ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SEMINAR

The Seminar was organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat under the Commonwealth Youth Programme, which was established in 1973. Recognising the need for positive action to be taken to counteract the problems evident in many plural societies, the objectives of the Seminar were to examine the dimensions of pluralism and its implications for development, with particular reference to island communities, and to determine ways in which young people could contribute towards the alleviation of the problems.

The Seminar was attended by some forty-five participants, including delegates from the Bahamas, Cyprus, Fiji, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Seychelles, Singapore, Tonga, and Trinidad and Tobago. Also present were observers from the Government of Mauritius and the University. A complete list of participants is included at Appendix 2 of this report.

The Secretariat was fortunate in being able to draw upon the knowledge and experience of four people with considerable expertise in the subjects under discussion. They were Professor L.E. Braithwaite, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Mr. O. Napier, formerly Minister for Law Reform in Northern Ireland, Mr. G. McRobie, a Director of the Intermediate Technology Development Group, and the Hon. K. Jagatsingh, Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Government of Mauritius. Each presented a lead paper and took on active part in the discussions.

Two papers focused on aspects of pluralism and two on aspects of development. The presentation of each paper was followed by plenary and group discussion, and towards the end of the Seminar, plenary sessions afforded an opportunity for discussion on the inter-relationships of pluralism and development. A further session enabled participants to determine specific lines of action towards the alleviation of some of the problems raised.

In addition to working sessions, participants were able to meet young people from Mauritius on an informal basis and visits to developmental projects were kindly arranged by the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

The Seminar was honoured by the presence of the Rt. Hon. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, at the opening ceremony, where he delivered the inaugural address. The full text of his address is included in Part II of this report, together with the introductory speech given by Mr. Jean Ah Chuen, Acting Minister of Youth and Sports. The Hon. Basant Rai performed the closing ceremony and the text of his address is also included in Part II.

The Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. James A. Maraj, served as Chairman of the Seminar and Mr. Padayachy, Principal Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, served as co-Chairman.

The Secretariat wishes to record its gratitude to the Prime Minister,

the Minister of Youth and Sports, and officials of the same Ministry, for all the assistance given in the organisation of the Seminar, and to the University of Mauritius for so willingly providing facilities.

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INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS ON COUNTRY SITUATIONS

During the course of the Seminar participants were provided with an opportunity to describe the social and economic situation in their own countries. This they did from a purely personal viewpoint and it was explained and understood that such statements were in no way official.

The statements, which remain unedited, are reproduced herein.

PLURALISM IN THE BAHAMAS

Discovered by Italian explorer Christopher Columbus in 1492, the Bahamas is an archipelago of 700 islands, sixteen of which are inhabited. It covers an area of 100,000 sq. miles stretching from south-eastern Florida to approximately 90 miles off the north-western tip of Cuba.

The century following its discovery saw first the extinction of its original settlers, the Arawak Indians, followed by a period of abandonment by the Spaniards who had underwritten the cost of Columbus' exploratory voyage. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the British were showing an interest in the islands and despite several futile attempts to settle them and a number of attacks by the Spaniards, a colony was established before the middle of the seventeenth century. The islands remained British until the achievement of independence in 1973.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries West African nationals were introduced into the Bahamian society as slaves to man the sugar and cotton plantations of that day. Their descendants now constitute 85% of our population, among whom the greatest social problem is the increasing incidence of the one parent family with its attendant implications and effects on our society. Paramount among these effects is the abdication of responsibility among the male segment of such families.

As in all societies there are a number of pluralistic features which tend to divide the people. However, the Bahamas is almost singularly blessed by the solidifying effects of one language (English) and one religious philosophy (Christianity, which embraces 98% of its population) among its people.

Elements which tend to divide the Bahamian society include:

(i) geography
(ii) race
(iii) politics
(iv) economics

(i) Geography

The separation of one land mass from another emphasises considerable stress on our essential services, particularly in the areas of communication, health, education and immigration. Moreover, the problems are further aggravated by the centralisation of the administrative arm of government - local government exists only as a token entity.

It might be well to mention, however, that in recent years much has been done to eradicate the inequities that exist between the more developed facilities available in the city areas and the less and in some cases, non-existent ones available in 'Family Island' communities.

(ii) Race

Racially the grouping in the island is as follows:-

Those of African descent	85.0%
Those of White descent	13.0%
Those of Chinese descent	0.5%
Others	1.5%

Some twenty years ago there were better job opportunities for nationals of the white minority (especially in the private sector) and racial discrimination was practised in a number of public places including movie houses, hotels, restaurants and clubs. It is interesting to note that racial discrimination was allegedly practised to placate the whims of the tourist who provide our most essential industry; however, the abandonment of discriminatory racial practices has gone hand in hand with a phenomenal increase in the number of tourist visiting the islands.

Today's Bahamians, provided they possess the education, training and experience required, work side by side in harmony regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. Indeed it seems that the passage of time has seen the development of an integrated culture among the two majority groups which bears the markings of both the white and black segments of the community and now takes on a Bahamian flavour. Slight cultural differences may be seen as one travels from island to island but these may well be categorized among the strengths of pluralism in our society.

As regards the minority groups made up for the most part of Chinese, Greeks and Jews, it is well to note that whilst these citizens retain their cultural heritage there is a noticeable element of involvement on their part in national projects.

Special mention must be made here of the Haitian community which although of African descent are creole speaking. These people are for the most part illegal immigrants to our shores and despite efforts to repatriate them it is felt that several thousand of them are to be found in the outskirts of the towns and villages of the islands. Because of their prolific reproduction rate they have been a drain on our medical services and over the past two years have begun to tax the education service which is not geared to cope with the language barrier they present.

(iii) Politics

Politics in the Bahamas have caused more open dissension than any other factor of pluralism. Historically the two major parties were composed along racial lines with the white monied minority holding political power and the poorer black group forming the opposition in Parliament.

The general election of 1967 resulted in atie and for the first time the black party with the support of the leader of the Labour Party and one Independent member formed the government. The elections of 1968 (called by the government on the death of a representative) and 1972 saw the return of the party to power by overwhelming majority vote.

Over the past twenty years, since the present party was formed, political reforms have included adult suffrage, the reassignment of constituency lines to reflect adequate representation in the densely populated areas, the lowering of the voting age to 18 years and legislation to ensure

equal job opportunities for all. During most of the twenty year span the present party, although not in power, were instrumental (with the assistance of two Royal Commissions) in bringing the issues to the people and raising them on the floor of Parliament. At the beginning of this period there was also support from one of the local daily newspapers which later withdrew its editorial support.

At the present time there is a black ruling party, an opposition party composed of the former white monied party and a dissident group which split with the black majority party in 1970 and several fragmented groups comprised basically of labour supporters and youth.

(iv) Economics

Socio-economic differences continue to divide the Bahamian people.

The advent of the present party's ascent to power has created a greater social awareness among the black majority and the availability of equal job opportunities has assisted in breaking down social barriers but there is still much room for improvement in this area of human relationships.

Economic power in the Bahamas still rests with the whites and it will be some considerable time before the blacks attain economic power and freedom. Much of the plight of the blacks is of their own making since many who have come into their own have neither the expertise nor the self-discipline to achieve economic success. Furthermore, it is alleged that political patronage has placed inadequately trained personnel in jobs both in the public and private sector for which they are not suited and in both sectors retrenchment (on a small scale) is now evident.

Added to these factors is the present world economic crisis with its attendant influence on our tourist industry which is presently our life blood.

This paper would be incomplete if mention were not made of the influences of tourism, our chief industry, on the life of Bahamians. Our nation has a population of 185,000 people, 65% of whom are under the age of 25. One can therefore envisage the influence upon our people of more than a million tourists who arrive annually from America, Canada, Europe and the Caribbean. Many of our people, especially among the 65% mentioned above, have adopted indolent habits while they pattern their life styles after visitors who remain in the country for varying lengths of time.

Much of our prestigious land sites, especially beach areas, have been purchased by non-Bahamians and most of the hotels are owned by foreign capitalists. It is safe to say, however,that the industries which support the tourist trade are locally owned and the tourist industry has given rise to the development and improvement of a number of crafts.

In an effort to ensure Bahamian participation in tourism, the Government has recently formed a public co-operation which has purchased and will operate three of the major hotels, so it is safe to say that efforts are being made to ensure that more of the profits of tourism remain in the country.

Our second industry, international banking, also has but a cursory effect on our economy, the only tangible benefits being in the area of job opportunities. By way of explanation it should be pointed out that the reason

for the establishment of this interest lies in the fact that the Bahamas provides a tax free haven for the companies involved so that any thought of enforcing a tax on the groups concerned cannot at this time be entertained.

In conclusion, it is well to mention the positive things that bring our people together.

Earlier mention was made of the integrating power of our one language and one religion, and here it should be pointed out that dress and diet in the Bahamas have a similar effect.

Apart from these, education has been the most dynamic integrating force in our islands where compulsory education is free up to and including the secondary level. The system itself provides for academic, vocational, special (blind, deaf, mentally retarded), technical and adult education. However, the one big problem is to provide equal educational experiences for citizens on the Family Islands where settlements are scattered even on individual land masses. At the primary level the problems are minimal but at secondary level it has been necessary to establish central schools (in existing buildings) and provide busing. This process is seen as the first step in ensuring that mass migration from the rural Family Islands does not continue. The provision of these facilities also has a sociological effect on the young who are now beginning to feel a sense of belonging and of having equal local educational opportunities.

Having heard the experiences of other island nations our delegation is of the opinion that the pluralistic features of our society have minimal disintegrative effects at present and that Bahamians should be encouraged to work together for the building of a stronger nation so that as other aspects of pluralism appear in our society we will be better able to cope with them.

Our Prime Minister has declared that the present government intends to set up a National Youth Service and we see this as a very positive step in offsetting our growing unemployment and bridging the social and eventually the economic gaps in our society.

SOME LESSONS FROM THE TRAGEDY OF CYPRUS

Shall I speak about Cyprus before the Turkish invasion or shall I speak after the invasion? Cyprus then was a paradise; now it is a tragedy. The Cypriot hospitality, famous all over Europe, used to open its arms to embrace everybody. Now these arms are asking help from the heaven and the earth and nobody can help.

Anyway, I shall give some facts to the delegates who have come from small places like Cyprus, probably with their own problems yet luckier for the moment. I wish to all these small independent islands with all my heart never to be in the same situation.

