

IMPACT OF SOCIALIST IDEALS  
ON NEO-COLONIAL REALITY:  
IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF MICHAEL MANLEY'S  
PHILOSOPHY AND THE POLICY  
PERFORMANCE OF HIS JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT

A Thesis Submitted To  
The Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Manitoba  
In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by

LESLIE J. STEWART

IMPACT OF SOCIALIST IDEALS  
ON NEO-COLONIAL REALITY:  
IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF MICHAEL MANLEY'S  
PHILOSOPHY AND THE POLICY  
PERFORMANCE OF HIS JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT

BY

LESLIE JAMES STEWART

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1980

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-  
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to  
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this  
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY  
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the  
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-  
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am supremely indebted to my mentor, Doctor Claudia Wright, who at the most trying and difficult stage for me in the preparation of this work, and more so for her in her personal life, undertook supervision of this thesis, unsparingly gave of her time and guided it to the end.

Indeed, I can never fully repay Ms. Curline Bennett whose encouragement and financial assistance in times of dire need, afforded me the peace of mind necessary to carry on the work. Her often tearful, but patient, tolerance of my all too frequent outbursts and almost invariably intemperate criticisms of simple typing and comprehension errors in the no less than eight drafts of the manuscript which she typed free of charge, taught me a lesson in service and dedication. She need not have tolerated me!

A special thanks to Mrs. Violet Griffith for proof reading this dissertation.

The shortcomings of this work are my responsibility.

L.J.S.

## PREFACE

This is a case study and historical analysis of Jamaica's political, social and economic systems and problems from 1494 to 1978. It attempts to enhance our understanding of politics and political economy, not only of the colonial period but also of the neo-colonial period following "independence."

The study also incorporates traditional socialist views on political, social and economic problems similar to Jamaica's, in conjunction with a similarity of thoughts expressed by Prime Minister Michael Manley in his declared philosophy of democratic socialism for Jamaica.

Manley's policy record, which shows him to be the first leader to take steps to achieve real de-colonization of Jamaica, has been examined. Local conservative capitalists' and foreign investors' negative responses to these measures, resulting in the almost total collapse of the Jamaican economy, are also highlighted.

Data sources for the thesis are substantively documentary. There are, however, some limitations to this method. It deprives the study of the benefit of individualistic accounts or perceptions by the local people of different strata, of the reasons for the economic problems facing Jamaica. Such would aid in the recommendation of policy alternatives that might need mass support to remedy

the situation. Secondly, it does not facilitate a first-hand accounting of what or whose thoughts or actions influenced Michael Manley to adopt the philosophy of democratic socialism. Both objectives could have been achieved through interviews.

However, distance from the scene of action and the lack of money did not facilitate such an alternative.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
CHAPTER 2. JAMAICA: POVERTY AND POLITICS, 1494-1972 . . . . .	10
CHAPTER 3. THE SOCIALIST TRADITION . . . . .	40
CHAPTER 4. MANLEY'S PHILOSOPHY . . . . .	80
CHAPTER 5. MANLEY'S GOVERNMENT 1972-1978: ITS POLICY RECORD . . . . .	104
CHAPTER 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION . . . . .	138
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	151

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

From the time of its "discovery" by Columbus in 1494 to 1978 Jamaica has undergone several phases of social, economic and political development. During the Spanish occupation the native Indian population became almost extinct. Spanish planters supplanted them with slaves from Africa.

Subsequently Britain captured and, for some time, ruled Jamaica by a military government. Then there was the old representative system of overseas control by England, and the few local land owning whites who comprised the electorate. Eventually slavery was abolished. However, conditions for the vast majority of the population did not improve and, in many ways, deteriorated. The occurrence of protest riots forced constitutional changes that gradually gave the black indigenous people increased control over internal affairs. Educational opportunities and economic conditions improved slightly.

From the 1938 riots emerged workers union, a two party system headed at first by late local leaders Alexander Bustamante and his cousin Norman Manley, who piloted Jamaica's march to full constitutional independence in

1962 after Jamaica's forced withdrawal earlier that year from the subsequently defunct West Indies Federation.

Both Bustamante's Jamaica Labour Party and Norman Manley's People's National Party alternatively formed the government of Jamaica. Michael Manley, who succeeded his father, as leader of the opposition in 1969, led the P.N.P. to victory in the 1972 general election and he became Prime Minister. Thereafter he announced democratic socialism to be his party's ideology and it has been endorsed by the people of Jamaica.

It is necessary to trace the development of socialism because Jamaica's political, social and economic conditions are similar to those conditions about which traditional socialists spoke and sought to rectify. Whether they were communists, anarchists, guild socialists, Christian socialists, revolutionaries or democratic socialists, they were all perplexed by the lack of equal opportunity and disparate distribution of wealth among people. Generally they all blamed society's ills on the excessive accumulation of private property, selfishness and greed. A utopian<sup>1</sup> advocated collectivization<sup>1</sup> of supplies for reasonable distribution and use of everyone. Such would ensure a decent, just and prosperous commonwealth of anxiety-free citizens. One<sup>2</sup> proposed the utilization of

---

1. Sir Thomas More.

2. Jean Rousseau.

human talents in the services of the general society of small independent communities.

Other socialists<sup>3</sup> wanted among other things, free education in a peoples' commonwealth without class distinctions, for everybody had an equal right to enjoy society's goods. Still another<sup>4</sup> wanted efficient state planning, a mixed economy, the development of science and technology to provide jobs and promote the welfare of the people. There was also the need for co-operative settlements for pleasant and creative work, as well as a high concentration of land cultivation and reward for managerial skills and just interest on capital.<sup>5</sup> Workers, managers and investors should be partners in business. Individualism with its objective of personal aggrandisement was detrimental to the harmony of society, mischievous, anger-inducing and therefore held responsible for fierce competition and for man's inhumanity to man.<sup>6</sup>

The anarchists<sup>7</sup> condemned all governments that were tools of the bourgeoisie, for their laws were on the side of property and therefore divisive. Consequently the majority of the people were relegated to a life of poverty

---

3. "Gracchus" Babeuf, Robert Owen.

4. Henri de Saint Simon.

5. Charles Fournier.

6. Robert Owen.

7. Thomas Hodgskin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

and ignorance. Government should move to end inequality and oppression as their proper role was to legislate and enforce just business relationships. Private property was also desirable so long as social interest in it was paramount.

The communists<sup>8</sup> envisioned the capture of power by the masses and thereafter the establishment of a just, free and classless socialist society. They charged that relationships in a capitalist system were monetary. However, workers were drastically underpaid, insecure and uncomfortable. The employer consequently made excess profits, accumulated wealth, lived luxuriously, and abused and alienated the workers. Hence communists called on the masses to use their numerical strength to seize the government, and bring an end to capitalism and class divisions.

Democratic socialists<sup>9</sup> viewed the state as an agent of political and social reform. People should therefore elect a government to alter capitalism and alleviate the social, material and psychological misery of the poor. Vital institutions and transport systems should be nationalized and run by government and the people.

Christian socialists<sup>10</sup> viewed socialism as the fulfillment of christianity which advocated co-operation.

---

8. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

9. For example, Louis Blanc, the Fabians.

10. F. D. Maurice, E. V. Neal.

among mankind for the attainment not only of spiritual, but also material, well-being on earth. Guild socialism<sup>11</sup> wanted capitalism replaced by a system of self-governing national guilds. There should also be nationalization of key industries. An evolutionist<sup>12</sup> expressed belief in the gradual movement of government towards state socialism and political democracy. A national social welfare system and public insurance should be paramount government undertakings.

Another socialist<sup>13</sup> decried what in his view was the unfair influence that property had on laws under capitalism. The answer was a socialist system that would provide equality of economic and educational opportunities.

A reigning socialist preached "socialism of familyhood."<sup>14</sup> Sharing could be realized if there were a positive relationship between industrial and political power. Such would ensure that wealth of the land is used for the betterment of the people of the land who were the rightful owners of the land. The wealth would also remain home if people produced enough and relied on local production for local needs. That would reduce considerably the importation bill and end imperialist exploitation of the resources of developing countries which traditionally

---

11. As enunciated by G. D. H. Cole.

12. Eduoard Bernstein.

13. Harold Laski.

14. Julius Nyerere.

hindered development.

According to an anti-colonial revolutionary,<sup>15</sup> a considerable hindrance to development was that the leaders of the recently constitutionally decolonized areas still possessed the colonial mentality which caused them to emphasize individualism rather than co-operation. Therefore, only a violent break from colonialism, a form of capitalism, could instill true awareness in the leaders who would subsequently establish a genuine, independent socialist society.

Certain basic concerns and ideas developed in the socialist tradition seemed to have been influential in Manley's philosophy. He observed that emancipation for Jamaica was only theoretical. Jamaica's political and other affairs remained directed by England, and this continued denial of responsibility and power to the local people conditioned them over time to be almost totally lacking in self-confidence. The laws were biased toward property, and only the privileged few owned landed property.

Education, imported from England, and essentially of a non-technical nature, was inadequate, not having been addressed to Jamaica's needs. Business structure and function established and reinforced a "command-submission" relationship between management and labour. Local entrepreneurs were not confident enough to produce goods for

---

15. Franz Fanon.

local consumption hence Jamaica imported most of her goods at astronomical prices, whereas what she exported always earned relatively lower prices, both set by the imperial powers.

There was also the problem of job insecurity. Manley therefore advocated the replacement of capitalism by democratic socialism based on Christian principles. Then there would be land reform, economic and social equality, a mixed economy that would provide jobs, popular participation in ownership of the means of production.

As part of the overall development plan for Jamaica Manley's government passed legislation which provided for the compulsory recognition of unions as well as equal pay for equal work done by men and women. The government also provided jobs for thousands of hitherto unemployed people, as well it instituted land reform measures that provided farm land to needy farmers whom government gave financial and technical assistance to launch major farm projects and co-operatives.

Some vital services were nationalized and a majority of shares in foreign owned businesses were bought by the government so that profits from these businesses would remain at home. Small industries received governmental financial assistance.

Educational programmes made thousands literate and provided many with much needed technical skills. Education is free for all.

In addition to launching an island-wide health education programme and comprehensive medicare, the government established a children's nutrition feeding programme, improved mental health, maternal and a child care treatment facilities.

Housing was also improved and made more available to low-income people, while many others were given security of tenure by the government. Social facilities such as beach cottages were improved, developed, expanded and made accessible to all at prices within their reach. Seasonal workers and the aged have been guaranteed incomes. Children, whether born in or out of wedlock, are now all legitimate. The office of the ombudsman has also been established to protect civil rights. Tax revenues and borrowing have been government's main sources of revenue.

Private sector negative reaction to socialism, the 1973 world recession and the oil crisis, have all contributed to Jamaica's chaotic economic situation and the depletion of her foreign reserves. Therefore, in order to survive it has become necessary for her to borrow from the International Monetary Fund, which in turn has imposed very stringent eligibility conditions on the Jamaican government.

The following four chapters are an attempt at an in-depth analysis of the problems and prospects highlighted in this introduction.

Chapter 2 discusses Spanish colonization of Jamaica

into which they introduced black slavery as a source of cheap labour for their plantation economy, and the subsequent armed seizure and continued colonization of the island by the British who, with the blessings of their monarch, engaged in a massive slave trade that brought thousands of African slaves to toil on plantations in Jamaica. Spurred on by black riots against inhuman conditions, Britain moved the island through several constitutional changes to universal adult suffrage and finally political independence in 1962.

Chapters 3 and 4 highlight traditional socialist thoughts on general social, economic and political problems with the latter being those of Michael Manley with specific reference to Jamaica's situation. They are dealt with in such a way as to show a thematic blend of ideals so that one may conclude that the former influenced the latter, which in turn guided the policy measures adopted by Prime Minister Manley to correct the problems. These are propounded in Chapter 5. The period 1972-1978 has been examined simply because it is the Manley epoch. 1494 to 1972 represents Jamaica's long period of colonial and neo-colonial history, 1972 being the year Michael Manley became Prime Minister and began altering Jamaica's economic structure.

## CHAPTER 2

### JAMAICA: POVERTY AND POLITICS, 1494-1972

Jamaica extends some two hundred miles in length and about four thousand square miles in area. Situated in the Caribbean, it is 90 miles south of Cuba. South America is to its south, Honduras to the west. It stands west of the Dominican Republic. Formerly known as one of the Islands of the Greater Antilles, Jamaica and the others, Cuba, Haiti-Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, "were probably joined in one land mass which may have been continuous with the peninsula of Yucatan on the Central America mainland."<sup>1</sup> Lying within the north tropical belt, it has a marine climate. The trade winds mollify the heat with its on- and off-shore breezes. Mountainous, the rugged topography curtails tremendously the arable space. Cultivable land is, however, very productive of a variety of crops, including sugar cane, peas, beans, yams, potatoes, vegetables, citrus fruits, mangoes and even marijuana. It is serviced by underground water resources and varied rainfall. Cows, goats, hogs, sheep and poultry are raised for meat, eggs

---

1. Mary Carley, Jamaica: The Old and the New (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 12.

and milk supplies for private and local consumption. The beaches are a tourist attraction. Endearingly beautiful,

the sea laps its shores so gently that in places along the coast scarcely a step divides beach from encroaching waters, and at several points along the railway on the North Coast one can toss a pebble from a car window into the blue Caribbean.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout its recorded history thus far, Jamaican society has been beset by recurrent economic difficulties such as high fertility rates coupled with high unemployment, unfavourable trade balance due mainly to underproduction, extreme social inequality, closely related to class and colour differences, and widespread poverty among the majority of its people.<sup>3</sup> From the time of its first occupation by whites to the early 1960's, its political development went through three significant stages. The Spanish colonial period lasting to 1655 was marked by extermination of the indigenous Indians, introduction of black slavery and establishment of a plantation economy operated for the benefit of a small number of grandes and

---

2. M. W. Beckwith, Black Roadways (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), p. 1.

3. B. Thomas Walsh in Economic Development and Population Control (London: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 4, held that "economic growth in a developing country can be substantially increased and accelerated by reductions in fertility rates." R. K. Girling in "Technology and Development in Jamaica: A Case Study," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 26 (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.W.I., 1977), p. 169, commented: "By any measure of development, Jamaica is a country underdeveloped and poor. Of the island's two million people nearly 200,000 are permanently unemployed. The

their associates.<sup>4</sup> The British colonial period followed, and continued almost three hundred years. In its latter phase, the authorities tentatively moved toward constitutional reforms, partly in response to local protest; but when Jamaica became fully independent in 1962, its traditional social and economic structure was still largely intact. During the initial period after independence, from 1962 to 1967, the island was governed by the Jamaica Labour Party, under the direction first of Alexander Bustamante and then of Donald Sangster. Perhaps partly because of the J.L.P.'s cautious conservatism, the basic problems of economic underdevelopment, inequality and poverty, remained relatively intact. There appeared to be little prospect of reform by traditional methods. As a result, the principles of socialism secured increasing support and appeared, to some at least, to offer a better alternative. Among the new leaders who emerged in the late 1960's and expressed this view was Michael Manley.

Jamaica was "discovered" by whites in 1494, when

---

rate of unemployment stands at 22 per cent, among the highest in the world. The distribution of wealth and income is profoundly unequal . . . In many ways it typifies the paradox of capitalist growth: the juxtaposition of affluence of the wealthy few alongside the poverty of the many.

4. These were sent by the Governor General of Hispaniola in 1509 to colonize Jamaica. In 1536 the Governor General gave the Island to his son and his successors titled Marquis of Jamaica, as their personal estate, although they did not come to Jamaica. They also received small revenues from custom duties.

Columbus landed in St. Ann's Bay on the island's north coast. He too was impressed by the scenic beauty of the native Arawak Indian's homeland as "the fairest island that eyes have beheld."<sup>5</sup>

But while the island itself was beautiful, living conditions for the Arawaks soon became ugly. In 1509 they were recruited by Spanish conquistadores, commanded by Juan Esquivel, in arduous but futile digging for gold, and this labour, combined with the effects of new diseases introduced by whites, rapidly destroyed the native population.<sup>6</sup> To replace it, the Spanish began large scale importation of African slaves who came in time to comprise a majority of the population. In a relatively short time Jamaica became an agricultural country, in which slave labour supported wealthy Spanish grandees. This colonial pattern continued over a century, until 1655 when a British military expedition captured the island.<sup>7</sup>

After an initial period of ruling by martial law, the British in 1666 established a political structure which lasted until 1865. It consisted of a governor, appointed by the British government, an advisory council or "upper house" appointed by the governor, and an elected assembly

---

5. Quoted by Samuel J. Hurwitz and Edith F. Hurwitz in Jamaica: A Historical Portrait (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), p. 5.

6. Colin Richards (ed.), The Caribbean Year Book (Toronto: Caribook Limited, 1978), p. 297.

7. Aston W. Gardner, History of Jamaica (London: T.

or "lower house." The relatively small electorate (for example, in 1864, 1,903 out of a population of .5 million) consisted mainly of land owning whites who met the property requirement for voting. Consequently the assembly represented chiefly the planting and land owning interests although some time later "some professional and mercantile interests were represented as well."<sup>8</sup> As regards the administrative system, it operated according to the general colonial practice whereby salaried positions were given by political patronage to government friends, who usually stayed in Britain and rented their posts to deputies and sub-deputies acting in Jamaica.

The political structure was not representative of the population. Under this system the slave trade and the plantation system flourished. The British monarch and his councillors initiated the recruitment of rich investors and planters to turn Jamaica's lands into agricultural ventures. They invested heavily in sugar farming which had a high yield per acre so "sugar and economic success had become linked together by an unbreakable bond."<sup>9</sup> Successful sugar cultivation required a "highly organized and

---

Fisher Unwin, MCMIX), pp. 30-32. Edward Brathwaite, The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 6.

8. Wendel Bell, Jamaican Leaders (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 12.

9. Ibid.

regimented labour force." England supplied white indentured labourers; convicted felons, "who could probably never have lived at home to do service to their country,"<sup>10</sup> who were unsuccessful at working long hours in the sugar fields under the heat of the tropical sun. In the meantime demand for labour increased. England ended Dutch slave labour trade with Jamaica as being too expensive. Charles II granted a charter to a group of investors: the Royal African Company (in which several members of the royal family were shareholders), to supply slaves from Africa to the West Indies, particularly Jamaica, "whose virgin land . . . was ready for sugar cultivation provided sufficient labour could be had."<sup>11</sup> The trade increased the black population from 1,400 in 1658 to 8,000 in 1722 and to 300,839 in 1800.<sup>12</sup> The sugar plantation yielded great returns for the investors despite death by suicide and dysentery of as much as 25% of the imported slaves shortly after their arrival in Jamaica. In transit a great number also died of horrible conditions and ill-treatment.

However, because the black slaves were "the strength

---

10. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 31. Richard B. Sheridan in Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 231, noted that during the period sugar estates comprised the greater part of Jamaican wealth. Indeed in 1741-5, 440 sugar plantations that were valued at 3,500,640 pounds sterling, were priced at 15,115,050 pounds sterling in 1771-5.

11. Ibid., p. 32.

12. Ibid., p. 33.

and sinews of the western world,"<sup>13</sup> "the preservation and improvement of the trade with Africa was 'a matter of very high importance to this United Kingdom and all the plantations thereunto belonging.'"<sup>14</sup> The trade, therefore, was an essential aspect of British foreign policy.

Slavery was abolished in 1834, but the actual deprivation of the mass of the people persisted.<sup>15</sup> By 1838 the birth rate of the "liberated" poor blacks rose rapidly and they were scarcely better off than slaves, especially since estate-owners could now avoid any "paternal" responsibility for their employees' welfare. Before emancipation the slaves were property so they were perhaps "appropriately" represented in the Assembly by their owners. Immediately after emancipation a small minority of English citizens in Jamaica controlled the Assembly which for thirty years "stubbornly refused to accept the new conditions and failed to pass any legislation necessary to ameliorate the

- 
13. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, V, 167  
Renatus Enys to Secretary Bennett, Nov. 1, 1663.
  14. C. Whitworth (ed.), The Political and Commercial Works of Charles Davenant (London, 1781), V. 146. Quoted by Eric Williams in Capitalism and Slavery (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 30.
  15. William Lux, Historical Dictionary of the British Caribbean (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1975), p. 119, reported that total abolition of slavery occurred on August 1, 1838 when compensation amounting to 5,853,975 pounds sterling was paid to slave holders for their property,  $\frac{1}{4}$  million slaves. However, most of the money went to London businessmen and so did not benefit Jamaica.

conditions of the mass of people."<sup>16</sup> The assembly even struck and performed no other form of public duty except what was necessary to maintain public credit.

Comprised of a large black population, a few white oligarchs and a small number of black leaders, the island was almost in a state of political standstill. The slaves were now citizens who agitated for improved conditions and political rights. They were allowed no real representation in the political decision making process and this constitutional limitation and "the social revolution involved made any form of representative government next to impossible."<sup>17</sup>

From 1859 to 1864, an English Baptist missionary, Dr. Edward Underhill found evidence of increasing economic distress in the island. His protest to the Colonial Office were ignored, however, and popular discontent increased.<sup>18</sup> Many blacks expressed the view that Governor Eyre intended to reintroduce slavery in Jamaica.<sup>19</sup>

In July of 1865 the chief parish magistrate (the custos) forbade the holding of a meeting at Morant Bay by local dissidents, headed by Baptist black leader Paul

---

16. Bell, op. cit., p. 4.

17. Hume Wong, Government of the West Indies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 58.

18. Bernard Semmel, Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience (Westport: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1976), pp. 42-43.

19. Ibid., p. 44.

Bogle. After Governor Eyre also refused to see them, Bogle and his followers criticized the whole colonial administration and began organizing secret groups to start a rebellion.<sup>20</sup> Shortly thereafter, armed with various weapons Bogle and his men advanced on the courthouse and confronted the Guards whom the custos ordered to fire on the protestors.<sup>21</sup> The dissidents killed thirty persons including the custos, and in retaliation Governor Eyre's troops killed five hundred "rebels."

