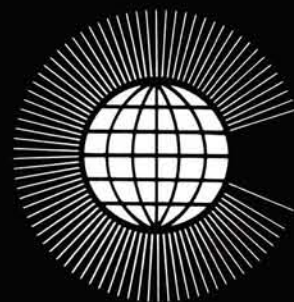


Commonwealth Youth Programme



Pluralism and development in island communities

Commonwealth Secretariat



COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME

PLURALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAND COMMUNITIES

Report
of the
Commonwealth Seminar held in
Mauritius, January 1975

Commonwealth Secretariat

Cover photograph: A beautiful coastline in the Caribbean Island of Grenada. The growth of tourism along coasts such as this is creating many problems in island communities. This was one of the issues discussed extensively at the Seminar.

Acknowledgements for photo - Francis Goodman (Camerapress London).

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Representatives of twelve island member countries of the Commonwealth assembled in Mauritius for two weeks in January 1975 to examine the dimensions of pluralism and its implications for development, with particular reference to island communities.

Participants at the Seminar, which was organised under the Commonwealth Youth Programme, included a wide range of personnel associated with youth work as well as young people themselves, and an attempt was made to explore ways in which young people might contribute towards integrating and furthering the development of their societies.

Dr. James A. Maraj, Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General, served as Chairman of the Seminar. Lead papers were presented by Prof. L.E. Braithwaite, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Mr. O. Napier, former Minister for Law Reform in Northern Ireland, the Hon. K. Jagatsingh, Minister of Economic Planning and Development in the Government of Mauritius, and Mr. G. McRobie, Director (Communications) of the Intermediate Technology Development Group.

It is hoped that this report of the first Commonwealth Seminar on this theme will be of value to youth and community development workers throughout the Commonwealth and especially those in plural societies.

PLURALISM

(i) Introduction

During the first part of the Seminar, consideration was given to the dimensions of pluralism, the theoretical framework within which various elements could be examined and the constraints imposed by pluralism on nation-building.

Lead papers were presented by Professor L.E. Braithwaite, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, and Mr. O. Napier, formerly Minister of Law Reform in Northern Ireland. In the presentation of his paper, which is reproduced in section (ii) below, Professor Braithwaite reviewed the existing literature on pluralism and made reference to some of the new dimensions which appear to be emerging in newly independent countries. Mr. Napier, whose paper is also reproduced in the next section, drew on the situation in Northern Ireland and dealt specifically with pluralism as manifested in a community overtly divided along lines of religious affiliation.

Following discussions in plenary session after each presentation, groups of participants met for more intensive consideration of the principal issues. Subsequent to their reporting a joint session was held at which an attempt was made to draw together the various matters on which there had been exchange of views and experiences. These issues are summarised in section (iii) which follows the lead papers.

(ii) Lead Papers

SOME ASPECTS OF PLURALISM

by

Prof. Lloyd E. Braithwaite
Pro-Vice-Chancellor
University of the West Indies

The concept of pluralism has, in later years, become fashionable in sociological and anthropological circles. We have become attuned to hearing the term "plural society" and the concept of pluralism used in the broad sociological sense. However, it is wise to remember that the first use of the term "pluralism" in social science was political rather than sociological, although it in fact pointed towards the problems inherent in its sociological use.

Pluralism in political science was used by those who in analysis, or in ethnical bias, wished to deny the authoritative power of the state and

the concept of its unlimited sovereignty and preferred to see authority as essentially deriving out of multiple sources of power. With the growth of doctrines of centralised planning and regulation by the state, doctrines of pluralism in political science seem to be far less popular than they used to be. But the use of the concept points directly towards the problem of the sharing and dispersal of power which is at the heart of our sociological concern. The issue as to whether the political pluralism arising from the social pluralism is a desirable thing and whether this leads to the desirable effects that the political pluralists envisaged from the dispersion of power - these are things that we will have to examine.

In more recent times concepts of pluralism have been used in three different ways which are of direct concern to us. In the first place we shall examine the viewpoint of Boeke who wrote the initial and penetrating analysis of the Dutch East Indies using the concept of "dual economy" and "dual society". Secondly, we should examine the writing of J.S. Furnivall on the plural society as a wider colonial problem or as a problem created by western imperialism. Thirdly, we shall look particularly at the work of M.G. Smith who sought to extend and refine the concepts of Furnivall with special relevance to the West Indies. Of these writers, I find Furnivall the most stimulating and penetrating but they all add a point of view and depth to the analysis of pluralism.

Boeke was primarily concerned with making a dividing line between the Western-penetrative modern sector of the economy and that where traditional ethnical and cultural values held sway. In the one the work ethic, "rational" economic activity and the pursuit of profit were dominant. In the other the motivations to work and "rational" economic activity had not such hold. Other more important cultural values - religious, ritualistic, kinship-oriented and community-oriented values - controlled the situation. The economies, in fact, corresponded to different value systems. Here the concept of the dual economy - still largely in use by economists - came to be subsumed under the problems of the dual society.

This simplistic conception of Boeke, concerned as it was with Western penetration on the one hand and the traditional native cultures on the other, was broadened and developed by Furnivall.

The problem as Furnivall saw it was more complex. Not only was native society penetrated, it was in a sense transformed. And in many instances with the economic life of Western civilization "imperialism" had brought about not merely a simple penetration but many and diverse peoples living together within a common economic and political framework. The problem was not merely a simple one of Western penetration on the one hand and native culture on the other. The common far-flung economic ties brought many and diverse peoples together.

To cite an example which Furnivall did not really use because he was concerned with the people of the Far East, the West Indies, particularly Guyana, Trinidad and Surinam, in a sense fit very well into the problems of the plural society. But in the West Indies these problems are hardly problems of "native peoples" who have for the most part died out, or in modern terminology been "liquidated". Furnivall, writing at a time when there was a steady march towards self-government and self-determination, was concerned with what would happen to these multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious societies that had been created by Western imperialism.

Western imperialism had created a framework in which there were political units of groups with widely differing values. What seemed to hold them together were on the one hand the imperial political framework which was visibly being transformed and on the other the common economic system. In Furnivall's work the various ethnic groups met and mingled in the market place but they did not mix. Their social and cultural life was separately organised and in many respects the basic values important to the individuals of the various ethnic groups were highly diverse.

What would happen, Furnivall asked, if the basic political imperial framework was withdrawn and the peoples of the emerging political units left to rule themselves? The problem as he saw it was a lack of common will. Political units would emerge that did not have the social and cultural consensus to be politically viable.

In a sense Furnivall was pointing to a much bigger problem than the problem of island communities. The problem was exemplified most by what have come to be called plantation societies, societies in which the economic life of production brought far-flung peoples together to labour for the profit of the Western entrepreneur.

But the problem was even wider than that and subsumed nearly all the societies dominated by imperialism which did not form natural political units. A good way of formulating the problem is that suggested by the anthropologist Wagley. He stated that what we were really talking about when we spoke of the "plural society" was of nations in the making.

Historically, of course, nations have largely developed in Western Europe under a common administrative framework. Indeed, the writer Kahlen has (in "Man the Measure") defined the nation as a folk-structure that emerges after the breakdown of an imperial structure.

There is much truth in this point of view, but the long slow centuries-old process by which the nations of the West were formed has been denied to many that have emerged under the new imperial framework.

Even in the old nations, as Furnivall rightly observed, there are to be observed problems of pluralism. So that he was forced to make a distinction between "plural societies", in which the pluralistic feature dominated, and other societies which merely possessed "pluralistic features".

The former group of "nations in the making" were lacking the consensus which made political independence meaningful. The tragedies of India, splitting India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; the trials of Nigeria with secessive Biafra; the history of Malaysia etc. - all these go to prove the perceptiveness of Furnivall and the great extent and importance of the problem which exercised his mind.

This concept of the plural society was used widely - Furnivall never pretended to be a scientist - by writers who were referring to the multi-racial, multi-cultural systems that had been created by imperialism. The West Indies, Rhodesia, etc. were sometimes referred to as plural societies because of their multi-racial and in some cases multi-cultural character.

But M.G. Smith seized on it as a characteristic feature of the West Indies and a valid way of looking at the West Indies not only historically, but contemporaneously. He accentuated certain features of Furnivall's analysis and was guilty of treating "the plural society" not as a convenient truth of analysis but as a thing in itself with characteristic features attributed to it. In particular he showed the hierarchic nature of the stratified system in the West Indies which was so largely identified with race and consequently he treated the "Whites", the "Browns" and the "Blacks" not as belonging to one society with a common system of stratification but as separate societies in the same way that the Indians, Chinese and Malays could be conceived as belonging to separate societies.

Whatever the merits of this approach it tended to focus attention away from Furnivall's main problem which in terms of the West Indies would be more closely identified with Surinam, Guyana and Trinidad. M.G. Smith also accentuated the use of force in the absence of consensus as the factor keeping plural societies together. This, in my view, over-emphasis on the use of force has obscured some of the real psychological and social values which help, albeit weakly, the "plural society" to live together under imperialism, and it obscures some of the main forces at work (again somewhat weakly), urging these towards unity and consensus. If the so-called plural societies are to have any future, this future must rest not merely on an identification of its weaknesses but of its strengths as well. It is only in this way that we can find a base upon which to build.

The pattern of the "plural society", the lack of a common will and of a national consensus lie right at the heart of the problems of development - and by development we refer not merely to economic but to social and cultural development as well.

Whereas economic development took place in the West by a process of relatively slow accretion due to private enterprise and initiative and private endeavour, in the under-developed world the process has to be altogether different.

In the first place, thrust for economic development comes from the political initiative of Western-educated elites that wish to rescue their countries from their backwardness. It is the collective health of the nation rather than the profit of the private individual that is their major concern. In the second place, the initiative to develop, taken up in the first place largely by an elite, has been taken up by the masses. In the third place the masses are becoming even more populous. The spread of scientific control of disease has led to an upsurge of population growth all over the developing world. It is not only that the masses are alive to the issues of development and pressing their demands: the quantitative pressure is also increasing. And in the fourth place the growth of communication of all sorts brings new pressure and new demands upon the governments of all the developing countries.

Development, therefore, to be successful has largely to be centrally directed, politically acceptable and concerned with a sense of great and immediate urgency. In order to achieve development under these conditions many things are necessary. But it is clear that one of the things that is most desirable is a great deal of social consensus, that can lead to the viability of a strong central government. If power becomes too dispersed and lacking in concentration there is a failure. In development, or if

development does take place, its gain tends to be dissipated rather than to lay the base for further advance.

With too much social division, decisions are postponed or avoided if they might lead to conflict, and if decisions are made in a partisan fashion, they lead to intensive conflict. Moreover, if divisions are too sharp or too great, a great deal of the attention of the government and the scarce resources of the country have to be devoted to the maintenance of order and the provision of internal security. The problems of divisions of race and cultural and linguistic problems can be difficult enough in a developed country; in the under-developed country they assume tragic proportions.