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediteranean with an area of 3,572 square miles. It is situated at a distance of 150 miles north of Egypt, 64 miles west of Lebanon, 44 miles south of Turkey and 500 miles west of the Greek mainland.

Cyprus has a population of about 660,000 (1972 estimate). Population percentages are: 77% Greeks, 18.3% Turks and 4.7% other minorities.

Cyprus history starts from at least the 6th millenium B.C. It was colonised by the end of the 2nd millenium by Mycenaeum Greeks, since when she has had all the adventures of Greece. Under the Romans from 30 - 330 A.D., a Province of the Byzantine Empire from 300-1911 A.D., under the French Lusignans and the Venetians from 1192-1571, under Ottoman occupation from 1571-1878, from 1872-1960 under the British occupation, in 1960 Cyprus declared an independent State and joined the Commonwealth and the Council of Europe. Her sovereignty and territorial integrity were guaranteed by Britain, Turkey and Greece.

Some other data:

a) land owned by the communities of Cyprus:
Greek ownership 59.2%
Turkish ownership 12.9%
Armenian Maronite 1.6%
Villages, roads, rivers, etc. 1.6%
State forest and land 24.7%

b) Greek contribution to the gross domestic product: 90%
Turkish contribution to the gross domestic product: 10%

c) Per capita gross national product in 1961 £189.5, in 1971 £405.3 and in 1976 (estimated) £521.

Education: Free up to 15. From 15-18 the pupils have to pay low fees. (Though not compulsory more than 60% of the pupils graduate at 18). The percentage of students in the universities and other higher institutions ranks third in the world: 20%, (after U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.).

Employment: Unemployment did not surpass 1.2% of the economically active population during the last five years.

Imports - Exports: In 1963 £47 million imports - 22 million exports
In 1971 £107 million imports - £47 million exports.

The trade gap was covered by invisible resources, mainly accruing from the British bases in Cyprus, the spending of tourists, remittances from overseas and foreign capital inflow.

Data after the Turkish invasion:

1. The area under Turkish occupation is up to 40%
2. The extent of control gained on the economy by the Turkish invasion Forces is as follows:
   a) 70% of the gross output
   b) 82% of the tourist accommodation
   c) 83% of the general cargo handling (Famagusta)
   d) 55% of mining and quarrying output
   e) 47% of the livestock production
   f) 60% of agriculture production.

3. 40% of the total Greek population have been forced to abandon their homes and are living as refugees in the south part of the island. The number of refugees is nearly 200,000.

4. Value of land and buildings owned by Greeks in the Turkish occupied area: over £2.50 billion.

5. Value of household movable property seized and/or looted by the Turkish Army: £100 million.

6. Daily loss of production valued at £2 million.

It is not wise to go on giving statistical numbers. It would be better for me to try to make some observations about the Cyprus case which probably will be of some use to other small countries like ours.

Cyprus has been an artificially created state. Of course it is not the only one, yet it was the only independent country that in fact it was not independent.

Three other powers, Britain, Greece and Turkey, according to the Treaty of Guarantee, were the guarantors who ought to protect its independence and territorial integrity, and to act separately or together to restore constitutional order if it was violated.

Two of the above three powers are the mother lands of the two communities in Cyprus. It was inevitable that each community would look for protection to her mother land, the Greek community to Greece, the Turkish community to Turkey.

This was a great mistake. The Turkish minority had been from the beginning very suspicious to every proposal coming from the Greek majority for any change in the constitution which aimed to make better chances for progress of the state as a whole. Behind the Turkish minority has been always Turkey, only 40 miles away from Cyprus. So, the first conclusion is that to safeguard the independence of a small country organizations, like the U.N., or better the Great Powers, are more suitable than the mother-countries.

The rights given by the constitution of 1960 to Turkish minority were immense and absolutely unrealistic, (separate municipalities in the towns, the right of veto of the vice-president, etc). The second conclusion is that when a constitution is to be established the borderline should be precisely found, so that the rights of the minority could not turn against the rights of the majority. In the case of Cyprus actually the Turkish minority was acting as the majority. This brought frustration to the Greek part.

My third conclusion is not to be sure about economical progress unless a good political stability is established. One of the main objectives of the small and newly independent countries must be to obtain political stability and national unity.

My fourth conclusion is that small pluralist countries are not separate from the rest of the world. The Great Powers do not leave them alone to form their future. In one way or other they always attempt to put them under their own influence in order to serve and protect their own interests. Cyprus is situated in a very strategic position. The tragedy of Cyprus is mainly due to the Arab-Israeli conflict and I dare say to the oil crisis. Probably, in the future some other small island country will be in the same or similar position.

My fifth conclusion is to respect world organizations but not to be so sure that they can help you. Cyprus has been member of the U.N., of the Council of Europe and of the Commonwealth. None of these organizations could help her.

My sixth conclusion is that the future of humanity is rather dark and uncertain. Rights everyday are violated, in the sake of realistic policy; justice is neglected and principles designed for a better world remain only nice words written in impressive charts.

Probably our days will see the destruction of an independent, prosperous and very beautiful island. The destruction of 500,000 Greeks of Cyprus who would seek for settlement in the five continents, if there would be any place for them.

Let us hope this to be the last injustice and the last tragedy. I wish your countries to live, poor or prosperous, in peace and safety.

THE FIJI SITUATION

The Fiji group consists of about 300 islands with a total land area of 7,040 square miles and situated about 1,200 miles N.N.E. of the New Zealand city of Auckland. The largest island of Viti Levu has a land area of a little in excess of 4,000 square miles and supports about two-thirds of the total population of approximately 560,000 (June 1974).

Although Fiji had been visited by foreigners from as early as 1643 it was not until the 1860's that these visits, especially by traders and planters from Australia and New Zealand, became more intense. But even before this influx Fiji may well have been referred to as pluralistic by virtue of the different dialects spoken in the various parts of Fiji. These dialects are in some cases so different that some could, even today, be regarded as different languages altogether.

Because of the need by the early planters for an experienced labour force to work the sugar and cotton plantations, labour was recruited from India. Thus in 1879 there were 450 indentured Indians in Fiji and by 1917, when the indenture system was abolished, 63,000 had been introduced into the colony. Today the total population consists of 51% of people of Indian origin, 43% of native Fijians, and the balance of 6% consists of a mixture of Europeans (1%), part-Europeans (2%), Chinese (1%) and other Pacific islanders (2%).

The last forty years have seen marked development among all racial groups. So far as the European section of the population is concerned, the centre of gravity has shifted from the plantations to the towns and industrial centres.

The development of mining and secondary industries and of special services had brought many trained men from overseas; nevertheless, while the total population of the country has increased substantially since 1921, the European percentage of it has steadily declined.

The Fijians for their part have maintained a steady rate of population increase, despite dislocation resulting from war, and they retain in large measure their traditional social structure, thus confounding those gloomy prophets who foretold an early breaking down of that structure under external contacts and economic pressure. So far from being weakened, their long-standing institutions have been given a wider significance. The coming into operation of the Fijian Affairs Ordinance in 1945 marked the beginning of a period in native administration when the Fijian people assumed greatly increased responsibility for the management of their own affairs, each province becoming in effect a unit of local government with its own councils, treasury and executive officers. The co-operative movement, which is gaining momentum, offers a practical means of enabling the people to retain the essential features of their traditional way of life and at the same time to play their part in the economic life of Fiji and meet the impact of modern commerce.

The Indians, too, have prospered greatly, both physically and materially. In 1879 there were 450 indentured Indians in Fiji and by 1917, when the indenture system was abolished, 63,000 had been introduced into the colony. Of these only one-third exercised their right of repatriation. Indians are now the largest single section of the population, and they play an increasingly important part in commerce and industry, as well as in the professions and in public affairs. The main centres of Indian population are still in or near the sugar-producing areas, where there has been an increasing demand for agricultural land for occupation by tenant farmers. Measures to make suitable land available, and at the same time to protect the interest of the Fijian owners, by reserving amply for their present and future needs, were proposed by the Great Council of Chiefs and embodied in the Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1940, under which all Fijian lands were vested in a Native Land Trust Board, to be administered on behalf of, and for the benefit of, the native owners.

Economically there have been important developments. What was for long virtually a sugar economy with copra in second place has been broadened, and now largely dominated, by the development of tourism. Mining has become an important industry and prospecting shows much promise. These developments have been reflected in increased revenues, making possible an extension of public works, education, sanitation and medical services.

The developments during the last two decades in particular have been profound; they culminated in the attainment of independence on the 10th October, 1970. During this period, too, Pacific island territories in general have come to realise that they share common interests and problems. Their regional setting, physical fragmentation, long sea distances, broadly similar cultures and history of contact with the west tend to be uniting factors which have encouraged a broader look at similar problems and a common search for their solutions. This regional awakening is implicit in the restructuring of the South Pacific Conference, the holding of South Pacific Games and the South Pacific Forum and recently the formation of the Pacific Islands News Association.

In all these efforts at closer regional integration it is significant to note that the Pacific island territories themselves have set the pace; the metropolitan powers in the region have played mainly a facilitating role. For Fiji this process has been favoured by its central position and

the development of its sea and air communications. In consequence Fiji has increasingly become a crossroads of the Pacific.

The fact that the Fiji society is a pluralistic one has not in any way retarded our development as a South Pacific nation. If anything it has served to enhance it to the extent that when we gained our independence in 1970 we were prepared for it, and prepared to work the limited natural resources at our disposal to ensure that we build a country suitable for all its inhabitants.

Despite the fact that the official language in Fiji is English for peoples of many ethnic origins, at no time has there been any move to subjugate the different cultural patterns through the forced creation of a new and artificial culture. It is the firm belief of all in Fiji that the identity of each cultural group should be maintained and developed, and we are all the richer for it.

But while it is generally accepted that unity in diversity "is the basis of philosophy for our development, Fiji also has its share of problems characteristic of plural societies". Some of these are:

(a) Political affiliations: Both the political parties are based on ethnic groups - Fijians with the Alliance Party and Indians with the National Federation Party (Opposition). In fact, the governing party is an Alliance of the Fijian race with the other minority groups (Europeans, Chinese and part-Europeans).

