

UWI

Walter Rodney
In Jamaica

museum

'AFRICAN DOCTOR': WALTER RODNEY IN JAMAICA - 1968

"...the Government of Jamaica, in so far as it has attempted to stifle the aspirations of the masses and in so far as it believed that my removal from the scene is going to aid in stifling the masses, are making a serious mistake... they know the present state of affairs cannot go on forever, and this is what... allows them to take such stupid and panic-stricken measures."

- Walter Rodney, Oct 1968

A UWI 1963 history honours graduate, Walter Rodney completed a University of London PhD and worked in Tanzania for a year before being recruited to introduce the teaching of African History at Mona in 1968. Ten months later, Jamaica's JLP government banned his re-entry, when he flew back from a Black Writers Conference in Montreal, Canada. The government cited "reported secret, personal activities in several areas of the Island which convinced security personnel that he was a grave security risk".

Security files on Rodney's activities and contacts dated back to his student days, noting his trips to communist countries, his Marxist and Afro-centric orientation, and his connections to the poor and dispossessed.

Rodney was not interested in the established academic and political movements. From his perspective, these had not served the mass of Black Jamaicans. He warmed to young activists, whether they were students or fellow travellers; to the Rastafarian street level intellectuals; and to a range of political crusaders.



Photo Credit: The Gleaner

"There was (already) a local network that would facilitate Rodney ... but he added value to the networks by virtue of his experience and his knowledge and his willingness to listen - which I think is his outstanding characteristic.... There was a real dialogue..."

-Rupert Lewis

He captured their interest with his message of Black Consciousness and his knowledge of Africa, which he shared freely in formal and informal lectures and reasonings.



YOUNG ACTIVISTS

Many young, mostly male, UWI students in the mid and late 1960s, came on campus already somewhat radicalised through exposure at school.

- Calabar High is recalled as encouraging debate and exposure to political ideologies and Black Power. Alumni including Arnold Bartram, Rupert Lewis and Keith Miller name Winston Davis as an important influence, at school and later at the UWI.

- Jamaica College, a prestigious boys high school near to the UWI, had a group of students in the mid- to late 1960s, many of whom became Rastafarians. Those who became involved in the informal Black Power Movement connected with Walter Rodney included Robin 'Jarry' Small, Peter Phillips, John 'Teese' Davis, Garth White and Michael 'Foko' Morgan. All but Small became students of the UWI and were active in promoting greater consciousness among the student body and making links between community and the wider society. Small, aka 'Bongo Jarry', never registered as a student at The UWI though he was frequently on the campus. He introduced Walter Rodney to many persons in Kingston communities and Rodney in turn introduced him to contacts from his own student days in Jamaica. Small co-founded the newsletter Blackman Speaks and was briefly involved with another Black-conscious publication, Abeng while it was published in 1969.

RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS

IMPACT (1967 - 1968): Founded to stimulate student thinking on issues, including literature and the theatre.

BONGO MAN (1968-1970): Perpetuated Black Activism and Black Power; became popular after Rodney's ban because it published some of his writings.

BLACKMAN SPEAKS (1968): Walter Rodney, Ras ID and others joined in editing specific issues of this publication; which Jarry Small and Frank Hasfal, Peter Phillips and Ras Single were already involved in editing or writing.

SCOPE (1966-1977): Student publication that provided a UWI perspective on the Rodney events and their aftermath. Other UWI student publications of the time included RISING STAR and PELICAN.

OUR OWN: A newsletter of revolutionary current affairs and literary contributions, published by Frank Hasfal.

ABENG (1969): (While Abeng did not publish until 1969, it did follow up on the issues raised by Walter Rodney)

TUSSLE (The University Student Speaks, Listens, Educates) (1969-1971): Produced, post-Rodney but in that mode, by the EAC Committee of the Guild of Undergraduates, UWI.



Jarry Small et al at Union 1968



STUDENTS REMEMBER RODNEY



Angela 'Bunny' Cunningham Heron Interviewed 2018:

"...when he was on campus he was very ... emotional about history and he really thought that we as black students should 'know about yourself' ... His delivery on campus was, to put it mildly, a little more of the Queen's English- because of his audience. When he was down in August Town... he was more grounding with his brothers, so the language would have been less formal..."



Arnold Bertram Interviewed 2018:

"Walter wasn't a long speaker... I can't remember Walter speaking for more than 30 to 40 minutes. Was he charismatic? No. Not how we understand charismatic. But he was engaging. He had presence. He was in the room... you understand me. You listened. He didn't have to shout. To me the primary thing for Walter was race consciousness, that's where it began - to be conscious of yourself as a Blackman. All arguments ... to organize yourself, so economic power- all those things followed consciousness."



