МІЖНАРОДНІ ВІДНОСИНИ: ІСТОРІЯ ТА СУЧАСНІСТЬ

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Rina Banti, Ph. D (History), Ministry of Education of Israel, Jerusalem

IMMIGRATION FROM CARIBBEAN TO UK (1947 – 1961)

Abstract. In this article the author traces the first wave of the Caribbean immigrants to the UK. The author focuses on the causes for the immigration, changes in the number of immigrants from the West Indies to the UK, and issues of their employment. These aspects are studied as an attempt to understand the British government's efforts aimed at filling the lack of labour force in the economy during the postwar period. Researchers observed several reasons that caused an immigration of the British West Indies inhabitants to Britain. These areas were underdeveloped from an economic point of view, since money was not invested there, and an 'excess' of labor force that was formed in that area led to a continuing emigration to Central and South America and to the United States, and then, in the first half of the twentieth century, to the United Kingdom. The article also analyses the first steps taken by the British government aimed to reduce the migration flow from the region, which played an important role in shaping political and public positions on the issue of 'colour' immigration in British society in the subsequent years. British immigration laws in 1940 - 1960 - es (British Nationality Act 1948, Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962) are characterized in this article. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was passed to restrict the number of Commonwealth immigrants to Britain. With the arrival of the first groups of migrants from the Caribbean in the post-war years, the issue of immigration from the former British colonies became the topic for discussion among British governmental authorities.

Key-words: UK, the West Indies, the Caribbean, colour immigration, the Commonwealth.

After the World War 2 an imperialistic status of the Great Britain changed. In spite of the fact that Britain was still an influential world power, it was not as economically and militarily strong as it used to be. Metropolitan economy and Britain's ties with the colonies were significantly damaged. Attlee's Labour government (elected in July 1945) changed power policy towards the Commonwealth nations to the policy of economic development and equality among national independent states. 'The new formula with the help of which a big number of free communities could join the Commonwealth' [21] was created by the Colonial Development Corporation in 1947². This decision rooted not only in a desire to preserve the former greatness of the nation, but in a care of imperialistic structure safety which could bring Britain economic and political benefits at that stage. That was a kind of challenge to preserve the influence through ties reformation while imperialistic preferences and sterling zone areas represented for Britain a 'financial

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²The Colonial [Commonwealth] Development Corporation was established in 1947 by the Colonial Office and had a complex structure which included five regional offices situated in the West Indies (the Caribbean), Central, Western and Eastern Africa, the Far East, as well as nine sales offices. Corporation's objectives included a) growth in production of the colonies, in particular, and an increase in export of agricultural products to the United States; b) stabilization of the dollar currency and transferring it to the sterling area [6, P.283-285].

anchor' which it needed so much both because of its financial debt accumulated during the war and because of the harm done to its infrastructure³.

Britain's hope for the Commonwealth was also based on the gratitude of the British leaders for the assistance, provided by its dominions and colonies under hard circumstances in 1940-s. This point of view is supported by Attlee's speech in the House of Lords in May 1948: «The Commonwealth Nations are our close friends... We should remember that we are not a separate European power, but a member of big British Commonwealth» [11, P. 288]. This approach reconsidered the status of the Commonwealth which was established at the Imperial Conference of British Empire Leaders in London in 1949.

After 6 years of war, the British industry had both to react immediately to civil market needs and be sensitive to international trade. The difficulty lay in the fact that not all industrial branches were developing equally. While energy, engineering and chemical sectors were on the rise, such traditional industries as construction, textile and coal mining were in a bad condition because of lack of labour caused by low wages and hard working conditions. During the war the biggest part of workers employed in those so called 'undermanned industries' worked there on the ground of special government decrees. After the war, because of clear reasons, those workers had no intention to be back there at zero authority control.

In October 1945, the Trade Union Congress reported that the country was facing a lack of labour and all 'state services were close to a crisis point' [12]. The first post war economic survey of January 1946 estimated the lack of labour at the point between 600,000 and 1.3 million people [25, P. 95, 97]. In the same year the Royal Commission on Population predicted that by 1959 the number of working people would have fallen to 200,000 people [7]. The British government was worried about this forecast not only because of economical effects but especially because of absence of young workforce, which could lead to the loss of progress potential at work places.⁴ A need for increasing the number of working population was unambiguously and dismally characterized by the Commission as 'permanent and distinctive characteristic of our national life' [7].