(b) Economic imbalance: The economic structure is relative to the various attitudes and traditions of the ethnic groups in Fiji. We have the Fijians. By tradition and temperament he is a man who cares for others and is concerned about them. He welcomes and looks after the strangers. His attitude is a priceless asset in our tourist industry. It is well summed up in the Fijian word "loloma" which is perhaps best translated as "earning". Implicit in this and part of it is his readiness in sharing. And then permeating and deeply influencing Fijian society is the spirit of Christianity. It is a broad unifying faith and cements the social structure in a system of mutual obligation and care for others.

The Indians on the other hand are industrious and acquisitive. They have a wide ranging family structure with traditional obligations and relationships with an age old religious culture. Their arrival in Fiji under the indenture system atomised their society and put an immense premium on individual efforts. They had a very real struggle - even for existence. To achieve this they had to be diligent, energetic, frugal and innovative and in modern commercial life these are the qualities which enable a man to get ahead. As farmers, merchants, manufacturers and professional men Indians have played their part to the full.

The Europeans, although a minority race, still hold the reins of economic power. Tourism and industries have been developed through foreign investments in Fiji and with it their technical skill management.

The Chinese, however, hold true to their class as traders.

Income distribution - 1973

Europeans and part-Europeans	$ 3396
Chinese	$ 3000
Indians	$ 1260
Fijians	$ 1236

(c) Threat: There has been some feeling of insecurity apparent since Independence. The difficulty of getting title to the land has led the Indians to leave their farms in search of other forms of living either locally or overseas. This feeling has bred suspicion between the two major ethnic groups.

(d) Religion and culture: This in a sense has hindered integration especially in the Indian community which has a Hindu majority and Muslim minority. There does not seem to be any sign of a move towards integration.

(e) Employment problems: The 1972 figures show only 58,399 persons in paid employment (37% of estimated labour force). Despite an increase of 22% in the number of companies operating in Fiji only 1% more jobs were created for wage earners.

Europeans and Chinese have average earnings twice as high as the average earnings of either Fijians and Indians.

Fijians who make up 43% of the population get only 15% of the top professional and management jobs. Indians do better in this class but it is the Europeans who have most of the top jobs.

Unemployment and underemployment are very high.

(f) Education: The problem here is that the education system is geared to produce white collar workers and not to the needs of the mostly rural population, and, moreover, producing white collar workers for whom there are few employment opportunities. Frustration in finding work hard to obtain leads to an increase in juvenile delinquency, growing disrespect for and lack of belief in society and civic leaders, attacks on property and robbery with violence.

The above observations are only some of the problems that might hinder integration and development.

GIBRALTAR - A PROFILE

Situated at the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula is "The Rock". Gibraltar runs from north to south for a length of nearly 3 miles and is $\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide. Its highest point is 1,396 feet.

Economy: Gibraltar has no natural resources and is essentially a "labour economy". The main industries are ship repairing, refitting etc.

(H.M. Dockyard), building and construction and tourism.

Employment: There is no unemployment problem. There is in fact a problem of a shortage of skilled labour. Subsequently, a sizeable proportion of the labour force consists of workers from abroad. Employment policy is geared to ensure priority of employment to Gibraltarians and the importation of immigrant labour is restricted by the issue of permits in order that the numbers coming from abroad do not exceed the number for whom accommodation of an acceptable standard can be provided.

Wages and conditions of work: Wages and conditions of employment in the official sector are governed by the Joint Industrial Council (management and unions). In private employment statutory minimum wage rates are prescribed for certain occupations, notably in the retail distributive trade. Basic wage rates in most part of the private sector are substantially similar to those in the official sector.

Cost of living: Inflation was 20% in 1974 and shows no signs of abating so far. However, essential food items are subject to government price control with a view to stabilisation of prices.

Trade: Gibraltar imports practically all goods, mainly from the U.K. Exports are substantially re-exports of petroleum products to shipping.

As part of a declared "sustain and support" policy, Gibraltar receives aid from the U.K. Government for the execution of its Development Programmes.

Education: Education is compulsory by law and is free for all children in Gibraltar. Comprehensive education was introduced in 1972.

The medium of instruction in schools is English but at the same time Spanish and other languages are taught, particularly at senior school levels.

Government provides funds for young persons to study overseas in the field of full-time further education.

A wide range of evening classes for adults is provided by the Department of Education.

Administration: The preamble to the 1969 constitution states that the British Government guarantees that Gibraltar will remain part of Her Majesty's Dominions until an Act of Parliament otherwise provides, and that H.M. Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes.

The Gibraltar House of Assembly: Elections for the House of Assembly are held every four years. The House consists of the Speaker, fifteen elected members and two ex-officio members.

The Executive: The Governor is the head of the executive and there is a Gibraltar Council and a Council of Ministers. Elected members are responsible for any business of the government relating to any defined domestic matter. Foreign affairs are the responsibility of the British Government, in consultation with the Gibraltar Government.

Recently, there have been growing demands for new constitutional talks from the Integration with Britain Party. The other main party is the Gibraltar Labour Party/Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (GLP/AACR), which now forms the Government.

General: Gibraltar is a small community, an island after the 1969 closure of the frontier with Spain by the Spanish Government. It is a geographical dot, yet in the face of adversity the people have shown the world the way to communal unity and have buried any consciousness of differences which may derive from the various ethnological origins of the population. Like many other western economies, Gibraltar faces the threat of mounting inflation, industrial strikes and materialism. No country can boast perfection. Gibraltar today continues its fight for survival and sets its sights onto the roads of social improvement and economic development within the framework of constitutional progress.

STATEMENT BY GIBRALTAR DELEGATE ON THE PROBLEM OF PLURALISM IN ISLAND COMMUNITIES

First of all, I should point out that Gibraltar does not have a problem of pluralism even though we have different races, different religions, different cultures and languages. The main bulk of the population, now just under 30,000, originated from British, Genoese, Jewish, Spanish and Portuguese descent. The 1970 census shows up the various religions within our society; 19,000 Catholics, 2,000 Anglicans, 130 Presbyterians, 110 Methodists, 60 Jehovah Witnesses, 600 Jews, 250 Hindus, 2000 Moslems, as well as others. We speak both English and Spanish, although some people can add French, Arabic, Indian, Portuguese and Italian to this. Such a mix has not affected the strong sense of community within. I suppose that because we are only $2\frac{1}{4}$ square miles in area, it has been easier for us than for other island communities to develop together and weld a cohesive community with a deep sense of unity. In the middle of this, today, Gibraltar faces yet another seige, a complete blockage by neighbouring Spain who classifies us as the last British colony in Europe but who wants to make us the last Spanish colony in Europe. Our example may not, however, serve fully as a solution to pluralism for other countries and, furthermore, some of the points brought up during the course of this Seminar have awakened us against complacency. The point made by Prof. Braithwaite of the effects of tourism as a plural germ, the point made by Mr. Napier of immigrant labour and unemployment during recession as a plural threat, are two "cold showers" that we need to bear strongly in mind.

However, I do not wish to confine myself to Gibraltar, but rather open out and look at other communities and present our views on their problems too. This is surely the purpose of this Seminar. For us, the crux of the problem lies in education. Only education can provide the complete and lasting solution to pluralism and its side effects. Many countries represented here do not have a system of free and compulsory education all the way through to the age of 15. It is our strong belief that the individual has a right to be educated by the state and I wish to submit

that this conference accept the principle of free and compulsory education for all. What type of education? Education that is geared closely to employment, that is state-run, that is integrated, that is comprehensive and that is compulsory by law. We agree that there should be taught a unified language uncommon to all groups within, but we stress the need for one group to learn the other group's language and vice versa. Otherwise the unified language becomes a "language of convenience" and not a "language of social integration".

The problem of unemployment has been a predominant topic of debate. Gibraltar, however, has a shortage of skilled labour. We are well aware, nonetheless, of the grave implications of unemployment. It is not only economic unemployment that should concern us, but "social and political unemployment" too, - the unemployed man who is being neglected by society, who commits crime, who is de-humanised, who is a pawn in the cheap labour surplus market and who cannot change the situation which society has imposed on him. Again, education is the key. It was pointed out to me that it is useless to educate people who will eventually and inevitably become unemployed. If that be so, I still insist even further on education. Educate, and once that starts, the product, even if an unemployed one, will at least have the strength and ability to change the society that has set up the unemployment he suffers. The process of education makes the individual critical and analytical, and will solve, maybe in the longer run, many of the problems we have heard of this week. It has been suggested that a National Service system will mix the unemployed and cut across the plural barriers. One delegate explained a compulsory National Service system in his country. In Gibraltar, compulsory military service was abolished following pressure from young people. We are against compulsory service. One, because it is only a short-term answer to unemployment. Secondly, and mainly, because any dose of compulsory military training, however small, trains man for war; has not the world had enough war? May I, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, borrow a few of your words in your opening address last Monday - "It is in the minds of men that war begins; it is in the hearts of men that the defences of peace must be built". I hope the quote is not too much out of the context of your own speech, Mr. Chairman, and certainly not out of the context of the point we wish to make.

My next point is something which has not been mentioned all that fully during our seminar, that is, "international pluralism". The problems of pluralism in island communities are reflected on the international scene. The subject bears relevance to Gibraltar and indeed to all our various countries. Island communities are used by big powers, either for military or most important for economic reasons. This creates a plural problem in the sense that we find ourselves hitting out at other countries and by implication, at other people, their language, their race, their culture and religion. This is obviously more connected with development and it may be useful to concentrate on this international aspect next week.

In conclusion, it can be said that the life of a community, indeed of an individual, cannot be considered complete in a plural society. Any society that is broken up into isolated groups because of race, religion, language etc. is already weakened considerably to face the pressures and difficulties that are imposed by a world plagued by inflation, by wars, by poverty and famine. In essence, the plural island community creates its

own "island communities", each moving at a different pace and simultaneously solidifying the state of overall underdevelopment. The answer, in the Gibraltar delegation's view, lies in education first and foremost. Historians classify the centuries as the age of this, that or the other. What the world needs today is a new, dynamic and young age, the world needs urgently the "age of universal education", which will create unity of peoples both within countries and between countries.

THE SITUATION IN HONG KONG

To understand the Hong Kong situation, one must bear in mind the important fact that no fewer than 4 million people live in an area of just over 400 square miles. To aggravate the situation, the greater part of the territory consists of steep and unproductive hillsides and there are no natural resources of any significant amount to supply Hong Kong with its needs. It goes without saying that in such a densely populated area any disharmony in a particular sector of the community would have far-reaching effects on the community as a whole. Every effort has therefore to be directed towards cohesion and consolidating dividing elements but the task is hardly an enviable one.