Claremont Kirton Interviewed 1968:

"I think Walter felt like, that here was a predominantly African society which really the majority of whom did not understand/appreciate African history ...the importance of Africa as a centre of knowledge particularly. I mean, it is also possible that in different discussions with different people that...Walter could have discussed alternatives to state power..."



Rupert Lewis:

"...Walter is best understood with his conception of himself as a revolutionary intellectual ... that's how he defined himself and that's what defined his modus operandi and that included a conception of thinking about how the revolution in the Caribbean beyond Cuba would develop just thinking along those lines. So his agenda was not a vague... one... the African history was going to be a part of that process but he was looking to foster revolutionary formations and open to developing forms of organization that were ... possible..."

RODNEY ON RODNEY

In *Groundings With My Brothers* (1969), Walter Rodney set out three strategies for Black Intellectuals:

- Within his discipline, to attack distortions in scholarship produced by white cultural imperialism;
- Beyond his discipline, to challenge the myth of the multi-racial society;
- The Black Intellectual/academic must attach himself to the activity of the Black masses.



"I was prepared to make these statements in public and... around me there gathered a nucleus and a movement was born calling itself the Black Power Movement... We went outside the University and we talked to Black Brothers and Black Sisters and this the society... could not tolerate."

"I lectured at the University, outside of the classroom ... I had public lectures. I talked about Black Power and then I left there, I went from the campus. I was prepared to go anywhere that any group of Black people were prepared to sit down to talk and listen. Because that is Black Power, that is one of the elements, a sitting down together to reason, to 'ground' as the Brothers say. We have to 'ground together'."

"...I would go to the radio if they wanted me - I would speak on television if they allowed me. I spoke at the Extra-Mural Centre. Now these are all highly respectable and I would go further down into West Kingston and I would speak wherever there was a possibility of our getting together. It might be in a sports club, it might be in a schoolroom, it might be in a church, it might be in a gully... they are dark, dismal places with a black population who have had to seek refuge there. ... Now obviously, this first of all must have puzzled the Jamaican in Jamaica... I have sat on a little oil drum, rusty and in the middle of garbage, and some Black Brother Government. I must be mad, surely, a man we are giving a job, we are giving status, what is he doing with these guys... But we spoke, we spoke about a lot of things and it was just the talking that was important, the meeting of black people abo. I was trying to contribute something... and I was also gaining..."

WALTER RODNEY'S ACTIVITIES IN JAMAICA (1968)

2ND OR 3RD WEEK IN JANUARY, Peter Phillips & Michael 'Poko' Morgan introduced Jerry Small to WR. JS interested in African organisations; WR wanted to meet "a lot of the other people, especially outside of the UWI campus." (Jerry Small).

"I knew of him by his reputation as a historian mainly through Winston Davis, who was on campus then & taught me History at Calabar & introduced me to the Socialist League. And I heard of his exploits as a debater. But even before that in the 1962 general elections campaign, Millard Johnson, a former Garveyite, had formed the People's Political Party, and two university students were on his platforms regularly; one was Walter Rodney, the other was Colin Moore. So that was my first glimpse of Walter Rodney, him speaking on the platform for Miller Johnson's People's Political Party in 1962. (When he came on campus in January, I met him) right away. I believe he was teaching an African History course and I'm doing History..." (Arnold Bertram)

MEETING AT STUDENT'S UNION. Led to Informal Black Power group.

Beginning of hall (Taylor—including Irvine; Mary Seacole; Chancellor) and other Informal committees for discussion of Black Consciousness and African history

WALTER RODNEY'S APPOINTMENT IN THE UWI DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, OFFERED IN MAY 1967, BECAME EFFECTIVE JANUARY 7, 1968. HE WAS RECRUITED FROM TANZANIA WHERE HE HAD BEEN TEACHING SINCE EARNING HIS PHD FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, UK.

"Rodney, one of the most brilliant of UWI's undergraduate historians, specialized in West African history for his University of London doctorate, and was appointed to the UWI faculty to add depth to the study of Afro-Caribbean history. A scholar with considerable potential, Rodney was a gentle sincere man, angry at the exploitation of Africa, at the persistence of colonialism in West Indian society, at the condition of blacks in the United States and South Africa, and he was especially sympathetic to the Rastafarians...At Mona he urged the University community to recognize the dignity and merits of blacks and blackness." (Sherlock & Nettleford p200)

"...the first meeting I recall was in Rodney's office. Rodney called me and Edwin Jones because we were both then in the political science department and—more or less—two representatives from each faculty were there. And...he said, you know, we ought to structure something...so that people will know how to join and how to participate..."

