

Country Files of the Secretary-General: U Thant
Trinidad and Tobago Independence

28/07/1962- 24/04/1970

PLEASE RETAIN
ORIGINAL ORDER

CLEAR

UN ARCHIVES

SERIES	<u>0884</u>
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Mar. 81
MP

28 July 1962

Sir,

I acknowledge with many thanks your kind letter dated 26 July inquiring whether I would be willing to accept an invitation to attend the Independence Celebrations of Trinidad and Tobago to be held from August 30 to September 5 inclusive. I much regret that according to present plans, I shall be away in Europe at that time, and would not be able to accept the kind invitation of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

I note that it is the intention of the Government to invite Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, among others, in his personal capacity. I feel that the best arrangement would be for Dr. Bunche to act also as my Representative. I am accordingly designating him as my Representative and hope that this will be acceptable to the Government.

I note that my Representative and his wife would be the guests of the Government during the period of the Celebrations but that it would not be possible for the Government to meet their costs of travel to and fro.

Dr. Bunche will be in direct contact with your Mission in regard to the details of his travel.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency Mr. C. T. Crove, C.M.G.
Minister
Deputy Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom to the United Nations
99 Park Avenue, 7th Floor
New York 16, N.Y.
cc - Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Miss Platz ✓

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Minister
Deputy Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom to the United Nations
99 Park Avenue, 7th Floor
New York 16, N.Y.
cc - Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Miss Bhatt



UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

99 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

(15132/44/62)

July 26, 1962.

Your Excellency,

I have been asked by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to ascertain whether you would be willing to accept an invitation to attend the Independence Celebrations of Trinidad and Tobago which are to be held from August 30 to September 5 inclusive. If you are unable to attend these celebrations in person, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago would like to know if you would wish to appoint a representative.

While in Port of Spain you or your representative would be the guest of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago during the period of the celebrations, but it is regretted that it will not be possible to meet the cost of travel to and from Trinidad.

Mrs. Thant (or the wife of your representative, as appropriate), would also be included in the invitation.

You may wish to know that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago also propose to invite Mr. David Owen, in his official capacity, and Dr. Ralph Bunche and Mr. A. Goldschmidt, in their personal capacities.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago would be grateful for early information on whether you would

/like

His Excellency
U Thant,
Secretary-General,
United Nations,
New York.

- 2 -

like to attend these celebrations or wish to be represented at them. Formal invitations would follow in due course.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'C.T. Crowe', with a long, sweeping horizontal line underneath the name.

(C.T. Crowe)

INFO COPY

SEP 7 1962

FILE NO.

ACTION

TO

1

WUCDA028 ZCZC TL505/31065 75 GOVT PD INTL FR

CD PORTOFSPAIN

VIA WUCABLES 6 1537

ETAT ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL

UNITED NATIONS NYK

NO 2 IN MY CAPACITY AS PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER
OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE STATE OF TRINIDAD AND
TOBAGO I HAVE THE HONOUR TO APPLY ON BEHALF OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO FOR ADMISSION OF MY COUNTRY
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION MY GOVERNMENT ENDORSES THE
PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES STATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND
ACCEPTS THE OBLIGATIONS INCUMBENT UPON MEMBERS OF
THE ORGANISATION

652P

UNITED NATIONS
1962 SEP -6 PM 7:08
TELEGRAPH UNIT

8W
UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

(Doc. S/5162)

Press Release PM/4165
7 September 1962

TELEGRAM DATED 6 SEPTEMBER ADDRESSED TO THE
ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL FROM THE PRIME MINISTER AND
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE STATE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

In my capacity as Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of the State of Trinidad and Tobago,* I have the honor to apply on behalf of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for admission of my country to the United Nations Organization. My government endorses the purposes and principles stated in the United Nations Charter and accepts the obligations incumbent upon members of the Organization.

* *** *

*Dr. Eric Williams is Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of the State of Trinidad and Tobago.

