

Year End, 1980

NEW COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 31, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This year~~s~~ which is now fast drawing to its close was a very bad year for Jamaica and her people: it was a year of hardship, shortages, massive bloodletting, massive unemployment, deep and ugly divisions and partisan politics gone mad to the point where babies and school children and helpless old people all became victims of partisan political gunmanship; it was a year in which some Jamaicans savaged their fellow Jamaicans as brutally and cruelly, in deeds and words, as though they were mortal enemies. So few of us will mourn or look back on the passing of this hard and bitter year for so very many Jamaicans. Instead, most of us will look forward with a variety of hopes to the new year. The universal Jamaican hope is that 1981 will be a better year for all Jamaicans. And high on the list of hopes is the hope for an end to violence and lawlessness and a return to political peace. And this, I think, is a hope that can be fulfilled in 1981. The elections are only just behind us. For almost all of 1981 the new government with its very strong mandate, will still be only in its first year of office, will only really be beginning the task of governing the country for the next five years. So there is no reason for the hotting up of the political atmosphere. And in a relatively quiet and calm political atmosphere political violence will tend to abate and perhaps come to a stop. Straight criminal violence is another matter again, but I am sure the security forces are quite capable of dealing with that brand of crime and violence which is not connected with partisan politics. So I think the hope for political peace can, and probably will be

fulfilled
~~achieved~~ in 1981, especially if the new government scrupulously abides by its declared intention to end victimisation and assure 'equal rights and justice' for all Jamaicans. This is particularly important if we are to have political peace in the ghetto and other depressed areas: and it can be done, given the will. And once there is real peace/^{at every level of} ~~in~~ the political community the return to harmony and co-operation at every level of the society will follow, if we all work at it. But I think it is important for us to always bear in mind that peace and harmony are not and cannot be achieved by bullying and pressuring and suppressing unpopular opinions: the essence of peace and harmony is unity in diversity. Jamaicans knew this once, before the days of polarisation, Jamaicans can know it again. Perhaps the hardest of all the hopes to fulfill in 1981 is that of bringing down unemployment. But a start can and must be made, and I think 1981 should be the year in which Jamaica's trade union movement takes on its fair share of responsibility for helping to tackle the unemployment problem. Up to now the unions have largely behaved as though that responsibility rested exclusively on the shoulders of the government/^{on the one hand} and business managements on the other. I do not think it is in their own best interest to continue along this line. If they do a day may come when the vast and growing army of the unemployed may be used to break the back of the trade union movement itself. So the labour movement has a self-interest in helping to ease unemployment. They can do so by encouraging job sharing so that two workers share the same job: one doing three days the first week and two days the second week and the other one doing it the reverse way; and they can ban all over-time and so bring more people into the work force. By doing just these two things the present unemployment rate can be cut by between one-third and one half. It is all a question of caring and of the will. I hope we have both in 1981. So happy New Year and peace

Countdown to 1981:
The State of the World

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

December 29, 1980, 6.10p.m

The question is are we to take the J.P. electioneering slogan about equal rights and justice seriously? If we are then how do we deal with that dreadful case which we heard about on Ronnie Thwaites programme earlier today? anyway another question is

Good evening: Is Jamaica, in 1981, going to be the exception that

proves the rule? Are we going to be the only economy in the world that is going to be turned around and that will show real growth in 1981? If we are, as some people seem to suggest, going to see the start of a real economic growth in 1981, then it will be something of a minor miracle, because all the learned predictions for all the rest of the world suggest that the economic outlook for 1981 is a gloomy one. The Western industrialised countries expect their unemployment to rise to somewhere in the region of 25-million plus by the end of 1981. The hope is that the most developed and the most productive of the Western economies may achieve a two-and-a-half-to-three-percent rate of growth, if, and this is the very big if, if the rate of increase in the price of oil can be kept in line with the prices these Western countries ^{receive for the goods they} manufacture and export. And in order to do that any time the price of oil goes up then the prices of the goods made and exported by the Western countries ^{must} ~~will~~ also go up. And this of course leaves the non-oil producing Third World countries in a particular bind. They cannot just respond by saying that every time the price of oil goes up and the price of the manufactured goods they import goes up they will up the price of their sugar or citrus or coffee or other agricultural products. Countries with some mineral resource, such as our bauxite are a little better off, and will ^{remain} ~~be~~ a little better off than those who depend only on their agriculture to pay for the things they import; but they would still be at a disadvantage. So, if things are bad for the Western world on whom we

depend, it is difficult to see how they can get any better for us. And things are going to be bad in 1981, especially for the working people. The British government has already started to cut back on the social programmes which have been at the heart of the welfare state which came into being after world war two. And the other West European countries are just waiting to see how Mrs. Thatcher's government makes out before trying the same thing: if she succeeds it will be the go-ahead for large-scale dismantling of ~~of~~ such welfare programmes as free medical care, subsidised house^{work} and public transport and a whole range of other welfare services. American social services are nowhere near as comprehensive as those of the Europeans but the word is that the in-coming Reagan Administration is to drastically cut America's social programmes. Like the British Conservatives of Mrs. Thatcher, the Reaganites have talk about cutting big government and big government spending. Mrs Thatcher's people have failed hopelessly at ^{trimming} ~~this~~ the bureaucracy. It is always easier to trim welfare programmes than to cut back on bureaucracies, as Mr. Carter learned and as I think Mr. Reagan will learn. Indeed, we ourselves, poor and small as we are have not done ^{at all} ~~so~~ well at cutting back on Big Government even after the elections. The point is that prices will continue to rise in 1981. For instance, U.S. meat and poultry prices are expected to show major increase while social services ^{and real income} will decline and growing unemployment and the fear of unemployment will act as deterrents against increased wage demands. This is how it is going to be in the West in 1981 and, therefore, this is how it is going to be with us. The state of the world, as 1980 draws to its close is depressed both economically and politically. All the indications are that that depressed state will be carried over into 1981, and indeed, that things may even get worse before they get better. It is wise to plan against this reality.

Boxing Day, 1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 26, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope you have had a very peaceful and a very happy Christmas this far, and that what remains of the the holiday season will be safe. Please be careful over this weekend. There will be lots of parties and places to go to and some people are going to eat and drink rather more than they usually do. So be on guard against drivers with a little more drink than usual under their belts. They can be a danger to themselves as well as to others. Ideally, it should be possible for a wife or girl-friend to take over the driving of the car when the man has had a too much to drink. If that is not possible then wife or girl-friend should try, as diplomatically as possible, to persuade the driver to take it easily. People who are drunk tend to be aggressive in their driving as well as in their reaction to those who try to give advice; so how the advice is given is most important. In spite of all the advice against it, there will be some people who drink and drive. So those who are with them will have to assume the responsibility of helping to keep death off our roads. And then there is the dangerous business of leaving little children or very young children alone at home while going to parties. We have had many deaths in the past, usually by fire, because of this. If you must go out and leave young children, try and find some grown-up person to sit with them. It is worth paying a few dollars to have some adult staying with your children while you are out at parties. The safety and perhaps the lives of your children may depend on this. So, please take care of the little ones. I remember on Boxing Day 1979 discussing the question of how

we are going to manage the scarcities of the 1980s, and in whose interest that managing is going to be conducted. I remember concentrating particularly ~~on~~ our public transport in the light of the escalating price of oil-based energy. I told you that in Europe the overwhelming majority of people - from/teachers, nurses, ^{ordinary workers to} professionals, senior civil servants, senior technicians, ~~the~~ business managers and Members of Parliament ^{all routinely} -/travelled by public transport. But their public transport services were and are clean and regular and courteous. Here the same categories of people will not use public transport because it is so poor and dirty and unreliable. So we spend more badly-need foreign exchange than we really need to in order to bring private cars into the country and to keep them on the roads. This is not the best way to use scarce resources; and the price of oil based energy is still rising. The new government must either do a better job of resource management at this level or else all the high hopes and high expectations generated by the October elections will come to nothing. And then there is the hard problem of our still-rising unemployment. This is the single most explosive of all the problems this nation faces. Everything else we do, everything else we may achieve, or hope to achieve, can be smashed if we do not come to grips with unemployment. Whether we do it by way of job roatation, or by job-sharing (which I favour) or by ^{job-creating} the/~~introduction~~ of ~~of~~ kind/works programmes introduced by American President Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression of the 1930s, or by a combination of the best of all of these, Jamaica must begin to roll back the present unacceptable level of unemployment before the unemployed themselves turn on the society. And we do not have too much time to get started on this one. So the sooner the present euphoria gives way to hard realism the better our chances of coping in 1981.

 Christmas Eve, 1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 24, 1980, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: What is the state of our world on this first Christmas Eve of the decade of the 1980s? And what can we look forward to after tomorrow? After the first Christmas of the decade of the 1980s? The broad outlines are, I think, pretty familiar to most of us. This is our first Christmas under a new government here at home, and it is the last Christmas under the Carter Administration in the United States. So in this one year the governments of both Jamaica and the United States have changed: and in both cases the swing has been from left to right; from a claimed socialism in our case and a claimed liberalism in the case of the United States, to more conservative regimes in both countries. And, inevitably, the nature of the relationship between the new Jamaican Government and the new American Government is going to have a profound bearing on the lives of all of us in Jamaica, and perhaps on the affairs of the Caribbean region as a whole. Very much will depend on ^{how} the new administration in Washington responds in deeds, rather than words, to the initiatives of the new government in Kingston. But of course, other and wider and non-regional factors may influence that response. If the new American administration does get the American economy moving again, if the badly battered auto industry for instance, were to come out of its current slump and things were ^{generally} to begin to look up again, our chances of getting the kind of ^{American} aid and investment we want would be greatly improved. People and countries are more inclined to want spend generously or to invest for minimal return or ^{to} make charitable gestures when they them are reasonably secure and well-to-do. On the other hand, when people

and countries are in trouble and under pressure they are not inclined to want to be generous/^{or}~~and~~ charitable; they tend to take care of themselves and their own under the principle that charity begins at home; they drive hard bargains; they demand big and guaranteed returns on investment. And almost every country in the world is in trouble and under pressure this Christmas Eve. The Western capitalist world's twenty-four-nation-strong Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development yesterday gave a not-rosy picture of the^{present}/state of the capitalist economies and what they are likely to be over the next eighteen months or so. Unemployment in the rich industrialised countries of the world now stands at a record 23 million. That is a larger number of people than we have in the entire English-speaking Caribbean. Britain alone has almost as many unemployed people right now as the number of people we have in Jamaica today; and the prediction is that by the middle of 1982 there will be some three million unemployed, ^{in Britain} which would be more than the entire Jamaican population. And in that kind of world aid is not going to come easy, and trade is going to be hard and brutally competitive. So the prospects for economic growth in the West and the spin-off from it that countries like Jamaica can gain ~~from it~~ are not very good. And Poland's fierce economic troubles is proof, if proof were needed, that ideological postures of whatever kind are not automatic solutions to hard economic problems. If we can accept this reality and face up to its implications then we may, with hard work and genuine cooperation, hold our own in these tough times that are ahead. And there is still not yet, this Christmas Eve, /that peace on earth men of goodwill pray for. And all over the world, communist and capitalist, western and eastern, Human Rights are observed more in the breach than the practice. And one wonders what would happen to Christ if He were to return this Christmas Eve. Peace and love and have a good Christmas. Goodnight.

 Christmas, 1980, Jamaica Style

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: We have just ^{the} remainder of today, tomorrow and Wednesday left, and then we are into Christmas 1980. In the old days before world inflation and the high prices of energy ^{led to fantastic} increased ^w all other costs, people used to talk about so many shopping days to Christmas: by that reckoning we have just two and a bit shopping days to Christmas 1980. And reports are that the shopping is surprisingly brisk, with people spending on necessities like food and clothing rather than on luxuries as in the old days. Bank of Jamaica figures indicate that the money in circulation this Christmas will be over \$300-million. If that kind of money were to be averaged out over the whole Jamaican society each person, man woman and child, would have roughly \$150 to spend this Christmas. And that amount, when you consider today's sky-high prices, is not really very much spending money. But of course that amount will not be averaged out among all the people: it will be in very much fewer hands. The spending will be done mainly by those who are lucky enough to have jobs and to have Christmas bonuses. Some people will get a two-week ^{pay} bonus, others a three-week bonus and the more fortunate ones might get even higher bonuses. So the extra money in circulation will go to a fairly restricted group of people and it will be a one-shot, once-a-year thing. It will also dramatise, as at no other time of the year, the gap between those who have and those who have not; between those who are in jobs and who received Christmas bonuses on top of their regular pay, and those who are out of work and received nothing for

being out of work. For these people, the unemployed, Christmas is a doubly hard time: the fact of unemployment is hard in itself; to watch others enjoying themselves, and having ~~a~~ two or three weeks' of extra pay with which to do it, makes that which is hard painful.

This is particularly so with families: it is painful to mothers and fathers not to be able to give their children presents when other children are seen receiving presents; it is painful to have little or no food when others ^{are} feasting. And in this Christmas of 1980 there will be over 300,000 people who are unemployed and who will therefore have no money to spend on Christmas cheer. If only half this number of unemployed are people with families we will straight-away be looking at something like three-quarters of a million Jamaicans for whom Christmas, 1980, is going to be bleak rather than cheerful. It is at this time, as Christmas approaches, that the need for some sort of social help for the unemployed at the national level becomes urgent. I think of Mr. Hugh Shearer's call for unemployment assistance for a specified period out of National Insurance funds. The past administration was in sympathy with his call but did nothing. Mr. Shearer is now an influential part of the new Government and I hope that he will now persuade his colleagues in government to go along with his proposal to bring in some form of unemployment benefit. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The idea of Christmas work was ^{It} and is a good effort to ease hardship at this time, / ~~xxxxxxx~~ was brought into disrepute by bad management and pork barrel politics. If it were cleaned up and rid of its dirty politics and made genuinely productive, then ^a ~~xxxx~~ combination of Christmas work and unemployment assistance could be two very useful tools for ^{at this time / economic} easing the hardships suffered by large numbers of Jamaicans through no fault of their own.

Goodnight



The Jamaican Labour Movement Embattled

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 19, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There is a mood of deep concern and widespread anxiety rippling through Jamaica's organised labour movement as we enter this last weekend before Christmas, 1980. The strike at Reynolds Jamaica Mines of the B.I.T.U.-represented supervisory workers there following the dismissal of 21 of their fellow workers, is part of the reason for this concern and anxiety. It is not the whole reason. To begin to get at the whole reason we need to look at a series of questions some trade union leaders as well as others who are interested in the labour movement, have been asking in recent days. What, they have asked, is behind a series of ^{recent} statements coming hard on each other/~~dealing with one~~ or another aspect of industrial relations, and all containing some sort of suggestion or declaration or implication that organised labour needs to be disciplined? There was, recently, that statement by the President of the Court of Appeal; and there was, more recently, that statement by the Brigadier of the Jamaica Defence Force. One of our big two trade unions, the National Workers Union, in a statement earlier this week spoke of, and now I quote: "...the current Jamaican anti-trade union campaign" which it sees as part of a worldwide campaign to suppress and deny the rights of workers. And so the ^{most important} ~~question~~ question has come out as: Are the events at Reynolds the opening shot in that show-down between management and organised labour which some people have been ^{calling for?} ~~asking~~ Is this round one in the process of 'disciplining' Jamaica's unionised workers? Or is it just another labour dispute with no special ulterior motive to it? We should know the answer to these last questions

after Monday's meeting between the parties at the Ministry of Labour to discuss the reinstatement of the dismissed workers. If the workers are reinstated it would be seen as a conciliatory gesture on the part of management: if they are not the whole Jamaica industrial relations climate may undergo some important changes. But even if ~~then~~ there is a conciliatory gesture on Monday the so-called problem of 'disciplining' the unionised workers would only be deferred for later tackling. There are those who hold strongly that Jamaica's economic problems cannot and will not be solved until we have a more 'disciplined' work force. They do not spell out what they mean by a 'disciplined work force' but the traditional IMF prescriptions give a fair indication of what is meant. And everybody knows that Jamaican workers and their unions will not submit to those guidelines without a fight. And if there is to be a fight, who is to take it to the unionised workers? There are obviously few local enterprises without overseas backing who can take on this kind of fight and sustain it until the back of a given union is broken. It has to be an enterprise or enterprises which can stand up to long shutdowns and heavy losses without going under. Indeed, just the knowledge that an enterprise can shut down and outwait the workers may very well be enough to 'soften up' the workers to the point where they see strike action as hopeless and bound to fail in the long run, and so, rather than fighting they will accept the best they can get even if it is less than they want. And once this 'softening up' succeeds in one enterprise, what is to prevent it being expanded into accepting, say, IMF conditionality? Is this what is behind what the NWU describes as: "the current Jamaican anti-trade union campaign"? If it is, and if the Jamaican labour movement does not have a friend in Jamaica House, then the trade union movement faces some very rough days ahead.

Goodnight

- 1) Guyana: What Future?
- 2) Poland: A Polish Journalist Complains
- 3) China: Chairman Hua's Future

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 17, 1980, 6.10.m

Good evening: Yesterday's elections in Guyana went pretty much as expected and predicted - almost down to the last cynical detail. In one strong Forbes Burnham area there was a 100% turn-out of voters: in areas where Cheddi Jagan's PPP is strong voters discovered their names were not on the lists, or they were told so and prevented from checking, or they were misdirected. The team of unofficial international observers - Mr. Burnham would not recognise their presence officially - issue a statement confirming large-scale irregularities in the voting. But Mr. Burnham has his victory; and Mr. Burnham has shown before now that he has very little respect for outside opinions which do not coincide with his wishes. So he will claim ~~a~~ great victory and a massive new mandate to go on doing as he pleases. And I think he will get away with it. He will get away with it because economic no external force which can exert real/pressure on him - and that means primarily the United States and the International Monetary Fund or both - will want to do so because from their point of view the present alternative to Burnham is even worse than Burnham. Dr. Cheddi Jagan is a straight pro-Moscow communist whom the Americans are not prepared to see returned to power under almost any circumstances: so Burnham, warts and all, is the lesser of two evils as far as they are concerned. And I do not think that Cheddi Jagan has, in cold-blooded power terms, either the ruthlessness or the political unscrupulousness to bring down Burnham by any means. In this sense Burnham has the measure of Jagan. As long as Jagan is his only alternative, Burnham will remain in power because he will be able

to outwit, out-manipulate, and easily out-bogus Jagan every time. This may explain, partly at least, why the ^{tactics of} violence and ~~the~~ intimidation used against other opposition groups and individuals such as the Working Peoples Alliance and its leaders like Walter Rodney and others, have not been used against the person of Cheddi Jagan. Then, too, there is the fact that Jagan makes the perfect racial foil for the exploitation of a kind of carefully fostered New World tribal consciousness: Burnham is leading 'the Africans' / in the struggle to hold on to power and not to be overwhelmed by the so-called 'East Indians'. So, under the surface you have the ugly, unnatural and unreal but carefully nurtured notion of the power struggle between 'the Africans' and 'the East Indians'. One of the threats of the Working Peoples Alliance to Burnham was, and remains, the fact that it was beginning to succeed in breaking through this artificial division between black and Indian. The trouble as far as American policy and interests are concerned is that the Working Peoples Alliance appears to be even to the left of Jagan and it is not yet strong enough to be ^{taken seriously} ~~seen~~ as anything near approaching an alternative to Burnham. So Burnham will continue to get American aid and IMF/financial support in spite of manipulated elections - that is, until a viable and more acceptable alternative ^{to Burnham} than Cheddi Jagan emerges in Guyana. And that may take quite some time. ^{Finally} ~~Next~~, two points of interest to note. ^{dissident} First, a/Polish journalist visiting the United States yesterday voiced strong criticism of Western, especially American reporting of what is going on in Poland now. The context of the struggle he said was for trade union and other civil liberties, ^{within the context of,} not against the Polish Government or the Soviet Union or communism. And second, in China we are watching one of those carefully rehearsed and managed power shifts as Chairman Hua is ^{being} pushed aside. Chairman Hua was Mao Tse Tung's personal choice to succeed him. His removal may herald a new direction ⁱⁿ China. Goodnight

- 1) Jamaican Trade Unions & the I.M.F
- 2) Elections in Guyana
- 3) Uganda: Obote Returns to Power

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 15, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. E. Lloyd Taylor, General Secretary of the Jamaica Association of Local Government Officers, JAEGO, over this past weekend/became the latest of the island's major trade union leaders to warn against any attempt by anybody to impose wage guidelines on workers "now that the International Monetary Fund is about to re-enter our lives". You will recall that earlier this year, before the elections and before he became part of the government, Mr. Hugh Shearer had also given notice that no matter which party won the trade union movement would not submit to wage guidelines. And Mr. Holroyd Thompson of the National Workers Union has said the same; and so has Mr. Lascelles Beckford of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union. This indeed, is the broad stand of the entire Jamaican labour movement on the matter of wage guidelines. There are of course variations within this broad posture: some would accept, or at least be not quite as hostile, to, a policy which covers prices and profits and managerial pay and perks as well as wages. None that I know of are prepared to accept the traditional IMF pattern of wage controls but freedom from control of prices and profits. And this of course means that any attempt to impose the traditional IMF prescription is going to be resisted by a very strong and a very united Jamaican labour movement. And if any such united trade union resistance were to develop then the prospects for economic recovery would get worse rather than better. Money alone, investment alone, ^{management alone,} cannot do the job: the other half of the equation is a strong

and disciplined and reasonably contented work force that is willing to play its part. And you cannot, especially in the context of a strong and militant trade union tradition, bully or frighten^{or threaten} unionist workers into performing against their will. In order to get them to willingly and at their best perform/some area of agreement, some measure of accommodation must first be achieved. If not, there is industrial trouble and turmoil ahead. And we must hope that those who are talking tough now about disciplining the unions ~~or~~ showing them who is in charge or throwing 'the book' of the law at them, understand clearly that wherever else that leads it is not the road to economic recovery. Next, on the international scene two elections are much in the news right now. The return to power of Milton Obote in Uganda is a record of sorts. It is the first time that ^{an African} a leader who had been overthrown in a coup has regained power by parliamentary elections. There are questions ^{fair} about how/~~xxxx~~ the elections were; but it is hard to separate these from the contending political self-interests involved. Obote's chief rival the Democratic Party which will now form the parliamentary opposition is pro-Western and capitalist oriented and both Kenya and the Western Powers wanted a Democratic Party victory which would have attracted the kind of foreign investment Kenya enjoys. Obote on the other hand is backed by Tanzania's Nyerere, and the warning has already gone out that if he tries Nyerere's brand of African socialism Obote will have a hard time attracting foreign investment. The last time he was in power, before the Idi Amin coup, Obote's rule was essentially that of an African strongman: neither as clean nor as concerned with the interests of the poor as Nyerere, who is still the only one who successfully eliminated tribalism from national politics. Has Obote learnt anything from Nyerere? Only time will tell. And it is tragic reflection that all of us, and indeed all the world, expect Forbes Burnham to win another carefully stage-managed election in Guyana today. At what point does the electoral process become pointless?