Against this background, it is fortunate that the problems have not been aggravated by division to any significant extent, along the lines of differences in race, culture, language or religion. This is accounted for by the fact that an overwhelming majority of the population, in fact 98.5%, is of the Chinese race. There are undoubtedly differences even among the Chinese in their dialects, customs, communal traits and religious practices according to their place of origin in China, but such differences are admittedly less pronounced and will more easily disappear than will differences in a society composed of a few large ethnic groups each with its own language, diversified cultural background and different value systems. Furthermore, the important and long-established position Hong Kong occupies in the exchange of commodities and culture between the east and the west and the fact that it is only separated from the China mainland through a common land border deprive Hong Kong of the usual insular character of an island community. Tolerance of another community's social values becomes less a problem through frequent contact with them, thus permitting widely different ideologies and cultures to exist side by side.

Politically Hong Kong is a British colony and the administration is in keeping with its status. The very fact that its population structure is predominantly Chinese enables, and in fact necessitates, government decisions to be made in the interests of the majority of the population and the problem of differences in communal interests is largely minimized.

Chinese language is inevitably used by the bulk of the population. Almost 90% of the Chinese understand and use Cantonese although a few other Chinese dialects are also spoken. This has a cohesive effect on the community as oral communication is greatly facilitated. English is another official language and is the main working language in the business

sector. Over 25% of the population over the age of ten speak English. The fact that English is so commonly known and used greatly improves communication between the Chinese and the non-Chinese sectors of the population. It is indeed a most effective means through which the exchange of cultural and social values between the east and the west becomes possible.

As regards culture and customs, it is again predominantly Chinese based. However, in view of Hong Kong's open economy and the extent of international movement through Hong Kong, Hong Kong has historically been a confluence of the Chinese and western civilisations. This meeting of the east and the west has given Hong Kong its cosmopolitan character and has in many respects produced a healthy mix which runs through the whole spectrum of its activities. However, infiltration of the western influences also brings in its train some undesirable elements, the most noticeable of which is an increasing permissiveness in social values, although the inroads made could have been greater if not for the restraining effect of the deeply entrenched Chinese traditions that the majority of the people still hold.

A multitude of religions prosper in Hong Kong without any interference from the Government. The religious communities are actively engaged in social or community services and as such they operate under the same set of rules that govern any organization, religious or otherwise, providing such services. The degree of tolerance of differences in religious beliefs is remarkable and harmony is furthered through joint efforts in the provision of social services for the community. There is thus little problem of the community splitting on the line of different religions.

One of the most effective factors in unifying the Hong Kong community is the need to provide the vast population with a decent livelihood and every man's desire and effort to achieve a better way of living. On the other hand, this desire to amass material wealth tends to accentuate a class distinction or stratification which has a disharmonious effect on the stability of the society. Given the unrestricted opportunities to gain wealth under our existing economic system, the problem is not so much of a falling behind in the general improvement in living standard but rather the relative pace at which people of different income groups improve their position. An equitable distribution of wealth narrows the gap between the rich and the poor and removes a good deal of strain from the society. This can be done by ploughing back more of the financial gains to the community in the form of social returns i.e. a greater pace of development in the fields of education and other social services.

In tackling this dimension in pluralism, which is gaining significance in a number of communities, the youth of today can make a significant contribution. A realization of their social responsibility and a dedication of their talents and energy in getting and channelling riches to improve the livelihood of the less fortunate beyond their personal enrichment point the way to a possible solution or minimization of the problems. This can undoubtedly be enhanced and speeded up through education and international co-operation. We see great scope for achievement through the framework of the Commonwealth.

THE SITUATION IN MALTA

On December 13, 1974, Malta stepped into a new era. It became a republic, a wider world, glittering with prospects and countless opportunities, opened up to its inhabitants.

The remarkable aspect about this evolution is that Malta has advanced its way to a republic without shedding the blood of its sons for political reasons. On the contrary there was almost unanimous consensus. Bloodshed there has been, but that was the eruption of a past dying age.

Having built up our strength and summoned up our energies, we have entered with confidence into this new era with the inevitable period of birth pangs. The history of the last couple of years is a record of achievements and unprecedented progress. Learing from our past mistakes - inevitable for the trial of democracy in an emerging nation - we will draw inspiration to solve our immediate problems and prepare ourselves to face the future. If our constitutional, education and economic systems had been imposed upon us in the past, there was every reason for Malta to evolve its own constitution and way of life according to what it thought appropriate and in its own interests.

Malta has a youthful population. More than 35% of her 300,000 population are under 21 and 60% are below the age of 25 years. In a country where there is a complete absence of natural resources the human resources are the only asset Malta can rely upon in its national development. And it is against this background that the Republic of Malta's policy on youth is shaped. It is the aim of our government to provide for the development of every young person so that he will be able to realise as full a life as possible regardless of his family's economic background and status.

The Republic of Malta recognizes the importance of providing comprehensive youth services in education and training, health and social welfare, employment and general welfare. Last month measures were taken to nurture the youth into responsible and dedicated citizens of the country by entrusting them with the right to vote at the age of eighteen. The vestiges of centuries of colonial experiences are no longer curbing our youth from active participation in politics. So the new Republic has brought out new strength, dynamism, hope and self-assurance. It has weakened the clash mentality between generations; it has narrowed the generation gap that stopped the outlets to their talents. There will be a new sense of equality and thus a readiness to respect and understand the views and aspirations of all.

In Malta pluralism has no access to add to our problems. We all speak the same language, confess the same faith and show the same colour. Unlike many of the developing countries, Malta does not have to face the serious problem of a rapidly growing population. Malta has a greater degree of social cohesion and national solidarity than countries more generously endowed with physical resources, but with very deep divisions internally. Our concern is with development. Malta is a small country with economic problems and it has to train its youth in the socializing process. It prepares them to find their place in the wider

community after school life. So the government has to keep in constant view their education and their employment. Education is thus a necessity of life, not just a preparation for life.

The school-leaving age was raised from 14 to 15 last January. The Government will, this year, be honouring the pledge given in its Electoral Manifesto to raise the school-leaving age further to 16. This step, which brings Malta into line with modern trends the world over, will be introduced at the start of the coming scholastic year. Naturally this will lead to increased school populationand sufficient funds are being made available in the Estimates to increase and improve accommodation through adaptation, extension and rehabilitation works in existing area schools. Substantial funds are also being provided for the procurement of equipment for these schools.

An important area of education which was very much neglected under the previous Administration, but which this Government considers to be essential for any country endeavouring (and I might say, succeeding) to expand its manufacturing industries, is the Trade Schools area. Substantial strides have been made in this sector in the last two years and from an intake of 700 in 1972/73, the number of students attending Trade Schools rose to 2,000 in 1973/74. In the coming year it is expected that this figure will rise to around 3,600. Apart from further improvement and extensions in existing Trade Schools Government also plans to open new centres in the coming year. These will include a handicraft centre at Madliena and an Industrial Electronics School at Paola.

In the Primary School sector, the major project will be the completion of the much needed new school at Vittoriosa, but funds are also being provided for finishing off works in a number of other schools and for carrying out essential alteration and adaptation works wherever necessary.

Another keenly felt social need is the provision of additional accommodation and facilities for the handicapped, and with the completion in the coming months of the Wardija School for educationally subnormal children (which will provide some 130 places for less fortunate children and youths), a notable step forward will have been taken in this regard.

The Public Lending Library recently inaugurated at Beltis Sebh is an important step in the Government's declared aim of making readily available good reading material to as many individuals as possible. The account next year will be on updating the schools section of the central library and on providing better library facilities in the schools themselves.

As more and more women are given increased opportunities to work in industry,the need for schools where young children can be looked after while their mothers are at work will become more pressing. For the first time, a modest sum is being provided this year for the launching of a Nursery School Project.

Malta is now dedicated to the ideology of development and modernisation. Our own system of education has been for years showing cracks in the wall. Our youths have to be provided not only with educational facilities and economic security but also with new dimensions to their presence in the community and healthy changes brought about in the approach to development.

Our youths are not satisfied with remaining dissatisfied. There are signs that they are on the move. This is a happy sign as long as they co-operate with the others who, like them, want a happier society to live in.

A milestone in the social and educational history of the island was the legislation of the first Education Act. But it should not remain the business of experts or the Government. The co-operation of the people has to be secured to ensure its success. The younger generation has a major role to play in the implementation and execution of this first Education Act.

In the educational field we were fortunately still linked by an obdurate umbilical cord to our preindependence past. Our 18th and 19th century heritage of division of labour based on a monoculture, a small capitalist class, a system of education for the few, theacademic and white collared, disdain for manual labour and aping our colonial betters still haunt us. There is a reactionary, fossilized thinking among amateurs and do-gooders who feel they hold a monopoly to the future of youth.

Education has not found any nobler aim in our country than the examinations mania. Everything was learned for examination purposes. Self-education, self-enrichment and self-development outside the examination needs were rarely or never encouraged. The schools have preserved methods which only foster a passive, unthinking mentality.

Only free people conscious of their worth and their equality can build a free democratic society. How close is our system to this ideal? Very far indeed. On the contrary, it is a system which produces robots and intellectual slaves and does not in the least encourage the actualization of all our potentialities. The syllabus is there to keep us busy. Politics, international affairs, civics manifest themselves by their absence. Thinking is prohibited. It is not the education of a truely democratic country for it serves the purpose not of the majority but of a handful people - and the establishment whose survival depends on the ignorance of the masses. So their culture and their values are rammed down the throats of people eager to "become educated".

Malta is running a race against time. Malta as any under-developed country has a special role to play in the world educational movement. We face many a problem - intricately interwoven with demands and aspirations for development - which cannot be solved by borrowing institutions and methods from developed countries. New answers will have to be found, experiments ventured upon and flexible institutions created.

In conformity with these objectives the Maltese Government has appointed an Education Committee to make recommendations for the co-ordination and reform of Primary, Secondary and Technical Education. The Government has also appointed a Commission to make a similar enquiry into the educational and social functions of the Royal University of Malta.

It is the Government's intention to complement the present range of educational facilities by the introduction of state-run kindergarten schools so as to enable young mothers to take up employment should they so desire. Likewise the system of trade schools will be further developed and facilities will be provided for the extension of adult education.