"...So the first thing we decided to do was to draw up some posters and the posters were 'Think Black' and each of us was given a task to put it up in different halls, and so we did..." (Richard Jacobs)

RJ said that after a White student went around cutting the 'I' out of Black, it was decided to run 'Think Back' as a second, equally effective campaign.

Vivian Crawford: "He came to the halls to give after-dinner presentations—maybe every couple of weeks because he had small sessions but he had formal presentations as well"

HISTORY LECTURES noted by Rodney in lectures printed in Groundings With My Brothers ARTS LECTURE THEATRE: West Indian History (African History courses in development)

"Walter Rodney would do public lectures at the UWI Student Union on history...He would also speak in the Undercroft and Faculty of (Arts)... He didn't only lecture within his formal classroom. He lectured down at August Town... That's really where I got to know him more – still as a teacher, I never viewed him in any other way. But the August Town lectures really formed part of my development." (Angella Heron)

"Rodney would have lectures on African History at the Students Union in 1968, promoting Black consciousness and poverty. For example, Black women wearing their natural hair was a major target group and discussion for him." (Jacqueline Vernon Bertram)

"Walter Rodney had a lot of open sessions that students would attend, largely held at the Student's Union.... He would also hold Committee Meetings to address discrepancies between life on campus and in the surrounding communities, held at the August Town Community Centre..." (Maureen Stevenson-Vernon)

Two subsequent decisions were to set up groups, including those on the halls; and to have a big meeting/lecture at the Students Union.

NON-CREDIT LECTURES: Extra-Mural Department, South Camp Road, Kingston
Non-credit lectures/talks in Arts Lecture Room including on Sundays

WR SPOKE AT SESSIONS with sixth formers at several Corporate Area school including Ardenne, Exelsior, Camperdown (See Map for three specified places)

WR WAS INVOLVED IN EDITING, along with Ras ID, Ruddy Tenn and others, specific Issues of Black Man Speaks paper, which was founded by Jerry Small and others .

SERIES OF LECTURES AT WEMBLEY—to audience of Rastas and others (Richard Small, Groundings). JS indicates that these were taking place from early in 1968

SERIES OF LECTURES ON AFRICAN HISTORY recorded at UWI Radio Education Unit; dates of recording and airing unknown.

MEETING OF YOUNG ACTIVISTS with Rodney re the wisdom of WR travelling out of Jamaica, given the possibility of government taking the opportunity to exclude him (Jerry Small)

RODNEY DEPARTED JAMAICA for Black Writers' Congress in Montreal, Canada. The conference took place at McGill University, Friday Oct 11-Monday Oct 14.

WR INTERVIEW with Canadian radio reported in Jamaica by RJR

MEETINGS/REASONINGS/GROUNDINGS at various locations including several Rasta Camps and other locations connected to the Ethiopian World Federation, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and other groups. (See map for confirmed locations)

ON AUGUST 17, Rodney spoke as part of Marcus Garvey birthday celebrations at the Garvey Shrine, George VI Memorial Park, Kingston (Rupert Lewis)

OCTOBER 15, 1968—WR handed an exclusion order on the aircraft, when he returns to Jamaica from Canada

IN MID-NOVEMBER, WR RE-UNITED WITH HIS WIFE AND SON, AND THEY RETURNED TO TANZANIA. HE LATER FORMALLY SEPARATED FROM THE UWI. WHILE ORIGINALLY IT WAS DECLARED THAT HIS CONTRACT WAS FRUSTRATED (A MEANS OF SEPARATION APPLIED WHEN A CONTRACT CANNOT BE PERFORMED FOR WHATEVER REASON), IT APPEARS THAT THE UWI EVENTUALLY DECIDED TO SERVE HIM NOTICE AND PAY HIM OUT ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF HIS CONTRACT.

THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SESSIONS 1968-69

THURSDAY, OCT. 17, 1968

PURSUANT to Notice of Adjournment the Honourable House of Representatives resumed its sitting at Gordon House, Kingston, at 2.30 p.m., on Thursday, October 17, 1968.