The Political Honeymoon &
The Limits of Power

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 12, 1980, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: The political 'honeymoon' has become something of a tradition in open, elective parliamentary systems like our own. Usually, the honeymoon lasts anywhere from three months to six months: in exceptionally prosperous and tranquil times the political honeymoon can last for up to a year or even more. And during the period of the political honeymoon the newly elected government is treated with gentleness and warmth by even its strongest opponents and harshest critics. The official parliamentary opposition gives it time to settle in and find its bearings: the entire society wishes it well; the media mutes whatever criticism it has to make. After all, the new government is the elect of the people, is the political reflection and manifestation of the freely expressed will of the people. And everybody wants it to succeed. Hence the period of the political honeymoon. And given the massive victory of the Jamaica Labour Party in terms of parliamentary seats a scant six weeks ago it would have seemed reasonable to assume that there would be a rather longer-than-usual honeymoon period this time around. Besides, the entire society is psychologically and emotionally exhausted by the terrible pre-election bloodletting. And yet, there are already signs that the honeymoon is coming to its end prematurely and the old contentious politics is increasingly taking over. There are of course forces in the society who do not and never really wanted any period of pause: they represent the extremes in the society, the far right which wants to wipe out the far left, and the far left which wants to wipe out the far right. But there are also

worrying signs from other and supposedly more 'moderate' quarters. Churchmen are savaging each other in a sort of post-election rerun of who supported whom and who should lead the Christian community in the new situation. You would have thought that at least here there would be more Christian unity than among the partisan workers where the new 'in' group are trying to forcibly take away the jobs of those who have been defeated. Do you really further the concept of equal rights and justice by the simple device of reversing the inequities and injustices? And if you don't do that, what do you do ~~you~~ about those to whom you promised deliverance? These are not questions which can be easily answered or problems which will just go away because there is a new government in power. And so there is no honeymoon on the labour front or among those fighting for the same job like two hungry dogs tearing each other apart over one little bone, or among the vast and growing army of the unemployed. And there does not as yet seem to be any agreed common notion on how to approach this terrible problem. It does not make for a honeymoon spirit when those who try to help themselves by higgling and hustling on the sidewalk see themselves as being harassed and harried by those whom they helped to put in power. And then there was that on Mr. Ronnies Thwaites' programme disturbed question/about the National Commercial Bank and some 40% of its equity being sold to an American banker? Is it true? And/why? if so, unannounced Is there some ~~ask/unknown~~ policy of divesting significant portions of the/so-called commanding heights of the economy now publicly held to foreign investors? One of the criticisms levelled at the previous government back in 1976 when it too was flushed with the sense of power after having just won a landslide victory, was that it did not level with the ordinary Jamaicans about its financial and business dealings. It is important to remember the limits of power and where the ultimate control lies, especially when honeymoons begin to end Goodnight

The Killing of John Lennon:
Is the Right to a Gun a Human Right?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 10, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The gun-killing of ex-Beatle songwriter John Lennon in New York on Monday night has sent emotional shock waves echoing through the world. Even Radio Moscow and Radio Peking have treated the killing as a major event. In the United States itself people have reacted in a way that is reminiscent of ~~the~~ public reaction to the killings of the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King. In Britain, the birthplace of John Lennon, there is an undercurrent of anger behind the shock and horror. And in other places all over the world people, young people especially, find it hard to understand why this particular man who was a singer of songs and a lover of peace should have died violently by the gun. And so there is renewed concern and preoccupation with the American love affair with the killer gun. For even as he expressed his regret and sorrow at the killing of John Lennon, President-elect Ronald Reagan reaffirmed his opposition to gun-control legislation. The answer, he is reported to have said, is to impose stiffer penalties on those who commit gun crimes. One catch is, of course, that no penalty, no matter how stiff, can restore the ^{snuffed-out} ~~snuffed-out~~ life of any person. Nothing they do to Lennon's killer can restore Lennon's life. And in terms of human rights the life of a person, ^{/ - /} any person anywhere, and of whatever race or class or colour or belief or ideology or economic status - the life of a person is just about the single most important of all human rights: without life all the other human rights are meaningless. And it is part of the American dilemma that the nation which claims

to be, and which is accepted by many as being the greatest champion of human rights in the world, is also the one in which, under normal and peaceful circumstances, more human lives are snuffed-out because of the easy availability of guns. Because guns are not as easily available in Britain, and because nobody just goes about with a handgun in his or her pocket or bag or backpack it is reasonable to assume that if John Lennon were living in ^{his native} Britain rather than in the United States, he would be alive today. In this sense his death is intimately related to his location and to the social climate of that location. His fellow song-writer Paul McCarthy lives on a farm in Britain and the chances of some confused or frustrated or mentally disturbed young man with a desire for notoriety shooting him to death are very remote indeed. Even if there were ^{such} a young ^{person} who wanted to do it the sheer difficulty of getting hold of a .38 calibre revolver (which one Miami firearms instructor describes as 'the best for getting the job done') would soon discourage him. If such a young man were determined he might resort to other means: the point is that the chances of a gun-killing like that of John Lennon is near-impossible ⁱⁿ Britain because gun control is tight and nobody can just walk into a gunshop and for as little as \$100 walk out with a handgun. And whatever the pros and cons of the arguments for or against gun control, two facts are beyond dispute. First, if that young man did not have a gun or access to a gun he could not have pumped five bullets into the body of John Lennon. You cannot use a gun if you ^{do not have or} cannot get a gun. Conversely, if you have a gun or can easily lay your hands on one you will, under one kind of pressure or another, use that gun. And second, most of the evidence we have, and most of it comes from the United States shows that arming the citizenry does not reduce gun-crime. So which is the more important human right: the right to life or to a gun? Goodnight.

Coming to Grips with
The Economics of Survival

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 8, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Prime Minister Seaga yesterday returned ^{from} what he himself described as a 'very smooth and successful' visit to the United States. And this should mean, and in all likelihood does mean, the he is reasonably confident of raising the kind of loan money that the ~~new government~~ new government needs to get its economic programmes off the ground. So the search for badly needed foreign exchange money seems to be going reasonably well. But in a very interesting and challenging address to the 25th anniversary of the Geological Society of Jamaica on Saturday, Mr. G. Arthur Brown, Deputy Director of the United Nations Development Programme, and former Governor of the Bank of Jamaica, and former Financial Secretary of Jamaica, and former Director of Jamaica's Central Planning Agency, warned that money alone was not enough to solve our problems. He made, among many others, the very interesting point that Jamaica is not as poor in terms of its resources as some of us tend to believe or to make out. And he catalogued some of those resources and showed how production in almost all of them have declined over the years. Jamaica, in the past, produced more sugar, more bananas, more coffee, more citrus as well as a whole host of other things, than she does now. Which is why the national cake has decreased or grown smaller while more people were making claims on it. And of course the claims have grown over the years. Workers are being paid vastly more now than they were paid in the days of higher productivity. And I think most of us must recognise the truth of Arthur Brown's point about the scramble to get more money without realising that money and goods

are not the same. Having money, printing money, is one thing; having the goods available, producing the goods, is quite another. Workers and managers who get more and more money, more and more perks and fringe benefits, for producing less and less goods are on a collision course with ~~the~~ disaster. This is so for nations, for private or public businesses, for individuals. And social and political systems make no difference to this central reality. It is a truth that applies as much to communist Poland as it does to capitalist America. A nation or a business or an individual who spends more than he or it earns from what is produced, is bound to fail. And all the printing of all the money, and all the borrowing will not stop that failure. So, getting the money, whether locally printed so-called 'monkey money' or the kind of large inflows of foreign exchange Mr. Seaga is going after, is only one side of our problem. The other, and perhaps most important side, is what we do with it. We can print money and give the managers and workers ~~all~~ the money and perks they want. But that printed money will not import any of the goods they want. Printed money cannot pay for a single import from Britain or the United States or Canada or anywhere else. So the managers and the unionised workers can have their vast pay packets and ^{that is imported} nothing to buy. Or we can borrow to pay for the imports we want for as long as others are prepared to lend us the foreign exchange: but a day will come when our debt service charges are more than we earn from what we produce and nobody will want to go on lending to us. Indeed, we are perilously close to that point now. And still we do not seem to realise the importance of/ ^{starting} to produce seriously thus ^{everybody demands perks;} earning our troubles away. The unions press their claims; business demands foreign exchange to produce for local consumption; the foreign debt grows. And so does unemployment. When will we stop this madness?

Goodnight.

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The Future of Jamaican Public Transport

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 5, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The revelation of the latest losses/^{of}~~by~~ the JOS by Mr. E.K. Powell, the Minister of State for Public Utilities, raises once more the question of the future of the JOS and, indeed, of the whole matter of public transport in Jamaica. According to Mr. Powell the JOS lost more than \$20-million before the government subsidy was applied, and more than \$5-million after the subsidy. And yet, before this same JOS became a publicly-owned company, it regularly made money for its former private expatriate owners. It provided the same basic service that it does today; and it made money from it. It made enough money to pay its way and to reward its private owners with healthy profits. To be sure there have been some changes since the company was taken over by the government. ~~xxxx~~ Operating costs have gone up sharply, especially after the 1973 oil price spiral began. But fares to the bus users have also gone up very sharply. ^{And the travelling} ~~xxxxxxx~~ public has increased greatly over the years. So the higher fares and the larger travelling public should, logically, have offset the increased costs. And please do not forget that when the company was in private hands it often found it much more difficult to get fare increases than did the company when it became government-owned. So why~~d~~ did the JOS under private ownership pay its way and make a profit? And why does the JOS under public ownership, lose money so heavily year after year? The first and most obvious answer is that the managers and workers of the JOS under private ownership knew that the survival of the company, and therefore of their jobs, depended on the company paying

its way and making a profit. So, in order keep their jobs they got on with the job and made the profits. Those who failed were fired; those who performed poorly were laid off; drivers who got into accidents or damaged the company's vehicles lost their jobs; conductors against whom bus users complained successfully lost their jobs. This was rough medicine, but it worked and the company made money and provided a passable service. With public ownership came the notion that workers could not be fired, except in the most extreme cases; ^{there came} and the false illusion that once an enterprise is publicly-owned the need to pay its way and make a profit no longer existed. And those who believe in public ownership have, unfortunately for the concept of public ownership, fostered and encouraged these false illusions. So the JOS failed to pay its way, let alone turn a profit. Now we are into a situation where these losses have become intolerable. And what makes the situation worse is the fact that the need for a good public transport system becomes greater with each passing month as people who once operated private cars can no longer do so and want and need to use a comparatively decent public transport system. And this trend away from private cars is bound to grow in the coming years as both the price of cars and the cost of fuel go on climbing. If the JOS as a public company cannot pull itself together and get back to providing a reasonable service while paying its way, then it is only a matter of time before it is either sold back into private ownership, or else is allowed to collapse under its own dead weight and the competition from the minibuses. There is no real reason for either of these eventualities, provided the workers and the managers face up to their problems and face the fact that Jamaica cannot afford the high cost of their style of operating. And one way or another we must have a decent and improving public transport system.

Goodnight

The Geopolitics of the Polish Crisis

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 3, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The question is: What would the United States and its allies do if the Soviet Union and its allies were to march into Poland tomorrow to put a stop to the popular reform movement led by Poland's militant independent trade union movement? President Jimmy Carter yesterday issued a very stern warning to the Soviets and their allies not to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. And also yesterday, in what was obviously a carefully co-ordinated move, the nine European Common Market foreign ministers also issued a warning that any invasion of Poland would spell the end of all efforts at detente. So, although the words from Mr. Carter and from the West Europeans sound tough, they do not sound tough enough to amount to the kind of warning that would stop the Soviets and their friends, if they decided to move into Poland. If there were such a move the United States and its allies will almost certainly apply harsh economic sanctions and step up military preparations. But sanctions, as the South Africans and the Rhodesians under Ian Smith and the Iranians have all shown, do not add up to a very effective weapon. Sanctions are easily busted. So the Russians will, if they feel they have to, invade Poland and, I ~~fix~~ think, get away with it. After all, they went into Afghanistan and the world shouted and screamed but nothing more happened. And they have put down popular ^{it} uprisings in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and got away with/each time. So what is likely to happen in Poland and where is it likely to end? I think there are two alternative possibilities, and I think the leadership of the ^{independent} Polish workers sound as though they are acutely

aware of these possibilities and their implications. If the Soviets and the East Germans and the Czechs were to invade they would very easily over-run the country. But they would then have to stay as armies of occupation for a long time and the already battered Polish economy would sink further and further into decline. At the moment Poland's foreign debt, mainly to Western bankers, stands at over \$20,000-million. And one of the reasons for this staggering debt burden is that the Polish standard of living has always been a high one, more in line with West European standards^{and} than with those of the East Europeans. Indeed, by United Nations criteria Poland is one of the 23 well-off countries of ~~the world~~^{Europe}. And in order to prop up that standard of living Poland's communist rulers have been forced to resort to massive borrowing to subsidise that traditionally high living standard. The Polish economy, ^{under the communists} has not performed well enough or anywhere near well enough to support either this level of borrowing or this standard of living. And the Soviets were not about to pour money into a client state to support standards of living which were much higher than those of their own people. But the Western bankers were because they saw, among other things, the possibility of a Poland dependent on Western money becoming as independent a force in the communist world as was Yugoslavia after the break with Stalin immediately after world war two. So that \$20,000-million foreign debt has become a powerful political-economic lever. And yesterday's ~~announced~~^{announced} \$1,100-million hard currency loan to Poland by the Soviet Union is a belated recognition of the importance of this foreign debt as a pressure point. Just as communists will not use their money to support anti-communist regimes, ^{or even uncommitted} so capitalists will not use theirs ^{to support} anti-capitalist regimes. To weaken or bring them down, yes; not to support. ^{them} And the Polish workers, fighting to hold on to their gains, are moving delicately not to provoke that Soviet invasion. Goodnight

~~xxClearingxxofxxPoliticalxxAir~~
A Clearing of the Political Air

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
December 1, 1980, 6.10-.m

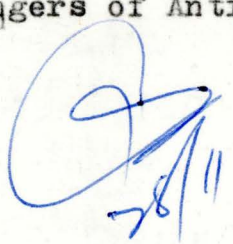


Good evening; The mists of uncertainty and concern which hung over many aspects of the life of this country in the days immediately following the October 30 elections are beginning to clear away. The violence is steadily tapering off; much of the nastiness seems to be going out of public utterances, though there is still a 'go on kicking Manley' tendency in certain quarters - but even this, one suspects, will become self-defeating in the end since the man and the symbolism is no longer the symbol of power to be torn down. Power/~~now~~ of power now resides elsewhere and it will be interesting to see how long it takes for those who specialise in the cult of magnicide to turn on the person of the new power symbol. And one interesting question is whether, if they dare do it, the new symbol will be as tolerant as Manley was of those who savaged him. There are a few other lingering uncertainties like the future of the JOS and the minibus experiment and how the publicly-owned media will fare. But, generally speaking, it now appears that things like the community enterprise organisations, JAMAL, the home guard movement, are not going to be scrapped out of hand. And all the^{present} indications are that the State Trading Corporation is going to remain in business, despite a call or two for its to be scrapped. So the people-based institutions^{ns} created under the previous administration are not going to be wiped out automatically and just because they came into being under the past government. What I personally do hope is that when the present government does come to divest itself of its ownership of the Daily

News it will ensure that the new, private ownership is at least as broadly based as is the ownership of this radio station; any narrower ownership would, I think, be a going back to the point where the print media, through its ownership, represented only one special interest group. And as the Reverend Mr. Tennyson-Palmer told Deputy Prime Minister Hugh Shearer last Saturday, "while all the capitalists, the money men and the investors were welcome 'if they swing the pendulum too far in the direction of capitalism and forget the poor unfortunates and they do not pay attention to the individual at the grassroots and your government do nothing about it, Sir, it is going to be the deathknell of another government'." And the highly respected London Economist put the same basic idea spelled by the Rev. Mr. Palmer in another way when it wrote that ^{the} election victory of the JLP was not a victory for the old order - 'Not yet. Not by a long way'. So the socially and economically beneficial programmes from the past regime will be kept and where possible be improved upon. And we have even heard, here and there, words of praise spoken by ^{one or two} members of the new government of something done by their predecessors. Even the politically expedient electoral myth that everything the other people did was bad, is being quietly laid to rest. So things are becoming clearer: the way ahead is much more discernable than it was this time a month ago. And it is not the wild swing to the right that some people hoped for and others feared. But how long this pragmatic, middle-of-the-road, posture of this present government lasts will depend on three things: ^{the} the flow of foreign exchange, in the first instance; ^{or} how productively it is used in the second instance; and, perhaps most expensively of all, ^{or} how the government handles the twin problems of our massive unemployment and the sharing of scarce benefits. These last two can either unite or shatter the society.

- 1) Unease on the Labour Scene
- 2) Selling or Leasing of Hotels?
- 3) The Dangers of Anticipating

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
November 28, 1980, 6.10p.m



Good evening: It sounded and read like a very familiar theme. The American news wire service, the Associated Press, had circulated to its hundreds of subscribers all over the United States as well as to its subscribers in a number of foreign countries, a news report quoting Jamaica's Prime Minister Seaga as saying that Jamaica was more than ever counting on the production and export of marijuana to help bolster the country's economy. And all Jamaicans who listened to both the radio and the television rebroadcast of the Seaga interview on the CBS/TV programme Face the Nation, will know that this was a distortion of what the Prime Minister said. The trouble is that Jamaica has, in recent years, become fair game for this type of distortion by the wire services. Giving us a bad press, interpreting what our leaders say in as unfavourable a light as possible, had become something of habit. And habits die hard, especially carefully fostered habits. So, although there is a general will now on the part of the wire services and the North American news media to treat us more fairly now that the so-called socialists are no longer in power, it is likely to take a little time to break the old habit of knocking Jamaica. So I suspect that the new government is going to have its fair share of correcting false or unfair news reports about Jamaica. One of the things the new government can avoid is the unnecessary confusion which comes with too many people making too many statements before final decisions have been made. For instance, is the new government really going to sell off the hotels which are now publicly

owned? Or is the government going to lease those hotels? I personally do not see it as being in the Jamaican national interest for this or any other government to use taxpayers money to make any enterprise viable and profitable and then, the moment that enterprise looks like making a profit, to sell it off for private groups to reap that profit. Don't forget, the reason why the previous government acquired these hotels was because the private groups were not prepared to stick by them in times of trouble and losses. Since the people took the risk with these hotels, the people should be the main long-term beneficiaries. So I for one, would prefer to see these hotels lease^d, not sold. But I do not think the government has really had the time to make a policy decision on this important and sensitive matter. Indeed, there seem to be many things on which many people and groups seem to be anticipating positions and actions long before decisions have been made on these matters. And this anticipation can and often does lead to a kind of jumpiness, a kind of rashness of word and deed^d. I think this is one reason for that sudden flurry of unrest this week in the labour movement. It is as though people expect unpleasant things to happen and are making warning noises well in advance. This is happening in sections of the media as well. Some of the fears and concerns are almost tangible. The labour movement wants the world to know^{from early on} that it is not going to stand for having to carry any lion's share of any burden of sacrifices in the interest of economic recovery. So we have these stoppages and go-slows and absenteeism over matters^t that are not really of critical importance. It is a warning, a flexing of industrial muscle so that nobody is any doubt about labour's intentions. And the unease in^{sections of} the media is largely an almost reflex recollection of what happened in the public media during the JBR regime of 1962-72. Goodnight

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- 1) Restoring the Jamaican Image
 - 2) Two Notable Speeches from the 'Right'
 - 3) Zimbabwe: Coming Mugabe-Nkomo Rift

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 24, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend news was, for most Jamaicans, largely dominated by speech-making. There was this station's rebroadcast of the American CBS-TV programme 'Face the Nation' with Prime Minister Seaga. One noteworthy ~~interview~~ quotation from that particular interview was Mr. Seaga's flat declaration, and now I quote: "We have not defaulted ~~on~~ debt, and Jamaica has never in its history defaulted on debt payments". After all that had gone before this was an essential truth that had to be stated in the process of restoring the Jamaican image which had been given such a terrible battering by Jamaicans themselves. And then there was the Prime Minister's speech in Miami which went further with the business of restoring the Jamaican image on which American investment in Jamaica must be predicated. There were also two speeches made locally that are worthy of note. The general manager of Kaiser Bauxite, Mr. Ed Coyne, on Friday told a meeting of the the Police Co-operative Credit Union that, and now I quote: "In all of the talk about foreign investment, foreign aid, grants, etc., it is sometimes forgotten that this foreign investment is only one avenue for capital formation in the country. It sometimes is not realised that the majority of capital formation for all types of investment purposes usually takes place within the confines of the country's borders." And then there was the other noteworthy speech, perhaps the most noteworthy, in terms of a highly successful and totally committed private sector spokesman, gently warning the Jamaican private sector

not to misread the meaning and nature of the political change brought about by the October 30th elections. This was the speech made, also on Friday night, to the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce by Dr. Robert West, head of a petroleum company and chairman of the Executive Committee of Caribbean Central American Action. I quote just one small paragraph to show the quality and the tenor of the speech. After tell^{ing} the business community of the opportunity and challenge presented by the election results, he went on, and I quote: "No one should be encouraged in the mistaken impression that increase^d influence for the business sector in a community's or a nation's social or political life means turning back the clock on social progress or on legitimate public sector programmes serving the needs of the under-privileged or of working men and women... Here in Jamaica, you are building on a mandate for responsible social democratic action, not a blind turn to the political right." And please note that both these very enlightened speeches were made by North American private sector spokesmen, not by Jamaican private sector spokesmen. Let us hope that the entire Jamaican private sector will note these truths and take note of this gentle warning. And let them ~~xxxx~~^{too} remember/that the mandate is for a comparatively short time; five years in the first instance, with option to renew or cancel, depending on performance. I hope, too, that the wilder ones in our private sector will think carefully over Dr. West's warning against what he calls the 'three strawmen'. Like it or not, none of us, not even the private sector, can go back to the pre-1972 days. Our world has changed too much for that. And finally, and very brief^{ly}, we are beginning to see the first signs of important changes ~~in~~ⁱⁿ the geopolitical picture in Southern Africa. The coming rift between Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo is just the tip of the iceberg: but more on that another time. Goodnight

Great Power Politics, Ideological
Pluralism & the Third World

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 26, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: We have been so preoccupied with our own affairs lately that we have tended to pay little attention to some very important recent developments on the wider international scene. For instance there was that face-to-face meeting with American President-elect Ronald Reagan which West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt engineered so carefully and determinedly within the week following the American elections. Officially Mr. Schmidt~~w~~ was in Washington to see Mr. Carter; but the timing was superb. Mr. Reagan was also in Washington. There were no arranged plans for Mr. Schmidt to see Mr. Reagan. Mr. Reagan is not yet President and it would be undiplomatic for a foreign head-of-state to meet formally with the President-elect while someone else still occupied the White House. But Chancellor Schmidt just 'dropped in' on Mr. Reagan and they talked for well~~x~~ over an hour. When Mr. Schmidt got back to West Germany he made a very big thing about re-stating his commitment to detente and to the SALT arms control process. And then he let out very casually that he and Mr. Reagan were in broad agreement on the importance of the^{SALT}/disarmament process. This was a most significant straw in the political wind. Mr. Reagan's campaign rhetoric had sounded like the death-knell of the SALT process by which the United States and the Soviet Union had worked out a step-by-step^{course for}/a~~x~~ containing the arms race and the military build-up by the two super-powers. Now, suddenly, and by way of the apparently off-hand remark of the West German Chancellor, the threat of an arms race between the super powers seemed to have been defused. And American moderate Republican

