Death Duty.

I worked with the late Dr. Stimpson, and that rich man was so mean that when he was sick and called the doctor he wrote "Dear Doctor, If you happen to be passing this way you can stop" . . . (laughter). And what you think Dr. Stimpson did, because I urged him! He drove right off to the man (laughter).

Mr. Speaker: I can't find that in the Bill here.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: I am just explaining to the Member for Eastern St. Ann that he is not speaking with knowledge of the facts when he says certain things.

Then you have some of these men, three years before they die they give away their estates. So I used to tell them, don't care how much they give it away the Government will have to get it (laughter). And I am asking the Chief Minister when this thing is passed that it be applied to St. Elizabeth. And I am glad it has come up so that I can belch it off my chest where it has been for three decades.

When a man dies all the land he gets is 6 ft. 6 ins., and one rich man in St. Elizabeth when he died he didn't get 6 ft. and they had to dynamite (laughter). This is one good thing the PNP has done that God will never forget them for. They say I sleep in here, but I can't sleep tonight (laughter). I say when this Bill is put in motion, the people, the squatters, the inarticulate masses will say "God bless you."

I listened to them all over St. Elizabeth last week. Only six big men. One big man I told him we are going to buy the left-hand side of his property. He knows what that means, and he is giving away the land now.

The people want the title to sleep with them in the pillow, so the propaganda you started up this afternoon about taking land from one to give the other won't work. There is no money now to buy cash, but after they give the bond it will be made available to people who had priority to the land. Your father die . . .

Sir Alexander Bustamante: My father die? (laughter).

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: He must be dead by this (laughter). I say this, you are hypocrites if you . . .

Mr. Shearer: You call the Speaker a hypocrite?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: All of you there. The Speaker is a sincere man. Is only because him can't talk (laughter). I know six years from this the poor people will call you blessed.

Mr. Ross: Mr. Speaker, I am one of those Members Sir, who would really welcome a real Lands Bond Bill. I am one of those Members who have been pleading, because there are certain properties in my constituency with hundreds of acres of unused and undeveloped land, which the small people need, but I could not support a Lands Bond Bill, Mr. Speaker, where it is not made clear without a shadow of a doubt that the lands would be sold to the small peasantry.

There is no getting away from the fact that there is no provision in this Bill to resell these lands to the peasants. Now, what is Government's intention? We have no end of properties already bought. They have not been cut up and sold to the people. We have some that are cut up and sold but not developed. Now, Sir, if Government wanted to help the people, what I feel is that Government should place the bonds on the market, use it to develop the lands, and cut up others and sell it to the people, and what money is left use it to provide fresh lands. £2,000,000 will buy not less than 50,000 acres, and there are lots of land settlements not yet cut up and sold, which if Government is going to buy another 50,000 acres to lease to people will be a waste of energy and money.

Now, tenants can't cultivate lands effectively. They can only barely work lands, because they realise sometime or other they will be turned off the lands, and unless Government's intention is to place the people on lands which they can develop I don't see the reason for Government bringing this here.

You have land settlements with no roads, no water supplies, no houses. The settlers are just thrown on the lands, and yet we have a Bill before us for £2 million of Land Bonds to provide fresh lands.

The amendments proposed have appeared a great deal of controversy which would have taken place. With the amendments there is an easing of discussion.

I went through the Bill, and there are lots of things I picked out to speak on, but I see several of them in what is already discussed, so I don't want to repeat them. I do feel that with the amendments we have to propose if Government should accept them I feel that the Lands Bond Bill will be a very useful thing for this country.

Government has every right to bring forth a Bill, but suppose I have 100 acres of land and Government should take that land and give me Land Bonds for it, and I see another property to be sold. I haven't got the money to buy the other place. I have my family. And the interest I will get from those Land Bonds cannot keep my family; whereas if the owner of the other property selling doesn't want Land Bonds what happens to me?

And suppose tomorrow morning we should find ourselves with a dishonest exchequer; he could float the £2,000,000 Bills on the market and afterwards decided to pay only 50 per cent for them. The position is that when these Laws are made we have men in whom we have confidence. But what happens tomorrow?

Mr. Gallimore: Where are those honest men? Not here. They must give way to honest men.

Mr. Ross: I say this Bill is going to place people in a position worse than before. The small tenants are willing to make every sacrifice to purchase lands. They don't want lands to rent, but to buy, and irrespective of what is being said that we are trying to mislead the country, somebody is trying to mislead us.

They will go and tell the people that we fought Land Bonds; that they tried to get lands to give to the people but the Minority opposed it. Irrespective of the promise made to us there is no provision in the Bill to re-sell these lands, and if they are to be sold then the properties that have been already bought by Govern-

ment should be first cut up and sold to the people before we buy fresh lands.

In one speech I made in this House I asked the former Government instead of buying new properties and put them down they should use those moneys to develop the properties already bought and cut up those that were bought, and re-sell; and I hold the same opinion about this Bill.

I am opposing the Bill as it is, and I do so without any apology. I oppose it because it will cause greater hardship, and even now the tenants are suffering from the landlords. I know Government's procedure. It is not that you can ask Government to wait on you for rental. When you can ask the individual to wait you can't ask Government, otherwise when the officers come down you must find the money or clear off the land.

Mr. Cox: They will go to the MHR, man.

