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1st West Indian Conference

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PSF: Charles W. TAUSSIG

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WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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May 13, 1944

My dear Mr. President:

I am transmitting to you a "~~Secret~~" report on the first West Indian Conference which contains some detailed observations made by the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, an adviser from the Department of State present at the Conference, the OWI press adviser and two delegates from Puerto Rico.

There is also included in this report the observations made by the delegate from St. Thomas as submitted to the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John as well as the ratification by the Council of the report. Excerpts from newspaper and magazine articles are included.

Respectfully yours,

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

enclosure: 1

The President

The White House

Washington, D. C.



DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 2 1972

~~SECRET~~

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE
ON THE FIRST WEST INDIAN CONFERENCE HELD IN
BARBADOS, B. W. I., MARCH 21-30, 1944, UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN
COMMISSION.

CHARLES W. TAUSSIG
United States Chairman
Anglo-American Caribbean Commission

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 13, 1944

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Comments on Sir Frank Stockdale and the
Governor of Barbados.

There was evidenced from time to time on the part of Sir Frank Stockdale a lack of frankness in his approach to some of the problems before the Conference and before the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. This can probably be attributed to his own peculiar approach rather than the technique of the Colonial or Foreign Office. It was also evident that Sir Frank was pulling the strings in relation to his advisers' activities.

The most reactionary delegation was that from Barbados, and Stockdale appeared to be disinclined to press for a forward-looking report that went beyond the myopic vision of the Barbadian delegation. This attitude on the part of Stockdale was out of keeping with his generally more liberal attitude and probably was prompted by personal considerations.

Stockdale is anxious to maintain his headquarters in Barbados for several reasons, including the fact that Lady Stockdale is a Barbadian by birth. Any major controversy with the dominant group in Barbados would make it unpleasant for him.

On

On one occasion, Stockdale complained to Taussig that when the visiting Members of Parliament were in Barbados some weeks ago, the Governor, Sir Grattan Bushe, kept them at Government House and had warned them that nothing constructive could be done in Barbados so long as the present dominant reactionary group was able to maintain its power under the existing constitution. This statement was the result of a remark by Taussig to Stockdale that he had noticed evidence of a somewhat more progressive point of view on the part of the merchants and planters of Barbados. Stockdale jumped at this and asked Mr. Taussig if he would write him a letter to that effect, which he wanted to use in London to counteract the statements of the Governor to the Members of Parliament. (Taussig developed writer's cramp).

Local Situation.

Taussig had a number of conversations with the Governor. The Governor said that the situation in Barbados was such that it was almost impossible to do anything constructive. He said that without the support of the white element in the Assembly, no legislation could be enacted, so that he was forced to make concessions to them which antagonized the liberal colored members

members. As a consequence, he said he was generally disliked by both groups, and the legislative processes were interminably slow. He complained about the type of officials sent by the Colonial Office to the West Indies. He said that they were not of sufficient numbers and generally not too competent. So far as the Governors were concerned, they were of two types: Some were able men who were sent to the West Indies as a stepping stone to the more lucrative posts in Africa. (The Governor added that the African colonies were the pets of the Colonial Office.) The other Governors were men not regarded as sufficiently competent for African posts. The Governor said that as a matter of fact a higher type of ability was required in the West Indies than in Africa.

Personalities

Both Stockdale and the Governor admitted to Taussig that they frequently clashed. The Governor admitted, however, that Stockdale had one great asset so far as the Governors of the British West Indies were concerned-- he was so discreet and careful in his approach to West Indian problems that he dispelled the fears of most governors that he might, in effect, constitute himself a Governor General of all the West Indies. This super-cautiousness

cautiousness on the part of Stockdale undoubtedly accounts in some measure for his weak leadership and the lack of any substantial progress by the West Indian Development and Welfare organization. The general impression of the work of that organization is that it is making extremely slow progress. It is widely referred to as "Stockdale's Traveling Circus". Mr. Macpherson, British resident member of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, remarked in a conversation after the Conference to Mr. de la Rue of our office that Sir Frank was hardly the type that built the British Empire, that it took more red corpuscles and less inclination to caution than Sir Frank had exhibited.

Barbadian Delegation

Bushe, without any prompting from Taussig, acknowledged that he had appointed a reactionary delegation from Barbados. He gave as his reason the fact that had he appointed a progressive delegation, nothing that the Conference produced would have been approved by the Legislature, whereas anything to which his delegation signed their names would, in all probability, be approved.

At one time when there appeared a possibility of a deadlock in the Conference, Bushe approached Taussig and asked him, "Are my delegates sticky? If they are,

I will bring pressure on them". Taussig thanked him and said that he did not think it would be necessary. (By that time the Puerto Rican delegates had taken over the leadership of the Conference with the aid of a few of the more progressive British delegates.)

The extreme reluctance of most of the British Colonial delegates to approve the use of imperial funds for assisting the colonies, no matter what the urgency, was an interesting phenomenon. Taussig asked Bushe for an explanation of this. Bushe said that until recently, when a British colony used imperial funds and later acquired substantial deficits, the Colonial Office would withdraw its constitution, and the management of the fiscal affairs of the colony would then be turned over to the British Treasury. The Treasury was so oppressive that the bankrupt colonies were substantially held in bondage. Bushe said that during his 25 years in the Colonial Office, he had consistently fought against this system; that it no longer existed, but that the colonies had not outgrown their fear that accepting imperial funds would in some way cause them to lose some of their prerogatives.

Regional Commissions

Bushe has had 25 years experience in the Colonial
Office

Office, a part of the time as counselor. Taussig asked Bushe for his opinion as to the feasibility of regional commissions in dependent areas, based on his experience in the Colonial Office and his observations of the Conference and the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Bushe said he thought that a regional commission could function in West Africa. Taussig asked him if regional commissions could function in the Far East. He was not optimistic. He said that it would be impossible to hold a conference in the Far East such as was being held in Barbados, as delegates would insist on bringing up matters of high policy. He said that the problem of Hongkong would have to be settled first, and also the problem of Ceylon. He dwelt on Ceylon at some length, saying that a very high degree of self-government has been given to Ceylon, and yet the tie to the Colonial Office was so close that the people of Ceylon had never really had an opportunity to develop their institutions of self-government; that it was essential to go further and that the people of Ceylon must be put in a position where they could learn by being permitted to make their own mistakes.

Taussig asked Bushe where the headquarters of regional commissions should be, and commented that from

his

his observations in the Caribbean, and particularly after viewing Stockdale's headquarters in Barbados, he felt that maintaining headquarters in the region itself was likely to involve the officials of the regional commission in local politics, and thereby vitiate much of the commission's usefulness. Bushe agreed to this and said that it would be advisable to have the headquarters in the most appropriate capital city of one of the member countries in the commission, with the necessary field personnel circulating through the region. He said that the logical place for the headquarters of the Caribbean Commission was Washington, and that probably the logical headquarters for a West African commission would be in London. He added that if the members of the commission could not agree on a particular location for the headquarters in one of the member countries, then he thought that they would not agree on other common efforts to make the commission successful. He emphasized that he was expressing personal opinions rather than the official opinions of the Colonial Office.

Interest shown in regional trade agreements

Both at the open sessions of the Conference and in the informal conversations among the delegates, keen interest was shown in developing inter-island trade. The discussions on this subject were entirely spontaneous, as the item was not included in the agenda of the Conference. References to the subject were usually inclined to be practical and specific.

As an example, a community of interest sprang up between British Guiana and Puerto Rico because of the potentialities of British Guiana's making substantial purchases of Puerto Rican cement and rum bottles, and the potential market in Puerto Rico for British Guiana rice, of which there will be a very substantial surplus after the war.

The Windward Islands were anxious to have overpopulated Barbados buy more locally-grown food products, particularly vegetables. Jamaica and Puerto Rico discussed the export of oleomargarine from Jamaica where, even now, there is an exportable surplus, and the importation by Jamaica of Puerto Rican cement. Trinidad and Grenada showed interest in making chocolate locally from their cocoa beans, and also in processing coconuts, and exporting to other areas in the Caribbean.

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There was a decided interest in including the independent republics in and adjacent to the Caribbean in any intra-area trade agreements. The Conference was unanimous in urging that all tariffs be taken off the importation of food products produced within the Caribbean area. The observer from the Netherlands informally showed interest in such trade agreements. There was no comment made on these various discussions by the Canadian observer.

Interest shown in exchange of information and collaboration and research.

Quite aside from the formal resolutions covering this subject, which runs through the entire report of the Conference, and which is particularly touched upon in the report pertaining to the Caribbean Research Council, there was considerable general discussion on this subject among the various delegates, outside of Conference sessions. A substantial interchange of information accordingly took place during the recesses of the Conference.

An example of the spontaneous reaction along these lines was the luncheon meeting held at the Bridgetown Club by all the doctors of tropical medicine attending the Conference in an advisory capacity. The meeting

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was sponsored by Dr. Morales-Otero, Director of the School for Tropical Medicine in Puerto Rico. The result of this luncheon conference was the selection of a committee of three to prepare the ground for what is to be called the Caribbean Association of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. It is intended that all areas of the Caribbean including the independent republics should participate in this association, and that it should include public health officers, sanitary engineers, entomologists and nurses as well as doctors.

No initiative was taken by the Commission or the Conference in this matter. It was prompted entirely by the desire of doctors present formally to organize, for the exchange of information, the fostering of education, and the creation of fellowships in the medical and public health fields. Enrollment of members will be undertaken by the Association when the sub-committee has finished drawing up by-laws and regulations.

Evidences of insularity.

Particularly significant was the fact that at no

time

time during the Conference was the question raised of removing inter-colonial restrictions on immigration. The only discussion in this field concerned the possibilities of immigration of West Indians to the vast hinterland of British Guiana, but no steps were taken toward implementing this idea.

Rivalry between British Guiana and Trinidad was evidenced on several occasions, with slight touches of bitterness. The smaller colonies, particularly the Windward and Leeward Islands, made repeated pleas to what they were pleased to call their "big brothers"--- British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica---for more consideration. *

Although it was not in evidence at the Conference itself, there is a feeling in Puerto Rico that the island should not become so closely associated with the European colonies in the Caribbean as to permit any implications that Puerto Rico admitted it had a colonial status.