Before we consider some of the specific issues of development as they affect pluralism, perhaps we should consider some issues of pluralism, and those that specifically seem to influence island communities.

First, there are the external relations of the plural society. When there are ethnic groups of similar background in neighbouring countries, political divisions become complex and international. Islands at least do not have common borders; perhaps, like the Irish, they should thank God for the sea around them (protecting them from the British). Of course, island communities are not immune to international influences, but these influences tend to be muted, except where there is close geographical proximity to related ethnic communities.

Island communities tend to be small as compared to continental nations. This has the effect both of limiting horizons and of softening tensions and antagonisms. Because of their smallness of size and geographic limitations, population growth tends to hit island communities particularly severely. The demographic balance in these communities between the various ethnic groups is particularly important.

Granted the great urge to development in these island communities, how does the prospect for development affect them? It would be dangerous to indulge in facile generalization. But there are visible certain patterns of development and proposed development appearing throughout the third world. Basically the policy that seems predominant and, in the circumstances for island communities, also inevitable, is the three-pronged drive - (i) tourism, (ii) industrialization and (iii) rationalization of agriculture.

Most of the island communities are blessed with sunshine and beaches, and tourism seems a natural road to development. But tourism has certain disadvantages for the plural society. It adds to the racial problem, since most tourists are white, coming from the affluent countries whose citizens are rich enough to tour. The larger the influx of tourists, the more the racial problem tends to be exacerbated. The issue of ownership and control of the land and the beaches becomes critical. Local nationalism and dignity asserts itself against the foreigners. The logical extension of a successful tourist development programme can be seen in the island of St. Thomas, where the visiting tourist population at any point of time outnumbers the local population. The price of tourist development may come to be the loss of natural resources and national and ethnic identity and integrity.

Similarly, the small island communities cannot for the most part raise the capital, furnish the transport or the expert know-how for

industrialization. Hence the standard pattern appears to be one of industrialization by invitation. This can lead again to a further influx of foreigners, a not altogether pleasant prospect to behold.

Rationalization of agriculture is the only area which is perhaps susceptible to completely local control. But given the limitation of availability of land in most instances and the population problem, rationalization of agriculture and its development does not appear to be in itself a solution to the islands' developmental problems.

Since emigration seems largely ruled out as a solution to the problem, it seems clear that the island communities must learn to live together and the human dimension in development is of considerable importance. Unless they learn to reconcile ethnic identity with national consciousness, to subordinate the limited loyalty to the larger whole, the future of these communities appears dim indeed.

It is the task of the youth to free themselves as far as possible from traditional prejudice and to forge a new outlook. Since in the expanding populations the youth form the majority and are therefore a significant part of the population, it is the quality of youth leadership that will determine the development of these island communities.

A VIEW OF PLURALISM

by

Mr. Oliver Napier
formerly Minister for Law Reform
Northern Ireland

I am not an academic. I am not a trained sociologist nor an economist. But I am involved in politics in a plural society where past failures with problems have led to almost total inter-community alienation and a great deal of violence and murder. Perhaps I can be forgiven for thinking that the problems imposed by pluralism are far more urgent and far more serious than either national or international politics is prepared to admit.

What is a plural society? It is merely a society in which two or more self-defined communities consider themselves to be fundamentally different from each other. Such countries may have differences of language, race, religion or culture which can be identified by an outsider. But this is not necessarily so. Plural societies exist where the differences between the communities are either indistinguishable or extremely minor when viewed by an outsider. The real test is not an objective one of how different the communities within the society appear to be but rather of how different the communities think they are. Their attitudes towards themselves and towards each other and the existence of any common ground or common identity is more important than the fact that there are different religious faiths, different colours, different ethnic backgrounds or different languages spoken. These extremes may reveal the presence of separate self-identifying communities but not necessarily so.

In Northern Ireland there are few, if any, external differences between the two communities. The people are basically of similar ethnic stock. They speak the same language, namely English. They are all Christian, at least nominally. Their culture and everyday way of life are very similar although both communities consider that they have separate cultures. Their surnames are generally no reliable guide as to which country they belong. Yet they feel themselves to be different and distinct and they form two communities which are to a large degree mutually antagonistic.

Northern Ireland may appear now to be a very extreme case after 1,100 have been murdered in the name of religion or politics in the last four years.

I have no intention of dwelling on Northern Ireland and I have no intention of mentioning any other island community within the Commonwealth. What I must say, however, is that most of the learned and apparently well researched works about Northern Ireland seem to ask most of the urgent questions and get most of the wrong answers. I must therefore ask the questions "How much do we really know about the phenomenon of pluralism in different societies? Has any real research been done and have we really considered the problems involved in such research? Do you believe for one moment that if a stranger comes into our island society and starts asking people about their most basic beliefs that he will get true and accurate answers?"

I now want to try and look at how separatism is maintained and why.

There are a few societies where separation is enforced by law and its maintenance is part of government policy. The clearest example is South Africa where the full force of the law is used to prevent assimilation of the communities. In that country, the political policy of apartheid presupposes that it is neither possible nor desirable to allow any degree of assimilation.

In considering South Africa, we are inclined to assume that if the laws preventing assimilation did not exist, assimilation would take place. This certainly does not follow. Societies where there is no law against assimilation have often provided their own mechanisms. Again let us look at Northern Ireland.

In most countries every citizen is considered under the legal system to have equal rights. The law makes no attempt directly or indirectly to prevent assimilation. But in some societies the communities themselves provide their own mechanisms which are at least as effective, if not more so, because they carry with them the weight of public opinion. I would like to outline a few of them as they are typical of every plural society which is resisting integration and they underline the enormous difficulties of achieving integration; they include education, sport, housing ghettos and employment.

The maintenance of divisions in pluralistic societies

When people from two or more cultural backgrounds find themselves for the first time living together on one island, it is not surprising that they are acutely aware of their differences. In itself, difference, whether

of culture, race, religion or language, is neither a good thing nor a bad thing - it is just a fact. What does create difficulties, however, is the tension which inevitably arises between the communities. It is worth discussing why such tension arises and why it is maintained.

It seems to me that where rigid inter-community divisions are maintained in a society, the feeling within each community of the inherent superiority of its own culture, colour or faith is artificially maintained by the use of two methods. The first is to establish maximum ignorance about the beliefs of other communities. The second is to import to your own cultural differences a superiority over all others. The greater the threat to our own community, the greater superiority is assigned to our own cultural beliefs, and the more intolerant we become of all others. The extreme religious intolerance of the Inquisition in Europe was the result of the threat of Islam and Protestantism to Catholic Europe. The Penal Laws against Catholics in the 16th and 17th Centuries in England were a response to the Counter-Reformation and French and Spanish political power. A feeling of insecurity breeds intolerance and creates the closed and introverted community.

The maintenance of divisions within societies is, therefore, due to communal insecurity resulting from a feeling of continual exploitation or the threat of exploitation. It is only when this feeling or threat is removed that inter-community toleration will replace tension and violence.

Continuing exploitation

Human communities are not totally irrational. You will seldom find a continuous feeling of exploitation by one community with respect to another, unless there is a factual basis for that belief, unless there is in fact exploitation. The feeling of exploitation will not be removed until the causes are themselves tackled and eradicated. This sounds easy - all you have to do is identify the facts of exploitation and begin to eradicate them. But there are two major problems.

The first is that any reforms are likely to take time to implement. But once you start, the demand to proceed more quickly becomes an almost irresistible pressure to proceed faster than the society is able. The promulgation of a programme to eradicate injustices or exploitation imposes enormous difficulties and strains, with the exploited community demanding that everything be put right overnight. How well any society is able to commence this exercise depends very largely on the nature of its political institutions.

The second factor is related to the first. Where the exploitation has been in the field of political power, reform means removing some power from one community and handing it over to another. Where it is economic, it means redefining economic priorities to give a greater share to the exploited and a lesser share to the exploiters. However fair these redivisions may be, they are unlikely to be universally popular with those who have to give up something which they previously enjoyed. Even a millionaire does not like giving up part of his wealth to keep fed the starving, even if he theoretically agrees that it is the right thing to do. When I use the word exploitation I do not use it in any pejorative sense. I do not imply a deliberate policy to discriminate. I am describing only a factual situation which can be objectively tested.

So the practical difficulties in removing the causes for a feeling of exploitation are formidable in the extreme.

The threat

It is not only a feeling of exploitation that creates community tension. There is also the feeling that another community threatens to exploit you even if at present your community is exploiting it. In Northern Ireland, for example, the Protestant community feels threatened by the existence of an Irish Catholic majority on the whole island and the identification of Northern Ireland Catholics with that majority. I presume that in Cyprus both Greek and Turkish Cypriots feel the same kind of external threat.

There is another threat which can exist and which is not in itself external. Where a dominant community realises either consciously or subconsciously that it is discriminating against another community or communities it will be afraid to relax its grip on the grounds that the previous action may be reciprocated.

There is no hope of eradicating community tensions unless the factual existence of the threat itself is removed. I believe in effect that the methods which should be employed for eradicating the feeling of exploitation and the feeling of threat are exactly the same.

The method of moving forward

In the pluralist island society, the objective must be to create a feeling of common identity which transcends the previous community divisions, but does not necessarily obliterate cultural, language, ethnic or religious differences. It simply creates a bridge over them. The problem is that you cannot create this feeling of common identity just by declaring it to be so. Independence is not in itself a cure-all and it can in fact make intercommunal problems more difficult as well as more simple to solve. What is needed is a combined approach which not only continually emphasises the common identity as a reality by eradicating the feelings or injustices or insecurity which have maintained the exclusiveness of separate communities.

I intend to examine briefly those problems in the economic, political, language and cultural fields and suggest certain mechanisms which can be used to break down tension. These cannot be looked at as separate compartments because in many ways they are inter-related.

Many island societies represented here have been able to give a sense of common identity and equal citizenship to all the major communities. They have been able to do so by giving people from all countries a real feeling of being equal citizens of new countries. That does not mean that the problems of pluralism are over, but simply that they have got over the first hurdle.

I would like to concentrate briefly on two of the basic ingredients. The first is political power and the second is economic development.

Where in any society the major political parties are inter-community in membership and voting strength, the problems of political power will tend to be based on economic issues rather than pluralist issues. Where political parties are based on the separate communities and by the state's constitution or by agreement between them it is agreed that they will share

power, the exercise of power is unlikely to be divisive on an intercommunity basis. But where politics is based on a separate country and the majority party insists on governing by itself a dangerous situation exists. It may not explode. But it is more likely that in the course of time those communities permanently excluded from the exercise of political power will become more and more distrustful and less and less prepared to be governed. In that situation it requires only a spark to set off major violence.