V

INFO COPY

SEP 6 1962

FILE NO

ACTION

TO

WUCD023 (ZCZC TL794/1631) 237 PD INTL FR

CD PORTOFSPAIN VIA WUCABLES SEP 8 1630

ETATPRIORITE PRIORITY

SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS NYK

NO 3 APPLICATION TO BE ADMITTED TO UNO YOUR EXCELLENCY COMMA IN
CONNECTION WITH THE APPLICATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND
TOBAGO FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS I HAVE TOXXX THE HONOUR ON
BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO AND IN MY CAPACITY
AS ACTING PRIME MINISTER AND ACTING MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS TO
DECLARE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO ACCEPTS THE OBLI-
GATIONS CONTAINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOLEMNLY
UNDERTAKES TO FULFIL THEM STOP PARA THE PRIME MINISTER DR ERIC WILLIAMS
HAS IN A LETTER LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 6 1962 BUT APPARENTLY DELAYED
ADVISED SIC COLON QUOTE I HAVE THE HONLXXX HONOUR TO CONFIRM THE TELEGRAM
WHICH I HAVE SENT YOU TODAY MAKING APPLICATION FOR TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
TO BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION STOP PARA I SHOULD BE
GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD ARRANGE FOR THIS APPLICATION TO BE PLACED
BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY STOP PARA MY GOVERNME
ENDORSES THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES STATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS
CHARTER AND ACCEPTS THE OBLIGATIONS INCUMBENT UPON MEMBERS OF THE
ORGANISATION STOP PARA THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF TRINIDAD
AND TOBAGO AREACTUXXX ACUEXXX ACUTELY AWARE OF THE PROVEN VALUE OF
THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION TO SMALL AND DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE
WORLD AND CONSEQUENTLY ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO MEMBERSHIP UNQUOTE

PATRICK SOLOMON

ACTING PRIME MINISTER AND
MINISTER OF EXTENAL AFFAIRS.

52P EDT

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UNITED NATIONS
1962 SEP -8 PM 5:55
TELEGRAPH UNIT

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LTF

DR ERIC WILLIAMS

PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PORTOFSPAIN (TRINIDAD)

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU THAT AT ITS MEETING TODAY THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY A RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE ADMISSION OF TRINIDAD AND TABAGO
TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS. I

P2/46/44

WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADD MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS
TO MANY STATEMENTS MADE IN THE COUNCIL
SUPPORTING THE APPLICATION OF YOUR COUNTRY. THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE COUNCIL MEETING AND THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION WILL BE
FORWARDED SEPARATELY

U THANT ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL

COL NIL

UNITED NATIONS
RECEIVED
TELEGRAPH UNIT

9 January 1963

Sir,

I am grateful to Your Excellency for your letter of 31 October 1962 which I received on 2 January 1963. I am sorry that I was unable to be present at your Independence Day Celebrations. However, Dr. Bunche told me how impressive the ceremonies were. May I thank Your Excellency for your thoughtfulness in sending me some of the publications issued on the occasion of the Independence Day Celebrations.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Secretary-General

The Honourable
Dr. P.V. Solomon
Minister of Home Affairs
Ministry Building
Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago



TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
801-SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 17
NEW YORK, U.S.A.

August 24th, 1965.

Dear Mr. Narasimhan,

I thank you for your kind letter of 20th August, 1965, relating to the interview which Mr. A.N.R. Robinson, Minister of Finance of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, had with the Secretary-General on the subject of the Central Bank. I am forwarding your letter immediately to Mr. Robinson and I am sure that he will communicate to you the wishes of my Government in the matter without delay.

May I again thank you on behalf of my country for the ready service which you providing in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

Charles H. Archibald
Charles H. Archibald,
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

Mr. C.V. Narasimhan,
Chef de Cabinet,
Executive Office of the Secretary-General,
Room 3800E,
United Nations Headquarters,
New York,
New York 10017.

cc Mr Da bezis
Dr V. Hoo
Mr de mieu

U.S. Plane Flies In Arms As Trinidad Fights Mutiny

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—The United States flew a planeload of weapons, including mortars and machine guns, to Trinidad today at the urgent request of the black Government there, which is seeking to put down a mutiny inspired by black-power elements.