In considering the whole problem of regionalism in the Caribbean, this latent insularity must be borne in mind. One of the outstanding accomplishments of

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*Julien so often emphasized "self-help" that I gathered the Windwards want to stand more on their own feet, vis a vis the not too greatly loved "big brothers".

Easton C. Rothwell, Executive Sec'y.
Committee on Postwar Programs,
Department of State.

the Conference, however, was the noticeable breaking down of provincialisms due to the personal contacts of the various delegates and advisers. Very few of those present, other than the British and American officials, had ever met before or had ever visited each other's territories before. Their two weeks of intimate association opened new vistas to them, and they constantly talked with enthusiasm of the knowledge they were acquiring and of the importance of much closer contact and more frequent interchange of visits among the areas of the Caribbean.

The bolder spirits, i. e. Julien, also talked of the desirability of West Indian federation, an idea which drew enthusiastic response at the public meeting.

Unified Stand of Delegates from American Territories
Contrasted with Divisions Among British.

In a special meeting of all American delegates and advisers, on the eve of the first session of the Conference, it was suggested by Taussig that all American representatives maintain a united front in all discussions of policy, and that if disagreements arose within the American section, they be resolved so far as possible in private conversations, rather than before the whole Conference. No major disagreements did arise, and any minor differences of opinion which may have cropped out, as to the sense on phrasing of reports or other matters, were resolved as suggested, so that there were no public arguments or differences on policy anywhere in the American ranks.

It should be stressed, however, that policies advanced by the American group were the result of free agreement among the delegates, and no lip service was asked or given to dictums from above. However the delegates, when in doubt or up against difficulties, of their own accord sought advice and cooperation.

Divisions Among British Delegates

In contrast, there were numerous cases of disagreement, both as to basic policy and as to formulation of reports, among the British delegates, with a number of
them

them joining forces with the Americans on several issues. A typical example was the opposition between the Barbados and Windward Islands delegations on the question of processing foods, as part of the public discussion on industrialization -- the Barbados delegation proposing that processing of local products from the smaller southerly West Indies be concentrated at Barbados, where the large labor supply and local demand would make for efficiency in production and marketing; the Windward Islands delegation replying that it saw no reason why the smaller islands could not do much of their own processing locally and export their surpluses to Barbados, thus insuring themselves low prices and employment for their own labor. In final subcommittee discussions on the report on Industrialization, two British delegates suddenly introduced a virtually complete new version, and met their heaviest opposition from other British quarters.

Although no formal votes were taken, the lack of a unified stand by the British colonial delegates worked to the advantage of the American representatives, who were outnumbered 16 to 4. It will be of great value in future meetings of this character to maintain such a unified American front, whether delegates are apportioned on a two-per-territory basis or according to populations.

Observations on the Conference by Dr. Antonio Fernos
Isern, Delegate from Puerto Rico.

In the first place, most of the British colonies were known to the Puerto Rican delegates only on the map, and we had only vague information about their organization and their problems. We were, therefore, dealing with utterly strange people, and it was very hard at the beginning to evaluate the motivation of the various delegations. It gradually developed that they differed among themselves very widely and seemed to represent several distinct shades of opinion in their approach to social and economic questions. However, there was absolutely no shading to the left; they were distributed from the center to the right only. At least, no vocal expression was made on any subject which would have brought about a true balance of left, center, and right in the British representation. The extreme right wing was represented by the Barbados delegates, whose influence seemed to be quite strong in the beginning, with apparent concurrence on the part of the British advisers.

Later, and especially after a minority report on food supply was drawn up for submission by the Puerto Rican delegation, a change of the whole picture took place.

place. For the original long-drawn-out report, amounting almost to a treatise on Adam Smith economics, with all the emphasis upon the financial approach and the security of the producer rather than the consumer, the Puerto Rican draft report was substituted almost without modification. What alterations there were consisted of changes in wording to make certain expressions less specific, and the addition of a few generalizations preceding the resolution.

Aside from the general interest of the delegates in what may be gained by all territories in the matter of research and possible commercial inter-change, the most important result of the Conference seems to me to have been the inspiring of a critical attitude toward the problems of the various colonies, and of a very large measure of freedom to accept unorthodox methods of approach to the problems.

In the last analysis, the impact of the attitude of the Puerto Rican delegation probably will be felt for a long time, both as to the West Indian people in general, and as to the men in control, in particular.

Observations on the Conference by Dr. Rafael Pico,
delegate from Puerto Rico.

The Conference means some interchange of produce. We should not fool ourselves and believe that we are going to change our whole economy, which is essentially based on interchange of goods with the outside world, especially with the United States. I don't think we can hope to change that system and turn entirely to Caribbean self-sufficiency. I don't think Puerto Rico can do it, and I don't think the British Islands can. It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that a closed regional economy would be undesirable.

However, there are two factors that can form the basis of more commercial interchange: (1) There are certain natural resources not uniformly distributed throughout the area--Trinidad has oil, British Honduras has mahogany, etc., and others are rich in or lacking in other things. (2) Even more important, there are the differences in population density. Even if we had all the same resources and identical environments in all respects, and still had the tremendous differences of population densities--about 1,200 to the square mile in Barbados, 2 in British Honduras and 500 in Puerto Rico--those differences would be reflected in the things they

can economically produce. From a geographical standpoint they might be capable of the same produce, but economic considerations would lead them to very different types of production. For instance, partially peopled sections could use their land freely for pursuits such as cattle raising, cultivation of forestry, and crops that on high-priced land would be uneconomical. But where land is scarce and costly, it must be devoted to products bringing the maximum return per acre.

Interchange of goods and ideas.

In the case of Puerto Rico, the goods that we can offer to the other countries would be largely manufactured goods, which we are especially fitted to produce on account of our density of population and our technological training.

Secondly, the Conference offered an opportunity for interchange of ideas as to methods of carrying out public works, industries, health measures, agricultural pursuits, etc. Even if the general feeling in Puerto Rico is that we are tops in the Caribbean, we still can profit from activities developed in nearby islands. For example, the Barbadian system of rural water supply is certainly much better than that we have at home and could serve as

a model adapted to local conditions in Puerto Rico.

The fact that Puerto Rico is the most highly developed of the islands means that we have systems and methods to impart to our neighbors. Even if the only returns for this are satisfaction and pride, these are rewards to be taken into account. The humanitarian element is a motivating force for Puerto Rico. Certainly, Puerto Rico cannot afford to have all around it islands that are living in various periods of another century, when they could profit from our example. By knowing something about the other islands, of which most Puerto Ricans are totally unaware, we can ascertain more exactly the position of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean area and can gauge our own progress.

Credit should be given to the work in the Conference of the town planners attached to Sir Frank Stockdale. These men were liberal and believe in, and are acquainted with, the best modern practices of planning. If they are allowed to function, they can bring many good changes, especially in the urban areas. In the Conference, they were the outstanding exception among the British advisers as to their liberal views and their desire to

bring

bring straight-forward resolutions out of the sub-committees.

Observations of Dr. Pico on the attitudes and actions of the delegates.

The Conference, being the first of its kind presented an enigma for most of the delegates in that they did not know how far they could express themselves openly in controversial issues. Consequently, with the exception of Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands, they tended to follow the leads given in the mimeographed detailed notes on the agenda drafted by Stockdale's advisers. For instance, in the original draft of the industrial report there was a section dealing with monopolies and licensing of industries. Practically everybody was ready to accept it, even though upon later analysis, it was found that it was contradictory to the policy and practices of practically every island represented in the sub-committee. Due to the protestations of the Puerto Rican delegation, it was removed--over the objections of the British economic adviser.

These limitations on the part of the delegates can be explained by the facts that: (1) there was one official on each British Colonial delegation except the Windward Islands; (2) they came "briefed" by their respective governments; (3) this was the first conference, and there

had been no previous experience.

Toward the end of the Conference, due largely to the leadership of the totally uninstructed delegates from Puerto Rico and to a lesser degree from the United States Virgin Islands, the Windward Islands and British Guiana, it was apparent that the delegates from the British colonies to a large extent broke away from the instructions from their respective colonial governments and the Colonial Office, and expressed themselves with a reasonable degree of freedom.

In the early stages of the Conference, it was evident that the advisers to the British Section were attempting to influence, and in actuality did write, the original drafts of the reports that were brought into the sub-committees. Mr. Taussig dropped the hint that unless the reports were definitive and unequivocating, the United States Section would not submit them to its Government, and he also stated that the minimum that the American territories could possibly accept was what was actually being done today in Puerto Rico, and in his own judgment, the minimum that the British colonial delegates dare accept would be the recommendations of the Moyne Commission. He also stated that a retrogressive report from the Conference would mean the end of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the standing West Indian Conference.

Netherlands and Canadian Observers

Netherlands

Taussig recommended to Stockdale that an opportunity be given during the public sessions for the two observers to be heard. This was not done. It may have been deliberate or it may have been an oversight. Dr. Peters, the Netherlands observer, who is a friend of Dr. Englund of the Department of Agriculture, Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Caribbean Research Council, was inclined to be extremely friendly and helpful to the United States point of view. After the first draft came out of the subcommittees, he remarked to Taussig that they were vague and that in substance they implied that "if we really want to do something, and we are not at all sure we do, then we might do the following".

Taussig saw that these remarks were widely circulated and they provided a considerable stimulus for the ultimate revision of the report.

Canadian

Mr. G. A. Newman, the Canadian observer, had very little to say during the Conference, although he was pleasant and agreeable. Knowing the interest that Canada had in transportation, Taussig asked him whether he thought the schooner pool could serve a purpose in the
post-war

post-war period. He said he thought it could; that the time that it took for Canadian ships to load and unload small amounts of cargo at the many islands of the eastern Caribbean was very costly and caused a loss to the steamship lines. He therefore considered the use of schooners for transshipment and for inter-island trade worthwhile.

Observations on Political Censorship by John L. Dunning, Office of War Information and Press Adviser to the Conference.