In reaction to the disorders, the Assembly rather than capitulating to popular agitation and eventual black rule surrendered its hitherto guarded prerogatives of self-government to the British Parliament. Britain appointed a "'Crown colony' form of government comprising a council whose membership would be determined by the governor."<sup>22</sup> For the next 18 years, a period of "benevolent despotism," the governor used his powers effectively to attend to the welfare of the common people, sometimes over the interests of the planters.

However, in 1883 an Order in Council somewhat democratised, not so much the function, as the composition of the Jamaica Legislative Council. It now consisted of the Governor with an original casting vote, four ex officio

---

20. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

21. Geoffrey Dutton, The Hero as Murderer (Cheshire: Collins, 1967), p. 269; Bell, op. cit., p. 15.

22. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 150.

members, two nominated (appointed) officials, and nine elected members, six of whom could veto a financial proposal unless the governor made a declaration of paramount public importance.<sup>23</sup> The above order in council was adopted as a constitutional reform on 10th May 1884. Despite extension of the franchise in 1866 to all male adults who earned fifty pounds sterling minimum yearly, and the broadening of the elected representative system the Governor still held final power for he could nominate (appoint) another three officials or override the unanimous vote of the elected members by declaring a matter to be of paramount importance.<sup>24</sup>

Neither did the nominated representatives during the first era, nor the elected members of the Legislature during the second period of Crown colony government secure meaningful change in the educational system.

It was the first Crown colony governor, Sir John Peter Grant, who took the first "step toward creating an efficient educational system" in Jamaica. He made regular grants to schools which demonstrated "their ability to educate children." However, in 1871 the staff-student ratio of the six elementary schools that qualified was one to 97.<sup>25</sup> Government's partial subsidy to elementary

---

23. H. A. Will, Constitutional Change in the British West Indies 1880-1903 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 46.

24. Ibid.

25. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 181.

schools only slightly eased their financial problems. Between 1870 and 1890 educational expenditures increased by more than 5 per cent, yet between 1890 and 1930 they "increased by only slightly more than 2 per cent."<sup>26</sup> Prior to 1920 only one in a hundred students received secondary education. However, by 1939 the number doubled.<sup>27</sup> Education was mainly controlled by missionaries, who emphasized spiritual elevation rather than the teaching of practical skills, and parents who associated manual labour with slavery shared the attitude that training for skilled work was not the job of the school system.

During this period the Jamaican economy, based mainly on the sugar cane industry, began to decline. Cheaper beet root sugar, from France and elsewhere, cessation of England's preferential sugar duties for her colonies, depressed the price of Jamaican sugar by half between 1881 and 1896.<sup>28</sup> Government revenues likewise dropped below even the minimum needed to relieve increasing poverty.

By the early 1900's, malnutrition was widespread, housing was deteriorating, and educational opportunities were, for most Jamaicans, non-existent. In 1917 a naval officer in Kingston described Jamaica as an area

---

26. Ibid., p. 184.

27. Ibid.

28. Bell, op. cit., p. 22.

where extreme poverty and misery reign . . . where so many human beings are paid starvation wages and are treated worse than animals. The ruling class here leads an excellent and elegant social life but has . . . little interest in the welfare of the negroes . . . I feel misery and poverty which is already so rampant will spread and increase.<sup>29</sup>

By the onset of the world depression of the 1930's, conditions were critical, and black discontent exploded in mass riots in May of 1938. At the beginning of the month sugar workers at Frome estate in the west of the island, and later in Kingston, the island's capital, dock workers struck over poor working conditions and pay. Shortly thereafter, armed with cutlasses and sticks, strikers and unemployed marched on the streets and estates and forced those at work to stop. They entered houses, looted food and money and committed assaults. The rioters burned cultivations and buildings, blocked roads and damaged bridges. There was general intimidation and interruption of public service. British troops and the local constabulary had to be employed to restore order.<sup>30</sup> Consequently

---

29. Quoted by Trevor Munroe, The Politics of Constitutional Decolonization: Jamaica 1944-62 (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of The West Indies, 1972), pp. 18-19.

30. Munroe, op. cit., p. 21, reported that despite the extensiveness of the uprising only 8 persons were killed, 32 wounded by gun shots, and 138 others injured. For a rigid and most recent examination of these riots in the light of their being the consequence of dire economic and political deprivation of the masses and their contribution to the struggle against colonialism in Jamaica, see Maurice St. Pierre, "The

Britain granted the 1944 Constitution which provided for universal adult suffrage and limited local autonomy.

Among the political leaders to emerge from the 1938 riots was Norman Washington Manley. Compared with most Jamaicans he came from relatively well-off circumstances. In a society where social status was substantially based on colour, he was partly white. His father was the son of a Yorkshire immigrant and a black Jamaican woman and his mother was almost completely white. Likewise his social position could be considered approximately lower middle class. His father, a self-made businessman, initially prospered but eventually lost most of his money in litigation.<sup>31</sup> His mother had training as a telegraph clerk and also held a position as postmistress, a prestigious occupation of those and subsequent times. When Manley was growing up, however, the family holdings were reduced to only two small properties, and he was obliged to work alongside the poorest farm labourers. Thus, his subsequent display of interest in and devotion to the cause of the poor could have been as a result of his past association with them and his first hand experience at physical toil. On completing elementary school in 1906, he went to Jamaica

---

1938 Jamaican Disturbances: A Portrait of Mass Reaction Against Colonialism," Social and Economic Studies, 27 (June 1978): 171.

31. Norman W. Manley, Norman W. Manley and the New Jamaica: Selected Speeches and Writings, 1938-68, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston: Longman Caribbean, 1971), p. xcvi.

College in Kingston, and there won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford. After active service in World War I, and winning the Military Medal for bravery, he returned to Oxford, and graduated in law with first class honours. In 1922, he began practice in Jamaica and gradually won a reputation as an outstanding lawyer.<sup>32</sup>

During the 1938 riots, Manley exhorted the protesters to be nonviolent.<sup>33</sup> A commission of inquiry later praised him as an objective mediator respected by both the workers and the employers. A deputation led by nationalist O. T. Fairclough, publisher of the weekly newspaper, Public Opinion, requested him to form and lead a political party to take Jamaica to independence. As a result in September 1938 Manley formed and launched the People's National Party (P.N.P.) as a socialist party affiliated with the British Labour Party.

However, the 1938 uprisings forced the Colonial Office to appoint the Moyne Commission to report on the problems of Jamaica. The commission in its findings stressed that political reform was essential as the

growing political consciousness made it doubtful that any schemes of reform, however wisely conceived and efficiently conducted, would be completely unsuccessful, unless they

---

32. Rex Nettleford, Manley and the Politics of Jamaica - Toward an Analysis of Political Change in Jamaica 1938-1968 (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1971), p. 3.

33. Norman Manley, op. cit., p. c.111.

were accompanied by the largest measure of constitutional development deemed to be judicious in the existing circumstances.<sup>34</sup>

The "commission recommended a more representative Legislative Council counter-balanced by somewhat increased powers for the Governor." The Legislature should also comprise appointed, experienced members. The elected members were to exercise more power when the population was "ready" to control absolutely its own destiny. Ultimate universal suffrage should be gradual.

The P.N.P.'s rejection of Moyne's recommendations as too restrictive spearheaded a collective demand for complete autonomy. The Daily Gleaner, the local newspaper, reported on an independence meeting on November 16, 1942: "A crowd which occupied all seats at Edelweiss Park last night passed a resolution demanding self-government, then swarmed forward as one man, to affix their names to the document."<sup>35</sup> The British government, cognizant of the unanimity of the demand, stipulated in the new constitution that members of the House of Representatives (Parliament) should be elected by universal suffrage with no literacy or property requirements. Those of the Legislative Council (Senate) would be both ex officio members and appointees of the governor. Their powers would simply be deliberative and delaying. The Executive Council (Cabinet) was the

---

34. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 200.

35. Ibid., p. 200.

principal policy-maker.<sup>36</sup> The constitution which took effect on November 20, 1944 was described in the British House of Commons as being "largely suggested by the people of Jamaica."<sup>37</sup>

By this time Manley's cousin, Alexander Bustamante, had formed the Bustamante Industrial Trades Union (B.I.T.U.). During a detention for his part in the 1938 disorders, he established a working relationship between his union and Manley's new party. But after his release, he broke the bond as "an impediment to his sole and total authority," and as a result "divided the working classes."<sup>38</sup> The P.N.P.'s basic goals were self-government, political democracy based on universal adult suffrage, and public ownership of the island's major resources. Bustamante viewed the P.N.P.'s self-government plan as "brown man rule" or "colored middle class government." Hence he formed the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.) to contest the first general election following adoption of the 1944 constitution. Thus began Jamaica's two-party system.<sup>39</sup> Rumour had it that the release of Bustamante from detention by Governor Richards was on condition that he split the coalition between mass labour, the BITU, and articulate and educated political leadership, the PNP. The rumour has never been confirmed. The JLP won the 1944, as well as the 1949,

---

36. Ibid., p. 204.

37. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 205.

38. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 5 December 1977.

39. Norman Manley, op. cit., p. 6.

general elections. The following tables list the distribution of votes and seats per party:

TABLE I

## GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1944

Total No. of Electors on Lists 663,069  
Total No. of Votes Cast 389,109 (58.7)

	JLP	PNP	Independent	Other Parties
No. of Votes	144,661	82,029	104,814	17,623
Percent of Votes	41.4	23.5	30.0	5.1
No. of candidates	29	19	68	9 (JDP)
No. of seats	22	5	5	0

Source: General Elections, 1944 Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Kingston, 1944.\*

TABLE II

## GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1949

Total No. of Electors on Lists 732,217  
Total No. of Votes Cast 447,107 (65.2)

	JLP	PNP	Independent	Other Parties
No. of Votes	199,538	230,048	58,790	5,803
Percent of Votes	42.7	43.5	12.6	1.2
No. of Candidates	30	32		
No. of Seats	17	13	2	0

Source: General Elections 1949, Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Kingston, 1949.\*\*

It was with its strong union support that the JLP won the 1944 and 1949 general elections. The PNP recognized that with direct, organized labour connection their chance of winning general elections might be enhanced. So in 1952 they created their own labour union, the National Workers Union (NWU). The ultimate success of the P.N.P. was as a result of the realization that victory for a party was based on strong labour support. The opposition party's main support was the union. The latter had a free hand to make heavy demands on the system, criticize and denounce the government on behalf of the deprived masses, call strikes to disrupt production, and make the government look bad. On the other hand, the union of the governing party would be more restrained in its demands and actions. The government would, in turn, be more patronizing, for example, in terms of awarding contracts.

A key characteristic of union-party affiliation has been the tendency of union leaders to ascend to party leadership. The late Sir Donald Sangster and the Right Honourable Hugh Shearer, Prime Ministers of Jamaica from 1965-67 and 1967-72 respectively, had advanced to the head of the party through leadership positions in the union. Michael Manley was island supervisor of the N.W.U. just prior to succeeding his father as leader of the P.N.P.

---

\*Cited by Munroe, op. cit., p. 42.

\*\*Ibid., p. 63.

Therefore, "each of the major parties is integrally associated with a trade union, and no party could possibly succeed in Jamaica without such an association."

On the other hand, the political history of Jamaica shows that a trade union without a political party is unlikely to be virile and powerful.<sup>40</sup> This is so because unions are usually the medium through which scarce goods and services are distributed to grass roots members of both political parties. Therefore, members of trade unions eagerly await the election of their party to power, for them to reap these benefits.

The 1944 constitution which gave Jamaica adult suffrage and greater popular representation also resulted in heightened consciousness on the part of the political directorate of the need for rapid economic development. The sugar industry from which the propertied and monied class had received their livelihoods had rapidly declined, chiefly owing to an outbreak of smut disease during the immediate post-war period. This had a lasting negative effect upon them.

Merchants who were in an ideal position to take economic risks to start new ventures, "like the sugar planters remained narrow and rigid in economic outlook," having lost confidence in Jamaica's economic potential.<sup>41</sup>

---

40. Adam Kuper, Changing Jamaica (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 124.

41. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 170.

Between 1943-1950 the labour force increased at a rate of 2.5 per cent.<sup>42</sup> Poverty conditions especially in the rural area heightened, mainly because the growth rate in agriculture was slower than that of the GNP. This accelerated the influx of rural migration to cities, especially Kingston which was already grossly overpopulated.<sup>43</sup>

To attract capital into local investment, in 1949 the government enacted the Pioneer Industries Law which gave 20 percent income tax write-off to capital investments and duty-free importation of building materials and equipment. In the early 1950's the bauxite investments shot the economy considerably upward. However, because of its capital intensiveness its impact on the unemployment situation was minimal. What eased the unemployment problem in Jamaica's highest period of growth was not economic growth but the fact that migration to the U.K. was heaviest during that period.<sup>44</sup>

Hence, in the 1955 general election campaign, the P.N.P.'s campaign slogan was "Time for a change." The cost of living spiralled, unemployment rose and the JLP government was projected as inefficient and corrupt. In fact,

---

42. Ransford W. Palmer, The Jamaican Economy (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 4.

43. Ibid., p. 4. Douglas Hall, "The Colonial Legacy in Jamaica," New World Publications, IV (Nov. 1968): 13-14.

44. Ransford W. Palmer, op. cit., pp. 4-5. Sir Harold Mitchell, Contemporary Politics and Economics in the Caribbean (Athens: University Press, 1967), p. 134.

two JLP ministers had been charged and convicted for selling state secrets. The PNP promised honest government and the provision of 150,000 new jobs and 50 million pounds sterling new investment. Their socialist philosophy seemed abandoned as they promised "no public ownership."<sup>45</sup>

Earlier the so-called "communist nest" in the party had been expelled. Manley, realizing that it was in the interest of his party to pose a moderate front, had publicly endorsed a tribunal's recommendation of expulsion of four prominent members of the PNP for allegedly supporting communism. The party manipulated N. W. Manley's "moderate" public image to enhance his popular appeal.

The National Worker's Union had also been formed in 1952. A massive organizational campaign and labour union support "swept the PNP into office with 50.5 per cent of a popular vote of 495,680 which resulted in 18 PNP seats. The JLP with 39 per cent of the popular vote won 14 seats."<sup>46</sup> Manley, as Chief Minister, governed Jamaica and gained further constitutional change towards making Jamaica more independent.

During the 1959 general election campaign, Manley preached that he had promised self-government and had delivered. His party won by a wider margin of 29 to the JLP's 16 in the new 45 seat house wherein Manley had become

---

45. Munroe, op. cit., p. 86.

46. Bell, op. cit., p. 19.

Premier, and Jamaica managed all her internal affairs. The newspaper The Daily Gleaner headlined "PNP Wins Smashing Come-back Victory."<sup>47</sup>

In 1952 Governor Foot proposed that a cabinet system be established, and the British government implemented the reform in the following year. Four years later there was another advancement with the Premier exclusively chairing cabinet meetings, which the governor no longer attended.<sup>48</sup> By 1959 Jamaica had secured full internal self-government, while the governor could only veto "bills affecting the royal prerogative, international relations, and any laws inconsistent with the constitution."<sup>49</sup>

During the latter 1950's, discussions began regarding the formation of a West Indies Federation. It was established in 1958, with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Monserrat, Antigua and Anguilla as members.<sup>50</sup> Many Jamaican leaders expressed fears that the federal taxing powers<sup>51</sup> would be used to take revenue from Jamaica for the benefit of smaller islands, to the detriment of Jamaica's own development. Many lower class persons understood

---

47. Kingston (Jamaica), The Daily Gleaner, July 29, 1959.

48. Munroe, op. cit., p. 110.

49. Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 209.

50. Thomas M. Franck et al. (eds.), Why Federations Fail (London: University of London Press, 1968), p. 92.

51. Munroe, op. cit., p. 130.

little or nothing about federation.<sup>52</sup> However, the political disagreements among local leaders set the stage for mass participation and therefore a better grasp of the issues concerning federation. Later, in Manley's judgement, popular decision was necessary. Earlier Manley's decision not to enter federal leadership but to remain in Jamaica, did not serve the heightened local enthusiasm regarding federation. Jamaica was due to go to the polls shortly and "Bustamante, with an eye on the Jamaican General Election due to be held before the beginning of 1960, dramatised the dangers Jamaica faced in a Federation."<sup>53</sup>

Bustamante as a protest against Jamaica's membership in the Federation, officially withdrew the JLP from the June 30th federal by-election in the parish of St. Thomas. The irony of what followed was that Manley seemingly espousing the democratic principle of "let the people by their votes decide," decided by himself, not a cabinet nor a party decision, that there was going to be a referendum. It was Bustamante's, and not the party's, decision that "Jamaica is going to get out of Federation." The referendum was called in September 1961. Of the 473,580 votes polled, 54.1 per cent wanted out. 45.0 per cent

---

52. Bell, op. cit., p. 19.

53. Munroe, op. cit., p. 130.

voted to remain federated.<sup>54</sup> On March 21, 1962 Jamaica withdrew from the Federation, and shortly thereafter it broke up.

Within two weeks of the referendum the British government announced it would meet a delegation from Jamaica to discuss proposals for Jamaican independence. The Jamaican House of Parliament appointed committees of both Houses of Parliament "to prepare proposals for a Constitution for Jamaica to take effect on Independence."<sup>55</sup> Finally, a new constitution was agreed to by Government and Opposition in Jamaica, and by Britain, and was signed in London on February 9, 1962.

Relatively rigid, it provides for Jamaica to be a Dominion of the Commonwealth, with a two chamber legislature providing possibly for sixty members in an elected house, and a second chamber, the senate with twenty-one members.<sup>56</sup> The Prime Minister recommends the appointment of 13, and the leader of the Opposition, eight, to the Governor General for his appointment. The constitution can only be amended by two-thirds majority of both houses. If that fails, then it is done by referendum.

Before independence was granted Britain insisted, and Jamaica agreed, that there had to be a general election so

---

54. Munroe, op. cit., p. 135.

55. Ibid.

56. Carley, op. cit., p. 131.

that the people might choose the party they wished to lead them into independence. A significant factor in that election was the emergence of a new party, The Peoples Progressive Party, based on race and led by Millard Johnson of dark brown complexion. Bustamante's was near white and Manley was light brown in colour. Johnson's campaign had a racist slant as he dressed in African robes, told stories in African dialects, and showed movies of Africa. He ran directly against a white Syrian and a medium brown candidate in an urban slum of predominantly unemployed blacks. It was expected that racism would appeal more to these people, as wealth traditionally had been associated with people of light and white complexions. However, the white Syrian won comfortably and together the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. polled 98.6 per cent of the more than half a million votes cast in the April 1962 general election.<sup>57</sup> The P.N.P. won only 19 seats to the J.L.P.'s 26, and it was widely claimed that Manley lost because he concentrated on building the nation rather than on the specific problems of the deprived masses. Party members blamed him for calling the elections so soon after he had lost the Federation referendum.<sup>58</sup> In any case, his old rival Alexander Bustamante became the first Prime Minister of Independent Jamaica.

---

57. Bell, op. cit., p. 20.

58. This writer was then a member of the Public Service in Jamaica. He heard such analysis among his colleagues, in saloons, on buses and in the streets. See also Carley, op. cit., p. 132.

There followed a period of economic stagnation. One probable reason for this was that foreign investors and corporations who largely controlled key economic decisions were more cautious now that the external political restraints were gone. Another was that for developing countries such foreign control and ownership portend the exportation of the wealth of the host country. This, in turn, breeds and foments unemployment and poor distribution of wealth.

In 1972, foreign ownership and control ranged from 100 per cent in bauxite-aluminum to 40 per cent in sugar and its by-products as well as transport, communications and public utilities combined, and about 60 per cent of financial services and 55 per cent of hotel capacity in the tourist sector. "Taking the economy on a whole about 30 per cent of the capital stock is owned abroad . . ."59

These factors plus preferential trading agreements made the Jamaican economy "a locus of production rather than a national economy." Average real income, another indicator of economic performance, from 1950 to 1960 grew at a rate of 5.35 per cent and for the two five year periods from 1960 to 1970 it was 2.75 per cent. The growth of the Jamaican economy rested on agriculture. In 1960, 40 per cent of the labour force was in agriculture and provided roughly 12 per cent of the island's Gross Domestic

---

59. Owen C. Jefferson, "Is the Jamaican Economy Developing?" New World V (1972): 4.

Product. Yet in 1968 the figures were about 35 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively. Added to the problem of decline is the fact that "average incomes in agriculture were only about one-quarter of the national average."<sup>60</sup>

The declining economy inflamed the already chronic unemployment situation. In 1960 unemployment was thirteen per cent. By 1970 it escalated to 20 per cent. For 1960, 1968 and 1972 the available labour force was 654,000, 720,000 and 808,300 respectively. Agriculture accounted for 231,600, 219,000 and 203,000 for the respective periods. For the same periods unemployment in the agro-industry was 5,030, 21,110 and 19,750. Over a period of twelve years unemployment in a single sector jumped almost 400%.<sup>61</sup>

The high level of unemployment was closely related to the low level of education. In 1968-9 nearly 80 per cent of all students in the public schools were in primary schools; 20 per cent attended secondary schools. Post-secondary institutions accounted for a mere 1 per cent.<sup>62</sup> The inadequacy of the educational system was a major obstacle to social and economic development. In 1970, the literacy level was only 75 per cent. A survey by the Ministry of Education in that year revealed that 54 per

---

60. Ibid., p. 6.

61. Cuper, op. cit., p.

62. Ibid., p. 70.

cent of the pupils going into the junior secondary schools were unable to read beyond the Grade IV standard, that 84 per cent of the 3,000 students surveyed could not read even at their own grade level, and worst of all, that nearly 11 per cent of children between the ages of 6 and 14 years were not attending school.<sup>63</sup>

During the 1960's political gang warfare began. Illiterate, unemployed and hungry mobs were given guns, and incited to attack political rivals. In a television interview Prime Minister Manley claimed his party was "shot out" of the Western Kingston constituency, which thus became the safest J.L.P. seat in the island.<sup>64</sup> In the 1967 general election campaign, violence was common in Kingston, with gang battles between northern and southern areas and even a "demilitarized zone" between them.