The black-power militants contend that the economy of Trinidad and Tobago—two islands that make up one state—is controlled by whites who make up only 2 per cent of the population.

Simultaneously, a six-ship squadron was dispatched to Trinidad waters on President Nixon's orders to be ready to evacuate American citizens if their safety appeared to be endangered. [In London, The Associated Press reported, the British Defense Ministry said two guided-missile frigates were in the Caribbean on standby alert.]

Arms Sold for Cash

The arms were urgently requested yesterday by the Government of Prime Minister Eric Williams to equip the national police and the loyal members of the 800-man Trinidad Army. State Department officials said the request came after the mutineers had seized the only arms depot at Chaguaramas, a one-time United States Navy base.

[At least 58 persons were arrested in Port of Spain in raids on known offices and homes of black power militants, and five persons were said to have been killed in the fighting.]

The State Department said that the weapons, sold for cash to Trinidad, included 10 81-mm. mortar tubes and 200 shells, 100 two-inch mortar smoke bombs, 50 smoke shells, 50 "all-

purpose" machine guns with 75,000 rounds of ammunition and 7,500 rounds of carbine ammunition.

The Nixon Administration made it clear that the United States had no plan or desire to intervene directly in the revolt.

The White House press secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, said that "we have no intention of involving ourselves in the internal affairs of Trinidad."

The view here is that if the Williams Government needed troops to help control the situation, it would be up to Britain to assume this responsibility because Trinidad is a part of the Commonwealth.

Despite the United States assurance of noninvolvement in the Trinidad crisis, about 200 black students demonstrated in front of the White House against any intervention.

The students, many of whom described themselves as members of the Caribbean Association of Howard University here, raised their fists in the black-power salute and paraded posters proclaiming, "No More USA Intervention," "Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago" and "Yankee, Go Home."

The dispatch of the naval force was described by the State Department spokesman, Carl E. Bartch, as "strictly a precautionary measure to protect U.S. citizens."

He said about a thousand Americans resided in Trinidad and Tobago and there were an unknown number of tourists.

During the rioting yesterday, officials said, there was damage to installations in Port of Spain of the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Singer Sewing Machine Company. No Americans were hurt, they added.

The United States naval force is headed by the helicopter carrier Guadalcanal, flagship in the Caribbean, which carries about 2,000 marines and 30 helicopters.

The State Department said the Trinidad Government had authorized the vessels to enter its waters for a possible evacuation operation.

State Department officials reported that the Government appeared to be in control of the situation and that no immediate evacuation moves were planned.

Militants Arrested

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Special to The New York Times

PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD, April 22—At least 58 persons identified by the police as black-power activists were arrested here today in a crackdown on an anti-Government movement that had wrought havoc in this island nation for almost two months.

The arrests, made mostly in raids on known offices and homes of black-power militants, came one day after violent clashes between demonstrating youths in Port of Spain and the Government forces. Two persons were killed during the violence yesterday. Unconfirmed reports raised the count

Trouble in Trinidad

The travel brochures write glowingly of Trinidad-Tobago as a tropical paradise, two islands with exquisite beaches, lovely palm trees and the throbbing rhythms of steel bands accompanying masters of calypso song. Potential investors are wooed with literature stressing the racial amity in the heterogeneous population, the political stability under Prime Minister Eric Williams's strong but moderate government, and the abundant labor supply.

This week's violence and killings in Port of Spain reveal another aspect of Trinidad-Tobago ignored in the promotional literature. This is the pressure of an exploding population, and particularly of black teenagers without jobs or prospects of jobs. These youngsters, all recruits in the worldwide revolution of rising anticipations, are ready to follow leaders who unfurl "black power" slogans to promise them a better life and a sharing of the wealth now concentrated in the hands of Hindu, Arab and American merchants and investors.