Mr. Ross: They will go to you. The small tenants can't cultivate or develop the land, and unless you sell them their position will be worse off than it is today.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Mr. Speaker, I don't believe that there is anyone in this Hon. House or country who has spent a greater percentage of his years of life fighting for tenants, for agricultural land tenants more than your humble servant has done. Perhaps had it not been for this question of agricultural land tenancy I might not have entered politics at all, and even if I entered, perhaps I would not have been supported by the people. The people supported me because they knew that for 25 years, for the best years of my manhood I have been fighting by every means at my disposal to bring agricultural land tenancy in Jamaica to an end. I hate it, Sir, with every strength that I possess. There is nothing that anybody can hate more than I hate agricultural land tenancy — where a tenant rents a little piece of land upon which himself and his family live and he is afraid to develop it. I have lived at a place called Leicesterfield for 25 years. I have lived among people who have suffered this severe handicap.

I remember when I went to live in Clarendon in 1931 there was Leicesterfield, there was Ritches, there was Peckham, Morgan's Forest, Mears, Pennance, Bog Hole, Palmyra, Harewood — wherever one looked, all that one saw was broad acres of land being scratched by tenants, roaming and roving tenants, as they finished spoiling one piece of land they went to another piece to spoil it.

And I think they aided soil erosion more than they aided themselves; and I have lived to see some of the most fertile lands in Jamaica ruined and almost brought to a desert. It is almost impossible for me to speak of agricultural land tenancy without great emotion. But, Sir, I don't want to swap black-dog for monkey. I don't want to take any chances, Sir. Let the Chief Minister who is also Minister for Agriculture, in spite of the fact that he rudely shouted at me when he had no right to do it—I don't think his voice is as big as mine, and if it comes to shouting I can out-shout him — he says he can't write into this Bill anything obligatory on Government to buy these tenant lands primarily to re-sell to tenants.

I have heard the word ignoramus used, and stupid used, and all sorts of opprobrious epithets used to show that people who do not agree with him have no sense. Well, I haven't

much sense. I see people coming from all parts of the world and saying the Chief Minister has sense. Well, if he has, let him use some of it in here. Don't tell me that it is impossible for drafters of a Bill to write it in this Bill to make it obligatory on the part of Government when they acquire lands as tenant proprietors to re-sell it and not to carry out any Socialistic or experimental things with the land. Don't come and give us any verbal assurances when what we want is something in black and white. Turn to Page 6 of the Bill, we see "Where any moneys are received (whether in lump sum or by instalments) by the Government in respect of—

- (a) the lease of any bonded estate; or
- (b) the sale or lease of any land comprised in a bonded estate.

Who is going to tell me, Mr. Speaker, that the word lease cannot be taken out there? Who is going to convince me that something cannot be put in black and white to compel Government when they buy, to re-sell the good arable portions? My feelings are too strong on this point to allow anybody to mislead me.

The Hon. Member for St. Elizabeth who spoke on this Bill — I don't know if he has as strong feelings in this as I have — with me it is not a case of envying another man's land, but hating those who actually oppress the people by having a piece of land for no other purpose but to rent it out and collect annual rental.

And it is not that the people pay the rental that grieves me; but it is that the people are afraid to develop the land. You have a Law saying if you dispossess them they can claim for development, but the poor people cannot vindicate their cause in a Court of Law. By that I mean they cannot afford to employ good lawyers to fight their cases, and they are usually afraid of taking the initiative in taking a big man to Court.

The Law is there, Sir, but the people cannot obtain that protection which the Law is there to offer them. And as other speakers said, some of the landlords are hard, but Sir, it is not everyone who is hard. I know some who are considered kind and sympathetic, such as the owners of Ritchies, Bronty, and others who are very sympathetic.

Dr. Morgan: Him support you.

Mr. E. L. Allen: No. I don't come here and scratch anybody's back so as to gain any favours. I am not made that way, Mr. Speaker, but when you see me like a landlord who rents out his land to people who are good tenants you must know that that man is an exceptionally good man. I don't go about asking favours.

Mr. Nethersole: The old Adam Smith in him.

Mr. E. L. Allen: And what I am saying is, Government will not be as good a landlord as that landlord I have mentioned. There is a little Crown Land at a place called Fairbourne. If it was at George North, Spring Ground and Bronty and I had taken it up with Mr. Helwig I would have had consideration. When I refer to Government it is not the Chief Minister or the Commissioner of Lands. It is some of the men they have there collecting money on commission. And they are hard, Sir.

When a man goes to a private landlord and rents an acre of land he may get 2 or 3. But when a man goes to Government to rent an acre he is

not getting an acre. And when he does get it he must count himself lucky.

My trouble with this Bill is I don't want to swap black-dog for monkey. I don't want to exchange a private landlord for Government as a landlord.

I don't want to see even one tenant left in Jamaica. If the land is to be kept for no other purpose but to rent to tenants who are not helping the country but the landlords themselves, it is better that that tenant be made into a free-holder and own the land for himself, where Government can assist him to develop that land.

When Government buys land I don't want what happened at Leicesterfield to happen. £60 per acre with a declivity of 45 degrees, where if a man builds a home his children roll down the gully.

Mr. Manley: That was fixed in the time of the last Government.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I don't care who fixed it, Sir. Who does wrong does wrong, and anybody who supports wrong does wrong.

Mr. Manley: But you supported it.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I have never.

Mr. Nethersole: It is always a good thing to bat both sides you know.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I was never a party to selling land at £40 an acre.

Dr. Lloyd: Yes you were. For 10 years you did.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Some of the Leicesterfield lands the people have not signed up the agreement yet. The agreements are being signed during this Government. I would like the Chief Minister to come there and let me show him some £60 and £40 an acre land. I visited some of it yesterday and last night.

Dr. Lloyd: Why you didn't show your own Chief Minister?

Mr. E. L. Allen: You won't know what I showed him?