Press and radio censorship was entirely handled by the Information Officer from British Guiana, who was deputized for this duty by the Barbados security officer, and who withheld no material for either security or political reasons beyond suggesting one correction on a question of fact in a press agency article, to which the correspondent readily agreed.

Censorship of Mass Meeting

The only incident involving political censorship by any quarter was an attempt by Sir Frank Stockdale to have deleted a section of a news broadcast prepared by the British and American press advisers for broadcast to Great Britain, the United States, and the West Indies. The section in question was a report on the mass meeting held by Barbados political leaders on the night of March 27, which had been intended in advance partly as a protest against the selection of delegates to represent Barbados, and partly as an opportunity for Barbadians to learn of the work of the Conference from the delegates themselves. (See Appendix A of this report.) The broadcast script treated the meeting as having been not without local political implications (not described in detail)

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but as having resulted in a strong demonstration of confidence in and enthusiasm for the Conference by the very people whose problems the Conference was designed to solve. It consisted of two lead paragraphs summarizing these things, plus considerable detailed reporting of speeches.

Because of the element of protest in the meeting, Stockdale took the position that to make any mention of the occasion in the news broadcast would be offensive to the Barbados colonial government, and that in any case the treatment was too long, giving unnecessary emphasis to the meeting. Taussig held that reporting the meeting was an essential part of reporting the Conference, and pointed out that the result of the meeting actually was favorable to the Conference. As a compromise, the report of the meeting was cut down to the aforementioned two lead paragraphs, and was submitted in that form to the Colonial Secretary, who immediately approved it.

In personal conversation with Taussig the next day, Sir Grattan Bushe, Governor of Barbados, remarked that he would have approved such material immediately and without question, and added: "If there is anything I detest, it's political censorship."

Schooner Pool

Of all the efforts of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, perhaps the organization of the Schooner Pool has been most appreciated in the eastern islands of the Caribbean and in British Guiana. Almost every delegate and adviser from this area had something good to say about it.

Their comments were along the following lines: Without it, we would have had a famine during the submarine activities. It was well conceived and efficiently operated. It kept transportation costs down and yet operated at a profit. (The pool has \$90,000 surplus. It will pay off all its \$500,000 Lend-Lease reimbursable. It has indemnified the owners, officers and crews of three vessels sunk by the enemy out of its mutual insurance fund.) It has provided employment to West Indian seamen. All those who commented on it were unanimous in their opinion that it should continue after the war. They give much of the credit for its successful operation to Captain Trew, an American citizen who heads it. There are now 90 schooners being operated.

Observations on Public Meeting by Judge William Hastie,
Adviser to the United States Section.

A public mass meeting held in Bridgetown on the evening of March 27 served both to illustrate the potentially strong public support behind the Conference and its results, and to emphasize certain general observations as to the impact of race and class within the British West Indies.

Members of the opposition in the House of Assembly sponsored and arranged the meeting, ostensibly in honor of the visiting delegates. However, it was more than a community gesture of welcome; it was an attempt to express resentment at the exclusion of the sponsoring group from representation at the Conference, and also an opportunity to give public expression to miscellaneous local grievances.

Attendance

To understand the spirit, and at least part of the motivation of the mass meeting, it must be realized that very few persons--and almost none of the working classes--attended public sessions of the Conference, which were held in the morning and mid-afternoon hours when such persons were at work. Moreover, local peoples characteristically are reticent about attending a gathering like the Conference unless it is abundantly clear that they are welcome and are in fact urged to be present. Moreover, the citizenry generally knew almost nothing about the specific purposes
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of the Conference, despite the unusually detailed publicity arranged in the local newspapers. Thus, curiosity and a vague hopefulness probably account for the impressive attendance at the public meeting. Some 1500 to 2000 persons--approximately one percent of the total population, attended the meeting. The audience was predominantly of the working class, with a small number of middle-class persons and a few whites.

All delegates were formally invited to the mass meeting, but Sir Frank Stockdale had answered for them that a previous engagement (a cocktail party given by the Colonial Secretary earlier in the evening) would prevent general attendance, and British officialdom inferentially made it clear that the meeting was not an approved function. Stockdale directly requested Taussig not to attend. However, some fifteen or twenty of the seventy delegates and advisers attended. Of the eight British colonies represented at the Conference, only two--the Windward Islands and British Guiana--had delegates at the meeting, while both delegates from each American area, plus several of their advisers, were present. It is significant that, excepting only the Virgin Islands of the United States and Puerto Rico, the only vital leadership evidenced at the Conference itself was by delegates from the same two British colonies.

Audience Reaction

Several

Several observations can be made about audience reaction. There was the most intense interest in learning anything factual about economic, educational and political developments in other parts of the West Indies. It was impressive to see a spontaneous demonstration by working classes and uneducated people at the mere mention of the fact that free secondary education is provided for all in the American Virgin Islands.

It must be borne in mind that notwithstanding British protestations of a desire to circulate inter-Caribbean information freely, there is a definite limitation imposed on this process, emanating probably more from the individual colonial governments than from London. Two examples of this screening of vital information are noteworthy: one, the suppression of the news of the Bahamian riots for colonial circulation in 1942; two, the refusal of the Information Officer in Jamaica to publish the message of the President of the United States advocating that Puerto Rico be permitted to elect its own Governor.

Correspondingly, it is noteworthy that the audience at the mass meeting preferred hearing as much as possible about the rest of the Caribbean area to discourses by local persons. Also that although dissatisfaction with

local

local conditions was apparent, audience reaction was rather timid--spontaneous but obviously unsophisticated. Self-conscious laughter and widespread murmurs took the place of applause, or the type of vocal demonstration usual with a comparable American crowd.

After listening for three hours to eight members of the Conference, the audience still seemed willing and anxious to hear more. The Conference representatives who spoke carefully avoided political comment or any critical observations. At the same time, they did indicate their belief that the Conference itself would be a major constructive step toward a vigorous regional program for the Caribbean area.

This attitude was reflected in the audience. At the end of the meeting, there seemed to be a simple hope and confidence that somehow a better way of life would eventuate, with some almost immediate consequences, as a result of the Conference. It is obvious that with an energetic leadership, the peoples of the Caribbean territories would be willing to cooperate on a regional basis.

Barbadian class and racial divisions.

The question of leadership inevitably leads to the question of racial and class divisions. It was noticeable

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both among the British West Indian colored delegates and the citizens of Barbados as represented at the public meeting and elsewhere, that the middle-class colored West Indian is dissociated from the laboring masses, yet equally dissociated from the dominant white and near-white upper-class minority.

This middle-class group is not large, and it is even less effective as a social and political force than its numbers would indicate, because of the above-mentioned cleavages. The organizers of the public meeting were either of this class, or whites who had cast their political lot with them. It was evident that although they had learned to play upon the simple sense of humor and half-formed feeling of resentment of the crowd, they could not move it deeply or rally it behind them as a disciplined political force.*

Very light-colored West Indians have tended to become assimilated into the dominant social and economic group. The better educated brown and black persons who constitute the middle class are increasingly conscious of their exclusion from this dominant group. Yet with few exceptions, they have failed to develop a sympathetic bond of common interest and understanding with the laboring masses such

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*I felt on the contrary that the meeting could rather easily have been stirred to demonstrations.--Easton Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

as would elevate them to a position of effective leadership. Thus, the undoubted restlessness of the masses is essentially unorganized and is not directed to specific objectives. At the same time, the explosive possibilities of that restlessness are very real.

Observations of John L. Dunning, on Mass Meeting

Here are personal observations on the mass meeting at Bridgetown, March 27, supplementing my detailed report of the speeches. (See Appendix A)

Such a meeting is difficult to evaluate by American standards, because of the wide differences in political tradition and methods.

However, it was particularly obvious that the art of political persuasion, and the people's political sense, are both elementary in Barbados, and that the crowd was fickle and unsophisticated. At a random guess, I would describe the average man's reasons for attending as:

- (1) hope of an entertaining evening, with some fireworks,
- (2) hope that economic miracles would be revealed, (3) genuine interest in the Conference and in conditions in other parts of the West Indies, (4) sincere desire to protest against the Barbados delegates. But whatever the relative strength of these interests before the meeting, certainly as the evening worked out Number 3 assumed first importance, while Number 1 was fairly well satisfied. Number 2 failed to come up to expectations, but was replaced by longer-range hopes for the Conference. Number 4 was a dud.

If the organizers seriously intended to make the

note

note of protest predominate, they failed, and the delegates and their presentation of the Conference walked off with the evening. This no doubt was partly due to the fact that the crowd was both genuinely interested and polite by nature, and wanted to give the delegates a fair hearing -- the same applying somewhat to the local speakers. Nevertheless, it was plain that the local speakers were trying, at the beginning and end of the meeting, to promote the note of protest -- and couldn't make it come off. *

Their difficulty was not wholly the popularity of the delegates; they seemed to have no real means of leverage in any case, due to the audience's lack of sophistication and long conditioning to hopelessness. When the local speakers made fairly "bold" references to the British and local governments, or to the cocktail-drinking side of the Conference, the audience reacted by giggling, somewhat as school-children do when someone swears in a classroom.** Obviously the most successful local speaker was Lewis, the Jimmy Walker of Barbados, who

*But easily would have, I think, had the delegates so directed their remarks. Easton C. Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

**I think this underestimates the temper of the crowd. Easton C. Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

who exploited his wit, and didn't even try to clinch his points or to go deeper than sharp sarcasm. He merely played his audience for laughs. The other locals -- Crawford, Pierce, and Branken -- also were most successful when they resorted to sarcasm and humor, and drew little fire by strong statements.*** About the only remarks of a non-sarcastic nature that caused much reaction were those directed at the two Barbados delegates, and even these didn't cause a very notable stir.

Thus, one's first reaction was: "What a really well trained American political or labor leader could have done with this situation, instead of throwing away his chances by ineptness and cheap humorous appeal!" But one's second reaction was that it would take perhaps a generation of political and general education to make this crowd really respond seriously to any leader, however expert. The local politicians apparently were aware of this, and simply did what they could.