Prime Minister Williams is, of course, himself a Negro—one whose radical statements have often scared conservatives. But he has demonstrated his understanding that Trinidad-Tobago's hopes lie not in anarchic, racist violence, but in the opposite policy of

attracting tourists and investors and thus creating the jobs needed by the army of youngsters now approaching maturity. This week's disturbances can only set back Dr. Williams's well-planned campaign, with resulting harm to all his people.

The presence of some 3,000 Americans in Trinidad-Tobago makes it understandable that the Nixon Administration is moving naval vessels toward Port of Spain and that planning for possible evacuation of these Americans is under way. Those ships are also carrying Marines and the United States has just sold a planeload of arms to the Trinidad Government. However, the White House insists the Administration has no intention of repeating the kind of intervention that got Washington into such trouble in the Dominican Republic a few years ago. Certainly the American people want no replay of that sordid scenario. The internal politics of Trinidad-Tobago are no proper business of the United States.

and the Government forces. Two persons were killed during the violence yesterday. Unconfirmed reports raised the count to five dead late today.

It was reliably reported that some soldiers in Trinidad's Army had mutinied and taken over an arsenal outside the city. There are reports that high Government officials have been negotiating with the dissident troops for two days.

Disorders Began in February

The current disorders began in late February when students at the University of the West Indies began a series of demonstrations here in support of West Indian students on trial in Montreal. The students in Canada were charged with destroying a local college computer.

The demonstrations in and around Port of Spain grew in size during succeeding days and weeks and eventually included unemployed youngsters, dissident labor union members and civil servants and some rural workers. Almost nightly, fire bombs exploded in and around Port of Spain, aimed mostly at foreign-owned businesses and residences.

The demonstrations protested mainly the lack of jobs and low wages.

The nation of Trinidad and Tobago — consisting of two islands 20 miles apart — is a former British colony. It became an independent state within the British Commonwealth in 1962. It has been ruled by a government headed by Prime Minister Eric Williams, himself a Negro, since that time.

The 1966 population estimate of 991,829 showed that about 47 per cent of the population was Negro, 35 per cent of East Indian extraction and 18 per cent as mixed. The remainder includes whites, Chinese and Syrians.

The police have said that 14 people had been arrested in Port-of-Spain; 22 in the city of San Fernando, some 40 miles south of Port-of-Spain; and another 22 on the neighboring island of Tobago.

Some were said to have been suspected of making gasoline bombs. These incendiary devices have caused many thousands of dollars in damages here in recent weeks.

A state of emergency declared yesterday gives the police power to arrest and hold citizens. A dusk-to-dawn curfew has also been ordered. Late today the normally bustling downtown streets and market areas were vacant. Major hotels that normally cater to scores of tourists were all but empty.

Black Power Flourishing in Caribbean

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Special to The New York Times

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad, April 23—A potent, studious, often raucous and sometimes violent black-power movement has come to the English-speaking Caribbean, and nowhere more visibly than here.

Islands blessed with sun-drenched white beaches, coconut trees and clear blue waters churn with a dynamic force for racial chauvinism and radical change that has attracted many of the area's brightest young people.

The movement is widespread in the English-speaking Caribbean—where more than half the population is under 21—and reaches northward into the Bahamas and Bermuda.

Mirroring other black, youth and have-not social revolts, the movement is strongest in the areas of high unemployment. Hundreds of years of white

economic exploitation provide fuel, as do the methods of foreign investors and the practices of local merchants, most of whom are not black. The governments' slowness — black governments this time — has also spurred the movement.

Most black-power dissidents have not defined the sort of government they would prefer. Some favor systems that would nationalize foreign interests and promote cooperative ownership of national wealth.

On Trinidad and Tobago, a

lush, tropical, multiracial island nation, the most dramatic black-power moves in the Caribbean have reached a violent climax after weeks of demonstrations that saw the thousands of young people involved become a significant social force.