PRESENT THE SPEAKER

The Honourable Eugene Con-
dell Leonard Parkinson, Q.C.
(J.L.P.), St. Andrew, South-
ern.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET The Honourables:

Roy Ambrose McNeill (J.L.P.),
St. Catherine, Eastern, Minis-
ter of Home Affairs and
Leader of the House

Wilton Orvil Hill (J.L.P.), St.
Andrew, South Western, Minis-
ter of Housing

Hugh Lawson Shearer (J.L.P.),
Clarendon, Southern, Prime
Minister, Minister of Defence
and Minister of External Af-
fairs

Edward Phillip George Seaga
(J.L.P.), Kingston, Western,
Minister of Finance and Plan-
ning

Edwin Leopold Allen (J.L.P.),
Clarendon, North Western,
Minister of Education

Alva Edison Ross (J.L.P.), St.
Mary, South Eastern, Acting
Minister of Trade and Indus-
try

Dr. Herbert Wellesley Eldemire
(J.L.P.), St. James, Central,
Minister of Health

Lynden Gladstone Newland
(J.L.P.), St. Thomas Eastern
Minister of Labour and Na-
tional Insurance

John Percival Gyles (J.L.P.),
St. Catherine, Northern, Minis-
ter of Agriculture and Lands

Neville Cleveland Lewis
(J.L.P.), St. Elizabeth, North
Western, Minister of Commu-
nications and Works

Victor Bert Grant, Q.C. (J.L.P.),
St. Catherine, Southern, Minis-
ter of Legal Affairs and
Attorney General

Leopold Augustus Lynch
(J.L.P.), Portland, Western,
Minister of Local Government

Allan Mozzolin Westley Doug-
las (J.L.P.), Trelawny, North-
ern, Minister of Youth and
Community Development

OTHER MEMBERS

Cleveland Augustus Stanhope
(J.L.P.), Hanover, Western,
Deputy Speaker

Wycliffe Tennyson Martin
(J.L.P.), St. Mary, Northern,

Parliamentary Secretary in
the Ministry of Communica-
tions and Works

William George McLaren
(J.L.P.), Manchester, North
Eastern, Parliamentary Secre-
tary in the Ministry of Agri-
culture and Lands

Norman Washington Manley,
Q.C. (P.N.P.), St. Andrew,
East Central, Leader of the
Opposition

Florizel Augustus Glasspole
(P.N.P.), Kingston, Eastern,
and Port Royal

Wills Oglivy Isaacs (P.N.P.), St.
Ann, North Eastern

Tacius Nathaniel Golding
(J.L.P.), St. Catherine, West-
ern

Winston Vassel Jones (P.N.P.),
Manchester, Central

Maxwell Sylvester Carey
(P.N.P.), Westmoreland, South
Eastern

Matthew Uriah Henry (P.N.P.),
Westmoreland, Central

Keble Aubrey Munn (P.N.P.),
St. Andrew, South Eastern

Sydney Ralph Pagon (P.N.P.),
St. Elizabeth, North Eastern

Allen St. Aubyn Isaacs (P.N.P.),
St. Andrew, Northern

Charles DeCordova Wright
(J.L.P.), St. Elizabeth, South
Western

Robert Charles McFarlane
(J.L.P.), St. James, South
Eastern

Elon Burnham Wilson (P.N.P.),
St. Ann, North Western

Kenneth George Wright
(P.N.P.), Portland, Eastern

David Hilton Coore (P.N.P.),
St. Andrew, West Central

Michael Norman Manley
(P.N.P.), Kingston, Central

Noel Percival Silvera (P.N.P.),
St. Mary, Central

Dr. Adrian Archibald Bonner
(J.L.P.), St. Thomas, Central

Dr. Neville Eden Gallimore
(J.L.P.), St. Ann, South West-
ern

Howard Felix Hanlan Cooke
(P.N.P.), St. James, North
Western

Vivian Osmond Scott Blake,
Q.C. (P.N.P.), St. Elizabeth,
South Eastern

Arthur Henry Winnington Wil-
liams (J.L.P.), Manchester,
Southern

David Alexander Lindo (J.L.P.),
St. Andrew, East Rural

Albert Uriah Belinfante

(P.N.P.), Trelawny, Southern
George Harrindel Atkinson
(J.L.P.), Clarendon, Northern

Emile Elroy Elias Joseph
(J.L.P.), St. Andrew, West
Rural

Talbert Monsell Forrest (J.L.P.),
St. Mary, Western

Dr. Frederick Rodriguez Duha-
ney (J.L.P.), Clarendon, North
Central

PRAYERS

Prayers were offered by Mr.
Williams.

The Speaker: Since last we
met, one of our former Mem-
bers has passed on. I refer to
the late Mr. William Seivright.

