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REPORT OF VISIT OF CHAS. TAUSSIG CHM.
ANGLO AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMM. TO
LONDON, DEC. 9-19, 1942.

Charles W. Taussig

Box 186

PSF
Taussig

January 9, 1943

My dear Mr. President:

I respectfully transmit to you the report of my recent visit to London and conversations with the Secretary of State for Colonies and other British officials concerning the mutual problems of our two governments in the Caribbean.

Respectfully yours,



Charles W. Taussig
United States Chairman
Anglo-American Caribbean Commission

The President

The White House

REPORT OF THE VISIT
OF
CHARLES W. TAUSSIG
UNITED STATES CHAIRMAN
of the
ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION
accompanied by
SIDNEY DE LA RUE
CHIEF OF THE CARIBBEAN OFFICE OF
LEND-LEASE ADMINISTRATION
TO LONDON

December 9th to December 19th, 1942 inclusive

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Office of the Secretary of State for the Colonies

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the Colonial Office and initialed by the Secretary
of State, Colonel Oliver Stanley, and Mr. Taussig.

Part Four - Respects of Conversations with British Officials
and a General Resumé of Itinerary and Official
and Unofficial Discourse and Language given for
Mr. Taussig.

This report is to be regarded as Secret. The
Secretary of State for the Colonies requested that the
official report (Part Two of the Report) be kept secret
until such time as the Government may decide to issue
a joint statement. It is also important that certain reports
referred to in the accounts of conversations with British
officials do not find their way to the Press.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This report is divided into four parts:

Part One -- A Brief Summary.

Part Two -- The Proceedings of the Conference Held in the Office of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Part Three- The Official Report of the Conference drafted by the Colonial Office and initialed by the Secretary of State, Colonel Oliver Stanley, and Mr. Taussig.

Part Four - Memoranda of Conversations with British Officials and a General Resume of Itinerary and Official and Unofficial Dinners and Luncheons given for Mr. Taussig.

This report is to be regarded as "secret." The Secretary of State for the Colonies requested that the initialed memorandum (Part Two of the Report) be kept "secret" until such time as the two Governments may decide to issue a joint communique. It is also important that certain matters referred to in the memoranda of conversations with British officials do not find their way to the Press.

SUMMARY OF THE VISIT OF CHARLES W. TAUSSIG, UNITED STATES
CHAIRMAN OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION TO
LONDON - DECEMBER 9 TO DECEMBER 19, 1942 INCLUSIVE.

Mr. Taussig's trip to London was the result of
an official invitation **PART ONE** Lord Cranborne, then Secretary
of State for Colonies, now Lord Privy Seal, tendered by Sir
George Water, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Colonies,
A BRIEF SUMMARY
during his visit to Washington in October - November 1942.
The invitation was transmitted orally by Sir George to the
President, the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary of
State, all of whom agreed that Taussig should accept the
invitation. Mr. Sidney de la Rue, Chief of the Caribbean
Office of Land-Use Administration, accompanied Mr. Taussig
to London as an assistant. It may be stated here that Mr.
de la Rue's services were invaluable, and that much of the
credit belongs to him for whatever success may have been
achieved by the mission.

Mr. Taussig was given no specific terms of
reference, but followed broad oral instructions given him
by Secretary Hall and Under-Secretary Welles. He also kept

SUMMARY OF THE VISIT OF CHARLES W. TAUSSIG, UNITED STATES
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October 26, 1942, and the subsequent conversation held
October 27, 1942 by the President with Sir George Gater
and Taussig; also a memorandum submitted by Taussig to

Welles November 2, 1942, and several conversations with
Secretary of State Hull and Under-Secretary Welles.
Mr. Taussig's trip to London was the result of
an official invitation from Lord Cranborne, then Secretary
of State for Colonies, now Lord Privy Seal, tendered by Sir
George Gater, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Colonies,
during his visit to Washington in October - November 1942.
The invitation was transmitted orally by Sir George to the
President, the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary of
State, all of whom agreed that Taussig should accept the
invitation. Mr. Sidney de la Rue, Chief of the Caribbean
Office of Lend-Lease Administration, accompanied Mr. Taussig
to London as an assistant. It may be stated here that Mr.
de la Rue's services were invaluable, and that much of the
credit belongs to him for whatever success may have been
achieved by the mission.

Mr. Taussig was given no specific terms of
reference, but followed broad oral instructions given him
by Secretary Hull and Under-Secretary Welles. He also kept

next two years on public works and unemployment relief

in mind a conversation concerning the Caribbean problem that the President had with him at the White House on October 26, 1942, and the subsequent conversation held October 27, 1942 by the President with Sir George Gater and Taussig; also a memorandum submitted by Taussig to Welles November 2, 1942, and several conversations with Secretary of Interior Ickes, Under-Secretary of Interior Fortas, and Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico. Mr. Taussig conferred with Ambassador Winant frequently during the course of the conversations.

Briefly, the conversations with the Secretary of State for Colonies established the following points:

- (1) The Government of the United Kingdom recognizes that the situation in the British West Indies is critical and that social, economic, and political reforms must be initiated now (during the war).
- (2) That social and economic reform, including the relief of current unemployment, will involve the expenditure of substantial sums of money. As a result of the conversations in London, the Government of the United Kingdom has agreed to spend six million pounds in the

in

in the British West Indies. They are

- aware that our interest is not confined to the military
- (3) That political reform is necessary. The present program contemplates giving Jamaica a new constitution with greatly extended franchise, and curtailment of the Governor's reserve powers. These reforms can be effected by Orders in Council. The Government also recognizes the desirability of social and economic reforms in Bermuda, Barbados, and the Bahamas which have legislatures elected under strict property franchise limitations, but any change in the 300-year-old Constitutions of these Colonies without consent of their legislatures can only be made by Act of the British Parliament. The Government is reluctant to recommend to Parliament a constitutional change for these three Colonies without their consent, and "their consent" means the consent of a small but powerful oligarchy of merchants and planters. Constitutional reform for these Colonies is, however, under consideration. Colonel Oliver Stanley, the present Secretary of State for Colonies, told Taussig that the contemplated changes in the Constitution of Jamaica may well pave the way for other constitutional changes in the British West Indies.
- (4) The British Government recognizes that the United States has a proper interest in the political, social and economic stability of the entire Caribbean

area, including the British West Indies. They are aware that our interest is not confined to the military strategic importance of the Caribbean to the United States and our newly established bases in the British West Indies, but that social and political unrest in the British West Indies has important and unpleasant repercussions within the United States, particularly among our negro citizens. Winston Churchill told Taussig that the Caribbean was an area in which the affairs of the United States and the United Kingdom will become more and more "intermingled."

- (5) That a standing "Caribbean Conference" should be set up promptly with two delegates from each British Colony and United States territory; that the Conference should be advisory at first but that it should ultimately be delegated powers by the Governments involved that would give it regulatory powers over functions common to the well-being of the area; viz. inter-island transportation, inter-island tariffs, inter-island communications, quarantine regulations, fisheries, etc.

The

The Caribbean Conference should initially be created as an Anglo-American institution, but the door should be kept open for the inclusion of other dependencies in the Caribbean. When matters come before the Conference that will affect other nations interested in this area, it may invite the Independent Republics and the Dominion of Canada to participate.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN THE OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES ON THE 12th, 13th AND 14th SEPTEMBER 1946

For the purpose of holding a conference on the above subject the four members of the committee mentioned in the report were invited to the conference on the 12th, 13th and 14th September 1946.

PART TWO

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Col. Sir George Giffard | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State |
| Sir George Giffard | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State |
| The Right Honourable Harold Amery, M.P. | Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State |
| Sir William Morrison | Deputy Under-Secretary of State |
| Mr. D.C.D. Goff | Assistant Under-Secretary of State |
| Mr. Gerald H.B. Palmer, M.P. | Parliamentary Private Secretary to Colonel Stanley |
| Sir Frank Stoddart | Controller of the West Indian Development and Welfare Fund and British Chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission |
| Mr. H. Beckett | Head of West Indian Department, Colonial Office |

**REPORT OF THE CONFERENCES HELD BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIES IN THE COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON, ON
DECEMBER 11, 12, 15 and 17, 1942.**

Mr. Sidney Cain----- Financial Adviser, Colonial
Office

For the Government of the United States:

For the purpose of brevity, this report will
treat the four sessions as one continuous conference.

Those present at the conference were as follows:

For the Government of the United Kingdom:

Colonel Oliver Stanley	Secretary of State for the Colonies, who acted as Chairman
Sir George Gater	Permanent Under-Secretary of State
The Right Honorable Harold Macmillan, M.P.	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State
Sir William Battershill	Deputy Under-Secretary of State
Mr. G.E.J. Gent	Assistant Under-Secretary of State
Mr. Gerald E.H. Palmer, M.P.	Parliamentary Private Secretary to Colonel Stanley
Sir Frank Stockdale	Controller of the West Indian Development and Welfare Fund and British Chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission
Mr. H. Beckett	Head of West Indian Department, Colonial Office

Co-Chair Mr.

Co-Chairman, and Mr. J. Buggins were "permanent" members
 of the Commission; that the third
 a "permanent" membership in order
 of an official for any special purpose as, for instance,

Mr. T.W. Davies Principal, West Indian
 Department, Colonial Office

Mr. Sydney Caine Financial Adviser, Colonial
 Office

For the Government of the United States:

Mr. Charles W. Taussig United States Chairman of the
 Anglo-American Caribbean
 Commission

Mr. Sidney de la Rue Chief, Caribbean Office of
 Lend-Lease Administration

Mr. Taussig suggested that it might be desirable
 from time to time for the President to
 with a few remarks on the joint desire of the two Govern-
 ments to explore the possibility of immediate action and
 the development of a long-term policy in the West Indies.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

The Secretary of State then stated that it would
 be desirable to discuss any possible changes connected with
 the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. He asked for
 suggestions.

Mr. Taussig stated that he was somewhat uncertain
 as to precisely what the British meant by the term "permanent
 members of the Commission" and "temporary members of the
 Commission." The Secretary replied that Sir Frank Stockdale,
 Co-Chairman

Co-Chairman, and Mr. J. Huggins were "permanent" members of the Commission in Washington and the War Shipping Administration. Such monthly meetings had been agreed to by Mr. Lewis W. Douglas, Deputy Administrator of the War Shipping Administration, at the meeting held in his office in Washington when Sir George Gater was there. Mr. de la Rue reported that Mr. Huggins had discussed this matter before Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Taussig left Washington and it was agreed that on the Commission to advise the two "permanent" members. Mr. Huggins should take the matter up with Sir Arthur

Balter and Mr. Taussig suggested that it might be desirable from time to time for the President to appoint for the American Section of the Commission an alternate to one of the "permanent" members in the event that a "permanent" member was not in position to participate in a particular conference. Mr. Taussig specifically mentioned the fact that there were times when Governor Tugwell could not be present in Washington and that it might be useful to have an alternate to represent the Department of the Interior. Sir George Gater and Sir Frank Stockdale both expressed agreement. The Secretary of State indicated his accord.

MONTHLY EXCHANGE OF SHIPPING INFORMATION

Sir George Gater inquired as to the monthly exchange of shipping information between the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission

Commission in Washington and the War Shipping Administration. Such monthly meetings had been agreed to by Mr. Lewis W. Douglas, Deputy Administrator of the War Shipping Administration, at the meeting held in his office in Washington when Sir George Gater was there. Mr. de la Rue reported that Mr. Huggins had discussed this matter before Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Taussig left Washington and it was agreed that Mr. Huggins should take the matter up with Sir Arthur Salter and asked that Mr. de la Rue remind Huggins of this. Colonel Stanley and Sir George Gater both expressed their desire that this be followed up as it was considered basically important during the emergency to have accurate shipping information for the West Indies.