Senator Charles Percy, who is bound to play a dominant role in the new Republican controlled Senate when Mr. Reagan takes office in January, is in the Soviet Union right now and has been given the red carpet treatment, including a lengthy meeting with Soviet President Brezhnev. And you can be sure that ways of trying to get the SALT negotiations back on the rails was high among the matters discussed. The big point is that ~~the~~ both the superpowers and their friends and allies in both East and West Europe know that the alternative to detente is the steady march to a nuclear war that neither side wants. The Europeans in particular have had the bitter experience of two world wars being fought on their lands in this one century alone, and they do not want a third one which is almost certain to be fought with nuclear weapons. And Japan is the only nation on earth which has experienced the devastation brought by nuclear weapons. So the will to peace and detente and the SALT process is very strong indeed. And this, of course means that, like it or not, the superpowers and their allies are going to have to accept the reality of ideological pluralism, of different and differing social and political and economic systems having to co-exist for the sake of peace. The problem for the Third world in all this, the problem for the so-called client state in all this, is that each of the power groupings will ^{at least maintain the strength & power of their position in the world. So they have} want to impose their forms of conformity on the rest of us. The Americans ^{and their surrogates} will want to impose their anti-communism on their client states; the Russians ^{and their surrogates} will want to impose their anti-capitalism on their client states. So, in the context of detente, the Third World becomes the alternative arena ^{and surrogates for the} of so-called 'peaceful conflict' between the superpowers. ^{and they are allowed} with little or no room ~~there~~ for ideological pluralism. And this, of course, is the essence of paternalism, of ^{the} do as I say not as I do. ^{syndrome} Only China, still the wild ^{unwieldy} joker in the pack, misses this point and calls for a worldwide crusade against the Soviets. Goodnight

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- 1) The Tensions Continue to Ease
 - 2) The Dangers of Over-Optimism & High Expectations
 - 3) The Warmington Storm in a Teacup

NEWS COMMENTARY

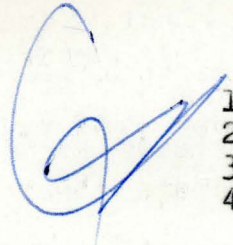
For broadcast on Friday

November 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The best and most welcome news of the week continues to be the scaling-down of the gun violence and the relative easing of the political tensions in the society. We must hope that these trends will continue and grow stronger. Our political leaders and our opinion makers of all parties and all persuasions have a grave responsibility to help nurse these trends along if Jamaica is ever to regain the state of ~~xxx~~ comparative peace and order which existed before the politics of polarisation, of 'us' and 'them' took over and tore the house apart. And no one side can restore that state of peace and order and goodwill all by itself. So the challenge is to create a climate in which all sides will want to work together. And for this to begin there must be a real end to the ugliness of all the nasty words and deeds: an end to the aggressive boastiness of the winners and the bitter resentments of the ~~losers~~ ^{losers}. And perhaps one of the most worrying dangers the society faces right now is the extraordinarily high level of expectation that has been unleashed among JLP supporters. There are large numbers of people, especially young people, who seem to really believe that the new government can perform some sort of miracle by which all the country's problems will be solved in a comparatively short time: there will be money; there will be jobs; there will be joy; everything will be better. Well, it is not going to be as easy as that. For at least the next two or three years, ~~xxxxxx~~ the way ahead is going to be as economically rough and difficult as have been the last three years.

Prices are not suddenly going to come down; there is not suddenly going to be a rash of new jobs. And whether we do in fact generate new jobs is not going to depend on party loyalty or on any one man's ability or on the abilities of any one group of men. The entire nation must either come to grips with its problems or those problems will as surely overwhelm the new government as they overwhelmed the past government. Somewhere along the line, somehow, the very high expectations of the JLP supporters in particular will have to be lowered to very much more realistic levels. This is one of the trickier problems facing the JLP and the government that party now forms. When it was in opposition some ~~fixix~~ ^{JLP} spokesmen sneered scornfully at what they called 'monkey money' when the Bank of Jamaica printed money to ~~support~~ provide budget support for the previous government. Now, a JLP government is forced to resort to this same so-called 'monkey money' support for the rest of this fiscal year. It is of course blaming its having to do this on the past government. That is fair enough in partisan political terms. But who will it blame if, a year or two down the road, it has to again resort to this kind of budget support? And if it is forced to increase petrol prices next year, will one of its affiliates/stage a petrol price strike? ^{these are very tricky ones} And finally, a brief word on Mr. Warmington and the ^{workers of the} cotton plant in Old Harbour. Political realists of all parties know that workers who are unionised, especially those who are members of our two major trade unions, are least likely to be ^{successfully} victimised. No group of NWU or BITU workers can be victimised in the way Mr. Warmington's letter appeared to try to. ^{the labour movement would not permit it.} So the outcome to this little bit of political shadow-boxing was a foregone conclusion from ^{its way} the outset. The big play in some sections of the ^{news} media suggests either ignorance of this political reality or else a public relations snow job.

Goodnight.

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- 1) Opening of New Parliament
 - 2) Back to the IMF
 - 3) Christmas Work
 - 4) Unemployment, Politics, Scaree Benefits

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 19, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday's opening of the new Parliament following on last month's elections and the change of government, turned out to be more than just a ceremonial swearing-in affair. Prime Minister Seaga used the occasion to report on developments since the election and to give some indications of the directions in which the new government proposes to move. The problem of foreign exchange continues to be the most pressing: and this is how I think it is going to be for very many years to come. And the finding^{and earning} of foreign exchange, and the using and the conserving of foreign exchange are going to remain major priorities for many years to come. How these are handled will, inevitably determine much of the future development of Jamaica. We cannot borrow our troubles away. There is only virtue in borrowing if what is borrowed is used to ^{Foreign exchange} earn/our/troubles away. The Prime Minister indicated that Jamaica was returning to the International Monetary Fund to seek an acceptable agreement for this kind of foreign exchange support. I think it is very likely that we will in fact be able to get better terms from the IMF than the previous government received. And part of the reason for this is the very hard campaign conducted by the previous government, in common with other Third World countries, againstst the former rather rigid IMF conditions. In this sense the present government might well turn out to be the beneficiary of the struggles of its predecessor, which is as it should be in our brand of politics. But this is one that is still ahead of us and even with the best of loan conditions in the world it is still

going to be up to the Jamaican people to ensure that every dollar of foreign exchange borrowed is used productively to enlarge our foreign exchange resources and so ^{to} earn our troubles away. If we don't do this then, no matter how good our credit rating, we will just be digging another great big economic hole for us to drop into a few years from now. On the domestic short-term employment scene the Prime Minister said that \$5.4-million (the same as for last year) would be spent to provide some 67,000 jobs as Christmas work. The money would be allocated equally among members of Parliament and councillors irrespective of party. This of course means that the party with the greatest number of elected members will end up getting the greatest total amount of money. The last time around, thanks to their numbers, the PNP got the lion's share of the money. This time around, thanks to their numbers again, the JLP will get the lion's share and so JLP supporters will get most of those 67,000 Christmas jobs. Like it or not, this is how it is because it is part of our benefit politics. One sad thing is that this Christmas work will be for only two weeks for each person; another sad thing is that it is not enough to really scratch the surface of our acute unemployment problem. And it really is nonsense to talk about everybody's right to a job when over 300,000 workers, or just about one-third of the labour force, is unemployed. Even if you put political victimisation aside there can be no equal rights and justice in such a situation. Unemployment is, in itself, the worst kind of victimisation that can be inflicted on any person who wants to work: bringing politics into it only compounds it. Perhaps the new government will try to persuade employers and the labour movement to think again about a more equitable sharing of the available jobs by cutting out overtime, bringing back the shift system and reducing the work week to three days for one worker so that a now-unemployed one could have two days' work. This rather than the manipulation of scarce benefits may be the safest short-term answer to the problem of unemployment. Goodnight

Caribbean Politics & the Swing
To the Right

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 17, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A CANA-Reuter wire report out of New York datelined yesterday and carried in one of our morning papers today quotes Prime Minister Edward Seaga as saying, and now I quote: "If Castro wants to be accepted in this region, then he must be able to prove his credentials by not exporting revolution or ideology". A couple of weeks earlier, following on the results of the Jamaican general elections and, a few days later, the American Presidential elections, Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams had declared that Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had to prove that he had the support of the people of Grenada by calling elections otherwise he would lose support in the Caribbean community. These two declarations, the one from Barbados and the other from Jamaica, and both directed against leftwing regimes, are a clear indication of the swing of the political pendulum in the region: and the swing is strongly to the right, though it is still too early to tell ~~xxxx~~ at just what point on the right the swing will settle. For instance in that same Cana-Reuter report Mr. Seaga is quoted as saying about Mr. Ronald Reagan's far rightwing views, and again I quote: "...I've had enough experience in 20 years of political life to know that people usually take far stronger positions in a campaign than they would be likely to take when they get into office". So it is early days yet to try and assess ~~xxxx~~ at just what point the swing in the regional political pendulum will come to pause before beginning the swing back. What is important ^{as far as both} ~~in terms of~~ the long-term as well as

short-term interests of their countries are concerned, is that neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Seaga get themselves locked into hard-line ideological positions from which they cannot retreat. Both Mr. Seaga and Mr. Adams clearly see their countries' best economic interests being served by closer and much more cordial links with the United States and United States business interests. Fair enough. And the statements by both can be seen as clear signals to the United States that this is how things now are and that this is how they want things to be from here on. Again fair enough. But the United States these days is only one, albeit the most powerful of the power centres in this part of the world. Venezuela is another power centre. Mexico is yet another. Both Mexico and Venezuela will grow in importance as power centres as the world need for oil becomes more acute. Indeed, even the great United States is becoming increasingly dependent on Mexican and Venezuelan oil as war, instability and turmoil make the flow of oil from the Middle East less and less reliable with each passing week. So, while sending signals to the United States is important it is equally if not more important that those signals be not misread or misunderstood by the other power centres in the region, by Mexico, by Venezuela and a host of others. So who is to determine whether or not Cuba is accepted~~le~~ in this region? Even before the discovery of her oil wealth and the great political muscle that goes with it, Mexico was absolutely clear on Cuba's rights and Cuba's sovereignty in the region. And neither Venezuela nor Mexico are leftist regimes supporting the fomenting of revolution. What neither of them will ^{any} tolerate, and they have made this very clear, is ^{not} sort of North American 'Big Stick' diplomacy being introduced or reintroduced into the region. As for ideology: rightwing fundamentalism is as much an ideology as leftwing communism. ~~How do you lock-up ideas?~~ Goodnight

- 1) New Government in Place
- 2) The Seizure of the 27 M16s
- 3) The Calls for Unity & the Settling of Old Scores

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
November 14, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Two welcome notes on which to end this week. First, there was yesterday's seizure by the police of those 27 M16 automatic rifles and that vast quantity of ammunition. This was a wonderful piece of work on the part of the police and they have earned all the praise they received for it. A few more such big hauls would be very welcome if only as a signal that the security forces are getting on top of the problem of the guns in the society. The hard-pressed Jamaican community needs a few morale-boosting victories of this kind in the fight against gun violence. The other welcome note is, of course, the completion of the business of the making of the new government. There is much to be done so the sooner the new government was in place and on the job the sooner would they begin to tackle the problems. Now that government is in place, ~~xxxxxx~~ except for a few minor details, and it turns out to be rather bigger than some observers had thought or hoped it would be. There are 15 senior Cabinet Ministers, ^{of} eleven Junior Ministers. That is exactly half the number of parliamentary seats the governing party holds in the House. So it is very ~~big~~ government indeed. When the Parliamentary Secretaries are appointed the Ministers, Junior Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries will outnumber the backbenchers on the government side. This was a situation we had in the previous government and ~~it~~ ^{size} did not make for a good and efficient machine then; it would be interesting to see what size does this time around, especially as there are likely to be very strong pressures for cutting back on

government spending. And, usually, big governments anywhere, have meant big government spending. This may very well turn out to be one of the first and earliest tests for the tight management people expect of the Seaga Government. Another likely early testing point may well be which of the programmes of the previous administration to carry over and continue, and which to abandon. Here, I think, argument is bound to centre around the so-called 'social programmes' such as the Impact and Youth Employment programmes, which have all too often been perceived and used as social welfare programmes. There are those who feel that these programmes should^{all} be scrapped in favour of a straightforward hard drive for the^{economic} prosperity based on free enterprise and the^{so-called} market system. These people, or some of them, often pose the choices in 'either-or' terms: it is either continued social programmes or the free market system. It is, of course, also possible to have 'social programmes' which are highly productive and highly profitable. I think, for instance, of that very successful nursery and tree growing programme up in Clydesdale where Impact workers were also very productive workers. The point is that productivity and enlarging the wealth of the nation and so-called 'social programmes' are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is all a matter of how these things are managed, of the states of mind engendered among those who work on these programmes. And, looking at the people who make up the new Cabinet, I do not, myself, see this new government wanting to do a sort of clean sweep and ~~scrap~~ all the social programmes. What is much more likely is a careful and sensitive review to identify those programmes which are or which have the potential for being productive or viable and separate these from the straight ~~put~~ barrel business. The thing to guard against here is not to settle old scores or just change ~~these~~ the identity of those who can dip in the barrel. Goodnight.

- 1) A Noticeable Easing in Violence
- 2) Clean-up and Threat of Victimisation
- 3) The Economic Prospects

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
November 12, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The first signs of an easing of the political tensions and of the wholesale slaughter that went with those tensions are just starting to show a little. It is not very much; not even anything that you can quantify as yet; but the mood in the society does seem to be one of easement. And that, after all Jamaicans have been through in this year alone, is something to welcome. Some of the damage and some of the wounds and some of the hurts have gone very deep and the healing process is going to take a very long time in some instances. After all, somewhere in the region of 700 lives are reported to have been snuffed out in politically-related violence in this one year alone; people have been driven from their homes; there has been irreparable damage to property. These are not things we can just put behind us and forget because the elections are over. I, for one, would like to hope that the new government through its Ministry of Social Security would take a searching look at some of the hurt and damage done to many families and many households and try to help to rehabilitate those who need help most. What many Jamaicans suffered during the course of the destructive and brutal and ugly election campaign which is now behind us had some of the characteristics of a natural disaster - only this one was made by man. *Let us deal with it as a disaster.* [This, I suggest, would be one small way of trying to heal the divided wounds and bring the ~~house~~ house together again. The trouble is that we are already beginning to see the first signs of the old business of the 'ins' and the 'outs' which is one of the oldest

and most persistent symptoms of both our political and ^{our} economic state of poverty. All past Jamaican governments, without exception, to some degree or another have played this game of the 'ins' and the 'outs', not because of malice necessarily, but because there was never enough to go around for everybody. So every time there was a change of government the winners pushed out the losers and took unto themselves and their supporters the lion's share of what was available in patronage and jobs and other scarce benefits. Kingston's Mayor Arthur Jones yesterday protested publicly against the threat of this business of the 'ins' and the 'outs' being applied to the jobs of the present K&AC employees. This is a very difficult one indeed. And the greater the unemployment and the greater the scarcities the harder it is for any newly elected government to resist the pressures from its supporters demanding that it is their time now. Previous administrations have tried to deal with this problem, ^{either} and failed or succeeded only partially. The JLP under Bustamante succeeded partially with its forty-forty-twenty formula: but that one discriminated against the majority of workers in the society who supported neither party nor major trade union. Mr. Lynden Newland's N.I.S. which was the start of social security was one of the few unqualified successes on which both parties can build regardless of who is in or out of power; and so is the National Housing Trust, unless its present character is grossly changed and distorted. But it is at the level of the central and local government bureaucracy, and not only at sensitive policy levels, that the problem of the 'ins' and 'outs' and who gets the ^{available} jobs is most acute. And the present bleak economic prospects and high unemployment do not make it any easier to tackle this most difficult and most human of all Jamaica's problems. Goodnight

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- 1) A Note on Transitions
 - 2) The International scene:
 - a) Zimbabwe; b) Poland;
 - c) African oil; d) Human Rights review

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 10, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Today marked the first full working day for the Cabinet Ministers of Jamaica's new government which was swept to power a scant eleven days ago. So the transition from a PNP to a BLP administration can be said to be complete in all its key essentials; and the process was relatively quick and smooth. In contrast, the transition from one administration to the next in the United States is a very long drawn-out affair. The American voters went to the polls just five days after the Jamaican voters did so, yet the transition period will drag out from now until January 20th of next year when the new President is sworn in and then forms his new administration. So, in the case of the United States you have this long gap of nearly three months between Mr. Reagan winning the election and then being installed as President. And between now and January 20th of next year the defeated Mr. Jimmy Carter is still, Constitutionally, the President of the United States. It is an odd and ironic and in some ways a cruel situation in which to place a man. The power has passed from him: he knows it and all the world knows it; and yet he has to go through with being the so-called 'lame Duck' President for nearly three months: a man still surrounded by all the pomp and ceremony of the Presidency of one of the two most powerful nations on earth, but without the substance of power. It seems to me that our system, the parliamentary system that we inherited from the British, is so much kinder to the losers. Mr. Manley lost on Thursday October 30th and Mr. Seaga took over on

Friday October 31st, and ten days later the new Cabinet was at work. One of the worrying things about the long drawn-out American transition is how a 'lame duck' President would cope if there were ^{some} sudden international crisis requiring swift decision and ^{quick} action. Would he, for instance, first consult with the incoming President-elect before pushing that button in response to an attack, a nuclear attack perhaps? Would he, in light of his electoral defeat feel that he has the authority to take drastic action? Would he, stripped basically of the real powers of the Presidency, have the nerve? I hope the Americans do something about the length of their period of transition before any lame duck President is forced to face these challenges. Another point of contrast between our election and theirs was the voter turn-out. Something over 80% of the Jamaican electorate voted and so the JLP's mandate, like it or not, is a mandate from a very clear and sharp majority of the Jamaican electors. 52% of the American electorate went to the polls. 48% of those entitled to did not vote. So Mr. Reagan's 51% of the poll is 51% of only that 52% who went to the polls. In other words, for all the talk about a landslide victory, only ^{a little} ~~about~~ over a quarter of the total American electorate voter Reagan into power. And that is not a healthy thing for any democracy. On the international scene, Zimbabwe is in the news with internal friction and brewing disenchantment between herself and Britain and the West. The Polish workers have worked out an acceptable compromise with their communist government. The African OPEC oil producers look like exerting a little oil 'muscle' against their Western customers. And a meeting convenes in Madrid tomorrow to review the Helsinki Agreement on Human Rights which was signed five years ago by East, West and Non-Aligned countries. Because each side has tried to use this Agreement as a stick with which to beat the other there has been little advance in human rights anywhere. Goodnight

- 1) The First Week: A Holding Position
- 2) Reagan & Detente: A Soviet Response

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
November 7, 1980, 6.10p.m



Good evening: The first full week under a new JLP regime is drawing to its close, and so far nothing really startling or dramatic or unexpected has come to pass. Prime Minister Seaga today completed the putting together of his Cabinet and next week should see the real start of business by the new administration with its massive electoral parliamentary majority. The nation, generally speaking, is in a holding position, waiting and watching to see what unfolds and how. And nowhere is this waiting and watching more sharply concentrated at this moment than on what is going on about the West St. Andrew parliamentary seat. How this particular matter is handled may well be of great importance in the difficult business of bringing peace among the embattled political factions. It is always easier for a man to accept defeat if he is satisfied that he was beaten fair and square. And the need to bring peace among our embattled political factions continues to be the single most urgent problem we face. The Jamaica Council of Churches earlier this week expressed its grave concern about the present state of the nation. It said, and I quote: "If the society is to be saved from further bloodshed and to continue its development there must be genuine reconciliation among the society". And Prime Minister Seaga yesterday called on JLP supporters to refrain from initiating or taking in any act which may lead to incidents of violence or to the harassment of PNP supporters. And he called on PNP supporters to show respect for the democratic process by accepting the decision of the voters. If the society will heed these two calls, the one from

the Jamaica Council of Churches, and the other from the new Jamaican Prime Minister, then we may indeed begin the important process of reconciliation. And the beginning of reconciliation, I think, is to let all Jamaicans, friends and foes, winners and losers, know in both deeds and words that they really are all equal under the law, are subject to all the /all equally entitled to everyone of the rights and responsibilities enshrined in the Jamaican Constitution. Unless we do this, we can talk peace and reconciliation until we are blue in the face and the divisions and the violence and the bitterness will continue. I suggest that much of the waiting and watching is to see how the new government begins the process of reconciliation. And then there is the very hard problem of the guns. Heaven knows how many guns, some of them very sophisticated, have been brought into the country since the start of this year alone. It is not going to be/easy to get all those guns under control as it was to let them loose in the first place. In this sense we have, for basically political reasons, sown the wind, and we are now reaping the whirlwind. Bringing this monster under control is going to be long and hard and the limit greatest danger it poses is the threat to/human rights in the pursuit of national security. We must have peace: but we must also have equity and justice. And finally and briefly, a word about what is perhaps the most worrying consequence of that other electoral landslide electoral victory to the north. In a speech in Moscow's Red Square honouring the October 1917 Revolution which saw the birth of the Soviet Union some 63 years ago, the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armed forces declared that the Soviet Union would not allow the United States to gain nuclear military superiority over it. This was the chilling response to Mr. Ronald Reagan's pre-election repudiation of what had been achieved thus far in the SALT II negotiations between the U.S. and the USSR. It could start a new arms race and a new Cold War. Goodnight

Signed the 1st

Reagan's Victory Shatters
Democratic Coalition

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 5, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. Ronald Reagan's massive landslide victory over President Jimmy Carter in yesterday's U.S. Presidential elections has tended to over-shadow and so to obscure the vastly more important and serious long-term setback suffered by the Democratic Party as a whole in yesterday's voting. For the first time in more than a generation the Democratic Party/lost control of the U.S. Senate. During all the Nixon years and the Gerald Ford years in the Presidency the U.S. Senate was controlled by Democrats. And this was so in the years when Democrats like Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy before him sat in the White House. The U.S. Senate was controlled by the Democrats. Democrats controlled the key Committees which determined what Presidential plans and policies received smooth passage through the legislature and what plans and policies were turned back or held up. So the President, be he Democrat or Republican, depended and still depends greatly on the Senate (and on the House of Representatives as well, of course) though to a very slightly lesser extent) to have his programmes and policies passed and put into practice. Anytime a Democratic Senate was bitterly opposed to any Presidential policy the chances of that policy going through were reduced to almost nothing. Until yesterday's voting that enormous power of control and influence over the actions of a President was controlled by the Democratic Party through its majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Early today the Republicans had won enough Senate seats from the Democrats ^s to take ^{over the} control of the Senate. And the vast power^s that go with the chairmanships of all

those key Senate Committees like the Ways and Means, the Appropriations, the Foreign Relations, the Armed Service Committees will now pass from Democratic into Republican hands. And some of the men who had grown powerful and renown all over the world because of their chairmanship of such committees went down in yesterday's Carter collapse. Senator Frank Church is one such. The Democrats still have a majority in the House of Representatives but the Republicans have made massive inroads on that majority and all the indications suggest that in the 1982 mid-term elections the Republicans will win a majority there too and so take control of both houses of the American Congress. And this, more than just the defeat of Jimmy Carter, is the true measure of the defeat suffered by the Democratic Party as a whole in yesterday's election. And there is one small but particularly bitter note over which Democrats are not likely to ever forgive Jimmy Carter, and it is this: when Carter made his speech conceding victory to Reagan very early last night, the polls had not yet closed in some parts of ^{that} vast country. So many Democrats, standing in line to cast their votes for their party and its candidates were shocked and dismayed to hear the President say it was all over: reports are that very many just walked away and ^{did} not bother to vote. Was it clumsiness and the ineptness that they say caused the loss of confidence of the American people? Or was it something else? Whatever it was, history will show that the Democratic coalition ^{ad} fashioned by Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression and consisting of liberals, the blacks, Hispanics, the labour movement, the old and all other disadvantaged minorities, was finally shattered in 1980 when both the Presidency and the Congress were captured by rightwing Republicans and ^{when} the American voters themselves appeared to move sharply to the right. Goodnight.