A survey of the black-power movement in the region, based on a series of recent visits, yielded the following impressions.

Aspects of what activists in the Caribbean invariably call the black-power movement can be found in all of the areas now or recently associated with the British Commonwealth.

Sometimes the movement is simply an intellectual crust while in other instances it amounts to tough political opposition. In still others, as in the current Trinidadian demon

strations, the movements pull together the poor, the dissident, unionists, the unemployed, Government officials, Communists, religious sects, African nationalists, black nationalists, political theorists and students.

Most black-power activists, concentrating on the effort to organize and politicize other would-be activists, exhibit few resources for strong programs of education for younger people and students.

Leaders Are Youthful

The great majority of the Caribbean activists are young—few are over 40.

They may borrow freely from the rhetoric and trap-pings of the black American revolution—Afros, sunglasses, dashikis and sandals—but most say black power in the West Indies must be tailored for the West Indies. They point out a crucial factor: "We're in the majority here—blacks are the minority in the United States."

While conceding the great impact of the black revolution in the United States, activists here quickly add that West Indians, such as the Jamaican Marcus Garvey and Trinidadian Stokely Carmichael, have played crucial roles in the development of black pride in the United States. Thus, they say, black-power convictions are not entirely a United States export, but also something of a West Indies reimport.

The leadership of the many factions includes many West Indians who have studied, lived or worked in the United States, Britain or Canada.

In Trinidad and Tobago, where 36 per cent of the population is East Indian, black-power advocates who seek alliances with "our black Indian brothers" have been moderately successful, especially in the urban areas.

In Guyana, which has a 50 per cent East Indian population, there has been less of an attempt to bring Indians into the black-power movement, the principal arm of which is the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa. The organization has often reflected government policies.

Mass Communications Help

Mass communications have helped the activists' cause. A black sugarcane field worker in Barbados, carrying a portable radio, sang "When a Man Loves a Woman," duplicating the Southern Negro blues tones of Percy Sledge, and then listened on a news broadcast to shouts of "Power! Power!" in Trinidad.

Black-power publications—newspapers, magazines and broadsides—are myriad. The movement seeks to change the values of the West Indian community "from British in our thinking," a Jamaican student said, "to black, black, black."

This would reverse a situation that the Trinidadian author V. S. Naipaul wrote of in his book, "Middle Passage":

"The West Indian accepted his blackness as his guilt, and divided people into the white, fusty, musty, dusty, tea, coffee, cocoa, light black, black and dark black. He never seriously doubted the validity of the prejudices from which he suffered, for he had inherited the prejudices of the culture to which he aspired."

As in the United States, the movements have caused intense interest in local history from a black perspective.

In Guyana, Cuffee, the leader of a long-ago slave rebellion, was recently made a national hero.

Antigua activists tell of a slave, Prince Klass, who led an uprising in 1736.

'A National Identity'

Stressing the need for "a national identity," a sociologist who lives in Surinam, Deryck Ferrier, is attempting to have the schools teach the history of several wars "in which African armies defeated Dutch armies in Surinam."

Dr. M. B. Abeng Doonquah, a dentist in Kingston, Jamaica, was thinking on the same lines when he discussed the way Jamaicans were taught about the maroons—the fugitive slaves and their descendants. "It was always in terms of their being 'rebels' and the British soldiers were described as 'heroes,'" Dr. Doonquah, the president of the Council on African Jamaican Affairs, said,

ments had to make to interest foreign investors.

In addition, there is disappointment, as one militant said, that "the 'Afro-Saxons' now in government could be as uncaring as whites."

This is a widespread feeling among Caribbean dissidents. A cartoonist in a Jamaican newspaper, Abeng, pointed it up by saying that after blacks took over from whites, "nothing change except them put a black man in the governor's old clothes."