As you know, Mr. Seivright
was a distinguished Member of
this House. And I am sure that
you all mourn his passing; and
I am sure you would wish me
to convey the feeling of this
House to his widow and family.

I ask that you rise as a mark
of respect.

Members then observed a
moment's silence (standing with
bowed heads).

STATEMENTS BY MINISTERS

Mr. Shearer: Honourable
Members are aware of. . .

At this point of the sitting,
Mr. Maxwell Carey moved for-
ward from his seat and re-
moved the Mace from the Table
of the House.

As he did so, he said: I am
protesting because I think this
is intellectual murder.

He then walked away, bear-
ing the Mace to the Opposition
Bench.

The Speaker: Would you mind
explaining the reason for your
conduct, Sir?

Mr. Carey: I wish to record
my protest against this matter
of the barring of Dr. Rodney,
especially because the Prime
Minister did not even give an
opportunity to the gentleman to
reach his yard and to see his
wife and child.

(The Speaker rose to his
feet, as Mr. Carey rested his
hand on the Mace).

The Speaker: May I ask
what is the reason for this
action, Mr. Carey?

Mr. Carey left the Chamber
without replying.

The Speaker: I deplore the
conduct of this Member, in ris-
ing in this most unparliamen-
tary way and removing the
Mace. It is unprecedented and
I hope there will be no recur-

rence of acts like this.

If it happens again, I will
deal with it.

Mr. Lewis: Why not now?

Mr. Shearer: The conduct of
the Member of the Opposition is
within your responsibility, Sir.

He then proceeded to read
his statement as follows:

Honourable Members are
aware of the situation which
has arisen since yesterday. I
wish to make a full state-
ment to the House and to the
Nation on the events leading
up to these occurrences and
some of the information avail-
able to Government which led
to the decision which was
taken to make an Exclusion
Order against Dr. Walter Rod-
ney, a Lecturer at the Uni-
versity of the West Indies.

At a Cabinet Meeting on
Monday Sir Philip Sherlock,
Vice Chancellor of the Uni-
versity of the West Indies was
invited to discuss with us the
Government's concern about
the activities in which Dr.
Rodney had been engaged
since assuming the position of
Lecturer of African History at
the University in January of
this year.

The Vice Chancellor has
committed an unpardonable
breach of conduct and con-
vention in revealing details of
the discussion which took
place in Cabinet. Since he has
done so it is now important
that I should give the full
and revealing story of these
discussions.

The Vice Chancellor was
told by me that the Govern-
ment had very reliable in-
formation of Dr. Rodney's ac-
tivities, as a result of which
he had been classified a grave
security risk and that he was
carrying on activities which
constituted a danger to the
security of the Nation. The
Vice Chancellor was also told
that the Government had de-
cided that the situation could
not be allowed to continue
and that action would have
to be taken against Dr. Rod-
ney. The question was posed
to the Vice Chancellor as to
whether he could terminate
Dr. Rodney's contract of em-
ployment at the University.
The Vice Chancellor in reply
stated that he did not question
the reliability of the informa-
tion given to him by me on
Dr. Rodney's subversive ac-
tivities and recalled that he had
been a good student at the
University, and that he felt
that the change that had come
about in Dr. Rodney followed
on his further programme of
work recently in London and
Tanzania. He went on to say
that the terms of Dr. Rodney's

the realities of the situation, to stir up trouble between the members of the University, is deplorable.

Mr. Speaker: I have already expressed the hope that out of all this trouble good will come. One or two other things I think I ought to express to the citizens of Jamaica who have suffered loss or personal hurt or damage, the regrets of all Jamaica over an incident of this sort (Hear, hear). And I ought to say to them that they must rise to the highest level of good citizenship; stand by what they think to be just and right and proper, and care for their country the best way they can.

And I would like to say all those in Jamaica who feel downtrodden and outcast; to all those who are poised precariously on the boundaries of decency and Law and Order, I would like to say that those who care for this country deeply care for their position. We are not prepared to dismiss them from our minds as irrelevant to everything that matters in this country. We realise that we have to try and make a better country for these people and a country less susceptible to those aspects of propaganda that may endanger security. And we trust that out of this evil real good will come. I now move the Amendment to this Motion which I have already named: that the motion be amended by adding the following sentence:-

"Nevertheless this House regrets the failure of the Government to take more appropriate action at an earlier stage and deplores the inept and provocative manner in which action was taken."

(Applause from Opposition Benches.)