- 1) The First Weekend
- 2) Americans Vote Tomorrow

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 3, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The beginning of the first week of November also sees the beginning of the life of a new Government of Jamaica and it is the duty and the responsibility of all Jamaicans, supporters and opponents alike, to give the new government a fair and reasonable chance to get going with what we all agree is a formidable task. So let there be a halt to the killings and the burnings and the looting and the destruction of property: let there be an end and the nastiness to the terror tactics and the intimidation/which have been such an ugly feature of the election campaign and which has carried over to the happenings of this past weekend. Unless these things are stopped the formidable task which lies ahead of Jamaica will be that much more difficult to deal with and all Jamaicans - JLP, PNP and No-P - will suffer together. We have already hurt the Jamaican political process deeply and grievously by the strains and pressures we placed on it in recent years. Let us not hurt it to the point of death, to the point of being replaced by a different political process. The Jamaican Constitution provides for the peaceful resolution of all our problems and difficulties and for the holding and expressing and persuing of a wide range of differing views and interests within the framework of the rule of law. We have tested and strained that constitution and the system under it to their utmost limits in recent months. Now the elections are over let us return to the ways of the Constitution and to political peace based on respect for all Jamaicans of all parties and of no parties. Next, tomorrow is Pilling Day in the United State Presidential elections and the outcome of

that one will be followed with even greater interest and concern by the outside world than was our election of last Thursday. But in domestic political terms the choices for the American voters are not quite as sharp as in our case. Whether Mr. Carter or Mr. Reagan wins the United States will still pursue a capitalist free enterprise economic path. The differences, such as they are, are differences of method and style and the American public's perception of which man is likely to do the job better. The Democratic Party is traditionally more 'liberal' than the Republican Party; it is more concerned about social welfare programmes than is the Republican Party. And so ^{to} that Democrats have always had the support of minorities like the blacks, the Hispanics, the labour movement and women's groups; while the Republicans have always had the support of ^{both big and small} business, the big farmers and the upper income groups generally. But this year the state of the American economy is such a major issue that the traditional alliances of the past could easily be upset. The present unemployment may see large numbers of angry and worried workers deserting the Democrats because the rise in unemployment took place when a Democrat was President. Similarly, the blacks who last time out gave President Carter a solid 90% on the entire black vote, are hurting badly because they carry the heaviest share of the unemployment burden. So they may express their anger by not voting in the same large number. The real question is whether ~~theyxxxxxxReagan~~ ^{among} these frustrated groups see Reagan as doing any better than Carter. Where the differences between Carter and Reagan are much more real is in the area of foreign policy. Reagan would, for instance, take a tougher anti-Soviet, anti-communist line and give more overt support to South Africa. The fear in both the U.S. and other parts of the world is that Reagan's foreign policy could lead to a return of Cold War politics with its threat of nuclear confrontation. These are ^{among} the key issues on which the American people go to the polls tomorrow. Goodnight

The JLP Victory

NEWS COMMENTARY

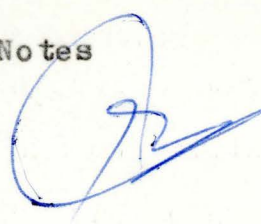
For broadcast on Friday

October 31, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: So it is all over bar the shouting - for the next five years, that is - and the Jamaica Labour Party is now firmly in power. The size and sweep of the JLP victory in yesterday's voting must have come as something of a surprise to even its most ardent supporters: it was complete and decisive and the swing to the JLP was massive and islandwide; and it included workers, farmers and the youth. It was a dramatic and striking reversal of what happened in the 1976 General Elections when the PNP made an equally dramatic clean sweep. In 1976 the PNP won 47 of the 60 seats ~~xxx~~ with 56.77% of the popular vote. The JLP then won only 13 seats with 43.23% of the popular vote. Yesterday it was the other way around, only a little more so. So, in the short space of four years - between 1976 and yesterday - the Jamaican electorate, or a big majority of it, seems to have completely changed its mind. But has it in fact changed its mind? Over the next few days and weeks we are likely to have all sorts of ~~interpretations~~ ^{majority of the} of what happened yesterday and of why the/Jamaican electorate turned against the PNP, and the reasons are indeed many and deserve to be explored. But I think one basic over-riding reason which connects the results of this election with those of 1976 and 1972 and 1967 and 1962 and even further back is the simple fact of the pragmatism of the Jamaican electorate. On the basis of what ~~xxxxx~~ they see as important from one election to the other, a large body of Jamaican voters are prepared to ignore/traditional party loyalties and come together to turn a government out of office. They have done this again and

again in elections over the years. They did it in 1972 and they did it again yesterday. And they did it for the basically pragmatic reason that they were not satisfied with the performance of those whom they turned out, and so they gave the other lot a chance to show if they could do better. They gave the present PNP its chance in 1972 and even though things were rough and hard by 1976, they gave it another chance but by yesterday their dissatisfaction was clear and sharp and showed in their voting. And I think that basically this dissatisfaction ~~stems~~^{over} was/~~stems~~ three key areas of national life. First there was violence and lawlessness. The government formed by the PNP in 1976 had a very big mandate indeed and should logically have been able to deal with the crime and violence. The fact that it ^{much of it} politically manipulated was/~~political~~ violence only added to the necessity for firm handling. The very clear absence of this firm handling, especially over the past twelve months or so was, I think, a decisive factor in the voter swing against the PNP. Another critical factor, I think, was the growing unemployment. We have always had high levels of unemployment but not on this scale and not without hope of there being a ^{opening} job/for at least some, especially among the young and school leavers. Here again, things were getting worse rather than better. And it is hard for people to make sacrifices unless they see some end in sight. So I think it was a perception of failure more than almost any other factor that decided the electorate. And this of course means that if, after being given a chance to show what they can do, the new government does not perform to the satisfaction of the voters, then, promises or no, they too will be turned out, as they have been in the past. So the seed of a coming change of government has already been planted as the new one takes office. And that is one of the best things to come out of this ^{murderous and ugly} election. Goodnight

Some Election Eve Notes



NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 29, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Tomorrow is polling day; and so the ugliest, nastiest and most murderous election campaign in modern Jamaican history comes to an end tonight. I think we will, all of us, long remember the savagery and brutality of this campaign in both words and deeds; and the nastiness and dishonesties to which people who in normal ~~sixteenth~~ circumstances would regard themselves and would be regarded by others as decent and honourable and honest have descended: the lust/^{for power}and the struggle for power have been raw and naked and vicious. And how we move away from all this, after tomorrow's voting, is the hard challenge that will face all those of us who intend to remain here no matter what the outcome. I do not think myself that the healing process, the bringing together of the divided house, is going to be quick or easy. I think those who suggest that it is going to be ^{quick and} easy are trying to perpetrate their last/^{pre-election}~~fix~~ deception on the Jamaican people. The way ahead is going to be rough and hard, whatever the outcome. And this brings us to the policy differences between the two parties which have come out in spite of all the heavy and high-priced and ~~xxx~~ at times nasty propaganda. The first and most important of these differences between the two parties is how we are to chart that rough and hard way ahead. The JLP implicitly offers the Jamaican electorate a return to the IMF route. Their manifesto does not say so outright but a careful reading of it makes it clear that the IMF route is the JLP's solution to our foreign exchange problem. Jamaicans have had recent and bitter experience with the IMF route so there is no need to spell out the implications of that

route with its devaluations, price increases and wage restraints. The PNP, on the other hand, has tried ~~xxxx~~ the IMF route with consequences which are familiar to all of us, and then rejected that route. The PNP's alternative is to seek foreign exchange support from a wide variety of sources, ^{East & West} including the important new economic giants within the region, Venezuela and Mexico, as well as ^{do} the OPEC powers and those Western European countries who ~~are~~ not feel bound to lend only where the IMF gives its approval. These other sources will of course lay down conditions for lending but they are most unlikely to want to dictate Jamaica's internal domestic policy ^{and foreign policy} in the detailed way of the IMF. So there is the clear choice ^{between} of the IMF or non-IMF route in our search for foreign exchange. And since foreign policy and foreign exchange are inter-related it is clear that under an IMF regime our foreign policy would essentially ^{have to} be that of a client-state of the United States. Our relations with other countries ^{in Africa, Asia & Europe} would have to be adjusted to that fact. Our Non-Alignment would shift to become similar to the non-alignment of such countries as Singapore and Malaysia in Asia and Kenya and Zaire in Africa. Relations with the Soviet Union, Cuba and Eastern Europe would be sharply reduced or expressed in a token form. This would ^{now} lead, almost inevitably, to a reduction of the trade we ^{economic} do with these countries and so to greater dependence on the United States. Economic policy, economic decisions, will increasingly shift from public sector control to private sector control. So here, too, there are very clear choices to be made. And the essence of the choice really boils down to the question of who should control our economic and foreign policy directions and in whose interest such controls should be exercised. In both ^{sides} cases ~~the~~ claim is ^{their policies are} that it is in the Jamaica ^{national} interest. The point ~~for the electorate to decide tomorrow~~ Jamaica's electors will tomorrow decide which they really want. ^{so vote early} Peace and love. Goodnight

The Nature of This Election

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

October 27, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With just three days to go the very nature of this election is now a major, if not the major, election issue. And a dominant feature of this election campaign is the use of the political gun. Political terrorism is part of the election campaign. And each side points the finger at the other, sometimes with a brazen-ness and shamelessness that is breath-taking in its revelation of the level of contempt some politicians have for the intelligence of the Jamaican electorate. They tell any lie, no matter how preposterous, to try and put the blame for their violence on their opponents. And so we have ~~come~~ ^{come perilously} close to the reality of George Orwell's vision of 1984 with its Newspeak and Doublethink in which words and actions take on any meaning that the manipulators of the political process and of ideas want them to have. They will try to convince you that a man chopped off his own arm or his own foot as part of a sinister plot to frame them. And the next step would probably be to tell you that someone shot himself in the head for no other reason than to try and trap them. Fortunately there is a limit of sorts to what they can do with only three days to go. But indications are that they are going to stretch that limit to the very limit. And this type of campaigning, campaigning with the gun and the torch and the Big Lie has very little to do with what is best in the democratic process. You do not serve the interests of democracy or the democratic process by murdering your political opponents and their supporters; you do not serve the democratic process by burning voters out of their homes and forcing them to flee in order to try and adjust the voter balance

in marginal areas in your favour; you do not serve democracy by terrorising people into not turning out on polling day. And these are the things that have been and that are being done in this election campaign; and these are the things that have been done, with less intensity than now, over the best part of the past three years. And you can call democracy and human rights until you are blue in the face, you still do not serve the interests of democracy and the democratic process when you do these things. So one of the key issues the Jamaican voters have to face is that of Jamaican democracy itself. Do you, can you, uphold democracy by subverting the true workings of the democratic process? Do you defend freedom by undermining and denying and destroying it? In the long run these issues are very much more important to the Jamaican future than most of the immediately pressing issues. For if democracy prevails, if government choice of an by the free/~~unhindered~~ unafraid and not terrorised people prevail then you can always grapple with the other problems as free men and women. But if freedom itself dies then we are into a new world. So political terrorism and what it means and where it leads are crucial issues in this election. It is a question of who really makes the decision: the nearly one-million Jamaican voters or the couple of hundred gunmen and their political paymasters. If it is to be the political gun then our brand of political freedom will surely die.

I think
And this most Jamaicans do not want: so/most of the nearly one million Jamaicans who are entitled to, will go out to vote. How/~~they~~ ^{you} vote is/~~their~~ ^{your} business. *that you do vote is everybody's and* What is important for all of us is to be quite clear in our own minds about what are the key issues and what are the usual politicians' glittering bag of tricks of promises. And who decides is a key issue because the people's right of free choice ^{has been} ~~has been~~ so seriously challenged by the terrorists' gun and the arsonist's torch and the manipulator's Big Lie. Goodnight

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 24, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Did you watch last night's major television news? If you did you will know how they ~~stopped~~ prevented the Prime Minister of Jamaica from addressing a rally of his own party supporters just about a week before Jamaicans go to the polls. And those wild few minutes, caught through the eye of the camera, and brought into our homes, showed us the ugliness and the savagery of political warfare in stark and naked manner. No amount of words used by the most gifted writer could have shown us as starkly and clearly and sharply what is meant by political terrorism. They used gunfire to frighten the audience into running in all directions, seeking shelter, and so they broke up the Prime Minister's meeting. It would have been just as bad, just as ugly, just as horrifying if it had been a meeting of the Leader of the Opposition which had been broken up by these terror tactics. The cold fact is it was not a meeting of the Leader of the Opposition. The Leader of the Opposition had, according to Mr. Derrick Heaven, held a meeting in Spanish Town the night before, and that meeting had not been broken up by terror tactics. Only the Prime Minister's meeting was so broken up. Interpret this any way you like, explain what happened any way you like, manipulate what happened any way you like. The bald fact still remains that the Prime Minister of Jamaica was prevented from addressing a rally of his supporters by the terrorism of the political gun. This is what our two-party parliamentary democracy has been reduced to by some among us. And I think that in the face of this it is nonsense for anybody to go on pretending that the gun terror Jamaicans

are now being subjected to is all that random or mindless, or is the work of some sinister third force. I frankly think it is part and parcel of the increasingly ugly and nasty and vicious election campaign which is now coming to a peak. Please don't get me wrong. I am not suggesting that all the nastiness comes from one side only; I am not suggesting that the violence comes from one side only; I am not suggesting that all the killings come from one side only. There have been deaths on both sides of the political fence. What I am saying is that we can and should judge each case on its own merits. It is obvious, for instance, that the Gold Street killings point in one direction: the Majesty Pen killings point in the other direction. People are not fools and they draw their ^{own} conclusions, no matter how sections of the news media may try to brainwash them into seeing only its preferred side of the matter. People have noted the uproar from certain quarters over the Gold Street killings; ^{they have also noted} and the pregnant silence from those same quarters over the Majesty Pen killings. And they have drawn their conclusions. In the same way they can see for themselves which meetings are disrupted and which meetings are allowed to proceed peacefully; they see for themselves which touring politicians are shot at and which are not. And they draw their own conclusions. I suggest that this perception of the people on these matters is going to have a much more important bearing on the outcome of Thursday's voting than some politician seem to realise. For many people that question of Bishop DeSouza's has gone to the heart of the challenge to our political process: If they ~~will~~ ^{They} do ~~this~~ ^{these} in the green ^{tree} season, what will they do in the dry? If they will use the gun to disrupt the democratic process now, what will they do later, if they ^{get their wish?} ~~are allowed?~~ ^{of this} As the ugliness / campaign spreads let us observe it and ask ourselves: Is this what democracy is really all about? Goodnight

Short-term PostElection

Priorities:

- a) Violence
- b) Food
- c) Jobs

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With only eight days left to polling day some of us ~~are~~ have started thinking seriously about what happens after the elections are behind us. Some are worried about whether those who are defeated will accept their defeat with good grace or whether they will plunge the country into a new round of further violence. The key point here, it seems to me, is not simply to be anxious and worried but rather to face this possibility squarely and to make up our minds how to deal with it, if it should come about. I think it would go counter to the whole Jamaican tradition of parliamentary democracy for the losing party to try and cancel the results of the election by force just because the results did not go their way. And I am not sure that the Jamaican voters, PNP and JLP alike, will passively accept any such overthrow of the election results. I think a massive majority of the Jamaican people, PNP and JLP alike, will close ranks and unite against any group which tried to overthrow the election results. I think the Jamaican people will see any such attempt, whether it succeeds in the short-term or not, as an expression of total contempt for the Jamaican people and for their institutions. They will know that those who really respect the Jamaican people will show that respect by accepting the freely expressed will of the people whatever that will is. It is up to the Jamaican people to make it absolutely clear to all those now seeking political power that this is how it is, that this is how they want it to continue, and that they will resist anybody and any group which tried to violate this

historical norm of Jamaican political life. ~~And~~ perhaps the single most urgent short-term priority after the election has to do with violence and the threat of the use of violence. Once the results are known, the Jamaican people are going to have to ~~xxx~~ put down the violence which has ravaged the society in recent times. There is no way that this society can or will do what needs to be done until the violence is put down. And the way it looks now, the security forces cannot do that job by themselves. The communities are going to have to take a serious hand. The Home Guard movement is only a beginning. I think there has to be more to it. I remember, for instance, that in rural Jamaica as recently as twenty to twenty-five years ago, communities/^{themselves} dealt with violence or larceny or robbery within the community; they settled disputes within the community, awarded compensation and exacted penalty on minor issues; only major crimes went through the more formal process of the law: the wise old men and women of the community supervised the keeping of the peace and good order within the community; ^{the whole community} ~~they~~ took an active hand in putting down violence and lawlessness. We need to deepen and ^{this kind of} strengthen/^{community} involvement in the putting down of violence and the keeping of the peace. That is our ^{short-term} first/^{priority} priority for Friday October 31st. Our second/^{priority} is to make it very clear that the losing party will not be allowed to spend the next three and a half or four years trying to make it impossible for the winning party to govern. We and our democracy cannot afford this. Our third short-term priority is to ^{from the Jamaican earth as much as we can of} immediately set about raising/^{the} food we need. There will be no imported hams and turkeys this Christmas, but we can eat well from the Jamaican earth, if we make up our minds. Our fourth short-term priority is to immediately set about on productive job creation that will especially take- in the unemployed young and that will not require vast injections of foreign capital. With these under way we may gain the time for the urgent long-term programmes. Goodnight.

National Heroes Day, 1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 20, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: National Heroes Day, 1980, is being observed in an atmosphere of political turmoil and tension and violence such as has not been experienced in Jamaica since/Independence^{since this country became} in 1962. But of course Jamaica goes back very much further than 1962 and there have been other periods of turmoil and tension and violence in the life and the affairs of the Jamaican society. The events of 1938 which led to the emergence of modern political Jamaica and to the birth of the Jamaican trade union movement were not exactly tranquil and peaceful. There was violence and turmoil and tension then, up and down the land. And it was/~~xxxxx~~^{during} this particular period of tension and turmoil and violence that Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley emerged as the leaders of the two arms of the national movement: the political movement and the trade union movement. So these two National Heroes emerged not from peace and tranquility but from turbulence and turmoil. So if these two were to come back to today's Jamaica with its violence and its nastiness they will not want to turn around and leave, as one participant on one of our radio programmes suggested. The idea that our National Heroes would, if they were to return today, be so shocked and horrified at what is going on in Jamaica now that they would want to turn back to wherever they came from/^{does,}~~ix~~, I think, ~~ix~~ miss one basic characteristic common to all Jamaica's National Heroes: they were all of them the products of times of turbulence and turmoil and violence. Both Paul Bogle and George William Gordon, died violently on the gallows after the so-called Morant Bay Rebellion. Turbulence and violence were no

stranger to them. And that very decent and deep-thinking Christian man, Daddy Sam Sharpe, also knew turmoil and ~~tubulance~~ and died violently. And Garvey, the man who was shot; the man who was jailed on trumped-up charges; the man against whom the defenders of empire and of racial domination and of colonies and investments/launched what was possibly one of the first great campaigns of psychological warfare; Garvey knew all about human /that violent assault on the/spirit and human self-confidence and human self-regard; that effort to break a man's will which, in some ways, is even worse than breaking his body. No, I do not think any of Jamaica's National Heroes would/want to throw up their hands in horror in the face of present-day Jamaica and pack up and go elsewhere I think, instead, that they would be angry. They would be angry at the sheer wanton waste of time and energy, at the casual destruction of human life, and at the massive efforts to undo what they had worked so hard for and sacrificed so much for. And I think they would be particularly angry at the negative and destructive and ugly political tribalism which has been so cunningly fostered by those who know that before they can take over the house they must divide it: they must set brother against brother, son against father, daughter against mother. And I think in response to our turmoil and tension and violence, they would, if they were here now, do what they did when they were here before. They would take up the struggle on behalf of the best interests of the majority of the Jamaican people. And you know and I know how they would conduct that fight. They would not see the solutions to Jamaica's problems as coming from forces outside Jamaica. They would not want others from outside to determine how those problems are dealt with, not the IMF or anybody else. And always, as they did in their lives, they would ~~put the good~~ ^{longterm good} ~~common~~ ^{common} Jamaica people at the centre of things. ~~that is their message and legacy to Jamaica at this time.~~ Goodnight

That is their message & legacy to Jamaica at this time.