The dissidents' disappointment persists despite the frequently militant stands taken by black government leaders. Many have said, as did the Deputy Prime Minister of Barbados, James Cameron Tudor: "We are black power—we have control of the government."

Mr. Tudor, who was wearing a dashiki, conceded, however, that neither Barbados nor any of the other nations associated with the British Commonwealth in the Caribbean controlled their economies. It is this point, among others, that dissidents seize upon to distinguish between the black power they advocate and the black power advocated by the black Establishment.

Jamaica's Minister of Youth and Community Development, Senator Hector Wynter, declared: "We know what the problems are, just like the dissidents, but we are saddled with the job of solving them—saddled with the job of creating change."

"The trouble with many dissidents is that they accept the rhetoric of black power without examining it. We have black political power and this should indeed lead us to black economic power."

Awareness Called the Key

Marcus Garvey Jr., a Jamaican African Nationalist, the son of the founder of modern-day African nationalism, said: "It is ridiculous to say we have black power when we have a black prime minister and a black governor general."

"Black power is black awareness, pride in race, black institutions with black leadership, black economic prosperity, black unity in the national and international scene and not this current economic structure where the white man is at the top and a huge black mass submerged in inferiority, like the hidden portion of an iceberg."

P. Barrymore Stevens, the 27-year-old United States-educated editor of Outlet magazine in Antigua, said that although Caribbean government leaders hummed "the black power tune, they don't know the words."

With the exception of the Bahamas, just outside the Caribbean, the area is plagued by high unemployment and underemployment. Most governments concede that 20 per cent of their work forces is out of work.

For many decades they made fortunes for British companies and now these sugar-producing, newly independent nations find they cannot easily reorganize a plantation economy that depended on plentiful slave or very cheap labor.

"Throughout the West Indies," a former official of the now defunct West Indian Federation said, "as the British rule ended here and there, there was the feeling that once 'we' took over everything was going to work out well, as if there was something magic about a black government."

Puerto Rican Example

"But we took over the wealth of problems that the British were glad to get rid of. Black is beautiful, yes, but it represents no magic formula for solving a host of economic problems."

In some of these island communities during the last two decades, the main idea has been to utilize the principles of Puerto Rico's successful Bootstrap program. The island nations sought to encourage industrialization by bringing in United States companies.

Foreign companies were granted tax incentives. Tourism was promoted. Overseas



Black militants demonstrating outside the office of Caroni Limited, an English sugar firm, in Port of Spain



Caribbean areas where black-power movements have gained a foothold on map with their names emphasized.

operators were brought in to exploit the natural wealth in bauxite in Guyana and Jamaica and the oil in Trinidad and Tobago.

"We never got the best deals from these foreign companies," a Jamaican official confided, "but we got the best we could. They had the capital and the expertise and they were always in the best position for bargaining."

But while foreign investments throughout the Caribbean represent to blacks in government the "best possible" long-term programs for national economic growth, to dissidents the deals represent giveaways and sellouts of national potential.

Tourism, to many dissidents, represents "the prostitution of our peoples for the amusement of foreigners" and "the creation of a nation of servants" or even "creating an isle of Toms."

Mining Tourism Dollars

That has presented a problem in the Bahamas, where the Prime Minister, Lynden O. Pindling, began a "friendship campaign" to urge the predominantly black nation to be nicer to white tourists. The move, opponents, observers and some Government people agree, was necessitated in part by a black awareness that has made many Bahamians reluc-

tant to play the traditional roles tourism demands.

In a recent speech to the 185,000 Bahamians, he stressed that while "some tourists will not be nice and some will be easier to like than others," Bahamians should remember that tourism is the source of 70 per cent of the nation's income.

Moments before he went on

the radio to tell the nation that the revenue from the rental of two hotel rooms would pay the annual salary of one school teacher, two angry Bahamians working on the Nassau docks lashed out at a white tourist for taking their photograph "without asking first."

"This is the Bahamas," one black man shouted. "You don't own this country!"