Mr. Nethersole: You won't tell us.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I want no verbal guarantee. I want something written in this Bill. It cannot be beyond the ingenuity of a good draftsman to devise words to compel Government to stick to the policy. Buy lands by Land Bonds; you sell to the tenants and make them free-holders. And when you are going to sell, for God's sake don't put the cost of cutting roads in it and call on the poor tenants to pay for it. They cannot.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: But your Government used to do it.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I have appealed to the present Chief Minister to abandon that policy because it is not right, and I have not yet got an irrevocable assurance from him.

Mr. Manley: I will put it in a Law.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Look and see what is happening today at Leicesterfield and other settlements. Those people are paying, some of them five times the amount of taxes that people in the same area are paying.

Mr. Manley: Mr. Speaker we will soon change that.

Mr. Edwin Allen: Thank you, Sir. I don't want similar things to happen when the Land Bonds are used. Then with regard to what my Friend from north St. Elizabeth has been saying about the cows seeing the tourists — he wants to sing the Nunc Dimitis.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: I cannot sing.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Because he feels that this Bill is going to make it quite certain that there will be no broad acres in St. Elizabeth for cows.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: I never said that.

Mr. E. L. Allen: And I don't know if I am unable to understand it, but unless the land is kept primarily for land settlement, or unless the Governor in Executive Council declares it to be a development area I don't see any other condition under which those properties will be bought and cut up to serve the people. I hear Members talking about people planting grass.

I take it if they are planting grass they are developing pasture, and that is development. I am not a lawyer and I am not sure if there is any provision in this Bill or any other that will carry out the objects my Friend from St. Elizabeth has in mind. But my strong point is there must be no tenant properties for annual tenants in Jamaica, but that when they are bought by Government, whether by land bonds or otherwise, the lands must be sold, and while I do not expect Government to give away lands I expect that they must be sold at reasonable prices.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: There is no graft in Land bonds.

Mr. E. L. Allen: I wonder who my Friend is telling about graft. I have never gone anywhere and got khaki.

Dr. Lloyd: You are too personal.

Mr. Speaker: I am asking the Member for North St. Elizabeth to withdraw what he said, and not to provoke any annoyance.

The gallery must not make that noise.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: I don't wear khaki, Sir.

Mr. E. L. Allen: Another thing I have been observing in the Bill, Sir, is that there is no minimum acreage set to any property that Government can acquire under this Bill, and it looks to me that it would be possible if a man had 10 acres of land and was not ready to develop it, but had every bona fide intention of developing as early as he found it possible, and in the meantime he rented out two acres to five people, it looks to me as if Government should go in and compel him to sell. Perhaps he may have been a little man who went to America or England with the intention of returning to develop that little holding.

And I think so as to make it abundantly clear that that would not happen I would like to see some provision made that there will be some minimum acreage, and I believe that if the Chief Minister who is Minister of Lands reconsiders this matter and makes it abundantly clear, not by a verbal declaration but by writing something into the Bill that tenant properties so acquired will be re-sold to tenants, I believe the Bill will be more acceptable to Jamaica. And as the Hon. Leader of the Opposition has said in this Bill it is a vote according to conscience, in such case I will vote for the Bill.

Mr. Golding: Sir, I served St. Catherine for over 12 years as Secretary of the St. Catherine Branches Associated of the JAS, and at one of our annual meetings a certain young agricultural officer visited, and in his address he wished to find out from the body of agriculturists present what

from you, and we are going to pay you so much", and it is taken away and there is nobody to intervene to see that justice is meted out.

I noticed the Chief Minister told us that he is going to delete from the Bill 11 (7), but instead of deleting it is should be amended as suggested by the Member for Western Kingston, that any declaration so made by the Government should be subject to the question of legal proceedings in the High Court.

I consider this piece of legislation a dangerous one, and one should think twice before giving Government authority to seize anything belonging to individuals in the country, because it is not only lands.

Land is not the only sore-eye in the country today, for if a man knows you have money and he has not any he is envious of yours...

Mr. Cox: This is Land Bond — not money bond.

Mr. Gallimore: This is a start in the programme of nationalisation of which the Chief Minister says all the election promises will be fulfilled.

I want to say that I take strong exception to the continuous reference made by the Chief Minister calling people grossly ignorant, stupid, and talking about nonsense. They put something before the country and ask the people to express an opinion on it. They express an opinion, and not because it is not in keeping with their views that it is nonsense and stupid. We are trying to stifle discussion by telling people who you ask for their views and when they give it you refer to them as ignorant. Those epithets have been thrown at the people all the while by the Chief Minister.

There are certain Members of this House too who anticipated this Bill and took action to avoid it by selling out their holdings. I know of certain sales. The feeling is here that what I don't have I don't want the other to have, and I want you to understand that the country is made for all.

Mr. Speaker: Before the speaker continues, I heard a while ago that certain members sold their holdings for fear of this Bill. When a serious charge like that is made I am not going to have it like that. I am asking that no doubt be held on that question. I will not ask the Member to withdraw this time, but I ask all Members not to hurl that kind of thing across the floor at Members in the House.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Mr. Speaker, I did not come to speak on this Bill, but after hearing so much by Members, especially those who live on the asphalt, I have to get up and say something. I am saying frankly that this is not a today business. It is a thing I have been fighting for for the last 25 years in Jamaica, and I want to say now that this is one of the best Bills that the PNP has put forward for the benefit of the poor inarticulate people and squatters. And I give you practical reasons for saying so.