The contention is that the best way to make independence meaningful is via education. There must be a plan taking into consideration all social, political, economic and intellectual realities. The publication of the Development Plan for Malta 1973-1980 illustrates the Government's efforts in this direction.

Making active citizens, capable of understanding and coping with the problems of society, is the grand design of this Development Plan. The younger generation has a major role to play in its execution. Without their participation, development will be very slow and expensive. But with youth participating they will become aware of the various roadblocks along the way of progress. This is our need for a new educational ideology oriented towards development.

Maltese youths are strong believers that they can lead a rewarding life both as individuals and in society. Today this is impossible unless they have constant contact with social, economic and political life. Maltese youths are helping the quick and smooth development of their island by their revolution; the superseding of a pedagogy of transmission by a pedagogy of commitment, relationship and research.

Mediocrity prevails in a country when its people are not imbued with noble ideas and a sense of direction. There has been little intellectual life or movement so far. It is true that scarcity of jobs had forced our intellectuals into joining the Civil Service where many vegetate intellectually. But Malta Independent means independent reasoning, original work and productive thinking.

It seems to me that these two objectives correspond to two needs, to two of the fundamental aspirations of youth which are also two requirements of a developing island.

Our young people certainly desire independence, yet yearn for a sense of belonging to a community. The Maltese Government feels bound in duty to teach them how to acquire the former, as a sense of freedom, and the latter as a driving force for the development of their island.

THE SITUATION IN MAURITIUS

I will give you a brief view of the historical formation of the pluralistic society we have here before talking about the plural structure of the Mauritian society.

Mauritius never had an indigenous population. The Dutch were the first to colonise the island. They imported a number of African slaves and introduced new plants. The French seriously colonised the island in 1720 and it was then that the island acquired the characteristics of a colonial plantation society. During this period of French colonisation, slaves were imported from Madagascar and Africa, and the relative scarcity of a white female population led to the formation of a coloured stratum.

The island was taken over by the British in 1810 but this hardly led to important changes in the economic power structure. Most of the sugar estates remained in the hands of the French and the dominant European culture remained French in spite of British colonisation. The British mainly occupied official positions in the British Colonial administration and never considered investment in the economy. The abolition of slavery in 1835 was the next significant event. The former slaves fled the masters and for whichever reason plantation labour was now short. The importation of Indian labour radically altered the ethnic composition of the island. Indians rose from a negligible proportion in 1835 to one third in 1845 and two thirds in 1860. A significant number of Chinese immigrants turned the colony into a predominantly Asiatic population.

The rapid growth of the Indian population has been one of the most significant factors affecting the political development of the island. It was not only the mere fact of immigration which led to such a high proportion of Indians relative to other groups but the high birthrate of this ethnic group which has been the great fear of the other major ethnic groups in the island.

Occupationally Mauritius is traditionally described as ethnically stratified with top positions in the hands of Europeans, creoles as clerks and artisans, Chinese and Muslim as traders and Hindus as labourers. But this popular model is far too simple. Although in Mauritius the Franco-Mauritians still maintain their control over the production of sugar, there has been a considerable degree of social mobility which has led to significant changes in the power relations of the various ethnic categories. For instance a powerful group of small planters of Indian origin has emerged.

With growing educational opportunity there is increasing mobility across ethnic lines. This is specially true in the civil service where access to jobs is based on educational qualifications and a civil service commission composed of members from all the major recognised ethnic categories. This is not to deny that there are occupations to which access is restricted. But it would seem that it is not the ethnic categoty by itself which is relevant in giving access to certain jobs but other factors such as kinship ties, friendship networks or economic associations.

As Benedict points out, increasing social mobility across ethnic lines has in no way diminished the pluralism of Mauritian society. It has only created an upper, middle and lower class for each ethnic section rather than single classes cutting across all sections.

The principal religions of the island are Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Religious affiliation is sometimes coincident with the other criteria of the plural society such as language and ethnic origin but several religions transverse these criteria and certain forms of ritual are common to several religions.

One of the very interesting aspects of religious affiliation in the island especially at the village level is the awareness of and even an extent of inter-communal participation in various religions. But as Benedict points out although there are numerous forces in inter-communal religious participation to bring ethnic groups together, there are also forces tending to push them apart, such as the existence of strong fundamentalist movements in each religion.

In the same way as religion, the multiplicity of languages used in the island emphasises and reinforces group distinctiveness. Although each broad ethnic group has a language associated with it, finer distinctions can be made on the basis of linguistic origin. For instance, within the broad category of Indians, there are Tamil speaking, Telegu speaking and other speaking groups. Benedict, commenting upon the language situation, points out that if creole can be said to be unifying because everybody speaks it, yet no one wants to. Paradoxically English has become a unifying force because hardly anybody speaks it.

The problems of plurality which we face are but accentuated by under-development. Our main problems here are unemployment and poor utilisation of human resources. As Mr. McRobie stressed, capital-intensive technologies have failed to fulfil the needs of the population. The rural areas has been left unattended until recently and have been by-passed by development. The primary causes of under-development are inadequate social, economic and political structures and institutions which are the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Remedies to this situation would require a more equitable world trade structure, a change in the international monetary system, the application of the right sort of technology, improvement in the status of women and an end to the brain drain from communities like ours to rich countries.

But our job here is not only to establish certain facts. We must find ways by means of which our youth can involve itself in the preparation and execution of national plans for economic and social development.

The right education for our youth has become a prime necessity and unless the young people are given an equal opportunity and access to education, only then will the problems of development be solved. Education is the only force which can bridge the gap between races and harmonise relations in pluralistic societies like ours. In Mauritius there is free education for all children at the primary level. In the light of the direction that development is to take in Mauritius, basic education at the primary and secondary levels will be directed towards equality of educational opportunity for all according to their educational potential.

Young people have been encouraged to spend time living and working in rural areas. Large scale programmes using young volunteers have been established for the elimination of illiteracy and educational systems have been designed to cater for national development needs.

And now as it is proper in this international women's year, I would like to speak briefly on the lot of the Mauritian woman. I am sorry to say that she has to face discrimination. Measures have not up to now been taken to ensure her participation on equal terms with men in the political, social, economic and cultural life of her country. She is under-represented at many levels in the education system. In the economic sphere, she is under-valued, often getting paid less for the same work than her male counterpart.

As Helvi Sipila, the Assistant Secretary-General of the UN Division of Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs noted, "A critical social factor in national development is the status of women". She added: "It has been established beyond doubt that in many countries women as a group are the most under-developed, under-utilised and undervalued of all human resources."

Unless the entire social ethos gets changed, women will see themselves in a perpetually inferior position. Tensions between different races will be accentuated and unless government policy remedies this situation, there will be no possibility of racial harmony.

THE NEW ZEALAND SITUATION

New Zealand has a population of approximately 3 million people, of whom about 88% are European. Some 10% are Maori, and the remaining 2% or so consist of Pacific Islanders, Indians and Chinese.

New Zealand is internationally renowned for its good race relations, so it may be somewhat startling to note the following facts:

Until about a decade ago, Maori children were forbidden to speak their own language at school, and in many cases were beaten if they did so. The result was that many parents did not teach their children the language for fear that they might suffer similar treatment. However, the Maori language remained the principal language spoken at social and cultural gatherings, and in recent years the emergence of Maori pressure groups has resulted in token Government moves to rectify the situation. Maori is now taught as an optional subject at some secondary schools, mainly where there is a high percentage of Maori pupils, and then mainly in an academic manner. Pressure for the introduction of Maori language and culture as a core subject in primary schools has met with no response. While the education department actively fosters and subsidises the teaching of European languages such as French, German and Russian, it is only with great reluctance that they have introduced Maori at all. Other Pacific languages are not taught at any level of the educational system. This is so despite considerable intermarriage and intermingling of the European, Maori and other Polynesian races, and shows that educational policy in New Zealand sees languages as an academic qualification rather than as a social tool for greater understanding between people.

The education system as a whole is monocultural, incorporating European values and social mores. As a result, the majority of Maori and Polynesian children opt out of school without obtaining any qualification, and thereby perpetuate the stratification of the labour force along racial lines. The percentage of Maoris and Polynesians who are unskilled is rising rapidly, while that for Europeans is steadily falling.

The New Zealand judicial system makes no allowance for cultural differences, and is based entirely on European concepts of crime and punishment. It is no surprise therefore that over 60% of all prison inmates in New Zealand are Maori and Polynesian, who constitute less than 12% of the population. With the establishment of a special Police Task Force in Auckland last year, the figure for arrests and convictions of Maoris and Polynesians rocketed to an unprecedented 80%. The establishment of this special force was the result of a hysterical campaign against Polynesians, and the aim was clearly to get all Maoris and Polynesians off the streets by 10.15 p.m. when the bars close. It is significant that such a force was set

up only in Auckland, which has the largest urban Polynesian community in the world, and that it concentrated its attention only on Maori and Polynesian areas. It was allegedly set up to deal with violent crime, but of some 1,000 arrests in the first three months of operation, only a tiny number of charges included violence, and more than 800 of the 1,000 were arrested and charged solely with urinating in public, offensive language, drunkenness and similar petty offences. Many of those arrested were convicted after a night in jail without even understanding the charges laid against them.

There are separate electoral rolls for Maoris, but of the 84 seats in Parliament, only four are allotted to Maori candidates. There should, on the basis of the allotment of European seats, be at least eight and possibly as many as twelve. There is constant pressure from the European majority to abolish even the four seats that do exist on the fatuous grounds that 'we are all one'.

The media are also largely monocultural. No daily newspaper ever prints articles in Maori or Pacific Island languages, and while some minor concessions have now been made on radio, television remains largely the domain of English-speaking people. Such television programmes as have been screened partly in Maori have been directed mainly at Europeans.

Immigration has been the major tool of white supremacy. In one hundred years, a whites-only immigration policy has changed the racial balance in New Zealand from a Maori majority to a 90% European majority. This policy largely remains in force today, and Pacific Islanders, for example, are on the whole restricted to temporary entry, while permanent immigrants continue to be drawn from European countries. Such discrimination is particularly evident in cases where different coloured citizens from the same country are treated differently. White South Africans are able to come to New Zealand, but black ones are not. Similarly, black English citizens do not qualify for assisted passage to New Zealand.