Against this background, the "victory" of the Conference theme might seem a little cheap. Actually it was significant and hopeful. The crowd obviously

had

***Crawford made unfulfilled promises. Pierce talked drily and monotonously. Had any leader with will and force been present, he had some pretty explosive material to play on. Easten C. Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

had come with wild hopes of a miracle -- of manna from heaven. They were disappointed, and yet took the blow far better than would a corresponding American audience. To admonitions such as Julien's, to the effect that life was real and earnest and progress necessarily slow, and that they must work out their own salvation for the most part, without expecting miracles from overseas -- to such admonitions they nodded sagely and even murmured agreement. They were surprised, but not dismayed, to learn that Puerto Rico -- obviously considered by them shining pinnacle of progress in the Caribbean -- had deep problems, including overpopulation.* It was plain that they were so conditioned to hopelessness that they were only momentarily disturbed when their momentary hopes were blasted. They were able to fall back on the less shining but nevertheless solid hope of eventual benefits from the Conference, without giving way to cynicism and complete despair as an American crowd might have done.** Plainly progress through the Conference was a second best, in their minds, to wild dreams of emigration and economic miracles, but just as plainly they went away

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* I didn't feel this. Easton C. Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

** I can't believe an American crowd would do this, except in a Theodore Drieser novel. Easton C. Rothwell.

with sound hopes for it. If those hopes begin to come true quickly -- even though piecemeal and in gradual steps -- it is a fairly safe bet that most Barbadians will be patient and satisfied. What would happen if they saw no positive evidence of progress for a long time is another matter.

Finally, it is hard to imagine Barbadians -- or, I suspect, any other British West Indians -- as revolutionaries in the usual sense, taking concerted action under leadership. Leaders, however skilled, would have little political tradition or sense to work on among the mass of people. And the average Barbadian is too conditioned to hopelessness and discipline to take part in careful plotting or concerted plans of action. He will stand the gaff -- with some grumbling -- until conditions become wholly unbearable, then he will break completely over some trifle and turn to savage violence with his fellows breaking under the excitement and joining in. The only protest conceivable would be such a blind, unreasoning protest; reason would tell a Barbadian revolt was impossible.

This seems to be borne out by the attitude of Barbadians in talking to American visitors. They gave some evidence of blind resentment against the rich and
the

the "system", but no sign of indignant, self-respecting protest or a threatening attitude, such as would be found in a more politically conscious people. They were inclined almost to whine, and to accept resignedly the idea that any amelioration of their condition must be very slow, if possible at all.

Lest this seem to be turning into a political tract, I hasten to say that it seems to me to have a real bearing on the Conference and its results. These people are patient; their desires are modest and their hopes mild. They are more willing than would be most peoples to wait patiently for progress and results, and a little progress at a time will satisfy them. If the Conference recommendations are carried out, they should be accepted almost universally and without much pressing for additional strides, so long as progress continues.

But if nothing is done for many months, or if a few scraps are thrown out and nothing done thereafter, these people will not be able to bear it indefinitely, and their explosion will, like previous ones, be sudden, unexpected and savage.

SPECIFIC NOTES:

The meeting tended strongly to show that the United States is looked upon as a "Great White Uncle"; that West Indians look to it not only for immediate benefits such

as emigration permits, etc., but as a moral force for improving Caribbean conditions. There is a tendency, which would need little encouragement to become outspoken, to appeal to the United States over the heads of British home and colonial governments, which was evident by implication in the meeting as well as in private conversations with Barbadians.

As a corollary, the revelation by Hill and Alexander of universal free education in the Virgin Islands was cheered perhaps more loudly than any other thought presented in the meeting -- partly, I think, because it was something Barbadians would like, but also because it was an example of the American way of doing things.*

Oblique references to the possibility of a federation of British colonies were strongly cheered. It seemed to me that some of these were being taken by the crowd as referring to total British-American colonial federation in the Caribbean -- a conception that undoubtedly would increase their popularity.

Reaction to all Puerto Rican delegates was excellent. The crowd obviously was doing its traditional best to be friendly to visitors, but a deeper motive was great respect

for

* There is a white collar complex -- get a secondary education to improve your status. Easton C. Rothwell, Executive Secretary, Committee on Postwar Programs, Department of State.

for Puerto Rico as a more advanced dependency than most British ones. The crowd was sobered at the news that Puerto Rico was suffering from overpopulation like Barbados, and had other similar problems, but it obviously went on considering the island a shining mark, and admired its leaders for their show of trying to do something about Puerto Rican conditions.

Racial consciousness certainly was too mixed an element at the meeting for any single definitive conclusion. Hill, a young, handsome, intelligent, very dark Negro, was a popular favorite even before he spoke, and more so afterward. Yet Julien, an inescapably rich and cultured light-colored aristocrat, more at home in London than in a West Indian village, was almost equally popular, even when he gave the most sobering speech of the evening. I would have expected any fairly sophisticated American Negro audience to throw chairs at him; the Barbadians showed no resentment, but instead a good deal of respect. My only explanation is that they felt a mixture of pride in him as a successful colored man, and of respect for him as a member of the master class, irrespective of color. I had a flash of consciousness that if the West Indian negroes were ever to rise in a general revolt, Julien or a man of his type could be (and I don't mean to imply would be) the Cataline-like leader they would follow.

Observations on Drafting of Reports by John L. Dunning,
Office of War Information, and press adviser.

Here are some rather personal impressions of the first West Indian Conference at Barbados, March 21-30. They contain almost no "inside" information, since I wasn't inside on much--except for the observations about final deliberations of subcommittees--and are largely from the press and press adviser point of view.

CONFERENCE PROCEDURE:

Conduct of the public sessions seemed to strike exactly the right note--at least for a first conference of its kind. The keynote was almost complete freedom of speech, with only a single interruption by the Chairman during the entire series of sessions--and that justified by the delegate's apparent intention to describe every school bench and sewer pipe on his island. There was no effort to restrict speakers to a specific subject; luckily little was needed, as the delegates for the most part kept within the agenda.

There was some waste of time and the patience of listeners because of this lack of guidance, and ideally it might have been more efficient to limit lengthy expositions of local problems and have the speakers concentrate more on general principles and even engage in

more

more direct debate. But the gain in efficiency would have been at the sacrifice of freedom of speech, and at this first conference the preservation of freedom had an important moral effect; it wholly avoided what could have appeared to be railroading of the Conference by the Commission. This was obvious to onlookers as well as delegates, and had a salutary effect on the attitude of the press.

This is not to say that some guidance and restriction might not be possible another time. Having established the precedent of freedom, a slight change could now be made in the direction of at least limiting each speaker to ten minutes times, say, and using any time left over at the end for debate and rebuttal.

As has been commented by other observers, it might be wise the next time to allow more time for private sessions in which reports are drawn up. This need not mean more time for each step; two days would probably be enough for preliminary composition of reports. Thereafter, however, it might be well to have two or even three full days devoted to redrafting and literary improvement of reports by public relations officers or a special drafting committee--during which time proposed changes could be referred back to the

subcommittees or their chairmen frequently, so that the final drafts offered to the subcommittees for approval would be close to their mark. After final subcommittee action, provision might be made for a more ample reading and discussion of the reports by the Conference as a whole--perhaps a full day--then a half day for final redrafting before presentation in the final public session.

The above comment is, of course, based largely on considerations of technical efficiency in drafting clean, unequivocal reports, and there may be overriding considerations of policy.

PRESS ARRANGEMENTS:

In general, the arrangements for press and publicity seemed to me excellent, both as to the hospitality, freedom, and facilities provided for commercial press representatives, and as to the type of staff provided by the Commission. Every effort was made to make the commercial newsmen part of the Conference, mingling freely with all members of the delegations and Commission and enjoying the same social arrangements, even to being invited to all parties, official and informal. Undoubtedly this contributed to the friendly and uncynical attitude of all newsmen present.

The provision of three press advisers, plus a press liaison officer who acted as censor, might have seemed a bit

liberal beforehand, but turned out to be the minimum requisite for the work at hand. Working with and making arrangements for the press was only part of the job; two of the advisers between them wrote five twelve-minute radio news commentaries, two 400-word news cables for BBC use, five news cables for use by the WRUL "West Indian Radio Newspaper" broadcast, and a 1200 word summary of the results of the Conference, and filed texts of six speeches to London and Washington, as well as aiding in the preparation of two forum broadcasts by members of the Conference. The other adviser assisted in some of these tasks and also filed a series of news releases to the Puerto Rican press.

But perhaps the most important task, of all three advisers, was assisting in the revision of subcommittee reports to insure that the final, accepted drafts were clear, direct, and unequivocal. It should be noted, in passing, that although some fear was felt that subcommittee members might resent this revising, there was no evidence of anything but appreciation or, at the least, tolerance, from any delegate. There was, in fact, wide agreement that, without taking it upon themselves to alter policies expressed, the redrafters (who also included some members of the Commission and its

advisory staff) had managed to make those policies considerably more explicit and understandable.

It seemed to be the consensus that such redrafting should be continued as an integral part of future Conference procedure, and perhaps adopted for other types of meetings under the Commission. If this is done, ability to do such work should be the chief consideration in selecting future press staffs, as maintaining the highest possible quality and readability in official documents undoubtedly will contribute more to the long-range success of such gatherings than will any slight gains in momentary publicity. That is, skill and experience in logical exposition, precise wording, and the expression of delicate nuances of policy would be preferable to special skill in radio writing, for instance--even if considerable broadcasting were contemplated. And for the same purpose, as well as for policy reasons, there should be at least one Englishman and one American to do this work so that their reports will mean the same thing in both "languages".

CENSORSHIP:

There are two essentials to a good censorship arrangement: intelligent, non-political standards, and availability of a censor at all times. Both were achieved by appointment

of

of H. R. Harewood, British Guiana Information Officer, as official censor for all press material coming out of the Conference, as his only criterion was military security, and he spent his full time in the vicinity of the Conference and hotel, at some sacrifice of his personal liberty. Where censorship is not directly linked with the cable office, the Barbados arrangement is the best possible alternative.