If the minority communities, as well as being excluded from political power, are in addition the economically less prosperous sections of society, then in my view catastrophe is as near a certainty as it is possible to forecast.

Democracy

Most of us are believers in democracy. But if by democracy you mean parliamentary elections based on the Westminster voting system of single member constituencies and majority party government, to many island societies such democracy is not relevant. What is required is a voting system which is clearly seen to reflect the number of votes cast to the number of seats won - a system of proportional representation and the involvement of all the major communities in policy-making and administration. The traditional institutions of government may require to be drastically changed to deal with pluralist reaction.

I have no answers. I have tried to indicate some of the problems in the hope that answers will evolve. I do not want to be depressing but I believe that problems of pluralism will grow in the world in the next twenty years rather than diminish. As I have already pointed out there do not need to be enormous differences of race, religion, colour or ethnic origin to create pluralism. It is the self-identification of one group as being separate or different which is the test. Whether those differences are rather attractive cultural diversities or whether they create major tension and violence depends in the ultimate on how politicians handle them. And most politicians will not face a situation until it blows up in their face. By that time the harm has been done.

At present Britain is a pluralist society. So too are all the major developed countries of Western Europe. Immigrant labour from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean has poured in because their services were needed. In a state of world recession the services of many would not be needed. Unemployment amongst the indigenous population is almost certain to increase into community tensions. But the problem does not end there. First generation immigrants may not want to play a full part in the life of the new country but their children almost certainly will.

The Commonwealth is an amazing institution. It wields no power. It threatens no one. In an economic sense it is not particularly valuable to be a member. Yet peoples from every continent, of every colour, of virtually every faith and of enormous cultural and ethnic differences belong to it. And that membership gives them a common bond with each other which is of critical importance in the modern world. The influence which the Commonwealth could have as a vehicle for helping to solve problems like pluralism, not simply within our own societies but throughout the world, could be absolutely enormous. But we have not really tried to do it. What I would now hope is that this Seminar on pluralism will be the start of a programme of research which will then be put to use in solving our own island problems and then more ambitiously in producing patterns which point the way to other parts of the world.

(iii) Summary of discussions

1. In reviewing the historical processes which led to the development of non-homogeneous societies, the seminar noted that in most cases the starting point had been the penetration of native communities by western entrepreneurs and the resulting dualism in terms of society and economy.
2. Plantation economies imposed by imperial powers had given rise to the importation of labour from a variety of countries into societies which were already dual, thus increasing the number of different groups and widening their spread in terms of race, religion, culture and language.
3. Within the native value systems divisions developed along racial, cultural and religious lines. These divisions, however, did not assume large proportions for, even where political units were based on such divisions, the different groups were held together by an imperial political framework and a common economic system.
4. It was noted that while the different communities "met and mingled in the market place, they did not mix".
5. For as long as a colonial power dominated a plural society which had developed along these lines, a certain unifying bond existed among the communities based on their identification as a subject society. The withdrawal of the imperialists brought about disintegration, a resurgence of divisiveness and a lack of common will and consensus.
6. A nation has been defined as the folk-structure which emerges following the breakdown of imperialist control. The difficulties of creating such a structure in situations in which separate groups co-exist, while holding firmly to their traditions, were recognised.
7. While in many countries the history of the plurality of the society can be traced along the lines discussed, it was held not to be true in others. In addition, several new dimensions of pluralism related to factors other than race, religion and culture are appearing in some countries. In some cases the new divisions are based on levels of education and externally oriented frames of reference. In others the very fact of independence has caused internal conflict. It was anticipated that further divisions would be created by immigration which had taken place over the last thirty years in, for instance, Britain and other Western European countries.
8. The geographical situation of island countries was believed to be significant, especially when strong links existed between one community and a large neighbouring country. The problems arising from pluralism were likely to be exacerbated by such external relations, even where, though the links were not strong, overtures were being made to an overseas nation.
9. In considering the influence of short-term emigration, it was recognised that if strong links existed, for instance, in terms of ethnicity, between the visitor and the country visited, reinforcement of cultural values could, in cases of widespread visits, enhance further the national divisions.
10. It was noted that large scale emigration could, if not equally spread among the varying groups, produce a marked change on the basic demographic balance and the overall social structure.

11. Where cleavages among groups coincide with different economic levels the situation is exacerbated. In most cases of this kind the differences tend to be perceived as having their foundation in racial, religious or cultural discrimination, though the fundamental cause may be wholly economic.
12. The coincidence of cleavages with other factors, e. g. provision of social welfare, housing, rural/urban distribution, can also produce increased problems.
13. In times of economic recession tensions are exacerbated further and conflict may ensue as the threat perceived by one group of another is intensified.
14. Diversion of material and other resources in attempts to placate a frustrated group can increase resentment on the part of other groups and may at the same time not be in the best economic interests of the country.
15. Attempts to assimilate or even integrate the varying groups are thwarted by deeply held prejudices and the prevalence of racial or ethnic stereotypes. It was felt that, while differences of race and ethnicity posed the most intractable problems, some progress might be made in the areas of language and cultural styles, which were regarded as more open criteria. Within the area of religion, a degree of mutual respect existed and tolerance was usually practised. In other areas, however, mistrust was the general rule.
16. If attention is deliberately focused on the strengths of pluralism rather than its weaknesses, pluralism may provide some motive force for progress towards nationhood. It was generally realised, however, that social divisions consume resources on account of the need for a "lowest common denominator" approach.
17. It was agreed that while the maximum degree of integration was desirable it was unrealistic to expect this to be achieved. It was, however, possible through increased awareness of the differences with respect to culture to widen cultural values. It was noted that elements of some cultures were incompatible with the notion of democracy and the freedom of the individual. In such cases there was need for some concessions to be made if a society was to be wholly democratic.
18. The problems of pluralism can be exacerbated by a highly developed tourist trade especially where tourists come largely from the more developed, white countries. The need for awareness of potential problems was recognised, particularly in so far as the issues of land ownership, use of beaches and fishing rights were concerned. Another problem created by tourism was the tendency towards service to foreigners rather than to self-development, and the corrupting effects on cultures and people. The pressures on governments to increase capital income and foreign investment were nevertheless recognised.
19. It was anticipated that the second decade of independence could in many countries bring increased cleavages owing to the gaps which tend to be appearing between aspirations and achievement.
20. It was recognised that equitable economic advance among the groups within a society might lead to a blurring of stratification by race or religion

by the development of stratification by socio-economic class. While a cross-community development of this kind might appear desirable, the new stratification might give rise to problems of another order.

21. It was the general view that legislation, though not of itself guaranteeing advance, would assist. Public opinion supported by appropriate legislation was also regarded as significant. The need for public political education was seen as critical, especially in relation to perceptions of exploitation and privilege.

22. It was agreed that the law should reflect the composite values of the society rather than be determined along the lines of the majority's values system. In most legal codes special provision was made for different religious practices in terms of marriage and this was acceptable. In some countries laws relating to land ownership differed among the groups, thus increasing inter-group tensions.

23. It was recognised that, while the law itself might be fundamentally just to all groups, in many instances the administration of the law could be discriminatory.

24. It was generally agreed that compensatory mechanisms directed towards assisting minority groups were necessary. The dangers of backlash following the introduction of ill-conceived procedures were however recognised and the need for caution noted.

25. Consideration was also given to concepts of democracy, voting systems and constitutional provisions giving recognition to minority rights and privileges.

26. The need for new approaches to be adopted towards the sharing of political power and participation in decision-making was seen as a crucial factor in the drive towards national unity.

27. In considering features which assist in unifying the separate groups, it was felt that major contributions were made by a national language, food, dress and festivals. Where a number of languages were spoken within one country, the easier acceptability of adopting as a national language a neutral, external language, usually inherited from colonial rulers, was appreciated.

28. Consideration was given to the need for the development of a national sense of belonging and a common will. There was conviction that the most powerful influence towards the goal of national integration was education, by means of both its content and its orientation.

29. It was recognised that education provided on a segmented community basis is likely to foster group differences rather than to assist integration. It was also recognised, however, that integrated schooling, which in most countries is based on highly competitive western models, could in some cases give rise to increased inter-group tensions.

30. While many participants believed secular education to be of greater assistance in integration and the development of a national consciousness, it was felt that religious affiliations need not be sacrificed in the process.

31. The role of the ecumenical movement in fostering understanding and respect among different religious groups was recognised.

32. While the media have tended to highlight differences among groups, recognition was given to the potential role of the media in propagating and nurturing fledgling efforts towards nationalism and social integration. Possible approaches suggested were information bulletins, public educational programmes aimed at increasing inter-group respect and entertainment programmes based on local folk cultural presentations.

33. It was considered desirable for control of the media to rest with an inter-communal board. In the case of newspapers which emanated from separate groups, differences could be further sharpened. It was noted that in some countries governments censored material which was likely to incite disharmony.

34. Consideration was given to the contribution which young people could make towards integration through the media, particularly by bringing attention to the difficulties faced by minority groups.

35. It was agreed that, since in many cases divisions of race and religion coincided with economic levels, an essential factor in easing the problems arising was equal opportunity in education and employment. The need for advance to be based on merit rather than group affiliation was emphasised.

36. In considering the contribution which young people could make towards the goal of social integration, proposals were made for cross-cultural, cross-racial, and cross-religious agencies to undertake multi-group projects in the fields of social welfare, education and recreation. The first essentials were deemed to be the recognition of problem areas and the planning of suitable projects. The need for government assistance was emphasised.

Chapter 2

DEVELOPMENT

(i) Introduction

Following the discussions on pluralism, consideration was given by the Seminar to issues involved in development.

Lead papers were presented on certain aspects of development by Mr. George McRobie, Director (Communications) of the Intermediate Technology Development Group, and the Hon. K. Jagatsingh, Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Mauritius. In the presentation of his paper Mr. McRobie highlighted the urgent need for eradication of poverty in the rural areas. He emphasised the role of appropriate technologies in modernising the rural sector and in generating employment opportunities. The Hon. K. Jagatsingh, while examining the implications of pluralism in furthering development, emphasized in the context of the Mauritian experience how pluralism, rather than being an obstacle, could prove an asset to development.

The two lead papers presented by the lead speakers are reproduced in section (ii) below.

After general discussions in the plenary sessions immediately following each presentation, participants met in two separate groups for a detailed examination of the issues. Subsequent to the group discussions a joint session was held to facilitate exchange of views and experience. A summary of discussions is recorded in section (iii) of this chapter.

(ii) Lead papers

SOME ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

by

the Hon. Kher Jagatsingh
Minister of Economic Planning and Development
Government of Mauritius

First of all I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and through you the Commonwealth Secretariat for inviting me to address this seminar of young people who have come from a large number of islands. I am particularly pleased and feel honoured to have been asked to speak on the challenging theme of Pluralism and Development in Island Communities, which is so relevant to my country.