Control over the entry of Fijians and Tongans into New Zealand is so strict that migrant workers from these countries suffer substantial reductions in their rights. Tongans, for example, are only allowed to come for a period of four months, cannot change their employer, must report any change of address to the Labour Department, and surrender their passports in exchange for an employment voucher which carries the name of their employer and serves as their only means of identification. The New Zealand migrant labour scheme from these two countries is in our view one of the most iniquitous and exploitative in the world.

These points and many others show that New Zealand is not the multiracial paradise that it claims to be. There is an urgent need for programmes both to serve those young people who have already been rejected by the system, and to educate the complacent and institutionally racist majority in the genuine values of a multicultural society.

Some months ago, the Prime Minister of New Zealand invited New Zealand's youth to "give the Government verbal hell". We are very happy to do so, and would ask the Commonwealth Youth Programme seriously to consider supporting young people who are working to change Government policy as well as those who are merely seeking to implement it. This can be done through financial support, the fostering of Commonwealth solidarity with minority or oppressed groups, and the rejection of caution in favour of equality and justice.

"Nau te rakau, naku te rakau, ka mate hoariri".

"With your strength and our strength the oppressor will be vanquished."

THE SEYCHELLES AS A PLURAL SOCIETY

Situated between 4 and 5 degrees south of the equator and 55 and 56 degrees east of Greenwich, that is, in the middle Western Indian Ocean, about 575 miles from Madagascar, 980 miles from Mauritius, 990 miles from Mombasa and 1,748 miles from Bombay, are the Seychelles Islands, the scattered sisters of the island communities in the Indian Ocean. Seychelles has a land area of approximately 100 square miles. It consists of 92 islands and islets of which 38 are granitic and 53 are coral in origin. The granitic islands are mountainous and the coral islands are flat, being either sand-cays or elevated reefs. Mahe, which is the main and largest granitic island, is 17 miles long and up to 7 miles wide and has an area of about 55 square miles.

Race

In Seychelles there are no racial problems as there were some centuries ago, when we had the bourgeois community, people of white origin, French and the slave community. Due to the abolition of slavery and the isolation to the outside world the bourgeois community or the minority had integrated with the slaves community and has formed one community where a racial problem is completely out of question. 90% of the Seychelles population are of French and African descent; a small percentage are Indians and Chinese. Together they all participate in all aspects of the community at all forms and levels.

Religion

Surprisingly, religion in the Seychelles has a great influence and has set about to form small communities which have no racial connection. 90% of the population are Roman Catholic; the rest are Anglicans, Seventh Day Adventists, Bahais and a few Muslims. Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions run schools, but the schools are opened to all without regard to creed. Inter-marriages are popular in the Seychelles.

Education

With Seychelles being a multi-lingual society one cannot point out language problems. It is interesting to note that nearly 90% of the population speak creole, a French 'patois'. English is only a means of communication with the outside world, in Government and business administration and when dealing with foreigners to the Islands. Another noticeable factor is that French is spoken by the older and more mature people. Perhaps it would be more relevant to investigate what goes on in the schools. Education is compulsory in the Seychelles. Primary education is free; secondary schools are found in the districts, and there are two colleges which both cater for a limited number of pupils. We can therefore assume that only those whose parents can afford to pay the tuition fee would be eligible for entry into the colleges. Due to financial problems some

children are deprived of a better education. Their other alternative is to be admitted into secondary schools for vocational courses. Over eight hundred young children at the age of 14 to 15 leave school without any qualifications and too young for employment. But I may say that even if the teachers have not succeeded in developing them intellectually, at least they have helped them in other ways. All of them are able to speak English and French, though some may not be very fluent.

To alleviate social problems a vast programme of social activities is being carried out and great attention is being paid to rural development. Youth organizations, adult education, welfare of old people and housing renovations are being stimulated by both Government and voluntary organizations.

Economy

The economy of the Seychelles is largely based on agriculture and tourism. The main agricultural and export crops are copra and cinnamon bark and oil. Over 20,000 acres of land are under coconuts, 14,000 acres under cinnamon. We also have other small industries - the cloves, vanilla and patchouli industries.

The tourist industry started three years ago and is progressing rapidly; we now have upto 25,000 tourists a year. The tourism industry has created other small industries, such as arts and crafts. It has also created work opportunities for thousands in the construction field. Hotel construction in Seychelles is subject to regulations. The Government is taking great care in this field of development in order to safeguard the country's long term economy. Another industry which is coming up rapidly is the fishing industry, but still Government is paying great attention to its development to benefit the local population.

General

The Seychelles is a British Colony with a population of 55,000 with 45% of its population under 21. The Seychelles have two major political parties, the Democratic Party and the United People's Party. The Democratic Party has 13 seats and United People's Party 2 seats. We have a Cabinet of Ministers consisting of one Chief Minister and four other Ministers with different portfolios.

Nineteen seventy-five will be recorded as an important year in the history of Seychelles. Our islands will be gaining their independence from Britain. A programme of social activities is being prepared to coincide with the country's festival.

PLURALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN SINGAPORE

Introduction

Ethnic heterogeneity is a common feature to many island communities in the Commonwealth. Its influence is felt in all spheres of economic, social, cultural and political life. The attempt in bringing together delegates from the island communities to this Seminar to discuss pluralism and development in their countries by the Commonwealth Secretariat is indeed timely and imaginative. This is because most of the countries represented here have either achieved independence recently or are working towards political sovereignty in the not too distant future.

The island communities like all other newly-emerging countries must, as a matter of fact, involve all their people, irrespective of race, language, religion or creed, in the task of national reconstruction and the Seminar has indeed provided us much food for thought and catalysts for action.

Development of ethnic diversity in Singapore

The process of ethnic diversification began in Singapore when the British acquired control of the island in 1819. At that time, it was inhabited by a population of about 450, most of whom were Malays. Within a generation after the establishment of British rule, Singapore underwent many significant changes. The most important change was the demographic feature which was a result of the arrival of immigrants from the Malay Peninsula, Britain, China, India and Indonesia.

In succeeding years, the "Chinese origin" component in the population increased steadily until it became the predominant group. By 1901, the population had grown to 227, 592 of whom 73% were Chinese. The Malays made up approximately 15% and the Indians another 8% while Europeans, Eurasians, Arabs and others constituted the remaining 4%. Since 1901, this ethnic composition has remained relatively unchanged.

As has been said, Singapore's ethnic diversity resulted directly from the influx of different groups of immigrants. Several factors relating to immigration are worthy of mention. Singapore attracted immigrants primarily because of its excellent commercial opportunities. Initially, the British free trade policy provided these opportunities; as the time passed, the island's good harbour and strategic geographic location augmented them. The port and geographic advantages made the island a natural centre in the region for the distribution of labour and goods to British and Dutch territories in South-east Asia.

For the most part, it was economic necessity which obliged male members of the emigrant communities in Southern China and India to seek alternative sources of income in order to maintain families, land holdings and lineage in the place of family origin. The Chinese in question originated mainly from Southern China while the majority of the Indians came from Tamil-speaking parts of the Indian subcontinent. The Malays came mostly from the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia.

In the early days, most immigrants regarded themselves as transients, and their economic and social circumstances in Singapore as temporary. Their main intention was to make money quickly and then to return to their respective homelands. Although the turnover of Chinese and Indian immigrants was very high, some did stay on. Among these were men who failed to realize their plans for economic success and were therefore obliged to remain. On the other hand, there were others who, often because of financial success, decided to stay and soon began adapting themselves to the realities of their new environment.

The ethnic diversity resulting from social change over the last one hundred and fifty years is reflected in all aspects of modern Singapore and gives it the distinctive character of a plural society in which different ethnic groups continued to maintain their ethnic boundaries and their distinctive sets of institutions until independence.

With independence, the problems of a pluralistic society must be solved. A common sense of identity must be forged if a nation is to be born.

National integration

We have observed that there are many ways which nations have tried to use to resolve their race problems. These include assimilation, either by force or voluntary, leaving the minority races alone in protected reservations, deportation of racial groups by force or by consent, subjugation of racial groups by show of force, terror and legal sanctions, extermination and lastly multi-racialism.

We in Singapore have rejected the first five not only on moral and ideological grounds but also because we are convinced that in a modern era and having regard to the realities both within and without Singapore, they are impractical, unrealistic and would end in the total collapse of our society.

We have chosen the way of multi-racialism for we believe this is the most efficient, the most effective and least expensive way of muting racial conflicts and then, over a period of time, creating a cohesive Singapore community. Multi-racialism permits each ethnic group to keep its own identity, if it wants to, until it develops a new and comprehensive identity. It can keep and sustain its language and culture. It can worship the way it wants to. There is no stigma, no special privileges, no discrimination nor prejudices attached to being a member of any ethnic group. It is our contention that communalism is weak when members of a community do not sense any threat, insult or discrimination against their community. However, when such threats or discrimination are directed against their community they develop an exaggerated loyalty towards their community.

Once racial pride is satisfied, most people would, given the right kind of persuasion and inducement, make the adjustments necessary to create a more cohesive national community.

In Singapore, the socialization process in schools, the influence of the mass media, the shared experiences of our youth in National Service, in recreation, at work and in living together are some of the conditions conducive to the development of an integrated nation. The common content

syllabus, the study of a second language, the integrated extra-curricular activities, cannot but make our youth more aware of their multi-racial, multi-cultural surroundings. In fact, as our people work, study, play and live together, barriers between racial, communal and linguistic groups break down, as various dialect-speaking Chinese, Malays from Indonesia and the Peninsula, Tamils, Sindhis and Sikhs intermingle as one people with a common destiny. All this cannot but remould the people's thinking towards a new life in a new society.

The urban culture has made the Malay, Chinese and Indian less Malay, Chinese and Indian in terms of original mental outlook. The young Singaporeans of Malay, Chinese and Indian origin are closer to one another than they are to their distant cousins in Indonesia, Malaysia, China and India. There is the achievement-oriented outlook of our people, geared to living in an increasingly industrialized environment where merit and a common desire to maintain the work ethic is accepted without grudge except by those not willing to put in the effort.

Carrying out multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural policies in a plural state is much more complex and difficult than implementing them in a racially, linguistically and culturally homogeneous society. In the latter, however, while homogeneity may be complete, there remains the problem of class differences, a problem that has complicated issues of integration and development in many countries. Indeed, in Singapore, the first problem of plurality is compounded by the second problem of economic disparities in the lives of the people.