Mr. Grant: Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Motion that has been moved by the Leader of the House. Mr. Speaker, what is the motto of this country? What is the Motto over your head? What is the Motto printed on every Gazette? What is the Motto in the Supreme Court? What is the Motto in every school in this country? — 'Out of many — one people.'

In this country there is neither black nor white nor pink. What we are interested in in this country is the quality of the individual; not the colour of his skin. That is the Motto which keeps us, and that is the Motto which we strive for.

Now, Sir, before I go on further, I would just like to refer to one or two points made by the Leader of the Opposition. He referred to the arrogance of Government.

Mr. Glasspole: That is a statement of fact.

Mr. Grant: And he said we had never before explained our reasons for taking action as we now do in the case of Mr. Rodney.

I would like to ask the Leader of the Opposition out of the more than a hundred expulsions and bans that took place in his time, when did he ever explain to the country his reason. Let him tell us of one case.

Mr. Glasspole: I can tell you of one case right off . . .

The Speaker: Order.

Mr. Grant: The Leader of the Opposition said that a wise government will anticipate what the public will think and what the public will do, referring to the reaction of violence and looting and arson and so on. That is correct. But what a wise Government could not anticipate is that the Leader of the Opposition would make such a deplorable statement concerning the security of the country. What a wise Government could not anticipate is that the Vice-Chancellor of the University would break a confidential disclosure in Cabinet . . .

Opposition Member: Who first leaked the Cabinet? Where did the Gleaner get the news before the Vice Chancellor opened his mouth?

Mr. Grant: If they want to know who leaked the Cabinet let them ask the Gleaner, but I am confident that no Government Minister leaked any reports.

Opposition Member: Speak for yourself. The Cabinet sent for them.

Mr. Grant: That is a shocking statement for you to make.

The Speaker: We are not enquiring into who leaked what. Please let us keep the debate on a high level.

Mr. Grant: Mr. Speaker, I would just like to refer briefly again to what took place in Cabinet. At the time when we were considering the matter, we did not know all the facts about Mr. Rodney's movements at that time.

Opposition Member: Where was the Security then? Is this a revised version?

Mr. Grant: We understood that he came here about 1960 when we were initially dealing with the matter, and that he is here in 1968. That is six years. We know he was a British subject, came from what was then British Guiana. It was because of that that Sir Philip Sherlock was called to ask him if because of what he was told he could get rid of Mr. Rodney, and he said Mr. Rodney had not broken any of the terms of his contract. And then it was the Vice Chancellor who suggested to us at the time — and I have no doubt about this in my mind — the Vice Chancellor said that Government could declare him *Persona non grata* . . .

Opposition Member: You didn't know that?

The Speaker: What they do not understand is that under the Constitution if he was here for 8 years as a British subject — under the British Subjects Immigration Law that action could not be taken. That is what I am trying to explain and they won't listen.

Opposition Members: Security should know that.

Mr. Grant: I am talking of the initial stages; and it was the Vice Chancellor who said he could be declared . . .

Opposition Members: Nonsense; you must know that.

The Speaker: Any Member who wants to refute what the Member has said can, when he gets on his feet, give the facts. But don't keep shouting across the floor. It is most improper; unparliamentary. It detracts from the debate and the dignity of the House.

Mr. Grant: Having related these facts briefly, I would like to go on and say something else.

Mr. Munn: You are sure you now have the facts?

The Speaker: You tell him the facts when you get up. (Laughter).

Mr. Grant: I am going to address you as Attorney General as the Head of the Bar in Jamaica.

Mr. Winston Jones: As a Member of the House.

Mr. Grant: I always address you as a Member of the House.

Mr. Winston Jones: On a point of Order, as a Member of the House.

Mr. Grant: Mr. Speaker, when the trouble started yesterday morning at the University, the pressure was on the University, and the Vice Chancellor made a most deplorable statement, and in making that statement, Mr. Speaker, in disclosing what took place in Cabinet without authority . . .

The Speaker: May I interrupt to say that the Vice Chancellor is a person who holds a very prominent position in this country and I would ask that any comments you see fit to make to be extremely careful. He is not here to defend himself.

Mr. Grant: He has attacked us in the Press.

The Speaker: I don't think he should be criticised unduly.

Mr. Grant: I do not intend to criticise him unduly, but I would like to remind you, Mr. Speaker, that he has attacked the Government in the Press by two separate statements and I would like to tell both the Vice Chancellor and the country that in disclosing what took place in Cabinet, it was a breach of the Official Secrets Act, it was a criminal

breach of the Official Secrets Act. I would like everybody in the whole country to know that when anybody is called to Cabinet and a confidential discussion takes place there, to go outside and disclose it is a criminal breach of the Official Secrets Act.