Before dealing with the main subject of this seminar, I would like to

make a few observations. First, I am in doubt whether the basic assumption is that pluralism in our kind of society is an advantage or a hindrance. Secondly, in the absence of well-defined parameters, I have taken the liberty of deciding on my personal approach to the problem. I am going to draw heavily, therefore, from our own experience in Mauritius. It is also necessary for me to state that here I am speaking more in my personal capacity than as a Member of the Government.

At the risk of repeating things which you may know already, I feel I must give you a brief background of how our plural society in Mauritius came to be constituted.

In Mauritius there has never been any indigenous population. To whatever section of the community we may belong, we are all people who have been brought into Mauritius at different points of time. Those who came first were the colonisers. The Spanish and the Portuguese hardly took any interest in Mauritius. The French, who already had a foothold in the Far East, realised that Mauritius was important to them if they were to consolidate their position in Asia. The Suez Canal was not yet opened and consequently Mauritius assumed great strategic importance. As you are also aware, the British and the French were competing with each other in their colonising thrust on the Indian sub-continent and in South-east Asia. The British also found out that it was important for them to take possession of Mauritius, which they did in 1810.

The French who came here started developing the sugar plantations, and slaves constituted the bulk of the labour force. After the abolition of slavery, the slaves refused to work on the sugar plantations and therefore the then sugar magnates of Mauritius turned to India from where they brought large numbers of indentured labourers. A sprinkling of Chinese also came to Mauritius so that today the composition of our plural society from an ethnic point of view is as follows:-

People of Indian origin:	68%
General Population :	29%
People of Chinese origin:	3%

The term "General Population" refers to people of Christian faith, who include the descendants of slaves brought from Africa and Madagascar and those of the early French and English settlers.

It is a fact of life in Mauritius that the social and economic development of the country took place on almost ethnic lines. People of Indian origin took to agriculture and the Chinese more or less confined themselves to trading. The descendants of the slaves who had become Christians had the benefit of getting education much earlier than the rest of the population, excluding, of course, the small elite minority of Franco-Mauritians. The fact that the members of the Creole community became Christians means that they automatically adopted Western civilization and culture as their own.

In a later phase of social and economic development the Indians and the Chinese got their share; they came to acquire education rather late. All these factors put together constitute the background of the present population of Mauritius, which explains the various tendencies and attitudes which govern the relationship between the various sections of our people. Today when we look at the situation in Mauritius we find that a small section of the Mauritian population has a tremendously disproportionate economic hold

in our society. This is an unhealthy state of affairs. And to correct this situation without disturbing the coherence of our society remains the basic challenge of our development efforts today.

It is equally true that within the development process in Mauritius we have often found some communal undertones but even so I must say that in our case I do not find pluralism an obstacle to development. I think this is due mostly to the fact that we have managed in the last thirty years or so to provide education to all our people so that today the literacy rate in Mauritius is almost 100%. We have also provided equal opportunity to all sections of the people, but education remains the most important social catalyst which has given Mauritius a remarkably coherent and united society. I must also make it a point to state that this has been possible as a result of deliberate political action by the Mauritius Labour Party which has provided political leadership to this country for the last thirty-nine years.

Having said this, I come to my basic remark which is that pluralism is an asset and must not be regarded as an obstacle. The kinds of stresses and strains that do exist in our type of society also exist in societies with homogenous populations where they may appear in completely different forms. In Mauritius where more than 60% of our population is under 25 and more than 50% are under 21 we have a tremendous challenge to face and I can say with a certain amount of satisfaction that we have been able to chart for ourselves the proper path for development.

When we became independent in 1968, we had on our hands two major problems: one was a large number of educated young people who were in good health and who were out of jobs; secondly, our economy, which is heavily dependent upon sugar, was in jeopardy because the international sugar price had fallen to its lowest point ever. It was in a situation like this that we started scientific economic planning. We said to ourselves that development which was geared only to increasing the GNP and which would leave the unemployment situation almost intact would have no meaning for us, and therefore in our Development Strategy we dethroned the GNP and put in its place employment creation as our basic objective.

I would like at this stage to observe that unemployment is one of the most dehumanising factors in any society and we believe that development devoid of humanism is sheer illusion because it will not create a society of human beings but will perpetuate a society where man will find pleasure in exploiting man. We have managed to generate a large number of employment opportunities in Mauritius and today, fortunate as we are, sugar prices are doing well and we are in a position to create a society where our people will be happy. As you must have seen yourselves, in Mauritius we have eliminated absolute poverty; you will not see in Mauritius the kind of poverty which has become a normal feature in many developing nations, although I must admit that there are still in Mauritius a few pockets of relative poverty, which I have no doubt will be eliminated very soon. Successful economic development can provide the basic foundation of a united and coherent society in a country where there are people of various ethnic origins. It is a fact that in a plural society people will tend to accentuate their differences instead of what they have in common if the economic set-up is unable to provide the basic necessities for all the members of that society.

We are meeting at a time when not only the islands but the whole world is facing a tremendous crisis. In our island communities, where elites educated in the West are the rulers, there has been a tendency to impose upon our communities political institutions which have often no relevance to our respective situations. In my view this is one of the reasons why very often in our societies there are stresses and strains.

The world is not only facing a crisis in the economic field but it is facing a greater crisis in the field of ideology. We have to find out whether the kind of ideologies we import are relevant and can lead to the solution of our problems. I believe this is a point which this seminar should really look into. Our meeting is taking place at a time when the whole concept of the Western civilisation is being questioned. The simple decision of the oil-producing nations to claim higher prices for their product has generated a crisis in our civilisation the like of which we have never seen before. There is going to be in the future a tremendous search for raw materials and we in the third world are the peoples who hold a large percentage of these raw materials.

There is today a definite shortage of raw materials and it appears that the resources of the land mass are likely to be exhausted in twenty-five years or so. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that as from now there is going to be a world-wide search for basic raw materials on the ocean beds and it is in this context that we island communities are going to find ourselves in the midst of the international power game. We have therefore to be careful. It is not difficult to foresee that in this international power game a lot of pressures will be exerted on us and one of the subtlest means would be the attempt of the major powers to create instability in our respective countries. In the name of development and progress our institutions would be wrecked and our people would be turned into the instrument responsible for our perpetual underdevelopment. Development means change and in the name of change our opponents will not hesitate to ensure the slow but certain disintegration of our respective societies. Another means of creating instability is cultural confrontation which can be easily set in train in societies like ours.

I have a definite feeling that this has already started in Mauritius. The very idea of trying to impose Creole as a national language in Mauritius represents a negative approach to the cultural situation of Mauritius. The acceptance of Creole as a so-called "unifying" factor in the Mauritian context means the death of all the other cultures and languages represented in Mauritius. This is one of the greatest dangers threatening the unity of our people. To make of Creole the national language of Mauritius will mean the death of Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Arabic and even English and French. I am glad to say that in Mauritius a large number of people reject this idea and prefer to foster unity out of diversity. Uniformity does not necessarily mean unity. I hope that this kind of cultural confrontation will not be prompted from outside your respective communities.

As islanders we are often told that we must reclaim land in order to expand our land areas. This is very good and this is very true. We are also told that we must be careful about ecological destruction and pollution. This is equally good and equally important. I do not wish to discount the threats of pollution or the need for land reclamation, but I say that the worst form of pollution is poverty and the basic challenge facing all of us is to reclaim human beings from the shackles of poverty.

Getting out of these shackles does not merely mean higher wages and the consequential material benefits. In his search for identity Man also needs something more than cars and refrigerators. I have found that in poor societies as well as in very rich societies there is a lot of violence and social disturbance. Very often this is due to the fact that the young people are being deculturised and alienated from the rest of the community in the name of revolution. All this is lop-sided development. We in Mauritius believe in the total development of Man.

You have already been in Mauritius for a few days and I wish to extend to you all, although belatedly, a warm and cordial welcome. I also hope that during the rest of your stay in Mauritius you will make many friends and exchange your views and in the process enrich each other. I feel that you will see for yourselves to what extent we have managed, in spite of all the difficulties, to create a united people out of the diversity of origins of Mauritians. I am sure you will see how we have converted pluralism into a positive asset.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: SMALL IS POSSIBLE

by

Mr. George McRobie
Director (Communications)
Intermediate Technology Development Group

That there is a close relationship between racial or cultural pluralism and economic development hardly needs to be emphasized or elaborately spelled out. Many of the tensions in pluralistic societies have deep roots in economic deprivation or inequality, at worst reflected in political and social institutions which perpetuate and aggravate these conditions. Certainly there is more likelihood that people will live in reasonable harmony if they are not desperately competing for - or excluded from - access to work and a decent livelihood. My starting point is therefore that a healthy economy is unquestionably a necessary, if not by itself a sufficient, condition for people of different cultures to live and work together without engaging in damaging conflict. In relatively small island communities, both the tensions inherent in pluralism and the condition of the economy are more clearly defined, if only because the need for collaboration between people, and for economic improvement and self-sufficiency, are heightened by geographical isolation.

Unfortunately, few, if any, developing economies provide a healthy economic environment in which at least the economic causes of conflict can be minimized. And what is strikingly evident is that in spite of the great variety of conditions among developing countries in terms of geography, climate, populations and resources, there is an extraordinary uniformity in the problems that confront them. Whether we look at small island economies, or vast subcontinents, the problem is essentially the same, namely, gross unemployment and under-employment of people and of natural resources, and rapid migration to the cities.

To get some insight into the reasons for this widespread malaise, we have to start by looking at the so-called "developed" or highly

industrialized countries, whose aid programmes, commercial activities and educational structures have determined many of the critical economic changes that have taken place in the developing countries during the past two decades. In particular we must consider the technologies, the production equipment, that has been and is being installed in the developing countries and constitutes the major part of this aid and development effort.

The industrialised countries are rich, highly urbanised, and well furnished with many kinds of highly specialized scientific, engineering and technical skills. Their technologies are correspondingly capital (and energy) intensive, geared to mass production for mass markets, expensive and complex. A great deal of the skill and money invested in them is directed towards saving labour, or, as it is often put, "the elimination of the human factor".

The developing countries, in contrast, are poor and short of capital; the bulk of their people are rural and small town dwellers with very low incomes and without sophisticated scientific and engineering skills.

When the production equipment of the industrialized countries is transferred to poor countries, it does not fit into their economic and social environment. If the cost of creating one new workplace in manufacturing industry is upwards of £3000 (as it is in Western Europe), a poor country cannot afford to create many new workplaces: but this is the overriding need. Mass production methods (which correspondingly require mass consumption) do not meet the needs of markets that are small, scattered, and often seasonal. Nor can poor countries afford much by way of the spares, specialized new materials and fuels required by the capital-intensive equipment. Above all, poor countries whose main task is to find productive work for their rural people do not stand much in need of labour-saving machinery. No one ever learnt new skills or earned a better livelihood by having his or her labour "saved".