Despite complexity of the situation, the British government was determined to solve the problem through labour mobilisation beyond Britain's borders. Due to a launch of different projects aimed at encouraging labour mobilisation to Britain from Ireland and Europe, the number of workers increased up to 600, 000 by December 1947 [9, P. 183-185; 19, P. 6, 14-16; 25, P. 102, 105-106]. By the end of 1948, the employment level came back to the prewar point. At the same time, the aim to return to the prewar economic level was only partially achieved and the rate of economic growth was rather low compared to the economic rates of other countries of Western Europe [2, P. 63, 71]. Therefore, Britain needed a broad economic rehabilitation, facilities modernization and empire reorganization. The British authorities believed that the key to economic recovery lay primarily in strengthening ties between the colonies and the 'mother' country plus labour mobilisation from the colonies. In this regard, the government created Working Party on Employment which consisted of Ministry of Labour, the Colonial Office and Home Office members. This party placed emphasis on labour mobilisation from overseas

⁴ During the six years of war, the total death toll (including both military people and civilians) mounted to 400,000 people. Losses in manpower along with the wounded mounted to 750,000 people [3, P.64, 107].

³ As a result of the war, Britain lost most of its export markets and nearly half of its outside investments (1 million pounds). In the course of the war years, Britain's foreign debt reached 3 billion pounds. In 1945, the amount of foreign earnings allowed it to pay only 40% of overall external costs [1, P.231-232; 2, P.45].

countries; in the meantime, it feared possible discrimination and difficult absorption process that colour immigrants could face on arriving in the UK [10, P. 64-75].

Researchers observed several reasons that caused an immigration of the British West Indies inhabitants to Britain. These areas were underdeveloped from an economic point of view, since money was not invested there, and an 'excess' of labor force that was formed in that area led to a continuing emigration to Central and South America and to the United States, and then, in the first half of the twentieth century, to the United Kingdom.

After the First World War till the 30s, many West Indian sailors arrived in Britain on ships belonging to 'Elder Dempster Lines' company which had a monopoly on transportation from the West Indies. The company and the British immigration services thoroughly developed the control mechanism over arriving sailors [17, P. 11].

In the period between the two World Wars, the number of 'black' population dramatically increased; their activities were often related to the sea and they were concentrated in the area of harbour docks. The situation in these communities was characterized by high level of unemployment associated with the post-war stagnation in the field of navigation along with the cases of colour discrimination of sailors by employers and trade unions. West Indians along with the other 'colour' immigrants lived mostly in port towns, university and major cities such as Liverpool, Tyneside, and London East End [8, P. 128]. Afro-Caribbean population consisting of 700 people from Barbados and Trinidad together with Africans from Sierra Leone lived in the seaside area of Cardiff [17, P. 6].

During World War II, large number of the West Indians were mobilised to work in Britain. There are no exact figures and assessment of the Caribbean group's contribution to the war efforts of the United Kingdom. However, researcher J. Spencer, referring to the data on the West Indians mobilisation given by the Colonial Office, indicates the following professional groups: technicians and interns employed at Merseyside and Lancashire factories made up 1,000 people; 1,200 of lumberjacks from British Honduras worked in Scotland. The part of them was employed as technical workers in different industry sectors serving the Army needs or in military equipment production and supply within the framework of the Ministry of Labour program in Manchester and Bolton [15, P. 23-26].

The Caribbean natives were also called up for the military service in the Royal Air Force. Among them 1,350 people from British Guiana, 10,270 people from Jamaica, 800 people from Trinidad, and about 1,000 people from other Caribbean islands [13, P. 38]. 40,000 West Indians were also mobilised to work in the United States. In 1944, 1,000 people joined the Caribbean regiment. 80 West Indian women served in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, and 30 women in the Auxiliary Territorial Service. A small group of 2,000 people served in the Merchant Navy [18]. In addition to those groups, a significant number of non-professional workers from the Caribbean was present in Britain during the war [17, P. 17].