In addition to violence, election campaigns were characterized by abuses in voter registration. In 1962, the number of registered voters was 797,000. This fell to 453,000 in 1967, and rose only to 605,000 in 1972. The decrease was mostly in urban areas and among people in their early 20's. It was widely believed that the radical image of the P.N.P. would attract the urban young. There was also gerrymandering of constituencies. In 1967 the J.L.P. with 51.7 per cent of the votes won 33 of the seats

---

63. Ibid.

64. The writer saw and heard the interview in the fall of 1976.

in Parliament to the P.N.P.'s 20 seats and 49.1 per cent of the votes.<sup>65</sup> For the first time Michael Manley ran for a seat in Parliament. He won the central Kingston constituency.

At the party convention in February 1969, Michael Manley won the leadership of the People's National Party from which his father had resigned. He was appointed Leader of the Opposition by the Governor General in accordance with the Constitution.<sup>66</sup> In the 1972 general elections Manley led the P.N.P. to victory and became Prime Minister. The J.L.P. shed 8 percentage points winning only 42.9 per cent of the votes. Their portion of the seats dropped to 16. Manley's P.N.P. won 37 seats.

In 1974 Manley announced that he and his party had thoroughly re-examined the principles of socialism with a view to ascertaining "how these principles relate to modern Jamaica in a changing world" and concluded that democratic socialism was for Jamaica.<sup>67</sup>

The Opposition Jamaica Labour Party and the press branded Manley and his cohorts communists. The island's leading newspaper, The Daily Gleaner, ran a cartoon depicting a monster labelled "Communism," and carrying on its back an innocent looking sheep labelled "Socialism."

---

65. Kuper, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

66. Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council 1962, section 80 (2).

67. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 3 December 1974.

With open mouth exposing menacingly sharp teeth the monster advanced on "Jamaica." Explaining the phenomenon are the words "A wolf in sheep's clothing."<sup>68</sup>

The next chapter therefore is an examination of the socialist tradition. It is hoped that, at least, a clear distinction between democratic socialism and communism will emerge.

---

68. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SOCIALIST TRADITION

Socialism is a doctrine that advocates public ownership or control of the major means of production. A humanistic and economic critique of capitalism, it examines the economic, moral, social and political aspects of society. Its main objective is to achieve a more equitable distribution of society's goods and "greater economic planning than exist under capitalism."<sup>1</sup>

The words socialism, communism and collectivism have been used interchangeably to express a general concept that advocates the "communal or co-operative organization of society in place of the existing competitive state of society."<sup>2</sup> Anarchism, too, has been a variant of collectivism. Henri Saint-Simon (whose social ideals have been said to be the first comprehensive expose of socialism) and the Saint-Simonians who argued against the atomization and egoism of society were social critics who "proposed a new order based on association, harmony, altruism . . ." which

- 
1. Encyclopedia Americana, 1976, ed., S.V. "Socialism."
  2. Encyclopedia of Social Reform, 1897 ed. S.V. "Socialism"; Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1934 ed. S.V. "Socialism" by Oscar Jaszi.

they reposed in one all-inclusive concept: socialism.<sup>3</sup> Logically and sociologically, socialism is to be understood as a contrast to individualism inasmuch as it is commonly used to embrace all efforts for a co-operative organization of society, government promoted and directed or otherwise.<sup>4</sup> Essential to socialism, then, is the notion that human beings can only achieve true liberation and develop to their fullest in community.<sup>5</sup>

It is therefore any system or theory of social organization which would partially or wholly abolish the individual effort and negative competition that is the basis of modern society and in its place implant co-operative undertakings; would institute a fairer and more equal distribution of the products of labour and would make land and capital, being the instruments of the means of production, "the joint possession of members of the community."<sup>6</sup>

A comprehensive definition of socialism as it pertains to "socialist" ideologies and systems therefore embraces a condemnation of the existing political and social order as unjust and immoral and a belief that the corrupt system is not immutable, and the immorality is not

---

3. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed., S.V. "Socialism" by Daniel Bell.

4. Bliss, op. cit., p. 1263.

5. Sills, op. cit., p. 506.

6. Bliss, op. cit., p. 1263.

due to the unchanging nature of man, but rather to corrupt institutions. Therefore a new moral order is realizable through a programme of action and a revolutionary will to carry it out, and this would result in a fundamental remolding of human nature and or institutions.<sup>7</sup>

The main concern of some socialists has traditionally centered on inequality within the social system. Disparities in living standards and opportunities, summarized as "relative deprivation,"<sup>8</sup> are condemned for two reasons: that they are inherently unfair and discriminatory, and that they cause exploitation, alienation and conflict. Thus socialism's goals include far-reaching changes to bridge the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Beyond this general "desire to overcome scarcity, inequality and social strife,"<sup>9</sup> however, the socialist tradition includes various schools of thought. These include diverse programs ranging from moderate social reform to the revolutionary overthrow of a capitalist regime. In the main they have recommended equitable distribution of property, equality of social, economic and educational opportunities, state planning, the rigid centralizing of power in a state, the drastic reduction of state power, the establishment of a mixed economy or a

---

7. Seligman, op. cit., p. 188.

8. Ted R. Gurr, Why Men Rebel (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 23.

9. Encyclopaedia Americana, op. cit., p. 146.



state run economy; the total abolition of private property or merely state control over its negative manifestations, establishment of communes and co-operatives, political participation, self-reliance and independence from the colonial mode of thinking and neo-colonial economic relations. In its modern form, it has typically asserted that the growth and excessive accumulation of private property, and the concentration of the ownership of the means of production in the hands of the few capitalists are the root causes of inequalities among men, moral decay and the breakdown of the social order.

A socialist system, according to one writer, should ideally be "free from injustice and the strictures of inequality."<sup>10</sup> To achieve this, another exponent suggested that government should take an active role in directing the collective ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods . . ."<sup>11</sup> Such an economic system would seek to replace competition or "unconscionable . . . Free Trade"<sup>12</sup> which is profit seeking and self-interested with one of co-operation which would provide needed social services for

- 
10. Norman MacKenzie, Socialism: A Short History (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966), p. 12.
  11. Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders, Socialist Thought: A Documentary History (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1964), p. 1.
  12. Robert C. Tucker, Marx and Engels Reader (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 337.

all and redistribute wealth and opportunities more equitably.

Primarily there have been five schools of socialist thought. Utopians have attacked inequality but have generally prescribed no "practical" alternative. Their various ideal societies are said to have served mainly as "an effective contrast to present ills."<sup>13</sup> The Christian Socialists whose religion enjoined them to serve society, and who in quest for heavn on earth have decried negative economic competition and the philosophy of rampant and unchecked individualism. Anarchists have advocated the abolution of all systems of government that infringe on human liberty and harmony. Communists or "scientific socialists,"<sup>14</sup> mainly in the Marxist tradition, have also denounced existing society as being one of antagonism between oppressing and oppressed classes, but have developed a tactical theory for the violent overthrow of bourgeois society, by the disadvantaged masses, and the establishment of a transitional "dictatorship of the

---

13. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 13.

14. See C. Wright Mills, "Karl Marx: 'The Method of Scientific Socialism,'" The Marxists (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 43-45. Alfred G. Meyer in Communism (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 12, noted that in contrast to "Utopian socialists" who gave detailed descriptions of the coming socialist society, without explaining "how these societies might be brought into existence . . . Marx and Engels regarded their communisms scientific socialism. They claimed to have proven that the coming of socialism was inevitable; and their entire doctrine is an attempt to support this assertion."

proletariat,"<sup>15</sup> to lay the foundation for a classless society. Finally, democratic socialists have claimed that necessary reforms can be achieved peacefully, within existing constitutional procedures, through education and electoral victories.

Sir Thomas More is considered the founder of the Utopian school, largely on the basis of his book Utopia, published in England in 1516. Concerned about the plight of tenant farmers being evicted as part of the enclosure movement and by the poverty of propertyless urban beggars and labourers, More concluded that excessive unreasonable accumulation and disproportionate ownership of private property was the root of social evil, for such excluded many from a decent livelihood and human

---

15. Marx claimed that after the masses overthrew the capitalist system--a dictatorship of the few who owned the instruments of production--there needed to be a period of resocialization of the bourgeois element of society before the establishment of a pure democratic communist system. The intermediate period would be the rule of the many or a dictatorship of the proletariat who now owned the instruments of production. Irving Howe (ed.), Essential Work of Socialism (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 7, quoted Sidney Hook as having said that "according to Marx even under political democracy, so long as the instruments of production are owned by a few, in effect, a social dictatorship exists. For those who own and control these instruments, by their power to give work or withdraw it, exercise an arbitrary power over the lives of those who must live by the use of these instruments. The state functioning as an instrument of the dominant economic class enforces that power. When the workers establish their own state, the situation is reversed . . . the political expression of the social "dictatorship of the proletariat" takes the form of a workers' democracy."

happiness.<sup>16</sup> In his view, "where possessions are private, where money is the measure of all things, it is hard and almost impossible that the commonwealth should have a just government and enjoy prosperity."<sup>17</sup> As an example of a better society, More's Utopia was a community where citizens pooled their resources and truly drew what they needed from central storehouses:

In Utopia where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full no private man can want anything, for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they all are rich, for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties . . .<sup>18</sup>

While the harmonious life More envisaged in Utopia seems desirable, he offered no practical methods of achieving transition to the ideal state.

The French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, was in some respects similar. He did not proclaim himself a socialist but his intensive criticism of private wealth as the cause of human misery was socialistic.<sup>19</sup> In his

---

16. Sir Thomas More, Utopia, translated by Ralph Robinson and Washbourne (Burns: London, 1937), p. 225.

17. Ibid., p. 86.

18. Alexander Gray, The Socialist Tradition: From Moses to Lenin (London: Longmans, 1963), p. 69.

19. Because all subsequently acclaimed socialists have in one form or another declared the accumulation of private property or wealth the basis of conflict among "men," injustice and deprivation. George Lichtheim in

Discourse on the Origin of Inequality Among Men (1755) he traced the origin of injustice to the first man who staked out a piece of land as his private property:

How many crimes, wars, murders, suffering and horrors mankind would have been spared if someone had torn up the stakes . . . and insisted that the earth belongs to no one, and that its fruits are for all.<sup>20</sup>

According to Rousseau, if human talents were used for the benefit of the total society, equality could be achieved and sustained;<sup>21</sup> society would be free of luxury, envy, and that "consuming ambition, the ardor to raise one's relative fortune which is due less to a genuine need than to a desire to stand out from others."<sup>22</sup> Such equality, he claimed, could be achieved only in relatively small self-governing communities; but like Thomas More, he provided little practical indication of how these might be established.

"Gracchus" Babeuf, another 18th century French

---

A Short History of Socialism (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), pp. 19-20, argued that the thoughts of Rousseau had influenced the utopian socialists of the 1840's. In fact, he said that the theory and to some extent the practice of Jacobin phase of the French Revolution was Rousseauist and that in the context of the roots of European Socialism, Rousseau's influence could not be ignored.

20. Fried and Sanders, op. cit., p. 33. Morris Hillquit, Socialism in Theory and Practice (New York: Macmillan, 1909), p. 322.

21. Fried and Sanders, op. cit., p. 35.

22. Ibid., p. 36.

socialist, was more of an anarchist. As leader of a radical group during the French revolutionary period, he was among the first to propose techniques to galvanize the poor to social revolution. These included posters, songs, cell organizations, mass rallies and other tactics familiar today.<sup>23</sup> His "objective" was to arouse "the people to seize power, do away with class distinctions and institute a commonwealth in which there will neither be rich nor poor."<sup>24</sup> Babeuf's "Manifesto of Equals" proposed full employment, free education and social services for all on the ground that every man had "an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods."<sup>25</sup> He clamoured for absolute and real equality "which (he held) could not be attained so long as property existed."<sup>26</sup> Thus he ranks among the visionaries because he believed in the perfectability of human society.

A contemporary of Babeuf, Count Henri de Saint-Simon, combined the moral indignation of the Utopians with a practical concern for public administration. His great contribution to socialism was his emphasis on state planning, directed by an expert technocracy to ensure the

---

23. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 25.

24. George Lichtheim, The Origins of Socialism (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969), p. 201.

25. Gray, op. cit., p. 104. Leszek Kolakowski and Stewart Hampshire (eds.), The Socialist Idea (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974), p. 254.

26. Ibid., p. 194.

welfare of the masses."<sup>27</sup> He also called for a new brotherly-love religion that would provide material happiness on earth.<sup>28</sup> In this society all would work and produce for the sustenance of everybody; hence, none would suffer from poverty.<sup>29</sup> Saint-Simon advocated self-reliance through education of the masses of labourers to the point where they acquired the necessary capacity to conduct their own affairs and be usefully employed.<sup>30</sup> The economy, according to Saint-Simon, should be mixed, including both privately and government owned enterprises. State investment, especially in science, was a top priority to promote technical progress wealth and employment.

Charles Fourier, who with Saint-Simon helped develop the early French socialist movement, may be regarded as closer to the utopian tradition.<sup>31</sup> He condemned individualism, which in its quest for personal wealth, tore apart social interests. Fourier advocated the establishment of co-operative settlements wherein all would be provided

---

27. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 26. George Lichtheim, A Short History, p. 45.

28. Keith Taylor, Henri Saint-Simon: 1760-1825, Selected Writings (New York: Holmes & Meir, 1975), p. 55.

29. Lichtheim, op. cit., p. 45.

30. Taylor, op. cit., p. 39.

31. A. L. Reish Owen, Perlman on Capitalism and Socialism (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), p. 137.

creative and lucrative work.<sup>32</sup> In the co-operative settlements all "would receive dividends proportional to their contribution in work, capital and talent."<sup>33</sup> Participatory ownership and co-operation would make work "pleasant and attractive."<sup>34</sup> In addition, the population could achieve self-sufficiency, through intensive land cultivation mainly for specialized products to be raised by skilled manual operations for their own eating.<sup>35</sup> Rewards were to be paid for skill and managerial capacity, as well as a modified form of interest on invested capital. Then wealth would be no sin for it was gained communally and fairly.

The English socialist Robert Owen denounced selfishness and the profit motive as divisive of mankind, creative of errors, mischiefs, class divisions and sects and "angry malevolent passions and all the crimes and misery with which the human race have hitherto been afflicted."<sup>36</sup> There was nothing wrong with industry in itself (for capital should have a fair return) nor the new technology, "but capitalism, and unrestrained spread of competition" were negative

---

32. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 27.

33. Johnathan Beecher et al (eds.), Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 44.

34. G.D.H. Cole, Socialist Thought: The Forerunners (London: Macmillan, 1953), p. 62.

35. Cole, op. cit., p. 64.

36. Gray, op. cit., p. 210.

elements of production.<sup>37</sup> Industry's great productive powers could be best utilized in independent agricultural and industrial co-operatives. He not only preached the gospel of change but spent his fortune in a series of attempts, though unsuccessful, to found such communities or colonies in Britain and in the New World. Owen also emphasized the significance of education and jobs for the improvement of the human quality of living. He called for worker participation in the ownership of the means of production. Employees should have in reality "a right to partnership in the enterprise together with the managers and with those who provided capital."<sup>38</sup>

To the extent that they were equally forcefully critical of relations in society based on constituted authority and private property, anarchists are considered socialists. They pleaded for radical changes, but distrusted governmental authority as invariably oppressive. One such thinker was Thomas Hodgskin. In his book, Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital (1825), he condemned inequitable distribution of wealth and privilege. The laws protected property rights and reinforced class division and domination. He claimed that labour was the source and measure of value. The system, however, kept the wages of

---

37. Lichtheim, op. cit., pp. 38-39. T. L. Harman, Socialism in Britain (New York: Taplinger, 1972), p. 38.

38. Cole, op. cit., p. 91.

the labourer at subsistence level, whilst capitalists and landlords gathered unto themselves the fruits of labour.<sup>39</sup> Government was "the expression of the economic power of a dominant class." The masses were condemned to poverty, sickness and ignorance and would only come into their own after the abolition of class divisions and government as the instrument by which the rich maintained unfair property rights.<sup>40</sup>

The anarchist, Pierre Joseph Proudhon also decried unjust property relationships, that according to him distorted human personality. He valued private property so long as social interest in it was preserved. Every man and his heirs could possess such property for as long as they could farm it. Governments that denied human equality should be abolished as their proper function was to arrange just economic relationships. Proudhon therefore advocated "the abolition not of inequality, but of injustice that is, of inequalities resting not on unequal labours, but on privilege and monopoly."<sup>41</sup>

When this goal was achieved there would be a system of mutual relations "between man and man."<sup>42</sup> Established communes would assume ownership of land, but full

---

39. Thomas Hodgskin, Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital (New York: Kelly M. Augustus, 1969), p. 13.

40. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 33.

41. Cole, op. cit., p. 206.

42. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 43.

recognition was to be given to the peoples' desire for secure possession for the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour.

As the early Utopian and anarchist socialists debated and wrote about the kind of society that would be most just, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels emerged with a doctrine of communism that completely transformed the character of socialism. Marx is best known for the Communist Manifesto (1849). He charged that the fundamental characteristic of European society in his time was a class struggle between the exploiting bourgeois (capitalists) and proletariat (labourers), and the relationship would only end when the latter rose up and violently overthrew the ruling capitalist system. Capitalism's one goal was the accumulation of capital. Hence the central feature of the capitalist market system was "that it transformed all relationships between individuals into exchange or monetary relationships."<sup>43</sup> Marx acrimoniously charged that the labourer sold himself piecemeal:

The worker belongs neither to an owner nor to the land, but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to him, who buys them . . . and . . . the capitalist discharges him when he thinks fit . . .<sup>44</sup>

---

43. John W. Spanier, World Politics in an Age of Revolution (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 81.

44. Robert C. Tucker, op. cit., p. 171.

The labourer was not getting a fair return on his labour because he was paid only a subsistence wage while the capitalist's share of the product spiralled. According to Marx the value of the product was equal to the amount of labour required for its production. If the selling value of the product was the equivalent of its labour cost, for the employer to make a profit he must pay the worker less. The difference between what he was paid and what he should have been paid constituted surplus value. The capitalist in order to maximise his profit continued to squeeze all he could out of the worker.<sup>45</sup>

The answer to the exploitive system was transition to a socialist state wherein production and appropriation would be communal. The capitalist's private property would then be expropriated. The producer would be given property based on co-operation.<sup>46</sup> Since production was the life-blood of the system the question of efficiency was most important, so the methods and techniques of the capitalist system must be preserved and utilized, hence the need for supervisory personnel. They would just be people with different training, skills and levels of expertise working for the social system, but of equal worth. And in the new society, "the free development of each is the condition for

---

45. R. N. Carew Hunt, The Theory and Practice of Communism (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1957), p. 65.

46. Karl Marx, Das Capital (Chicago: Regnuy Henry, 1967), pp. 355-356.

the free development of all."<sup>47</sup>

In the new socialist system transportation and communication systems would be centralized in the hands of the state. There would also be accelerated ownership of factories and instruments of production by the state. Wastelands would be brought into cultivation. There would be industrial armies mainly for agriculture as all would be expected to contribute labour. Agricultural and manufacturing industries would be combined. Gradually, efforts would be made to redistribute the population over the country to ease urban over-population. Education would be free for all in public schools which would combine education with industrial production.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to the utopians, anarchists and revolutionary socialists, there were other social agitators who concluded that the bourgeois capitalist system was unjust or inequitable and therefore necessitated change. However, they advocated working within the "democratic" political system to achieve the necessary social reforms. One such advocate was Louis Blanc (1813-1882), who is best known for his work Organization du Travail (1839).<sup>49</sup> He believed "that the state could be used as an instrument of reform rather than as a machine for the domination of one class by

---

47. Tucker, op. cit., p. 353.

48. Ibid., p. 352.

49. Taken from Sir J.A.R. Marriott, The French Revolution of 1848 in its Economic Aspect (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

another."<sup>50</sup> He viewed social and political reform as inextricably linked. Social reform was the objective, political reform was the means.

The people by their votes should elect a government of change which could first appease the misery of the people then gradually institute co-operative factories and services, in place of competitive capitalism. The proper function of the state was to supply funds for the establishment of social workshops. The nationalization of banks, transportation systems and mines would provide revenue for the purpose.

It was morally wrong to tell the poor man that he had the right to improve his position and not provide him with real opportunity to do so. Therefore, we "must provide every competitor with similar equipment for the contest."<sup>51</sup> The moral and material elevation of the masses was urgent but the unfair distribution of property was a hindrance.

Agricultural production was necessary for the success of the economy. Therefore Blanc proposed a land reform programme and a system of communes and each would acquire a piece of land, as of right. This would be extended from time to time as more land would be acquired from time to time until all the available land was held by the commune.

---

50. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 352.

51. Sir J.A.R. Marriott, op. cit., p. xxxvi.

The available agricultural population would then engage in large scale co-operatives.<sup>52</sup> Such was Blanc's prescription for justice and humanity which the state had the power to effect by passing laws.<sup>53</sup>

Like Blanc, George Bernard Shaw, Beatrice and Sydney Webb, who founded the Fabian Society in 1854, viewed the state as protector of the poor and as an instrument of change. Fabian socialists also rejected the scientific-socialist revolutionary method of changing society. The Fabians shared the common desire for social reform based on equality of opportunity and participation in a state-run administration,<sup>54</sup> but preferred persuasion and democratic political action. The capitalist system was undesirable and ought to be reformed out of existence and replaced by socialism. That was the most rational form of social organization which all reasonable men in the community could be persuaded to accept.<sup>55</sup> There should be timely social control, where possible, by local co-operative communities, over the means of production and distribution.<sup>56</sup>

Christian Socialists such as F. D. Maurice, John

---

52. Gray, op. cit., p. 227.

53. Marriott, op. cit., p. 220.

54. G. D. H. Cole, The Story of Fabian Socialism (London: Heinemann, 1961), p.

55. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 92.