After the tourist, laden with baskets and hats from the strawmarket, had disappeared behind a stack of green bananas on the dock, the second man told the other: "But you know the truth is, he does own this country—that's what makes me angry—he does own this country."

"Well, he don't own me!" the first man said.

An American Negro urged the men—both middle-aged Bahamians who survive by cleaning conch shells for sale to tourists—to talk on about their feelings about their customers.

'Off the Sidewalk, Nigger'

One man spat out, "On April 23, 1943, they pushed me off the sidewalk in Fort Pierce, Florida—made me walk in the street—and said, 'Get off the sidewalk, nigger.'"

The other interrupted: "They bomb churches—they killed Martin Luther King... and dammit, they own us just like we were still slaves."

Similar emotions have been confided between the teeth by smiling, courteous, uniformed blacks in luxury hotels in several Caribbean islands.

"I smile and I say the right thing," said an employee of a Trinidad luxury hotel, "and show my teeth and do just a simple basic thing and some-

half-drunk American will give me as much in a tip as my cousins make cutting sugar cane in a day."

The hotel worker spoke while standing on the edge of a black-power rally of 3,000 people late one night in Woodford Square in Port of Spain.

"I like making money," he said. "Sure, it's more than many government officials make, but I cannot forget my cousins."

Then, on the speaker's platform, the leftist union leader Clive Nunez shouted to the crowd: "The white pigs—you must hate them. You can't love your enemy. You must hate your enemy if you're to destroy him."

To this, many in the crowd shouted: "Power! Power!"

The hotel worker laughed lightly. "You know," he said, "I want to keep what I've got, help my cousins and the country and I don't want to hate anybody, really. The dilemmas are there, aren't they?"

Bermuda, trying to stem racial unrest, has canceled an annual interschool sports meet and increased the police force.

Bermudians also depend upon tourism for their full employment and relatively high standard of living. A black official said during a black-power conference last year: "Sometimes I can almost agree with the black-power boys—dignity, pride, and all of that, but don't you know we would starve in Bermuda without tourists?"

"We don't fish, we don't farm anymore, Texas raises bigger, tastier and cheaper Bermuda onions. Like it or not, tourism is our thing and if it takes a little smiling to keep from starving, we're going to—keep from starving."

The New York Times (by Thomas A. Johnson)

was thinking on the same lines when he discussed the way Jamaicans were taught about the maroons — the fugitive slaves and their descendants. "It was always in terms of their being 'rebels' and the British soldiers were described as 'heroes,'" Dr. Doonquah, the president of the Council on African Jamaican Affairs, said. "This is what we must change."

History is a vital element of black pride, but the cutting edge of the movement is economic.

The distribution of wealth is a major cause of discontent in the West Indies. Foreign investors control most of the natural resources—oil, bauxite, tourism, sugar—in the nations that have them.

In addition, local businesses are often controlled by people who are not part of the West Indian majority—the descendants of Africans. Local businesses are generally run by local whites, Chinese, East Indians, Jews, Syrians or Portuguese.

In addition, to a great extent, the black-power movement is the organizing of the black have-nots against the black haves.

'As Uncaring as the Whites'

With Guyana a notable exception, the movement is anti-government or at least consistently critical of government. Much of the hostility is rooted in a disappointment with the black governments' slowness to respond and in disappointment with the costly deals govern-



The New York Times

Geddes Granger, a leader in Trinidad's black power movement, as he spoke to recent rally in Port of Spain.

Trinidad Presses Mutiny Talks As Dissidents Are Rounded Up

Special to The New York Times

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad, April 23—The Government of Trinidad and Tobago pressed its negotiations today with a hold-out faction of black-power advocates in the armed forces who mutinied on Tuesday. At the same time, the police continued to round up anti-Government activists.

A spokesman for the rebel soldiers said that talks had been going on since Tuesday with a delegation of Government officials led by the Attorney General, Karl Hudson Phillips. The spokesman would not go into detail about what was being discussed except to say that Government officials were trying to get the rebels to give up their arms.