Despite the fact that not all West Indian volunteers were treated decently in the army, some share of them after their demobilisation decided to stay for a permanent residence in the UK. According to researcher A. Richmond, in 1951, only one-third of immigrants from the West Indies stayed in Britain as permanent residents, a small part of them continued to serve in the army, others were engaged in the Merchant Navy. The biggest share of the West Indian immigrants, who arrived in the country during the Second World War, settled in the Midlands [15, P. 23-26].

After the end of the war, 'black' people arrived from the West Indies; basically from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Nevis (the Caribbean), as well as from Guyana (former British Guiana) situated in South America and from Belize (former British Honduras) located in Central America. These countries used to be British colonies and composed West Indian Federation, then as now they are independent states belonging to the Commonwealth.

It is a widely accepted opinion that the main cause for the West Indian immigration to Britain, prior to the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, was labor shortage in post-war Britain.

In the early postwar years, economic situation in the West Indian countries only deteriorated and made 'black' population escape from that reality and try to build a new life in more favourable conditions in the UK. As far back as the end of 1939, the Government was introduced Moyne Commission's Report on life conditions in the Caribbean during that period. The commission aimed at checking the situation on the entire territory of the West Indies focusing on employment and social services to the residents as well as political changes. The Commission also checked the other areas of people's life including daily wages in the agricultural sector (1 shilling), the condition of education, characterised by non-payment of salaries, a lack of classes and teachers, most of whom had no relevant qualification. According to the report of the Commission, the situation in the sphere of housing was also disappointing: "Living conditions do not correspond to decent standards and look unacceptable in the eyes of Europeans as well as the health care system is defective"[4, P. 30-32]. Jamaica's population was increasing at a rate that did not correspond to the economic development of the country [5, P. 6-7]. High cost of living, the lowest level of national income per capita, high rate of unemployment and desperate poverty in which thousands of the Caribbean people lived played a significant role in the non-return of West Indian soldiers to their homeland even after their service in the British army was finished.

The arrival of 'Empire Windrush' ship in Britain on June 21, 1948 was the starting point of a new phase in the history of the West Indian immigration to Britain. The group of 492 Jamaican immigrants, who were on the shipboard, became the first post-war wave of the former British colonies' immigrants to the United Kingdom. The greater part of the immigrants were young men, some of whom possessed certain professional skills while others possessed them only partially. In the same year 'Georgic' and 'Orbita' vessels brought further 108 workers from Jamaica. Rumors about a successful arrival of immigrants quickly spread around the country of origin and the flow of new immigrants began to grow. However, not everyone could pay for their long journey to the UK, and since there was no organized passenger shipping service, most of the immigrants arrived surreptitiously. Thus, between 1946 and 1953, in addition to legal immigrants from Jamaica, 898 passengers entered Britain illegally [5, P. 7].

Natives of the Caribbean had a right for free entry to the United Kingdom and for settlement there as Commonwealth citizens under the British Nationality Act 1948. However, this way was not the only option for them. Along with an individual decision to move to the UK, a lot of people came there at the behest of British employers. The need for workforce opened additional ways for the immigrants. For example, in 1956, London Transport Company mobilised 'black' workers from Barbados. This company signed a contract with a local intermediary company called 'Barbadian Immigration Liaison Service' and on the basis of this contract thousands of Barbadians took loans to pay their travel expenses to come to Britain. Subsequently, these loans were held back from their

wages [16, P. 67]. Further, on behalf of the British Transport Commission the program supported by the Barbados government worked on the island. This Commission recruited drivers and workers for British hotels and restaurants [16, P. 90]. The shipping route to Britain was well organized and worked out well. Shipping companies and private vessels used this migration to earn good money. Already by 1955, the number of surface travels to the UK reached 40 per year, and each ship brought on its board up to 300 people [13, P. 40]. The number of Barbadian immigrants was relatively small, but their presence was largely felt in Britain since they were engaged in public transport sector and in a hotel service – areas where they were always in close contact with the local population.

There was no mark outlining an immigrant's country of origin in the statistics of 1950-s on the composition of the British population. The only group marked as a separate group of West Indian immigrants, was a group from Jamaica. The reason for this mark lay in the fact that along with the government statistics made public, data on immigrants to Britain were published in the local works conducted in Jamaica. In the absence of anecdotal data on any other group of immigrants from the Caribbean, a group of Jamaican immigrants embodied a community of the West Indian immigrants.