Before the Hon. the Chief Minister came to the House, and when I was the Hon. E. V. Allen in the old Government a property they had in St. Elizabeth by the name of Bartons of 3,000 acres was occupied by people, and every single man, woman and child lived there as squatters. Grand children were squatters, children were squatters, and it belonged to an Italian who lived in England. The Chief Minister came to St. Elizabeth

and he assisted me as the Hon. Member to get this property for a land settlement. People had acres of land with ackee trees, breadfruit trees, and now those people who formerly lived as squatters are now citizens, because they got those lands to buy, and there were no sales to outsiders until land was first provided for the people who lived there.

And the present owners could make wells for their children. You go to all parts of St. Elizabeth you see acres of breadfruit trees planted even by your grandfather.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Mine? Mine?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes. And those breadfruit trees belong to the owner. The late Hon. Phillip Lightbody said in this House that wherever you saw those breadfruit and coconut trees you should pick the fruit because it was your grandfathers who planted them. Now that you have a Bill, alleviate the conditions.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Really Mr. Speaker, I do take strong objections to the Member saying my great grandfather planted breadfruit trees.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: We will discuss that later. Now I hope when this Bill is passed the Chief Minister will see that it applies to St. Elizabeth. Take Middle Quarters to Ipswich — you drive 12 to 14 miles and you don't see one god almighty house. You see a few cows. The people live at the back of the mountains and the cows see when the tourists pass, and the people only hear when the horns blow. (Laughter).

From Black River to Mountainside, 8 miles, belong to one God man. If you are on the road and you see rain set up you get wet (laughter).

Mr. Speaker: The Member is now in another Members constituency.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes, I have to speak for you, for you cannot speak (Laughter). Eight people own St. Elizabeth. The whole of St. Elizabeth is owned by 8 people, and you know that yourself: How can that be fair? I was a member of the Valuation Commission. I attended 26 meetings when I was in the old House — the Legislative Council of that day, and it was decided to get a Land Valuator. He came here. They bribed him and they sent him away. We got another one. He came here in a position to do that work, and they put him in the housing business. The man came to value land, and they sent him to value houses.

I was talking with the Governor himself. I was driving in his car, and I told the Governor the man is drawing £2,000 a year and doing nothing, and they sent him away. You people over there talk like you come from Japan (laughter). From Malvern Hill right up to Malvern, 10 miles, and the whole place belong to one man. He won't sell it; he won't rent it. He will not even give it away (laughter).

You have these Jamaican boys go to America and come back. They come back with money in their pockets to buy a piece of land, and can't get it.

They use up the money, and all they have today is the wristlet watch which so many of them bring back with them. In fact after this Bill is executed and put into practice I can leave this House, because for the last 30 years I have been fighting for this thing. My dream will have come true.

The people want lands, not to rent. We want the Government to buy lands and sell it to the same people. The Chief Minister told you it can't be in full . . .

Sir Alexander Bustamante and Mr. E. L. Allen: Why not?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Well you see, you can't understand (laughter). After the Bill is passed it can be put into practice, I don't like to criticise your Government because . . .

Sir Alexander Bustamante: We are good friends.

Mr. Speaker: Please speak to the Speaker.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Whenever I speak I speak through the Speaker, even when I am not looking at him. But Sir, you know our little fuss in St. Elizabeth when you bought lands there.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: You mean Whitehall?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Yes. You promised to buy the property to make it cheaper for the tenants. Up to now it is not bought, and the tenants are going to prison. Look on the one at Malvern again. That is not land settlement. It is stone settlement; so you should be ashamed of yourself.

Mr. Speaker: The Member is attacking the Speaker (laughter).

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No, Sir. I am helping you out, and what I am saying is the truth. With all respect to those who laugh, I am speaking seriously. I don't laugh. And when a progressive Government makes a step to lift conditions you fight against it. You don't understand it.

Sir Alexander Bustamante: Who is speaking?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: Busta you know better than that, man. With all respect to what you are saying over there, if nothing I was happier about . . .

Mr. E. L. Allen: Well laugh . . .

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: You suffer from typographical error man (laughter). What I am saying is that we as a progressive Government, have put a progressive Bill, and you are fighting it. I have been here in this new House for 8 months since it came together and I was wondering how long the PNP was going to take to pass a Bill like this.

When I came here in 1935 the big men in St. Elizabeth did not like me. You know, in St. Elizabeth you travel 5 to 12 miles to White House, and you see pure land. Drive to Middle Quarters, drive to YS. YS is bigger than the Fiji Islands. In the last drought 10 cows died per day; and the owner came to me. I said "My good man, the river pass through your territory. Why not irrigate?" I told him they should die 60 per day instead of 10 (laughter), for if a big river passes through a man's property and his cows die from drought don't you see he is worthless?

You talk about unemployment. If these people are allowed to develop these lands it will reduce unemployment. I should like to talk to that Sanitary Inspector over there.

Mr. Gallimore: I take objection to that, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No. I did not call any name.

Mr. Speaker: You addressed him as the Member for Western St. Ann?

Mr. E. Vivian Allen: No, Sir. I never even called any name, Mr.



COLONIAL OFFICE
SANCTUARY BUILDINGS
GREAT SMITH STREET
S.W.1

Tel.: ABBey 1266

Extension.....

Your Reference.....

My Reference INF 121/32/01

20th September, 1956

Dear Peter

Accounts Branch assure me that the instructions for payment of the remainder of your fee have left their end, and you should certainly receive the cheque before the end of this week. If by Friday morning you still have not had it, perhaps you would ring Mr. Conway at this office, on extension 486.

I have been trying to see where the text could possibly be cut, and have the following suggestions to make. (This hurts me as much as it does you.)