Mr. Glasspole: Tell us how the Gleaner got the story.

The Speaker: I rely on your discretion in this matter.

Mr. Glasspole: Will the Honourable Minister . . .

The Speaker: Are you addressing me?

Mr. Glasspole: Tell us how the Honourable Minister advise this House how did the Gleaner get the news report that the Vice Chancellor had attended on the Cabinet and had discussed this matter with the Cabinet before the Vice Chancellor spoke. Tell the House that.

Mr. Seaga: May I answer that? The answer is . . .

Mr. Glasspole: I am speaking to the Honourable Attorney General.

The Speaker: Let the Honourable Attorney General speak.

Mr. Grant: The Cabinet meeting, Mr. Speaker, was in broad daylight and the Vice Chancellor came and left in ordinary garb; he did not come under disguise, and I understand from reliable sources that the Gleaner did not say he attended the Cabinet meeting, it said he attended on the Government.

The Speaker: Let us discuss this matter dispassionately. We do not want any emotionalism here.

Mr. Grant: Another thing I would like to tell the Government and the country is that when the Vice Chancellor said this thing was done to Rodney's wife and children in my hearing yesterday morning, the Prime Minister told the Vice Chancellor then and there, yesterday morning, in the Prime Minister's Office, when the Vice Chancellor mentioned Dr. Rodney's wife and children, that the Government would do everything to see that they were attended to.

Mr. Allan Isaacs: Where was Rodney at that time?

The Speaker: Would Members like a few minutes to sort of get themselves back in form, are you getting hungry?

Members: No.

The Speaker: Will you listen to the Member on the floor?

Mr. Grant: Mr. Speaker, some people seem to forget that under the Constitution, the Government is the supreme authority in this country; some peo-

various heights, but I am afraid it has descended to a very ludicrous point in the speech which we have just heard from one of the potential leaders who perhaps some time next year might be sitting in the position of Leader of the Opposition.

It is important for us to listen to the speeches of the potential Leaders on that side of the House because, obviously, the day will come when somebody will have to succeed the present leadership, and we should know from now how they think and how they would be likely to act; and it is distressing for us to know that of the prominent candidates on that side who have laboured so far have succeeded in producing little drops of nonsense from a bucketful of rubbish.

Mr. Speaker, I am the representative of the Government on the University Council. Regardless of who else might speak in this House on the matter of the University, it is my duty to report to Parliament as Parliament's representative on the University Council on this matter which concerns the University. I wish to begin by reading a statement which was made by the Vice Chancellor of the University—

This morning's issue of the *Daily Gleaner* and I quote—

"... makes reference to my meeting with the Prime Minister and the Cabinet in connection with Dr. Walter Rodney. The report is grossly unfair to me in leaving the impression that I knew of, and agreed with, the decision of the Government to ban Dr. Rodney. This is not so. I told the Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet that I had no grounds for any action by the University against Dr. Rodney. This remains so. Dr. Rodney remains a member of the staff of the University of the West Indies."

In his advice to the Cabinet, the Vice Chancellor did express the view that from the information which was given to him, there was no ground on which he could take action to terminate the contract of employment of Dr. Rodney. Mr. Speaker, the Vice Chancellor himself made it quite clear that he was not aware of the activities of Dr. Rodney.

Here is a man who is entrusted with the vital role, and I have to report this to the Parliament, of leadership of the country's principal educational institution and indeed, one of the major institutions of the country but an institution which is concerned with education, who is himself uneducated about what goes on about his Campus; who is himself unaware that taking place on his Campus regularly, every week, were meetings at which the statements quoted here by the Prime Minister were made with regularity.

Was there not a member of

staff who could have whispered to the Vice Chancellor that this was happening? Was there not a student to have reported this to him? Is he so distant from his staff and from the students that he was unable to detect any sign of this very major unrest that was developing within his institution but it was left to the Government far removed from Mona to call him in to so inform him? I have to report to Parliament, Mr. Speaker, as your representative on the University Council that the Vice Chancellor of the University is an uninformed man.

It is also inescapable from the statement given by the Vice Chancellor that while he stated in this statement certain views that he did express, he failed to mention other views that he also did express, views in which he accepted the information which was given by Government concerning the subversive activities taking place on the Campus, views in which he offered the opinion that the change which had come about in a student which he termed a good student in under-graduate days to a subversive person who had been categorised as a danger and threat to the Society had come about after his visits abroad.