56. Fried and Sanders, op. cit., p. 390.

Ludlow and E. V. Neal, also had great faith in the institution of the state. Specifically, F. D. Maurice had exhorted men to appreciate the role of the state as one of positive reform. However, the objectives had been defeated by "economic competition and the philosophy of rampant and unchecked individualism."<sup>57</sup> This had resulted in miserable conditions for the lower classes.

E. V. Neal sought to infuse human society with religious principles in order "to end the injustice of divisive individualism in favour of communitarianism."<sup>58</sup> For him, socialism was the fulfillment of Christianity: love and brotherhood. Unequal distribution of wealth perplexed him, so he wanted the rich to utilize their wealth for the good of all. That was to be done through the practice of co-operation which would dissolve the created disorders of capitalist society into a harmonious society as pre-ordained by God.<sup>59</sup>

A spokesman for Guild Socialism, G. D. H. Cole likewise blamed society's ills on the unjust state, "perverted by the power of the capitalist . . ."<sup>60</sup> The wage system exploited and debilitated the creative instinct of the

---

57. Philip Blackstrom, Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England (London: Croom, Helm, 1974), p. 29.

58. Ibid., p. 24.

59. Ibid., pp. 24-32.

60. Harry W. Laidlaw, History of Socialism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 331.

labourer and obstructed his wish to own and control. Designed to core out profits for absentee owners, it was indifferent to the desires and needs of consumers and real producers. Guild Socialism advocated the establishment of self-governing national guilds to operate specific industries to restore community values and input. Such control and participation would afford the worker "an opportunity for the proper expression of his personality."<sup>61</sup> Certain key industries would be nationalized. The guild system would treat the worker as a human being and guarantee him adequate annual income as well as control over production and profit sharing.<sup>62</sup>

Eduard Bernstein was influenced by the belief in the "gradual evolution of society towards a system of state socialism."<sup>63</sup> He rejected Marx's theory of the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and opted to "work within the democratic system to make it work for the society rather than the capitalist."<sup>64</sup> Bernstein is most noted for his book Evolutionary Socialism (1899), which advocated the advancement of political democracy. He claimed that the state should legislate against worker exploitation and "introduce a national system of social welfare and

---

61. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 97.

62. Laidlaw, op. cit., p. 323.

63. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 105.

64. R. A. Khan et al., An Introduction to Political Science (Ontario: Irwin Dorsey, Georgetown, 1972), p. 413.

insurance."<sup>65</sup> There should be regard for personal liberty. The state was a partnership in which by their votes the people could secure their rights and progress.

Harold Laski (1893-1950) is of interest here for his works Authority in the Modern State (1919), A Grammar of Politics (1952), and Socialism and Freedom (1925). He also viewed the role of the state as functioning to develop "the fullest capacities for good possessed by its members. This implies at once liberty and equality."<sup>66</sup> He charged that under capitalism property ownership fundamentally influenced the formation of laws: "a body of rules made and changed in given times and places by men to secure ends which they deem desirable."<sup>67</sup> He called for a just socialist system that would guarantee equal educational opportunity and fair economic distributions for unequal distribution of the fruits of economic operations is a denial of freedom.<sup>68</sup> There should be social ownership of those industries "urgently affected by a public character which are monopolistic in their nature. Consumers co-operative movements were to produce "urgent commodities" that were not in

---

65. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 106.

66. Herbert G. Dean, The Political Ideas of Harold G. Laski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 43.

67. H. G. Laski, Democracy in Crisis (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), p. 129.

68. Dean, op. cit., p. 113.

themselves monopolistic. There should also be co-operative labour, and democracy at the workplace, both in private and state enterprises. Such would give the worker full opportunity to share in the making of the conditions upon which his happiness in work will depend.<sup>69</sup>

Whereas European socialism (discussed above) was a reaction to capitalism, the problems of Third World or non-European states stemmed mainly from colonialism and subsequently from neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Colonialism is defined as political, cultural and economic control by an imperial power over a dependent area of people; the labour of the indigenous peoples and the wealth of the colony are exploited by the colonizer primarily to mitigate economic and social contradictions caused by the social systems prevailing in the imperial country.

The colonizers realized huge profits or surpluses on their investments which they constantly repatriated to the mother country. This wealth was made possible because of the fact that the Europeans paid the black labourers the lowest possible wages and the Europeans invested very little capital in obtaining land and other resources in the colonies that produced the wealth. Comparatively high salaries for expatriate employees further drained the

---

69. Ibid., p. 123.

colonies' wealth.<sup>70</sup>

Colonialism represents the total domination of colonies by metropolitan powers for the purpose of "exploitation of the wealth of these colonies for the more or less exclusive benefit of the metropolitan powers."<sup>71</sup> Exploitation is carried out by two methods, (a) the direct extraction and seizure of raw materials and other natural resources of the colony by the colonizer, and (b) the use of the colonies as markets for the goods manufactured by the controlling countries. Neo-colonialism represents a combination of the forces of finance capital and state monopoly capital united in one powerful mechanism. Its ultimate aim is to keep Third World peoples on the capitalist road in order to prop up the tottering pillars of capitalism and ease the way for further exploitation of the people and natural wealth of the "third world."<sup>72</sup>

- 
70. Walter Rodney in How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972), pp. 163-64, noted for example, that what the Scottish or German coalminer earned for an hour's work was what his African counterpart earned for a six-day work week. At p. 166 it is also observed that in a little over a 50 year period ending in 1953, "total foreign capital inflow into the Congo was estimated at 5,700 million. The value of the outflow for the same period, exclusive of profits retained within the Congo, was 4,300 million" and the expatriation of surplus from the Congo, as was true in other colonies, "increased as the colonial period wore on."
71. Pierre Jalee, The Pillage of the Third World, translated by Mary Klopfer (New York: M. R. Press, 1968), p. 13.
72. Georgy Rudenko, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism (Novostic: Press Agency Publishing House), p. 37.

It is based upon the principle of making former colonial territories non-viable states capable of independent development. Their economic and financial systems are linked, as in colonial days, "with those of the former colonial rule."<sup>73</sup>

Imperialism is a direct continuation of the features of capitalism. Its main characteristic is the replacement of capitalist free competition with capitalist monopolies, which is a transition from a capitalist system to a higher socio-economic order. It is the monopoly stage of capitalism in that period of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself and in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance.<sup>74</sup> It is said to be "parasitic" or decaying capitalism.<sup>75</sup>

During the period of primitive accumulation, the colonial masters such as England, Germany and France, plundered Asia and Africa and with the wealth gained established successful capitalist mercantile enterprises which contributed to the rapid economic development of these countries. However, subsequently, "industrial capital

---

73. Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stages of Imperialism (New York: International Publishers, 1966), p. xiii.

74. Nickolai Lenin, "Imperialism: A special stage of capitalism," Selected Works, Vol. 1 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1947), quoted by C. Wright Mills, The Marxists (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 204-206.

75. "Main Trends of Monopoly Capitalism," ibid., p. 214.

replaced merchant capital as the dominant force in the economic and political affairs" of European nations.<sup>76</sup> Technologies which were constantly modernized, raised productivity. Despite the growth of domestic markets, production outgrew demand so business was no longer profitable for investors. Thus the need for external markets became critical.

The more advanced capitalist countries then engaged in an international, political, economic and military activity of expansion and capturing of new colonies whose economies they transformed, forced back into the ambit of the capitalist economy and monopolized as markets for the colonizer's manufactured goods. Growth in depth and breadth increased.<sup>77</sup>

Indeed, it has been argued that the west is morally obligated to assist current developing countries, for it was the former that had invaded the latter "and ravaged them economically . . . and the wealth taken from these regions was the source of capital and materials which made industrialization, hence the modernization of Europe,

---

76. Harry Magdoff, Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present (London: M. R. Press, 1978), p. 4.

77. The former refers to the squeezing out of pre-capitalist economies and directly creating new systems of production, new industries, and consequently, new spheres of investment of capital and new markets. Breadth capitalism is the extension of capitalist production to other territories and countries inhabited by nationalities at lower stages of social development. See Rodenko, op. cit., p. 11.

possible."<sup>78</sup>

However, despite the achievement of political or constitutional independence by the colonies, neo- or modern colonial powers maintained economic dominance of them. Because the local economy was controlled by metropolitan interests, and run exclusively to realize for them the accumulation of capital, the "independent" colonies were usually without adequate indigenous investment. Thus they were forced to rely on foreign capital from their former political colonizers. Such capital, however, has been used for the continued exploitation of the colonies rather than for their development in that top salaried employees came from the imperial countries and huge investment profits were repatriated.<sup>79</sup> Another problem is that the less developed areas of the world were maintained as providers of cheap raw materials and markets for expensive finished goods and services.<sup>80</sup> The colonialists also often retained disproportionate private ownership of land which they did not utilize productively.

There was also specialization of the economy which

---

78. R. E. Betts, Europe Overseas: Phases of Imperialism (London: Basic Books, 1968), p. 24.

79. Nkrumah, op. cit., p. xv, observed that the object of neo-colonialism is to keep standards depressed in the "freed" colonies, in the interest of the developed countries.

80. Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 421.

produced goods and raw materials for imperialist powers. Monopolies (control of world markets by international capitalists) set prices of commodities sold and bought on the world market. One source stated that "from 1951 to 1961 without taking oil into consideration the general level of prices for primary products fell by 33.1 per cent while prices of manufactured goods rose 3.5 per cent (within which machine and equipment prices rose 31.3 per cent)."<sup>81</sup>

Foreign aid in the form of loans also retarded the growth of indigenous economies. A form of "revolving credit," it was given to the neo-colonial state then repaid to the neo-colonial lender as increased profits owing to high interest rates and short call-in periods.<sup>82</sup>

Still another obstacle to local economic growth was the fact that foreign companies that undertook major projects for the purpose of exploiting new sources of primary products mainly confined their operations to the production of materials in their basic or secondary stages. Other stages of development of the products were carried out in the metropolitan countries. This deprived the host population of much needed jobs which went to the

---

81. Nkrumah, op. cit., p. 241.

82. In ibid., p. 242, it is recorded that for 1962 seventy-one Third World countries owed foreign debts of some \$27,000 million on which they paid interest and service charges of some \$5,000 million. Since then such foreign debts have been estimated as more than 30,000 million pound sterling, approximately 90,000 million

comparatively economically well-developed metropolis.

In essence "these masked means of exploitation which are sometimes called 'quiet colonialism',"<sup>83</sup> have prevented indigenous countries from making a headway toward real development because their natural resources were not channelled to that end but rather towards the material development of the imperial countries.

The attitude of leaders of constitutionally independent states has also been another impediment to development. Traditionally, they have not displayed much enthusiasm about the development of education. Bargaining powers of local employees of expatriate companies have also been neglected. Indeed, they took no steps to "challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry which it is the object of neo-colonialism to preserve."<sup>84</sup> Consequently neo-colonialism is held to be "the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress."<sup>85</sup>

Writing in 1910, Rudolph Hilferding expressed the

---

dollars. In 1961 the interest rate on almost three-quarters of the loans offered by major imperialist powers amounted to more than five per cent in some cases up to seven or eight per cent.

83. Rudenko, op. cit., p. 23.

84. Nkrumah, op. cit., p. xv.

85. Ibid., p. xi.

view that finance was a crucial element within the growth of capitalism. Capitalists, bent on expansion which was essential to the survival of capitalism, needed money "in excess of their own resources," and would seek to borrow from financiers such as banks. Hence, those who controlled finance would eventually control industry.<sup>86</sup>

Because of the vast accumulation of money within the system high finance would become the new power in the world because the banks controlled vast sums of money which would be indispensable to industry. The banks would consolidate their hold on industry by organizing boards of directors, and creating interlocking directorates and this unity facilitated of profit.<sup>87</sup> Added to this is a shift by capitalism from its previous function as the exporter of commodity to one of exporter of capital made available by "the concentration of all unused financial capital in the hands of the banks."<sup>88</sup> The banks in turn and because of their link with industry, would grant loans on condition that they would be used for industrial enterprises which are bound by contract to purchase machinery and other

---

86. See Alan Hodgart, The Economics of European Imperialism (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1977), p. 34.

87. E. M. Winslow, The Pattern of Imperialism (New York: Columbia, Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1977), p. 34.

88. See R. Hilferding "Finance Capitalism," trans. E. Bass and D. Adam, in D. K. Fieldhouse, The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism, ed. H. Kearney (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1967), pp. 74-85.

materials from the home of capital. In due course, what Hilferding called the added value on capital (profits) would also be channeled to the home of capital, where interest on the loans further adds to the accumulation of wealth.

Hence it was the great banks who now exploited developing countries under the guise of aiding them. According to Hilferding, unlike the old industrial capitalism, finance capitalism does not want freedom, but domination founded on an ideology of power acquired and used not by brute force but in subtle ways that nevertheless achieved the control of backward sources of profits.<sup>89</sup>

According to Nikolai Lenin in Selected Works, imperialism has emerged as a new colonial policy of continued dominance and exploitation of territories. Specifically, world finance capital, monopolistic in function, has emerged as "the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history."<sup>90</sup> Syndicates, trusts and cartels have merged with the few big banks manipulating vast financial resources. These banks in each of the capitalist territories have united into a financial oligarchy dispensing money which constitutes a major part of the "capital and income of entire countries."<sup>91</sup>

---

89. Winslow, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

90. Lenin, op. cit., "Main Trends," p. 214.

91. Ibid.

Therefore, the existence of all the economic and political establishments of contemporary bourgeois society is contingent on the aspirations of the imperial monetary institution.

Speaking of international loans in The Accumulation of Capital, Rosa Luxemburg has stated that in the imperialist era which is characterized by lending abroad, foreign loans can make positive contributions toward the independence of developing states. They are nevertheless an absolutely sure link by which "the old capitalist states maintain their influence, exercise financial control and exert pressure on the customs, foreign and commercial policy of young states."<sup>92</sup> And as such they widen the range of capital accumulation. One way by which this is achieved is that the loans influence demand for, and provide the means of purchasing, foreign commodities which purchase is almost invariably a condition of the loan. The effect of this is a cultural disposition of the indigenous people to consume conspicuously, luxuriously and beyond their means.

With huge capitals at their disposal, new local companies are established to exploit natural resources of the developing countries. However, a large portion of the money loaned by imperialist international financial institutions, finds its way back to the metropolitan lending countries to purchase machinery.

---

92. Rosa Luxemburg, op. cit., p. 421.

This influx of money facilitates a continuing wide gap between imports and exports. The progressively unfavourable trade relation is further fuelled by the opening of foreign banks in the developing areas which make available large capitals to pay for imports. Under the guise of financial assistance, the loans serve to expand markets for foreign goods. Periodical bankruptcy does not stem the tide of inflow of such massive capital.

As the local economy faces imminent collapse, requests for large loans are met in part, but securities are quoted at almost half their face value (devalued). In the interim, public debt increases and, consequently, taxation. Shortly, the country becomes insolvent so there must be total reliance on international loans. Additional requests for loans brings the international monetary body to examine and regulate the borrowing country's finance as a condition of the loan. Conditions are usually austere, hence the population faces hardships as goods, social programs, and services must be cut back. Thereafter, the "productive forces become prey" to imperialist capital.

Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania and democratic socialist, criticized the economic, and consequently, political, power which capitalism and neo-colonialism gave the few individuals over the many, the rich nations over the developing ones, respectively.

He emphasized the fact that despite theoretical political independence existed, there was still the

struggle to make independence a reality. Such could not have been achieved for the masses continued "to be exploited by their old masters or by new ones."<sup>93</sup>

Within nation states, the vast majority of the people were poor and deprived, whereas a few possessed enormous wealth. So it was too among nations. The gravity of the situation was that the rich man had power over the lives of the poor; likewise, rich nations controlled the policies of poor nations. For example, in order to purchase machines for development, Third World countries have had to sell their primary commodities on the world market, and "prices obtained and paid are both determined by the 'forces of the free market',"<sup>94</sup> which are those of imperialism.

It was tragic that our national and international social and economic systems have sustained and amplified the inequities which, in some cases were deliberately designed by the rich and powerful, and in others, resulted from the "normal workings of the social and economic systems, that indigenous leaders had not altered since 'independence.'

However, real independence meant that social and political development must be concomitant with economic progress, "or even precede it." In order for injustice not to be increased internationally and nationally as a result

---

93. Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 42.

94. Ibid., p. 214.

of economic growth, societies should organize and control their own economic activities.

Under capitalism technology and economic growth have advanced greatly. But because the decisions as to what to produce have been made by the few who have control over capital, only the few have benefitted from such progress.

However, according to President Nyerere, "human dignity involves equality and freedom and relations of mutual respect among men."<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the need for true socialism of Ujamaa or "familyhood" which would not permit wealth to co-exist with poverty. It was opposed to capitalism "which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seems to build a happy society on the philosophy of the inevitable conflict between man and man."<sup>96</sup> Socialism was brotherly love as it defined society as an extension of the basic family unit in which there were no class distinctions. Society should therefore provide work for everybody. Nyerere wanted new industries to build self-reliance through "import substitution that is to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries."<sup>97</sup> Hence, socialism required the people, through the medium of their government

---

95. Ibid., p. 218.

96. Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 170.

97. Nyerere, Freedom and Development, p. 311.

and their co-operatives, to own and control the major means of production and exchange. Human worth depended on responsibility and meaningful participation in the activities of society in which they live and work. The community is the rightful owner of land. So each individual had a right to use land productively to earn a living.

According to anti-colonial revolutionary Franz Fanon (1925-1961), a major obstacle to development was that the decolonized leader's vision was distorted "by colonialism and all its ways of thinking,"<sup>98</sup> to the extent that he viewed society as individuals in isolation. Intact were thought and behavior patterns of "the colonialist bourgeoisie,"<sup>99</sup> because the native desired to absorb and maintain the oppressor's culture. Such was the case in areas that were not sufficiently shaken by the struggle for liberation. According to Fanon, it was necessary to employ violence as a cleansing force to rid society absolutely of colonialism and all its fetters. The colonized people would then regain their true identity and establish a just co-operative society. To the extent that Fanon opted for the holistic approach to understanding and governing of society, rather than the individualistic, he was socialist.

All schools of socialist thought were critical of society based on the accumulation of private property

---

98. Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1968), p. 64.

99. Ibid., p. 65.

because it exploited workers, enriched the few and produced a political structure designed to protect and perpetuate inequalities.

Certain basic concerns and ideas developed in the socialist tradition are consistent with Manley's philosophy. Both he and Sir Thomas More advocated co-operative ownership of landed property which should be utilized productively for the benefit of all. Such was a means of ensuring them a measure of equality.

Rousseau, like Manley, charged that excessive and unfair accumulation of private property by the wealthy who were the minority, created discord between them and the vast majority of people who had very little property or no wealth at all. The fruits of the earth were for all, so social interest in property was paramount over that of the individual.

Babeuf decried class distinctions, especially those based on occupation. It was Manley's view that people of different occupations, some more technical, others more sophisticated, were of equal worth. They only functioned at different levels and in different circumstances. There were only functional differences. They were all of equal worth as all who performed productively gave equally valuable service.

In relation to the economy both Saint-Simon and the Jamaican Prime Minister agreed that human beings were more important than things. There was need for full employment,

so in building the economy human resources should be utilized at the expense of machine, rather than the reverse. In addition to self reliance through mass education, they advocated a mixed economy.

Fourier and Owen favored agricultural and industrial co-operatives, owned by all, over capitalism and divisive and reckless spread of competition. There was to be intensive land cultivation. The Jamaican leader is an avid proponent of co-operatives, as well as increased and accelerated agricultural production. There should also be a reasonable interest on investment.

Thomas Hodgskin as well as Manley censured inequitable distribution of wealth and privilege and government which served the interests of the rich instead of promoting and enacting policies in the interest of the whole nation.

Similar to Proudhon who said that private landed property must always be productively farmed or be "lost" to the collectivity, Manley proposed that those who owned agricultural lands must farm them or they would be bought by government and converted into co-operative farms.

Marx called for an end to capitalism because capitalists became wealthy off the toil of labourers who were sinking into poverty while the capitalists became increasingly wealthy. He called for the substitution of the capitalist system with a socialist one of communal production and redistribution. Similarly, Manley criticized the capitalist system as increasingly exploitive of labour, and

advocated its replacement by an egalitarian socialist system.

Despite the need for a drastic shift from capitalism to socialism because of the iniquities of the former, Louis Blanc defended working within the democratic political system to elect a government to implement the necessary changes. The socialist government should nationalize key industries to provide revenue for social reform. It is also Manley's philosophy that social and political change need not take a violent course. He opted for the ballot rather than the bullet. Monopolistic and other essential industries, according to Manley, should be publicly owned.

According to Fabian socialists the state's role was the protector of the poor and provider of equality of opportunity. Workers should also participate in state run administration. Christian socialists charged that individualism and negative competition which brought misery to the poor, have obstructed the state's efforts of positive reform. For them, socialism was the fulfilment of Christianity, brotherhood and love. According to Manley, an egalitarian democratic socialist system embraced brotherhood and equality as Christian principles. Equality also meant the opportunity to participate in both public and private decision making processes.

Guild socialist G. H. D. Cole said that the unjust wage system of capitalism was the root cause of society's problems. He therefore advocated self-governing national

guilds operated by the people and wherein they could enjoy purposeful freedom. He, as well as Manley, also advocated a system of guaranteed income for everyone.

The system of state socialism that Eduard Bernstein advocated was similar to Michael Manley's which was to be arrived at through the democratic process of elections. It would prevent capitalist exploitation of the rest of society. Both thinkers recommended national insurance and social welfare. Likewise, Harold Laski called for a change from capitalism to socialism to ensure liberty and equality of educational and economic opportunity that Manley's system was supposed to provide.

President Julius Nyerere as well as Michael Manley lamented the fact that despite formal political independence, former colonial (now neo-colonial) rulers still controlled, directed and exploited the economy of developing countries, thus leaving them poor. Therefore, for Third World countries to develop, guided by socialism of familyhood and brotherly love, they must seize control and direction of their economies and produce in the interest of the nation.