An additional reason for immigration of Jamaicans to Britain was McCarran-Walter Act adopted in 1952 in the USA. This Act, named after Senator Pat McCarran and Congressman Francis Walter, restricted immigration of inhabitants from the Caribbean to the United States up to 800 people a year and only 100 of them could be Jamaicans. Jamaicans had long years of experience of a traditional job search migration to the United States, now Britain was left the only open country for them to enter. Already in 1953, the number of Caribbean immigrants reached the point of 8,600 people [23]. In the early postwar years most of the immigrants were men. As soon as they found a place of work and suitable living conditions, their wives and children, as a rule, came to join them. Thus, for example, in 1956, the number of women and children from the Caribbean islands was 9,380 and 652 respectively. In 1959, the number of women was 8,219 and the number of children – 2,121 [7].

Many researchers of that immigrant group noted that the Caribbean people were guided not only by the demand of workforce in the UK labour market. They saw themselves as an integral part of the British Empire [25, P. 114]. The West Indians were well informed about the state of affairs in the United Kingdom which they considered 'the mother-land'. They were brought up in the framework of the British educational system, and Britain in their eyes was their 'homeland' or 'mother-country. [26, P. 23-26]. According to researcher Ruth Glass, it is more logical to call these people *migrants* instead of *immigrants*. A larger part of them belonged to the middle class, but among them there also were many well-to-do people driven by career ambitions who sought to establish contacts with the local British population and they were ready to use different economic opportunities to satisfy their ambitions. However, upon arrival in Britain, they found out that in the eyes of British employers, their skin colour meant a less capable person with lower educational level. For this reason, a significant part of the immigrants remained in Britain in the economic ghetto for subsequent 40 years [5, P. 1].

As for the number of immigrants, having observed a big number of studies dealing with this issue, the researchers came to the conclusion that there is no clear data on their number because of confusion in the registration records in the census through a fault of an administrator or agent. C. Holmes, the author of the monograph titled 'John Bull's Island', notes that in the census of 1951, a citizen from the West Indies has no record about his Afro-Caribbean origin in a parents column. Thus, some of them could easily be

white returnees. According to the same data, only 138,072 people living in Britain were born in the Caribbean. [8, P. 226]. By the spring of 1953, the total number of permanent Asian and 'black' residents in Britain reached about 36,000 people, 8,600 of which were from the Caribbean [23]. By the end of 1955, the annual immigration rate from this region reached 20,000 people. In the period between 1958 and 1961 and even after passing the Immigration Act of 1962, the number of West Indian arrivals continued to remain high. The data given by the Home Office and the National Insurance Service differ from the data given by the Colonial Office. Thus, in 1958, according to the Home Office, the number of West Indians in Britain was 15,020 people while the Colonial Office gave the number of 13,000 people. According to the Home Office, in 1959, 16.390 West Indians arrived in Britain, in 1960 - 49,670 people, in 1961 - 66,290. The total number of the people arrived within this period (1958 - 1961) was 147,370. The National Insurance Service provides the total amount of West Indians arrived in 1958-1960 at a rate of 79.804 people [17, P. 90-91]. Thus, within three years from 1959 to 1961, the number of immigrants from the Caribbean quadrupled. It should be emphasized that the flow of immigrants increased significantly over the period of 1961-1962 which was caused by the concerns tied with a possible passing of the Act to ban free entry to the UK for the inhabitants of the former British colonies. Once in 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed, the flow of 'colour' population from the West Indies to Britain significantly weakened from a quantitative point of view. Basically, it kept taking place in case of family reunions of the immigrants who had lost their family ties as a result of immigration to Britain. The composition of immigrants from the Caribbean islands also changed. Since then, the preference was given to skilled workers.

With the arrival of the first groups of migrants from the Caribbean in the post-war years, the issue of immigration from the former British colonies became the topic for discussion among British governmental authorities. Thus, in 1950, the Colonial Office tried to form collaboration with the colonial governments and addressed them asking to control as far as possible the issuance of passports, not giving them to those who had no permanent income. But the Jamaican government was reluctant to impose any restrictions on the issuance of passports since they adhered in this question to the British Government's position — only absconders and the insane could be slipped off their passports. The Jamaican Government believed that Britain had to take into account the rights of those who supported it in the time of war, and refused passport non-issuance to the needy, all the more reason, the unemployment level was really high at that period. Trinidad government agreed to delay the issuance of passports until required proofs were submitted [17, P. 31].