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- 1) A New Low in Politics
 - 2) Carter Under Media Fire
 - 3) Abernathy Backs Reagan
 - 4) The Politics of Poverty

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 17, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It is bitterly ironic that it should be during this National Heritage Week that Jamaica should hit a new low in nastiness and brutality in the conduct of its party politics. This week will be remembered always ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~week~~ ~~in~~ ~~which~~ ~~we~~ ~~had~~ ~~the~~ ~~first-ever~~ ~~assassin-~~ ~~ation~~ of a Jamaican parliamentarian and Minister of Government. And instead of this nasty business shaking the political community into a sense of soberness and concerned stock-taking about what political tribalism is doing to the society, it is business as usual. It is charge and counter-charge; ^{as usual;} it is abuse and counter-abuse; ^{as usual} All designed, no doubt, to confuse the Jamaican people about what really happened and who was really responsible. It seems that there is no limit to the nastiness; no limit to what some will do in the drive ~~struggle~~ for power. This is spitting in the face of the Jamaican heritage; ~~and~~ ^{it is a mocking of} the painful struggles of the Jamaican people over centuries for a society of genuine freedom and decency and self-respect and respect and regard for each other. Let us hope the Jamaican voters pass their own judgement on the nastiness of this week's politicking. ^{and the charge of} But nastiness/was not confined to our election campaign only. In that other election campaign now going on in our great northern neighbour, powerful elements in the American news media are accusing President Carter of being a mean and nasty man mounting a mean and nasty campaign against Mr. Ronald Reagan. Mr. Carter is charged with having implied or suggested that Reagan is a racist: and Carter did in fact do this. He did it after Reagan had implied that Carter was associated with the Ku Klux Klan - the

ultra-conservative white racist group which until quite recently made a habit of lynching and burning and bombing black Americans. Carter has been at the receiving end of a steady campaign for what he said. Reagan, on the other hand, was let off comparatively lightly by the media which pointed out that the facts he had given about the birthplace of the Klan were wrong and that Mr. Carter was not associated with it. But there was no steady flow of column and commentary about it. Even after Carter had been clobbered into saying that he did not really mean that Mr. Reagan was racist, the clobbering continued. One argument was that the President must somehow conduct a 'Presidential' campaign no matter what his opponents do. Because Carter is fighting as dirty as his opponents the media brands him a mean and nasty man conducting a mean and nasty campaign. If media and money can do it Reagan will defeat Carter on November 4th. And yet, with 30% of the American electorate undecided, and Carter and Reagan running neck-and-neck, it does not seem as simple as that. And yesterday something new was thrown into the American electoral pot. The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, onetime close aide to the late Martin Luther King yesterday declared himself in support of Reagan. He said Carter had failed the black people so he, Abernathy, was for a change. The question for black Americans must be: Any change ^{at all?} There is a perception among most influential black Americans that if Reagan is not a racist - and many believe he is - then he is the next best thing to a racist: he is rightwing conservative and totally opposed to the kind of welfare and protection provided by what he denounces as Big Government. This has been the one avenue to which the poor and the blacks and other minorities have been able to turn in times of serious trouble. The traditional support of the democrat by blacks and other minorities is based on this fact of the politics of poverty. Abernathy's is a break with this tradition. Goodnight

9/15/10

The Politics of Terror: Where does it lead?

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
October 15, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: So much has already been said and written about the savage political killing of Roy McGann that there is no real need for anymore on the killing itself: except that it/^{sometimes}~~sometimes~~ helps to ease the anger and the outrage and the shock and the horror; so people will go on talking and writing to try and dull the anguish many of us feel for Jamaica at this time. Roy McGann was, after all, only the most widely known, the most prominent, the only Minister of Government and member of Parliament, among the more than 300 Jamaicans who are reported to have died by the political gun so far this year. To be sure, there are special twists to his killing. There had been the nasty/^{and very}personal attacks on him, the veiled threats against/^{him} from public platforms by highly placed politicians within hours of his being gunned down. As far as we know this had not been the case/^{with}~~if~~ all those others who had died by the political gun. And this alone gives a special twist of menace to the killing of Roy McGann. Is the/^{murderous}~~murderous~~ cancer now spreading to those somewhat above the usually anonymous supporters? And, as Bishop Carter asked: Where will it stop? But what we are facing is, I think, very much bigger than the killing of any one man, no matter how highly placed, or how anonymous. And I think we make a very profound mistake if we go on interpreting what is happening in terms of the party electioneering conflict between PNP and JLP. Of course that is the surface issue; but the much more profound issue, the much more important long-term issue, is the survival or the destruction of our present

democratic parliamentary system based on the freely expressed^{ed} choice of the Jamaican people. And there is nothing that is more destructive of that system than the politics of the bully and the arsonist and the terrorist and the gunman, if they are allowed to ~~succ~~ succeed. Adolph Hitler, the man who was described as being responsible for more mass destruction and more slaughter of human beings than any other single man in history, was the first in modern times to show the world how to use the politics of the bully and the arsonist and the terrorist and the gunman to take over a democratic parliamentary system. And the technique is really very simple: political /street gangs challenge the enemy and beat down any resistance to that challenge; if need be homes are burnt, known enemies beaten and tortured, and those who resist are 'executed' and left tagged. The police and the other agencies of law/~~are~~ subverted by a combination of intimidation and the promise of reward. In exchange for money and other forms of support business people are promised protection, security and a bright future. ~~xxxxxxx~~ And using this technique, Hitler and his close band of followers, began their ruthless push for power in 1923 and by 1930 they had bullied and brutalised and terrorised and killed their way to political power: and they did it all within the framework of the law and of legality. And then, of course, ^{Hitler} had to purge first the decent and idealistic ones/^{within his own ranks,} and then he had to purge all the liberals and progressives the critics within the German society and the German media; and then he had to turn on the world. And it all began with the drive for personal power by the use of the politics of the bully and the arsonist and the terrorist and the gunman. And since Hitler began it, wherever that brand of politics has been used successfully, democracy has died. That is where the politics of terror leads: that is our danger. That is where that danger or democracy dies. Goodnight.

9/13/10
National Heritage Week: What is the
Jamaican Heritage?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 13, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This is the start of National Heritage Week so it is appropriate to start the week with the question: What is the Jamaican heritage? And at first glance the answer to that question seems simple and clearcut. The Jamaican heritage is, first and foremost, the land and its people, stretching back into the distant past and forward into an unknown future: it is that compact between a particular group of people with a particular plot of earth that makes it possible to sustain and reproduce and enrich/over generations. And so it becomes the folkways of a people; their music, their dancing, their painting, their sculpture, their poetry, their stories their food and drink
/- in short, the way they use their leisure in order to persue and to create culture. In this comparatively simple and clearcut definition it is easy to stress unity and oneness and homogeneity- and so to come up with the very idealistic and very desireable motto: Out of Many One People. But how real is the oneness? How real the unity? How truly homogeneous? Is it as real as, say, the homogeneity of the French or the Dutch or the Germans? Is it as real as, say, the homogeneity of Tanzania? All these countries have minorities of different racial origins, and all of them, apart from the time of the ugly Hitler anti-semitism in the case of Germany and of white racism when/settlers dominated East African life, all of them easily and comfortably accommodate the minorities within their borders. But in all these countries the national wealth of the societies are not owned or controlled or dominated by these

Jamaica's minorities of different racial origin. The hard fact in/~~the~~ case is that these racial minorities,~~the~~ or the majority of them, are as Jamaican as the black majority. Their roots go as far back as, and in some cases even predate, the bringing of the Africans to Jamaica in chains. Their claim to the Jamaican earth and to the Jamaican heritage is as legitimate as anyone else's. But that is not really what some are questioning: the real question concerns whether these minorities are entitled, almost as of right, to continue to exercise the disproportionate power and influence they inherited from the past of slavery and colonialism with its racial exclusiveness. This is a still unresolved aspect of the Jamaican heritage. And it seems to me that until Jamaicans/^{bluntly} face up to this aspect/^{of their heritage} they will continue not to be able to explain really satisfactorily why Marcus Garvey had to die in lonely exile, or why, with passionate aching heart Claude ~~MacKay~~ McKay did not come home to die. These two were, after all, in the lives they led and in the struggles they fought, supreme expressions of the Jamaican consciousness and of the Jamaican will to freedom and dignity. And it is no more than a fact to say that they were black and that their being black had a great deal to do with the way they lived and the way they died, and with where they died. So it is ~~neither~~ irrelevant nor racist to ask of our National Motto, Out of Many One People, which people? The black majority or the non-black minority? The Jamaican heritage is ~~a~~ rare and open heritage where race and colour are concerned. I can think of no other society anywhere else in the world which has gone as far as Jamaica has toward the creation of a genuinely non-racial society in which people are measured by their worth as people rather than by the colour of their skin. And this is so thanks largely to the spirit of the majority. The dilemma is that ^{& McKay were of} that majority yet died in exile. Goodnight Garvey

10/10

- 1) Election Countdown: Nastiness Grows
- 2) Diplomats and the coming Election
- 3) A Warning From Labour

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 10, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With twenty days to go the election campaign is hotting up, which is expected. It is also getting nastier and uglier in both word and deed, which is to be regretted and deplored. The attempts to confuse and mislead are bad enough; but this is part of adversary politics at its lowest level. The attempts to terrorise and to intimidate are straight fascist bully tactics which were first perfected by the Nazis under Hitler. And those who encourage and/who practise these tactics may talk/ ^{about} democracy until they are blue in the face; they do not serve democracy or the ends of democracy. Whittingly or unwhittingly they serve the ends of fascism. So the gunmen and the bullies and the strong-arm ones in this election campaign cannot and do not serve democracy or justice or freedom or equal right; no matter how much they shout these words and slogans. I am sure the Jamaican voters can and will take note of who these people are and with whom they are associated. And when the day of voting comes one of the many judgements that will/ ^{need to} be made will be to rid the Jamaican political system of those who would use or who would encourage the use of political violence. And I think that this time around the voters have seen enough and know enough to know how to root out this dangerous ugliness from the society. Just getting rid of violence-prone politicians will not of itself solve the problem, but it will be an important first step in the process of ridding the society of this ugly cancer. So watch them; watch how they behave; watch what they do and say and with whom they associate; and use your vote when the day comes. This is one important issue.

I think, too, that it would be in Jamaica's best interest for all of us to resist the temptation to drag other people, especially foreign diplomats working in Jamaica, into our hotted-up election brawling. We can conduct our election campaign without dragging in or abusing the foreign diplomats in our midst. We must, of course, insist that they stay out of the election campaign: but there is no need for nastiness, whether it is against Cubans or Americans or Russians or British or any other group. We are, as a nation, going to have to go on doing business with these people after the elections. So cool it, please. And just as nobody can stop the Wall Street Journal or the New York Times or some American lobby or some London paper or organisation from expressing opinions on our affairs, so nobody can or should want to stop Eric Williams or Judith Hart or James Callaghan from doing the same. Or are we saying that it is allright for one type of group - the Inter-American Press Association for instance - to comment and to be approvingly quoted on our internal affairs, but not allright for any other type of group? You cannot have it both ways, you know: not in the world of real politics as distinct from duppy politics. And finally, there is that quiet and serious warning from the Jamaican Labour Movement that was thrown into the election equation this week. It came from the NWU, to be sure but it speaks for the entire labour movement. It says the labour movement "will not tolerate any agreement between any government and any international lending agency that has as its basis wage restriction, on inbuilt inflation; devaluation of the Jamaican dollar; guaranteed profits for the private sector; price increases and reduced social services to workers". These, as you know, are all traditional IMF conditions for lending. So, like it or not, the IMF and labour's each of opposition to the IMF, and the role of the two parties see for labour are key election issues. Goodnight

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- 1) The JLP Election Manifesto
 - 2) Polarisation: Who is Responsible?
 - 3) The Future of the News Media

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 8, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The JLP Election Manifesto has now been made public and copies of it should be available to the Jamaican electorate sometime this weekend. It is important for every Jamaican who has a vote to get hold of a copy of this Manifesto and to read and study and think about it for himself or herself. Ideally the two manifestoes, that of the PNP and that of the JLP, should be read one after the other, then compared and the differences and similarities noted, and then carefully thought about. That is the most responsible way to go about using your vote intelligently: but that is of course not the way all of us will go about it. The dedicated party diehards of both sides have already made up their minds and nothing is likely to change them. But there is a very sizeable floating vote, or uncommitted vote or uncertain vote out there which may very well be the deciding factor on October 30th. These people, the uncommitted, make up almost 20% or one-fifth of the entire electorate, and they are the ones who can and may make nonsense out of all the hot predictions by all the hot predictors who now mistakenly see themselves as the shapers and movers of election results. And it is this group, more than any other, I suspect, who will study the manifestoes most closely. I myself have had only a preliminary ~~look~~ and very quick reading of the JLP manifesto and I rather suspect that many people are going to find it ^{hard} to take it all in between now and election day. It is a very long document, and, in some ways very much more detailed than election manifestoes normally are. Indeed, I found it more

like one of Mr. Seaga's lengthy Budget presentations rather than the normally tight declaration of intent which election manifestoes usually are. In some ways this does become a sort of combination of election manifesto plus a long-term policy outline. In this it does achieve the effect of being the JLP response to both the PNP election manifesto and the PNP Principles and Objectives. And so the point about the alternative directions does come out. But the JLP, it seems to me, is not quite as forthright about its direction as is the PNP. For instance some of the very clear^{and sharp} statements made in the document 'The Jamaica Labour Party Foreign Policy Guidelines' from which I quoted last Sunday have been either left out of the manifesto or totally muted. There seems an ambivalence here about^{how} to address the Jamaican electorate on the one hand and the American investors on the other. As a voter this ambivalence worries me. What is the price the Jamaican people are going to have to pay for the foreign exchange we are told has already been identified but whose sources remain secret. Is the IMF to come back into our lives? As voters we have a right to ask and a right to expect replies. But please, you read it all for yourself and^{compare} judge then judge it all for yourself. Then there is the question of the^{news} media which is a matter of special concern to journalists. Page 66 of the manifesto says blandly 'the JLP does not favour public ownership or control of the Jamaica Daily News as well as Radio Jamaica (RJR)'. That is all. The worry is that I have another document headed Draft Media Policy which says that RJR will be converted into a public company quoted on the Jamaican Stock Exchange and the shares now held by the Government and those now held by the JDB for taking up in future by approved mass representative organisations, will be sold through the Stock Exchange. It also says RJR's Articles of Association are to be amended. This would make it possible for the station to be back into narrow private control.

Is this what is behind that bland statement on page 66 of the manifesto? I think the Jamaican electorate, including the present owners of RJR have a right to know what the JLP really intends to do if ^{it} were to gain power. About the Daily News this Draft Media Policy document says flatly 'The Daily News will be offered for sale to any interested private sector group'. Is this JLP policy? We have a right to know. Goodnight,

- 1) Election Date
- 2) The Campaign: Short, Brutish, Nasty
- 3) The War of the Opinion Pollsters

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 6, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: So now we know that Election Day will be Thursday October 30th; just 24 days from now. So it is going to be a short 'official' election campaign. But you know, and I know, that electioneering has been going on for a very long time indeed - almost since the last elections were over. And part of that very long spell of what seemed endless electioneering had to do with the business of the calling of these elections. At one time or another we were told that there would be no elections. At one time or another we were told that the government was about to stage a coup against itself, that it was planning a 'military solution', that a state of emergency would be called and elections held with most Opposition members under detention and so unable to campaign. We were told all this and much more, and the more trusting and the more gullible among us began to wonder whether there was not something to all this alarmist talk: after all, they say, where there is smoke there must be fire. Well, there may have been the creation of an illusion of smoke, but there was no fire. All the various predictions and forecasts have turned out to be false. The date has been set: and elections will be held under a system agreed on by both parties. As electoral systems go it is as fair and clean as man can make any such system. But there are, of course, other ways of frustrating the intent of even the fairest and cleanest system. For instance, if a constituency is marginal and the difference between winning and losing is a few dozen votes, terrorism could be used ^{to try} to drive a few

dozen voters out of the particular constituency or frighten them into not voting on polling day. And we know that there has been a lot of this kind of terrorism. So political violence and political terrorism can be used to try and frustrate the real will of the people. We need to watch this one closely over the next 24 days. And the experience of all the false alarms to which we have been subjected over the recent and more distant past should come in useful in helping us to make dispassionate judgements on the high promises and dire predictions which are bound to start flying all over the place from now onward. If they predict gloom and disaster, check it out against the record, against what they predicted before and what came of those predictions. If they promise the moon in exchange for your vote, you know they lie. The prices and the availability of imported basic foodstuffs/^{other consumer goods} are never again going to be the same as they were in the 1950s or the 1960s or the 1970s even. The whole world has changed radically and nobody, PNP, JLP, or No-P can undo that change and bring back/^{the so called} ~~the~~ good old days'. It seems to me that the really basic issue is what we do and what direction we take/^{in order} to survive as a free and independent and self-respecting people who care about each other and who care about the poor and the hungry and the ^{here at home and} ~~dispossessed~~ everywhere. The campaign looks like being short, brutish and nasty but if the voters are clear about what they see as the basic issues then they will not be confused. But there will be a great deal of confusion about the place as the looming war of words among the opinion pollsters show. The wordy war is about who is leading and who will win and how you arrive at it. It is all supposed to be ^{very} scientific, even/^{to} the nastiness they hurl at each other. In the end of course it is the Jamaican vote who will decide, not they. They are just playing around, scientific of course, with opinion samples. The real ~~decision~~ ^{decision will come on} is October 30. ^{Just before} Goodnight

- 1) The Utilities & the Freeness Mentality
2) The Elections & the Freeness Mentality

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 3, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: During the course of yesterday's business in Parliament Mr. Douglas Vaz, the Opposition spokesman on industry, asked the Minister for Public Utilities, Mr. Carlyle Dunkley how much money the public sector - that is the government and its various ministries, departments and statutory bodies - owed the Jamaica Public Service Company for light and power supplied. Mr. Dunkley's reply was that the public sector owed the Jamaica Public Service Company the sum of \$10-million. And that, by any yardstick you care to name, is an enormous sum of money to owe for services rendered. But then Mr. Dunkley went on to say that the private sector - ~~xxx~~ which goes into making up the membership of the Private Sector Organisation - owes the Jamaica Public Service Company the sum of \$20-million for the light and power it has consumed. So the private sector owes the JPS twice as much as the public sector. I am not sure myself that Mr. Vaz had asked ^{or had expected to be given} for the size of the private sector debt to the Public Service Company. But he got it, and it tells a sorry tale. Businessmen will be quick to tell you themselves that no business can these days afford to carry that level of debt by its customers and still operate at maximum effectiveness. \$30-million ^{can} /~~xxxx~~ buy all sorts of improvement and streamlining of the service the company provides; it can make a world of difference to the amount of money the company borrows from the banks and on which it has to pay very high interest. It can make all the difference to the size and scope of the company's expansion of its services. So this kind of debt

represents a serious limitation on the company's ability to provide the kind and quality of service most Jamaicans would like to have. And the culprits here, according to yesterday's statement in Parliament are the private sector to the tune of \$20-million and the public or government sector to the tune of \$10-million. It would be bad enough if this were the only case of its kind in our utilities. But it is not. At the end of September a spokesman for the Water Commission reported that the Commission was owed \$11-million for water consumed but not paid for. And we are all familiar with the periodic reports from the Ministry of Housing of non-payment of rent or other charges by people in Government houses. And then there are the large numbers of people who see nothing wrong in thieving electricity or water or both or tapping and using other people's telephones for costly overseas calls. And it is this freeness mentality - for that is what it really is - which is making the expansion and improvement of all our utilities that much more difficult. Until we get over this particular social sickness we will never have the kind and quality of public utilities we demand. It does not matter what government is in power or what fine plans are drawn up, if each citizen does not pay his or her fair share for the service received, and pay it promptly and on time, the utilities will remain in a poor state and those in line waiting their turn to get these services, will have to go on waiting. That is the meaning of that \$20-million debt of the private sector to the JPS; the meaning of that \$10-million debt of the public sector to the JPS; the meaning of the \$11-million debt to the Water Commission; and the meaning of almost all those who do not pay their rents. They are making it/impossible for the poorest and the most dispossessed in the society to be provided with these services. And that, I suggest, is serious enough to make this ugly and prevalent freeness mentality an important election issue.

Goodnight.

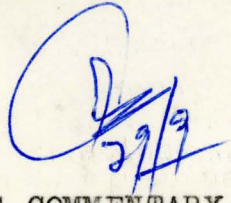
- 1) World Bank-IMF Meeting
2) JCC Names Names; Condemns Ad
3) Anonymous Attacks: Shoddiest form of Politics

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 1, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: All things being equal, today begins what should be the election month here in Jamaica. Something just under one million voters have been enumerated and the hope is that most of them will turn out to vote. And very soon after our elections the American Presidential election will take place early in November. And in that American election ^{at a conservative estimate} over one hundred times more voters than we have in Jamaica are expected to cast their votes. And one of the most striking contrasts is the violence of little Jamaica's election campaign and the peacefulness of massive America's election campaign. It is something for us to think about. Things were not always as peaceful as this in American ^{election} campaigns; and things were not always as violent as this in Jamaican election campaigns. I suggest that one of the differences which accounts for this is the fact that in America there is no bitter and unresolved struggle over who controls real power in the American society, and in whose interest that power is used. The American centres of power are firmly and clearly established; and whoever sits in the White House, and whatever his political complexion, he must always be responsive to those centres of power. The very conservative Dwight Eisenhower, when he was President of the United States, described those centres of power as 'the military-industrial or other powerful figure complex'. And when any President/seriously tried to buck those centres of power, things could get very rough ^{and very dirty}. President John Kennedy and his Brother Robert and Martin Luther King were men who tried to buck those centres. They lost dearly. Here in Jamaica this question of who

controls, and in whose interest, has not yet been finally resolved. The old established centres of power in the society have been and are being seriously challenged, and they are fighting back and resisting the creation and establishment of new centres of power. And political violence is just one of the means brought into play in this power struggle. Once the matter of who controls and in whose interest is finally settled there is a good chance that the political violence will end. It is in this context that the role of the Jamaica Council of Churches is so critical in helping to ensure that political violence is kept in check and that the final decision on who controls, and in whose interest, ^{by the people and} is made/by way of the ballot rather than the bullet. It is not surprising then that we should have these often anonymous attacks on the Council of Churches ~~by~~ from sources who would obviously like it to be partisan in favour of what they support. The really shoddy thing about these attacks is that they are anonymous: which ^{and nasty} is the most cowardly/form of political activity. And the most welcome news is that in spite of the nastiness the Council of Churches has now begun to name names and to ~~identify and condemn one~~ ^{identify and condemn one} sordid advertisements. I hope it will also denounce the chauvinism implicit in the 'my leader born ugly ya' business; and the/blasphemy implicit in the 'God has sent us a deliverer' business. And finally, the joint World Bank-International Monetary Fund meeting now taking place in Washington is, from a world point of view, the single most important event ~~taking place~~ ^{at} this week. But because the question of who controls and in whose interest is as important globally as it is nationally, those who now control these key institutions of world economic and political power are going to resist any changes which would reduce or limit that control. The resistance to change, the refusal to surrender or share power, be it economic or political, usually transcend national and ideological boundaries. That one, corrupting effect of power. Goodnight

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- 1) Guidelines & Election Violence
 - 2) New Twists in Iran-Iraqi War