CANADA AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

Mr. Taussig inquired as to whether the Government of the Dominion of Canada had expressed a desire to be represented on the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. The Secretary of State replied that no such desire had been formally communicated and as an expression of opinion "off the record" he would not think the Commission was the place for Canada permanently to be represented. He saw no objection, however, to inviting it to participate in conferences

that Taussig would come to London with the official point-
 conferences on subjects in which Canadian interests were
 involved, for instance, shipping matters. Sir Frank
 Stockdale suggested that Taussig's question might have
 been prompted by an editorial which appeared in the Canada-
 West Indies Magazine of August, 1942, entitled, "FUTURE
 POLICY IN THE WEST INDIES," and also an editorial appearing
 in the same magazine of October, 1942, entitled, "POST-WAR
 CONSIDERATION." Sir Frank said that the Canada-West
 Indies Magazine did not represent official Canadian opinion.

RATIFICATION BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE AGREEMENT ON
 SUGAR ARRIVED AT IN WASHINGTON WITH SIR GEORGE GATER.

Sir George Gater handed to Mr. Taussig and Mr.
 de la Rue copies of a telegram referring to sugar policy
 (WICIR No. 69 Confidential Sent 26th November 1942 17.45 Hrs.)
 which had been sent to the Governors of the British West
 Indies. Sir George explained that this telegram put into
 effect the general understanding as to sugar production and
 shipping policy which had resulted from the Washington
 conferences in November.

DEVELOPING AN AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE

The Secretary of State said that he understood from
 Sir George Gater that Under-Secretary Welles had told him
 that

that Taussig would come to London with the official point-of-view of the Government of the United States on the Caribbean problem. He asked Mr. Taussig if he had any written memorandum to present to the conference or any oral statement to make. Mr. Taussig stated that he had no memorandum to present nor did he care to make any specific proposals, although later in the conference he might have some specific suggestions to offer. Mr. Taussig suggested that it might be well to commence the discussions enumerating the points of agreement between the two Governments on the social and economic questions involved in the Caribbean problem. He said he felt that, if there were sufficient points of agreement, which he thought there would be, methods of implementation and action might automatically be evolved without the necessity of either Government attempting to impose its point-of-view on the other. The Secretary of State agreed that this was a desirable method of carrying on the conference.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The following points were advanced for discussion and possible accord:

- (1) A SINGLE CROP ECONOMY IS UNDESIRABLE FOR THE CARIBBEAN AREA. Sir Frank Stockdale discussed mixed farming and the

the importance of increased local food production.

Mr. Caine suggested that it should be understood

that the statement concerning the undesirability of a single-crop economy should be general but with

the reservation that certain islands may have to be treated individually. There was general agreement

as to the above.

(2) A MARKETING SYSTEM TO SUSTAIN LOCAL CROP PRODUCTION IS NECESSARY. There was general agreement.

(3) THE CARIBBEAN SHOULD BE TREATED AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT; A CARIBBEAN POLICY SHOULD BE DEVELOPED WITH THIS IN MIND. As an example, Mr. Taussig pointed out that the economies of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic were in many respects complementary; that they can mutually benefit from the labor and purchasing power of the one and the surplus food production of the other; that similarly Jamaica, should it develop irrigation projects for the production of rice, may find a market in Cuba and Cuban beef in turn a market in Jamaica. There was general agreement.

(4) IT IS DESIRABLE TO DEVELOP INTER-ISLAND TRADE WITHIN THE AREA: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BETTER INTER-ISLAND

TRANSPORTATION

TRANSPORTATION. There was general agreement.

(5) **PEASANT FARMING VS COOPERATIVE FARMING.** It was agreed that both types of farming should be encouraged.

(6) **LEASEHOLDS VS LAND HELD IN FEE.** Sir Frank Stockdale pointed out that lands let on suitable leasehold conditions have proved a better means of developing mixed farming than where land is held in fee by peasant agriculturists, because the State can enforce a more satisfactory use of the land. As an example of this, Sir Frank said that in Monserrat land used by ignorant peasants had been so depleted that the northern part of the island had reverted to bush. Sir George Gater made reference to the fact that President Roosevelt in discussing this problem with him had pointed out the desirability of leaseholds rather than the peasants holding land in fee. There was general agreement as to the advisability of leaseholds.

(7) **ELIMINATION OF TARIFFS AND TAXATION ON INTER-ISLAND TRADE IN FOODSTUFFS LOCALLY PRODUCED.** Sir Frank recommended that free importation of foodstuffs locally produced was desirable at once, if the fiscal structure

of

of the various Governments would permit. He reported he was investigating this point. Mr. Taussig raised the point that, if the local Governments continued their policy of little or no direct taxation and depended largely on revenue from taxes and tariffs on imported foodstuffs, the fiscal structure of the various Governments would never permit the elimination of tariffs on foodstuffs. Mr. Caine said that he thought it was bad policy economically speaking to raise revenue by taxing food imports. There was general agreement as to the relief of food from taxation as a long-term policy.

The Secretary of State noted that the treatment of the area as a single unit for the interchange of surpluses automatically raised the question of the different treatment accorded the production of each part of the area when its surpluses are exported from the area. After discussion it was agreed that it would be premature before the end of the war to attempt further to consider this difference of treatment since, until that time, a general world customs policy would probably not be sufficiently settled to permit its adequate consideration.

(8) LOCAL FISHING INDUSTRY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AND DEVELOPED. There was general agreement.

should be provided. Our British colleagues were
Sir Frank Stockdale said that he had prepared plans for a fishery survey which was ready but that he wished to consult with Mr. Taussig as to the advisability of making it a joint Anglo-American action. He said that, insofar as Trinidad is concerned, if loans or grants are necessary in order that the fishermen be properly equipped, these will be made.

(9) IT IS ESSENTIAL TO DIRECT EDUCATION ALONG VOCATIONAL

LINES. The Secretary of State remarked that the Victorian system of education, which paid but little regard to the life of the individual who was being trained, had been dreadful. Sir Frank Stockdale remarked that in the British West Indies they were slavishly following the Victorian ideas in this direction. He noted the excellent system of secondary education now being carried on in Puerto Rico. He recognized and approved the system of school lunches as a necessary part of the education of Puerto Ricans in forming good basic food habits and recommended some similar action be taken in the British West Indies.

There

There was general discussion as to in what grade of schools and under what conditions hot lunches should be provided. Our British colleagues were divided, however, as to whether the lunches should be given free as in Puerto Rico or some slight charge should be made. It was agreed that the question of school lunches should be the subject of a joint investigation by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. It was pointed out that, although education should be directed more along vocational lines, the local populations would regard it as an affront if opportunities for academic and cultural education were not provided also.

(10) THE NEED FOR A HOUSING AND SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM.

It was generally agreed that a vigorous program of housing development was essential. Sir Frank raised the point that school buildings should be included in any such program pointing out that from 70% to 80% of the children of school age in the British West Indies would attend school but that not over 40% could be accommodated. In addition, he reported that 50% of the schools were in urgent need of repair. He felt that the repair of schools, construction of additional school buildings and housing systems were equally desirable.

desirable. He suggested a system of subsidies in aid of housing improvements. There was general accord on these recommendations.

- (11) DESIRABILITY OF PLANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURIST TRAVEL FOR THE AFTER-WAR PERIOD. It was agreed that a survey should be made in the Caribbean which could be used as a basis for appropriate action in this connection and that such survey should be undertaken promptly. It was agreed that the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was to submit to its respective Governments a program for post-war tourism and that the Commission should obtain as consultants experts on that subject.

- (12) DESIRABILITY OF ENCOURAGING INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PARTICULARLY IN THE OVER-POPULATED ISLANDS. This was discussed at some length and agreed to.

Many other subjects were considered such as labor, sanitation, control of venereal disease, emigration, birth-control, the possibility of air commutation of laborers from one area to another, without the necessity of changing their permanent domicile, etc.

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND
UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

WEST INDIAN AIR SERVICES (YEREX CASE AND THE AFFAIR OF
DOMINGO).

Mr. Taussig Sir George Gater asked Taussig to permit the Colonial Office to discuss with him the Yerex Case and the Domingo Case. Such discussions were held and a memorandum pertaining to them appears in Appendix C and Appendix D of part 3 of this report.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Taussig stated that the International Labor Organization had asked if they could make a survey of labor conditions in the Caribbean for the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Mr. Taussig stated that he had not discussed the matter with the State Department in Washington but would like to get the point of view of the Colonial Office.

Sir Frank Stockdale discussed the matter with Major Orde Brown of the Colonial Office and it was decided that in view of the report on the labor conditions already made by Major Orde Brown and the report constantly being submitted by the Labor Offices in the British West Indies, as well as the Labor Officer Attached to the West Indies Development and Welfare Fund, that for the time being there was no need of a special report from the I.L.O.

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND
UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES THE
AUTHORITY OVER MATTERS OF SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE
WHICH ARE OF COMMON INTEREST TO ALL CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Mr. Taussig called attention to the fact that to implement a number of the twelve points agreed upon would require a substantial expenditure of money. He emphasized that such monies could not be appropriated by Lend Lease or any other United States agency. He further pointed out that in the past twelve years the United States has spent approximately \$160,000,000 in Puerto Rico, and for the last eight years expenditures in the Virgin Islands of the United States have been on an average of about \$800,000 per annum. Mr. Taussig further stated that if the two governments were jointly to improve conditions of the Caribbean, it is necessary for the government of the United Kingdom to make far greater expenditures than heretofore.

The British conferees said they recognized this and were prepared to allocate substantial funds for such development. Toward the end of the conference they fixed a figure for two years' expenditures of £6,000,000, £5,000,000 of which would come from the imperial exchequer and £1,000,000 from local colonial funds. There was a possibility that warms throughout the area could assume importance

**DISCUSSION OF A PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL BODY WITHIN THE
CARIBBEAN THAT MIGHT HAVE ADVISORY AND/OR EXECUTIVE
AUTHORITY OVER MATTERS OF SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE
WHICH ARE OF COMMON INTEREST TO ALL CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES**

of the Caribbean are even now only seven hours flying
time from New York and Washington. Mr. Taussig thought
that hotels, camps and planning clubs would be necessary
in the development of tourist travel.
Mr. Taussig called attention to the fact that
substantial agreement had been reached by the Conference
on twelve subjects of economic and social importance to
the countries of the Caribbean, that most of these matters
were of common interest to all Caribbean countries and
that in implementing some of the points agreed upon some
international organization would be desirable.

AIR AND SEA TRANSPORTATION SHOULD BE REGULATED

As an example, Mr. Taussig suggested that it
would be useful to consider some means of regulating shipping
rates, traffic and transportation between the islands in
the Caribbean and within the area of the Caribbean generally.

Mr. Macmillan remarked that high freight rates
had tended to discourage inter-island shipments. Mr. Taussig
pointed out that not only was inter-island shipping and
transportation of vital importance to the welfare of the
Caribbean but that air travel and air transport would assume
an even greater importance in the after-war period. There was
a possibility that tourism throughout the area could assume

importance

importance second only to that of sugar in the overall economy. He noted that with modern planes, many parts of the Caribbean are even now only seven hours flying time from New York and Washington. Mr. Taussig thought that hotels, camps and fishing clubs would aid materially in the development of tourist travel. There was general agreement that tourist ships as heretofore operated were of little or no advantage to the island economies as these tended to exploit the area to the financial advantage of shipping lines but with little benefit to the population.