When the present leadership set out on the round of independence in the early fifties, it was fully aware that its concern as a group was not only limited to winning freedom but also covered the anticipated problems of uniting peoples of varying ethnic origins, languages, cultures and religions. The group which was to emerge as leaders of the People's Action Party government in 1959 was bound more by the ties of political ideology and philosophy than by its multi-racial composition. Its ethnic variety was more a natural reflection of the composition of Singapore's population than a deliberate design at creating a facade of multi-racialism. True, a multi-ethnic composition of the leadership helps by way of presenting variety. But this at best gives relief to the form and not the substance. And the substance is to be found in the principles of and belief in democratic socialism shared by those who decided to bring about social justice for all regardless of race, creed or caste.

When we say that Singapore is a multi-racial community, we are merely interpreting the fact that there is plurality of racial and ethnic groups living as citizens. Similarly, when we say that ours is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious society we merely express the fact that there exist many cultures, languages and religions in the country. However, the substance of the claim goes deeper than the fact of expression. It is the implementation of social and economic policies and programmes which transcend race, culture, language and belief which lends credence to this claim. It is the practice of racial, cultural and religious tolerance and equality before the law, applicable to all our people alike, which lends substance to this claim. So it can be seen that the interpretation of the situation of plurality and its practice are two different things. This is the essential difference between Singapore and some other plural societies.

Racial, cultural and religious diversity is not incompatible with the fostering and development of national identity. The diversity need not complicate or retard the evolution of a national identity. The prior non-emergence of a complete cultural homogeneity can, we feel, promote a feeling of oneness, of belonging and loyalty to society. If we are to believe that we must wait for a situation of complete homogeneity to arise before we begin to tackle the multi-faceted aspects of our social and economic problems then we shall never be able to embark on the overall job of nation-building. This challenge we took up fifteen years ago. It remains a responsibility which we have not the slightest intention to abdicate.

Some aspects of economic and social development

Singapore has a youthful population. More than 50% of our 2.2 million people are under 21 and 60.5% below the age of 25 years. In a small island country of 225 square miles where there is a complete absence of natural resources, the human resources are the only asset Singapore can rely upon in national development. Our egalitarian society has to face the harsh realities of life that the world does not owe them a living. And it is against this backdrop that the Republic's policies on economic and social development are shaped.

Singapore's economy is based largely on trade, manufacturing, banking and insurance, tourism and communications. The manufacturing sector continues to play an increasingly important role in the economy. It contributed S$ 2,379 million to the Gross Domestic Product in 1973 - an increase of S$ 546 million or 30 per cent as compared with 28 per cent in 1972. Its share of the G.D.P. increased from 16.7 per cent in 1967 to 26.2 per cent in 1973. The number of new jobs created each year in the manufacturing industry is about 25,000 and these industries continued to show an increasing orientation towards export and higher quality products. Some 50% of the Republic's domestic manufactures are exported and the range of industries includes shipbuilding and ship repair; petroleum, chemicals and plastics; electronic and electrical products; precision equipment and optical products; timber and woodworking; food and beverages; and textiles and garments.

Trade, banking and insurance continued to play an important role in the Republic's economy. In recent years, tourism has also gained importance in the economy. About a million tourists come to Singapore each year. Earnings in tourism in 1973 amounted to S$ 528.3 million - an increase of 27.9% over 1972.

Employment opportunities in Singapore are fairly good despite the current world oil crisis and economic stagflation. The Republic has a total work force of 900,000. Only about 4.5% of the number of employable persons are unemployed. This is however mainly due to selective unemployment as there are about 50,000 workers from neighbouring countries, particularly from Malaysia, employed in Singapore. The public housing programme has provided half the Republic's population with low-cost housing and at the end of 1973 61,085 units of flats had been sold to the people under the Home Ownership Scheme for the lower-income population.

Education is universal without being compulsory and it embraces pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary and adult education as well as

special education for handicapped children. Primary education is free while secondary and tertiary education are heavily subsidized by the government. More than half a million pupils attend the 557 government and government-aided schools.

Health, community recreation and other social and welfare services which are heavily subsidized by the State are available to the whole population. Family planning is relentlessly propagated to instil in everyone the need to have a two-child family.

The Trade Union Movement in the Republic which commands the popular support of the workers no longer only concerns itself with collective bargaining functions alone. Although these functions remain important, the trade unions are now preoccupied with the performance of the economy in general and with the links between earning power, on the one hand, and productivity and economic growth on the other.

The Trade Union Movement has also successfully organized a series of co-operative ventures with workers' capital. These include consumer co-operatives - WELCOME, transport co-operatives - COMFORT, insurance co-operatives - INCOME, and dental co-operatives - DENTICARE. All these programmes are launched with the primary objective of complementing the social and welfare services provided by the State and to raise further the standards of life of the workers.

Although we have had much success in our endeavours, it does not mean that we do not have any problems. In recent years, there has been an increase in drug addiction among the young, juvenile delinquency, crime, mental illness and cardio-vascular diseases. All these are associated with developed and urbanised societies.

However, we are in the process of tackling these problems by bringing about education reform to reduce the stresses and strains among the students, hence bringing down the number of dropouts from schools, which is one of the main causes of crime and delinquency. Further training is also provided in the vocational institutes for the selectively unemployed so that these young people can raise their skills and increase their earning capacity.

A massive drive to stamp out drug addiction and drug trafficking has been carried on for the last two years. Innumerable parks, recreation and sports complexes have been built to encourage our people in more healthy living, thus reducing mental illness, cardio-vascular diseases and delinquency.

Conclusion

We have only been able to present to the delegates a kaleidescope of the pluralistic features and some aspects of economic and social development in our country as time does not permit us to do more.

We in Singapore have viewed pluralism in our island community as an asset. The fact that Singapore is what it is today is due to the toil and sweat of our forefathers who have come from the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, China and India. They have transformed a fishing village into a global

city. We are proud of our rich cultural heritage and are resolved to carry on the torch of progress and together build an even more pleasant island in the sun for ourselves and for the generations to come.

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

Tonga's population of 100,000 people is almost homogeneous, with Tongans representing just over 98%. Europeans, part Europeans and other Pacific Islanders make up the rest of the population. Most of the Europeans are expatriates either working for the Government or for the Missions. The annual rate of population increase is 3.14%.

Pluralism in Tonga exists not so much in race but in class. There are three main classes. On top are His Majesty, who has the power of veto in Government, and the Royal Family. The second class consists of the 33 nobles and their families; at the bottom of the scale are the commoners who make up 99.9% of the population. In such a system, the top two classes are the privileged classes especially when they are the landlords. There are 22 seats in Parliament of which seven members are elected by the people (commoners), seven seats are reserved for the nobles and the rest are for Privy Councillors (six ministers and two Governors) who are appointed by His Majesty. At present four of the ministers are nobles so that there are eleven nobles altogether in the twenty-two seat parliament. I must point out however that this system of Government has led to a remarkably stable political set-up and as such it could be regarded as advantageous to development.

Pluralism has also developed through land ownership. By law, all males on reaching the age of 16 years are entitled to $8\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land. However, due to the fact that much of the land is occupied, about 60% of those who are entitled to a piece of land are landless. Thus even amongst the commoners, a landless class has been created. Many of the landless males migrate to the capital in search of employment.

Religion in some respects has brought in pluralism. The people are almost 100% Christians but are divided up into several denominations. There are at least fifteen denominations or sects so that a situation has developed where say in a small town of 300 people there could be five or six churches belonging to different denominations. Ninety per cent of education is in the hands of the churches so that is a tendency to accentuate further the pluralistic influence of the churches through the education system. As a result people have developed different attitudes on certain issues such as birth control, education, adoption of western values, etc. This lack of unity could hinder development but recently some of the churches have worked together on some development projects.

Perhaps Tonga's greatest problem is that of creating employment for the rapidly growing population. In the absence of mineral deposits, good communications, large international markets and other usual preconditions of substantial industrial development, the kingdom of Tonga will

remain a predominantly agricultural country in the future. Agriculture is the basis of the economy and except for an equitable climate and generally fertile soils, Tonga has no other resource endowments. A wide range of crops can be grown and copra and bananas are the two major exports. The main constraint against diversification from copra and banana is the lack of market. Over 75% of the adult labour force is employed in agriculture. Tourism is growing in importance and has become the second biggest earner of foreign currency.

The Government is in the process of providing an appropriate investment climate to encourage the development of local processing and import substitution industries. There is therefore no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land.

One of the major problems facing the development of Tonga is that of deficiencies in the country's manpower. Professional expertise is almost totally lacking in many fields of activity leading to dependence on expatriate employees. It is also equally serious with regard to the availability of skilled and semi-skilled workers for there are virtually no skilled tradesmen. The provision of educational training relevant to the needs of the economy is therefore obviously vital. In the past, too much emphasis has been placed on quantity rather than quality so that there are far too many young people who have educational qualifications but who cannot be employed. Of the 2000 school leavers each year only about 10% find employment.

There is no formal organisation in Government to cater for the needs of out-of-school youth. Most of the youth work is carried out by the churches but this is mainly religious and recreational in nature. As such there is an urgent need to mobilise this vast human resource to help accelerate the development of the country. It is anticipated that a separate division will be set up in the Government this year to be responsible for young people and to provide for them means by which they can contribute to the development of the country and through that find purpose and meaning in life.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ISLAND COMMUNITIES

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

It is assumed that discussions on the economic problems of island communities will focus primarily on small island communities such as Mauritius and Trinidad and Tobago and not on "islands" such as Australia. Whatever the definition of an island, I will in my remarks concentrate on the type of economy with which I am familiar, i.e. the small island economy.

One of the major constraints on the development of the island economy is of course its limited physical size. Clearly a small island will only possess a limited absolute quantity of any single natural resource, be it fertile land, minerals etc. Similarly, the range of such resources will be limited in terms of large economic quantities.

Smallness in size also suggests limitations in population size. This has implications for the size of the domestic market for goods and services. Such a small market means that production units within the economy do not derive the benefits inherent in large scale operations unless they have access to external markets.

This combination of factors has meant that such economies are necessarily dependent on external markets both for the supply of much-needed goods and services as well as for outlets for locally produced goods and services.

There are other forms of dependence that characterise small island economies particularly those that have been subjected to centuries of colonial domination such as Trinidad and Tobago. These include dependence on foreign capital, skills and entrepreneurship. The worse form of dependence has, however, been psychological dependence, on the basis of which nationals of the island community reject their local goods, services and customs, no matter how excellent they may be, on the grounds that they are not as good as the foreign equivalent, no matter how inferior these may be.