These are some of the chief reasons why capital-intensive technologies have failed to meet the needs of poor countries. Reliance upon these technologies in effect means equating industrialisation with the capacity to import equipment and its supporting imports; it means becoming increasingly dependent upon the industrialized countries, instead of increasingly self-reliant, excluding the majority of the population from active participation in new forms of production, and perpetuating the poverty of rural areas.

The last point is of particular relevance to island economies. To a large extent the "development problem" as between rich and poor countries lies in the fact that the industrialized countries, deluded by notions of limitless economic growth, have built up very sophisticated processes - some would call them "robber economies" - for securing supplies of raw materials, minerals and fuels, transforming them into manufactured goods and selling them back to the rest of the world, and to each other. Increasingly, and rightly, suppliers of raw materials are demanding that some or all of the processing - the "value added" to raw materials by work - should be done in their own countries. What is often overlooked is that the same argument applies within developing countries, as between the rural areas (the equivalent of the developing world) and the cities (the equivalent of industrialized countries). One of the greatest needs is to maximize the "value added" as near as possible to the point of production, that is in the rural areas themselves, where raw materials are produced. This could effectively bring industry into the rural areas.

But large-scale technology does not fit into the rural areas - or small islands. If such small communities - which between them account for some 80 per cent of all people in the poor countries - are to raise their living standards, they need technologies appropriate to their economic and social circumstances. That is, they need technologies that are relatively cheap, small, simple to make and maintain, and capable of using indigenous raw materials in their manufacture and operation.

There is now a growing awareness of the critical role of technology in development. It is no exaggeration to say that the choice of technology is perhaps the most critical choice confronting developing countries. For it determines who works and who does not, where work is done, and therefore the distribution of the population, and its associated infra-structure; it is a major influence upon patterns of consumption, upon the kind of education required, and upon economic relations with other countries. (It is not only the "technology" of tourism that is culturally loaded!) The choice of productive equipment is therefore a decisive factor among those which unify or divide a community or a society.

Appropriate technologies

We can sum up this approach to the diagnosis and understanding of technology and development in the following propositions:

that the source and centre of world poverty lies primarily in the rural areas of poor countries, which are largely by-passed by aid and development as currently practised;

that the rural areas will continue to be by-passed and unemployment will continue to grow, unless self-help technologies are made available to the poor countries with assistance in their use;

that the donor countries and agencies do not at present possess the necessary organised knowledge of adapted, appropriate technologies and communications to be able to assist effectively in rural development on the scale required; and

that unless the disease of poverty is tackled at its source, in the rural areas, outside the big cities, it will continue to manifest itself in three ways - mass migration into cities, mass unemployment, and the persistent threat (or actuality) of mass starvation.

This was the starting point of the Intermediate Technology Group, which was started some ten years ago with the object of discovering, devising and making known practical information on low-cost, simple technologies for rural development.

The gap in knowledge of such technologies is a wide one, because in practice, within conventional aid and development programmes, there is no major political or commercial impetus towards offering poor countries any real choice of technologies, especially along the size-scale towards equipment that can be wholly made locally, uses indigenous materials and serves local needs. One could envisage, say, three 'levels' of technology that are required to fill the information gap: the technology that suits the family, the village or community, and the market town or small regional centre, in ascending levels of cost and sophistication and volume of output.

Within these categories it is possible to enumerate a very large number of possible technologies. But there are certain basic and fairly universal needs to guide us in setting priorities. These are the manufacturing and processing activities related to food, clothing, shelter, health, culture, about which detailed, practical information would go a long way towards filling the existing "information gap" and giving choices to people who now have none. The list below is not exhaustive, but serves to illustrate the range of new activities that could be developed in rural areas within the modest ambit of basic human needs.

Agricultural production - tools and equipment for ground preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, along with the basic tools and techniques required for their manufacture: blacksmithing, welding, woodworking.

Water supply (horticultural) - equipment for storing, lifting, moving water.

Crop processing - shellers, winnowers, mills, oil extractors, decorticators, fertiliser and feedstuff manufacture, and by-products. (This would include processing of a wide range of products from biological resources).

Storage - storage equipment appropriate for different crops, using local materials.

Food preservation - metal and glass containers, cooking utensils, equipment for smoking, sun-drying; packaging for different foods.

Clothing - equipment for ginning, spinning, weaving, for cotton and wool; manufacture of dyes and finishing materials; tailoring equipment; leather tanning, manufacture - footwear, animal harness.

Shelter - brick and tile making, lime burning, cement substitutes, small-scale cement production; soil stabilisation; timber production and by-products; cast and forged metal fittings.

Consumer goods (not included above) - household utensils, equipment for pottery and ceramics, furniture, soap, sugar, domestic water supply including water purification and sanitation, cooking stoves, fuel, toys.

Community goods and services - school and medical clinic equipment, road-making, bridge-building, water supply, power sources and equipment, transport; and data and equipment required to operate institutions such as health clinics and co-operatives, work-based education, and training-through-production programmes.

For each identifiable manufacturing activity (there are obviously more than this list suggests) we should aim to provide at least two or three levels of technology, to cater both for people who are wholly or partly outside the market economy, as well as for those who are already within a market system.

In the IT Group, our first objective is to mobilise existing data on IT-level technologies and from this to indicate obvious gaps, or areas where new research and development work needs to be done, and to outline proposals for carrying out this work. That is, the aim is to start with a "state of the art" survey, which should briefly describe the conventional, high-cost, "modern" method, describe existing alternatives, indicating their limitations or deficiencies, and propose work programmes to improve

them - or devise new technologies to fill the gaps.

This approach lends itself to dealing with the three broad categories that arise in IT work, namely

- a) where there exist a range of technologies which, on the face of it, are reasonably adequate to meet needs of small, poor communities. Thus there are many types of, say, water pumps and hand-loom already in existence; the task is to identify pros and cons of a number of types, indicate how they are made or where bought, and what they can - and cannot - do. Foundry work is a good example. The same applies to hand-made bricks; enough is known - on the basis of experience - to adapt this technology well down the size-scale.
- b) where there are no obvious, reasonably efficient small-scale technologies; e.g. cement manufacture, cotton spinning. In these cases we have to "point up" the gaps, and suggest ways of filling them. In such instances as cement, we have the alternative of (i) working on redesigning a plant to make it small, on the paperpulp machine model; and (ii) providing an alternative, i.e. limebrick mortars, etc., or both; and
- c) where the technology is relatively "new" and there is no body of current or recent experience to draw upon, e.g. most forms of unconventional power sources and devices, or the application of modern scientific knowledge to old arts, such as chemicals from biological sources. In such cases a "state of the art" survey needs to be followed by specific programmes for design and field testing.

It is only through a sustained, systematic effort on these lines that an adequate flow of self-help technologies can begin to reach potential users, people whose problem is not that of the rich - how to get best value for money - but quite a different problem - how to turn their labour into something useful.

Knowledge: sources and methods

Ways of acquiring the necessary knowledge of low-cost technologies will obviously depend, among other things, on the history of the technology and the pattern of development in the country where the work is started. In the IT Group we have developed a structure of Panels and Working Groups of expert voluntary advisers to guide and advise on the work. Currently, IT project officers are working under our agriculture, construction, building materials, water, and power panels, and a small team of engineers operates the Group's Industrial Liaison Unit. The panels on Chemistry and Chemical Engineering, Co-operatives, Forestry, Rural Health and Transport are without full-time project staff, but are nevertheless pursuing work programmes which have resulted in useful publications and, in the case of Chemistry, also in consultancy work overseas.

Through the panel membership, liaison with a number of university research departments has been built up, as well as collaboration with government research establishments. A special unit of the Group, the Industrial Liaison Unit, concentrates on small-scale engineering processes.

The systematic investigation and sifting of material already published is obviously a major source of practical data. Much of the Group's published

information also derives from practical work carried out by its own staff or associates. Thus new work has been done - ranging from complete redesign and production to relatively minor modification - on a small-scale paper-pulp manufacturing unit, brick-works, iron foundry, a wide range of agricultural and hospital equipment, ferro-cement boats, water catchment tanks and pumps. Original work has also been done on small-scale organisation, training and business procedures in the construction industry, co-operatives, and rural health. Most of the results of this work are already included in the Group's publications.

Communication

Low-cost technology lacks an effective communication/delivery system. Information on high-cost, energy-intensive technologies is promoted by government aid, by large companies, by the education system, and by media of all kinds. The task of communicating low-cost technology is also more difficult, not only because it is less familiar to design-makers, but also because we are trying to reach people in a field where there are no clearly established channels of communication, nor are the more effective methods known.

Above all, and this requires particular emphasis, we are not dealing with a situation in which the demand for low-cost technologies can arise independently of the supply of information about them. All over the world people simply do not know that there are low-cost alternatives. This applies almost universally to people in rural areas. As far as administrators and decision-makers are concerned, if they have been educated in the rich countries the chances are that not only do they not know about such alternatives, but they may well be prejudiced against them - the familiar "second-best" argument. The primary task of organisations such as ours is that of making known that effective, low-cost alternatives do exist or can be created. Until this has been done, it can hardly be expected that a demand for them will arise on a large scale.

Over the past few years our published information has been built up within three main categories:

- a) detailed specifications and drawings of equipment, e.g. agricultural, hospital etc.
- b) guides to sources of equipment, and step-by-step manuals, e.g. animal-drawn equipment, building and water manuals; annotated bibliographies and other source material; industrial profiles, e.g. foundry, leather.
- c) detailed project reports of field operations, e.g. agricultural equipment projects in Zambia and Nigeria, water catchment and storage work in the Caribbean, Brazil and Ethiopia. Reports of consultancies, e.g. small-scale chemical development in Pakistan.
- d) reports on any of the lines above published by other organisations and distributed by the IT Publications unit by arrangement.

The recently-launched Journal of Appropriate Technology is in a special category, as it is an international forum for news, exchange of information, previews of major reports, and a means of linking practitioners in the field of low-cost technology.

In the longer run by far the most important way of communicating data on low-cost technologies is through the development of indigenous organisations in the developing countries themselves. It is only through such centres that the knowledge and practice of low-cost technologies can become widespread and become an integral part of people's development.

Focal points of this kind are now increasing in number. The IT Group have been associated with the growth of some - notably those of Ghana, India and Pakistan (which has recently been started with substantial government support) and the further development of such centres is high on our list of priorities. These may start as focal points for the assembly of data on low-cost technologies from outside sources, but can rapidly develop indigenous resources of research and development, of dissemination, and the promotion of field application. In other instances they can immediately begin to mobilise sources of information and research and development within their own countries, as well as drawing on outside sources. Ideally an appropriate technology unit of this kind should be brought in at the inception of every government's plans for development.