AIR MONOPOLIES DISCUSSED

There was a general discussion as to the question of the need of monopolies to encourage air services. Mr. Taussig took the position that monopolies would tend to throttle the development of the multitude of local inter-island services necessary properly to serve the islands. The Secretary of State said that in his experience with transportation he had found that frequently it had been necessary to grant monopolies in order to induce private capital to take on the work of development. The Secretary of State, however, conceded that if monopolies were granted they should be under rigid governmental control.

Mr.

The British representatives generally considered that it would be impossible to anticipate acceptance of a delegation of authority to a central body by the different Island Governments, unless and until, by means of conferences, the dependencies and governments affected could be made aware of the importance to the area of a central authority.

Mr. Taussig then stated that he thought it was necessary to begin planning at once, that if the subject was allowed to rest until the end of the war the Airlines would do what had been done to a large extent by the shipping lines - make their plans with a view to the interest of areas outside of the Caribbean and leave the Caribbean Island interests entirely subordinate or unconsidered.

The Secretary of State summed up the British attitude by saying that he thought there was complete agreement on the ends desired but there was need to consider ways and means of reaching those ends. He said he thought a central conference on planning should be created.

Mr. de la Rue remarked that in the case of Pan American Airways their plans had been developed for service and schedules with little regard to the needs of the Island stops en route. There was general agreement that planning should be considered immediately.

Mr. Taussig explained that he had in mind something similar to the Port Authority in New York. He noted that the Port of New York had been developed at first between the two states, New York and New Jersey, independently but that later the two had pooled authority by creation of the Port of New York Authority and that this had been done without any feeling of loss of sovereignty of either state and with results that had been satisfactory to all concerned.

The

The British representatives generally considered that it would be impossible to anticipate acceptance of a delegation of authority to a central body by the different Island Governments, unless and until, by means of conferences, the dependencies and governments affected could be made aware of the importance to the area of a central authority.

WHO SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE SUGGESTS A PLANNING COMMITTEE

The Secretary of State summed up the British attitude by saying that he thought there was complete agreement on the ends desired but there was need to consider ways and means of reaching those ends. He said he thought a central conference or planning committee should be created to consider

- (1) Transportation (by sea and air)
- (2) Tariffs (particularly inter-island tariffs)
- (3) Quarantine regulations
- (4) Parallel public works. (It was agreed that it was desirable for public works programs in the various dependencies in the Caribbean to keep pace with one another.)
- (5) Caribbean fisheries
- (6) Other subjects which might be developed later.

It was thought in connection with this tentative list that it would be better to start with one or two subjects

of

of mutual interest and importance in which all of the various Island Governments were concerned, and then, by agreement, include such other matters of mutual interest as are acceptable to the Island authorities.

WHO SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

There was considerable discussion as to who should be included in such a conference. Generally it was agreed that representatives of the British West Indies and of the American territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States should first be included. This was suggested because of the precedent established by the Jamaica Conference.

Mr. Taussig remarked that certain of the Jamaica Conference recommendations, in particular stock piles of food and the land-water transportation route from Florida to Puerto Rico had been discussed and negotiated by the United States Department of State with Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, with satisfactory results. He thought the technique of this precedent might be further developed in connection with the proposed planning conference. In other words, if the conference was confined to the United States and Great Britain and later included other European Dependencies

Dependencies in the Caribbean, that matters relating to the independent republics should be taken up with them through the usual diplomatic channels of the United States Department of State.

The subject of the relations of the Caribbean
THE SECRETARY SUGGESTS A PERMANENT "CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE."

At a subsequent session of the conference, the Secretary of State said that he had discussed with his advisers the desirability of developing a Caribbean planning or regulatory body. He stated that he had decided to agree with this recommendation. He suggested a permanent standing body to be called the "Caribbean Conference." He went on to say that he thought it would not be well to have the members of this board be given an appointment of a more or less permanent character but rather that they should be changed from time to time. As to composition, he was of the opinion that each group or territory, both American and British, initially, should send two delegates, although this would not limit the number of their specialists and advisers who might be sent to assist the delegates.

After discussion it was agreed that only American and British territories should be represented at first but that the door should be left open until such time as it was deemed advisable to invite other territories within the

Caribbean

Caribbean to take part in the conference.

American Caribbean Commission should not have a vote in

RELATION OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION TO THE
"CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE."

should have free access to all conference matters and take

The subject of the relations of the Caribbean
Conference and the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission
was discussed generally.

It was agreed that one of the co-chairmen of
the Commission should act as chairman of the Conference,
thus avoiding the question of any precedence in this
connection. If the Conference were held in American
territory, the American co-chairman should act; if held
in British territory, the British co-chairman should act.
If for any reason the appropriate co-chairman was not
available at any time, the other co-chairman should take
his place. The precedent set at the Jamaica Supply
Officers Conference at which time the British co-chairman
was not available and the American co-chairman therefore
acted and then relinquished the chair in favor of another
so as to permit the co-chairman to discuss the various
matters from the floor, was considered as a satisfactory
procedure which might be followed in case similar conditions
should arise in connection with the proposed Caribbean
Conference.

It

POPULAR REPRESENTATION

It was agreed that the members of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission should not have a vote in the Conference as members of the Commission but that they should have free access to all conference matters and take part in the discussions. At the same time it was understood that any specialists or experts employed as consultants of the Commission should likewise have access and be of service in the discussions.

It was agreed that the secretariat of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, both regional and local, should be responsible for the preparation and the necessary secretarial work for the Caribbean Conference and at the same time should be available to serve as the secretariat of the Conference.

"CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE" TO BE INITIALLY AN ADVISORY BODY.

After discussion as to the function of the Caribbean Conference, it was decided that it was essential, in view of the present political situation, that it should initially be an advisory body. It was stated as an objective the hope that the Caribbean Conference would attain a position of influence and competence and that the local governments would decide to delegate to it specific executive powers.

Popular

POPULAR REPRESENTATION?

The delegates to the "Caribbean Conference" would be appointed by the Colonial Governors so far as the British territories are concerned. Mr. Taussig explored thoroughly the possibility of some formula which would permit at least one of the two delegates to represent the people generally of each territory. The British thought this would be difficult because the conferences would require specialists and it was not possible to foresee in all territories that popular representatives would be at the same time expert in such matters as might come before the Conference. Further, the authority of the Governors had to be taken into consideration. The Secretary of State agreed to write a personal letter to Mr. Taussig indicating his intentions in this matter. The letter follows:

"Colonial Office,
"Downing Street, S.W.1

"PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL"

"17th December, 1942.

"Dear Mr. Taussig:

"When we were discussing Appendix A (West Indian Conferences) to the main memorandum yesterday, you raised the point whether it would be possible to

include

"OLIVER STANLEY" (signed)

NOT

include in the appendix some statement regarding the type of representation which you considered most desirable. After discussion we found that it would not be possible to find a suitable form of words agreeable to us both, and I undertook to let you know privately what our intentions in the matter would be.

"I do not think it will be possible to tie the hands of the Governors in this matter by any definite instructions as it seems to me to be essential that they should be in a position to choose as delegates those whom they consider most fitted to present the views of their governments on the matters under discussion at the Conferences. But when writing to the Governors on the whole subject of these Conferences, I shall clearly indicate to them that I hope they will find it possible to include among the delegates men who can be regarded as representative of the population as a whole.

"I hope that this will satisfactorily meet the point which you raised.

"Yours very sincerely,

"OLIVER STANLEY" (signed)

NOT

NOT TO BE FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF PURELY LOCAL MATTERS.

There was further discussion of the character of the subjects which would be considered as proper for submission to the Caribbean Conference. Mr. Taussig pointed out that there was some need of limitation since it was not desired that the Caribbean Conference should become a forum for discussion of purely local matters of the individual territories and colonies; that the functions of the Conference should be understood to relate to economic subjects of interest generally to the entire Caribbean region.

Mr. Taussig stated that it must be understood, in view of the time limitation, that he could not consult Washington and receive its approval or suggestions in time to present them to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and that the most he could do was to indicate his personal accord and that he would recommend to Washington the subjects upon which agreement had been reached.

Sir George Gater then said that, of course, in connection with the Caribbean Conference, the Secretary of State would wish to consult with the Colonial Governors before finally agreeing.

REPORT ON VISIT OF MR. TAUSSIG AND
MR. DE LA RUE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

C
O
P
Y

1. Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue representing the State Department arrived in the United Kingdom on Wednesday, 5th December. Apart from a number of sub-committee meetings,

four meetings were held under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State at which the following were present in

**THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE DRAFTED BY THE
COLONIAL OFFICE AND INITIALED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
COLONEL OLIVER STANLEY, AND MR. TAUSSIG.**

Commission.

Mr. Macmillan, M.P.	(Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies).
Sir George Gater	(Permanent Under Secretary of State).
Sir William Satterhill	(Deputy Under Secretary of State).
Mr. Gant	(Assistant Under Secretary of State) (One meeting).
Mr. Palmer, M.P.	(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State).
Mr. Beckett	of the Colonial Office
Mr. Calne	
Mr. Davies	

REPORT ON VISIT OF MR. TAUSSIG AND MR. DE LA RUE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

C O P Y

(1) Generally speaking a single crop economy in the West Indies was undesirable. Whilst the continuation of

1. Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue representing the State Department arrived in the United Kingdom on Wednesday, 9th December. Apart from a number of sub-committee meetings, four meetings were held under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State at which the following were present in addition to Colonel Stanley, Mr. Taussig, Mr. de la Rue and Sir Frank Stockdale, Joint Chairman of the Caribbean Commission.

Mr. Macmillan, M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies).

Sir George Gater (Permanent Under Secretary of State).

Sir William Battershill (Deputy Under Secretary of State).

Mr. Gent (Assistant Under Secretary of State) (One meeting).

Mr. Palmer, M.P. (Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State).

Mr. Beckett
Mr. Caine
Mr. Davies } of the Colonial Office

(7) There is an urgent need for a wide improvement of

2. After discussion general agreement was reached on the following matters.

(1) Generally speaking a single crop economy in the West Indies was undesirable. Whilst the continuation of cash crops must be relied upon to a considerable extent, mixed farming and animal husbandry should be encouraged everywhere both on a large scale (whether by private enterprise or on a cooperative basis) and by peasant holders. But it was felt very undesirable that a closed economy system should be constituted.

(2) The economic problems of the Caribbean should be regarded more as regional than local problems.

(3) Inter-island trade should be encouraged.

(4) The possibilities of industrial development, although probably limited in the majority of territories, should not be overlooked.

(5) Local fisheries with facilities for storage and distribution should be developed and organized.

(6) While an adequate literary and cultural standard must be maintained, a greater vocational bias should be introduced into the educational system.

(7) There is an urgent need for a wide improvement of

the impact of the war, the carrying out of these programmes housing and sanitary conditions and for a large school building programme.

(8) Transportation to and within the Caribbean is inadequate and should be improved. This will need coordination and planning on a broad scale.

(9) The desirability of making a survey of tourist possibilities in the region will be considered by the Caribbean Commission.

(10) The question of providing midday meals for children at school will be investigated by the Caribbean Commission.

3. Approval was given to the principle of establishing a regular system of West Indian conferences subject to consultation with the Governors and Government Departments concerned. Details are given in Appendix A.