- P. 44. Middle paragraph, "Roberts... Port Royal".
- 64. Second and third paragraphs, "The sun... setting sun."
- 76. Second paragraph, "We turned... all right."
- 98-9. "Later she described....these poor creatures."
- 103. "Hibbert, the agent.... The West Indian was under fire."

P.
/108

Peter Abrahams, Esq.

P.108. Fourth paragraph. "A
compassionate.... off again."

123-5. First paragraph, "just how
uncomfortable...no isolated
case."

125. "Some of a more brutal nature
than in Madden's case."

145-6. Foot of page, "Another visitor
.... a species of miracle."

155-6. Foot of page, "Henry Westmoreland
....first paragraph/House of
Assembly."

157. "The conservative.... Sovereign
of Great Britain."

172. First paragraph, "As Lord Olivier
wrote.... Eyre in Kingston....."

207-8. "Then there was the case....
and also the community."

209. "Another case that failed....
penny a night."

210... "There were many cases....
in a scrap."

233-4. Four lines from foot, "The
Negroes....we breathe."

252-6 Condense?

/P264-6



COLONIAL OFFICE

SANCTUARY BUILDINGS
GREAT SMITH STREET
S.W.1

Tel. : ABBey 1266

Extension.....

Your Reference.....

My Reference INF. 121/32/01

10th September, 1956.

My dear Peter

We have now heard from Sir Hugh Foot about your text. Perhaps I may start by quoting the last paragraph of his letter:

"I am very happy that the result of getting Peter Abrahams to write the book has turned out so successfully, and I very much doubt if anyone else could have written about Jamaica with so much understanding and sympathy and written so well."

Sir Hugh enclosed an exhaustive note by S. A. G. Taylor, a leading member of the Jamaica Historical Society, which I enclose, together with a note on the Maroons from the same source. I will try to get you a copy of the judgment referred to at X, on page 3 of the note.

Sir Hugh writes that, apart from Taylor's notes and what Manley has written directly to you, he is unlikely to have much more to say. We can therefore go ahead with a text for

/the

PETER ABRAHAMS, ESQ.

the printer, and if there are any more detail amendments suggested from Jamaica they can be dealt with in galley.

What we have not yet done is to see where we can cut in order to come down to our 100,000 words. I'm not sure whether you would prefer to have our suggestions before or after dealing with the comments from Jamaica?

I am so glad that the book has been so well received in Jamaica - glad, but not surprised.

Yours ever
R. H. Young

(R. H. Young)
Information Department.



COLONIAL OFFICE

SANCTUARY BUILDINGS

GREAT SMITH STREET

S.W.1

Tel. : ABBey 1266

Extension.....

Your Reference.....

24th May, 1956.

My Reference..... INF 121/32/01.

Dear Peter Abrahams

I return the final chapter, which, we agree here, is a very good final chapter except for one thing: the passage about Captain MacArthur, which would certainly involve us in trouble. I can quite sympathize with your reasons for putting it in; but such a direct attack on an individual might well involve us in a libel action, and that would be disastrous.

You might care to quote the saying (à propos of the passage on page 366-7): "If you want a lawyer, fly to Manley; if you can't get Manley, fly to Cuba".

Yours ever

R.H. Young

(R.H. Young).

Information Department.

The Library have asked for the return of the Armanas Stories. Can you oblige them please?

PETER ABRAHAMS, ESQ.



COLONIAL OFFICE
SANCTUARY BUILDINGS
GREAT SMITH STREET
S.W.1

Tel.: ABBey 1266

Extension.....

Your Reference.....

My Reference INF 121/32/01

18th May, 1956,

Dear Peter Abrahams

It seems to me that the easiest way to summarize our reactions to your MS - which I enclose, and which, in general, we think right up our street - will be to reproduce the relevant passages from the minute with which I passed the text to Phillips and the minute with which he passed it on to Sir Charles.

I wrote:

"...It is already 100,000 words long, and I have explained to Mr. Abrahams that we may have to ask him to cut something like 10,000 words from the final version. In fact, since there are one or two omissions that should perhaps be rectified, he may have to cut more than that.

"Much of the cutting might come from the historical sections, particularly by reducing the quotations. Something could be spared I think from the section on probation, and something from

/the

Peter Abrahams, Esq.

the chapter on the arts - fewer quotations at length and more caution in listing contemporary artists and writers.

"Some omissions are important. There is very little about natural history. There should be some mention of subsidiary crops - Blue Mountain coffee, citrus, rice, etc. There is little about education and no mention of the UCWI. As a small point, I should like to have seen a paragraph about the Jamaica Hope cattle...."

Phillips wrote:

"...I think at present it is overweighted on the historical side and much more readable from about p. 184 onwards...."

"I agree about the omission of the UCWI and citrus. What too of the civil service (the efficiency of which has helped to carry recent constitutional progress)? Hurricanes and housing are hardly mentioned. Jamaican migration to England is referred to but I should like to see past migrations to Cuba, Panama and the USA touched on if only in a sentence - New York remains the city with the most Jamaicans!"

"Perhaps the last chapter will deal with the basic economic questions of over-population,

/development

E.R.

development of new resources and export crops, and the level of taxation and so of welfare expenditure that the island can hope to maintain - also the need to maintain the balance between social and economic efficiency.

"I liked the chapter on the arts..."

Sir Charles expressed general agreement with these comments.

It seems ungracious to ask for cuts, but unless the text is limited to our standard length the book becomes so expensive to produce.

May I say that, subject to the detail comments above, I found it most pleasant to read; above all it did what the books in this series have to do - it evoked the atmosphere of the country and the people and gave me the feel of the place.