By not giving the full position, stating only a part of the truth and nothing but the truth, Mr. Speaker, I am forced to report to Parliament that the Vice Chancellor is an inaccurate reporter in a time of crisis. This is not the level of performance that I expect from my Vice Chancellor, this is not the level of performance that we expect from our Vice Chancellor, and as your representative on the University Council, regardless of what else is said in this Chamber on the University, regardless of what else is said about the Vice Chancellor, I am making this report as your representative on the University Council here tonight.

I must report to Parliament that I am perplexed at the posture of the Vice Chancellor when confronted with the record of Mr. Rodney. When told that Mr. Rodney was a grave security risk, he did not venture to say what was possible to transfer Mr. Rodney from Mona Campus to another Campus although at the request of the Head of another Government he recently transferred a Jamaican Lecturer from the St. Augustine Campus of the University back here to Mona.

The Vice Chancellor is an experienced administrator. He should know without our having to say so to him that any show of support to the views of students who had by then, at the time of making his statement, embarked on a course of demonstration would, whether deliberately, which I am quite sure he did not intend, certainly give reason to the students for carrying their demonstrations further.

I am afraid, Mr. Speaker,

that when the Vice Chancellor made his statement, he committed the error—and I am quite certain he had no intention of doing so wilfully and of encouraging students in demonstrations outside the Campus of the University—but he committed the error especially in the closing sentence of the statement for he says 'Dr. Rodney remains a member of the staff of the University of the West Indies', which gave, unwittingly, support to the students that they had his backing unreservedly.

I am quite sure that whether it is a statement of fact, there is a time when facts have to be tampered in several ways; not by distorting facts, by not stating the whole truth but by stating the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

The Vice Chancellor, I must report, to Parliament, did not handle the situation very well and in the words of the Bible—'Mene Mene Tekel upharson'—he has been weighed and found wanting. I am sorry to have to make this report to Parliament because it is a sad end to an otherwise good contribution to his career as Vice Chancellor of the University because he goes on retirement next year.

The University of the West Indies is a Campus of 5,000 students. The Campus is split into three countries—Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica. It does not consist of a Vice Chancellor alone but instructors and students. Three-fifths of the students on the Mona Campus, which is the largest of the three, are Jamaicans.

I want to turn to the position of the students and the instructors in making this report to Parliament on the University in this matter. One of the best ways to look at their own position in this matter is to judge their views as these views occurred after a day of demonstration which left behind in the words of the Prime Minister's statement, 'a trail of damage, destruction, pillage, looting, arson and other things'. After this day with all memorable things that occurred including deaths, the instructors on the staff members of the University and the students held separate meetings. The Faculty Staff took the following decisions at an informal meeting, not an official meeting—

1. Close down the University indefinitely.
2. Contact other territorial Governments to discuss and take certain stand on University control and administration.
3. Use Press and radio to air their side of the story and refute the Prime Minister's speech.
4. Establish communication with students so that both can act as one.
5. Intensify the publication of 'Scope' so as to have a

University organ to speak for the University of the West Indies."

The meeting also warned against being used by other factions.

It called on undergraduates at their own meeting to act. They decided to:

1. Remain from lectures indefinitely.
2. Use Press, radio and television to present their side of the story—and to condemn the Prime Minister's broadcast.
3. Aim at putting the blame for violence on the Police intervention.
4. To work in conjunction with Faculty Staff and to implement their plans whatever they may be. Black Power Group.

1. Reject advice of faculty staff against alignment with off-campus groups.

2. Decide to march tomorrow (a) U.W.I. students to wear gowns to act as decoys, while Black Power non-campus groups beat, burn and even kill; (b) All students included should go armed with knife, gasoline, rags, matches, bottles and any weapon available, and attack Police. People in gowns should peacefully approach Police while the mob sneak up and attack or, if convenient for armed students to attack, they should do so. Possibility that some outsiders may also wear gowns. Again, all may go without gowns.

3. Rastas and P.N.P. malcontents are to be mobilized to shoot, burn, smash and above all, to attack the Police. It is pointed out that Soldiers and Police together number roughly (and I will not mention the figure given here) and they can muster 6,000 to 8,000.

4. Should establish system of communications to give signals and commands

5. Secondary school boys should also be recruited.

6. Real aim of Black Power "is to overthrow Government."

One feels that the time is ripe for never before had they had this spontaneous and overwhelming support from the public.

They are sure they can succeed.

Even suggestion to inveigle Army to take over was made.

Opposition Members: What document is that, and who printed it?

Mr. Seaga: This is a docu-