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 29, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Today is the last day for the politicians of both parties who are contesting the upcoming elections to sign the guidelines prepared by the Jamaica Council of Churches for the conducting of a peaceful election campaign. The majority of the candidates of both parties are reported to have signed the guidelines ; and so, too, have the two party leaders. And yet the political violence continues, and reports keep coming in from all over the place of that continuing violence. So one of the questions I think the Jamaica Council of Churches has to ask is just how serious some of these people who have signed the Guidelines really are. It is one thing for a person to sign a pledge: and quite another thing for that person to honour that pledge. The signing of a pledge can be, and can be used as, a face-card. And I am not so sure myself that some people are not using the signing of the Guidelines as just that: a face-card. They do not intend to give up any option that they see as helping them to win. To be sure, if they could win without the use or the manipulation of a little violence, then they will avoid violence. But if violence and the manipulation of violence is what it takes to win, then/^{some of}these people will use it. Is this an unfair judgement? Then please explain how the political violence can go on ~~escalating~~ ^{saying} after so many honourable people have signed solemn pledges/~~xxxxxx~~that they and their supporters will avoid that selfsame political violence? I hope the Council of Churches will speak out strongly on this aspect of the matter. It may be a very hard and difficult thing to do but I think the Council of Churches

should speak out more sharply, and perhaps even name names where there have been blatant breaches of its Guidelines. There are indications that unless the churches bring all of their enormous moral authority to bear on/ensuring the conducting of a relatively clean and honest campaign between now and election day, a/damaging combination of lies and violence could be unleashed on the society in hopes of frustrating the free choice of the Jamaican people. It is no accident, I think, that we are now hearing more and more questions about the wisdom of having elections at this time in view of the violence. Is the climate right, they ask. Would it not be wiser to wait until the situation is more stable? I suspect that what some of them are really concerned about is what the opinion polls are telling them about voter trends. It seems to me, ~~that~~ and it seems to be the view of most Jamaicans, that our best hope of ridding the society of the present plague of violence, is to have the election over and done with, and then to put aside those who have lost and settle down to the hard/and difficult task of building as decent and stable and peaceful and economically just society as possible for the majority of the Jamaican people. For this to happen we are all going to have to be on guard between now and election day: and I think the churches have a critical role in this. Next, the major news on the international scene continues to be that dangerous little war between Iraq and Iran, with Israel indicating a new possible twist. The Israelis have offered Iran spare parts and more firepower if she would go back to the policies pursued by the former Shah: friendship with Israel, South Africa and the West and opposition to the PLO. Mr. Ronald Reagan's advisor on the Middle East was quick to support the idea by call for U.S. realignment with Iran provided she went back to the policies of the former Shah. It is an interesting new twist that deserves very/careful watching. Goodnight

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- 1) Rice Politics: A Solution
 - 2) What of the Issues?
 - 3) Security & Party Politics

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 26, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Perhaps we can find a way out of the rather messy and politically degrading business that has come to be known as 'Rice Politics' by which the JLP has^{reportedly} brought some 10 tons of rice into Jamaica without the necessary licences. Predictably, a JLP spokesman has made it seem that there was no ulterior motive and this was a pure and clean^{and noble} gesture of charity for the poor and hungry; so, the argument goes, the JLP is not prepared to sell the rice to the State Trading Corporation for anybody to make a profit or profiteer^{, they say,}. The rice must be given away to the poor and needy. Many people are not prepared to accept this noble argument at its face value: it is too near election time for that. And some have even reminded us of a time when they used rice to bribe voters not to vote for Marcus Garvey. But be that as it may, I, for one, accept the basic idea that this rice should be treated as charity. The big question is: What kind of charity? Political or non-political. If it is to be political charity coming so close to election time, then it is no charity at all but^a straightforward attempt at vote-buying, or, more likely, at holding on to^{likely defecting} ~~what might have been~~ votes. And, obviously, if it is political charity the political party concerned will want to dish out the charity itself to ensure that it gets the best political mileage possible out of it. That is the one side of it. If, on the other hand, it is to be non-political charity then, apart from the normal credit that comes to a donor, the political party will derive no benefit from it. But there remains

the question of who is then to administer the charity and who are the people to benefit from the charity. Now, the very first thing to note here is that you cannot go very far with 10 tons of rice. You cannot satisfy the needs of all the very poor, even. 10 tons of rice can be divided into 20,000 one pound packets or 40,000 half-pound packets. According to the 1970 census the smallest Parish ~~population~~ in Jamaica in ~~xxxx~~ terms of population was Hanover with 57,800 people. You could not give every citizen of Hanover a half a pound of rice out of that 10 tons of rice. And, of course, Hanover's population must have increased considerably since 1970. The assumption is that we are dealing with 10 short tons of rice. If it were 10 long tons then we would have 22,400 one-pound packets or 44,800 half-pound packets: still not enough to give each citizen of Hanover half a pound of rice. So if this rice is to be distributed nationally and on a genuinely non-political and charitable basis it must be largely token in character and restricted to the very neediest in the society. And the one organisation above all others that has the reputation and the organisation to do this is the Salvation Army in Jamaica. So I strongly urge that this rice be turned over to the Salvation Army to distribute to the neediest in the society. And let the politicians and the parties then get on with the business of debating the issues. Food is one of the issues: but not in this cheap and gimmicky way. So who has a plan/~~xxxxxx~~ for the nation to feed itself over the next five years? What are the details of that plan? That is an important issue. And finally, I warmly welcome that clear call from Police Commissioner Bowes for our police force to stay out of partisan politics. For them, and for the army, that is the best way to keep the peace and serve the nation and uphold the Constitution. Under the leadership of men like Mr. Bowes I am sure they can do just that. Goodnight.

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- 1) War between Iran & Iraq
 - 2) Diplomats & local Politics

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 24, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The fighting between Iran and Iraq poses a number of very serious dangers which go far beyond the interests of either Iran or Iraq, or, indeed, the Arab cause in the Middle East. The first of these dangers is that the fighting could expand to suck in first the other countries of the Middle East, then the great powers, then the world: the danger, in short, of a step-by-step escalation of the fighting till we all suddenly find ourselves in World War 3. Nobody wants that, of course. Everybody is urging a quick ceasefire. But everybody is also preoccupied with ensuring that their own interests are preserved and furthered during the fighting and during any steps that could lead to a ceasefire. The most obvious example of this is the American preoccupation with grasping at every opportunity presented by the fighting to try and ^{get the} ~~xxxxxx~~ release of the American hostages. And so there is talk of the facts that the Iranians are fighting with American weapons whose flow of spare parts has been cut off since the revolution which overthrew the former Shah. And the point is made that a military machine without spare parts cannot function for long. The pressure point here is: release our people and we may consider letting you have the spare parts without which you are bound to lose when your military machine grinds to a halt. Another and only slightly less obvious example is the fact that Western Europe depends more heavily on Iranian and Iraqi oil than does the United States. And the blowing up of oilfields and the threats of shutting down the Persian Gulf are of grave economic concern to the Western Europeans. The temptation is therefore strong

to try and help bring the fighting under control as quickly as possible, but also, of course, in a way that would serve Western oil interests as well as other Western economic interests best. And as Jordan's King Hussein has made clear, the conservative Arab regimes in the area - Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, for instance - are quite prepared to use the slogan of Pan-Arabism to try and frustrate the revolutionary Islamic upsurge now sweeping the region and which threatens their own regimes. The West Europeans may find it in their own self-interest to make common cause with the conservative regimes. The common target would be support for the destruction of the non-Arab Iranian regime which currently promotes and exports the Khomeini fundamentalist Islamic revolution throughout the region, against both rightwing and leftwing secular regimes. But what of the Soviet Union if any such gang-up against Iran were to emerge? It is clearly not in Soviet strategic interest to see the Persian Gulf area once more being returned to a combination of conservative Arab, West European and American domination. That would almost be like going back to a time before the overthrow of the Shah. The Soviet would want to ensure that nothing like that happens. I do not think they have any objection to Iraq humbling Iran with a quick military whipping: but I ^{also} do not think they will tolerate any going back to ^{in that area} a state of power relations/as they were before the fall of the Shah. Indeed, I do not think Iraq wants that either. Any miscalculation by any side on this basic position could lead to very dangerous and very foreseeable consequences: which gives the one hope that all sides will hold back. And finally and very briefly, the British High Commissioners point about diplomats not being dragged into local politics is as crucial as the point that diplomatic cover should not be used for non-diplomatic activity. Would there have been an attack on that former diplomats house if he had not been identified as something else under diplomatic cover? It cuts both ways. Goodnight

- 1) Weekend Political Killings
- 2) Political Violence & Voter Reaction
- 3) First U.S. Presidential Debate
- 4) Party Political Rice: A 'No-win' Affair?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Those who were killed in cold blood in Majesty Pen last Friday night were young and black and poor - people of the ghetto. Their ages ranged from 19 to 30. And the Member of Parliament for the area, Miss Portia Simpson, is reported as saying: "Because this kind of brutal killing is happening in poorer areas, nothing is done against the criminals although they are known. Now we have to re-institute the kind of security we used to have in the constituency." It was a depressing way to start a weekend. And even more depressing was the fact that this type of calculated and deliberate political murder had become a part of everyday life in certain ghetto areas. But if you watch closely, and if you listen to ordinary people talking among themselves, you may just detect something else that is brewing just under the surface. At first this ~~existed~~ ^{calculated} pattern of political killings was seen as remote: shocking and ugly to be sure, but a thing going on among the party fanatics. When the killings went on and on almost to the point of becoming a routine part of political activity in ghetto areas, the sense of shock was replaced by a sense of unease and concern. Now, if you look and listen carefully, you may sense a slow and simmering and spreading anger just below the surface. Jamaicans of all political beliefs are becoming angrier every day at the ugly and brutal and calculated killings. Even loyalty to party is ceasing to be a point of major preoccupation in the face of the killings. Too many young Jamaican lives are being snuffed out too wantonly.

Jamaican people are sick and tired and angry at all this bloodletting. And here, I suggest, is the point at which to look and listen for voter reaction to the endless political violence. If my assessment is correct then very many Jamaican voters, in all probability a majority of them, are going to take political violence and what they see as the source of that political violence into account when making up their minds on how to vote. And if this were to happen nationally, as I think it will, the results could be very startling indeed. If the Jamaican voters decided on a national scale to vote against what they see as the sources of political violence, it will not only be those who are known to be associated with political gunmanship in the ghetto areas who will lose, all the candidates associated with them and, indeed, the entire party with which they are associated may suffer as well. This could be the voter backlash at political violence and at those who are perceived as being the source of it. If I am right then political killings such as those at Majesty Pen last Friday will become increasingly counter-productive between now and election day. Next, the first so-called Presidential debate for the November 4th U.S. Presidential election took place last night, without President Jimmy Carter. Mr. Carter did not want to debate two Republicans in the first one: he wanted Reagan alone. So it was Reagan against John Anderson, ^{running as an Independent} I listened and I thought Anderson came out on top. We'll see what the American polls say. And finally and briefly, I was fascinated by the news that the JLP is bringing 10 tons of rice, with plans for a lot more later. How will this rice be distributed? To JLP members and supporters only? Or to everybody else? And how will the electorate see it? If its to everybody, it would be a drop in the bucket. If only to JLP people how will the electorate see it? And what of the repudiation of tribalism in benefits? Rice politics may be a no-win affair. Goodnight

- 1) PNP Election Manifesto
- 2) Venezuela-Mexico Oil Facility
- 3) Age of Consent
- 4) Black Man in Space

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 19, 1980, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: It seems that the Venezuela-Mexico oil facility under which nine countries in the region would benefit, is not dead even though some among us want to bury it for political reasons. If the government of Venezuela really wanted to hold up the deal because of Manley's politics and the coming elections, what was to prevent them putting off the whole thing in the first place till after the elections? And if it is Manley's so-called 'leftist' politics that is supposed to be the fly in the ointment then what about Nicaragua whose key leaders are even further 'left' than Manley? I am afraid that this appears to be another ~~rather~~ ~~shoddy~~ case of playing rather shoddy politics with Jamaica's national economic interests. According to the Prime Minister there are problems that have to be sorted out, but the facility itself is not dead. So cool it, please, until things are sorted out. This is not, and should not, be made part of our electioneering. The terms and conditions of how we get our oil is important to every Jamaican irrespective of political affiliation or class or social interest. It is a matter of genuine national interests, so please treat it as such. Next, the first of the Election Manifestoes - that of the People's National Party - has now been made public. That is a welcome development and I hope every Jamaican who is entitled to vote will try and get hold of a copy of the PNP manifesto and study it for him or herself. And I hope the Jamaica Labour Party will follow suit soon and publish its Election Manifesto so that the Jamaican

voters will have a chance to study and examine the two manifestoes side by side. I think it is important for every voter, no matter which side he or she supports, to read this PNP manifesto and, when it is available, the JLP manifesto for him or herself. Do not accept anybody's ^{else's} summary or interpretation as the sole basis on which to make your judgement. It is your vote that is going to determine ^{of} the shape of your future as well as the future of your children and of generations of Jamaicans yet unborn. ~~So~~ Take that vote seriously and make a serious effort to understand the issues involved.

Journalists, columnists and commentators will all want to do the interpreting and the explaining for you. Fair enough. That is their function. But they are human like everybody else; they have preferences and biases like everybody else. So it is important for you to study the main documents for yourself so that you can make your own judgement on ^{first-hand reading and decide for yourself} ~~the main documents for yourself so that you can make your own judgement on~~ which interpretation or explanation or editorial comment you want to accept or reject. If you do this then the judgement you make, whatever it is, will be yours and nobody else's. Next, the Public Health ^CCommittee of the KSAC unanimously called for the age of consent to be raised from the present 14 years to 16. This protection for our very young ^{women} ~~girls~~ is long overdue: so ^{why} ~~what~~ is it not in effect? And finally, there is a black man out there in space today, circling the earth in the Soviet space station Saliut 6. He is a Cuban, a man from this region of the world, but I think black people the world over will ^{primarily} see this not as a Cuban achievement or even a communist achievement, but as an achievement for black people the world over. That is the great symbolic importance of this first black man in space. Add it to the practical symbolism of Cubans ^{fighting &} ~~dying~~ in Angola for African freedom and defeating the forces of racist South Africa. Like it or these things have happened. They are news. Goodnight.

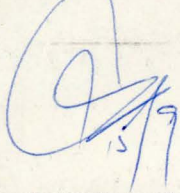
- 1) The Elections: Form & Substance
2) Political Warfare: Dirty Tricks

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 17, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. Seymour Mullings, the Minister responsible for electoral matters yesterday told Parliament that all preparations for the general election are expected to be completed by the first week of October. And the first week of October is just thirteen days away. The Prime Minister has repeatedly said that as soon as he was advised that everything was ready he would announce a date for the election. And the ^{implication} ~~suggestion~~ was that the announcement would be made as early as possible after the information that everything was in place. And given this background we can speculate reasonably on the likely date for the election. Let us say the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Director of Elections advises the Prime Minister on October 2nd or October 3rd that everything is ready and that the election can be held any time he, the Prime Minister says. I think it is important for us to remember that the Prime Minister, and only the Prime Minister, has the constitutional right to decide the date of the election, nobody else, all the propaganda notwithstanding. The only time Prime Minister, whoever he is, loses that right is if his administration continues beyond the period laid down in the Constitution. Anyway, this Prime Minister has said he would ~~make~~ call elections as soon as the new electoral process agreed on by both parties is in place. So if he is told this is so in the first two or three days of October, he could announce the date ~~of~~ for elections any time thereafter. Sunday, October 5th, would seem a likely announcement day if there is a big PNP rally taking place.

And after the announcement, the formal electoral process will come into play with the setting of Nomination Day. Polling Day must then be not less than 16 days and not more than 23 days later. So if the announcement is made at, say, a PNP/ rally on Sunday October 5th, and Monday October 6th is Nomination Day, then the very earliest Polling Day we can have would be Tuesday October 16th and the very latest Polling Day we can have would be Tuesday October 28th. All this is on the assumption that Monday October 6th will be Nomination Day. If the date of the Nomination Day is changed, then all the other numbers will automatically be changed. But given Mr. Mullings' statement an earlier polling day than October 21st is out of the question; and under the law October 28th would be the outside limit for October elections under this scenario. There is, remember, the longstanding convention that elections are held on Tuesday. But we ^{can have polling day} ~~we/xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ on some other day, on a Thursday for instance. So if Mr. Manley were to decide to have the elections on a Thursday this time around then Nomination Day would have to be on Tuesday October 7th with the earliest possible polling day being October 23rd and the latest possible polling date being October 30th. So, to have the general election in October Nomination Day must be either Monday October 6th or Tuesday October 7th. Anything later means we go into November elections. So much for the form. But what of the substance? We are putting a most elaborate and agreed-on system in place which will make it impossible for the losers to bawl "We were robbed". But where are specifics on which the election is to be fought? Where are the manifestoes? Political warfare, with guns barking; and dirty tricks with one side trying to frame the other; and the use of external economic pressures, are no substitute for spelling out clearly to the Jamaican people the A.B. & C. of what you would do if elected. Not to do so is to insult the Jamaican people. Goodnight.



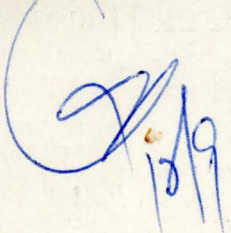
The Politics of Unemployment

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 15, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Two Sundays ago, when he addressed the public session of the 37th Annual Conference of the Press Association of Jamaica, the Minister of Finance dropped a number of political, economic and labour bombshells. But so far Mr. Hugh Small's shockers have been received with startling silence by those who should be most concerned. Mr. Small told his audience that there were now 300,000 Jamaican workers who are unemployed, which is just slightly less than one-third of the entire Jamaican work force of some 927,000. Of those who do have jobs, Mr. Small went on, some 377,000 earn less than \$50 a week. And of the total work force roughly 230,000 are unionised and are therefore the best paid and best protected of the country's workers. And so we have shocker one which is that there are more unemployed workers in Jamaica today than there are workers inside our trade union movement; and shocker two which is that there are more workers earning less than \$50 a week than there are members in our entire trade union movement. So the trade union movement embraces less than one-third of the nation's entire work force. And it was in reference to this highly paid and well protected/less unionised than one-third of the work force that Mr. Hugh Small complained: "We are experiencing a craziness and madness concerning what the Jamaican economy can afford in terms of wages and emoluments". Now, last Friday, in a speech to the Students Society of the Institut of Chartered Accountants, Mr. Carlton Alexander has taken up an aspect of the matter raised by Mr. Hugh Small. Mr. Alexander said in part: "we have gone mad over fringe benefits and yet some of us

only waste and squander them after acquiring them. Let us cut out this nonsense about car allowance, canteen service, uniform allowance travel allowance and the like". And he reminded his audience that all this was taking place at a time when we were trying to increase employment and share the national cake in a better way. Many people will question whether we are really trying to increase employment or share the national cake more equally. What is going on now is the complete opposite of that. The unionised labour force is out to protect and secure its interests; it may pay lip service to a concern for the unemployed or the grossly underpaid who are not unionised: but it is not doing much to help change the situation. Those who enjoy the fringes, and they go far beyond those listed by Mr. Alexander, are not prepared to give up any of them for the sake of creating more jobs. But on the other side of the coin, the managers and middle-managers are equally unprepared to give up their much bigger fringe benefits - the housing allowance, the entertainment, the company car or its equivalent, the free telephone, the bigger travel allowance - for the sake of creating more jobs. My own view is that any really serious call for sacrifice cannot be made only on unionised workers or only on management. If there are to be sacrifices then both must make them in proportion to their ability. The hard question is: Will those ^{who now} get these perks and fringes - on both management and labour sides - give any of them up for the sake of the common good? I think not. Certainly there is nothing in the record ^{of this fiercely acquisitive environment} to think they will. And the two-thirds of the labour force - half of whom have nothing, and the other half a mere pittance - are not going to endure their present plight indefinitely. And this, I suggest, is the biggest and potentially most explosive problem facing the unions ^{the employers} and whoever wins ^{the elections} in October. Goodnight.

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- 1) The Violence at Old Harbour
 - 2) Ballots Not Bullets
 - 3) Democracy & Political Extremism

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 12, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The reports of what happened in Old Harbour in the early hours of yesterday morning ^{sounded} ~~seemed~~ more like something out of the wild, wild west, than out of twentieth-century and very democratic Jamaica. There was the wild chase through the streets with guns barking; there was the dumped body; and there was the multiplicity of versions of what happened. Certainly, you cannot have so many different and conflicting versions of the same event without somebody or somebodies lying their heads off and all the way to their back teeth. If ^{they} ~~we~~ had had this number of conflicting versions of the same event in the United States an American Grand Jury would have a wonderful time putting each person on the witness stand to give his version under oath. The various versions would then be investigated till the truth is ferreted out, and those who had lied under oath would be charged with perjury and face a longish time in jail. Perhaps it is time for us to have something like that here, specifically for election times, and perhaps restricted only to candidates and political activists. I think this restriction is essential otherwise we would have serious problems finding jail space for all the liars we have. Anyway, on the assumption that some kind of prosecution is likely to follow ~~this~~ running shoot-out at Old Harbour I will not speculate on who is lying or who has perjured themselves up to their necks. What we can safely say is that the ways of the wild, wild west have nothing in common with democracy and the democratic process. In the wild wild west they settled their

differences with barking guns and shoot-outs and burnings. Under our system/~~xx~~ ^{people} are supposed to settle their differences by peaceful and legal means. Which is why we have, up to now, used ballots and not bullets to settle our political differences. Now, the wild ones in our political system seem bent on using the barking gun and the bullet as a kind of persuader to make people either vote the way they want or else stay away from voting. This is one of the more subtle and covert ways of undermining democracy. Any time you try to frighten people into voting a certain way or into not voting you are really chipping away at the foundations of elective parliamentary democracy. For a democracy to be healthy and to flourish the politicians must show the kind of self-restraint and moderation which allows for the free expression of views, for free and open campaigning, and for respect for each other and for the voters whose votes they are seeking. The brand of politics which uses strong-arm tactics and the barking gun and the burning down of homes always ends up mashing up people's rights and freedoms and, ultimately, democracy itself. It is up to the Jamaican people, up to the Jamaican voters, ~~xxxx~~ to make sure that the political wild ones, wherever they be, are driven out of the political life of this country by rejecting them at the polls. That, it seems to me, is one of the major responsibilities of every Jamaica voter in next month's voting. One of the greatest enemies of our kind/^{of} consenting and participatory democracy is extremism of any kind. A textbook expression of extremism is the notion: He who is not for me is against me. Well, there are very many among us, ^{I think} perhaps a majority, who do not want to be forced into this/straight-jacket. We want to be free to choose without any pressures from any political bullies. We may have to stand up for that right. Goodnight

ourselves

 Suppression of Crime Act Extended:
New Regulations in Force

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 10, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Jamaica's Parliament last night extended the very controversial Suppression of Crime Act for another twenty-one days: and, aqually, if not more, important, Parliament also received the new Regulations under which the Security Forces will from now on exercise the power given them under the Suppression of Crime Act. It seems that our Parliament dealt with this matter in a very much more balanced and mature and reasonable manner than many of our so-called more responsible groups in the society. Our Parliamentarians, thank heaven, displayed none of the 'give them a free hand' mentality on the one side, or the 'order them back to the barracks' mentality on the other. The one main disagreement between the two sides in parliament was over the length of time for which the Act should be extended. The Opposition wanted a longer period than twenty-one days. But the acting Minister of National Security said the twenty-one day period would give the Government a chance to assess just how effective the new Regulations are in practice, and parliament would meet on September 30th, the end of the month, to decide on what measures should be put in place between then and the general elections. I think a reasonable conclusion to draw from Mr. Dunkley's statement must be that if these new regulations do the trick and cut down or eliminate the abuses of which there have been such widespread complaints, then we may go into the elections with the Act and the new Regulations as they now are. If, on the other hand, the new regulations do not ^{result in} ~~achieve~~ the

reduction of the current level of abuse complained of by many citizens then parliament will obviously have to think again and perhaps come up with new ideas on how to deal with the vexed problem of the abuse by some/ of the power and authority vested in them under the Act. And, given the charges of political bias ^{from all sides} it makes sense to try and get as fair and unbiased security system/in place well before election. So what are the highpoints of the new regulations? First, and foremost, they begin the process of giving the main responsibility for making decisions under the Suppression of Crime Act to the police, the civilian arm of security. The key decisions will be made by the police, the soldiers will be a back-up supporting force. This, incidentally, is what the bipartisan Parliamentary Committee on National Security has been pressing for. That Committee wants the Suppression of Crime Act itself amended so as ~~to~~ make it crystal clear that the police are in charge. No doubt, doing it by way of regulation is because of delay in drafting the necessary amendment. The effect though is the same. So when anybody is held from now on a senior police officer must decide whether the arrest is justified. And if the police decide that it is justified then the person must be told the reason and a Detention Order must be made by a Justice of the Peace. So it will be done under the law and supervised by the police who are trained to deal on a day-to-day basis with the citizens of the various communities. The point is that the training of soldiers is a totally different thing: they are trained for war, to fight, not to keep the peace or to deal with citizens on any basis other than that of an occupying force. But because they are also the most disciplined group within the society because of the nature of their training, they are excellent at taking orders. The giving ^{and supervising} of those orders must be in civilian hands. Goodnight