I am glad to see that "Udomo" is getting good notices all round.

Yours sincerely

R.H. Young

R.H. Young
Information Department.

I have read and passed on the last chapter, and will send you our comments again Whitson.

ky



Information Department,
COLONIAL OFFICE

SANCTUARY BUILDINGS
GREAT SMITH STREET
S.W.1

Tel.: ABBey 1266

Extension.....

Your Reference.....

27th June, 1955.

My Reference... INF 121/32/01

Dear Peter Abrahams

How will these do for a start?

General.

- x Development in Jamaica, year of progress 1954 (edited by Esther Chapman).
- x Report on the revision of the Ten-Year Development Plan.

Historical.

History of the British West Indies, by Sir Alan Burns.

Tales of Old Jamaica, by Clinton Black.

Lady Nugent's Journals, 1801-15.

Constitutional.

- x Jamaica - constitutional history; three broadcast talks by Sir Hugh Foot.

The Colonial Office and Jamaica's Constitution, by Geoffrey Cooper.

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,
37 Jessel Drive,
Loughton, Essex.

Economic

Report by a mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

- x Report on the revision of the Ten-Year Development Plan.

Industrial development in Jamaica, etc. (Report of official mission).

Social.

Family and colour in Jamaica, by Fernando Henriques.

- x Social structure of Jamaica, by George Cumper (Univ. College of the West Indies).

Personality and Conflict in Jamaica, by Madeline Carr.

Anancy stories and dialect verse, by Louise Bennett and others.

Fiction.

New Day, by Victor Reid
Brother Man, by Roger Mais.

Those books I have marked (x) were published in Jamaica, but we have copies in the library.

Yours sincerely

R. H. Young
R. H. YOUNG
Information Department.

37 Jessel Drive,
Loughton,
Essex.

May 19th, 1955.

Your ref: INF 121/32/01

Sir,

I herewith acknowledge receipt of your letter dated May 17th inviting me to prepare a manuscript for a book in the Corona Library series on Jamaica.

I shall be pleased to accept your assignment on the terms and conditions stated in your letter.

Yours faithfully,

John R. ...

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office,
Church House,
Great Smith Street,
London S.W.1.

COLONIAL OFFICE

Communications on this subject should be addressed to
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE and the
following number quoted.....INF 121/32/01.....

Your Reference :.....

THE CHURCH HOUSE
GREAT SMITH STREET, S.W.1

Telephone :

~~WHitchall 2366~~. Extension

ABBeY 1266

17th May, 1955.

Sir,

Mr. Secretary Lennox-Boyd, with the concurrence of the Government of Jamaica, directs me to invite you to prepare the manuscript of a book in the Corona Library series dealing authoritatively and comprehensively with the geography, history, economics, politics, social conditions and administration of the colony of Jamaica. This book will be the fifth in a series dealing similarly with the affairs of the other British colonial territories and designed to provide books which, while sufficiently detailed and authoritative to be of value to the specialist in colonial affairs, will at the same time appeal to the general educated public by reason of the attractiveness of their style and presentation. The experience provided by the earlier books in the series has led the Committee charged with the preparation of the series to suppose that, in general terms, the text prepared by Mr. Roy Lewis on Sierra Leone (which you have read) corresponds with their views on style and plan.

2. The manuscript should be between 90,000 and 100,000 words long, and should, as we agreed at our meeting on the 11th May, be in the hands of the Committee by the 31st March 1956. It is understood that you will be willing to submit the text for expert scrutiny, but that you will have reasonable freedom to express personal opinions, while having regard to the conditions under which the book is being commissioned and put on sale.

/ 3.

Peter Abrahams, Esq.

3. The copyright of the text at all stages will be vested in the Crown, and an undertaking will be required that you will not, until the expiry of five years from the date of publication of the book, publish any work in book form on the same subject the sale of which might reasonably be regarded as conflicting, or likely to conflict, with the sales of the book under discussion. Should any material be included in your book the copyright of which is not your own or that of the Crown, you will be required to obtain from the copyright owners written permission to reproduce the copyright material and to meet at your own expense the cost of any copyright fees.

4. In the event of your accepting this commission you will be paid a fee of £400 (subject to United Kingdom income tax). £100 will be payable in advance and the remainder on acceptance of the manuscript. In addition you will be reimbursed any travelling and incidental expenses necessarily incurred by you, with the approval of the Colonial Office, in the collection of material for the book and in the preparation of the manuscript. For periods spent away from your normal residence you will be eligible for subsistence allowance at the rate currently payable, i.e. £3 a day in Jamaica, £2.10.0 a day in Barbados, Trinidad or British Guiana, and £2 a day in other islands. These allowances are subject to reduction after the first 28 nights spent consecutively in the same place and/or if free board or accommodation is provided. This allowance will be payable for a stay in the West Indies of up to 10 weeks. For any period spent on board ship an allowance of 5/- a night would be payable.

G.R.

5. You would also be required to give an undertaking that if you should not complete the work, having once accepted the conditions now set out, you would reimburse any sums that might have been paid to you or expenditure incurred on your behalf. A form of undertaking is enclosed.

6. It would be appreciated if you could indicate as soon as is conveniently possible whether the offer now made is acceptable to you on the terms and conditions stated in this letter.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant

C. J. Jeffries

XXXXXXXXXXXX
0944-2580

October 25, 1976

Confidential

Hon. Howard F. Cooke,
Minister of Education
2 National Heroes Circle
P.O. Box 498.
Kingston.

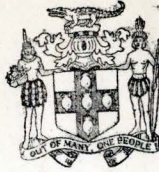
Dear Mr. Cooke,

This is to thank you for your letter of October 11th enclosing a copy of the letter you sent to Mr. Bell, Headmaster of St. Jago High School.