CABLE SERVICE:

The Cable and Wireless, Ltd., offices at Barbados probably handled more outgoing press material in ten days than in any previous three months of their career, but rose slowly and steadily to the occasion, by assigning a very obliging clerk to the hotel from 9 a. m. to 6. p. m., and when requested until 11 p. m. They also established a press rate to Puerto Rico for the first time, under pressure from Governor Tugwell applied through Stockdale. Such arrangements are essential to a happy press, and are discussed further under "Future Press Arrangements" below.

The question of cable rates in general is much bigger than the Caribbean, and must be--as it apparently will be--thrashed out through diplomatic channels on a worldwide basis. However, the Caribbean should not be forgotten in this larger picture. The Caribbean--and especially the

British

British areas--will not get much-needed publicity in the United States until press rates are much lower than those from Barbados, for instance--10 cents a word to New York, 11 cents to Washington. This compares with 2 cents (subsidized British Empire rate) to London, and a 3 cent rate (perhaps due to competition among three companies) from Puerto Rico to New York. (Incidentally, the Barbados-to-Puerto Rico press rate, established at the time of the Conference, is 6 cents a word, but there is no press rate in the other direction; the cheapest rate is 15 cents). The fact that the Puerto Rico-to-New York rate is very low is of some advantage in publicizing this island, but neither Puerto Rican nor overall Caribbean interests are well served when meetings are held in other islands.

FUTURE PRESS ARRANGEMENTS:

For a conference similar to that at Barbados, the staff should probably be about the same, depending on exact conditions.

In Puerto Rico, for instance, no special censor would be necessary, as Navy censorship operates around the clock in the cable offices. In British territory, a special censor would seem to be essential, since the round-the-clock staff, if any, is very spotty, and operates in separate offices.

Wherever held, there should be two "press advisers"-- one British and one American--capable of aiding in redrafting of reports. There should also be a skilled writer, with some radio experience, if any extensive local broadcasting or more than brief daily cables to Washington or London are contemplated.

Inquiries should be made a month in advance (except in Puerto Rico, where facilities already are elaborate), as to cable rates, hours of operation of the cable office and (if the office is not open around the clock and situated close to the Conference meeting place and living quarters), what arrangements can be made for special filing and messenger service. It probably will not be possible to lower existing cable press rates, but at least such a rate can be established, as it was at Barbados.

Advance arrangements should also be made, if at all possible, to borrow a "Ditto" duplicating machine for use of the press staff. This machine is simple for amateurs to operate, and permits quick corrections (or actual writing) in pencil, as well as very fast duplication. Such machines should be available in Puerto Rico, and perhaps elsewhere. (If none is available, mimeograph equipment might be of some use occasionally, but would not be generally useful enough to justify any great effort to obtain).

If other staff duties permit, it would be of great

value to make it part of the press staff's routine to take clear, generally understandable notes in longhand, on all open proceedings of the Conference, for the use of the commercial press. This is not standard procedure, but it proved highly effective on one occasion at Barbados, when one of the press advisers took such notes for his own purposes and made them available to the newsmen, all of whom had stayed away from part or all of the session in the belief it would not be newsworthy. Provided with such handy material, the press proceeded to file some of the most detailed stories of the entire Conference. The "Ditto" machine would be invaluable here, since notes can be made in longhand directly on the master sheet, then run off and a copy given to each newsman within a few minutes. It should be pointed out that these notes would not duplicate those taken by conference stenographers. To be fully useful to the press, they must be taken by a trained newsman who knows what is newsworthy.

APPENDIX A.

Report of the Public Meeting Held in Queens Park,
Bridgetown, Barbados, March 27, 1944
J. L. Dunning, O.W.I. and press adviser

Between 1,500 and 2,000 persons were present--about 98% colored. About 15 delegates and other persons connected with the West Indian Conference were present, and all were invited up on to the speakers' platform when they arrived. (The writer stayed in a side aisle in the midst of the crowd).

(The meeting was called by left-wing Barbados political leaders, and was understood to be intended as a public protest against the selection--and actions during the open sessions of the conference--of the two Barbados delegates. All delegates to the conference were invited to be present, and Sir Frank Stockdale had answered for them that a previous engagement (a cocktail invitation from Mr. Stanley, the Colonial Secretary) would make it difficult for them to attend.)

The following notes were entirely paraphrases, except where surrounded by quotes.

Meeting Called to Order 8:30 P.M. by Mr. Beckles
(Colored), Local Political Leader:

We're glad to welcome so many strangers--strangers who will become fast friends of the people of Barbados. (Cheers) Mr. Crawford (next speaker) fights with all his strength to represent the interest of you people of Barbados. (Cheers)

Crawford (Colored), Local Political Leader:

This period is one of the most important in the annals of this country. None of us expect immediate results from this conference; we view it as a long term matter. We have asked the delegates, and some Barbadians well known to you, to come here and speak to you tonight. You should be told something of the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, past, present and future. We will also discuss the inadequacy of the representation we Barbadians have had at the conference.

(Mild cheers)

We want to impress, especially on the American delegates, how eager Barbados is to obtain entry into the United States for Barbadian workers. It would be of incalculable assistance if we could obtain even a small quota. We think it is important that neither Barbados delegate mentioned this matter at the open sessions of the conference. (Muttering) Also, we have hundreds of unemployed seamen--stewards, cooks, engine room workers--while the United States hasn't enough to man its ships. It would be ideal if Mr. Taussig and the American delegates could be told that these seamen are ready to join the United Nations war effort. (Mild cheers)

The growing spirit of solidarity in the West Indies

is shown by the presence of so many delegates at the West Indian Conference. We at long last are dropping our insular prejudices and are willing to come together to plan our progress. Throughout the West Indies there are people ready to throw their entire weight into the struggle for progress. We must not fail to join them.

(Loud cheers)

Crawford Introduces Next Speaker:

T. V. Pierce (White) Newly Elected Churchwarden of St. Michael's Parish Administration (in which Bridgetown is located):

We are honored that the first West Indian conference is being held here in Barbados. (Mild cheers) We are proud of Barbados. (Outburst of jeers and laughter) I should have said, we are proud of being Barbadians, but we are not proud of all conditions here in Barbados.

(Uproar of approval)

The Conference has a heavy responsibility. (Quotes from Commons speech of Secretary of State for Colonies, explaining purpose of Anglo-American Caribbean Commission). The Conference will set up the necessary machinery to deal with the problems before it. (Very mild cheers)

Inter-island transportation and industrialization are two pressing problems. Before the war, we had good inter-island service from the Royal Mail steamers.

Something

Something like the same service is now being provided by the Schooner Pool. (Note: the speaker here seemed to skirt around an excellent opportunity to praise the Schooner Pool; he did not slight it, but he was completely noncommittal). It is to be hoped that one of the results of the Conference will be greater employment through transportation. (No reaction)

Creation of local industries will largely depend on means of inter-island communication. Industry can't be made to pay if it sells only to Barbados. This is one reason for some system of federation of these colonies. (Loud cheers)

Of the 205,000 population of Barbados, over 84,000 are concentrated in the Parish of St. Michaels--many of them through migration from the country. Congestion and unemployment are the result. The only cure is to permit emigration, to the United States and other places. (Cheers and local mutter: "They shoulda done it long ago".) (Quotes from a Christian Science Monitor article, to the effect that the United States needs to import labor). But strange to say, no scheme for emigration from Barbados to the United States has been put forward. We waited upon the Governor some months ago in regard to emigration, and were told that no means of transportation

existed

existed. This matter has been largely in the hands of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. We have hopes that the delegates here tonight will present our case.

(Cheers)

Certain people in Barbados shun the responsibilities of curing unemployment. They leave such matters alone, and don't understand the pressing need for something to be done. (Very mild mutter) While I appreciate the work of the delegates (meaning all--not the Barbadians), and I don't think they willfully overlooked the unemployment situation, there's been nothing done about it. (No reaction)

Crawford:

The Governor blundered when he didn't name Mr. Pierce one of our delegates to the Conference. (Loud cheers)
(Note Crawford's similar remark at end about Branken and Davis). The next speaker will be the Honorable V.A. Hill, delegate from the United States Virgin Islands. (Cheers)
Hill will tell you something of conditions in the U. S. colonies. The comparison with our conditions will show you that something is left to be desired somewhere. (Cheers)

Hill (Negro):

Your chairman has put me on the spot. However, it's not my desire to draw any comparisons. It's my duty as a
delegate

delegate to help improve the condition of all West Indian territories. We are all badly off.

There has been too little information available between our islands. That's one of our greatest problems. So I will try to tell you something about my own island.

(Description of geography of Virgin Islands). We've had a certain amount of self government under our organic act of 1936, and we cherish it with our lives. We do have adult suffrage ("Hear, Hear"). There is no income qualification necessary to vote. (Gentle Murmur) We have enough schools for all. (No reaction) We have compulsory education for all children (Rising murmur of applause).....since 1842. (Shock of applause, whistling, yells, etc.)

(More description of Virgin Islands, industry, etc.)

This conference has great significance. "Separate, we are nothing. Together we make a power." (Loud cheers) We should thank our mother nations for this opportunity. (Mild cheers)

Regardless of the subjects dealt with by the Conference, or the way each territory is represented at the Conference, it's up to the people to give their support. Recommendations made here must be implemented by the local governments. It's up to us to make them work. (Murmur of approval).

Crawford

Crawford:

Mr. Hill was very careful not to make comparisons, but after listening to him you're forced to make comparisons that won't be entirely favorable to "a certain imperial power." (Loud giggles) Our next speaker is Mr. J. A. Alexander, the other delegate from the Virgin Islands.

Alexander (White):

(Opened with unintelligible reference to "the greatest monarchy which is the only democracy," apparently complimenting Great Britain, and drawing mild approval).

There are more Virgin Islanders in the United States than in the Virgin Islands, since over-population forced them to emigrate. (Envious sighs) We are very happy to be American citizens. (Hear! Hear!" and applause) But we didn't get suffrage overnight. We had to prove to the U. S. Congress that we deserved it. (Half-serious moans) However, the Danes, in a change of regulations in 1906, had allowed us more representative government than was enjoyed at that time by any British "dominion" except Bermuda and Barbados. (Loud cheers - audience obviously not comprehending the exception).