I will conclude by giving two instances of work on appropriate technologies now going on in developing countries, and which are pointing to the future. One is at the Technology Consultancy Centre at the University of Kumasi in Ghana. This unit, started only two years ago, is already handling a large number of enquiries relating to local manufacture, has set up proto-type production units on the campus for the manufacture of steel bolts, soap, weaving, ceramics, and materials for housing; similar units for pharmacy and schools science equipment are now being planned.

The other example could hardly be more topical. It is on the campus where this conference is being held. The School of Industrial Technology has in progress a series of projects which include technologies directly relevant to the needs of Mauritius and other island economies; for instance, on the use of bamboo as a reinforcing material, the use of soil cement in building, bagasse reinforced concrete, a low-cost shear box for testing soil strength, harnessing of shore houses for power production, solar power, concrete boats. The Universities of Zambia and Papua New Guinea are two others where similar units seem likely to be set up soon.

All of those who are engaged on such work - and we are a rapidly growing band - are informed by the knowledge that all the technologies required by people in small communities can be adapted or devised to meet their needs; and in very large measure economic development, in our lifetimes, not only in the developing world but in the industrialised countries too, will be shaped by the extent to which small communities can make themselves increasingly self-sufficient and self-reliant.

(iii) Summary of discussions

Many of the tensions within a society have deep roots in economic deprivation and inequality, which are further aggravated by political and social institutions. The Seminar recognised that balanced economic growth held the key to the development of societies and offered the best means of correcting social imbalance and inequality, and promoting greater social mobility by breaking down the traditional barriers which divide societies.

2. In examining the concept of development as generally understood, the Seminar identified the following broad patterns of growth in the more developed societies, representing the rich industrialised countries:

- i. a relatively high degree of industrialisation which is capital-intensive, with emphasis on labour-saving techniques;
- ii. measurement of growth in terms of addition to the gross national product and increase in the per capita income;
- iii. emphasis on export of manufactured goods and the necessity for world markets; and
- iv. relatively high emphasis placed on standards of mass consumption in judging the standard of living.

3. The Seminar participants examined the relevance of these broad indicators to their respective societies, and stressed the need for issues of development to be considered in the context of island communities. In identifying the principal characteristics of island communities at different stages of development, the following aspects received emphasis:

- i. relative backwardness of the rural sector, which is in most cases dependent on subsistence or near subsistence agriculture;
- ii. economic dependence of most of the small communities on the more developed countries, and imports varying from food to consumer goods;
- iii. reliance on one-crop economies, and dependence on primary products, which account for the bulk of their exports;
- iv. growing populations, which add to the labour force, but relatively low levels of labour productivity;
- v. increasing unemployment and underemployment and the need in this context for an appropriate strategy for generation of employment opportunities, with a view to absorbing the labour force.

4. The trends towards modernisation, in most of these small communities, were seen in terms of a certain compulsion to industrialise. The Seminar noted some of the major obstacles to development, such as dependence on the more developed countries in respect of technology and know-how, lack of organisational and entrepreneurial skills, lack of adequate capital for investment and inadequacy of trained manpower, which was further accentuated by the emigration of the bulk of trained manpower to the more developed countries.

5. The implications of emigration on development were considered in two dimensions:

- (a) emigration from rural areas to urban centres, thereby denuding the rural sector of its natural leaders; and
- (b) emigration of educated and trained manpower to more developed countries, which often poses the problem of brain drain.

6. The following aspects of development were emphasised in the context of the economies of the island communities:

- i. generation of employment opportunities through the adoption of capital-saving and labour-intensive technologies;
- ii. diversification of agriculture, where agriculture continued to be in a relatively backward state;
- iii. the need for import substitution, particularly in terms of satisfying requirements of the domestic economy and minimising the importation of foodstuffs;
- iv. the relevance of appropriate technology in diversifying the economy.

7. It was also noted that development should be seen not only in terms of economic growth, but as a means of promoting the balanced development of a society and ensuring the eradication of inequalities and inter-sectoral as well as inter-regional imbalances. Development, it was emphasised, should concern itself with the improvement of the quality of life prevailing in any society and need not be limited to economic factors only.

8. After a general discussion on the economies of the island members of the Commonwealth represented at the Seminar, the following types of economies were identified:

- i. economies where the main industry was tourism and the bulk of the GDP derived therefrom, e. g. the Bahamas;
- ii. single-crop plantation economies (especially sugar plantations, as in Mauritius) dependent on exports;
- iii. economies with a highly developed manufacturing sector, like Singapore and Hong Kong, where international trade makes a significant contribution to national development;
- iv. rural economies having the potential for diversification and employment generation, particularly in the areas of agro-based industries and fisheries development.

9. The Seminar discussed in detail the implications of the patterns of economy mentioned above, in so far as they promoted development within the relevant island community.

Tourism

10. It was recognised that in some of the islands which depended almost exclusively on tourist development, the investment was in terms of foreign capital and enterprise, resulting in expatriation of profits in bulk to the source of investment. Consideration was given to developments in the

hotel industries allied to tourism, and the following action suggested, with a view to maximisation of economic benefits:

- a. equity participation in hotel industries;
- b. the imposition of limits on expatriation of profits;
- c. the enforcement of exchange control regulations;
- d. incentives for investment of local capital;
- e. the training of indigenous entrepreneurs to play key roles and assume responsibilities in respect of the promotion of tourism;
- f. substitution of imports - particularly consumption goods - related to the tourist trade.

11. The position of ownership and control of vital financial investments and major financial institutions was considered in the above context, and the Seminar noted certain significant trends towards nationalisation in some countries. In examining the available options, viz. free enterprise, state enterprise and mixed economies, it was felt that in each case the relative merits of any particular approach should be seen in terms of its relevance to the economic objectives and ideological requirements of the country concerned.

Plantation-based economies

12. The dependence of primary products, such as sugar, tea and rubber, on export markets was noted, and the need was emphasized in this context to ensure maximum protection against market fluctuations in price.

13. The Seminar also noted the development of substitutes, which were likely to affect the demand for primary products. Mention was made of the jute market being affected by the increasing use of synthetics, and the use of tea bags adversely affecting the volume of tea exports in some countries. It was also noted that as an insurance against sudden fluctuations in the demand for primary products, efforts should be directed towards product research and processing, which were likely to guarantee better holding capacity and bargaining power for the primary producers.

14. Mention was made of primary products which were either refined or processed in foreign countries. It was emphasised that the possibilities of undertaking locally the refining and processing of primary products, being essentially labour-intensive, should be seriously considered. Such an approach, it was strongly felt, had the additional potential of generating employment opportunities in this sector.

Diversification of the agricultural and allied sector:

15. In examining the relatively backward state of agriculture, the Seminar took note of the history of aversion to working on the land in certain communities. Some of the main reasons for employment opportunities in the agricultural sector not being filled were identified as follows:

- i. social unacceptability of certain kinds of jobs;
- ii. failure of the educational system in orientating young people towards rural occupations;

- iii. absence of improved methods of farming, which besides adding to the drudgery, made farm jobs unremunerative; and
- iv. lack of a proper wage incentive structure and poor conditions of work.

16. The implications of land tenure systems on land utilisation patterns were discussed, and it was felt that in the absence of security of tenure and lack of occupancy rights, there were no incentives in certain cases for developing lands or increasing productivity. The urgent need for land reforms in guaranteeing land rights to the tiller and the imposition of a "punitive" tax in cases of non-utilisation of agricultural lands were recommended as some of the measures which might be taken in improving prospects of land utilisation.

17. The role of intermediate technology in diversifying the agricultural and rural sector was emphasized. Some of the possibilities were felt to be:

- i. crop-processing, including packaging;
- ii. agro-based industries;
- iii. storage and refrigeration.

18. While emphasizing the need for the generation of additional employment opportunities in the agricultural sector, it was strongly felt that employment creation should be related to increasing productivity and promoting growth of the rural sector.

19. The Seminar also examined in this context the role of extensive relief work and crash programmes for employment and rural development work as some of the approaches adopted in creating employment opportunities. While recognising the political necessity for them, it was felt that most of these methods did not directly stimulate growth, and had only limited value as temporary expedients.

Resources of the sea

20. The Seminar considered the possibilities for increased utilisation of the resources of the sea by the island communities themselves. The following areas were identified:

- i. fisheries development;
- ii. exploration of the sea-bed;
- iii. development of merchant-shipping;
- iv. scientific investigations, especially in the field of marine biology.

21. It was noted that island communities, although surrounded by the sea, were at a disadvantage in fully exploiting its resources on account of:

- i. lack of accessibility to improved techniques of fishing, particularly trawler fishing;
- ii. unavailability of funds for investment as well as for meeting the costs of sophisticated equipment;

- iii. stiff competition from the major world powers, which almost hold a monopoly of associated trades;
- iv. absence of adequate international legislation guaranteeing rights to the utilisation of resources.

22. It was recommended that:

- i. island communities should form a common front to present their problems at the international level and their rights should be guaranteed under the laws of the sea;
- ii. the means of enforcing regulations established should be clearly defined; and
- iii. the inequality of the bargaining power of island communities should be taken into consideration in enforcing the provision of law.

PLURALISM AND DEVELOPMENT:
INTER-RELATIONSHIPS

Following the separate intensive discussions on the dimensions of pluralism and patterns of social and economic development in the context of island communities, an attempt was made to examine the inter-relationships between both. It was recognised that, in the formulation and execution of development plans, strategies had to be worked out taking into account particular aspects of the plural nature of the society. In addition, it was felt that the various elements in the plural society should be seen to benefit from the results of such development plans. Failure to give adequate attention to the "divides" within a society could result in the best conceived plans not achieving the expected outcome.

The Seminar also noted that the execution of certain development plans for which inadequate preparatory work had been done in anticipating the social implications of various measures could lead to new cleavages within the society. It was stressed that economic planning units should be supported by social science personnel. It was noted that, in addition to economic development, it was necessary to promote social development - an element often underestimated. In the latter connection, it was agreed that education, broadly interpreted, had a major role to play as a vehicle through which social integration could be promoted. The tendency to perceive education mainly in terms of manpower requirements sometimes had the effect of exacerbating problems of pluralism.

The Seminar felt that where social and economic deprivation and inequality coincided with particular patterns of cleavage the situation could be explosive. It was felt that much of the potential tension could be reduced by establishing within the social system basic levels of housing, health care, social security, wages, and "equitable" taxation, so that a reasonable standard of living could be experienced by all.

It was noted that, due to historical factors and the life styles of certain communities within a society, such communities were often in a position of disadvantage. In this connection the merits of compensatory action were examined. Participants preferred to see basic social amenities provided across the board rather than to attempt compensatory action, since compensation of itself could accentuate social divides. It was agreed, however, that in limited cases, and as a temporary device only, some carefully programmed compensatory measures might be introduced in the interest of social justice.