Just for the record, since your letter is under confidential cover, I must advise you that my information was not and is not incorrect. There was a letter sent to Mr. Bell prior to your letter of the 23rd of August. This one was dated July 26th and was signed by some lady in the Ministry on behalf of the Permanent Secretary. It was to this first letter that my remarks referred. Indeed, my information is that your own letter to Mr. Bell was your own warmhearted and generous effort to correct the unfortunate impact of the first letter.

May I again ask that the Ministry through you make some tangible and human gesture - a farewell ceremony or dinner, preferably at the school - where the Minister can personally and publicly thank this great teacher for his services to Jamaica?

Yours sincerely



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

2 NATIONAL HEROES CIRCLE,

P.O. BOX 498,

KINGSTON, JAMAICA

11th October, 19 76

ANY REPLY OR SUBSEQUENT REFERENCE
TO THIS COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE
ADDRESSED TO THE PERMANENT
SECRETARY AND THE FOLLOWING
REFERENCE QUOTED:—

No. _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Peter Abrahams,
"Coyaba"
Red Hills.

Dear Mr. Abrahams:

Although I did not hear your broadcast, I understand
that you made reference to Mr. O. R. Bell, Headmaster of St.
Jago High School.

As apparently your information was incorrect,
I am pleased to send you a copy of the letter which I wrote
to Mr. Bell myself on the 23rd of August.

Yours sincerely,

(Howard F. Cooke)
Minister of Education

Mr. Osborne Bell,
St. Jago High School
Spanish Town.

Dear Mr. Bell,

I learnt today that you will have reached your sixty-fifth birthday on the 2nd of November, 1976, and therefore would be retiring.

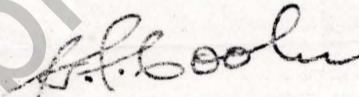
Indeed, I wish to congratulate you on your excellent record as a school teacher. Your dedication, integrity and general attitude to life mark you out as an example to young teachers. Many of your students who were outstanding scholars have carried with them your general attitude to life.

Although it would be normal for your retirement to take effect from your 65th birthday (i.e. on the 2nd of November), since you deserve a longer period of notice than you have been given so far, we would like to suggest that you continue to work up to the end of December and then proceed on four months' leave from the 1st of January, 1977, (for which you should apply) with your retirement being effective from the 1st of May, 1977.

Knowing you as I do, I am sure you will have a long and blessed retirement during which time you will continue to make your experience available to education.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,



(Howard F. Cooke)
MINISTER OF EDUCATION

cc for File B38889

St Jago High School,
Spanish Town.
7th October, 1976.

Mr Peter Abrahams,
RJR,
32 Lyndhurst Road,
Spanish Town.

Dear Mr Abrahams,

This letter is to bring to your attention a situation which might interest you as one who is always concerned about the dignity and worth of the individual and the fair and decent treatment of all individuals by the body through which they govern themselves. This letter is written not in the hope of any action, but only in the desire for comment which might prevent the recurrence of such a situation.

The teachers of St Jago High School have just recently learned that our principal, Mr O.R. Bell, will be leaving us in December of this year. Whereas we have long known that Mr Bell would soon be leaving us, the suddenness of the announcement was shocking.

It was even more horrifying for us to learn the reason for the abruptness of Mr Bell's departure. In August of this year Mr Bell received a letter from the Ministry of Education to the effect that as of his birth date in November he was to leave the school.

When Mr Bell took the letter into the Ministry, no one would own to having written it. It was acknowledged that the letter was lacking in any form of decency, yet its author was reputedly some clerk who was too obscure to be found. It appears that the matter was brought to the attention of the Minister and it was finally decided that Mr Bell be allowed to stay until December, which is, please note, in the middle of the academic year. (It is also the time of the screen test, when crucial decisions must be made as to which students should be allowed to take the Cambridge examinations.)

This after 26 years of service. Mr Bell came to this school before it was even called St Jago. He took the old Beckford and Smith and created of it the present St Jago High School, a name which has the same aura surrounding it in the 'country' that the name of K.C. has in the city.

It is typical of Mr Bell's constant concern for decency that he has begged members of his staff who would like to demonstrate on his behalf not to do so. Mr Bell is proud of the fact that St Jago has never brought ill-fame on itself through public disturbances and he does not want this record to be ruined during his last months with us.

Although the staff would not want to do anything to hurt Mr Bell at this moment, many of us feel that mention should be made of this situation, not so that any action can be taken on behalf of Mr Bell but so that this sort of treatment can never be countenanced again. If discipline is to be restored to our schools in Jamaica, then teachers must be treated with the respect that their efforts deserve. To give a man who has given 26 years of his life to education two months in which to reorient his whole life is to treat him as an object in some sort of pawn game rather than a thinking, feeling human being. It surely would not have been impossible to call

Mr Bell for a personal interview many months ago and present this situation to him in a way which could have shown respect and appreciation for his years of service. We would like some assurance that our efforts as educators be given more consideration than this and we would like to assure Mr Bell that his efforts, though perhaps brushed aside by those in authority, have been deeply appreciated by those who have benefited most from his dedication.