4. A sub-committee consisting of
 Mr. de la Rue,
 Sir Frank Stockdale,
 Mr. Caine,

considered the possibility of securing from the United States the material needed for current development programmes in the British West Indies. It was agreed that in view of the disturbance to the general economy of the Caribbean caused by

the impact of the war, the carrying out of these programmes cannot with safety be postponed until after the war. Their immediate execution should in fact be regarded as an urgent war measure. Approval was given to the conclusions of this sub-committee as reproduced in Appendix B.

5. A sub-committee consisting of

Mr. Taussig

Sir Frank Stockdale

Mr. Gent

Mr. Beckett

Mr. Lloyd

Mr. Bigg

Mr. Davies,

considered certain problems connected with the application of Mr. Yerex for an airways concession. Approval was given to this sub-committee's conclusions as set out in Appendix C.

6. A sub-committee consisting of

Mr. Taussig

Sir George Gater

Sir William Battershill

Mr. Gent

Mr. Beckett

Mr. Lloyd

Mr. Davies,

considered certain matters connected with internment of

Domingo. Approval was given to this sub-committee's
conclusions as set out in Appendix D.

19. December 1942

Initialed by:

Colonel Oliver Stanley
Sec'y of State for the
Colonies

and

Charles W. Taussig
United States Chairman
of the Anglo-American
Caribbean Commission

Appendix A.

Caribbean Commission who is a national of the territory
Having regard to the fact that the experience of the
in which the Conference is being held. In the event of
the appropriate joint Chairman being absent after the
of social or economic significance which are of common
proceedings had been formally opened by the Chairman
interest to all Caribbean countries, it is agreed that a
Chair should be taken by another member of the
regular system of West Indian Conferences should be in-
augurated under the auspices of the Caribbean Commission to
discuss such matters. Each territory or group in the
Caribbean area should send two delegates. The Conference
should meet as and when occasion arises and subjects come
up suitable for consideration. It should be a standing
body; that is not to say that the representatives at the
Conference should always be the same people, but it should
have a definite continuity of existence. The conferences
should in fact follow on the lines of the Jamaica Conference
which met earlier this year under the auspices of the
Caribbean Commission. The Secretariat of the Commission,
central and regional, would be available to provide assis-
tance. The personnel of the Conference would be varied
according to the subject to be discussed. Although the
Conference would start only with British and American
participation, the possibility is left open of inviting any
other countries such as might be interested in particular
projects. The Chairman would be the joint Chairman of the

Appendix B.

Caribbean Commission who is a national of the territory in which the Conference is being held. In the event of the appropriate joint Chairman being absent after the proceedings had been formally opened by his colleague the Chair would be taken by another member of the Commission of the same nationality as the absent joint Chairman. Other members of the Caribbean Commission and experts invited by them would have the right of attending all meetings of the Conference.

The Conference should be advisory but it would be hoped that it would attain a really influential position, and it would be open at any time to the interested Governments to agree among themselves to delegate to it any specific powers which they might think desirable.

A provisional list of the materials which are required under the various heads is attached. There have been excluded from this list any substantial quantities of supplies involving iron and steel, copper, and other critical materials.

2. In regards the first group of projects, directions

Appendix B.

Provision of Materials in order to expedite the
execution of Development Programmes in British West Indies.

The disturbance of the general economy of the Caribbean caused by the impact of war has made it a matter of urgency to carry out certain development projects in the British West Indies, the execution of which depends on the securing of materials from the United States of America.

These fall into two classes:-

- (1) Developments aiming at increase of local food production, processing and storage, and of other local production which will replace imports and save shipping, and
- (2) Developments forming part of the general programme of Development and Social Welfare to be undertaken either out of funds provided through the Comptroller under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940 or out of funds provided by the local Governments out of their own resources.

A provisional list of the materials which are required under the various heads is attached. There have been excluded from this list any substantial quantities of supplies involving iron and steel, copper, and other critical materials.

2. As regards the first group of projects, directions

have been given to the Governors concerned that food production must have absolute priority over the production of crops for export especially over sugar, and important progress has been made. Further progress is hampered by lack of certain supplies. It is agreed that the supply of materials for this group of projects is of direct wartime value.

3. The second group of projects has become of great urgency because of the impact of war on the Colonial economies and the delay which has already taken place in implementing the programme under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, largely because of lack of materials.

4. It will however be necessary to examine individually the separate classes of materials in relation to more precise estimates of the requirements involved. For the purpose of arriving at such estimates a telegram is being sent at once to the Governors of the Colonies concerned asking that precise figures of quantities may be despatched as soon as possible to the Comptroller. Meanwhile the latter has provided in the memorandum attached rough estimates of the aggregate quantities of the main items likely to be involved in order that preliminary action may be taken by Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue immediately on their return to Washington.

5. It is understood that it would not at present be possible to bring most of the supplies in question under Lend-Lease procedure although Lend-Lease supplies may be made available for materials required for projects with a direct wartime value and have already been agreed to in principle in the case of the Schooner Pool; but the Lend-Lease position could be reviewed if the sterling position so deteriorated as to render it difficult to maintain the flow of supplies.

6. It is realised also that there may be difficulties in shipping supplies, even if priorities are secured in the United States. These difficulties are not expected to be serious in the case of Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana; they will be greater in the Leeward and Windward Islands and in British Honduras.

7. In order that Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue may be able to present the case at once in Washington, the attached memorandum on the general programme has been prepared by the Comptroller. This explains the general nature of the individual schemes involved and the reasons which have prevented more rapid progress in the past, in particular the non-availability of supplies. Details of individual schemes will be provided.

Fishing:

Outboard motors.

8. A policy of going ahead as rapidly as possible

with Development and Welfare projects in the West Indies at the cost of purchasing supplies for cash in the United States may involve a fairly considerable dollar expenditure, and it will be necessary to explain what is in mind to the British Treasury and get their general concurrence in the proposal.

A. LOCAL PRODUCTION ETC.

Foodstuffs:

Agricultural implements, especially hoes and forks.

Irrigation pumps and valves.

Air motors and pumps.

Dairy equipment and fittings.

Poultry wire and other fencing.

Cement for expanded drying areas for rice mills. (Br. Guiana)

Food Storage
Processing, etc.:

Distillery plant (for industrial alcohol from surplus sugar to replace petrol).

Vegetable driers.

Flour mills.

Cold storage equipment.

Fishing:

to allow for that? And if a

Outboard motors. set up in

Fishing tackle. additional fuel

Local Shipping:

oil be made available to run
Auxiliary engines for schooners.

Industrial:

Plant for cement works.

B. DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE SCHEMES

Housing & School Buildings:

Cement

Timber (frames and boarding)

Roofing (shingles, tiles or asphalt composition)

Sanitary fittings

Nails, screws, hinges and bolts

Paint (also required for maintenance)

Tools for building (hammers, saws, etc.)

Water supplies & irrigation:

Cement

Pipes (other than steel or cast iron)

Public Health:

Equipment for Health Centres

Oil and Coal:

To carry out any of the above will put greater demands on local transport, electric power facilities. Can some concession be made as regards oil supplies

to allow for that? And if a

The Comptroller for Cement plant were set up in West Indies is charged with Jamaica, would additional fuel, in collaboration with the oil be made available to run, the recommendations of the Wit? Indian Royal Commission with the aid of financial assistance from the United Kingdom Exchequer under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. On his recommendation 116 schemes have been approved under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act up to date, entailing an expenditure of £1,754,758, whilst schemes involving a further expenditure of £100,000 are under consideration at the Colonial Office in London and other schemes involving expenditure of £3,800,000 are before West Indian Governments for consideration. Actual expenditure has been much less than was anticipated owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies of essential materials.

Further Economic Difficulties.

2. At the present time, principally because of shipping difficulties, the general economy of the Caribbean possessions has suffered, and it is anticipated will continue to suffer, while at the same time in certain colonies where United States bases have been established numbers of employees have been dismissed as the work has been brought towards completion, and in others additional labourers will be dismissed progressively for the same reason. Dock workers, transport

labourers and others in many of the islands are definitely
The Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the
in need of economic assistance in consequence of which it
West Indies is charged with the duty of putting into effect,
has now become more than ever desirable that various
in collaboration with the several West Indian Governments,
measures of assistance which have been contemplated in
the recommendations of the West Indian Royal Commission with
the recommendations of Royal Commission should be put into
the aid of financial assistance from the United Kingdom
effect as speedily as may be possible.
Exchequer under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

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the Colonial Development and Welfare Act up to date, entail-
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Wartime Economic Difficulties.

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States bases have been established numbers of employees have
been dismissed as the work has been brought towards comple-
tion, and in others additional labourers will be dismissed
progressively for the same reason. Dock workers, transport

labourers and others in many of the islands are definitely in need of economic assistance in consequence of which it has now become more than ever desirable that various measures of assistance which have been contemplated in the recommendations of Royal Commission should be put into effect as speedily as may be possible.

3. Much has already been done to increase local food production and more is contemplated in order that shipping may be saved. Some food production projects are handicapped and others held up because of lack of supplies of building materials, agricultural tools and implements etc. It is now desirable that the situation as to materials and supplies should be re-examined with a view to assisting food production and fishery developments and endeavouring to put as much of the public works programmes into immediate effect, particularly in respect of agricultural development, schools and housing, as may be found practicable.

General Requirements.

4. The British territories are very diverse, and whilst the prime need under war time conditions has been to develop food production and save shipping there is still need in some colonies for improved and extended roads. In Cayman and elsewhere as the result of the pioneer work of others water supplies must be given first priority. Over

possible, but this work is being handicapped by difficulty

the areas as a whole it may be said that schools are inadequate and in need of considerable repair and extension, that housing is poor and that sanitation is far from satisfactory especially in the rural areas. In all colonies there is need for greater diversification of agriculture and particularly for the development of mixed farming and for greater attention to food production and animal husbandry.

5. After discussions with local authorities and communities, the most pressing needs have been determined and greatly increased expenditure under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and from local sources is contemplated during the next two years if the necessary supplies can be secured.

Buildings.

6. Whilst local materials will be used as much as possible the programme for schools, housing and other necessary buildings will suffer seriously if certain essential building supplies cannot be imported. In the sphere of public health supplies are required to improve the low standards of sanitation particularly in the rural areas. The health unit system which has been so successful in Java, Ceylon and elsewhere as the result of the pioneer work of the Rockefeller Foundation is being introduced as fast as possible, but this work is being handicapped by difficulty

the improvement and protection of village wells. For some in the construction and equipment of the centres because water schemes which have been examined it has been found of shortage of supplies. In the educational field much that progress will not be possible because of the shortage of expenditure is needed for the improvement of school buildings and for additional equipment. To meet urgent educational needs existing schools require repair and extension and many new schools are necessary. Additional equipment is also necessary. These new buildings it is proposed to construct, as far as possible, with such local materials as are available but the building programme will be held up considerably if cement is not procurable and roofing material obtained as well as supplies of frame timber, boarding, and supplies of sanitary fittings and other equipment.

7. For the development of welfare centres there is also need of building materials, whilst little can be done except perhaps in Jamaica and British Guiana with the necessary housing programmes until building supplies and sanitary fittings can be obtained. There is also a very great shortage of nails, screws and bolts as well as of paint.

Water Supplies

8. For the improvement of water supplies cement is required for the development of catchments in dry areas, for use in dams, where stone may in some cases be used, and for

the improvement and protection of village wells. For some water schemes which have been examined it has been found that progress will not be possible because of the shortage of piping.

Food Production and Agriculture.