A fundamental task which faces leaders of island communities is therefore how to win the self-confidence of the population and provide them with the wherewithal so that they can determine the best form of development for their individual territories, a role which they would be in the best position to pursue. It would mean the introduction of measures to generate domestic savings and the creation or strengthening of institutions for channelling such savings into domestic investments. It would also mean developing the skills of the population. It would similarly mean the transformation of the consumption pattern of the population so that they would better appreciate what is their own.

In this latter connection there will be advantages deriving from smallness in size. This includes the ease in internal communication that characterises small islands. Similarly, it is likely to be an easier task

to appraise the full extent of the country's resources, a primary requirement for meaningful economic planning.

I am not suggesting that small island economies should be thinking of policies of isolation. Economic inter-dependence is a feature of the modern world and, as I indicated earlier, this is all the more necessary in small island economies.

The point which I am seeking to make is that there is a fundamental difference between economic dependence and inter-dependence. In the case of the former, all decisions affecting the local economy are taken outside the natural economy or by non-nationals. The latter case assumes that the leaders and population of the local island economy are in a position to react or adjust to developments in the international economy as they affect the local economy.

I have discussed in a general way some of the problems that bedevil small island economies. I would like now to deal more specifically with employment.

In Trinidad and Tobago the level of unemployment, after fluctuating between 12 and 14 per cent within the last few years, has risen over the last six months to some 17 per cent. In addition to this, there is also a high level of disguised unemployment and under-employment.

An understanding of this problem requires us to look at the historical development of the country. Historically, most of the country's resources were channelled into the production of agriculture for export i.e. sugar, cocoa, coffee, citrus. These industries thus absorbed most of the labour force.

However, because of long periods of uneconomic prices and rising local production costs, production in these sectors declined and so did the level of employment.

Since the Second World War, petroleum has become the dominant sector in the economy. Moreover, significant strides have been made in manufacturing since the late 1950's. It was anticipated that the manufacturing sector would absorb most of the slack deriving from declining agriculture.

The level of unemployment, however, remained high. There are several reasons for this:

(i) The flow of labour out of agriculture was accelerated because of:

  (a) the attraction of the much higher wages that petroleum and manufacturing could afford in relation to agriculture;

  (b) the reluctance of the youthful members of the labour force to participate in agricultural activities because of the drudgery characterising such activities as well as the stigma attaching to agriculture resulting from the historical association of this activity with slavery;

  (c) the legacy of an educational system which ignored the need for encouraging agricultural production.

The petroleum and manufacturing sectors have been unable to absorb this flow of labour from agriculture, in addition to the natural annual increase in the labour force, for a number of reasons:

(a) the capital-intensive nature of the investments;

(b) inadequate form of training at the national level;

(c) underdeveloped nature of financial institutions;

(d) limited entrepreneurial skills.

The effect of these factors on the level of unemployment would have been greater had there not been avenues for out-migration to countries such as the U.K., Canada and U.S.A. But within recent times these avenues have been progressively circumscribed. Moreover, the migration that is now possible applies to skilled workers who are the very ones needed for the development of the local economy.

The problems of unemployment facing the country today are accentuated by the age structure of the labour force and of the unemployed. Of a total labour force of 376,000, 50,000 or 13.3% fall within the age group 15-19 and a further 61,700 or 16.4% are in the age group of 20-24. With respect to the unemployed the proportions amounted to 33.1% for the age group 15-19 and 25.4% for the age group 20-24. Thus, the age group 15-25, while comprising 29.7% of the labour force, accounts for 58.5% of the unemployed. The social and political implications of this phenomenon are severe. It should be emphasized that the majority of youths are highly educated in the traditional grammar school sense but are unemployable in relation to the form of skills required by the new modern industries.

Government is fully conscious of the enormity of the problem. In this connection it has reappraised and is restructuring the educational system. It has expedited plans for the diversification of the economy based on the use of the oil resources which we are fortunate to possess. The diversification is not only within the petroleum sector but within the economy as a whole. Our research efforts have also been accelerated with a view to expanding the range of products which may be derived from our local resources as well as providing the kinds of technology which are more appropriate to the country's resource mix.

It has also promoted the growth of an integration movement within the Caribbean region, in order to derive the benefits possible from production for the larger markets as well as to facilitate the pooling of the region's natural resources in such a way that the maximum share of benefits deriving from the exploitation of these resources remain in the region.

Finally, Government has sought to gain greater control over the country's resources in order to ensure that form of economic and social development demanded by the country's population.

ADDRESS BY HON. SELWYN CHARLES

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, Culture, Youth Affairs, Sport and Community Development, Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

When I learnt that Trinidad and Tobago had been invited to participate in this Seminar, I must confess that as I looked with great fascination at the title of the Seminar it occurred to me that a meeting, organised to bring together people of island communities, in an effort to examine problems of pluralism, seemed to me a most novel but extremely progressive one.

It is my opinion that the Commonwealth Secretariat, in its selection of the island of Mauritius, with its history and configuration, has demonstrated its usual flair for good organization and the keen perception with which the Secretariat has always been associated.

Many of us from countries like mine - which is highly cosmopolitan in structure - will, I am sure, learn a great deal during this period of exchange and will gain tremendously from this experience. I am also confident that in the course of our expositions and deliberations some of us will learn that we share our problems with many others and be heartened by the fact, and that, while in several instances vast stretches of water separate us, we have several things in common.

This thought came to me as I asked myself what is so special or unique about island communities that we have been selected as a group for this study. In this context I have made the following observations:

Island communities

(a) Islands themselves are usually small and therefore the land mass which forms the island does not expand through a variety of climatic, geological and geographical areas. As a result of this there are usually more limited economies because of limited physical and natural resources.

(b) Not being contiguous or adjacent to another country and therefore less accessible, there is less informal communication with other countries, and exposure to foreign cultural vibrations and influences is usually more limited. This is not all of the time a bad thing.

(c) An island - or any small society - will feel the effects of social breakdown of one sector of the community or economy much more poignantly than this would be felt in a larger country.

(d) An island community, if independent, is very vulnerable to physical attack from hostile countries and to economic strangulation by larger and more powerful nations.

(e) In a small island it is necessary to create, develop and project a oneness of identity; a plurality of races, cultures etc. makes

for a greater tendency to divisiveness. Therefore the work involved in development assumes the greatest significance and is at the same time, for the reasons I have just mentioned, most difficult.

(f) Because of limited land space etc. the rate of population growth and demographic trends assume greater significance than in larger countries, and must be given serious consideration in the formulation of plans for socio-economic development.

(g) Because of the disadvantage of smallness of size, mentioned before, and because we are islands, attention must be paid to the maximum use of the sea and products of the sea as natural resources. It is imperative that greatest use should be made of any resources which result from our being islands as long as the development of such resources will not spoil, efface or inhibit the growth of national pride or identity which is so important for development, for production and for maintenance of respect for self and for others (as might happen in the case of the development of tourist resources).

The population of Trinidad and Tobago comprises descendants of a number of races and an admixture of races, and persons of varying religions and of a variety of cultural backgrounds. While English is the national language and is spoken by everyone, there are communities such as, for example, the Hindu community, where Hindi takes the place of English as the most effective form of verbal communication. This obviously applies not only on an area basis but where there is interaction between Hindus from different parts of the country. The same can be said for a large percentage of the Chinese and Lebanese communities.

Ethnically, the largest section of the population is Negro, followed by East Indian, then mixed race, followed by Europeans, Chinese and Lebanese.

The Negro is in the main an urban dweller, while numerically the East Indian dominates the population of the rural areas. The East Indian is therefore employed mainly in agriculture but among the local professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, etc., represents a considerable percentage. Culturally, the East Indian has the strongest identity, which is maintained through a unity based on the family ties and traditions, on religion and history, the East Indians having joined the Trinidad society in the early 19th century (1838) as indentured labourers.

The Negroes, however, having been brought in as slaves uprooted from various environments, experienced a "dissolution of their traditional family patterns", as one historian puts it, because "the maintenance of stable family unions had no social or economic advantage to slave-owners". If we could examine it, which I would not attempt to do here, it would be easy to see that the social structure and sub-culture of our country give rise to many features which can be divisive and difficult.

Plurality of race, especially where it involves differences of language and culture, and therefore a strong racial identification, often causes a tendency to differentiation from other races on the basis of inferiority and superiority. It is therefore very necessary to our island communities to build up a strong national identity, to the degree and of a quality which would ensure that the feeling of oneness as a nation is greater than that of differences based on race, colour or creed.

Plurality of religious beliefs and practices

There is a peaceful co-existence of religious groups in Trinidad and Tobago, and our experience indicates that much can be achieved to counter the difficulties which arise out of pluralities by the growth of an umbrella organisation which works effectively to foster tolerance and understanding.

Problems which arise out of the existence of a plurality of religious groups relate, for example, to:

(a) difficulties involved in planning national programmes e. g. family life education involving birth control measures, where such a programme would be in conflict with the principles and articles of faith of one or more - but usually a minority - of the religious sects of the country;

(b) where each religion claims to be the only true religion; and arising out of this, the desire of parents belonging to such a denomination to send their children to a school run by that particular faith. Such religions usually are the ones which prohibit inter-religious marriages or associations and by definition (e. g. between a Catholic and the Hindu) promote segregation or prohibit maximal human understanding and co-operation and therefore the development of good human relations.

To return to the first point, however, this is likely to result in an inordinate demand for school places in schools of certain denominations. It is also likely to result in a concentration of schools of certain denominations in particular areas. As a result of this minority groups are often unable to send their children to a school of their choice and are forced to conform to the pressure of the dominant denomination.

Many other examples can be found of undue and unreasonable pressures on communities originating from religious practices and principles.

In my mind the complexity of features of island communities presents for study, at this and future Seminars which I see arising out of this, a wealth of sociological phenomena for study and analysis which we cannot leave untended if we are to survive. World-wide economic and social trends indicate clearly that we cannot survive unless we develop our resources, both human and material, to the fullest possible extent. To do this effectively we must be prepared to start out on new paths of economic development, and to seek every opportunity to educate our peoples, so as to improve our standard of living, socially, culturally and economically.

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- to give recognition to the contribution made by young people to the development of their society;
- to seek to eliminate unemployment and to alleviate its effects;
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