Government officials declined to comment on the matter. At a police news conference this afternoon the officials only collected questions. They promised to deliver answers tomorrow morning at another news conference.

The number of mutineers could not be learned.

This nation, with a population of close to a million, has 2,000 policemen, 720 members of the Defense Force and 160 members of the Coast Guard. One Government source said that, if need be, the Government could arm at least 3,000 civilians.

Meanwhile, six American warships, carrying 2,000 battle-equipped marines, cruised the tropical waters off the northern coast of Trinidad.

American Embassy spokesmen said there was no current plan to bring the ships closer

than about 50 miles offshore unless there was the need to evacuate American civilians.

Embassy officials estimated that there were more than a thousand American citizens resident here and several hundred tourists, in addition to about 150 Air Force personnel at a tracking station.

The naval force is made up of a helicopter carrier, the Guadalcanal, two landing craft, one supply ship and a frigate.

Move to Halt Demonstration

A state of emergency was declared Tuesday morning when the Government attempted to block a black-power demonstration that might have been joined by dissident labor union members and striking sugar workers.

Relative calm has prevailed in this city for the last two days, although an occasional shot can be heard.

Business was brisk this morning but shops at the commercial section closed for the day at noon. Shopkeepers and carpenters were busy along the main thoroughfare, Fredericks Street, boarding up broken windows.

The mutineers, who support the black-power demonstrators, have taken over a part of the Defense Force's camp at nearby Teteron Bay.

Many government offices here are closed. At least some public officials are under police guard and are inaccessible even by telephone.

Leader Is Arrested

Among those arrested today was Geddes Granger, chairman of the National Joint Action Committee, an amalgamation of organizations. The committee, has led the series of black-power demonstrations that brought about the current con-

troversy. Mr. Granger, who offered no resistance, was arrested while having breakfast in a restaurant in the town of Couva, 20 miles away.

With Mr. Granger's arrest, Government forces have the four principal dissident leaders of the nation's black-power movement in custody. The others are Clive Nunez, a Cuban-trained officer in the Transport

Workers Union; George Weeks, chairman of the Oil Field Workers Union, and Chan Maharaj, leader of the National Freedom Organization, all are associated with the National Joint Action Committee.

With the exception of Mr. Maharaj, who is of East Indian descent, all are of African descent.

Trinidad and Tobago, an independent state within the British Commonwealth since 1956, is considered by many a model interracial community. Negroes (45 per cent), East Indians (35 per cent) and Europeans, Chinese and Syrians live together with a minimum of friction. Negroes and Indians usually vote for their own political candidates, however.

Some 18 per cent of the population is of mixed blood and most of these are so-called "Douglas" a nondisparaging term for a Negro-East Indian Mixture.

The current emergency began as a protest demonstration two months ago by university students here who objected to a trial of West Indian students on riot charges in Montreal.

Unemployed Join Dissidents

Demonstrations followed almost daily. Soon the city's army of unemployed youths, dissident workers and civil servants joined the protests that very often cut across racial lines.

Black-powered demonstrators pointed out many times that "we mean no harm to our black Indian brothers."

After two months of demonstrations and many nighttime fire-bombings, a massive march was planned for Tuesday that would have included elements of the urban black poor, members of the 15,000-member East Indian sugar cane workers union, who went on strike last week, and striking mailmen and utilities workers.

The Government declared a state of emergency Tuesday morning and arrested scores of the principals.

When the police sought to clear the streets of people gathering for the march, the violence broke out.

Although the battle cry in the Trinidad disorders was "Black power!," close observers here feel that economic problems and unemployment would have brought the same result to Trinidad no matter what the slogans. Unemployment here is estimated at 20 to 25 per cent or more.

Although Trinidad has a non-white government, this does not deter the cries of black power. Dissidents allege that while the Government is black, it allows white economic exploitation of the country. White foreign interests do control the oil, natural gas, sugar and tourist industries of Trinidad.