9. As has been indicated earlier in this note, much has been done to develop local food production during the past twelve months, but more can be done and is indeed essential if due account is taken of the shipping position. There is however a shortage of agricultural tools and implements, poultry wire, fencing, nails, etc. whilst increased production would be possible if air-motors could be obtained for use in connection with well irrigation and dairy equipment for the development of animal husbandry as well as vegetable driers and flour mills for making sweet potato or cassava flour. Additional cold storage equipment is also necessary in some places.

10. It is not possible to state with any degree of accuracy the actual requirements in connection with food production, but hoes, forks, shovels and cutlasses are very short and possibly 100,000 of each might be required during the next 24 months. Similarly hammers and saws will be required if the school building and housing programmes are to be pushed on with. Possibly 10,000 of each might be contemplated for the whole area.

were available and an expenditure of £500,000 should be possible.

11. Supplies are actually required for the following schemes which have already been approved:- Agricultural development in all territories. Health units in all the larger territories. Stock farms in Jamaica, British Guiana and Barbados. Water supplies in Jamaica, Antigua, Montserrat and most of the smaller islands. Materials required in connection with drainage and irrigation schemes in British Guiana. Cement for the Mona water reservoir in Jamaica and for other irrigation and drainage schemes. Equipment for marketing depots in British Guiana and elsewhere. Some materials for use in connection with road developments in British Honduras, Dominica and Montserrat may be required. Building materials for the new Prison Farm in Jamaica and also for the proposed children's Homes in the same Colony are also required.

Estimates of Expenditures.

12. The building programme for schools has not been finally completed but judging from the details already secured in regard to British Guiana, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands an expenditure of not less than £1,000,000 will be required for repairs, extensions and new buildings. Every endeavour would be made to push on with this programme during the next 2 years if supplies of the necessary materials

were available and an expenditure of £500,000 should be possible.

13. Similarly with housing, it should be possible to provide for repairs extensions to existing buildings and for new buildings to the extent of £2,000,000 during the next two years. These works would provide for considerably increased employment and help to take care of much of the labour now being discontinued from the United States bases.

14. In addition to the above many projects have been prepared to be financed from local sources and the total of expenditure which could be undertaken in the next two years if materials were available is approximately £6,000,000.

Supply Requirement.

15. Details of requirements are being asked for from the several Governments by telegram and will be tabulated and totalled as soon as the data are available. Those Governments such as Trinidad who have not found it necessary to obtain financial assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act have also been asked to include their requirements for food production programmes and for economic and social developments which would be undertaken from their own funds should supplies be available.

16. The chief necessity at the moment is the supply of essential materials for the increase of food production and for building materials. If these could be obtained and shipping of them secured marked progress should be possible during the next two years. They may be expected to include: -

Provisional Estimate of Supplies required

Cement	20,000 tons
Frame timber	25 million feet
Boarding	100 million feet
Shingles (or equivalent roofing material)	1 million bundles
Hoes, forks, shovels and Cutlasses	100,000 of each
Hammers and saws	10,000 of each

U. S. Government, the WEST INDIAN AIR SERVICES.

The question of the arrangements to be concluded with Mr. Yerex for the operation of inter-island air services between Trinidad, Barbados and the Windward and Leeward Islands was discussed with Mr. Taussig on the 14th December.

Mr. Gent explained briefly the history of the question and asked Mr. Taussig whether he was in a position to furnish any explanation of or information in regard to the objections felt by the U. S. Government to the arrangements proposed. Mr. Taussig explained that there was a strong feeling in the United States that monopolies as such were open to objection unless these were subject to the most stringent control. Moreover, it was not clear at this stage what air services were likely to be operated in the Caribbean area in the post-war period, and the U. S. Government would not wish any vested interests to stand in the way of reasonable arrangements for the coordination of air services for the whole of the Caribbean area.

Mr. Gent suggested that the U. S. Government did not perhaps fully appreciate the point made by His Majesty's Government which, for some reason which was not clear, had not been included in the note sent by Lord Halifax to the

U. S. Government, that if as the result of international agreement after the war exclusive arrangements for air services should be generally abolished, H.M.G. for their part would not allow the contract to be concluded with Mr. Yerex to stand in the way of an international agreement on such lines. Mr. Taussig thought that if the point in question could be made quite clear to the U. S. Government there would be some prospect of the withdrawal of their objections to the arrangements proposed. He explained that he himself had in mind the possibility of the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Commission to coordinate and control the operation of air services in the whole of the Caribbean area, in the same way as the Civil Aeronautics Board control the operation of air services to, in and through the U. S. He would like to be assured that the proposed ten year agreement with Mr. Yerex would not "freeze" the position in that area and prevent the proper coordination and planned development of air services there. It would be possible for him and Sir Frank Stockdale, as Joint Chairmen of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to recommend the setting up of an air commission on the lines suggested above. He could not, of course say whether such a suggestion would be acceptable to the British and American Governments, but he, for his part, would not feel the same objection to the proposed arrangements with Mr. Yerex provided that it was clear:-

(a) that there would be in the future proper arrangements for the coordination and planning of an international basis of the air services to be operated in the Caribbean area; and

(b) that the arrangements to be concluded with Mr. Yerex would not interfere with the early institution of such planning.

Mr. Taussig appreciated that it was undesirable that the agreement with Mr. Yerex should be held up whilst a general plan for the coordination of air services in the Caribbean area was being worked out. He merely wished to ensure that American acquiescence in the Yerex agreement should be linked with an understanding that a wider plan would be considered and that no vested interest would be created by the Yerex agreement which would hinder the adoption of such a plan in due course. Provided that he was satisfied as to this, Mr. Taussig would be willing to use his good offices to assist in resolving the difficulties at present felt by the State Department. He suggested, however, that it would perhaps be preferable if the further representations to be made to the State Department by the Embassy in the meantime, provided that it was made clear that their further representations to the U. S. Government should be synchronized with Mr. Taussig's return to Washington.

Appendix D.

Note on Meeting with Mr. Taussig on 14th December about
Domingo Case.

It was agreed that the Colonial Office should raise with Sir Arthur Richards the possibility of Domingo being released in Jamaica subject to good behaviour and on the understanding that, if his conduct over a period of twelve months was such as to satisfy this condition, the question of granting authority for his readmission to the United States would be sympathetically considered by the State Department. That Department would, of course, not be bound by the views of the Jamaica Government but would exercise an independent judgment on the question whether Domingo had in fact shown good behaviour during the period of probation in the Colony.

If the procedure suggested above proved acceptable to Sir Arthur Richards, the next step would be to sound the State Department, through Lord Halifax. Simultaneously with this approach Mr. Taussig would be informed and would use his good offices with the State Department to secure their promise of sympathetic consideration for Domingo's readmission if his behaviour in Jamaica during the twelve months following his release should prove to be satisfactory.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. HERBERT MORRISON, HOME SECRETARY,
AND MR. TAUSSIG - SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1942.

Sir George Gater invited Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Taussig to luncheon at his country home at Okelley. Present at luncheon were Sir George and Lady Gater, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Taussig.

PART FOUR

Mr. Morrison intimated to Mr. Taussig that the
**MEMORANDA OF CONVERSATIONS WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS AND
A GENERAL RESUME OF ITINERARY AND OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL
DINNERS AND LUNCHEONS GIVEN FOR MR. TAUSSIG.**

Mr. Morrison referred to the desire of John L. Lewis to have the Trade Union Council recognize the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the refusal of T.U.C. to do so on the grounds that they did not recognize a "breakaway" union. However, under the changing conditions in the United States and the possibility of peace between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. and the high regard that the T.U.C. has for Philip Murray, the matter is again under consideration.

On the question of political reform in the Colonies, Mr. Morrison's ideas tended toward a more authoritarian government
from

CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. HERBERT MORRISON, HOME SECRETARY,
AND MR. TAUSSIG - SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1942.

Colonies. He did not appear to have much detailed knowledge
of the Colonial problem and particularly of the various

forms of **Sir George Gater** invited Mr. de la Rue and Mr.
Taussig to luncheon at his country home at Okeley. Present
at luncheon were Sir George and Lady Gater, Mr. Herbert
Morrison, Mr. de la Rue, and Mr. Taussig.

Mr. Morrison intimated to Mr. Taussig that the
British Government was considering the possibility of
inviting Vice-President Wallace to visit England. He also
thought it might be advisable for certain United States
Senators and Congressmen to visit England.

Mr. Morrison referred to the desire of John L.
Lewis to have the Trade Union Council recognize the Congress
of Industrial Organizations, and the refusal of T.U.C. to
do so on the grounds that they did not recognize a "breakaway"
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On the question of political reform in the Colonies,
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from

DISCUSSION WITH RICHARD LAW, MR. TROSSIER, MR. DE LA ROZE
AND NINE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

from London rather than toward increased franchise in the Colonies. He did not appear to have much detailed knowledge of the Colonial problem and particularly of the various forms of Colonial Governments in the British West Indies. He laid great stress on the importance of the closest understanding and cooperation between Great Britain and the United States, and seemed anxious to meet American sentiment at least half way.

Sir George Gater mentioned the Domingo problem in the presence of the Home Secretary. Mr. Morrison was not acquainted with this situation. It was brought out in the conversation that in the case of Colonial political prisoners, the Home Secretary has the power to admit them into the United Kingdom, which from time to time he does. Mr. Morrison said this was permitted on the grounds of military necessity. He also said that frequently such prisoners were arrested as soon as they arrived in the United Kingdom.

LUNCHEON WITH RICHARD LAW, MR. TAUSSIG, MR. DE LA RUE
AND NINE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

DECEMBER 14, 1942 - 1:15 P. M.

Present: Mr. George Hall, Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker,
Mr. Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. P. V. Emrys-
Evans, Major S. F. Markham, Sir Edward
Grigg, Mr. Law, Mr. Taussig, Mr. de la Rue

Mr. Law began the discussion after luncheon by saying that those present were all members of Parliament interested in the West Indian problem and anxious to become more familiar with certain aspects of it, particularly the political situation. He then asked Mr. Taussig to give a frank statement of the situation. Mr. Taussig outlined the difference in the forms of government of the several colonial possessions in the British West Indies. He called attention particularly to the problem of the three "B's" - Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Barbados - the so-called "self-governing" colonies, governed by a small minority of planters and merchants. He pointed out that due to limited franchise it was possible for small vested groups to prevent social and economic advances.

Mr. Emrys-Evans, Parliamentary Undersecretary for the Dominions asked whether the United States does not reserve the right to intervene in Cuba if necessary. Mr.

Taussig replied that by the abrogation of the Platt Amendment the United States had renounced this right. This action, said Mr. Taussig, has had salutary effects throughout the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Taussig was impressed with the fact that our changed relations with Cuba were not generally known among this particular Parliamentary group. It seemed to be of considerable interest to them. Mr. Emrys-Evans referred to certain imperfections in the present Cuban Government. Mr. Taussig pointed out that, assuming such imperfections existed, since the revolution of 1933, which in his opinion was a social revolution in its deepest sense, the conditions of the people have greatly improved. Much social legislation has been passed, wages of labor are substantially higher, and workers in sugar plantations have received more substantial benefits from the protection afforded Cuban sugar by the United States. Mr. Taussig further stated that our renunciation of the right to intervene in Cuba was taken as an earnest of our sincerity in relation to our announced Good Neighbor Policy. He concluded that the abrogation of the Platt Amendment can in no way be interpreted as having benefitted the United States in a material way, although it has paid tremendous dividends in good will and friendship between the United States and our neighbors to the South.

The entire group expressed the opinion that some action to improve the conditions in the West Indies, including political reform, is long over-due.

When Mr. Law thanked Mr. Taussig, all of the others joined in and said they greatly appreciated this frank talk. They agreed that it is only by such frankness and sincerity that these problems can be understood and successfully solved.