In Franz Fanon's view, the major obstacle to Third World development was that their leaders had not reformed the colonial economic system which they inherited, because they still possessed the colonial mentality that dominated their thought processes. What was needed was a violent break from colonialism, and a fresh start toward real

economic and political independence and justice. The Jamaican Prime Minister also charged that even after political independence, Jamaica's economy in all important respects was geared toward colonial interests, but under socialism the economy would be liberated and reorganized to serve the interests of the Jamaican people.

It may well be that Michael Manley, in his quest for a new Jamaica, and a new people, has relied on a history of political and social thoughts to guide him in formulating a philosophy consistent with socialist aspirations to transform an essentially capitalist society into a more egalitarian social, political and economic system.

The chapter following will explore such a philosophy.

## CHAPTER 4

### MANLEY'S PHILOSOPHY

Any summary of Michael Manley's philosophy cannot encompass all of the various ideas he has expressed. John Hearne, one of his biographers, estimated that, "since 1952, Manley has spoken or written several million words; and of these, something like three million are on record."<sup>1</sup> His general concern has been with the effects of capitalism and colonialism on Jamaica. The major themes in his work deal with economic and social mobility and equality, job security, industrial and agricultural development, democratic ownership of the means of production, participatory democracy and educational opportunities.

These themes pervade his two books, The Politics of Change (1972), and A Voice at the Workplace (1975). The latter depicts class attitudes in Jamaica and the struggle by Jamaican workers to achieve rights, status and ultimately responsible freedom at the work place.<sup>2</sup> The

- 
1. Michael Manley, The Search for Solutions, ed. by J. Hearne (Ontario: Maple House Publishing Co., 1976), p. 32.
  2. Michael Manley, A Voice at the Workplace: Reflections on Colonialism and the Jamaican Worker (London: Andre Deutsch, 1975), p. 10.

other stipulates a philosophy of change as well as a method to accomplish change. It is, among other accounts, an historical analysis of Jamaica's problems from "primitive" times to the present, with general comparisons to other developing countries, with the theme being the struggle of former colonial people for freedom and civil rights. In contrast with most earlier socialist writings, both works are those of a politician involved actively in the struggles he was analysing.

According to Manley, emancipation did not mean practical freedom. The political and other institutions that guided relationships in an "emancipated" Jamaica were prescribed and directed by Westminster, whose paramount interest, at least to the post-1945 period, was the maintenance of its colonial system. On the link between that system and oppression of Jamaican people, Manley observed: This in turn has fashioned the Jamaican's personality to be defiant of authority. Therefore the government decision making process should be democratized to give legitimacy to rules.

The colonial system subsequent to the abolition of slavery continued to be oppressive in all respects other than the legal question of status that was involved in slavery . . . for there was no experience tending to present authority in a new light. So far from appearing to be the source of security and order in society, authority continued to be the instrument of oppression.<sup>3</sup>

---

3. Michael Manley, The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament (London: Andre Deutsch, 1974), p. 30.

The state was an instrument through which a particular social class in its own interest dominated the rest of society. It was natural that the particular social class that controlled society would be people of property. Since they were the law makers, it was logical that the laws would favour property. As a matter of fact, the colonial rule coincided with the great period of laissez faire in metropolitan history and the laws reflected a "savage bias" in favour of property; compounding the problem was the fact that the vast majority of people owned no landed property. Hence Manley's call for a revision of the laws to protect not only the rights of property owners but also those of the propertyless.

It is incredible to observe that in the year 1972 the punishment for the theft of property could be greater than for the kidnapping of a child. Equally, an examination of laws as they affect landlords and tenants or in relation to hire purchase agreements and the re-possession of property all indicate this bias . . . In a just society, property exists to serve men and not men to serve property.<sup>4</sup>

Land should also be equitably distributed, inasmuch as too few owned too much and too many possessed too little. This was unreasonable, unjust, envy and hate inducing and potentially socially explosive.

A governmental system which denied the majority of its population the opportunity to own a reasonable amount

---

4. Ibid., p. 59.

of property, and whose laws were fashioned to protect minority property interests, could scarcely be expected, according to Manley, to provide an educational system relevant to the needs of the majority of the people. He noted that the educational system failed to provide most of the population with the basic skills needed for the island's economic development.<sup>5</sup> Most pupils received only a rudimentary education in arithmetic, qualifying them for little more than low paying sales jobs, while many could barely read and write.<sup>6</sup>

The Jamaican educational system . . . did not reflect a realistic balance between the needs of economic development and the actual training that it provided . . . In the past the economy

---

5. Ibid., p. 85.

6. Ibid., p. 142. In Area Handbook for Jamaica (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 70-71, Irvin Kaplan et al. report that after the abolition of slavery poor sanitation and housing in rural areas left most people chronically ill from malaria and intestinal diseases. The educational picture was not much better as in the 18th century, wealthy Jamaican families had endowed a few free schools for poor white or light skinned children, which survived as secondary schools accepting fees; but the children of slaves had deliberately been left unlettered . . . An inspection of government aided schools in 1864 found them inefficiently run, too few in number, and providing elementary education of poor quality . . . Despite reforms of primary education in 1883 . . . standards of education remained very low and rates of illiteracy high for most of the population, mainly because of an underlying prejudice among men at the top against "book learning" for labourers, which they felt was conducive to "indolence" rather than desired "habits of industry." The problems of Jamaican education were never wholly solved so that though the school system at the time of independence was in advance of the smaller colonies of the British West Indies, it fell considerably below the British Standards held up as the desirable norm.

was seen as a place which provided two alternatives. Either one belonged to the great majority who could not escape from the world of manual labour, or one belonged to the minority who enjoyed a privilege status through professional training or as a result of a minor excursion into the lower reaches of classical education.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, according to Manley, the distinction of educational opportunities was grossly unfair.

It was not even necessary for the children of big land owners to have a good education to secure a socially acceptable place in society. Hereditary rights assured them a secure and undemanding future. Yet the three R's were made available only to some of the children of the masses. It was this kind of limited educational system that Manley claimed "was enough to keep the wheels of a colonial economy turning."<sup>8</sup> A truly emancipated Jamaica needed an educational system that was open to all. Generally education should be free to all, and the teaching of technical skills relevant to Jamaica's development would be a most worthwhile state investment and should be paramount. In the long run Jamaica would become self-reliant through quality education.

Given that "the traditional pattern of education exactly reflected the realities of power,"<sup>9</sup> it was to be

---

7. Ibid., p. 141.

8. Ibid., p. 142; see also footnote 6.

9. Ibid., p. 141.

expected that there existed in "the colonial capitalist system, a permanent and predetermined distinction between he who owned capital and he who was employed on its behalf."<sup>10</sup> Manley characterized this distinction as sharply defined and virtually absolute; the distant owners of capital monopolized management decisions and claimed an inordinate share of profits while native workers were paid subsistence wages for their obedient labour. As a step toward eradicating poverty and class division native people should now be given capital assistance to establish and run business or purchase at least 51% of all foreign owned business. Key industries especially those of a monopolistic nature, as well as transportation and communication systems, should also be nationalized for the benefit of the collectivity.

Most of the big industries, for example the United Fruit Company of America and Tate and Lyle Construction Company of Britain, were owned and controlled by foreign interests.<sup>11</sup>

Business structure reflected a general separation

---

10. Ibid., p. 109.

11. Ibid., p. 84. In 1958, 50 per cent of Jamaica's exports were from the United Kingdom which took 39 per cent of Jamaica's exports. Eleven years later these had fallen to 21 per cent and 19 per cent respectively and their value had increased only 10 per cent. However, the value of trade with the United States and Canada had increased over 400 per cent and 100 per cent respectively. Domination of important sectors of the Jamaican economy such as public utilities, banking and life insurance, shifted from the U.K. to Canada and the

between local labour and supervisory personnel. Their subordination to distant management undermined self-confidence among local entrepreneurs making them timid and cautious in producing goods for local consumption. There should be local and worker participation in ownership and management of these businesses.

Manley pointed out that "perhaps the most characteristic of all the common features of colonial economies is the tendency towards export-import orientation."<sup>12</sup>

Jamaica's ports "existed for the sole purpose of exporting local agricultural products to the United Kingdom and as points at which British manufactured goods were received."<sup>13</sup> Up until 1945, Jamaica's exports were solely agricultural: bananas, pimento, coffee, citrus, cocoa and semi-processed sugar. The prices for these products, however, oscillated but tended not to rise over time. The manufactured goods which were imported enjoyed stability with the tendency to rise in price. This was so because

---

U.S. In fact, "In the field of investments the vast majority of the investments in the private sector now comes from the United States. It has been estimated that some 60 per cent now flows from the U.S. with the balance divided between the U.K. and Canada." Quoted by Trevor Munroe, op. cit., pp. 196-197, from statement by G. Arthur Brown, former financial secretary and Governor of the Bank of Jamaica, in "Issues in Foreign Policy of the English-speaking Caribbean," New World Group Seminar, July 18, 1970.

12. Ibid., p. 78.

13. Ibid., p. 79.

prices for goods exported and imported were set by international capitalists who monopolized world markets. So, "in consequence, as the generations passed, it took more and more sugar to buy a tractor, a turbine or motor car . . . Thus economies like Jamaica's are trapped in a vicious circle unless they find the means to break out of the pattern which they have inherited."<sup>14</sup> One effect of this on the agricultural sector was the reduction of employment opportunities. In Jamaica's case, "goods and service produced locally for local consumption make up a comparatively small share of the economy."<sup>15</sup>

Hence the cultural disposition of Jamaicans to consume conspicuously, and beyond their means, as a result of the flooding of the Jamaican market with foreign products. The country has been forced into this unfavourable trade relation mainly because of its reliance on direct foreign loans and those from foreign owned and controlled local banks. Because these lending institutions made it a condition of the loans that machinery and other goods be purchased from the lending countries, money disguised as aid further impoverished the developing country and added to the continued accumulation of capital in the donor country. Finance therefore has decisive control over the business sector. Compounding the problem has been the

---

14. Ibid., p. 79.

15. Ibid.

"progressive" insolvency of the borrowing country which must further seek loans from international lending agencies to avert at least temporarily, imminent bankruptcy. Further, even more stringent, nay, austere, conditions are imposed on the government whose policies to a very great extent are now dictated by those international lending bodies whose immense financial resources have the newly "independent" countries in the grips of imperialism and its continued accumulation of capital. One answer to the problem was for Jamaicans to produce more and eat more locally produced nutritious foods instead of relying on foreign products. Banks should also be nationalized. The economy would improve.

The traditional economy reflected the absence of linkages and created the problem of "poverty and value added."<sup>16</sup> The lowest point of the value-added at the different stages of the sugar process is at reaping and milling to the stage of raw sugar. These are done locally. "It is highest at the level of refined sugar, confectionery and the final blending of rum,"<sup>17</sup> and these are done abroad. Because the processing industries were mainly in foreign countries, the local people lacked employment opportunities, especially in relatively skilled, remunerative, industrial jobs. To remedy this, he recommended

---

16. Linkages mean industries that exist for the reason that another exists; value added, the increased wealth which accrues as one proceeds along the productive process.

17. Ibid., p. 83.

that Jamaica not only grow sugar, but should also make refined sugar, confectionery, mollasses, rum, citric acid, bagasse\* board (a building material), and other products.

Modernization was also a key to the problem in the export sector of which traditional ownership lacked entrepreneurial skill and initiative to remedy the situation. Labour displacement had been one of the fears of modernization in the agricultural enterprise.<sup>18</sup> Manley's answer to this "exaggerated" fear was that the "by-product development . . . may well absorb much of the labour that might be displaced by modernization."<sup>19</sup> For local producers to stay in business they had to turn to labour saving devices in the form of sophisticated technology to combat "rising costs and stagnant prices."<sup>20</sup> When this equipment wore out, its replacement cost had escalated to the point that more agricultural products had to be exported to pay for it. Thus even more sophisticated and efficient machinery had to be imported to reduce farm costs further.

---

\*Residue left after the juice has been extracted from sugar cane.

18. The writer recalls some time during the early 1960's the Jamaica Cane Farmers Association told the Government that the survival and growth of cane farming in Jamaica depended on mechanization of reaping and loading of sugar cane. The Prime Minister, the late Sir Alexander Bustamante, adamantly refused to allow mechanization on the ground that it would throw the labourers out of work.

19. Ibid., p. 97.

20. Ibid., p. 79.

Farmers who lacked the capital to survive in this vicious circle had to mortgage their holdings and became captive to financiers. The colonial system thus condemned local farmers to dependence on foreign capital-intensive technology and because of this "chronic tendency to import other people's technology, we were condemned to the kind of capital intensive processes which are appropriate for metropolitan countries at their contemporary stage of development."<sup>21</sup> Manley's conclusion was that capital-intensive technology as a cause of increasing unemployment and farm consolidation, was proving destructive of Jamaican society. Consequently, it should be recognized that political decolonization did not mean and bring economic liberation. There needed to be national sovereignty over Jamaica's resources as well as state

---

21. Ibid., p. 95. The Jamaican economy, like any other neo-colonial economy, was not geared by the imperial powers who controlled it to suit the needs of Jamaica. Basically Jamaica was a source of raw materials, market for manufactured goods and foreign capital investment and profit repatriation by the investors. Further, profitable by-product and value-added ventures as well as equipment and spare part factories were established in the metropolitan countries. Hence, by any measure Jamaica is economically underdeveloped. Because monopolies stagnated prices for what Jamaica produced and naturally owing to increase in worker's wages, costs of externally produced fertilizer, machinery and spare parts (production costs) for the farmers to remain viable production costs had to be cut somewhere. Logically they had to be in the area of labour saving devices. Production then became capital intensive which was unsuited to Jamaica because with no by-product and or value-added enterprises, labourers displaced by machinery had no alternative form of employment: the dilemma of neo-colonialism.

planning (mixed economy) so that government could utilize available expertise to reorganize the economy and establish joint farming-manufacturing-processing ventures to absorb displaced labour.

Related to this was the problem of worker insecurity. Management also showed no courtesy and respect for him. The worker was not being treated as a total human being and neither was "he given a chance to understand the total industrial process and hence the reason for the rules and regulations and the need for the orders that are given from time to time."<sup>22</sup> Manley condemned modern industry as dehumanizing because it stifled workers' self-expression and creativity. In the sugar industries the situation was further compounded by the availability of jobs for little more than half the year.

Seasonal unemployment and under-employment were built into the system and strengthened the bargaining position of management to the disadvantage of labour. Bosses could freely alter working conditions without any regard for workers' views. The commonly accepted view of employer-management superiority and consequently the tendency to authoritarianism,<sup>23</sup> was wrong. The fact that some were in a position to issue orders which others merely obeyed did

---

22. Michael Manley, A Voice, pp. 70-71.

23. Ibid., pp. 68-69. Kaplan, op. cit., p. 36, noted that in Jamaica, "under-employment rivals unemployment in seriousness. In the October 1973 survey week only 58 per cent of the labour force employed at any time during

not make the former inherently superior to the latter, since the difference was functional rather than moral. Manley's concept of equality thus challenged the basic ideological foundation of capitalism, by advancing a worker's moral claim to share in the making of decisions which affected him. Forced recognition of unions by management could achieve that. Guaranteed income and a national social assistance and insurance system could also solve the problem of out of season unemployment.

A central characteristic of colonialism was separation of the colonized from access to power and responsibility for government decisions. This exclusion contributed to undermining the self-confidence of the colonial people. This was compounded, in industrial enterprise, by the exclusion of workers from the decision making process, which they regarded with awe as almost "divine." Manley described the relationship thus:

The decision-making process, the management function and an indefinite entitlement to the lion's share of the proceeds of economic activity were reserved to the owner of capital . . . Populations were brainwashed into believing that those distinctions were divinely ordained and represented immutable laws of the system itself.<sup>24</sup>

---

the previous year had worked continuously, and 13 per cent had worked less than six months. During the survey week itself more than 13 per cent of those employed had worked less than 33 hours. Moreover, it is often estimated that 50 per cent of the agricultural labor force is unemployed during half of the year."

24. Michael Manley, The Politics p. 109.

To overcome the resignation and fatalism of the majority of Jamaicans, as regards their capacity to reform the economic and political system, Manley advocated democratization of the decision making process and ownership of the means of production. He called for the substantial replacement of capitalism which he defined as a philosophy and a total method for the organization of economic and social affairs in a country. It claimed that the making of profits and the selfish pursuit of personal gain was the supreme activity which every person must pursue and that everything else comes second.<sup>25</sup> Capitalism means that wealth was the chief source of power which rich people used "to entrench and increase the social and economic exploitation of the poor and middle classes."<sup>26</sup> It caused class conflict. This arrangement needed to be substituted by one in which there were equal opportunities for all, with no distinction between masters and servants, and all citizens working together in an egalitarian community.

Egalitarianism could only be achieved in a democratic socialist system that embraced at least four basic principles:

1. The democratic political process;
2. The Christian principles of brotherhood and equality;

---

25. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 3 December, 1974.

26. Michael Manley, The Search, p. 159.

3. The ideals of equal opportunity and equal rights;
4. Determination to prevent the exploitation of our people.

The rights of all human beings should be accepted inasmuch as the most fundamental purpose of socialism was the well-being of all. So private investment should realize a reasonable amount of profit, and private property was not undesirable provided social interest in it was preserved. Each person should have an equal chance to fulfill himself and accomplish happiness. All should have adequate housing and health care. These were Christian socialist ideals which expressed belief in the equal value of human beings who should be concerned about one another's well being, not only spiritually but also materially. Jamaica's machinery of privilege must be scrapped.<sup>27</sup> This would clear the path towards an egalitarian society now blocked not only by the "facts of minority power, but strewn with debris of a thousand forms of attitudinal conditioning."<sup>28</sup> It would

---

27. Ibid., p. 158.

28. For a comprehensive, detailed enunciation and clarification of the basic principles of democratic socialism in the Jamaican context, see ibid., pp. 155-159. Although socialism remained a guiding principle of the P.N.P. from 1952-74, it was not until the advent of Michael Manley that it was so clarified and used as a platform appeal to the electorate and thus for the first time in the history of Jamaica's two-party system a clear-cut radical distinction was highlighted between the J.L.P. and P.N.P. Indeed, Gordon K. Lewis observed in The Growth of the Modern West Indies (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 184, that the Jamaican political force after 1944 provided the skeleton of a constitutional ritual of a vigorous two-party system

be recognized that all are not born with equal talents nor aptitudes; neither would everyone make equal technical contributions to society. But all would be valued as being of equal worth. The street cleaner's son would have the opportunity to be the head of the largest corporation. By hard work and application, any one would be able to ascend the economic rung<sup>29</sup> on the basis of talents and achievements and be fully accepted by those up there already. In such an environment all would have the opportunity to be economically and socially secure. These and other basic socialist principles must be taught and explained thoroughly to the masses, taken straight to them in their remote communities by cadres through workshops, meetings, songs and even posters.

If social and economic mobility were to be achieved people must at least enjoy job security.<sup>30</sup> They must be

---

that agreed on fundamentals, "for it is true to say that although the PNP styled itself socialist, while consistently refusing to give it a Jamaican definition, and the JLP styled itself the defender of capitalism without comprehending the implications of laissez-faire economics . . . both of them when saddled with the responsibility to govern, adopted similar methods to attain roughly similar ends.

29. The new society would still have differential economic rungs, but there would be meaningful opportunities for everyone to ascend them. The assumption was that not everybody would want to qualify themselves to so ascend but those who qualified could reasonably expect appointment if positions became available.

30. Michael Manley, A Voice...pp. 56-57.

protected from arbitrary and authoritarian dismissal from their jobs, by access to due process. According to established principles of natural justice, any employee suspected of a breach of any company rule must be given a chance to cross-examine witnesses testifying against him, state his defense and call witnesses on his behalf. Such a process would tend to instill in the worker a sense of justice, belonging and equality. This attitude in turn would apply equally to politics.

Under the existing system, the people are popularly involved in the governmental process only at election time. Manley was critical of that kind of limited occasional involvement.<sup>31</sup> What was needed is the creation of institutions that would permit continuous involvement of the people in the decision-making process. Then when great difficulties confronted the government the people would be prepared to make sacrifices "for where there is popular involvement the government may find itself emboldened to call for sacrifice."<sup>32</sup> Popular participation could be achieved by government's involvement of private institutions and interest groups such as unions in its decision making process, as well as decentralization of its institutions for such was "the key to popular involvement."<sup>33</sup>

---

31. Michael Manley, The Politics...p. 67.

32. Ibid., p. 68.

33. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

In Jamaica the problem of popular involvement regarding work extended to the area of choice between man and machine. A cause of high unemployment in Jamaica has been capital intensiveness which Manley claimed was not suited to Jamaica.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the economy was unable to absorb the rising labour force or those displaced by technology. Planning traditionally had aimed at economic growth. The focus was on growth statistics rather than on employment figures and that resulted in unemployment growing

---

34. Trevor Munroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102, noted that during the fifties and early sixties, Jamaica's soaring bauxite industry as well as the inflow of foreign capital ("industrialization by invitation") assisted the Jamaican economy to realize an overall per capita growth in the national income of 5 per cent per annum, and between 1950 and 1961 Gross National Product recorded a growth of roughly 9 per cent, "'magnificent, 'remarkable,' 'equalled at the time only by the achievement of Japan and Puerto Rico.'" But then in 1958, 43 per cent of the national income was controlled by the top 10 per cent of Jamaican households, whereas the lowest 60 per cent enjoyed only 20 per cent of it. Unemployment, the "gravest problem" facing the black masses remained critical: the capital intensiveness of most of the foreign investment meant that while the headlines hailed the millions of pounds investment, the relatively few jobs provided went invariably unnoticed. By the end of 1962, for example, there were eighty-six factories operating in the island under the general incentive laws; these provided direct employment for only some 6,400 persons. The implication of this is far reaching: 'Even if we make the generous assumption that as many jobs were created indirectly in other sectors as a result of the programme, the total would still be only approximately 13,000 jobs in ten years . . . when it is borne in mind that the labour force is increasing at the rate of approximately 20,000 per annum, it becomes apparent that industrialization at this rate is merely scratching the surface of the problem.'"

faster than the economy.<sup>35</sup> This was true also of the post colonial economy so that the gap between the rich and the poor continued to widen. Social justice, however, cannot allow wealth to co-exist alongside of poverty. It is to a significant extent a concomitant of political and economic justice. The psychology of the colonial political and economic minds that administered the state prior to independence permeates the minds of the post-colonial leaders and this poses a barrier to holistic development. There needs to be a drastic break from the past. Then there will be acceptance of economic growth not as an obligation in itself "but a result to be desired to the extent that it creates the conditions within which to pursue full employment and a rising standard of living for everyone."<sup>36</sup> The philosophical argument here is that positive social organization functions to achieve the goal of equality. However, equality and general economic development cannot be achieved unless all have an opportunity to work. Manley has warned that intolerable social tensions resulted from chronic unemployment<sup>37</sup> and that presented a threat to the existing social order. Planning must therefore be concerned with the engagement of substantial human resources in the building of the economy.