The Seminar noted the differential effects which certain kinds of development strategies could have on particular communities. As an example, it was pointed out that an export-oriented strategy could initially favour such groups as were more adept at an internationally accepted language. In another case, it was shown that certain kinship patterns prevalent among certain communities provided a better base for small-scale entrepreneurial efforts than where the family patterns were different.

The Seminar recognised that in many island communities tourism as an industry was likely to remain an earner of foreign exchange for some time to come. Where tourism was being developed, it was felt that every care should be taken to ensure that no particular communities within a society became identified with only one aspect of the industry.

In exploring the very difficult issues involved in relating the much needed economic development to the "mix" and to the problems inherent in pluralism, the Seminar agreed that it was essentially and foremost a matter of political will. If the over-riding objective was to develop a sense of oneness and to achieve a national identity, sometimes the most efficient economic development strategy might have to be sacrificed or delayed while a people was being forged.

COMMONWEALTH CO-OPERATION

Following the discussions on pluralism and development, a plenary session was convened to identify action programmes that might be initiated in an effort to promote and advance the social and economic development of island communities with plural societies.

Dr. Maraj prefaced the discussions by briefly outlining the resources of the Commonwealth Secretariat under its regular budget, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and the Commonwealth Youth Programme. Information sheets and brochures had previously been distributed to participants. Attention was drawn to the nature and scope of the assistance which was available and participants were invited to propose lines of action which might be adopted, with or without support.

The following recommendations were agreed:

- i. A research study should be mounted on the role of education in fostering social integration in plural societies;
- ii. A research study should be conducted on the role of legislative reform in developing social integration;
- iii. A handbook, based on a case-study approach, should be prepared on the application of intermediate technology in island communities;
- iv. Consideration should be given to the establishment of an "island consortium" to examine the potential of exploration and farming of the sea and to investigate related matters such as shipping;
- v. At the national and community levels social development projects should be undertaken by groups of young people cutting across divisions of race, religion, language and culture;
- vi. A second seminar on the same theme should be organised for continental countries with plural societies;
- vii. An issue of the Commonwealth Youth News should be devoted to the theme of pluralism and development in order that discussions might be continued and awareness of the factors involved maintained;
- viii. The scope of the Commonwealth Youth Programme's activities should be widened, and should include closer co-operation with non-governmental organisations;
- ix. The Commonwealth Youth Programme's resources for the support for national programmes should be increased;
- x. In conclusion the Seminar recommended that the Commonwealth Youth Programme should be extended for a further period.

It was agreed that the Commonwealth Secretariat should follow up the Seminar along the lines indicated.

OPENING CEREMONY

Introductory remarks
by Mr. Jean Ah Chuen
Acting Minister of Youth and Sports

Right Honourable Prime Minister, Your Lordship, Reverend Swamijis, Maulana Sahebs, Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General, Honourable Ministers, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Distinguished Delegates, Consultants and Observers, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure and privilege for me to extend a warm welcome to all of you at the opening by the Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, of the Commonwealth Seminar on "Pluralism and Development in Island Communities".

I am thankful to the Prime Minister for having kindly accepted to open the Seminar this morning, although he has a very heavy programme these days, as he has just come back from a fruitful mission to India and he is busy with preparations for the arrival of President Kaunda tomorrow.

I should like to extend a special welcome to Mauritius to the Commonwealth Secretariat officials, especially Dr. James Maraj, Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General, and Mr. P.K. Patnaik, Director of the Youth Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, to the lead speakers, the observers and to the participants in the Seminar. I wish all of them a pleasant stay in the island. I can assure them that no effort has been spared to make their visit a happy one.

We are honoured that Mauritius has been chosen by the Commonwealth Secretariat as the venue for this Seminar. It is probably the first time that representatives of islands from different parts of the world have been brought together for such an important purpose.

Young people today occupy a very important position in the Commonwealth as they constitute the majority of the population. For this reason, the noble programme elaborated by the Commonwealth Secretariat deserves our encouragement and support.

As the islands represented at this Seminar have common problems of pluralism and economy, there is no doubt that they have a great deal to learn from one another's experience. The Seminar will therefore prove fruitful to the participants and, ultimately, to the young people living in the islands of the Commonwealth.

I am confident that the Seminar will help to strengthen further the ties of friendship binding the different nations of the Commonwealth.

I am now inviting Dr. Maraj to address you. Dr. Maraj was Head of the Institute of Education at the University of the West Indies before he became Director of the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat in June 1970. He has been the Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General since January 1973, and he is now in charge of the Education, Youth, Medical, Legal and Scientific Divisions of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

OPENING CEREMONY

Address
by Dr. James A. Maraj
Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Colleagues and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Although I have not been to this delightful country before, I already feel so much at home here that I confidently extend to you all a most cordial welcome, and especially to the Seminar participants who have come from places as far apart as Trinidad and Tonga, Malta and New Zealand, Hong Kong and the Bahamas. I suppose I feel at home here, not only because of the warmth and friendliness which I have experienced since my arrival, but also because, being an islander myself, it is not difficult to sense a certain indefinable quality which gives to life in communities such as this an air of buoyancy and of optimism. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, like the participants, who not surprisingly have so quickly become attuned to this environment, I share with you a feeling of kinship and of belonging which I am told is peculiar to island peoples.

As you know, the Commonwealth organises many meetings. These are at different levels, ranging from those attended by Prime Ministers, through specialist ministerial conferences, to seminars and workshops of a mainly professional kind. Their purposes are varied and their achievements of no mean order, although, as is natural, not all meetings have fulfilled the total expectations held for them - especially by those who look to the Commonwealth for solutions to some of the most intractable problems facing the world. I have a feeling, however, that this particular meeting which we are about to begin is of special significance and that it carries with it a potential for much good, breaking as it does new ground in that very difficult area of human relations, as nations strive to achieve an identity and an integration whereby they might enhance the quality and ennoble the lives of all their citizens. It would be foolhardy to suggest or to expect that our achievements here will be monumental, but even if we gain no more than a few painful inches on a rather difficult climb and from that point secure a few more insights into the complexities inherent in this field, the effort would have been worth it. Pluralism and Development in Island Communities, the subject of this Seminar, is a many faceted theme. No one will deny that it is emotive. But it is live. It is of direct and immediate concern to millions of people throughout the world today and in newly independent countries, particularly island states, where, as seen through the polaroids of the tourists, there still dwell the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of today's world.

In such countries - regarded by some as the backyards for the world's primary products - where tremendous efforts are being made in the development field - the concepts of development promulgated by my

economist friends are seriously being called into question. I should like to indicate that as Gross National Products rise, in many instances greater social fragmentation takes place, nations become divided among themselves, cleavages occur and lines harden, as language, culture and ethnicity are correlated, or are perceived to be correlated, with differing social strata. Governments faced with a multitude of problems press forward with plans aimed at ensuring higher standards of living, only to find that their problems have increased as the by-products of such plans result in unexpected social upheaval, frustration and disenchantment. Much of this accentuates plurality at a time when national consciousness and national identity are so eagerly sought after. It is hardly surprising that in the mottoes and anthems of many of our island communities, we find such expressions as "Out of many, one people" or "To dwell together in unity" or "Forward together - upwards and onwards". Are these not a recognition of the existence of plurality and of the constraints which pluralism can impose on development? Are they not prayers, waiting to be answered?

Mr. Chairman, I said earlier that this was, in my view, a meeting of some moment. It is not a learned seminar, nor is it merely an academic exercise. It is indeed an unusual gathering and of necessity so. Among the participants the so-called "youthful sector" is strongly represented. Present, too, are the less young in the shape of politicians, administrators, the clergy, professional lawyers, sociologists and technologists, for we believe that it is not right to isolate youth and treat it as a separate and distinct part of society requiring special attention. Youth is a part - a large part - of contemporary society and in most of the countries here represented some sixty per cent of the population is under twenty-five years, so we are in fact talking about the majority. At the same time, let it be remembered that youth per se is not a qualification and the fact of being young, or for that matter the fact of being old, does not of itself give anyone a prerogative on truth or wisdom.

We hope the mix is right, for many nettles will have to be grasped firmly and for this task perhaps the more calloused hands of the not-so-young will show less the bruises and weals and stings. And in place of the nettles, hopefully flowers will grow and blossom in these corners of God's garden, tended by the young of today and, if I may remind them, by the young of tomorrow. I am convinced that what we strive after is achievable and that within the context of the Commonwealth real progress can be made. For what better forum can there be than this voluntary association of nations, which cuts across continents and regions, as well as the great divides of race and colour and creed, and which reflects also the full spectrum of economic levels?

As representative of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, on his behalf and on behalf of my colleagues in the Secretariat, I should like to record our gratitude to the Prime Minister and his Government for the very generous contribution which this country has made to Commonwealth endeavours, not the least of which has been to the recently established Commonwealth Youth Programme, under which the present Seminar is being held. The officials of your Ministry of Youth and Sport have done a superlative job and so too have the University authorities in accommodating us, at considerable dislocation to themselves. Indeed, Sir, without such help it would not have been possible for us to meet here today and I know we can count on your continuing support and assistance.

May I also here acknowledge our indebtedness to the lead speakers, the Hon. K. Jagatsingh, Professor L.E. Braithwaite, Mr. G. McRobie and Mr. O. Napier. We are confident that they will assist us through the rough paths which we must inevitably tread.

It has been said that if 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 would submit that if we are to move from the rhetoric to the reality we shall need to immunise both the hearts and the minds of the young against what has been called in the Commonwealth Declaration of Principles "a dangerous sickness". I refer to racial prejudice and to discrimination on the grounds of creed or colour.

Mr. Prime Minister, it was your esteemed friend, President Kaunda of Zambia, whom you are shortly to receive as a guest, who started us off less than two years ago in the Commonwealth Youth Programme. It was his view that such a programme could expand human understanding and co-operation among nations, that it could assist in the elimination of discrimination and in the strengthening of personal liberty. It is certainly gratifying to us that you can today, despite your onerous duties, carry us further along that road by gracing this Seminar with your distinguished presence. You, as one of the stalwarts of the modern Commonwealth, held in such high regard in your own country and abroad, have done us a tremendous honour this morning, and I am privileged on behalf of the Secretary-General to request you to declare open this meeting on Pluralism and Development in Island Communities.

OPENING CEREMONY

Opening Address

by Dr. the Rt. Hon. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam
Prime Minister of Mauritius

I am very grateful to my colleague Mr. Ah Chuen and to Dr. Maraj for the very instructive speeches which have underlined the emphasis that we should put on pluralism and development in island communities. By the speeches my task has been made easier and I should thank them for the contribution they have made at the opening of this seminar.

I myself am very pleased to be here this morning for this official opening.

I should also like to welcome all the participants. Many of you have made a long journey to be with us and I hope that your stay here will be worthwhile and pleasant.