The discussion turned to the legislative, which would create an embarrassing situation. Mr. Taussig suggested that due to the extremely limited franchise with property qualifications the term "people" could hardly be equated with the collective "people".

The discussion turned to the question of the effect of racial propaganda started among colored people prior to the entry of Russia into the war and which has proved to bring about race feeling. This feeling is now being increased and extended by local political agitators, even though the Russian Revolution has ceased.

Mr. Frank, the Minister of Information, who is well acquainted with the United States, stated that in his opinion the racial antipathies and inspirations given the negroes by the Third International have been far more serious than is generally appreciated by the American public. He believed that the very dangerous internal

DINNER WITH LORD CRANBORNE, VISCOUNT SIMON, GENERAL SIR
ALAN BROOKE, BRENDAN BRACKEN, SIR GEORGE GATER
8.00 P.M., DECEMBER 14

65

situation developing in the United States has been temporarily deferred by the war effort, but will become even more acute when the war is over. In Mr. Bracken's opinion, Russia regards the United States with its concentration of population in great industrial cities as a fertile field for communist propaganda and the extension of communism. He believes, also, that the agricultural population is dominated by the industrial centers. The effect of the part create an embarrassing situation. Mr. Taussig suggested that due to the extremely limited franchise with property qualifications the term "public" could hardly be modified with the adjective "general".

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Mr. Bracken, the Minister of Information, who is well acquainted with the United States, stated that in his opinion the racial antipathies and inspiration given the negroes by the Third Internationale have been far more serious than is generally appreciated by the American public. He believes that the very dangerous internal

situation developing in the United States has been temporarily deferred by the war effort, but will become even more acute when the war is over. In Mr. Bracken's opinion, Russia regards the United States with its concentration of population in great industrial cities as a fertile field for communist propaganda and the extension of communism. He believes, also, that the agricultural population is dominated by the industrialized centers. The effort on the part of Russia to extend communism throughout the United States after the war will be aided and abetted by the inflammability of the negroes in the United States.

Mr. Bracken takes the position that the negro problem in the United States is far more serious than in the West Indies, and that the low subsistence level in the West Indies works no greater hardship than is suffered by the people of the lower classes, particularly the negroes, in the United States. He questions the advisability of putting these classes in a strong position at the present time.

Both Mr. Bracken and Sir George Gater agreed that the difficulties existing in the Bahamas are perhaps due to economic rather than political causes. They are both anxious to help raise the standard of living and to assist in improving the entire economic situation. However, they

left the impression that extension of the franchise is a matter to be considered carefully and effected only as the population becomes more capable politically. How political capability is to be developed was not made clear.

Viscount Simon discussed at some length Norman Manley of Jamaica, saying that he and Lady Simon had traveled with Mr. and Mrs. Manley to Jamaica many years ago. He had a very high opinion of Manley's character and ability.

CONVERSATION WITH THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE
12.30 P.M. to 1.15 P.M., DECEMBER 16, 1942.

Admiral Bromley called for Mr. Taussig at the Embassy and drove him to Buckingham Palace to keep a 12.30 appointment with the King. Before arriving at the Palace Mr. Taussig asked Admiral Bromley if it was wise to mention the Duke of Windsor to the King. Admiral Bromley said it would be better not to as there was no love lost between the two. However, he said it was just possible that the King would bring up the subject himself.

Mr. Taussig was presented to the King by his Equerry, Captain Campbell. The conversation took place between the King and Mr. Taussig alone in the drawing room in easy chairs before a fireplace. The King asked what progress was being made in our Caribbean discussions and seemed to have some general knowledge of the Conferences. He remarked that he supposed Mr. Taussig had occasion to see his brother from time to time, to which Mr. Taussig replied in the affirmative. The talk on the subject was casual, primarily having to do with redecoration of Government House since His Royal Highness was in residence. The King remarked that when he was there many years ago it was a rather shabby building.

The

The King asked Mr. Taussig if he had seen Mrs. Roosevelt since she had returned, saying that they had been very happy to have had her as a visitor and referred to her interest in youth and asked if the C.C.C. Camps were completely out of existence now. Mr. Taussig told him that he thought our experience with them would make it easy to resurrect this institution if there was a need for it in the post-war period. The King referred to his entertaining American officers on Thanksgiving Day, and said that they had expressed surprise to him at the informality with which they were treated as they had always thought that the English were stiff. He said that he had talked about the C.C.C. Camps and some of them present had asked him why he showed so much interest in them when he had probably had no experience with camps. He said he replied that he had run a similar type of camp commencing sometime in 1921 for a period of 12 years. He said he tried to get boys out of public schools and out of industry into the camps as he felt that by mixing them it did a lot of good.

The King made several references to his visit to the United States and when Mr. Taussig remarked that his visit had been extremely useful, he said that his visit to Canada had been particularly helpful.

The

CONFIDENTIAL The fact that the President and his family had
AT THE MINISTRY OF LABOR - 3 P.M., DECEMBER 16, 1948
three houses at Hyde Park seemed to have impressed him for
he commented on it and asked Mr. Taussig if it wasn't the
fact that the big house had belonged to the President's
mother, the small cottage to Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt and
the House on the hill to the President. He then referred
to the President having driven him to the house on the hill
in his own car. This reference to the President driving
his own car prompted the King to comment on the President's
ability to overcome his physical handicap and a further
remark that it was amazing that the President could carry
on such tremendous activities and assume such responsibilities
and still retain his good health. The King made passing
reference to the importance of the United States and Great
Britain working together in close cooperation in the post-
war period.

He discussed
employment in that area and said that every effort should
be made to provide work projects and not resort to the dole.
He spoke of building up the initiative of local labor. He
went into some detail as to the method he was using to train
Indians to become labor leaders and to assist in the organ-
ization of unions. He invited us to visit a training center
but unfortunately time would not permit us to accept. He
mentioned that when these Indians went back to India they
were referred to as the "Battis Boys."

MEMORANDUM

CONVERSATION WITH MR. ERNEST BEVIN, MINISTER OF LABOR,
AT THE MINISTRY OF LABOR - 3 P.M., DECEMBER 16, 1942

PRESENT - Eden, Taussig, de la Rue

Mr. Bevin said he was very much interested in the Colonial labor problems, that he had been officially connected with this phase of Government some years ago.

He spoke of the labor officers who were trained in London before being sent to the Colonies. Mr. Taussig spoke very highly of the calibre of the labor officers sent to the British West Indies, referring particularly to Mr. Linden in Trinidad and Mr. Norman connected with Sir Frank Stockdale's organization. Bevin said that there must be prompt social and economic reform in the British West Indies, that every effort should be made immediately to make a twenty-five year advance in conditions. He discussed unemployment in that area and said that every effort should be made to provide work projects and not resort to the dole. He spoke of building up the initiative of local labor. He went into some detail as to the method he was using to train Indians to become labor leaders and to assist in the organization of Unions. He invited us to visit a training center but unfortunately time would not permit us to accept. He mentioned that when these Indians went back to India they were referred to as the "Bevin Boys."

MEMORANDUM
OF
CONVERSATION WITH ANTHONY EDEN, 4 P.M. to 4.50 P.M.
DECEMBER 16th, IN HIS OFFICE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

United States, Great Britain and Russia going to the Peace
PRESENT - Eden, Taussig, de la Rue
previously drawn up some plans.

Mr. Eden seemed to be posted as to the general trend of our conversations with Colonel Oliver Stanley and said that he had been informed that we had been making considerable progress. Mr. Taussig outlined to him the tentative memorandum on the West Indian Conferences. Mr. Eden felt these meetings would lead to an important development in Colonial policy which might serve as a guide in post-war adjustments. He said he favored some type of federation in the West Indies, in Africa and in the Pacific Islands.

He referred to his recent talks with Ambassador Winant about the desirability of his going to Washington to discuss post-war problems. He said that Mr. Winant was to take this up with the President, and that he hoped to go to Washington in January.

Mr. Eden said it was imperative that considerable groundwork be laid during the war in anticipation of the Peace because of their tremendous military resources. People of Great Britain and the United States might over-idealize the domestic situation in Russia. He said that domestic conditions in Russia were not such as would be congenial to

Peace Conference. He said he could not conceive of the United States, Great Britain and Russia going to the Peace Conference without having previously drawn up some plans. He said he felt that Russia would be cooperative and that he had had some talks with Stalin and that he proposed to outline these talks to Secretary Hull when he went to Washington.

He said he felt that it was necessary and definitely possible for the three nations to cooperate. Mr. Taussig brought up the subject of the bad effects on American public opinion of the propaganda indulged in by the Third Internationale in the United States. He felt that a definite change in policy in this field on the part of the Soviet was essential if American public opinion was to back up cooperation with the Soviets.

Mr. Eden said that he was convinced that Stalin was aware of this situation and that he was not contemplating further propaganda activities in other nations. He said he saw one danger in the Russian situation which was, that because of their tremendous military resistance the people of Great Britain and the United States might over-idealise the domestic situation in Russia. He said that domestic conditions in Russia were not such as would be congenial to the

DISCUSSION BETWEEN COLONEL OLIVER STANLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, AND CHARLES W. TAUBSIC, ON THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

the Americans and the English and spoke of the possibility of the "blood bath" in Europe at the end of the war and the necessity of the United States and Great Britain being ready with relief organizations to mitigate the suffering. He did not appear wholly optimistic that such a "blood bath" could be prevented and felt that the entire success of the Peace would largely depend on the ability of Great Britain and the United States to work together.

Thursday In referring to his proposed visit to the United States Mr. Eden felt the time had come to discuss post-war boundaries in Europe. Club, Saturday, December 19th.

Taubsig pointed out to Colonel Stanley that he was not interested in the political problems of their West India Colonies from an abstract, ideological viewpoint but that the political organization of the colonies could not be separated from their social and economic affairs. Taubsig called attention to the fact that, in the conference just concluded, there had been a general agreement reached on the need for and methods of attacking social and economic questions. To illustrate the interdependence of political, social and economic problems, Taubsig pointed out that, under the present political organization of, say, the Bahamas, the social and economic objectives which had

been agreed upon could not be put into effect, they were
DISCUSSION BETWEEN COLONEL OLIVER STANLEY, SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, AND CHARLES W. TAUSSIG, ON
THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

ference. Colonel Stanley agreed that such was the case but
that only Toward the end of the general conference on social
and economic problems, Mr. Taussig raised some political
questions. Colonel Stanley said that he would prefer not
to make these discussions part of the general conference
but would be glad to discuss them with Mr. Taussig alone.
Two such discussions took place, one on the afternoon of
Thursday, December 17th, in Colonel Stanley's office in the
Colonial Office, and a continuation of the discussion at
luncheon at the Turf Club, Saturday, December 19th.

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Indies Colonies from an abstract, ideological viewpoint
but that the political organization of the colonies could
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ment reached on the need for and methods of attacking social
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of political, social and economic problems, Taussig pointed
out that, under the present political organization of, say,
the Bahamas, the social and economic objectives which had
been

been agreed upon could not be put into effect, that the governments of the Bahamas would be unlikely to agree to put into effect most of the points agreed on in the London conference. Colonel Stanley agreed that such was the case but that only an act of Parliament could change the 300-year old constitutions of the three B's (Bahamas, Bermuda and Barbados) and that his Government wanted to avoid disturbing such an ancient institution. Taussig said he could understand the British veneration for these old constitutions but that, if a 300-year old constitution served to maintain a 300-year old economy, it seemed to him that the constitution would have to be changed. Colonel Stanley said he could understand the concern of the Government of the United States about conditions in the Bahamas, it being so close to the United States. He further stated that, if Parliament were to impose a new constitution on the Bahamas or Bermuda against the will of the little oligarchy which controlled them, he believed that Great Britain would have a revolution on its hands and that the Colonies might attempt to secede from the Empire. He said he was aware that there was a serious problem there in which the United States had an interest and intimated that his Government might attempt to make some change through discussion and persuasion. He said, if the Colonies could not be persuaded to accept a new constitution, it might be

necessary

necessary for Parliament to impose one upon them and take the consequences.