Education in the Virgin Islands is free to all. (Shock of cheering, excited discussion among audience).

Shipping difficulties have affected us all. The food you eat is greatly due to the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. (Mild cheers)

Through

Through the auspices of two great democracies (SIC) may be the means of bringing a united West Indies. (Very mild cheers)

Crawford:

Among the things the Virgin Islands has, which we most want, is emigration to the United States. We envy them. (No reaction) The American delegates should take away with them this plea--to take away restrictions against immigration by Barbadians as soon as possible after the war. (Very mild murmur) This condition (difficulty of emigration from British West Indies to United States) is due to the British fear that these islands would be depopulated. (No reaction) Now you will hear from Mr. Julien, delegate from the Windward Islands.

Julien (Light colored, highly cultured):

All the delegates, including those representing Barbados, have done everything in their power to advance unity, education, and general advancement of these islands. (Cheers) We're fully aware of your population problem, but there's nowhere we can recommend your going except Barbados. (Laughter!!) We're doing our best.

I ask you to stop imagining that Barbados or any other island is the world. (Cheers) We must learn to ask for, and demand, that these islands be brought together. (Cheers) (Uncertain whether Julien meant by mere cooperation, or by a formal federation, but it's a safe guess that the crowd took it as the latter).

"Unless

"Unless we get together, we are going to continue to be nobodies." (Cheers) It's up to you, the ordinary people, to get together and become full-fledged West Indians. "It's no good sitting here asking what the British government is going to do for us. We must ask, what are we going to do for ourselves." (Cheers)

Crawford introduces D'Aguiar, British Guiana Adviser.

D'Aguiar (white):

What we all have to learn in this world is that unless you work hard you get nothing. (Little reaction, but negro in crowd remarked "Get nothing anyhow" and drew murmur of agreement from his friends).

I deprecate any government spoon-feeding any people. (Moderate cheers) Give them opportunities and facilities and let them work out their own welfare. (Cheers)

(There followed considerable description of British Guiana, its resources, and its need for labor from outside to develop its interior--all drawing surprised and interested oh's and ah's).

But we have no use for slackers in British Guiana. (Mild "Hear! Hear!")

There are some people who think they know all, do all, and give all. (Giggles) I've seen that complex even in this conference. (Stir) But they've had no place in the work of this conference. (Cheers)

There's only one type of individual of any value to
himself

himself and his neighbors; that's the man who tries to produce for himself. (Mild murmur of approval)

(More about British Guiana wanting only people who will work hard, drawing repeated (Murmurs of approval).

We have reached the stage at the conference where it seems to me possible for us to arrive at unity of purpose. You may be assured that the decisions reached will be for the benefit of the entire area. (Mild applause)

Crawford:

Our next speaker will be Judge William Hastie. He is now dean of law at Howard University. (Cheers) Until recently he was civilian adviser to the Secretary of War. And I'm going to tell you something about that which Judge Hastie would probably rather not have me tell. He resigned that position, because he didn't agree with the discrimination practiced against negroes in the U.S. Army (Shocked silence - a very definite reaction - not a failure to understand).

Hastie (Light colored):

(Opened with explanation of two theories of government-- the Hamiltonian one, sincerely interested in the people's welfare, but convinced that wise leaders must direct the government-- the Jeffersonian, that the people are best able to govern themselves, and can be trusted to do the best job of it in the long run).

Both

Both these theories of government are still with us today, and both seem to have proved to be possible theories. I suppose both of them will always be with us, and always be argued. But the views of those who believe that the people can make their own decisions seem to have been continually vindicated throughout the past hundred years. (No reaction)

It's a hard thing to hear the responsibility of self-rule, but I believe it can be done. We look to you Barbadians and to all the peoples of the world to administer the power to rule themselves wisely. (No reaction)

Crawford introduces Dr. Fernos Isern, Puerto Rican delegate:

Fernos:

(Opened by apologizing for his accent, and drew very friendly chuckles. Stressed many problems of Caribbean, ending-----) I believe there are always solutions when there is good faith and understanding, and this conference has confirmed my belief. (No reaction)

Crawford introduces Teodoro Moscoso, of Puerto Rico.

Moscoso:

When the Caribbean Commission was created, many sincere Puerto Ricans thought they had little to gain from the other West Indies. They were very proud of their own standards, and afraid contact with others would bring their standards down. That was a great mistake. The purposes of the Commission and this Conference have been to raise all

standards

standards to the highest level--not bring all down to the lowest. (No reaction) Puerto Rico has much to learn from you, and we believe you have much to learn from us. I believe this Conference will give us all an opportunity to learn. We hope, for instance, that arrangements will be made to look into the possibilities of opening up British Guiana. (Cheers)

Crawford introduces C. A. Braithwaite, a colored Paderewski in appearance. The crowd howled him down for several minutes until he sat down. The audience and even the master of ceremonies laughed. (A Negro in the audience explained that Braithwaite was an "antique," and would talk for two hours if he got started. Another said he was a former spokesman for the masses who had "sold out" to the British governing class.)

Crawford introduced Dr. Rafael Pico, Puerto Rican delegate:
Pico:

We are all children of the Caribbean Sea, not only because we are neighbors but because we have similar problems--low standards of living. We must have education, industries, fishing, production, in order that we may survive. (Mild applause)

(Description of Puerto Rican conditions--population per arable acre about as dense as that of Barbados, etc. Crowd obviously surprised)

One of the steps to improve conditions is this conference. (Cheers) And I feel that it's been of great value to the delegates to come here tonight and meet the people of Barbados. The feeling we've received here will

help

help us make better decisions. You are part of this great work. I hope we will make recommendations that will be beneficial to Barbados, Puerto Rico, and the whole Caribbean. (Considerable applause, seemingly more as tribute to Pico than to final sentiments.)

Branken, Local Political Leader (White or almost so):

I move on behalf of us all a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers) We've been very depressed to see nothing in the papers about the work of our own delegates. (Mild murmur of assent) Our delegates should have been chosen from the lower chamber, which pays the bills. (No reaction) The less we say about our labor commissioner (Perrin, one of the Barbados delegates), the better. (No reaction).

Crawford introduces Lewis, Local Politician, saying: "It's our opinion that the Governor should have chosen as delegates Mr. Lewis and Mr. Branken."

Lewis (White, Irish, obviously a famous local wit):

We've heard so much about the historic importance of this conference, but I agree with Doctor Pico that what good-- if any (Laughter) --that may come out of this conference will come from the delegates coming down here to meet and get the reaction of the people of Barbados. It's unfair to the delegates to expect them to meet the real people of Barbados at cocktail parties. (Obviously referring to Colonial Secretary's party which constituted previous engagement) (Shock of cheers and laughter) They may get the "spirit" of the country, but they'll miss the spirit of the people.

(Thunderous

(Thunderous laughter)

(About five minutes more of wisecracks, some barbed, but most of them for the mere sake of wisecracking).

End of meeting-- Audience strolled away recalling Lewis's brighter remarks. Little apparent serious discussion, but a generally hopeful and satisfied feeling.

APPENDIX B

Observations by delegate from St. Thomas
and St. John, U. S. Virgin Islands, as
incorporated in

BILL NO. 197

THE FOURTH MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ST. THOMAS & ST. JOHN

1943-1944

Resolution Accepting the Report of West Indian Conference
which was held in Barbados, B.W.I., on Behalf of the
Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John.

WHEREAS, In January, 1944, in a communique issued
jointly by the Government of the United States and His
Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, it was an-
nounced that the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission
would inaugurate a regular system of West Indian Con-
ferences "to broaden the base for approach to Carib-
bean problems"; and,

WHEREAS, The first of these Conferences was held
at Barbados, B.W.I., March 21-30, 1944, at which the
Virgin Islands, U.S.A., were represented by a delegation;
and,

WHEREAS, The Conference has adopted a comprehensive
Report that embodies many valuable and practical recom-
mendations for the solution of certain economic problems
existing in the colonies and territories of the Carib-
bean Area; and,

WHEREAS, The Municipal Council, the Executive, and
the People of the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John,
are well aware of the importance and necessity for West
Indian collaboration for the solution of economic pro-
blems common to all; and,

WHEREAS, In principle the activities of the Con-
ference are highly endorsed by the Municipality of
St. Thomas and St. John; and,

WHEREAS, Many of the recommendations made in the
Report of the Conference are of importance and value to
this Municipality:

NOW,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, and it is hereby resolved by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John in session assembled, That the Report of the West Indian Conference, be, and is hereby accepted and endorsed by the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John, Virgin Islands; and,

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED, That every effort be made to have the splendid recommendations of the Conference implemented in this Municipality for the economic and social well being of the People; and,

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, the British Co-Chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, and the United States Co-Chairman of the said Commission.

Thus passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John at its Ordinary Meeting held Thursday, April 13, 1944, at 8:00 o'clock p.m.

Witness our Hands and the Seal of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John this fourteenth day of April, A.D., 1944.

/s/ Valdemar A. Hill
CHAIRMAN.

/s/ Roy P. Gordon,
SECRETARY.

Speech of Mr. Taussig
at the
Opening Session - Legislative Council Chambers
Barbados - March 21, 1944

Your Excellency, Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the
West Indian Conference:

It is particularly appropriate that the first West
Indian Conference should be held in Barbados. There has
been a traditional association and friendship between the
people of the United States and the people of Barbados
that dates back to the founding of our Republic.

But we are not here to concern ourselves with the
past other than the lessons it has taught and the legacy
of problems which it has bequeathed to us. The primary
concern of this Conference is the present and the future.

At this moment, as the Conference gets under way,
you the delegates to the Conference are only a collection
of individuals; ten days from now, depending on your wisdom,
courage and energy, you will have become a unified body,
carrying weight and authority in the councils of the world.
The authority that you will wield will be of the most
potent kind -- that of a vigorous public opinion. Your
deliberations may well have an important effect on the
future of the Caribbean.

For some time past, it has been recognized that many
of the more pressing problems of the colonies and dependen-
cies of the Caribbean are problems held in common by the
countries

countries represented at this Conference and other countries of the area which we hope will ultimately join us in our work. The joint approach to the regional problems promises to be far more effective than the efforts of the individual territories working alone.