Sincerely yours,

Brownie Lee

Brownie Lee

UWI Libraries

28 June 1985



LONDON BOROUGH
OF
LEWISHAM

CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S DEPARTMENT

Race Equality Unit

Lewisham Town Hall
London SE6 4RU

telephone 01-698 6121: Rushey Green Line 4

your ref

please quote

Dear Peter

I am so sorry that I haven't kept in touch with you as promised. I realize full well how 'cut-off' you must feel when it comes to real information about South Africa. I enclose what is, to my mind, the best analysis of contemporary South Africa. Events are happening so fast and the level of politicization such that it is no longer a matter of protest but of challenge. At a Civic meeting held in Atlantis (the core of what would according to the NP/NHP become a 'bloured homeland') - some 10,000, representing 300,000 family units decided not to pay their rent in a kind of 'Can't Pay, Won't Pay' Campaign.

Day before yesterday the entire Total Oil clutch of storage tanks in the Transkei were destroyed.

J Harwood Chief Executive

The boycott of the Tricameral Parliamentary elections was perhaps the most effective show of defiance and rejection. Nevertheless, people are saying - "Well this was your bright idea. You said it can work. Now you have your coloured and Indian MPs or whatever you call them. The fact that none got in with more than thirty votes and some with only two votes, is neither here nor there. So now, let's see it work!" Expectations are high and people, to take even those in the rural areas are saying - enough is enough. This must be the most exciting time to be in South Africa. At the same time, the brutality has reached the most vicious proportions. People disappearing, murder squads operating with impunity in addition to the trials and the detentions.

Also bought your new book last week and will get down to reading it next week. Who knows, we may even meet again one day. I shall keep in touch and whenever possible - pass information on just to keep you in the picture.

Keep well and best regards.

P.S. I am no longer in a job which takes me travelling. Now working for a local authority.

Louisa de Suidt

THE VOICE OF SAINT LUCIA

Established
1885



SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1958 CASTRIES, ST. LUCIA, THE WEST INDIES

LABOUR PARTY SW

Blonchar Mauricet

Minister Accuses Merchants Of Profiteering

It was reported that the Minister for Trade and Production, in a pre-election speech on the Market steps last Tuesday night accused the local merchants of profiteering.

Before a large audience he is reported to have said that history repeats itself, and that 10 years ago the merchants were exploiting the people with exorbitant profits and it became necessary to have a cost of living conference to reduce on the mark-ups of merchants' profits.

Now in 1958 the same thing is being repeated; the merchants are making vast profits, and every new shipment of goods that comes in is a cent or penny or a two pence more, which means that the cost of living is continually going up.

The Labour Party in an effort to counteract the merchants' profits introduced a bill into the Legislative Council called the Trade Ordinance.

The Minister continued that in 1948, instead of Carasco and Gordon representing the people who elected them on the Council, they represented the Chamber of Commerce. Today history repeats itself, because instead of Mallet representing them he is the mouth-piece of Harold Devaux and the Chamber of Commerce, but the Labour Party is there to see that these huge profits are stopped.

These allegations made by the Minister for Trade and Production are news! The Minister's declaration will cause deep concern to all St. Lucians.

Action by Government to curb alleged profiteering is expected.

12th December 58

Hon. J.M.Compton,
Minister of Trade & Production,
St.Lucia.

Sir,

At a meeting of the Committee of our Chamber held yesterday, one of the subjects discussed was a report appearing in the "Voice of St. Lucia" under the caption "Minister accuses merchants of profiteering", a cutting of which is enclosed.

We consider that a Chamber of Commerce would be of little value to its Members and to the Community in general if it did not take an active part in helping to eliminate any mal-practices such as profiteering, and we are consequently anxious to obtain from you any further information you may care to give us on this matter.

To begin with, we presume that you will agree with our Chamber that normal, healthy, commercial competition in the sale of goods which are not in short supply and which are readily available, makes profiteering with regard to such goods quite impossible.

Where there exists a number of traders who can import freely and who enjoy no monopoly, it is natural for each one to endeavour to increase his share of the available business, and this he can only achieve by trying to give better value than his competitors.

Consequently it does not take long before a mark-up is reached below which a trader knows he would be unable to carry on his business successfully.

Consequently it is only during periods of War or scarcity when too many people are chasing too few goods that shop-keepers could take advantage of the situation to profiteer.

We think that it will be found at such times that Chambers of Commerce frown on such practices just as heavily as do Governments.

When any imported article is in short supply or can only be imported under license in quantities insufficient to supply the demand, there may very well arise a need to control the prices of such articles, but we are unaware that such a position has arisen in St. Lucia.

On the contrary we have reason to believe that competition is keen and intense among importers and shop-keepers and that no imported commodities are in short supply.

To the best of our knowledge no firm has a monopoly on the importation of any particular product, and an inspection of the Government bonded warehouse will show that the number of importers is very large for a community the size of ours.

Though import licenses are still required for many articles including necessities such as flour, we are not aware that competition has been made difficult by the refusal of licenses to any firms.

As you must know, there are several factors which influence the final retail price of any article, such as the rate of import duty, the freight rate from the Country of Origin, and the rate of turn-over, but should you have any reason to believe that the general rate of profit or "mark-up" by merchants or shop-keepers in St. Lucia is higher than in other comparable units of the Federation, we would be very much obliged if you would so inform us.

We further wish to express the hope that you will always notify our Chamber should you ever have reason to suspect that any commercial mal-practices are taking place which are tending to increase the cost of living or cause hardship to the Public.

Our Chamber is well aware of the great importance that other Governments attach to their Chambers of Commerce, and we are always anxious to act in such a manner as to create the same feeling of confidence as exists elsewhere.

/3

If you ever feel that the attitude of our Chamber over any matter is wrong or unhelpful we would always be pleased if you would write us directly about it, for we would be doubly wrong if we did not welcome advice from the Minister of Trade and Production.

We have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

St.Lucia Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture

Per

(H. DEVAUX)

President