Suppression of Crime: the Dilemma

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 8, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There is mounting controversy in the society over whether the Suppression of Crime Act should or should not be extended. Most of the private sector groups want the Suppression of Crime Act extended: some want it extended for six months, some until after the election; and those who call for the extension want it to be "without any amendment to its present form". In other words, let the fight against crime continue as it is now being conducted without any changes to inhibit or limit the behaviour of those who conduct that fight. That is the one side of it. On the other side a growing number of what are described as mass organisations have begun to very seriously question the wisdom of continuing or extending the Suppression of Crime Act in its present form: some of these groups want the Act amended to prevent the grave abuses alleged to have been visited on ^{some} citizens by some members of the security forces; others do not want the Act renewed at all and want all the soldiers to return to their barracks. The minimum call on this side is for the Act to be amended before it is extended; the maximum call is not to renew it. It seems to me that we are all going to need to think very seriously and very responsibly if we are not to allow these conflicting views on the Suppression of Crime Act to become a full-blown partisan election issue. It may suit this or that special interest group to play politics with this issue. It is not in the national interest and it is not good for Jamaica's future to play politics with the fight against crime. We are, all of us, or at the overwhelming majority of us, against crime and violence. So

there should be no difficulty for that same overwhelming majority to arrive at agreement on the best, most constitutional and most socially accepted way to conduct the fight against crime and violence. I do not think myself that our police force can handle this fight all by itself: I think they need the help of the military. But I think that the police, as the civilian force, should be and should be seen to be in charge. Any joint operation should at all times be under police control, which is under the control of the civil authority. To say that the Act as it now stands must be continued without any kind of adjustment is to ignore or to be gravely insensitive to the sense ^{of} outrage in large sections of the society over the behaviour of some members of the security force. Do we really have to condone the violation of the constitutional rights of Jamaican citizens in order to stop crime? Do we have to turn a blind eye to abuse of the rule of law in order to stop crime and violence? I think not. I think the greater powers allowed the security forces under the Suppression of Crime Act are ^{right now} essential/to bring crime under control: but there/~~must~~ ^{must} be checks and balances, and ^{there must be strict and} stern control by those in charge, to ensure that those who exercise these/^{powers} do not abuse them. That is the way of the rule of law. Anything else, any 'free hand' mentality, any 'back to the barracks' mentality,/^{both} ultimately defeats the central purpose of this exercise which is to put a stop to crime in order that freedom and democracy may flourish in the land. Our dilemma is that instead of seeking out areas of agreement in order to co-operate on this, or indeed any other of our many problems, we seize on every difference and play it to the hilt for partisan or sectional gain. If we do not ~~xxxxx~~ ^{put a rein on} this, especially where security is concerned, we, and democracy, may all lose. Goodnight.

The Suppression of Crime &
The Rule of Law

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 5, 1980, 6.10.p.m.

Good evening: That harrowing tale carried on television news last night /in which two young women, one of them in a state of advanced pregnancy, told of how they were beaten and manhandled by members of a security patrol raises the disturbing question: Is it necessary to violate the rule of law in order to suppress crime? When we hear or read of members of the security forces being accused of treating citizens unfairly or brutalising them a normal tendency is to be skeptical and to wonder to what extent those who complained had themselves contributed to the harsh treatment they received by being provocative. Watching those two women, no such doubt or question was raised in my mind. Instead, I had a strong sense of being a witness to a conscious and deliberate flouting of the rule of law. Hence the question: Do we have to violate the rule of law in order to suppress crime? If the answer is no, then there is no way that the society can ignore the charges of those two young women that they were brutalised and beaten and humiliated. If that sort of thing can happen to poor young people today, what is to prevent it from happening to affluent middle-class people ^{and the whole society} tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, or next month or next year? If, on the other hand, the answer is yes we have to accept the violation of the rule of law as a temporary expedient in order to bring crime under control, then the logical question is: What happens afterwards? If we give anybody a free hand to do exactly as he pleases, no questions asked, provided only that he puts down the criminals,

then what happens when that job is done and there are no more criminals to put down? Do we expect the happy cowboy now used to being free to make his quick draw and 'drop' his man and rough-up whoever he wants to, no questions asked, to suddenly revert to respecting and observing ~~rules~~ and abiding by the rules? And what if he decides that operating outside the rules is much too exciting and rewarding to give up? Who will then disarm him and make/observe ^{him} the rule of law? It is one thing to give a man a gun with little or no strings: it is quite another thing to disarm that man once he has developed a taste for using that gun, with little or no strings attached, with little or no inhibitions. And the law, and the rule of law, is the single most inhibiting factor of civilised human society. Under the law and under the rule of law the strongest and the weakest are guaranteed equal security, equal dignity, equal protection. Whoever violates the law, no matter how high or how low, is subject to the punishment of the law. No democratic society dare give any section of its members powers/this fundamental concept. Under our Constitution the civil authority, the Cabinet of a freely elected Parliament, is the highest authority in the land. Its authority encompasses everything Jamaican, including the security forces. So when those soldiers yesterday ignored Minister Dunkley's request to tell him who was in charge, after he clearly indentified himself, they showed disrespect not only for the man and his office, but also for the government and ~~civil~~ ^{the} institutions of the society. This is one small indicator of the sort of thing that happens when any group/of people get the impression/^{or are given the impression} that they are free to violate the rule of law. So let us back away from this dangerous notion. We can suppress crime without violating the rule of law. It is up to the military authority to enforce respect for the rule of law on ^{all} its members.

Goodnight

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 3, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It looks as though that series of Polish strikes which have commanded world attention over the last couple of weeks have really come to an end. The Polish workers seem to have won all their major demands; the Polish communist party and government seem to have been forced to make major and far-reaching concessions, the most important of which are clearly political. The demand for the right to form free and independent trade unions, was clearly a political demand. Freedom of association is a political right. Freedom of speech is a political right. Freedom from censorship is a political right. And it was these essentially political rights which were at the top of the list of the Polish strikers' demands. The fact that an East European communist government has given in to these demands, however unwillingly, is a matter of significance ^{long-term} in itself. But it could have the much greater/significance of being the start of a chain-reaction of change in labour relations ^{their} between communist regimes and/workers throughout Eastern Europe. ^{much of} Because/the western capitalist world and the western media seized on what was going on as some sort of anti-Soviet, anti-communist uprising in keeping with their own East-West conflict ~~p~~reconception they tended to either miss or blur this long-term implication. Up to this point trade unions in all the communist countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were controlled by the communist parties who in turn controlled the government. Now, as a result of last week and this week's agreements, Polish workers who want to, will be able to organise and manage their own trade unions. The

Polish Government has, with the approval of the Polish Communist party, signed an agreement to this effect. And I do not think they would dare go back on that agreement, at least in the foreseeable future. And what happened in Poland this year makes it that much more possible for the same sort of thing to happen in Hungary or Czechoslovakia or East Germany next year or the year after or the year after. The first breakthrough is always the most difficult. And so we see a significant change in the structural face of East European communism. I suggest, though, that it ^{first} happened in Poland ^{largely} rather than elsewhere/because of the economic policies of the Polish government. Poland opted for what some western sources have dubbed as 'Goulash communism'. Goulash is a very nourishing soup, something like the West Indian pepperpot; a rich meal in itself. Goulash ^{was and is} communism/~~is~~ a consumerist-type system in which they maintain their financial links with the West and borrow very heavily. Poland's debt to international western bankers now stands in the region of some \$20,000-million American. So she is as deep into the debt trap as any poor Third World country. And it was and is this acute Polish economic crisis that fueled the pressure for radical change. Radical change usually takes place in times and in situations of crisis, no matter what the social or political system. And propaganda from all sides notwithstanding, the entire world economy is in crisis right now. There were 4,500 bankruptcies in Britain last year, and Britain's former ^{So much for fiscal conservatism} Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dennis Healey, predicts a further 6,000 bankruptcies this year. The upcoming American election is being fought on the economic crisis and mounting unemployment ^{in that country.} And given this crisis in the world economy, we can expect radical changes wherever the systems ^{cannot} manage the strains and pressures of the crisis and ^{of the majority} meet the basic needs of the people.

Goodnight

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- 1) J.C.C. on Security Force 'Abuses'
 - 2) Commissioner Bowes Protests Circular
 - 3) Political Shortages ^R
 - 4) Poor Start to New School Year

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 1, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The two most welcome news developments of the past weekend were, first, the invitation by the Jamaica Council of Churches to all citizens to report all cases of abuse and denial of their human rights by any members of the security forces to the Jamaica Council of Churches itself; and, second, the making public of the fact that it was the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Bill Bowes, who was the first to object to that politically loaded questionnaire that detainees at Joint Police/Military Command Posts were required to answer. You know, and I know that there are very many people, especially those from the ghetto areas, who just will not go to any complaint centre run by the security forces themselves to report cases of abuse or violations of civic rights. It is all a question of confidence. And the poor and the unemployed young just do not have the confidence that they will get justice if they complained to the security forces. They may be absolutely wrong about this; and I personally think that in many cases they are wrong. The fact is that this is how very many of them feel. And so even the most honest and honourable members of the security force -- and I think they make up the vast majority -- are feared and distrusted because of the misdeeds of a small minority. And this has, of course, cast serious doubt on all our calls for aggrieved people to report abuses by way of the proper channels. One of the very few ^{non-party} institutions in the society that the ghetto poor and our young who are unemployed will still trust enough to complain to is the Jamaica Council of Churches. The ghetto youth associated or identified with one of the

political parties, will take their complaints to the party and hope for redress through the action of the party. It is easier and safer for a political party to make/^{effective}representation to the heads of the security forces about abuses than it is for an individual or a number of individuals. This, like it or not, is how it is. Those not indentified with any party were the ones who up to now had nowhere to turn in case of abuse. Now I hope these people will take their complaints of harrasment or abuse by any member of the security forces to the Jamaica Council of Churches. The people concerned must trust the channels through which we urge them to make their complaints. We saw one such 'channel of trust' being ~~last Thursday~~ ⁴⁰ set up/by a group of/union delegates representating six trade unions and some 10,000 workers on the industrial estate in Kingston. Now, the Jamaica Council of Churches has come forward as a channel of trust through which the non-unionised and the non-party people can voice their complaints, Thus, out of necessity, the society is painfully fashioning its own new channels of trust for coping with abuse: and I think these channels of trust may end/^{up}covering very much more than just complaints against elements in the security forces. We are already seeing the strong beginnings of channels of trust through which people can report on, and initiate action against, politically motivated shortages and hoarding: ^{such as the V.P.I.s} and I suspect that the poor start to the new school year which begins today, and the general sense of dissatisfaction with the level of responsiveness of our educational bureaucracy, will, sooner or later, result in another channel of trust for documenting complaints on education. And so, finally to Commissioner Bill Bowes. I think we all of us, including the security forces, owe him much for bringing that politically loaded questionnaire to light and so putting a stop to it. We should be more than proud of our top cop. Goodnight

- 1) The Abuse of Power & Normal Channels of Complaint
- 2) 11th U.N. Special Session: A Poor Start

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
August 29, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The current public discussion and debate on Tuesday's demonstration in protest against the alleged abuse of authority by some elements in the security forces, and on whether leading members of the PNP should have led such a demonstration, is seen^{by many} almost inevitably, as just another facet of partisan electoral politics. There may be some truth to this, but it is not the whole truth. For, electoral politics or not, the problem is real and goes far beyond the run-up to the October elections. The relations between the poor people in the ghetto areas, especially the young, and some elements in the security forces, has been ~~an~~ unhappy for a long time. You may recall that one attempt, a couple of years back, to deal with what most of us accepted as a bad situation between some element in the police force and some people in the ghettos, led to the setting up of a Citizens' Complaints Board head by a retired distinguished jurist. But as I understand it, people with complaints against members of the force were unwilling to come forward for a number of reasons. One reason was the fear of reprisal from the person against whom they complained or from that person's comrades. Another was the general feeling that nothing would come of it: people cited others who had made reports and nothing had come of it - so why risk being victimised and perhaps brutalised to no point. And then there was the question of whether the police were prepared to co-operated with the Citizen's Complaints Board. In the end, as far as we knew, little or nothing came of this attempt to create

safe and
 a normal and healthy and peaceful and socially acceptable way for citizens of the ghetto areas in particular to voice their complaints against those members of the force whom they felt had abused their authority. I recall this because it seems to me that in addition to that very pertinent question asked by the Jamaica Bar Association - Who Guards the Guardians - there is another question that has to be asked. And it is this: What do the citizens do if 'seeking redress through normal channels' leads nowhere? What do they do if, after their complaints have been duly noted in triplicate and filed, the abuses continue? This, I suggest, is an important aspect of the debate that we dare not ignore if we are serious about upholding the rule of law. Does the citizen, having gone through 'normal channels' submit to abuse, if that abuse continues?

Next, the first week of the two-week long 11th Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, has not been a very good one in terms of any substantial progress in the search for a new international economic order. No matter how hard the now much enlarged Group of 77 pressed, the rich western countries were in no mood to make major concessions to the developing countries. Neither of the two superpowers seem prepared to cut their massive spending on arms in order to divert more of their resources into Third World development. And with massive unemployment growing in their own countries - there are some eight and a quarter million unemployed ⁱⁿ the U.S. and over two million ⁱⁿ Britain - they are not about to make it easier for the Third World ^{to} ~~manufacture~~ competing manufactured goods in their countries. And they are of course haggling on the price they must pay for raw materials. So, inevitably, the Third World is going to have to do great deal more inter-Third World trade than in the past. Which is part and parcel of the movement toward the new international economic order. Goodnight

- 1) Security - Above Partisan Politics
- 2) Who Can Monitor?
- 3) Security & the Young & Poor

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 27, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The events of the past two days in which gunmen shot up what is reported as a fund-raising dance at a club in Kingston, killing four young people and wounding many others; and the all-night vigil and ^{day-long} protest demonstration by PNP leaders and supporters against what they themselves describe as the abuse of their authority by a minority in the security force, is the sort of explosive stuff with which it is easy to make mischief if one is so/ inclined. And, unfortunately, there are those/who are so ^{among us} inclined. But fortunately for ^{all} ~~all~~ of us, a majority of Jamaicans are becoming thoroughly sick and tired of the attempts at mischief-making / ~~making~~, and, what is more important, they are seeing through it. It is not in Jamaica's best interest for any section of the Jamaican society to be set up against the nation's security forces. Most Jamaicans, of all political persuasions, know this. Certainly, the overwhelming majority in both the PNP and the JLP know this. Both political parties and their leaders have declared this. So on this matter of security, at least, there is, or we say there is, common ground. So why these mischievous and dangerous suggestions and innuendos that one political party is in support of the security forces and the other one is opposed to them? Why the propaganda which suggests that any kind of protest against abuse is protest against the force as a whole? Are some of us saying there must be no protest against abuse? Are we saying that the force is above question and criticism? ^{Above the law?} Or are we playing at political mischief by

creating a mood and climate, or trying to create a mood and climate, in which the force ~~XXXX~~ is persuaded to see one party as being on its side and the other party as being against it? It seems to me that if this is what is intended then those who play this dangerous game had better understand/^{very}~~XXXX~~ clearly that they are digging a deep grave for the elective parliamentary system. Once the security forces are sucked into elective partisan politics the kind of democracy we now operate becomes impossible. It is one thing to politicize the security forces; to make them aware of the broad national issues/^{and problems}involved in their work of keeping the peace and protecting the citizen. Such a politicized security force would not, for instance, almost automatically treat the poor and unemployed young of the ghettos as criminal and guilty until they prove their innocence; and the tensions which now exist between ghetto youth and sections of the security force would be greatly eased, given such a higher level of ^{social &}political awareness on the part of the force. *Poverty is not a crime & should not be treated as a crime.* But that is a very, very different thing from members of the security forces conned or suckered or otherwise induced into acting on behalf of either political party in the run-up to elections. In the interest of the nation, in the interest of multi-party parliamentary democracy, and ultimately in their own interest, our security forces must be and must be seen by all to be, above partisan politics. And if politicians, or some of them, are determined to suck/^{members of the force}~~XXXX~~ into partisan postures, then the society must help them resist such pressures. The catch is that for the society to want to do this it must see the force as friend and protector rather than something to be feared. That is the challenge to the force itself. For the rest of us the challenge is to recognise and resist any attempt to make mischief between the force and any section of the community. Goodnight ^{political}

- 1) NIEO Issue at UN Special Session
2) Zimbabwe Joins U.N.
3) A Yardstick for Change

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 25, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Over the next three or four days the attention of most Third World journalists and political observers will be focussed on the United Nations/~~Building~~ ^{in New York,} and on what goes on there. Today Jamaica's Prime Minister will deliver the keynote address at a special function where non-governmental U.N. organisations will launch a 'development drive for the 1980s'. And also today, Zimbabwe will become the 153rd member of the United Nations. And so the forces of the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement at the U.N. will be greatly strengthened by this new addition to its ranks. There is very little doubt that the voice of Zimbabwe, at the United Nations, will be a powerful one in favour of economic and political independence for all people, irrespective of ideology. It will also, I think, be a strong voice and influence against the subtle/^{and complex economic} neo-colonialism of the multinational corporations. Zimbabwe with its important strategic chrome deposits on which the United States depends, is itself going to have to do some pretty delicate and tough negotiating to get for itself a fairer share of the proceeds from its mineral resources which, in addition to chromium include sizeable deposits of gold, asbestos and coal. And tomorrow when Mr. Robert Mugabe speaks for Zimbabwe at the opening ~~session~~ ^{Special} 11th/~~Session~~ Session of the U.N. General Assembly the question of the exploitation of his country's mineral resources and how the proceeds are shared is bound to be on his mind, whether he mentions it directly or not. I rather ~~suspect~~ ^{will be} that chrome ~~was~~ ^{is} one of the matters which must ~~come~~ ^{be} come up when Mr. Mugabe meets with U.S.

Administration officials in Washington ^{on Wednesday} ~~earlier~~. And we must hope those officials will have ~~the~~ the good sense not to try any sort of pressure tactics on Mugabe. Men who have liberated their ^{own} countries through the barrels of guns, and who have then had their power confirmed by way of the ballot box as well, do not ^{accept} ~~take~~ being 'leaned on'. They tend to react strongly to pressure. I think Dr. Henry Kissinger's failure to understand this central fact led to his failure to achieve any sort of success ~~in~~ in his diplomatic efforts in general and Africa in particular in the Third World; and his failure was, of course, his country's as well. Andrew Young, who understood this central fact, tried to reverse the Kissinger approach; but business interests in the United States as well as in Britain and West Europe, scuttled Andrew Young. Anyway, this Special session of the U.N. is concerned primarily with the world's economic problems and the Third World call for a new international economic order is bound to be the key issue. Already, at a press conference at U.N. headquarters on Saturday, the current chairman of the Group of 77 (which is now much larger in number) has warned that if the ^{richer} developed countries resisted Third World efforts to bring about changes in economic relations, the developing countries will strike back. He did not spell out what retaliatory action the Group of 77 would take, but he did say the Group of 77 "is not negotiating from a position of weakness". So it looks like being a week of fireworks at the United Nations with the pressure for the re-ordering of economic relations between the rich and the poor of the earth at the centre of things. This clash comes at a particularly difficult time for the capitalist west because capitalism itself is in deep crisis. But radical change usually takes place in times of crisis. For instance Poland today is an almost classic yardstick by which we can measure the changing face of communism in East Europe. Goodnight

- 1) Politics & Security
- 2) ~~Financial Management & the Bureaucracy~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There is a strange sort of madness that hits most politicians when election times draw near. Men and women who are normally reasonable and calm and balanced and who normally see at least two sides of a question, suddenly become so blinkered and so prejudiced and so intolerant as to become dangerously negative and destructive. And for us in Jamaica where there has been a sort of permanent election campaign going on, this madness has become very widespread and has tended to do harm to most, if not all, of the key institutions which underpin the stability of the society. At one time or another, almost all our institutions have been made into partisan political footballs, to be kicked around by this side or that. At one time or another the churches have been attacked by one party and defended by the other. When the JLP was critical of the churches, the PNP defended: when the PNP was critical the JLP defended. The same has happened with the ^{security} ~~newsw~~ forces, our institutions of law and justice, the new media. When the one side criticises, the other side defends. And one often gets the impression that the defending, ^{side} whichever it is, usually defends because the other side has attacked. The most important consideration, it often seems, is not whether what is being said is right or wrong, whether the criticism ^{is} is valid or not, but rather ^{it} is a kind of automatic tit-for-tat. If the one side says 'this is wrong'; the other side says 'no, it is right'. This is of course within the nature of our brand of adversary politics where one side is there specifically to oppose what the other side does and stands for. It is in

the very nature of our politics of the 'ins' and the 'outs' that the main business of the 'outs' is to bring down the 'ins' and to replace them. And to do this without violence and without disorder this brand of politics is usually based on a number of written and unwritten assumptions and understandings. And one of the key assumptions is that the fundamental institutions of the society would, as far as possible, be insulated from narrow partisan electoral politics. The law, for instance, and the agencies of the law - the courts, the security forces - should be seen to be above partisan politics. But what does the ~~xxxxxxx~~ society do, what can it do, when the politicians and the political parties seem determined to drag these institutions into partisan electoral politics? Clearly, if these fundamental institutions are divided along partisan lines during election campaigning the chances of having such elections free from violence and disorder are greatly reduced. So the greatest service our two parties can do the elective parliamentary process at this time is to cool it when it comes to these fundamental institutions, especially the security forces. Stop playing politics with the security forces. Let them get on with the job. And where there are complaints of irregularities and of harassment of citizens let these be dealt firmly and quickly and in accordance with the rule of law. And in the light of some recent complaints it might be very useful for those commanding the security forces to give clear and specific instructions on how the force should deal with the citizenry. And it might be useful for all raiding parties to include one officer or non-commissioned officer whose job would be to report any illegal behaviour on the part of any member of the raiding party. The important thing is to keep partisan electoral politics out of the work of our security forces at this especially at this time. Goodnight

The Politician & the Press:
Mr. Seaga & the JBC

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 20, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Relations between the Leader of the Opposition and the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation have been bad, and deteriorating ever since the PNP gained power in 1972. Of late, however, those relations have reached such a low point and have taken such an unpleasant and ominous turn that I think there is serious need for the community as a whole to think again about the relations between the politician and the press. After all, if the JLP were to win the next election Mr. Seaga would become the next Prime Minister. Given his description of the JBC as a 'sewerpit' - not the 'cesspit' into which so many from a certain quarter of the media are trying to ^{turn} ~~make~~ his ^{description} ~~description~~, ^{of} what is he likely to do about the JBC if he were to become Prime Minister? He has not told us but a reasonable assumption must be that he would want to 'clean out the sewerpit' which could mean a wholesale firing of those now seen as being the 'propaganda arm' of the PNP. And if this were done, how would it square with such JLP slogans as ^{that for} 'Equal Rights and Justice'? How would it square with the promise of no victimisation under a JLP regime? And what could any Parliamentary Opposition of any political complexion really expect from a group of journalists who see their jobs and their livelihoods, and in some cases, their ability to remain in their native land, threatened if that Opposition were to gain power? In a sense ^{the journalists} ~~this~~ involved are almost forced into hostility to such an Opposition out of a sheer sense of survival. And this, logically, brings us to the question of the involvement of the journalist in what goes on in the society, the question of the journalist taking a stand on the issues, and the trickier questions

of bias and of objectivity. One of the main charges levelled against the JBC by the ^{JLP} ~~opposition~~ is that of bias. The trouble is that the same charge of bias could be levelled at each and everyone of our major media houses. Indeed, we are, all of us biased to some degree or other. We all have preferences, choices, points of view. That is part of being human. And since journalists are human beings they are bound to have the same sort of biases as are found in the rest of the society. What those who level the charge of bias usually mean is that they disagree with or dislike that particular bias: but they make it sound as though having a bias is in itself wrong. And yet those who do make these charges of bias are themselves among the most biased in the society. I think/judgement of ^{that} ~~the~~ JBC & Daily News poll in which a ^{big} ~~a~~ majority found JBC treatment ~~approved~~ of the news acceptable is much nearer the mark than the JLP charges of bias. Indeed, the poll says a majority of JLP supporters approved of the JBC. The question is: Do we have one set of standards for ^{say,} the JBC because it is government-owned and another set of standards for, say, the Daily Gleaner, because it is privately owned? And why? Is ~~it~~ ^{this} part of a campaign to neutralise the publicly-owned media in order to try and keep the privately-owned media ^{and the special interests it serves} in the ascendency? Do not forget it is only now, after eighteen years of independence, that the Jamaican news ^{really} media is just beginning to give to the Jamaican people, ^{and therefore more} rounded ~~xxxrriedxxmanyxxrriedxx~~ a varied, many-sided picture of what goes on in the world and in Jamaica. We do not even have just one set of opinion polls anymore. And the greater the variety, the better. Now, relations between the politician and the journalist have always been tricky and difficult and uneasy in our kind of multi-party parliamentary democracy with its concept of the press as the Fourth Estate. And it has required ^{and still requires} mutual respect from both politician and journalist for press freedom to continue. The day the politician dominates and terrorises the journalist that freedom will die. A would-be Prime Minister must understand ^{this salient} that fact. Goodnight.