A substantial part of the agenda of the Conference is devoted to subjects designed to increase the self-sufficiency of the area, but we are all aware that the wellbeing of the Caribbean is dependent in large measure on its relations with the rest of the world. The conclusions which this Conference reaches will, of course, be transmitted to the governments of the United States and Great Britain. And where action is required by those countries, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission will press for it on your behalf. But the influence of the Conference will go far beyond the countries directly participating.

We are pleased to have with us as observers representatives of Canada, French West Indies and the Netherlands territories in the West Indies. Many other countries, both within this area and in other parts of the world, have expressed interest in your deliberations and the Commission will see to it that they receive the Conference's report.

The Conference has a significance that goes far beyond the periphery of the Caribbean. The functioning of this international regional machinery consisting of the Anglo-American

American Caribbean Commission, the Caribbean Research Council and the West Indian Conference is being scrutinized closely by many nations as the possible model for other regional commissions which will enable the dependent areas of the world to improve their conditions through collective action.

Considering the salubrious climate enjoyed by the territories of the Caribbean, it is perhaps straining a metaphor to say that this Conference will insist that the area be given its place in the sun. Irrespective of the appropriateness of the figure of speech, the West Indian territories will through this Conference and succeeding ones demand their just and proper place in the economic and social organization of the world.

Radio Address of Mr. Taussig
Broadcast From Barbados, B.B.C.
March 24, 1944

Sir Frank, what has impressed me is the fact that the first West Indian Conference is taking place while we are still engaged in war. These British colonies and American territories, unwilling to await the ultimate peace conference, already are pooling their common problems and seeking a solution for them. Within a few months after active submarine warfare has receded from the shores of the Caribbean sea, delegates from the United States and British dependencies in the Caribbean area are meeting around a common table, individually and collectively bent on attaining those things for which we are fighting.

It should be a great inspiration to the men now at the fighting fronts who come from this region to know that their representatives are meeting this week in Barbados in order to help create better living conditions for them when they return. Practical plans are being considered at this Conference for raising the nutritional standards of the area. This will mean more and better food for the common people who are generally under-nourished. If the plans under consideration at this Conference are carried out, and I believe they will be, our fighting men will find when they return better houses and new safeguards

for

for their health and that of their loved ones. They will find new opportunities for education. They will find opportunities for vocational training and employment. These are the goals of the West Indian Conference.

None of us is so foolishly optimistic as to think they will be accomplished overnight. But I, for one, am firmly convinced that in the last few days, a beginning has been made. The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, of which you, Sir Frank, and I are respectively British and United States co-chairmen, will keep the needs of the Caribbean countries constantly before our governments. And of course the West Indian Conference, which is a standing body, will meet again.

I have also been impressed, Sir Frank, with the ability, zeal and friendliness of the delegates to this Conference. They constitute a truly democratic assemblage. About half of them are direct representatives of the people of their respective territories. All of them have been chosen without regard to race, creed or color. It is the first time in history that the peoples of dependent areas have been so directly represented at an international conference. It should be heartening to all of us to know that a few of the projects and schemes for giving employment that have been discussed at this Conference will actually be underway within a few months. This is an earnest that the West Indian Conference is not only planning for the future but is also insisting on action now.

Final, Corrected Version of Speech of
Mr. Charles W. Taussig at the Closing
Session of the West Indian Conference,
March 30, 1944 at the Harrison College,
Bridgetown, Barbados

Mr. Chairman, I serve warning to you now that I am going to be out of order. I am going to make two speeches, and I hope I will have the courage to continue to speak even though you may protest. I am not going to talk to the delegates of this Conference; they have heard sufficient from this bench by now. My first address will be only a little shorter than my second. It will be directed to the Press.

Gentlemen of the press, I want to tell you -- and I think I can speak for everyone in this room -- that we are most appreciative of the sympathetic consideration that you have given this conference. The reports of our deliberations, here on a small island in the Caribbean, would not have reached out very far had it not been for the efforts of the Press. I am not going to put our appreciation in the form of a resolution, for as I said at the beginning I am going to be out of order. To put it simply, I thank the gentlemen of the press on behalf of this conference. (CHEERS)

My second short address will be to the students of Harrison College assembled in the gallery of this hall

and

and those of Queens College in the audience, who represent the young people of the West Indies. I think that the elderly gentlemen on the floor have had enough consideration. During their labors here, they have lit a torch; it will be up to you young people to carry it hereafter. I have no objection if the delegates wish to remain and listen to my talk to you. (LAUGHTER)

Young men and young women of the West Indies, this Conference has produced a set of recommendations dealing with social and economic matters, which should provide the framework for a new era in the Caribbean. It is in fact an economic and social Bible for the Caribbean region. Many of the things recommended in the report can and must be put into effect immediately. (CHEERS) That responsibility must fall upon the weary shoulders of the old gentlemen before you. But a great deal can be carried on only by you young men and women and your colleagues, throughout the West Indies.

This report contains some of the ingredients of a new era for the people of the Caribbean. The very fact that by the joint action of the United States and Great Britain these delegates from ten British and United States dependencies were able to meet here, implies responsibility on the part of the two parent countries to cooperate with them. There is one thing, however, that is missing from
the

the report, and that is something that these delegates could not have put there.

The resolutions contained in this report may be compared to the ingredients for making a loaf of bread. You have here the flour, salt, shortening, and other materials, but there is no leavening. The leavening must come from you young men and women.

What constitutes that leavening? In the first place, there must be the desire to do the job. In the second place, there must be the faith that the job can be done.

(CHEERS)

For some time the generation that you are looking down upon has been unwilling to face realities. The world is not as pleasant a place as it might be; it is particularly unpleasant at the present time. I cannot offer you any hope for the immediate future as regards the atmosphere in which all of us are going to live. If history repeats itself, as it usually does, there will be, following the war, a great period of unrest. That unrest will show itself in the Caribbean as well as in other parts of the world. There will be much disillusionment; there will be much that will discourage you. But my plea to you young men and women is that you keep the faith. If you consider carefully what this Conference has put before you, if you carry on with intelligence and courage, you can make a new world in the Caribbean. (CHEERS)

Speech of Charles W. Taussig
Broadcast from Barbados
over B.B.C.
March 30, 1944

Sir Frank, there were several short addresses made at the final session this morning that impressed me, and that gave point to both the content and the background of the Conference's final report. There is not sufficient time for me to touch on all of them, but I will take a moment to comment on the remarks made by Dr. Pico, one of the delegates from Puerto Rico.

Dr. Pico called our attention to an element of prime importance that entered into this Conference. Gathered here were the delegates from eight British colonies and two United States dependencies in the Caribbean region. What most impressed the delegate from Puerto Rico was the fact that all of the discussions, both in public meetings and in executive sessions, were the free expressions of the delegates, uninhibited by any pressure or restrictions from the mother countries. Grievances were aired and remedies suggested in a democratic atmosphere of free speech.

Another point which Dr. Pico thought most significant and encouraging was the fact that although the governments of the United States and Great Britain are engaged in a decisive war, with all of their energies devoted to the winning of it, they had the time, the patience, and the justice

justice

justice to convene this Conference in order to give heed to the aspirations of dependent peoples.

For many months past there has been no question that the United Nations would ultimately and decisively win this war. There have been some among us, however, who were not certain we would win the peace. There was the fear in the minds of many that dependent peoples of the world might not find themselves in any happier position after the war than before it.

If we consider what has transpired during the past ten days at this West Indian Conference as a symbol of a new attitude on the part of great nations toward their colonies and dependencies, they may be assured that some of their most burning aspirations will be fulfilled.

Talk on West Indian Conference

Sir Frank Stockdale

April 3, 1944
BBC Feed

I have been asked to give a short talk about the West Indian Conference that ended in Barbados last week, and I hope that any of you who don't happen to live in the West Indies won't immediately switch off on the ground that this talk has nothing to do with you. In actual fact, it has. This Conference may find a place in world history, as it is likely to be helpful in solving not only the problems of the Caribbean area, but also those of other parts of the world where somewhat similar problems are present. It may, indeed, prove to be a pointer to the way of dealing with colonial problems on a regional basis.

The Caribbean, in which we can include the mainland colonies of British Guiana and British Honduras, includes some independent nations and a considerable number of colonies and dependencies of various Powers, notably Great Britain and the United States. These countries in the Caribbean contain men of various races and with many different sectional interests. Yet, to an extraordinary degree this area of island and mainland territories of the Caribbean can be considered as one, and, if it could think as one, it should be possible to get an increase in the well being and happiness of all. If the various islands and territories could begin freely to exchange information and ideas with one another and can help one another in definite practical ways, considerable progress would be possible.

The Conference, which has just ended, was summoned by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, and it was purely an Anglo-American affair as far as the delegates and their advisers were concerned. Canada, however, sent an observer and so did the Netherlands West Indies. (Paris?) could not find it possible to send an observer on this occasion. And here I would like to make it clear that there never has been and never will be any suggestion that any inhabitant of the West Indies will become less British or less American because he begins to think of the Caribbean as a whole. Nor, of course, is there any reason why he should feel any less loyalty or affection for his own particular island or territory.

He will want to know whether or not this Conference--
the first international West Indian Conference in history--

was

was a success. In my own view, it was emphatically most successful, with quite a remarkable atmosphere of good will and good fellowship from the very start and this was continued throughout. In the opening sessions there was some tendency towards insularity in the speeches of several delegates but this disappeared as the Conference proceeded, and every one seemed to want not only to say what his particular island or territory was doing, but to know informally as well as formally just what was being done elsewhere. The spirit of cooperation grew as the Conference proceeded with the discussions of the several items on the agenda. But, of course, there was much more in it than this. The real way to estimate the measure to which the Conference succeeded is to look over the reports of the Committees of the Conference, which dealt with agriculture, fisheries, public health, industries, and the planning of public works of different kinds. These reports were accepted by the Conference and will be embodied in the full Report which is now in the printer's hand. What impressed me most about these reports are the definite and clear-cut recommendations, phrased in language which can readily be understood.