Stanley said his greatest concern was the problem of Jamaica which he regarded as the most dangerous situation in the British West Indies. He said that he hoped to act shortly in this matter and would probably give Jamaica a new constitution which would include greatly increased franchise and a limitation on the reserve powers of the Governor. He stated that he understood that the left-wing groups in Jamaica had unanimously agreed on the type of constitution that they wanted and that he felt that his Government was now in a position to negotiate with them and that probably an agreement would be reached. He further stated that his Government was anxious to establish political reforms in Jamaica and that it was possible that this might be the entering wedge in a complete renovation of West Indian Colonial constitutions.

Colonel Stanley asked Taussig if he thought it would be useful for him to visit the United States. Taussig replied that he thought that if he were to visit the United States it might be well to time it with the announcement of a change in the Jamaican constitution which was satisfactory to the Jamaicans. Under such circumstances a visit by him to the
United States

United States might have a salutary influence on Anglo-American relations. The question of Colonel Stanley personally visiting Jamaica to announce a change in constitution was also discussed and it is Taussig's impression that Colonel Stanley has this under consideration.

Colonel Stanley told Taussig of his intention to recall Governor Richards to London for a consultation and the possibility of Richards not returning to Jamaica. Taussig and Stanley discussed in some detail Governor Richards and his present difficulties in Jamaica.

The question of inviting Norman Manley to pay a visit to London was also discussed. Stanley felt that this would be desirable but questioned whether it could be arranged as long as Richards remains Governor. He indicated, however, that he was giving consideration to inviting Manley to London.

We also have our traditions and as long as I am here,
LUNCHEON WITH WINSTON CHURCHILL AT 10 DOWNING STREET
 we will **DECEMBER 17, 1942 - 1.30 P.M. to 3.45 P.M.**

the Hottentots by popular vote throw the white people
 into the sea; nor let the Syrians by popular vote throw
 out the Jews. **The Secretary of State for Colonies, Colonel**

Oliver Stanley, accompanied Taussig from the Colonial
Office to 10 Downing Street to lunch with the Prime
Minister. Present at the luncheon were the Prime Minister
and Mrs. Churchill, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Tree, Lord Portal,
Oliver Stanley and Taussig. Taussig sat next to Mrs.
Churchill. During most of the luncheon, she told him
of her trip with Lord Moyne and the Royal Commission to
the British West Indies in 1928.

After lunch the ladies left the room and the
Prime Minister asked Taussig to sit next to him. He
pointedly opened the conversation with the blunt statement,
"Nations live on their traditions, or die." He continued,
"Your country has its traditions which you cherish. In
Washington you have a 720 ft. obelisk erected to the memory
of George Washington. When I flew to Washington last summer,
I made a non-stop flight to the Potomac. As we were
approaching Washington, we were flying low. I told the
pilot about Washington Monument. I said it would be most
inappropriate if we hit it and made him climb to 1500 feet.

We

We also have our traditions and as long as I am here, we will hold to them and the Empire. We will not let the Hottentots by popular vote throw the white people into the sea; nor let the Syrians by popular vote throw out the Jews."

The Prime Minister then launched into the subject of Wendell Willkie. He said that Willkie knew very little about the Empire and on his trip around the world visited few parts of it and, where he did land, he saw little more than the airport. He finished off Willkie with the following statement, "I am not going to accept less favorable terms from that other German Willkie than I could get from Hitler." He went on to say, "When I was in Washington, the President asked me to broaden the Atlantic Charter, but I refused. We will stick to our original agreement. The Atlantic Charter only applies to the occupied countries of Europe."

The Prime Minister then talked about the British Colonies. "There was a time," he said, "many years ago, when our Colonies supplied a small amount of capital to England; never as much as they were reputed to. But now capital must be supplied to the Colonies from Britain. Years ago, when I was in the Colonial Office, I would be sent to

West

West Africa when a colony failed to balance its budget. If it went into debt for one hundred thousand pounds the Home Government would make up the deficit and I would cut their budget by disapproving a water closet for the Assistant Colonial Secretary.

"After the war things will change and we must take care of our Colonies. We will set up a revolving fund of one hundred million pounds to take care of them."

Colonial Stanley remarked to the Prime Minister that Taussig had considerable knowledge of the British West Indies; in fact, he knew more about them than a good many officials in the British Government. Taussig disavowed this but took the occasion to remark that the United States had an important interest in the Caribbean and what happened in all the islands of that area was of great strategic importance to the United States and disorders in any part of the Caribbean had unpleasant repercussions in the United States. Taussig further said that he was happy that the United States and Great Britain were now cooperating in an effort to solve some of the more pressing problems of that area. The Prime Minister responded by saying that the Caribbean was one of many parts of the world where there will have to be much intermingling of the affairs of the United States and Great

Great Britain. He added that the Islands of the Pacific
Prime Minister that his statement over the radio giving
was another such area.

to President Roosevelt full credit for the North African
invasion. The Prime Minister referred to his visit to Moscow
and his talks with Stalin. He said that he had told Stalin
of the proposed invasion of North Africa. He said that it
must remain the most secret of secrets. Stalin said he
could keep a secret but that he was not so sure about the
English. Taussig said that Litvinov had made a similar
remark about the United States. The Prime Minister went
on to say that Stalin had kept his word and had not even
told Wendell Willkie about the African program. That,
according to Churchill, was why Willkie, unaware of what
was planned, had made his "second-front-prodding" speech
in Moscow. The Prime Minister spoke about how amazingly
well the secret of the invasion had been kept notwithstand-
ing the fact that thousands knew of the plans. He referred
to some of the methods used for maintaining this secrecy,
such as putting false marks on packing boxes, etc. He
referred to another incident of a war secret being kept from
the Germans under the greatest difficulties, when the Battle-
ship Nelson, badly damaged, had laid at anchor in the Clyde
for weeks without ever having been attacked by German planes.

concerns over the destruction of trees in the United Kingdom.

During the conversation, Taussig remarked to the
He said that "any man who does not plant three trees for

Prime
every

every tree we are forced to destroy should be replaced.

Prime Minister that his statement over the radio giving to President Roosevelt full credit for the North African invasion had been well received in the United States and had materially helped in building up better Anglo-American relations. The Prime Minister responded by saying that he felt impelled to make that statement.

"The President, had he yielded to political expediency, could have prematurely moved the invasion plans ahead so that the invasion would have commenced before election, but in the prosecution of the war, the President has shown himself to be above all partisan considerations. I could do no less than to emulate the President in this respect and publicly to give him the credit which rightfully was his."

The Prime Minister referred to the progress of the war. "I am not complacent but --- we are now winning the war. It may still take one, two or even three years, to win the European war. Then we will throw everything we have into the Pacific --- but, as Abraham Lincoln said, we will only fight one war at a time."

During the luncheon, the Prime Minister expressed concern over the destruction of trees in the United Kingdom. He said that "any man who does not plant three trees for

every

every tree we are forced to destroy should be whipped." He then said with emphasis, "The new trees should not be conifers."

Notwithstanding the colorful language the Prime Minister used and the asperity he showed in talking about Willkie, he appeared to be in excellent humor and was particularly pleasant and cordial to Taussig. He asked Taussig to produce his "Short Snorter" certificate. When Taussig told him that he had not as yet been initiated, the Prime Minister insisted on making him a member forthwith. As the only other Short Snorter at the table besides the Prime Minister was Ronald Tree, he sent for Commander Thompson in order duly to initiate Taussig. The Prime Minister explained that he had added some new rules and that, if a member was in a shower bath when he was challenged, he would now have four minutes to produce his certificate. He said that he had invited Mrs. Roosevelt to become a Short Snorter but, as there were seven Short Snorters present and it would have cost Mrs. Roosevelt \$7.00, she declined to become a member. Taussig got by with the modest expenditure of fifteen shillings.

CONVERSATION WITH SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1942 - 6 to 7 PM

PRESENT: Cripps and Taussig

Sir Stafford told Taussig that he formed the Peoples National Party in Jamaica when he was in Kingston in 1938. He asked Taussig what his opinion was of Norman Manley of Jamaica, the leader of the Peoples National Party. Taussig told him that he knew Manley very well and regarded him as a sincere, able Left-wing leader. Sir Stafford asked Taussig if he knew Robert Kirkwood of Jamaica, who is a friend of Manley and a member of the Legislative Council. Kirkwood is a cousin of Sir Leonard Lyle and manages the Tate & Lyle properties in Jamaica. He is an active Socialist and a bitter opponent of Governor Richards. Cripps told Taussig of his talk with Kirkwood when he was in London a few weeks ago and thought Kirkwood to be extremely able. Kirkwood is actively working for a new constitution. (Taussig did not know whether Cripps was aware that he, Taussig, had arranged for Kirkwood to see him.) Cripps told Taussig of his recent correspondence with Manley and that he was instrumental in effecting an agreement between Manley and his followers and Lord Cranborne on a change in the Jamaican constitution which included the granting of universal suffrage. He said
Cripps that

that Governor Richards of Jamaica was being recalled for consultation and that he hoped he would not be returned to Jamaica. Sir Stafford said that Taussig had come to London at a most opportune time, that a new Secretary of State could inaugurate a new Colonial policy more easily at the beginning of his incumbency. Cripps asked Taussig to suggest to Oliver Stanley that he make a trip through the Caribbean. He also asked whether Taussig thought it would be useful for the Secretary of State to visit the United States. Taussig replied that such a visit would only be useful if the Secretary could announce a specific liberal Colonial policy backed by some aggressive political moves of importance in the Caribbean, such as a change in the constitution of Jamaica granting universal suffrage. Taussig further stated that a mere repetition of the ultimate objective of Great Britain to grant self-government to her colonies in an indefinite future would not make such a visit useful. Cripps agreed with that point of view. Taussig outlined briefly to Cripps the memorandum which Stanley and Taussig had agreed upon relating to social and economic changes in the British West Indies. Cripps said that this agreement, if carried out, would go a long way toward solving the more pressing problems of the British West Indies.

Cripps

Cripps made one reference to India, saying that he had received great assistance from Louis Johnson and further stated that, if Ghandi had not been stubborn, an agreement would have been reached.

December 1. Left Washington by Army plane.

December 2. Sir George Gater, Sir Frank Stockdale, and Mr. Gallman.

Cripps cautioned against the United States admitting Domingo into the country as an "out" for Jamaica. He said that the Jamaicans would resent it as an indication of United States participation in the banishment of Domingo. He approved of admitting Domingo into the United States a year after his release in Jamaica.

Suggestions and instructions.

December 12. Official calls at the Colonial Office where Sir George Gater presented Mr. Tausky and Mr. de la Rue to the Right Honourable Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and various other officials of the Colonial Office.

December 13. Official luncheon at the Savoy Hotel where Colonel Stanley made an address of welcome. The following were present:

Rear-Admiral Sir Arthur
Bryley, KCMG, DVO,
Ceremonial & Reception
Secretary to the Secretary
of State for the
Colonies;
Sir William Robb, M.P.,
Minister of Food;
Sir Frank Stockdale, KCMG.