---

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., pp. 94-95.

37. During the 1960's unemployment was a high 13 per cent. In 1973 it escalated to 22.7 per cent. Kaplan, op. cit., p. 35.

The Jamaican economy and the employment situation, according to Manley, could not be seriously improved if the problems of agriculture were not urgently tackled. Jamaica needed a strong, viable agriculture sector, producing enough to satisfy most of the local needs.<sup>38</sup> This should be efficiently organized and operated so as to be competitive in levels of productivity.

One of the incentives that could stimulate agricultural success was ownership. It was Manley's philosophy that an important facet of agricultural development is that those who worked the land should have a vested interest in what the land produced. Therefore, the sugar industry, a most vital aspect of the Jamaican economy should be reorganized to include immediate worker participation in ownership. Lands owned by corporations should be redeemed by government and become co-operatives, the property of workers and farmers who were the ones growing and reaping the sugar cane. Not only should workers be co-partners in first stage ventures, but also they should share in the value-added stage of production. The intention was to remove the farmer from the category of purely planter and reaper and to elevate him from the low end of the value-added scale.

Another problem affecting workers and farmers was the

---

38. *Ibid.*, p. 206. In 1974 Jamaica's imports bill was J\$850 million, while exports earned J\$580 million. See Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

land owned by foreigners and speculators. Such a situation according to Manley, "not only mortgages our future but represents a current pressure on a scarce asset."<sup>39</sup>

Several land settlement schemes intended for agricultural production ended up being directed for speculative purposes, rather than economic development.<sup>40</sup> In such schemes, private owners frustrated national economic planning. To avoid this problem, Manly recommended that land should always be under national control or ownership. Ideally, it should never be owned by foreigners,<sup>41</sup> and where this was already the case, their use of the land should be carefully regulated. As for the future, government policy should be that land itself should never be sold except for house spots, only leased for purposes of development. Local land speculators "should be required to develop what they now owned immediately or sell it back to government."<sup>42</sup> The land would then be rented under strict conditions, only to individuals and co-operatives willing to utilize it in production. All arable idle lands should be brought into cultivation.

However, co-operative economic organization was most

---

39. Manley, The Politics, p. 108.

40. In 1966, 100,000 acres of arable land fell in this category. See Irvin Kaplan et al., op. cit., p. 248.

41. The 1968-69 agricultural census recorded 1,934 thousand farms. Of these 10% had absentee owners. See ibid., pp. 245-246.

42. Manley, The Politics, p. 108.

difficult to maintain in viable production mainly because "it has no simple pyramid of authority to hold it together."<sup>43</sup> Studies should be carried out and techniques developed for the successful adaptation and operation of the co-operatives institution which was best able to accommodate the needs of economic and social strategies.<sup>44</sup> Through this venture "the economies of scale can be placed at the service of the small man . . ."<sup>45</sup> As well, it could correct the problem of small farmer inefficiency. Operating in a co-operative enterprise, skilled artisans could also combine to promote the growth of the service sector of the economy. For Manley, however, the main area suitable for co-operative development was farming, where individuals could pool their resources for larger scale, more efficient operations, while still retaining a degree of personal ownership. Farm co-operatives could also share in the subsequent stages of the economic process developed from the original crop, to keep the wealth of the farm sector and to give workers a fair share in both sectors.

Becoming co-owners of the means of production and

---

43. Ibid., p. 98.

44. See recent studies by Carl Stone, "An Appraisal of the Co-operative Process in the Jamaican Sugar Industry," and E. R. M. Le Franc, "The Co-operative Movement in Jamaica: An Exercise in Social Control," 27 (March, 1978), Social and Economic Studies, 1-20 and 21-43, respectively.

45. Manley, The Politics, p. 113.

owners of the land they farm would give workers psychological, as well as material, benefits.<sup>46</sup> Once they were integrated into all stages of production, the nation would become truly self-reliant, and independent of external economic and cultural domination. Joint ownership and administration would build Jamaicans' acceptance of responsibility for running their own affairs.

With this accomplished, progress would follow in the creative use of leisure, as self-assurance and more free time, unimpaired by the fatigue of unrewarding drudgery, would promote intellectual interests in music, art and literature.<sup>47</sup> Such awareness, in Manley's view, is essential to social justice because it would enrich human appreciation of the more complex issues involved in creating a just society.

One of these issues concerns the need for a proper balance between individual and group needs. While the individual is of fundamental importance, and should not be sacrificed to group interests, individuals in some instances might be required to surrender a measure of their rights to collective needs. But this "surrender" should be the result not of authoritarian fiat but of voluntary recognition of one's obligation to others. To Manley, Jamaica's development as a just society depends ultimately

---

46. Ibid., p. 42.

47. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

on each individual's sense of personal responsibility and acknowledgement that he is his brother's keeper.

In the subsequent chapter an examination of his government's record should give one the opportunity of assessing an extent to which Manley's philosophy has been brought into action.

## CHAPTER 5

### MANLEY'S GOVERNMENT 1972-1978:

#### ITS POLICY RECORD

When radical and sweeping changes are being instituted, the rich and privileged few are bound to offer resistance. In proposing his reforms, Manley accordingly expected some opposition, especially from owners of capital, but he did not expect them to become his intransigent antagonists.<sup>1</sup> He believed that the capitalist system was adaptable to change, without precipitating violence or a general economic collapse. His goals were protective legislation and assistance for trade union

- 
1. Manley has often times charged that the capitalist private sector and other owners of capital in an attempt to make his government look bad have refused to expand business and start new ones despite his government's encouragement and offer of financial assistance and tax incentives and thus have deliberately contributed to a steep rise in unemployment. (For statistics on unemployment, see footnote 21 this chapter.) Irvin Kaplan *et al.* in Area Handbook for Jamaica (Washington, D.C.: American University, 1976), p. 29, reported that during the 1960's and early 1970's employment in manufacturing grew at a faster rate than the labour force; most of it from expansion of existing plants. Several industrial incentive laws encouraged the establishment of new factories but during the early 1970's the number of enterprises commencing operation under that legislation slackened progressively. The 630 jobs created by new firms in 1973 were slightly fewer than those created in 1972 and well under half of the number created in 1971.

activity to limit the mistreatment of workers and to equalize economic opportunities. He opted for the peaceful reform of Jamaican society by democratic methods rather than by revolutionary means.<sup>2</sup>

This desire to transform Jamaica from a mainly capitalist, to a mainly socialist, country involved changes in political procedures to promote popular participation in the decision making process. One example of this approach occurred in the area of housing policy. To develop "the provision of houses through self-reliance," his government institutionalized the participation of both workers and employers in a National Housing Trust. This required that contributions be collected from employees and employers to build and repair houses. Housing needs of workers were assessed, graded and categorized from the most needy to the least needy. A system of random selection within each category was established to give everybody in the category an equal chance of getting a house. The employer-participant twice yearly was awarded a bonus of his government enforced contributions. Within a year of its inception in 1976 the Trust built more than 4,000 new housing units and provided 6,000 home improvement loans.<sup>3</sup>

Another aspect of the government's concern to promote

- 
2. Marx and Engels predicted and "welcomed a period of violence and dictatorship" to end capitalism (exploitation) and usher in socialism. See Alfred G. Meyer, op. cit., p. 19.
  3. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 5 April 1977.

participation was its involvement of workers in industrial management decisions. In 1976 Manley set up a committee of distinguished professionals to study and report on how this could be accomplished.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile the government placed workers at all levels of management of two government owned businesses, as well as the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation and the Jamaica Public Service Company, which supplied the island's electricity. Government-run college and school administrations were also decentralized. Their boards were restructured to include four government appointees, the school principal, one academic staff member, one administrative staff member, an ancillary person, one member of the student body, a nominee of the past student association and a representative of any properly constituted community organization, chosen democratically by the respective bodies.<sup>5</sup>

The government also promised to consult with and listen to representatives of farmers, manufacturers and traders organizations and trade unionists before initiating any policies which were likely to affect them. Likewise unorganized private businessmen were invited to participate in decisions by government corporations. General economic policies were to be arrived at through an Economic Planning Council "supported by advisory committees in which the

---

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., April 26, 1977.

politician, the government technician and relevant institutional leadership meet regularly to discuss and plan."<sup>6</sup> Regional planning, too, was to involve consultation with local residents, to encourage them to think for themselves and offer their ideas to the central government's technocrats who thereafter refined and implemented these suggestions.<sup>7</sup> Over all, the government launched a 'politics of participation' which was avowedly intended "to make government the beneficiary of institutional advice and responsive to popular need."<sup>8</sup>

The concept of popular participation was also applied to the recognition by employers of unions chosen by workers to represent them. The Jamaican Constitution had already given the individual the right of freedom of association and specifically to belong to trade unions for the protection of "his interests."<sup>9</sup> Yet no laws obliged an employer to recognize and bargain with his employees' union. To promote the establishment of unions and to regularize collective bargaining procedures, accordingly, the government in 1974 initiated an Industrial Disputes and Labour Relations Act which prescribed a system for the determination, and recognition, of bargaining rights.

---

6. Michael Manley, The Politics, p. 70.

7. Ibid., p. 73.

8. Ibid., p. 75.

9. The Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council 1962  
(Kingston: Government Printer), section 23.

If more than one union claimed bargaining rights, upon the request of the employer the Minister of Labour is empowered to cause a ballot to be taken. If two or more competing unions which gain more than 30% of the votes polled request joint bargaining rights, they shall be granted.<sup>10</sup> If industrial disputes occurred the parties were required to negotiate settlement. If accord was not reached, the next attempt would be by conciliation. If that failed, an Industrial Court would arbitrate and its decision would be binding.<sup>11</sup> The overall purpose was to afford all parties involved equal protection of their rights.

However, the new legislation has not resulted in increased membership. Prior to 1974 and for 1978 the number unionized was approximately 271,848.<sup>12</sup> However, what seemed to have had an impact on membership in the major unions is their structure.

The Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (B.I.T.U.) had been very centralized under the leadership of its founder

---

10. "The Industrial Relations Act," Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 5 June, 1974.

11. Ibid. The Industrial Court is a permanent tribunal established by government and given powers of a judge to call and hear whatever witnesses and examine whatever other evidence it deems relevant, upon pain of fine and/or imprisonment, in the adjudication of industrial disputes.

12. The Europea Year Book of 1978: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications, 1978), p. 641.

and President General, the late Sir Alexander Bustamante. For example, groups of unionized workers at a particular sugar estate or plant were members of a branch. Both branch and individual members had a designated number. There was a parish organizer responsible for the different sections that constituted the branch. His immediate junior was a delegate who was closest to the workers and was the representative of a single section.

The parish organizer's immediate boss was an area supervisor who reported to the island supervisor and vice-president. Of course, the President General was the top boss.

Without Bustamante's personal approval no decision could be made. Under him, the B.I.T.U. which was "totally centralized in its leadership, organization, inspiration and administration had no separate branch structure with clear democratic procedures, through which the independent will of the branch could be expressed and separate needs of the group identified."<sup>13</sup> Negotiations on their behalf were carried out from "above" and decisions handed down. The B.I.T.U. in 1952 had a membership of 64,679.<sup>14</sup>

Founded in 1952, the National Workers Union had also been launched as a centrally directed "blanket union" wherein a central core of leaders tended to formulate the policies, advance the claims and negotiate the settlements for all categories of workers.

However, Michael Manley as Industrial Relations supervisor influenced the reorganization of both its structure and function along democratic lines. All union

---

13. Michael Manley, A Voice, p. 38. 14. Ibid., p. 34.

officers are now elected at an annual conference at which all sections are represented. Paid organizers, workers in the fields and factories constitute the executive.<sup>15</sup>

Annually, each section of an enterprise elects stewards who in turn elect a central core of delegates as representatives of the workers. The delegates participate at all stages of "contract negotiations, disciplinary dispute or interpretive wrangle under a contract."<sup>16</sup> During negotiation of a contract all sections are invited to give their views. Delegates, union staff and stewards then meet and reduce the differing claims to a single claim which at a general meeting the workers are privileged to amend and finally sanction. Along with officers of the union a full complement of delegates negotiates with management, and any final settlement reached would have been previously agreed on by the general membership. It should not be surprising that by 1966 the N.W.U. had a membership of 128,831 workers which increased to 149,569 in 1974 and remained approximately the same in 1978.<sup>17</sup>

Founded in 1938, the B.T.U. in 1952 had already a

---

15. To ensure a balanced access of workers and officers to the union's final decision making body, the union's constitution limits the number of paid organizers that can be elected to the executive.

16. Michael Manley, A Voice, p. 74.

17. The Europa Year Book of 1966: A World Survey II (London: Europe Publications, 1966), p. 608. The Europa Year Book of 1978: A World Survey II (London: Europa Publications, 1978), p. 640.

membership of 64,679.<sup>18</sup> That grew to 100,459 by 1966, and remained approximately the same for 1974 and 1978.<sup>19</sup>

Manley's philosophy of equality also led to a policy of protection for workers not covered by formal union contracts. The government enacted a minimum wage law, established a three man Advisory Commission, whose chairman was appointed by the government from panels recommended by the unions and the employers' organization. The commission sets minimum wages and maximum hours which govern all contracts of employment and reviews these national standards from time to time.<sup>20</sup> The policy of equalizing wages was also extended to women. In January 1975, Manley declared that women, traditionally paid less than men in Jamaica, were henceforth to be accorded equality, and legislation to that end came into effect in September of the same year.

The minimum wage and the proposed equality of the sexes at work were meaningless expressions to those who were nonetheless continuously or recurrently out of work. When Manley's government took office, the unemployment situation was potentially explosive.<sup>21</sup> In 1976 his

---

18. Op. cit., p. 34.

19. Europa Year Book, 1976 and 1978, pp. 608 and 640, respectively.

20. Michael Manley, A Voice, p. 223.

21. Irvin Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 28-37, reported that in 1973, the Jamaican Labour force was 801,200 (40.3 per cent of the total population). Agricultural and related activities, the largest single employer, employed 26.9 per cent of the labor force. Between 1970

government responded with plans to spend \$9.4 million to set up small industries to employ 5,500 workers.

Immediately prior to this move, such industries provided only 760 persons with employment.<sup>22</sup> In August of the same year the government allocated \$1.5 million for short term relief employment for about 400 persons in Montego Bay.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, the administration also established a Special Employment Programme which by September of 1976 had been allocated \$50 million. Assessing the efficacy of these policies, Manley later claimed that they had provided about 24,500 man hours of employment, including both full time and part time jobs for over 50,000 workers.<sup>24</sup> During 1977 the government allotted another \$37 million for labour intensive projects such as government-run farms, and also announced a Production Plan to create 70,000 more jobs,<sup>25</sup> particularly on large farms which it bought and expanded.

---

and 1973 peak season, employment by fifteen large sugar estates declined from about 23,000 to 18,600. Overall rate of employment was 22.7 per cent. In October 1973, "survey week" only 58 per cent of the labour force employed at any time during the previous year had worked continuously and 13 per cent had worked less than six months. During the survey week itself more than 13 per cent of those employed had worked less than thirty-three hours. It is often estimated that 50 per cent of the agricultural labor force is employed during half the year.

22. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 21 September 1976.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 5 April 1977.

The government also undertook to help the unemployed in rural areas to establish community farms in formerly uncultivated areas.

Government acquisition of land was intended as a first step to co-operative ownership and operation in agriculture.<sup>26</sup> Hence Manley declared that if the people who developed the government bought agricultural lands showed a willingness to farm the lands reliably and efficiently, they would receive titles to own them co-operatively. In particular, in his view, sugar farming needed to be reorganized along co-operative principles to include worker participation in ownership and administration.<sup>27</sup> In furtherance of this goal he announced that the government was initially establishing six co-operatives, and two years later established another three sugar co-operative farms, all of which were governed by elected member committees.<sup>28</sup>

A related purpose of this program was to reduce the country's dependence on food imports and thus improve the trade balance,<sup>29</sup> which for the period 1967-1971 deteriorated to an average of 143.68 million Jamaican dollars

---

26. Manley, Politics, p. 120.

27. Ibid., p. 120.

28. Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 8 April 1975.

29. Manley, Politics of Change, p. 206.

yearly.<sup>30</sup> Specifically to this end, the government in 1972 launched operation GROW, which within twenty months placed 10,000 families on their own individual farms. Under project land lease, the government bought the land from large landholders as per taxroll value and then leased it to the former tenants. The project brought into production lands which formerly were idle and grossly under-utilized, "but now are fairly swelling with food production."<sup>31</sup> To achieve maximum results from Operation GROW, the government announced and financed with \$114.6 million, a comprehensive Land Reform programme, for a period of three years.<sup>32</sup> The programme emphasized the settlement of suitable agricultural land, as well as soil conservation and provision of rural infrastructure such as roads and piped water for irrigation and domestic usage.

In 1975, this policy extended to mining areas. Manley announced in February that 76,000 acres of bauxite lands had been purchased from the Kaiser and Reynolds corporations.<sup>33</sup> A further 230,000 acres was acquired during 1975 from large land owners who had agreed to the government's request to purchase. The government in July

---

30. United Nations Department of Trade, Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1968 (New York: United Nations, 1968), p. 545.

31. Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 10 December 1974.

32. Ibid., 3 April 1974.

33. Ibid., 18 February 1975.

1977 passed legislation allowing compulsory acquisition by government, with compensation as per tax roll value, of leased and other lands deemed necessary for government usage if the government decides to purchase.

Government's acquisition of the leased lands was intended to "give people on these lands the security of the proper amenities"<sup>34</sup> they did not have. Under the new law for tenancy and amenities such as piped water and other sanitation fixtures, residents are required to pay to the government one per cent of the tax roll value of the land.

Because sugar cane farming was vital to the Jamaican economy but was subject to great instability due to international price fluctuations, the government in 1974 established a stabilization fund "out of extra earnings of the 1974 sugar crop" to guarantee farmers a less variable price if the price on the world market declined.<sup>35</sup>

Another purpose of the fund was to meet additional costs and to improve the efficiency of operations. It also ensured that producers would receive a reasonable profit. Prices were reviewed regularly and if costs increased owing to "unavoidable inflationary pressures or deterioration in terms of trade," assistance was given.<sup>36</sup> The

---

34. Ibid., 7 June 1977.

35. Ibid., 13 August 1974. On the 8th May 1979 the Jamaican High Commissioner to Canada, His Excellency Leslie Wilson, at a meeting in Winnipeg informed us that in 1974 the price of Jamaican sugar on the world market went from \$200 to \$1,000 per ton. Now it has fallen to \$250 per ton.

36. Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 5 October 1976.

problem of additional costs occurred in 1974 and the Fund provided \$8 million in interest free loans to sugar cane farmers. In 1976, farmers experienced another price decline. A guaranteed price of \$17.81 per ton was maintained through the Fund. In the absence of the Fund, the farmers would have received about \$10.00 per ton.<sup>37</sup>

The government also moved to remedy the lack of infrastructure facilities and economic opportunities in the rural areas.<sup>38</sup> To help the rural poor, it began a program of rural electrification and promoted simple systems of supplying clean water to villages.<sup>39</sup> In 1975, it also initiated thirty-three road projects and built nine bridges in traditionally isolated areas. In part these transportation improvements were intended to relieve seasonal unemployment on farms by making it easier for workers to go when necessary to new towns for work. The purpose, according to Manley, was "to provide year round employment for rural workers" and thereby promote greater social stability by reducing the unsettling mass migration from the countryside to congested urban areas.<sup>40</sup>

A related policy was the attempt to secure control over strategic sectors of the national economy so they would serve planning objectives, rather than the corporate

---

38. Ibid., 29 April 1975.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

goals of foreign interests.<sup>41</sup> Considering the latter to be "inconsistent with political independence and national sovereignty,"<sup>42</sup> the government began a policy of nationalization and joint ownership of private industry. In 1974, it bought out all the shares of the Jamaica Omnibus Services Limited from the England-based owners "at a net asset value of \$3.5 million."<sup>43</sup> Later the same year, it bought 51% of the shares in the Kaiser Bauxite and estimated its annual profit from the investment would approximate \$1.8 million. In commenting on this arrangement, Kaiser praised the partnership as both "partners were concerned with the interests of each other,"<sup>44</sup> while Manley said it was a true partnership for the first time and thus of "historic, perhaps epochal importance."<sup>45</sup> In April of 1975, the government bought 51 per cent interest in another bauxite company, Reynolds Jamaica Mines. Part of the announcement by Mr. Manley read:

The agreement further establishes the principle of national sovereignty over our national resources and takes a step further to the government's pioneering of new concepts of partnership between a third world country and multi-national corporation within

---

41. Manley, Politics, p. 104.

42. Ibid.

43. Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 24 April 1974.