In recent years increased attention has been paid to youth problems in the context of national development. Emphasis has now shifted from physical capital to human resources and it is natural that youth should be given first priority at the human level, the more so in view of the prevailing age structures of the world population and the increased role which youth is called upon to play both in developed and developing countries.

Many governments have given due weight to the education and training of young people and their preparation for working life, and have set up social programmes aimed at enhancing youth's potentialities to enable it to play a constructive role within the framework of national plans. Young people should be agents of development and have a direct impact on the efforts to improve the quality of life.

But youth forms such a formidable heterogeneous group that development programmes may not have salutary effects on all of them at the same time and in the same way. We have to reckon with the fact that, while there are young people ever ready to devote all their energies to the good of society at large, there are also those who are just not inclined to play a constructive role. This is not a felicitous state of affairs, but fortunately most of them, sooner or later, awaken to the facts of life and play the positive role they are expected to play in a world of rapid social changes and shifting values.

Among the problems confronting youth today one of the most widespread and pressing is unemployment, including unemployability, and its adverse effects. It has been observed that the rapid social change taking place, particularly in developing countries, raises a series of problems resulting in urbanisation, new and changing family patterns, social mobility and the loss of identity which runs counter to young peoples' natural need for self-expression. In this country we have tried to cope with some of these

but there is still a great deal to be done. Many problems arise from technological advances and educational development, especially when young people become more knowledgeable and less inclined to accept authority. Similar situations may be created when young adults who have not yet developed a sense of civic responsibility become engaged in remunerative work at an early age.

In an attempt to ease the unemployment problem, some developing countries have capitalized on rural development. We happen to be one of these countries. Rural schemes will also greatly help to check or at least discourage migration of young adults to towns. But this problem becomes acute when school leavers create a supply of potential young workers which far exceeds the number of occupational opportunities. There are also some countries which suffer from a surplus of secondary school graduates, and even university graduates are unable to find suitable employment within the existing structures. These are among the hard facts of life in a world crippled with so many problems already, and these challenging problems have to be discussed objectively at all levels. This you are going to do in this seminar. It is a source of great encouragement to see young people gathering for a useful purpose. Realisation that such problems exist and have to be tackled is in itself a positive contribution towards the search for practical solutions, and I wish this seminar all the success it deserves.

Before concluding, I should like to thank the Commonwealth Secretariat and all those who have been connected with this seminar for the excellent work they have all done, especially those helping the youth of the Commonwealth. The topics for discussion are thought-provoking and I am convinced of the seminar's success.

I now have the pleasure to declare open the Commonwealth Seminar on "Pluralism and Development in Island Communities".

CLOSING CEREMONY

Address

by Dr. James A. Maraj
Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General

As this conference comes to an end, it is perhaps a time for commendation and congratulation. In some ways it is also a time for reflection and for evaluation. Less than two weeks ago, Mr. Minister, when this conference was opened by your colleague, I indicated that it was essentially of an exploratory nature, that we did not expect to move mountains or to make any substantial progress in this difficult area of human relationships. I suppose, at this stage, it would be fair to ask what we have achieved.

In so far as the seminar goes, and in so far as reports can reflect the content and nature of the discussions, then my colleagues and I have attempted to put together a draft report which we circulated this morning and which I trust does justice to the deliberations. In a larger sense, however, I am confident that the participants in the meeting have experienced a certain degree of personal and professional growth. They have, too, developed some clearer insights into what the various dimensions of pluralism might be and I believe that they perhaps now appreciate all the more some of the complexities of government and the difficulties of development strategies. I feel too, Sir, that there has been enhanced international understanding. More than that, we have emerged with an action programme in which there are some half dozen specific projects which the Commonwealth Secretariat has been asked to undertake.

Mr. Minister, at this stage I must note that under the Commonwealth Youth Programme, through which this particular seminar was mounted, there is provision for the support of programmes at national level. I should like to extend to your Ministry the opportunity to develop in your own community a few projects orientated towards the further development of this society, which people might undertake, cutting across the divides of culture, or of race, or of language. If your Ministry would accept this offer and put before us two or three projects within the next few weeks the Commonwealth Secretariat would be happy to respond positively.

Mr. Minister, it is now my pleasure to thank the Government and people of this country, your own Ministry and you personally, Sir, for the tremendous interest which you have shown in our work and for allowing us to experience at first hand the full range of Mauritian hospitality. To your Parliamentary Secretary also, I should like to express a personal word of thanks; Mr. Padayachy, your Permanent Secretary, Mr. Pyneendee and the staff of the Youth Service, as well as all the liaison officers, have been more than generous with their time. I would have done less than justice, Mr. Minister, if I did not say a word of thanks to the University which, as I said before, has at considerable inconvenience accommodated us for this meeting.

It is always a difficult task, when exercises of this kind come to an end, to identify all the people who have contributed to its success. If I were to give you their names this would perhaps occupy another hour, so I will not, but we feel much in their debt and, in so far as we have succeeded, it is very largely due to the efforts of those who have remained unseen and sometimes unsung.

Mr. Chairman, the lead speakers to this seminar made a most significant contribution to it and I would like on behalf of the Secretariat to thank very warmly Prof. Braithwaite and Mr. Napier on the pluralism issues and Mr. Jagatsingh and Mr. McRobie for their specific contributions in the development field.

Mr. Minister, one of the prime outcomes of this meeting was a recognition that no development strategy will work unless it takes into account the nature of the society for which it is intended, the mixes in that society, and indeed the vicissitudes of that society. Young people who are anxious to see reform might wish to take this into account and to recognise the need to move from the area of critique to the area of creativity. It is all too easy to be critical. This does not require any special talent. In the final analysis it is what has been achieved at the end of the day that really matters. I have heard it said that the ultimate purpose of education is service to one's people. Indeed, the really well educated are those whose service to their fellow men is accompanied by a deep and abiding humility.

Mr. Minister, you are well known here both for your devoted service to your community and your extreme humility. We are pleased to have you with us and I now invite you to bring our meeting to a formal close.

CLOSING CEREMONY

Closing Address
by the Hon. Basant Rai
Minister of Youth and Sports

It is my pleasure and privilege to address you at the closing session of the Commonwealth Seminar held on the bold and imaginative theme of "Pluralism and Development in Island Communities". It takes a great deal of courage to mount a Seminar on such a sensitive issue and I express my warmest congratulations to the Commonwealth Secretariat and, in particular, to Dr. Maraj, the Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General and to Mr. P.K. Patnaik, Director of the Youth Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, for this praiseworthy initiative.

I am sorry that I could not be in your midst for the opening of this Seminar. I was then on mission to India, as a member of the delegation headed by the Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. As this Seminar was on the theme of development, you will be pleased to learn that the economic mission has resulted in substantial assistance for the economic development of Mauritius. We also had the opportunity of attending the World Hindi Convention held in Nagpur. I am thankful to my colleague, Hon. Jean Ah-Chuen, who was in charge of the Ministry of Youth and Sports during my absence, for having presided over the opening ceremony. I am also thankful to the Prime Minister for having done us the honour of opening the Seminar.

Since my return, I have met on various occasions the officials of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the consultants and the participants in the Seminar, and I must say how happy I have been to meet all of you.

This seminar has provided for the participants an excellent opportunity to exercise their minds about two important problems facing island communities. I am happy to note that the seminar is the beginning of an effort which will be extended by increasing interaction among island communities in a variety of fields.

The Seminar has also provided us with the opportunity of sharing our experience for about a fortnight in an atmosphere of brotherhood and comradeship. It has fostered a great degree of understanding among all of you, thereby strengthening the bond of friendship and unity among the island members of the Commonwealth. However, the objectives of the Seminar can only be reached by the willingness and the endeavour on the part of everyone of us to try to translate our ideas into action. Suggestions have been made regarding island communities' forming a common front on the international plane, multilateral and bilateral trade agreements, common research in the utilization of the resources of the sea, and better bargaining for the price of our primary products. I am sure that all the suggestions made at the Seminar will receive due consideration.

Gone are the days of isolation, for no nation is an island unto itself. We are fortunate to be able to meet and discuss our problems in a spirit of cooperation, which is the key to development. As has been pointed out during the course of this Seminar, we do not possess rich minerals in our island communities, yet we have tremendous human resources and development can only have a meaning if we can effectively mobilise and utilize our manpower. In this respect young people are the most important component of our labour force and this is why the accent is placed on youth.

I am happy to note that much consideration has been given to the dimensions of pluralism and its influences on the national, social and economic development of island communities. I can only hope to see the fruition of all these deliberations and decisions materialised in the near future in the respective national programmes and plans of the island members of the Commonwealth.

We have been deeply touched by the confidence placed in us by the Commonwealth Secretariat in choosing Mauritius as the venue for the Seminar. We can assure all of you that no effort has been spared by us to make your stay in our island a pleasant one. I am pleased to learn that you have enjoyed the visits planned for you in different parts of the island and that you have made fruitful contacts with a large number of Mauritian youth leaders.

Islands like Mauritius are transistor continents. They are natural laboratories, where men of different colours and creeds carry out a wide range of experiments in their search for the ideal formula which will weld them into happy and prosperous nations. They are aware that great care is required and that certain errors may provoke disintegration. Let us hope that all of us will succeed in our struggle to achieve unity in diversity. If our experiments help to show the world the way to peace and progress, our efforts will not have been in vain.

I must thank the Commonwealth Secretariat for its kind gesture in making grants aimed at promoting the participation of young Mauritians in the development of this country.

I express my congratulations and hearty thanks to Dr. Maraj and the staff of the Commonwealth Secretariat for their excellent work; to the Hon. Jagatsingh, Professor Braithwaite, Mr. Napier and Mr. McRobie for their inspiring and thought-provoking lead papers; to all the observers and participants for the sustained interest they have taken in the subjects discussed at the seminar; to the University of Mauritius and in particular Dr. Swaisland for the facilities and valuable support provided to us; to the Mauritius National Youth Council and the Youth Federations for their close cooperation; to the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute for the facilities provided to us for the opening ceremony; to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation and the Press for their extensive coverage of the Seminar; to the Police for their valuable assistance; and to all the officers who have contributed to the success of the Seminar.

I now declare the Seminar closed. I wish to all of you, who have travelled a very long way to come to our shores, bon voyage and all the best and the greatest success, when you go back home, in the implementation of the recommendations made in the Seminar.

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 a tie 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 Mycenaem 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. Learning 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 population and 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, the academic 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 truly 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 category 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 multi-racial 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 kaleidoscope 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 pre-conditions 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;
- to provide opportunities for increasing international understanding among young people;
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- Commonwealth Youth Service Awards Handbook.
- Commonwealth Regional Centres for Studies in Youth Work - Prospectuses.
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Marlborough House,
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Published by

THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

May be purchased from
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT PUBLICATIONS
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX

ISBN 0 85092 099 X