Lord Privy Seal:
Sir George Gater,
KCB, CMG, DSO.,
Parliament Under-
Secretary of State
for the Colonies;
Windsor Brown,
Executive Assistant
Secretary.

RESUME OF ITINERARY

- December 1. Left Washington by Army plane.
- December 9. Sir George Gater, Sir Frank Stockdale, and Mr. Gallman, First Secretary of the American Embassy were at the Railroad Station in London, on our arrival.
- Conferred with Sir George Gater and Sir Frank Stockdale as to the program.
- Conferred with Ambassador Winant as to general program and with regard to his suggestions and instructions.
- December 10. Official calls at the Colonial Office where Sir George Gater presented Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue to The Right Honorable Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and various other officials of the Colonial Office.
- December 10. Official Luncheon at the Savoy Hotel where Colonel Stanley made an address of welcome. The following were present:

Rear-Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley, KCMG., CVO.,
 Ceremonial & Reception
 Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies;
 Sir William Rook, KCB.,
 Ministry of Food;
 Sir Frank Stockdale, KCMG.,

Lord Privy Seal;
 Sir George Gater,
 KCB, CMG, DSO.,
 Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies;
 Winthrop Brown,
 Esquire, American Embassy;

CBE., Comptroller for Development & Welfare, West Indies;
 Sir Henry French, KCB., KBE., Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Food;
 Sir Richard Hopkins, GCB., Permanent Secretary, Treasury, and Head of His Majesty's Civil Service;
 The Right Honorable Harold Macmillan, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies;
 H. Freeman Matthews, Esquire, Counsellor of American Embassy;
 The Right Honorable Viscount Cranborne;
 Dr. E. F. Penrose, Special Assistant to the Ambassador (Mr. Winant);
 His Excellency the Honorable John G. Winant;
 The Right Honorable Lord Woolton, CH., JP., Minister of Food;
 Alan N. Steyne, Esquire, American Embassy;
 Neville Butler, Esquire, CMG., CVO., Counsellor (Minister Plenipotentiary) Foreign Office;

The Honorable R. H. Brand, CMG., Head of British Food Mission at Washington;
 Sidney Caine, Esquire, Financial Adviser, Colonial Office;
 Sir William Battershill, KCMG., Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office;
 Sir Cyril Hurcomb, KCB, KBE., Director-General, Ministry of War Transport;
 Sir Frederick Leith-Ross GCMG, KCB., Chief Economic Adviser to His Majesty's Government;
 The Right Honorable Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport;
 Colonel The Right Honorable Oliver Stanley, MC., M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies;
 Sir Eric Machtig, KCMG., OBE., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office;
 G.L.M. Clauson, Esquire, CMG., OBE., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office;
 Colonel Sir Eric Crankshaw, KCMG., MBE., Secretary of Government Hospitality Fund.

December 11.

First official conversations held at the Office of the Secretary of State. The following officials were present:

Colonel Stanley,
 Secretary of
 State for the
 Colonies;

Mr. H. Beckett, Head of
 West Indian Department;

December 13.

C. W. Taussig,
Esquire;Sir Sidney de la Rue,
Esquire;Mr. Gerald E. H. Palmer, M.P.,
Parliamentary

Private Secretary to Colonel Stanley;

Sir William Battershill,
Deputy Under-Secretary of State;

The Right Honorable Harold Macmillan, M.P. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Sir George Gater, Permanent Under-Secretary of State;

Sidney Caine, Financial Adviser.

Mr. T. W. Davies, Principal, West Indian Department;

Sir Frank Stockdale, Comptroller of Development;

December 14.

Luncheon at the Oxford and Cambridge Club with Sir George Gater at which were present Mr. Sidney Caine and Mr. Sorenson, M.P. (Liberal).

Dinner was given by Sir Frank Stockdale at the Savoy Hotel. The following guests were present:

Sir William Battershill, KCMG., Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies;

Mr. C. J. Jeffries, CMG., OBE., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office;

Mr. H. Beckett, CMG., Head of West Indian Department, Colonial Office;

Mr. S. Caine, Financial Adviser to Secretary of State for the Colonies;

Sir Ivan Davson, KBE., Chairman of the West India Committee;

Mr. Eric Macfadyen, JP, Chairman of Governing Body of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad;

Sir William Gavin, CBE., Chief Agricultural Adviser to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

December 14.

Lord Cranborne entertained in the Painted Room of the Club. There were present:

December 13. Lunch at Sir Gater's home Okeley, Surrey.
 Sir George and Lady Gater entertained Mr. Taussig and
 Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home
 Secretary.

December 14. Conference at Colonial Office with Sir George
 Gater on the Yerex and Domingo cases.

December 15. Luncheon given by Mr. Richard Law at the Savoy
 Hotel. Present were the following guests:

<p>The Right Honorable George Hall, M.P., Labour Member for Aberdare, Finan- cial Secretary, Admiralty (late- ly Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies);</p> <p>P. J. Noel-Baker, Esquire, M.P. Labour Member for Derby, Parliamen- tary Secretary, Ministry of War Transport;</p>	<p>P. V. Emrys-Evans, Esquire, M.P. Unionist Member for South Derby, Parlia- mentary Under-Secretary for the Dominions;</p> <p>Major S. F. Markham, M.P., National Labour Member, South Nottingham since 1935;</p> <p>Sir Edward Grigg, KCMG., KCVO., DSO., MC., MP., Unionist Member for Altrincham since 1933, Governor of Kenya, 1925-31.</p> <p>Harcourt Johnstone, Esquire, M.P., Liberal Member for Middlesbrough, Parliamen- tary Secretary, Department of Overseas Trade;</p>
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A conference was held with Ambassador Winant at
 the Embassy at which the Ambassador was given a brief
 account of the conferences and discussions to date.

December 14. Lord Cranborne entertained in the Painted Room
 of the Claridge. There were present:

Lord Cranborne,
Lord Privy
Seal;
The Right Honor-
able Viscount
Simon, GCSI,
GCVO., OBE,
Lord Chancellor
(from 1937-1940
was Chancellor
of the Exchequer);

General Sir Alan Brooke,
KCB., DSO, Commander-
in-Chief, Home Forces;
Brendan Bracken, Minister
of Information;
Sir George Gater.

December 15.

A visit to the Ministry of Home Security where General Lucas in charge of the Home Defense took us through the War House, after which Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue proceeded to the Office of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to continue official conversations.

Mr. de la Rue and Mr. Sidney Caine and Sir Frank Stockdale then met at Dover House as a Sub-Committee to discuss the procurement of materials and supplies.

Sir George and Lady Gater entertained at the Oxford and Cambridge Club. There were present:

Sir George and Lady
Gater;
The Honorable Mrs.
Alfred Egerton
(Sister of Sir
Stafford Cripps);
Professor Julian
Huxley, Secretary
of the Zoological
Society of London;

The Right Honorable
Harold Macmillan, M.P.,
Parliamentary Under-
Secretary of State for
the Colonies;
Mr. de la Rue;
Mr. Taussig.

After dinner the Right Honorable Harold Macmillan, since designated as Minister to the French Government of North Africa, Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue went to Pratt's Club and continued their conversation.

December 16. His Majesty the King received Mr. Taussig at 12:30, Mr. Taussig being conducted to Buckingham Palace by Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley.

Luncheon was given by the West Indian Committee at the Dorchester Hotel. The following guests were present:

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Ivan Davson, O.B.E. (Chairman, West Indian Committee) Director, Henry K. Davson & Co. Ltd;	Mr. A. Elder (Director, Gillespie Bros. & Co., Ltd.);
Mr. J. Gordon Miller (Deputy Chairman W.I.C., Chairman, Caroni, Ltd.)	Mr. E. Cassleton Elliott (Director, Trinidad Sugar Estates, Ltd.);
Mr. H.J.J. Freeman (Deputy Chairman, W.I.C. Director, Jonas Browne & Son Ltd.);	Mr. W. G. Freeman, S.Sc. (Formerly Director of Agriculture, Trinidad);
Mr. A. M. Armour (London Managing Director, Booker Bros. McConnell & Co., Ltd.);	Mr. T. Greenwood (Director, Booker's Demerara Sugar Estates Ltd.);
Mr. J. M. Campbell (Director, Booker's Demerara Sugar Estates Ltd.);	Mr. H. L. Q. Henriques & Co. Ltd.);
	Mr. E. D. A. Herbert, O.B.E., M.A. (Managing Director, Trinidad Leaseholds Ltd.);
	Lieutenant Colonel H. C. B. Hickling, C. B. E., D. S. O., M. C. (Late resident General Manager, Apex (Trinidad) Oilfields Ltd. 1919-37, now Director of the above);

Mr. J. du Buisson (Chairman, Ste. Madeleine Sugar Co., Ltd. Direc- tor, Antigua Sugar Factory Ltd.);	Sir Alfred Sherlock (Chairman, Booker Bros. McConnell & Co., Ltd.); Mr. E. J. King, M.C. Major C. Wynne Roberts - Joint Secretaries, West India Committee
Sir Alexander Roger, K.C.I.E. (Direc- tor, Barbados Telephone Co. Ltd., Chairman, Trini- dad Consolidated Telephones Ltd., Vice Chairman Jamaica Telephone Co., Ltd.);	

The Minister of Labor, the Honorable Ernest Bevin received Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue at three o'clock.

Mr. de la Rue, Mr. Sidney Caine, and Sir Frank Stockdale continued their conference of supplies and material at Dover House during the afternoon.

December 16. Conference with Anthony Eden in his office at the House of Commons from 4:00 to 4:50 p.m.

December 17. Mr. Taussig lunched with the Prime Minister and Mrs. Churchill at 10 Downing Street. There were present:

Prime Minister and Mrs. Churchill;	Oliver Stanley; Mr. Taussig
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Tree;	
Lord Portal;	

Mr. Gerald Palmer and Mr. de la Rue together with several of Mr. Palmer's colleagues lunched at the

House of Commons, and afterwards Mr. de la Rue talked with Mr. Anthony Eden and Mr. Richard Law.

At four o'clock conferences were resumed in the Office of the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

Mr. de la Rue, Mr. T. W. Davies, Principal West India Department, Sidney Caine, Sir Frank Stockdale and Mr. Gerald Palmer (Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State) met to complete Appendix B of the report.

Mr. Taussig and Mr. Richard Law conferred from 6:45 to 7:45.

Colonel Oliver Stanley gave a dinner for Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue at the Dorchester. There were the following present:

The Viscount Cranborne, PC., Lord Privy Seal;	The Right Honorable C. R. Attlee, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominions and Deputy Prime Minister;
The Right Honorable Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bart., KT., CMG., MP.;	The Right Honorable Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport;
Secretary of State for Air and Presi- dent of the Air Council;	The Right Honorable Harold Macmillan, M.P. Parliamen- tary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

December 18. The revised draft of the report together with the revised appendices were received at the Embassy at noon.

Mr. Taussig was given a luncheon by the Political and Economic Planning Association.

At three o'clock Sir Frank Stockdale and Sir George Gater had a press conference at the Ministry of Information.

The officials of the Colonial Office gave a farewell tea party for Mr. Taussig and Mr. de la Rue, at 8 Park Street.

Sir Stafford Cripps received Mr. Taussig at six o'clock at the Air Ministry.

The Minister of Finance and the Secretary General of Economic of the Netherlands conferred with Mr. de la Rue in the Office of the Minister of Commerce of the Netherlands at Stratenhouse.

December 19. Mr. Taussig lunched at the Turf Club with Colonel Stanley.

December 26. Arrived in the United States by boat.