44. Ibid., 26 November 1974.

45. Ibid.

the framework of majority ownership  
by the host country.<sup>46</sup>

Nationalization and majority ownership in major industries were only part of the government's policy to improve the national economy. It also provided assistance to small industries, by beginning in October and November of 1974, a low interest loan fund totalling almost \$10 million.<sup>47</sup> Within a month, the fund administrators had received some six hundred applications from a wide range of businesses, and by April of 1975, \$2 million had been loaned to successful applicants.<sup>48</sup> In the fall of 1976, the government also announced a \$3 million aid programme for the hotel industry, if it was able to maintain employment or re-employ those laid off as a result of decline in tourism.<sup>49</sup> Again in 1976 the government lent Hanna's, a dry goods establishment, \$4.5 million to keep it from going bankrupt, for "the economy was in a recession and private sector activity [was] sluggish."<sup>50</sup>

---

46. Ibid., 22 April 1975.

47. Ibid., 10 December 1974.

48. Ibid., 29 April 1975.

49. Marlene Cuthbert and Vernone Sparks, "Coverage of Jamaica in U.S. and Canadian Press in 1976, A Study of Press Bias and Effect," Social and Economic Studies 27 (March 1978), p. 204, found: "Jamaica's largest tourist market, that of the U.S., declined by over 30 per cent in 1975 and 1976 while the Canadian market continued to increase--though the '76 increase was much smaller than that of '75."

50. "Will the Plan Work?" Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 10 May 1977.

With respect to banking, the traditional pattern in Jamaica had been that most low income workers and farmers, to the extent that they used such facilities at all, used post offices as local savings banks. These "banks" issued no loans but used deposits to buy government securities.<sup>51</sup> As for the commercial banks, according to one analysis, they were substantially foreign owned and controlled, and "historically played an important role in facilitating the installation of imperialism in Jamaica."<sup>52</sup> To change this situation, the government established the Workers Savings and Loan Bank in 1973. Its purpose was to provide workers with more incentive to save, and easier credit for small businessmen, including those operating farms and co-operative enterprises, and the poor generally. It was also intended to finance housing, administer state trust funds such as pension accounts, and to direct investment in industrial enterprises.<sup>53</sup>

In May of 1975, its directors announced that the bank's emphasis was on loans for agricultural projects, low income housing, co-operatives, quarrying, fishing, manufacturing, construction, and transport. In practice, between September 1974 and March 1975, it granted 60% of all loans

---

51. Claremont Kirton, "Bank Lending and Economic Under-Development in Jamaica: Can an Indigenous Bank Solve the Problem?" Social and Economic Studies 26 (Sept. 1978): 320.

52. Ibid., p. 308.

53. Jamaican Daily Gleaner, 16 February 1973.

to the agricultural sector, but then reportedly began giving to other areas, depending on their "social relevance and economic viability," which presumably meant money for such areas as housing and secondary industry.<sup>54</sup>

In association with the Workers' Bank, the government expanded the role of the Agricultural Marketing Corporation. Intended primarily as a purchaser of last resort of a wide range of crops to guarantee the farmer a fair market,<sup>55</sup> the corporation also undertook research to identify the areas of worst poverty and suffering, and to subsidize the price of food in those areas. It also began providing lower-cost food for schools and hospitals. By 1975, it operated twenty mobile food units, and in 1976 began buying produce at traditional market places, for "realistic prices" to farmers, and then distribute the food to consumers, in an attempt at "reducing the wide difference between what the consumer pays and what the farmers get."<sup>56</sup> Also, with respect to quality maintenance, the corporation staff began inspection services to reduce spoilage and to assure that the food available to the poor

---

54. Ibid., 27 May 1975.

55. Ibid., 14 January 1975. Normally the farmers would sell at a low price to retailers who would then sell to consumers at the highest price available and therefore would realize a higher level of profit than that of the farmers who supposedly invested more time and money in growing and reaping the produce.

56. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 11 May 1976.

was not substandard.

In the government's scale of priorities, education was regarded as "most critical."<sup>57</sup> In 1973, when a quarter of the Jamaican population was classed as functionally illiterate, the government launched the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL). By April of 1975, 90,400 students had registered under the programme, and of these approximately 18,000 had completed a basic course enabling them to read and write.<sup>58</sup> To dramatize these units, Manley had Basil Hamilton, a 23 year old JAMAL graduate, whose total education before 1974 had been only one year in primary school, read a passage from the Bible at the opening of the parliamentary session. By the end of 1977, more than 50,000 JAMAL students were graduating annually, and were providing a large supply of volunteer teachers to accelerate the momentum.<sup>59</sup> JAMAL's directors themselves went into remote areas to recruit more students.<sup>60</sup> In 1974, the government launched another dramatic literacy project by converting twenty-nine buses into classrooms, in the centre of Kingston, for an estimated 15,000 workers.<sup>61</sup> In 1974, 4,500 places were

---

57. Manley, Politics, p. 49.

58. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 29 April 1975.

59. Ibid., 29 July 1975.

60. Ibid., 26 December 1977.

61. Ibid., 19 November 1974.

available in secondary schools. 30,706 students from primary and secondary schools<sup>62</sup> vied for the places.<sup>63</sup> Winners were chosen on the basis of scholastic performance. 73% of the winners came from primary schools and 27 per cent from preparatory schools.<sup>64</sup> Except for stationery and books, education in high school was made free.<sup>65</sup> By April 1975 the government made education at all levels free to all, including the handicapped. The Minister of Education retained and upgraded 27,000 students for further training, particularly in the area of pre-vocational work.<sup>66</sup> Extension of school leaving age from 15 to 17 years continued from 1974. The Manley government also replaced sixth forms with community colleges wherein students would study for university entry as well as occupations at the middle manpower levels.

To increase the numbers of technically trained personnel, the government in 1975 built two new technical high schools, expanded six others and sent 183 students to Cuba for one year's training in construction methods.<sup>67</sup>

---

62. Ibid., 24 December 1974.

63. Ibid.

64. Privately run schools that prepare children for entrance to high school.

65. Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 24 December 1974.

66. They had reached compulsory primary school leaving age (15 years) and would normally have joined the ranks of job seekers without skills. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 29 April 1976.

67. Ibid., March 25 1976.

Later in the same year the Ministry of Agriculture began training farmers to select, grade and package their produce for sale and delivery. The government also established a New Industrial Training Center to specialize in offering courses in construction and industrial techniques. With the view that people were best able to protect and improve their health if they were given education to do so, the Minister of Health, Dr. Douglas Manley, the Prime Minister's brother, launched a three-year nutritional education campaign, at a total cost of \$300,000.<sup>68</sup> To promote its preventive health care philosophy, the ministry in its campaign through such groups as the Jamaica Teachers' Association, Parent-Teacher Associations, community councils, service clubs, trade unions, social clubs and JAMAL's literature, stressed the need to grow nutritious foods in backyard gardens, encouraged mothers to eat the right kinds of food and feed their babies properly, and provided advice on family planning and maternal health services.

The Ministry of Health and the National Planning Board had integrated family planning, as a priority, into their activities. In 1973, they constructed ten rural maternity centres "to provide the nucleus for maternal and child care services."<sup>69</sup> Overall, the country needed, as a

---

68. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 4 November 1977.

69. Ibid., 24 April 1974.

priority, efficient national comprehensive health care programme (Medicare), inasmuch as the then existing health centres and dispensaries were, with rare exceptions, dilapidated, inadequate in size, equipment supplies and pharmaceuticals. General standards of hygiene were poor and conditions of work were grossly unsatisfactory. The chronically ill, especially those with "diabetes, hypertension and congestive cardiac failure"<sup>70</sup> faced and posed a considerable problem in the then existing health services. The government established a comprehensive primary health care system throughout the island through well staffed and well equipped community health centres.

The mentally ill were also to be given easy access to diagnostic centres as well as prompt and improved treatment. The new mental health law requires persons arrested by the police on suspicion of lunacy to be taken to a clinic or hospital until they can be seen by a doctor for him to determine treatment. Before, they were taken to a police lock-up where they would sometimes languish for as much as three days before the doctor visited. The new law also stipulated that persons voluntarily entering mental institutions might do so at government expense. A panel of doctors would be named to diagnose instances of suspected mental illness. In addition to spending \$727,272 on agricultural products of high nutritional value to feed

---

70. Ibid., 24 November 1974.

infants and children,<sup>71</sup> the Ministry of Health established a Nutrition Production Centre that produced health foods to feed school children.<sup>72</sup>

Although good health is of utmost importance for the sustenance and enjoyment of life, without a house in which to live it was almost impossible for people to lead a comfortable life. Indeed, Manley expressed the belief "that a house is the first requirement of a family."<sup>73</sup> The situation was that a great majority of Jamaicans either owned no houses and/or lived in substandard houses. To alleviate the problem the government established a housing scheme which provided houses to people at prices they could reasonably afford and by 1975 had invested almost \$40 million in low income co-op housing. The latest development then was a 450 unit project in the parish of St. Catherine and a 311 one in Montego Bay which the occupants were to manage and control.<sup>74</sup>

The government also assisted new home purchasers by issuing an order in 1974 restricting the application of transfer tax to land only, where the purchase of new houses was involved, since no capital gain occurred. Also tenants who had fully paid rentals for over two years had

---

71. Ibid., 17 October 1973.

72. Ibid., 27 March 1978.

73. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 24 April 1974.

74. Ibid., 29 April 1975.

the rental charges transferred as mortgage down payments on housing units they occupied. Later the government guaranteed a loan for building 1,000 units at low interest and down payment rates.<sup>75</sup>

In the 1973-74 financial year the government built 3,850 units, and subsequently surpassed the 1974-75 target of 4,200 by 2,000 units in a joint public-private venture.<sup>76</sup> The following distribution was expected to satisfy equal needs: 912 units yearly for above \$5,000 per year income; 16,416 units for below \$1,500 income per annum; 5,472 units for yearly income between \$1,500 and \$5,000.<sup>77</sup> In 1975 the Ministry of Housing secured from Jamaica National Building Society \$1.8 million to finance individual purchases of low cost housing during 1975-76. 90 per cent of the loans for up to 25 years went to persons buying low cost homes from the Ministry. The 1975-76 target was 8,000 units. A main thrust was on low income housing programme under Sites and Services Self-Help Project which had provided 6,000 units over a three year period. Sites and Services undertook a pilot urban upgrading project of improving existing homes and basic facilities in a selected typical low income area. In May 1976 Government Minister Vivian Blake said that in housing,

---

75. Ibid., 29 April 1975.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

the government in four years had built more units than the J.L.P. government in seven years, "the golden years of a buoyant economy. This government had exceeded an annual target of 6,000 as against the annual out-turn of 1,530 by the previous administration." Further, in 1976 the government purchased 335 acres of land for more housing.

Some tenants had occupied lands as house spots for varying periods of time on varying terms of lease. In two areas they had built 21,000 houses at substantial cost and in most cases without security of tenure and "minimal infrastructure such as electricity, water, proper roadways and sewage disposal facilities."<sup>78</sup> Private ownership of those lands prevented government from instituting necessary upgrading schemes because no law gave the government power to enter upon private property and install or construct the facilities; and if government legislated the power unto themselves and provided the facilities, the additional cost would be passed on to the tenants who were already too poor to afford decent accommodation. Manley knew "of no worse example of exploitative capitalism."<sup>79</sup> His government's remedy was compulsory acquisition of all those leased lands and upgrading of facilities. Occupants would then be tenants of the government for specific periods of time subject to renewal of tenancy agreements.

---

78. Ibid., 31 May 1977.

79. Ibid.

Working people and their families should also have the opportunity to enjoy the best leisure facilities of their country. Traditionally, they were denied access to these facilities owing to prohibitive costs and the philosophy of exclusiveness. To surmount these problems, the government engaged in a \$4 million development of resort beach land "indeed the finest that Jamaica has to offer," for Jamaican workers and their families.<sup>80</sup> Those facilities would be available to anyone in Jamaica or abroad. Rates were to be structured to put them within the reach of families of moderate means. According to Manley, the facilities would serve to dispel the old idea that Jamaican resort facilities were not for local people but only for those abroad. What really thrilled him "is that it will create a situation in which the workers of Jamaica, all classes of people of Jamaica, will realize that the beauty of the country's beaches and seaside are for them, too."<sup>81</sup>

Since those facilities were mainly for workers, but for a "price" the government made sure that seasonal workers were not prevented from enjoying them for lack of a job, inasmuch as having funds was an integral part of broad social happiness. Sugar workers formed a significant part of the labour force. Reaping and milling of sugar cane (cropping) went on for only half a year. Most of the out

---

80. Ibid., 29 May 1974.

81. Ibid., 31 May 1977.

of crop workers could not find alternative employment. To ease the burden, the government passed legislation which made it compulsory for out of crop workers to get half pay if they could not be given work. In making the announcement, Prime Minister Manley reminded the nation that Jamaica had been the leader of 46 nations who negotiated a better sugar price and received five hundred and forty pounds sterling, instead of one hundred and twenty pounds a ton. That resulted in cane farmers receiving almost 100 per cent increase.

The security of the old was of paramount importance. Jamaica faced a steep rise in the cost of living owing to inflation. To ease the strain he raised basic pension and welfare payments to the aged and indigent by 25%. In 1974 the number of people benefitting increased from 13,000 to 24,000. The growth of the funds of National Insurance Scheme made the increases feasible.<sup>82</sup>

The government concerned itself with the welfare of babies, too. The children of working mothers should be given adequate care and protection, as mothers faced considerable difficulty in finding adequate accommodation for their children, when mothers went to work. The Minister of Youth and Community opened a day care centre at a vast government project encompassing seven housing developments employing working mothers.

---

82. Ibid., 22 October 1974.

Child welfare, nevertheless, extended beyond adequate day care facilities. Traditionally, children born out of wedlock in Jamaica faced institutionalized discrimination. The laws made them unequal. Those born in wedlock enjoyed legal status. They only were entitled to inherit from their fathers. The P.N.P. government passed the Status of Children (Equality) Act on November 1, 1976 to ensure that "all children are recognized as equal, all legitimate in the eyes of the law."<sup>83</sup> If the man named by the mother does not acknowledge paternity, the mother may summon him to Family Court which shall order scientific analysis of blood samples of both man and child. If the result is positive, it is conclusive in law that the man is the father of the child. The law makes it mandatory that in sharing of inheritance all children, whether born out of wedlock or adopted, will receive equal share on the death of the father.

For Manley no system of social security would be adequate without a broad and powerful enough "machinery for the protection of the rights of the citizen."<sup>84</sup> From time to time citizens had complained about acts of government departments and statutory authorities, yet without satisfactory redress. In response, the government passed the Ombudsman Act, 1977, that established the ombudsman as

---

83. Ibid., 1 February 1977.

84. Ibid., 22 February 1977.

a commission of Parliament. A Resident Magistrate was the first appointee to the office. His principal function would "be to investigate complaints received from members of the public in respect of the administrative acts of Ministries, Government departments, and agencies, and statutory authorities, with a view to obtaining redress for any injuries suffered in consequence of such acts."<sup>85</sup> He might also recommend changes in any law which in his opinion operated oppressively and unfairly against the citizen.

The social and economic policies proposed and initiated by the Manley government have been mostly financed through taxation and borrowing. Tax revenue for the period 1971 to 1975 maintained a stable ratio to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1971 total tax revenue was 17.0 per cent of the GDP and in 1975 it was 17.1. Over the five year period the average was 17.3 per cent. Higher and new taxes facilitated that measure of stability. In the fiscal year 1974 to 1975 the bauxite production levy added J\$ 85 million to general revenue; and for the year 1975 to 76, J\$ 125 million, 16.4 per cent and a 19.3 per cent respectively of the total revenue. During 1971-1972 government borrowing represented 17.2 per cent of the total revenue. It rose to 33.6 per cent in 1975-76. Foreign borrowing, however, declined from 46.4 per cent to 33.7 per

---

85. Ibid.

cent, respectively, of the total borrowing for the same periods. Notwithstanding, the government relied greatly on foreign borrowing which escalated from J\$ 24 million to J\$ 110.5 million, 360 per cent during the five year period.<sup>86</sup>

A look at the performance of the Jamaican economy under the present government is instructive. During the period 1972 to 1976 Jamaica experienced a trade deficit of between J\$ 9 million and J\$ 9.7 million.<sup>87</sup> At the end of 1975 an increasing budget deficit left public debt standing at J\$ 837.6 million.<sup>88</sup> Cost of living increased from 60.7 in 1972 to 106.6 in 1975.<sup>89</sup> Unemployment in October of 1975 was a high 216,400.<sup>90</sup> Gross domestic product, at

- 
86. E. S. Taylor, "Public Finance in Jamaica 1971-1976," Social and Economic Studies 4 (4 December 1977): 502-505.
87. John Paxton (ed.), The Statesman Year Book 1977-78 (London: Macmillan 1977), p. 407, lists the trade deficit as J\$ m 977.1, whereas the Year Book of International Trade Statistics 1977 (New York: United Nations, 1978), p. 545, it is recorded as J\$ m 906.06.
88. Paxton, The Statesman, p. 406.
89. The Europa Year Book 1977: A World Survey II (London: Europa Publications), p. 814.
90. Quoted by "An Economic Analyst" in "Grim Road Ahead," The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner (Kingston, June 28, 1977) as having been taken along with other statistics from various publications of the Bank of Jamaica, including "Report and Statement of Accounts for the Year ended 31st December 1976," "National Income and Product, 1976," and "Statistical Abstract, 1976," and various issues of the "Economic Survey" published prior to 1976. Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1977 (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1977), p. 461, lists unemployment for 1975 at 175.4 thousand and for the years 1972 to 1977 as averaging 181.6 thousand. See The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner 27 August, 1977, wherein it is reported in a prime

constant prices, declined yearly from 1973 and in 1976, cumulatively the decrease was 12.6 per cent.<sup>91</sup> With a seven per cent population growth this meant that Jamaicans were 19.6 per cent worse off. Added to this was a 56.1 per cent decline in production in 1976. A \$716 million capital accumulation in 1975 declined (32.8 per cent) to \$481 million in 1976. Savings which went down from \$273 million in 1974 to \$185 million in 1975 recorded a further decline of \$67 million in 1976. Also in 1974, private capital inflow was \$139.2 million, whereas 1976 experienced a net outflow of J\$ 8 million.

Investment and production as well as over-consumption, as indicated by the import-export ratio, must have been the chief villain responsible for the rapid deterioration of Jamaica's balance of payments which recorded an increased deficit on current account from \$151.8 million in 1974 to \$301.5 million in 1976.

A 7.2 per cent decline in imports in 1976 was not realistically an improvement, for exports also fell by 18.3 per cent. However, in March of 1977 import restrictions improved slightly the net foreign reserves situation from a minus \$183.7 million to minus \$154.1 million.

---

ministerial statement that unemployment rose 20 per cent in mid-1975 to 24 per cent in late 1976.

91. These and subsequent statistics unless otherwise indicated have been taken from "Grim Road Ahead," *ibid.* The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, August 23, 1977 published a prime ministerial statement which, among other details, reported that Real Gross Domestic Product decline by one per cent in 1975 and seven per cent in 1976.

Evidently Jamaica's economy is in a state of insolvency and she would soon be bankrupt without massive injections of foreign capital.<sup>93</sup> Hence the government's resort to the International Monetary Fund for assistance. In August 1977, the Board of Governors of the Fund approved a loan of U.S. \$74 million to Jamaica on condition that "a comprehensive programme of restraint to stabilize its economy" be instituted.<sup>94</sup>

The terms<sup>95</sup> included wage control to stem inflation, limitation on money creation by the Bank of Jamaica to J\$ 45 million to finance budget and on foreign loans to J\$ 75 million. The foreign reserve deficit should also be reduced by J\$ 30 million from March 1977 to March 1978. The outflow of money from the country must be checked, although foreign exchange should be provided to service government's foreign debts and other payments for legitimate purpose such as those occasioned through import licences. Private debts for other things than imports must be re-examined in light of current restraints.

---

92. In 1975 the current account deficit was U.S.\$ 280 million which rose to U.S.\$ 295 million in 1976. See ibid.

93. This was caused mainly by the oil crisis in 1973 which increased Jamaica's import bill by an estimated U.S. \$ 150 million yearly, an increase of about 300 per cent. See The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 23 August 1977.

94. Ibid.

95. Jamaica, Ministry of Finance, The I.M.F. Agreement Ministry Paper No. 28 (1977), pp. 1-3.

In mid-1978 further negotiations with the Fund for additional assistance from its Extended Fund Facility resulted in Finance Minister Eric Bell's declaration that some of the conditions imposed by the Fund were "unduly harsh" inasmuch as "prices will rise, incomes will also rise, but will not keep pace with price rises on the short run." Foreign exchange, except in extreme circumstances, would not be available, taxes would rise, "and our standard of living will fall."<sup>96</sup>

The government was required to exemplify restraint by producing savings in its recurrent budget for capital investment and wipe out its deficit and improvement in the balance of payments. Other I.M.F. imposed conditions were a 40 per cent devaluation of the Jamaican dollar and a 10 per cent limit to wage increases.<sup>97</sup>

Again in July of 1978 the government announced the securing of an additional U.S. \$35 million from the I.M.F. plus a U.S. \$51 million from friendly countries for 15 years at lower than commercial rates. The Ministry of Finance was being reorganized to man "the whole economic programme with more than usual seriousness."<sup>98</sup>

Whether or not these measures will revive the economy and significantly improve the lot of the Jamaican masses,

---

96. The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 1 May 1978.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 10 July 1978.

history well tell. We do not know that the (near) future augers well for a Jamaica that in 1976 averaged an all items consumer price index of 9.7 per cent which increased to 11.2 per cent in 1977.<sup>99</sup>

Despite a significant improvement in the Gross National Debt situation which stood at 44.6 per cent for the fiscal year 1975-76, 41.0 per cent for 1976-77, and down to 37.2 per cent for 1977-78, total debt servicing costs escalated from 95.4 per cent for 1975-76 to 202.3 per cent for 1977-78.<sup>100</sup>

Again, the private sector must bear a great responsibility for the state of the economy which recorded a net investment decline of 83 per cent during 1977.<sup>101</sup> Are they prepared to operate in a relatively democratic socialist economy, or are they willing to stand by and wait for its demise or total transformation to a scientific socialist economy? If there will not be urgent co-operation between both sectors in the development of strategies to reduce external dependency and internalize the growth process, and thereby considerably improving the balance of trade, and naturally, the foreign exchange situation, the public sector might be forced to go further left (as some say is

---

99. National Planning Agency, Economic and Social Survey, Jamaica, 1977, p. 2.

100. Ibid., p. 39.

101. Ibid., p. 1.

the only viable solution) to right the problem.<sup>102</sup>

---

102. The writer has spoken to many Jamaican immigrants and visitors to and from the island, who have not been communist oriented nor leaning, but who have expressed the view that the only hope for Jamaica is communism, although they themselves would not like to live under communism.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

So far we have examined the development of Jamaica from the latter part of the 15th century before it was colonized, first by the Spanish who introduced slavery, and during the 17th century when it was conquered by the English who established various types of constitutional governments, including an adult suffrage system in 1944 which culminated in full political independence for Jamaica in 1962. During this time and after, governance of the country passed from and to Alexander Bustamante's conservative Jamaica Labour Party and Norman Manley's socialist Peoples National Party. Michael Manley won the leadership of the Peoples National Party in 1969, and shortly after he became Prime Minister, declared democratic socialism to be the P.N.P.'s philosophy. His government has implemented policy measures that reflect such a philosophy, which for the first time in Jamaica's history actually seeks economic liberation for the nation.