Additional attempts to prevent Jamaican migration flow to Britain found its expression in informing Jamaican government about the difficulties faced by newly arrived in the United Kingdom, namely poverty and poorness, bad living conditions, difficulty finding a job. The Colonial Office's attempts to interfere in the shipping traffic and limit the number of passengers also failed. Britain's efforts to put pressure on the colonial government to limit the arrival of black immigrants, with the view of settlement in the country, had a clear discrimination connotation. For example, the UK government attempted to introduce immigration restrictions based on professional categories of workers from the West Indies. Carpenters, mechanics, electricians, welders, masons, clerks, tailors, shoemakers and agricultural workers fell within that category. British officials clearly understood that West Indians as British subjects could not be forcibly expelled from the country, but they were every possible way indicated that their presence

in Britain was undesirable. [14, P. 16-18]. However, at this period of time all those attempts brought relatively little fruit.

By the mid-50s, when the state of British industry began to improve, the official response of the British authorities was expressed in a clear effort to prevent further immigration of 'colour' population. All the way up through 1962, when the Immigration Act was passed, discussions about stopping the flow of migrants were held among senior level civil servants, Ministers and representatives of Social Services. The term 'racial conflict' was the most used in the context of a 'colour' immigration.

After failed C. Osborn's attempt to push a proposal for controlling immigration, Home Secretary G. L. George offered to develop legislative initiatives that would help to stop the migrant flow from the Caribbean [15]. However, these initiatives did not find their further development for several reasons, namely a) lack of the Conservative government support; b) concerns to damage relations with the new Government of Jamaica that celebrated the 300th anniversary of British rule. Furthermore, an open discriminating legislation towards British subjects of the Caribbean origin went against the position of the Commonwealth of Nations' leaders and could jeopardize the West Indies Federation's relationships with the Commonwealth in broad terms.

Therefore, when in the 1959-60s British political elite under the leadership of Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan began to see in the West Indian immigration social and cultural threat to Britain, the existing system was broken and a need for a fast solution to pass an act regulating that matter arose. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was passed to restrict the number of Commonwealth immigrants to Britain.

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Ріна Банті, доктор філософії (Історія), Міністерство освіти Держави Ізраїль, Ієрусалим, Держава Ізраїль.

ІММІГРАЦІЯ З КАРИБСЬКОГО БАСЕЙНУ ДО ВЕЛИКОЇ БРИТАНІЇ (1947–1961 РР.)

Анотація. У цій статті автор простежує першу хвилю карибських іммігрантів до Великої Британії. У центрі уваги автора причини імміграції, зміни числа іммігрантів з Вест-Індії до Великої Британі., а також питання їх зайнятості. Ці аспекти вивчаються як спроба зрозуміти зусилля британського уряду, спрямовані на заповнення нестачі робочої сили в економіці в післявоєнний період. Дослідники спостерігали кілька причин, які викликали імміграцію мешканців Британської Вест-Індії до Великої Британії. Ці райони були недостатньо розвинені з економічної точки зору, так як гроші не були вкладені там, і «надлишок» робочої сили, яка була сформована в цій області привело до триваючої еміграції в Центральній і Південній Америці і в Сполучених Штатах, а потім, в першій половині двадиятого століття, в Сполученому Королівстві. У статті також аналізуються перші кроки, зроблені британським урядом з метою зменшити потік міграції з регіону, який відіграє важливу роль у формуванні політичних і громадських позицій з питання про "кольорової" імміграції в британському суспільстві в наступні роки. Британські закони про імміграцію в 1940 - 1960 - х років (Закон про британське громадянство 1948 р., Закон про імміграцію Співдружності 1962 р.) характеризуються в цій статті. Закон про іммігрантів Співдружності 1962 р. був прийнятий, щоб обмежити число іммігрантів Співдружності Великобританії. З приходом перших груп мігрантів з країн Карибського басейну в післявоєнні роки, питання про імміграцію з колишніх британських колоній стали темою для обговорення серед британських урядових органів.

Ключові слова: Вест-Індія, Карибський басейн, «кольорова» імміграція, Співдружність Націй, дефіцит робочої сили, мобілізація робітників.