There are many different points of view and sectional interests represented on these Committees in the Conference, and the delegates might well have introduced reports to which any one might agree because they did not say anything worth saying or because they were vaguely phrased, but this is not the case of the Committees' reports of this Conference. Many differences of opinion were thrashed out and the fact that the reports are so extremely definite and the recommendations so clear cut shows how clearly the delegates had grasped the conception of Caribbean unity. As I have said before, the full Report of the Conference is now with the printers, and copies of it should be available shortly. The Report has been accepted by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, to whom it was presented, and will quite shortly be transmitted to the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States and to the Governments of the Colonies and Territories in the Caribbean who are concerned.

When I say that the Conference was a success, you may think that since I was Chairman of it, I am a little biased, but I don't think I am. I have tried to view its achievements impartially, and I know that Mr. Charles Taussig, the United States Co-Chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, feels as strongly as I do that the Conference was a real success. This is also the opinion of all the delegates who attended it and also of the press and general public of Barbados. Mr. Allan, one of the delegates from Jamaica, said in broadcast that he regarded the Conference as an historical occasion in the lives of the Caribbean peoples, the values of which could not be over-estimated,

and

and Mr. Valdemar Hill, the delegate from the Virgin Islands of the United States, also said in a broadcast speech that the Conference has been successful beyond the imagination of the most optimistic, so you can see that there is a considerable degree of unanimity on the subject. I know that I did not myself hear a single dissenting voice, and all delegates, upon leaving, informed me that they intended to do all that they could to see that the recommendations of the Conference were promptly acted upon.

And what is the next step? The Conference has reported to the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, and the Commission has accepted its report. It will transmit the reports to the Governments concerned and will urge most strongly that the necessary action be taken without delay. I have little doubt of the response we shall get, remembering, of course, that these are times in which nothing can be done which will in any way detract from the war effort of both Britain and the United States. If there is any delay in acting on the Report of the Conference, public opinion will soon demand to know the reason why. It, therefore, remains for all of us in the West Indies to see to it that the necessary action on the findings of the Conference, as recorded in its Report, is taken as soon as possible.

The Conference has not closed down for good. It has technically speaking adjourned, and the resolution was passed before the delegates left Barbados, asking that it should meet again within a year.

There are many subjects which could not be included in the agenda of this first session. Several of these require only consideration, and it is probable that inter-Caribbean trade and education will find a place in the agenda of the Conference of next year. These subjects were mentioned from time to time in the public discussions of the present Conference, and when I speak of education, I mean not only the regular school courses, which, indeed, are in need of revision, but also practical training to fit people for life as well as the inculcation of a general social sense. The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission must carry on collecting the data necessary for the next Conference. These things, and many others, can be set in motion as long as we have behind us men who like the delegates to this Conference have the vision to recognize that what helps the Caribbean is to the advantage of all, and what helps one unit of the West Indian chain can be made of assistance to the others, provided that parochialism and insularity are relegated to the background for the common good.

As I said in the beginning, you can indeed look beyond our area of island, mainland and sea in the Caribbean, and cast our eyes to other regions of the world. Elsewhere there are other areas within whose boundaries are men of different nationalities and races, who could give each other mutual aid and support if they could only view their problems regionally as well as nationally and racially.

The first small conference held in the island of
of the world the conference is limited to
the amount of space devoted to the Caribbean
area, but in the Caribbean and in the United States
that is, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
of each region of the world is limited to
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area

The second small conference held in the island of
of the world the conference is limited to
the amount of space devoted to the Caribbean
area, but in the Caribbean and in the United States
that is, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
of each region of the world is limited to
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area

The third small conference held in the island of
of the world the conference is limited to
the amount of space devoted to the Caribbean
area, but in the Caribbean and in the United States
that is, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
of each region of the world is limited to
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area
the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area, the Caribbean area

APPENDIX D

Significance of Conference manifested in amount of newspaper, magazine and radio comment.

That this small conference held in an isolated part of the world was considered significant is indicated by the amount of space devoted not only in the West Indian press, but in Great Britain and in the United States. That it had more than local significance was indicated by such magazines as Time and Business Week. Our American Consul, Wellington, New Zealand, sent the following cable addressed to the Secretary of State:

"The New Zealand Government is greatly interested in the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the current conference at Barbados because they think it may serve as a pattern for the Pacific Regional Conference envisaged in the Australia-New Zealand Agreement".

In Puerto Rico, the two leading Spanish newspapers, El Mundo and El Imparcial, devoted much space to daily reports of the Conference. Both El Mundo and the World Journal, leading English paper of San Juan, printed the resolutions of the Conference in toto.

Facilities of the BBC were made available in Barbados and two forum broadcasts, with four members of the Conference participating in each broadcast, were arranged by the British members. BBC made a rebroadcast via short wave throughout the British Empire. About 200,000 words of material were used by press and radio.

Extracts from the press are contained in the following quotations:

Favorable Comments

"The economic problems of the Caribbean islands are much the same, no matter what flag they fly. We believe Charles Taussig, president of the American section of the commission, is right in calling the conference 'a new type of world organization'.

"If successful here, the same spirit of cooperation across political lines could well be extended to other areas, as the Pacific Islands".

Philadelphia Record
March 26, 1944

"Without ostentation and in all humility the Caribbean territories yesterday entered into a pact which foreshadows cooperation as its keynote. ...

"There was free and unhindered discussion in open Conference and Committees during ten days on a multiplicity of problems and tolerance and co-operation aided in evolving recommendations acceptable to all.

"The Conference has been an unqualified success and a triumph for Democracy. It is for the Government of these territories in conjunction with the mother countries to lose no time in implementing the recommendations."

Barbados Advocate
March 31, 1944.

"The first West Indies Conference to be held under Anglo-American Caribbean auspices ended in Barbados last Thursday in an atmosphere of cordial goodwill and confidence. The work accomplished has been substantial. ...It can be said that the general agreement reached on measures for improving living conditions provides a framework, as one speaker put it, within which a new era can be worked out for the Caribbean.

"When

"When the conference opened we said it should not be expected to usher in the millenium and we repeat the warning. It is easy to be carried away by prospects of increased intercolonial trade and so on. But we must not forget that this will of itself solve few problems, since it is obvious that export business with manufacturing centres is indispensable for Colonies which are primary producers, and must be put on a better footing if solid progress is to be realized. Nevertheless it would be foolish to regard the assembly just concluded as anything but a substantial achievement...The fact remains that a sound job has been done."

The Trinidad Guardian
April 2, 1944.

"In general, these recommendations clearly involve a much wider approach to the economic problems of the Caribbean than has hitherto been taken. Inevitably, they raise the question whether programmes of this nature could be carried out by nearly a dozen different administrations of two nationalities, brought together only in an advisory conference, or whether some beginnings of central administration will not have to be contrived."

The Economist
April 8, 1944

..."But the delegates representing U. S. and British possessions in the West Indies were enthusiastic about this bold, cooperative attempt to solve the problems of a painfully depressed region.

..."British and U. S. indifference, local antipathies must be overcome before any plans can be translated into action. But the planners were excited and hopeful. They were sketching a pattern for post-war cooperation among colonial powers".

Time
April 10, 1944

"Such matters do not make for sensational news. But their importance ought not to be minimized. ...

The

The whole Caribbean is astir. And it is astir because, for the first time, it is engaged in realistic self-examination. Out of that exercise, important developments will undoubtedly come. They will not come rapidly. The cautious procedure of the conference, the obvious wariness of some of the delegations, the discovery of inter-Caribbean conflicts along with inter-Caribbean bases of cooperation--all these factors suggest that no Caribbean Utopia is around the corner. But they suggest, too, that this new regional outlook is being taken seriously".

Baltimore Sun
April 13, 1944

"The concrete recommendations made at the first West Indian Conference, recently concluded at Bridgetown, Barbados, have made it more probable than ever that an economic integration between the distressed islands of the Caribbean may come about under the auspices of the far-sighted Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Never before have representatives of the colonies themselves met together to discuss common problems, and it presages, in the minds of many both in industry and government, a definite trend toward international collaboration on a regional scale".

The Journal of Commerce
April 14, 1944

"Hard-headed American businessmen, who have their hands full with problems of supplies, taxation, reconversion and the like, may not be fully aware of the growing movement in the Caribbean area to improve the economy of this traditionally backward section.

"But bold, new ideas placed under a spotlight by suave Britishers and bustling Americans, working together under the benign aegis of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in its first formal congress, mark a new high in international cooperation in this hemisphere. If they are effectuated, the American businessman will one day have reason to be very interested indeed".

Business Week
April 22, 1944

Unfavorable Comments

"We in these colonies have long enjoyed our British association and to this connection we make the following statement. Bold as it may appear, it is backed by a truth which finds its echo in the inner recesses of our very souls, that we will listen to no tamperings of a political nature affecting the status of our islands. We appreciate to the fullest extent the help which the U. S. A. have been to the inhabitants of these islands; we appreciate the fact of their valuable contribution to the war effort of the United Nations; but we prefer to remain British as we are. If therefore, our suspicion is justified, in the least, let us issue a warning and a solemn reminder that, the conference programme as published in that press release, be not modified to include any interference with the political status of our Caribbean Colonies".

Union Messenger (St. Kitts)
March 18, 1944

"While there has been active cooperation on the part of Governor Tugwell and high State Department officials with the motives and aspirations of the Commission, there have been many responsible Puerto Ricans and Americans who have had their reservations about its work. There has been a wide-spread fear that equalizing social and political conditions in the Caribbean can only be the result of lowering standards in the American islands in the direction of admittedly over-governed and underfed British islands.

"It is notable, and to the unattached sympathizer inexplicable, that not a single political leader of Puerto Rico is attending the Conference at Bridgetown. The men on whom the success or failure of the whole job will eventually depend, show very little interest in the birth of the new job".

Puerto Rico World Journal
March 21, 1944

"The Conferences are purely advisory with no executive powers unless specially entrusted to them by their governments. ... So far as one can see the Conferences are not earth shaking bodies as seemed to be too readily assumed--a good deal of platitudinal hot air appears to have been released at the Barbados Conference".

The Antigua Star
March 30, 1944