Jamaica's three significant phases of development reflect aspects of Marx's findings that relations in society had a material base and that the development of capital among trading peoples had always been directly

connected with, among other things, plunder by violence, slave trade and the enslavement of colonies. The Spanish occupied Jamaica because they felt that it was of economic importance to them. In search of fortune and under force of arms they worked the native Indians to death. With other direct acts of violence they reduced the indigenous population to almost zero. They then decided that agriculture was a potential and viable source of wealth. Cheap and reliable labour was needed so the Spanish initiated and engaged in massive slave importation from Africa to replace the Indians who had succumbed to hard work and other forms of harsh treatment. Spanish "noblemen", some of whom never even visited Jamaica, became wealthy off agriculture in Jamaica.

The British also in search of possessions and wealth in the age of exploration seized Jamaica from the Spaniards, invested in, and continued, the brutal slave trade, colonization and a vicious plantation system that realized wealth not only for local, but also for expatriate, Englishmen.

Despite the abolition of slavery the period of massive exportation of wealth from Jamaica coincided with increasing poverty, misery and deprivation for the vast majority of Jamaicans. For many, many years, native Jamaicans had no say in the government of the country, the social and educational systems of which intentionally functioned to keep the people and the country under-

developed.

Successive small scale but nonetheless bloody riots were staged by local people who demanded improved conditions. These, coupled with political demands by articulate local leaders, some of whom were executed and others detained, forced the colonial powers to concede gradual constitutional changes which culminated in universal adult suffrage in the early 1940's and limited autonomy and eventual political independence in 1962.

However, there remained intact the colonial economic system of foreign investment in and domination of the local economy which resulted in the exportation of most of the wealth in the form of profits on foreign investment and interest on foreign loans and bank capital to the host country. Neither were efforts made to make the local economy self reliant nor to develop local skills as the manufacturing sector still depended on expatriate skill to run its plants. The economy declined and unemployment reached over 20 per cent.

The educational system also remained inadequate. A 75 per cent literacy level contained only a low 15 per cent who could perform satisfactorily at their own grade levels. Unscrupulous politicians whose interest must now be judged as essentially, if not purely, power seeking converted the illiterate, unemployed and deprived into armed rival political gangs who are now ordinary bandits out of control of the politicians and terrorizing mainly the urban areas.

Michael Manley's overwhelming 1972 election victory indicated a hopeful response of a serious, desperate and hungry people to a charismatic leader's election campaign promise that "better must come." This betterment, however, is realisable "only" in a democratic socialist system for the capitalist system which has been there for over 300 years mostly has succeeded in widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Manley's 1974 declaration of democratic socialism as his party's philosophy resulted from the P.N.P.'s in depth assessment of the fundamentals of socialism. The traditional social philosophies examined recognized that the earth's wealth had been grossly disproportionately distributed. The so-called free enterprise or capitalist system operates at the behest and in the interest of the few capital owning elites whose primary interest is the making and accumulating of profits, at all costs. The people who toiled and sweated to create wealth have been inadequately compensated with subsistence wages. Even more dehumanizing was the impersonal authoritarian and arbitrary treatment the workers received at the workplace.

The politico-legal system had not been able, or rather neglected, to protect the workers because the laws of the land had been deliberately tailored to suit the ends of property rather than to protect the interests of the vast majority of propertyless human beings who in addition to being materially deprived had been denied

adequate educational opportunities. Class distinctions are therefore institutionalized and reinforced.

Essentially developing countries initially have been the target of constitutional colonialism, but when the circumstances of history forced political independence of these nations, a new and infinitely more subtle, equally, if not more, devastating form of domination called neo-colonialism or imperialism was introduced by the metropolitan powers. Their intent and purpose was to continue monopolization of the developing countries' economy and exploitation of their natural wealth for the continued material betterment of the imperial countries and to the prolonged stultification of the economic and social development of Third World nations.

Third World socialists have faulted the lack of initiative on the part of the leaders of the constitutionally decolonized nations, for this new form of colonialism. They appeared lacking enough courage to initiate moves to transform the social and economic systems inherited from colonialism.

European and Third World socialists have been unanimous in their condemnation of capitalism. They have, in the majority, emphasized the need for its alteration. They all wanted a new international economic order that would erase the burden of poverty and ignorance of the deprived majority. They advocated an economic system of co-operation rather than conflict, one of interdependence

rather than dependence, one based on equality rather than on class divisions. It is government's duty to reorder the system and promote just economic relations and participation by the people less the scientific socialists' prediction of mass uprisings and overthrow of perceived unjust systems, becomes a reality.

Michael Manley in expressing a philosophy of change, recognizes that Jamaica has never been free from the constraints of colonialism; therefore, it was crucial to bring authority in a new legitimate and respectable light by involving the people in the making of decisions governing them. Emphasis should be on people rather than on property.

Also, a meaningful educational system must be accessible to all, not just the privileged few, and the teaching of technical skills which traditionally have been lacking on the part of Jamaicans must be an integral part of the educational system.

The overall development of a country includes the building of self-confidence in its people as well as the development and management of its industries in the interest of the nation. The local people should therefore own rewarding aspects of the economy or at least a majority of shares in foreign owned businesses. It is the government's obligation to assist them in the establishment, management and control of businesses.

The call for Jamaica not only to demand more for her

raw materials, but process them at their several stages so as to provide much needed jobs and export revenues, represents a courageous break from the colonial and neo-colonial system which established and maintained Jamaica as a port for the exportation of her raw materials and one for the importation of finished products at prices unfavourable to Jamaica.

A modernized and mixed economy produces more for local needs and utilizes government provided expertise that normally would be unavailable to the budding entrepreneur. The declaration that there should be mutuality of respect between management and workers because they are equal beings, is a revolutionary departure from the traditional command-submission relationship that prevailed since the days of slavery and until more than a decade after constitutional independence; so, too, has been the notion of guaranteed income and to a lesser degree the question of protection of jobs made secure by the forced recognition of unions.

When Manley declared that capitalism in Jamaica was divisive and alienating and would be replaced by an egalitarian socialism of brotherhood that would provide for the well being of all, it is not known that he was prepared for a period of maladjustment that would necessarily accompany such a potential breakaway from the traditional relationships engendered by Jamaica's machinery of privilege. For such could open the eyes of

Jamaicans to the fact that although everybody was not equally talented, all were severally endowed and therefore entitled to equal opportunities and rewards based on contribution.

The necessity for people to have the opportunity to work in order to make worthwhile contributions to society is manifested in Manley's desire to utilize human resources in the expansion and improvement of agricultural production. The securing and placing of lands in the hands of farmers for such a venture in some instances, to be carried out co-operatively, is further evidence. Agricultural success is most vital to the progress of the Jamaican economy.

In the final analysis the philosophy of brotherhood is supposed to create a just and responsible society.

A philosophy of change in part functions to stimulate enlightened discussions with a view to understanding the workings and shortcomings of political systems. On a more realistic plane, it is supposed to serve as a guide to alter and, hopefully, improve them.

In furtherance of his plans to transform the Jamaican society, the Manley government legislated recognition of unions as bargain agents for workers; its minimum wage legislation as well as the ending of discrimination between men's and women's pay and the provision of about 120,000 new jobs over a three year period are gallant strides toward remedying some of the perennial shortcomings of the labour sector.

The placing of thousands of farmers on their individual farms of reasonable acreages, soil conservation measures, rural infrastructure development ventures, redemption of thousands of acres of lands from bauxite companies for redistribution to needy farmers and state development, represent a revolutionary departure from the traditional inequitable ownership and selfish utilization of so vital an asset. The stabilization fund that rescued cane farmers from their 1974 depression was a novelty the value of which is self-evident.

Public ownership and control of vital services, local ownership of the majority of shares in foreign owned businesses, are all in line with democratic socialist holistic principles of giving paramountcy to the interest of the collectivity over that of the individual and ensuring that most of the wealth of the land remains at home. So, too, are the provision of financial assistance to small businesses, the establishment of a workers' bank and the improvement and expansion of marketing facilities which are moves toward fulfilling the state's responsibility to industry.

Massive literacy projects, free general and specialized education, nutrition feeding programmes, comprehensive and improved special and general health systems are all vital aspects of, perhaps preconditions to, a country's overall development. Equally essential and therefore meritorious is the housing policy that provided low income

houses for thousands, security of tenure for others and much needed financial assistance to new home owners.

Social security measures such as the development of beach resort facilities, now accessible to all, provision for out of crop pay for sugar workers, increases in basic pension and welfare rates, provision of convenient day care facilities for working mothers, legal equality of all children and the establishment of the office of the ombudsman, are considerable steps toward creating a just or egalitarian society.

However, since sources of revenue for these programmes have been mainly taxation and borrowing it is concluded that the economy, underdeveloped as it is in terms of technology and secondary industries, cannot generate enough revenue and earn sufficient foreign exchange, to be viable. Any prime minister as vocal as Michael Manley in his condemnation of traditional capitalism and espousing socialism, is bound to scare off potential foreign investors. His laudation and embrace of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro who, upon attaining power expropriated all the capitalists, and his praise of Soviet foreign policy, do not auger well for private foreign capital inflow, and increased local private sector activity which are vital to the life of the Jamaican economy.

Apart from the world recession and oil crisis, there seems to be two main reasons for the apparently chaotic state of the Jamaican economy. Rooted in politics, they

are ideological and structural. The political decision of Manley's party to adopt "socialism" as the guiding philosophy of the government resulted in an unprecedented mixed economy (now said to be 61 per cent).<sup>1</sup> Such, as well as the great emphasis on worker participation in management and ownership represents a drastic departure from the traditional so-called free enterprise system and was bound to create 'genuine' fear in the mind of the private sector who quite naturally lost confidence in the government. In other words, the climate was just not right for investment. Jamaica's trade balance ratio suggests that her economy was highly consumption oriented, and the consumptive appetite had to be fed by imports which were financed chiefly through taxation, foreign borrowing and finance capital.

Jamaica's forced reliance on the IMF for much needed foreign currency resulted in the Fund's imposition of austere conditions on the economy that must bring suffering and hardship on those already most deprived. The loan was necessary because foreign investments coming into the country have been completely halted. It is to be expected that foreign investors would be even more apprehensive of the government than local investors. Once such an important foreign exchange source has dried up, the country must depend on its export earning capacity to supply the

---

1. Kingston (Jamaica), The Star 25 May 1979.

necessary foreign exchange. But since before Michael Manley, little or no effort was made to develop either her human resources or her export industries, her export earning capacity is severely restricted; and since Manley's attempt at restructuring the economy "to achieve economic and political independence" i.e., self reliance, must necessarily rely, to the highest degree, on local input, production has not been impressive. The problem of lack of human resource development is most evident in the fact that government's deficit budgeting represents injection into the economy of massive amounts of money which it does not have the resources to spend on productive ventures. Therefore in economic terms, the government has performed rather poorly. Yet in the election of 1976 (said to be Jamaica's worst year economically) the people of Jamaica overwhelmingly endorsed the Manley government and despite experiencing continued hardships, recent polls show that a large majority of Manley's 1976 supporters believe that a change of government will not improve things.<sup>2</sup>

- 
2. In "Opinion Poll 6" conducted by Dr. Carl Stone during November of 1978 and reported in The Jamaica Weekly Gleaner (Kingston: April 16, 1979), 95 per cent of PNP supporters believed that a change of government would not improve conditions, whereas five per cent believed it would. Fifty-six per cent of the uncommitted believed it would not; 44 per cent believed it would. 13 per cent of JLP supporters believed it would not, and 87 per cent of them said it would. In another such Poll 9 reported in The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner (Kingston: May 7, 1979), 29 per cent of the JLP supporters wished to see the leadership of their party change, whereas only eight per cent of the PNP supporters wished to see their change.

If Jamaica is to move forward, the private sector must face the fact that most of the changes that Michael Manley has introduced, especially those that brought about higher levels of social and political awareness are irreversible. To continue to embrace intangibles such as "lack of confidence" and "unhealthy political climate," and not join hands with the government to revive, stimulate and march the economy forward, forbodes social doom for all.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Beck, M. W. Black Roadways. New York: Negro University Press, 1969.
- Beecher, Johnathan et al. (eds.). Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.
- Bell, Wendell. Jamaican Leaders. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Betts, R. E. Europe Overseas: Phases of Imperialism. London: Basic Books, 1968.
- Blackstrom, Philip. Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England. London: Croom, Helm, 1974.
- Brathwaite, Edward. The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Carley, Mary. Jamaica: The Old and the New. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963.
- Cole, G. D. H. Socialist Thought: The Forerunners. London: Macmillan, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Story of Fabian Socialism. London: Heinemann, 1961.
- Dean, Herbert G. The Political Ideas of Harold G. Laski. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.
- Dutton, Geoffrey. The Hero as Murderer. Cheshire: Collins, 1967.
- Fanon, Franz. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press, 1968.
- Franck, Thomas et al (eds.). Why Federations Fail. London: University of London Press, 1968.
- Fried, Albert and Ronald Sanders. Socialist Thought: A Documentary History. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1964.

- Gardiner, Aston W. History of Jamaica. London: T. Fisher Unwin, MCMIX.
- Gray, Alexander. The Socialist Tradition: From Moses to Lenin. London: Longmans, 1963.
- Gurr, Ted R. Why Men Rebel. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Hodgart, Alan. The Economics of European Imperialism. London: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- Howe, Irving (ed). Essential Works of Socialism. New York: Bantam Books, 1971.
- Hunt, R. N. Carew. The Theory and Practice of Communism. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1957.
- Hurwitz, Samuel J. and Edith F. Hurwitz. Jamaica: A Historical Portrait. London: Pall Mall Press, 1971.
- Jalee, Pierre. The Pillage of the Third World. Translated by Mary Klopper. New York: M. R. Press, 1968.
- Jarman, T. L. Socialism in Britain. New York: Taplinger, 1972.
- Kaplan, Irvin et al. Area Handbook for Jamaica. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.
- Khan, R. A. et al. An Introduction to Political Science. Ontario: Irwin Dorsey Georgetown, 1972.
- Kolakowski, Leszek and Stewart Hamshire. The Socialist Idea. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974.
- Kuper, Adam. Changing Jamaica. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- Laidlaw, Harry W. History of Socialism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Laski, H. G. Democracy in Crisis. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933.
- Lenin, Nickolai. Selected Works I. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1947.
- Lewis, Gordon K. The Growth of the Modern West Indies. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969.

- Lichtheim, George. A Short History of Socialism. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of Socialism. New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969.
- Lux, William. Historical Dictionary of the British Caribbean. New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1975.
- Luxemburgh, Rosa. The Accumulation of Capital. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.
- Mackenzie, Norman. Socialism: A Short History. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966.
- Magdoff, Harry. Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present. London: M. R. Press, 1978.
- Manley, Michael. The Search for Solutions, ed. J. Hearne. Oshawa: Maple House Publishing Co., 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Voice at the Work-place: Reflections on Colonialism and the Jamaican Worker. London: Andre Deutsch, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974.
- Manley, Norman W. Norman W. Manley and the New Jamaica: Selected Speeches and Writings, 1938-68, ed. Rex Nettleford. Kingston: Longman Caribbean, 1971.
- Marriott, Sir J. A. R. The French Revolution of 1848 in Its Economic Aspect. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Marx, Karl. Das Capital. Chicago: Regnuy Henry, 1967.
- Meyer, Alfred G. Communism. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Mills, C. Wright. "Karl Marx: 'The Method of Scientific Socialism.'" The Marxists. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962.
- Mitchell, Sir Harold. Contemporary Politics and Economics in the Caribbean. Athens: University Press, 1967.
- Munroe, Trevor. The Politics of Constitutional Decolonization: Jamaica 1944-62. Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1972.

- Nettleford, Rex. Manley and the Politics of Jamaica: Toward An Analysis of Political Change in Jamaica, 1938-1968. Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1971.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stages of Imperialism. New York: International Publishers, 1966.
- Nyerere, Julius K. Freedom and Development. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Freedom and Unity. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Owen, A. L. Reish. Perlman on Capitalism and Socialism. Kenosha: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.
- Palmer, Ransford W. The Jamaican Economy. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.
- Rickards, Colin, ed. The Caribbean Year Book. Toronto: Caribook Ltd., 1978.
- Rodenko, Georgy. Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism. Novostic Press Agency Publishing House.
- Rodney, Walter. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972.
- Semmel, Bernard. Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- Sheridan, Richard B. Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Spanier, John W. World Politics in an Age of Revolution. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- Taylor, Keith. Henri Saint-Simon, 1760-1825: Selected Writings. New York: Homes and Meir, 1975.
- Tucker, Robert. Marx and Engels Reader. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.
- Walsh, Thomas B. Economic Development and Population Control. London: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Will, H. A. Constitutional Change in the British West Indies 1880-1903. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Williams, Eric. Capitalism and Slavery. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961.

Winslow, E. M. The Pattern of Imperialism. New York: Columbia Edward Arnold, 1977.

Wong, Hume. Government of the West Indies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.

Primary Sources

Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Daily Gleaner, 5 December 1977.

Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Daily Gleaner, 16 February 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_, 17 October 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_, 3 April 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 24 April 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 29 May 1974.

"The Industrial Relations Act," Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 5 June 1974.

Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 13 August 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 22 October 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 19 November 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 24 November 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 26 November 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 3 December 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 10 December 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_, 24 December 1974.

Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 14 January  
1975.

February 1975.	, 18
1975.	, 8 April,
1975.	, 22 April
1975.	, 29 April
1975.	, 27 May
1975.	, 29 July
1976.	, 16 March
1976.	, 30 March
1976.	, 11 May
September 1976.	, 21
1976.	, 5 October
1977.	, 1 February
1977.	, 5 April
1977.	, 10 May
1977.	, 31 May
1977.	, 7 June
1977.	, 23 August
1977.	, 27 August

- Kingston (Jamaica), The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 14  
November 1977.
- 
- , 5 December  
1977.
- 
- , 26  
December 1977.
- 
- , 27 March,  
1978.
- 
- , 1 May 1978.
- 
- , 10 July  
1978.

### Articles

- Brown, G. Arthur. "Issues in Foreign Policy of the English Speaking Caribbean." New World Group Seminar, July 1970.
- Cuthbert, Marlene; and Vernone Sparks. "Coverage of Jamaica in U.S. and Canadian Press in 1976, A Study of Press Bias and Effect." Social and Economic Studies 27 (March 1978), pp. 204-220
- Encyclopedia Americana, 1976 ed., s.v. "Socialism."
- Encyclopedia of Social Reform, 1897 ed., s.v. "Socialism."
- Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 1934 ed., s.v. "Socialism" by Oscar Jaszi.
- Hall, Douglas. "The Colonial Legacy in Jamaica." New World Publications, IV (1968): 7-22.
- Hilferding, Rudolph. "Finance Capital," trans. by E. Bass and D. Adam, in D. K. Fieldhouse, The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism, ed. H. Kearney. London: Longmans Green, 1967, pp. 74-85.
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed., s.v. "Socialism" by Daniel Bell.
- "Grim Road Ahead," by an Economic Analyst in Kingston (Jamaica) The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 28 June 1977.
- Jefferson, Owen C. "Is the Jamaican Economy Developing?" New World Publications V (1972): 4-11.

- Kirling, R. K. "Technology and Development in Jamaica: A Case Study." Social and Economic Studies 26 (June 1977): 169-201.
- Kirton, Claremont. "Bank Lending and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica: Can an Indigenous Bank Solve the Problem?" Social and Economic Studies 26 (September 1978): 308-326.
- Le Franc, E. R.-M. "The Co-operative Movement in Jamaica: An Exercise in Social Control." Social and Economic Studies 27 (March 1978): 1-20.
- St. Pierre, Maurice. "The 1938 Jamaican Disturbances: A Portrait of Mass Reaction Against Colonialism." Social and Economic Studies 27 (June 1978): 171-196.
- Stone, Karl. "An Appraisal of the Co-operative Process in the Jamaican Sugar Industry." Social and Economic Studies 27 (March 1978): 21-43.
- Taylor, E. S. "Public Finance in Jamaica: 1971-1976." Social and Economic Studies 4 (December 1977): 501-513.
- Webb, Al. "Will the Plan Work?" The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 10 May 1977.

#### Government Documents

- United Nations Department of Trade. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1968. New York: United Nations, 1968.
- Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, V, 167 Renatus Enys to Secretary Bennett, November 1, 1663.
- Jamaica, Ministry of Finance. The IMF Agreement. Ministry Paper No. 28 (1977), pp. 1-3.
- National Planning Agency. Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, 1977.

#### Other Sources

- The Europa Year Book of 1966, A World Survey II. London: Europa Publications, 1966.
- The Europa Year Book of 1977, A World Survey II. London: Europa Publications, 1978.
- The Europa Year Book of 1978, A World Survey II. London: Europa Publications, 1977.
- Paxton, John (ed.). The Statesman Year Book 1977-78. London: Macmillan, 1977.