- 1) After the Garvey Ceremonies
- 2) Poland: the Challenge of Change
- 3) New Moves in Middle East

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend news, both here at home as well as in many other parts of the world - especially those parts where you find concentrations of black folk - was dominated by the ceremonies honouring the 93rd anniversary of the birth of Marcus Garvey. One reasonably accurate conclusion to draw from what went on here at over this weekend home/is that there is now far too much hard information available on Garvey for any of the would-be manipulators to get away with using Garvey's name and Garvey's words in dishonest and self-serving ways. Manipulators and would-be manipulators can only misinterpret and twist and distort in a climate of ignorance or where there is not enough factual information readily available. Where the information is freely available the light of/truth of a matter will always outshine/any attempt at the darkness of manipulative dishonesty on that particular matter. And so it was with the Garvey ceremonies over this weekend. Other items of weekend news worthy of note are, first, that politically intriguing wave of strikes in Poland; and second, that gathering of 13 Islamic states and the PLO at Casablanca in Morocco to plan a response to the Israeli declaration that Jerusalem is the 'eternal capital' of the Jewish state of Israel. The western/news media, and indeed the foreign ministries of most Western powers, have been watching the unfolding and the expanding of the wave of Polish strikes with almost obsessive interest. Does it mean a crack in the mythical communist monolith? Is it the beginning of the end of communism? A break, perhaps, from Soviet domination? Proof, perhaps,

that communism is not the superior economic system that its supporters claim for it? ^{is it} That like capitalism it, too, is subject to periodic economic crises? All very interesting and intriguing questions.

The one good thing that has come out this time around is that there has been no reckless incitement ^{from some western quarters} for the Polish people to rise up against their rulers. It was this kind of incitement during the Hungarian uprising of 1956, when Hungarians were led to believe that Western forces would come to their help, which led to their bitter, almost suicidal resistance and ultimately, to their brutal suppression by Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces. The Hungarian protests might have taken a different and less bloody turn if the people ^{hadn't} had not been led to believe that the West, in the form of the United States, would come to their aid. There was, of course no such aid and vast numbers of Hungarians ~~were~~ were killed. The Polish strikers do not run that risk this time around. They are not trying to overthrow the regime; they are just trying to make it more responsive than communist regimes have hitherto been to certain notions of civil liberties. ^{straight economic} What began as strikes now include demands for an end to press censorship and the right to form independent trade unions. Indications are that the Polish government will negotiate these demands. And so, inevitably, communism will, however unwillingly, be caught up in the process of change. In theory communists know this: ^{but} in practice - especially in Eastern Europe - they have tended to resist any change which they did not themselves initiate and control. But the dynamics of change will not be denied, whatever the social and political system. The Casablanca meeting ^{of Islamic States} could agree on a plan to impose sanctions on any country which supports Israel's position on Jerusalem. And oil would be the most effective tool. So what will the Western powers do?

Goodnight.

- 1) Storm Damage
- 2) Politics of Disaster
- 3) Carter Remominated: Kennedy the Victor

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 15, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This week, here at home at least, ends as it began, with national pre-occupation on the damage done as Hurricane Allen passed some forty miles to the north of Jamaica. Latest estimates put the storm damage at well over \$155-million, with the farming community of the island being hit hardest. But already the small farmers all over the country are back on the hills and in the valleys picking up the pieces and putting the ravaged land back into use. So life will go on and we will produce. But so much has been mashed up that we will start feeling the shortage in a few months time. It is important for our planners to make careful provision for the coming period of shortage. One of the uglier aspects of the storm and its aftermath was that some among us could not even resist the temptation to play partisan politics with disaster. There surely must be limits beyond which we will not push the party political point-scoring business. I think it is up to the Jamaican people to define those limits and to reject those who go beyond those limits. If the Jamaican people do not themselves do this then the business of playing partisan politics with disasters could easily lead to the politics of disaster. And only those who are determined to carry down Jamaica can benefit from that. So insist on the observation of those limits on pain of being rejected at the polls: it is a most powerful argument. But in spite of all the messengers of gloom the week was not all negative. And the single most positive development of the week was yesterday's announcement by the Venezuelan Ambassador to Jamaica of the coming

into force of the arrangement under which Jamaica and eight other countries in the region will get their oil from Mexico and Venezuela at a special rate by which they will pay only 70% of the prevailing market price, with the other 30% being allowed them as low-interest developmental loans with very special and favourable terms. So all those Jeremiahs who saw our search for a new economic order as a pipedream will have to do a little choking. The new economic order is in the making, And make no mistake about it, all the soft-peddling⁹ or scoffing in sections of the media cannot and will not alter this. It will not always come with drama and flourish as when we got that tanker-load of Nigerian oil or as in yesterday's announcement. More often the gains will be small and slow and perceptible only to those who look closely and carefully. We will see trading links bypassing the metropolitan countries and we will see new patterns of co-operation and assistance. And all these will add up to that new economic order in the making. But it is going to take time and effort: that is the way it is with all real change. The one sure thing is that when it comes there will be a new economic order one day, and Jamaica will have played a proud part in its making. And on the American scene, Mr. Jimmy Carter was last night renominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for a second-term in the November 4th Presidential election. But though Carter got the nomination, the real victor of that convention was Mr. Edward Kennedy who came out of it^t as the strongest man in the Democratic Party. If Mr. Carter were to win in November or if he were to lose, Kennedy would in either case be his logical and most powerful successor and the candidate for 1984. The Kennedy campaign, and the Kennedy platform, which Carter had to accept last night, were all designed, not for the 1980 election but for 1984. And from that perspective Edward Kennedy has come out the clear victor. Goodnight

- 1) Garvey: A Challenge to OAS
- 2) National Heroes & Electoral Politics
- ~~2) Kennedy Lay the Groundwork for 1984~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 13, 1980, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: A bust of Marcus Garvey, Jamaica's ^{first} National Hero and the universally honoured pioneer of African freedom, is to be unveiled this Sunday in the Hall of Heroes of the Organisation of American States, in Washington D.C. capital city of the United States of America. One of the ironies of the siting of the Hall of Heroes of the OAS in the American capital is sharply highlighted by this honouring of Marcus Garvey. For it was the Government of the United States that hounded and persecuted Garvey most bitterly. Indeed, very few, if any, Latin American and Caribbean heroes in the struggle for political and economic independence for their countries found favour, let alone support from the United States in their lifetimes. Most, in fact, met open hostility. The hostility to Garvey was particularly strong and bitter because he exercised such a considerable influence on black Americans: and his influence on black Americans was immediate and direct and was seen as an immediate and direct threat by the American establishment of the time. So they turned on him with legal savagery. After Garvey American blacks, as indeed blacks elsewhere in the world, never again accepted the prevailing racial values which had been imposed on them. And the price he paid was American imprisonment and a premature death at 53 in lonely self-imposed exile. Most politicians only begin their political careers at fifty: Garvey's was all but ended by then. But how much he crammed into that comparatively short political life. Anyway, it is surely time now

for the Organisation of American States to think seriously about re-siting its Hall of Heroes in a location which is not seen as the centre from which United States/^{economic}~~domination~~ and political domination of the region has been traditionally directed. So why not, for instance, Mexico City, as the site for the Hall of Heroes. If spirits could vote then I am sure that Garvey, (and the Latin American Heroes) would opt for Mexico City or some regional site other than Washington D.C. Until it does make such a move there will be many who will continue to see the OAS as still dominated by neo-colonialist thinking. This is the challenge posed by the OAS honouring of Marcus Garvey. And here on the homefront our politicians and our political parties had better be very careful about how they use Garvey's name in their electioneering. Neither party has any special claim on the use of Garvey name; and to use that name in a deceptive and dishonest way is to debase and belittle it for self-serving purposes: and that is disreputable. Indeed, it might be sensible for ^{the society} ~~us~~ to work out ^{and agree on} some code by which National Heroes will not be used in electoral politics. One difficulty is that two of our National Heroes were the founders of our two major political parties. But I think we can still leave all the others out of narrow electoral politics. The PNP cannot talk about its past and its policies without referring to the Right Excellent Norman Manley: by the same token the JLP cannot talk about its past and policies without referring to the Right Excellent Sir Alexander Bustamante. And if they have to refer to any of the other National Heroes then they must do so in contexts which will unite rather than divide the society. That is how wise nations engage their national heroes in the building of unity, tradition and commitment to land and people. Goodnight.

- 1) Disgraceful Behaviour at Lucea Centre
- 2) Political Intolerance & the Constitution
- 3) Ranny Williams Remembered

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Reports of what happened at the Lucea Hurricane Relief Centre on Friday night during the JLP tour led by the Leader of the Opposition are conflicting, ~~with~~ one side charging that ~~the~~ a number of people working at the Centre as volunteers were attacked by members of the JLP touring Party. The other side denies this and makes the counter-charge that its supporters were attacked. So the matter of who attacked whom is most likely to be resolved in a Court of Law. Physical assault, physical attack is a matter for our courts and should be dealt with at that level. But there are other aspects to this matter which I think we need to think about. ^{sheer} First, there is the ~~sheer~~ fact of the/downright disgraceful nature of what happened. Here you have a group of some 500 Jamaicans in a relief centre because they were rendered homeless by Hurricane Allen. The centre is there to give them all the comfort and support possible at a very trying time. A reasonable assumption is that these people are too distressed and disturbed to want to be either politicised or politically agitated; a reasonable assumption is that they want to be accorded all the privacy possible in very difficult circumstances. They have to put up with visiting parties and inspections and the like because they have no choice; they are not in their own homes. But even though they are at the receiving end of assistance, they do expect some consideration and some show of respect and feeling from those who come visiting and inspecting; they are not, after all, beggars but taxpaying citizens of a free and open society. And I think it was an utterly shameful disgrace

political
 that they should have had this ugly partisan/trabalism inflicted
 It ~~was~~ was a show of disrespect for them.
 or them./And this was supposed to be in the name of a non-partisan
 approach to help and relief for those who have suffered. If our
 touring politicians cannot do better then we had better either stop
 these so-called non-partisan tours or else restrict them so severely
 that they cannot be repeated with other of our fellow citizens in
 distress. Like it or not, the fact is that if you did not have that
 JLP tour you would not have had ~~that~~ Friday's disgraceful and shame-
 ful incident at the Lucea Hurricane Relief Centre. Then there is
 the other ^Saspect of this matter which has important Constitutional
 implications, and that is the matter of the political affiliation
 of the people in charge of Lucea Relief Centre. A JLP leader in the
 touring party was reportedly 'amazed' to find a well-known WPJ
 activist as manager of the Lucea Relief Centre and with others also
 in responsible positions. And the gentleman said he would protest
 to the National Relief Committee and urge that such persons be removed
 Now, there is not a word in the Jamaican Constitution which enshrines
 either the JLP or the PNP as the only legal or legitimate or accept-
 Indeed, the Jamaican Constitution does not mention political parties
 able political parties in this country./The Constitution does not
 invest one kind of Jamaican with more human rights or more political
 or more free-speech rights
 rights or more social rights/than any other kind of Jamaican. So I
 would advise JLP spokesmen in particular to check the constitution
 to ensure that they do not advocate the denial of its rights and
 responsibilities to any section of the Jamaican community or to any
 individual. The rights it enshrines are for each and everyone of us.
 And finally, to all the glowing tributes paid to Ranny Williams I
 just want to add the word 'gentleness'. He was one of the two or
 three most gentle human beings I have ever met. Goodnight.

- 1) Cleaning Up After Allen
- 2) Only Beginning of Hurricane Season
- 3) Of Murder & the Knowledge of Murder

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 8, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: After the passing of the storm comes the time for cleaning up, and much of this coming weekend will be devoted to just that. And then there is the final tally to be made of the damage. The preliminary estimates we have had so far must be seen as just that: preliminary estimates. I think the final tally will be very much higher, particularly in agriculture. And if the losses in our own neck of the woods are anything to go by then the small farmers, in particular, will have suffered the most grievous losses. Food crops, food trees, have all been flattened. And this, let us never forget, is only ^{at} the beginning of the Hurricane Season, and Allen was indeed the very first hurricane of the season. There is still the rest of August and September and October ahead of us. So while we are grateful that the storm is past and the damage, though severe, is not as dreadful as it could have been, we must not relax our guard. The international weather experts had predicted that this could be a year of unusual hurricanes. There are many of us who ^{have} ~~had~~ come to believe that the Almighty would somehow protect us from the very worst ravages of such storms, precisely because we have been spared for so many years. Indeed, even the final slight turn away from us of Allen lends support to this belief. But the old saying has it that the Lord helps those who help themselves. So we must help our blessing and our good luck along by being prepared throughout this predictedly unusually hurricane season. One of the best things to have come out so far was the way in which the McGregor

Gully stood up to the strains of the heavy rain this time around. Reports are that we did not have the terrible flooding of earlier years. So there are some things that we are doing right. The important thing now is to be as well prepared as possible for the next time - while praying as hard as we can for there to be no next time.

And while we have been understandably preoccupied with Hurricane Allen over the past few days, the rest of the world has been going about its business as usual. In the United States the Billy Carter-Libyan connection continues to cause problems for President Carter and his hopes of being re-elected for a second term. This is definitely no Watergate-type illegality in which the President is involved, as was the case with Mr. Nixon. But the American news media seems determined to make a Presidential scandal out of it. And there are Republicans like Mr. Robert Dole, who has been described as a political hatchetman, who are determined to milk the issue for all the political mileage they can get out of it. And so the Democratic Party's Nominating Convention will open in New York on Monday with President Carter very much embattled because of the deeds of his brother. From Zimbabwe came the startling news of the arrest for murder of a very senior Minister of Mr. Robert Mugabe's party and government. He was accused of murdering a white farmer. And from Israel came reports of the resignation of the ^{country's} Security Chief, reportedly because he was unhappy about the investigation into the bombing attacks on two West Bank Arab mayors/a couple of months ago. ^{One of whom died,} ^{knows} One news story has it that Mr. Begin/the identity of some of those responsible for the attacks and has done nothing about it. The Zimbabwe story has received by far the bigger play in the Western news media; but the BBC has helped to give the story out of Israel a world audience. What comes of these two stories of murder and the knowledge of murder is bound to be political dynamite. Goodnight.



Independence Day, 1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

August 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope that the Independence weekend, and this eighteenth Independence Day, have been as peaceful and as happy as possible for you and yours. Who would have thought, on Independence Day this time last year, that the ugly political violence would have been escalated to the level we have witnessed during the course of this year? And who would have thought that the targeted victims would be old women, like those at Eventide, and young women and children? And what are we to say of the young men, the participants in the violence as well as the victims of the violence, who have died in such large numbers during the course of this year? If, as a society, we had done a better job, the drive and the energy and the ingenuity and the native toughness of these young men might have been channelled into creative and productive uses, instead of into the deadly ~~business of destroying~~ politically manipulated business of destroying life and property. In this sense we, as a society, have failed. But our failure was compounded and connived at by many forces, both local and elsewhere, who would not leave us alone to get on with what is in any case, and would be in any case, the very painful business of reordering our national priorities. Change has never been easy; and the kind of changes we wanted to bring about, and the pace at which we wanted to bring them about, were bound to disturb and to shake-up and to unsettle and to provoke resistance. This, I think, most of us expected. What I think we did not expect, and what I think must have come as something of an unpleasant surprise, was the depth

and the intensity and, at times, the unscrupulousness of the resistance to change. There were those who were prepared, as part of their resistance, to undermine the national economy and the national political system itself. And this, coupled with our own failures and shortcomings, has meant that the price of change has come very high indeed, much higher than it really need have been. And I think most of the Jamaican people know this. They know there are those who are prepared to mash ^{up} our democracy if they cannot control or manipulate it; they know there are those who are prepared to mash up the economy if they are not in charge of it. Not all Jamaicans know this: but a majority do. And it has taken that majority all of these eighteen years of our political independence to come fully to this knowledge. And eighteen years is a long time in the life of a single individual; but it is a very short time indeed in the life and in the affairs of a nation. And national awareness and national self-realisation are perhaps the hardest lessons individuals learn and take the longest time to learn. They are abstractions in the hard world of the daily struggle for food and work and a place to shelter; and God knows how hard the struggle for food and work and a place of shelter is for most Jamaicans today. And yet, without those abstractions of national awareness and national self-realisation and personal individual pride in these we would not be much better than the beasts of the field. This is why ~~the~~ our children up and down the land celebrate today; why old and young in their homes, in their rumshops and beer joints and in their picnic outings celebrate today; why, in spite of all our difficulties and hardships, in spite of all the strains pressures, Jamaicans who do not know each other ^{smile} and feel a warm glow. So happy eighteenth^e Independence Jamaica, and peace and love. ~~Will be one day.~~ Goodnight

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- 1) Independence Weekend
 - 2) Cooling the Violence
 - 3) The Economics of Survival: the CEOs
 - 4) Press Freedom under Attack

NEWS COMMENTARY

~~Engage~~ Broadcast on Friday
August 1, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: So another long Independence weekend ~~is~~ on us once again: the weekend, this time, of the eighteenth anniversary of Jamaican independence. It has been a very hard and a very rough year between this time last year and now. But we have survived. Despite all the prophecies of doom and disaster, of bankruptcy and collapse, Jamaica has survived. We have survived the break with the IMF; and we have survived the disapproval and disfavour of those who felt we had no business to make the break. We have had a terrible and orchestrated battering from the foreign press, and it has hurt us particularly badly in tourism, and the hurt continues to this day, but we have not collapsed and our tourist trade has not collapsed. And, most important of all, Jamaica's political democracy has survived. I think there are few political democracies in the world today which could have withstood the battering ~~the~~ and the pressures this country has taken and still remain a democracy. In spite of all the screaming and shouting to the contrary, the printed press in Jamaica is probably freer than it is anywhere else in the world: indeed there have been times when that freedom has been used as licence for the most negative and destructive campaign of sneering and jeering and smearing. But the press has remained free; free ^{ironically,} even to question ^{and challenge} the right of other sections of the media to enjoy and exercise the same freedom. Jamaica's political democracy proved ^{this} strong enough and healthy enough to encompass all ~~that~~ and more. And that is no mean achievement to hold up on the eve of this

eighteenth anniversary of Jamaican political independence. But the price has come high. Some people hold the view that much of the violence we are now experiencing was, in part at least, designed to try and force this Jamaican government to resort to repressive and undemocratic measures to put down the violence. If the government had done this its critics and enemies could then have turned on it and branded it a leftist dictatorship and called on American support in a fight against such an alleged dictatorship. Whether those who hold this view are right or not should be settled one way or the other by what happens from here on in the joint efforts of the two political parties to cool the violence. If both sides take these efforts seriously and work genuinely for political peace during the run-up to elections then the violence will cool. But it is a very big if. And there is no way that the parties can create a climate for peace by using violent and threatening and menacing language. So if they are serious we will see it first in the easing of the violent language. And remember, Jamaicans, not Americans or anybody else will do the voting and the electing when the time comes: so keep the campaigning Jamaican. But although we have maintained our political democracy intact, we have not yet ^{even begun to} ~~even~~ achieved economic democracy. Jamaica has never had economic democracy and this is indeed one of ^{at the heart of} the key issues/~~in~~ the present struggle over who should control the ^{power} economy. Just as political democracy means that political/^{power} is derived from the people; so economic democracy must mean that economic power is also derived from the people. The Community Enterprise Organisation are the first faltering step in that direction: they are neither capitalist private enterprise nor state-owned; they are people-based, and the first step on the long hard road to economic democracy. Giving this legal effect is the most hopeful ^{last year} 18th anniversary present Jamaica's political democracy can give ^{to} the Jamaican people. Goodnight.

Party Political Apartheid

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
July 30, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It is a terrible and tragic commentary on the level to which Jamaican partisan political have sunk that it should be so difficult to bury that group of Jamaicans who died by the political gun over a fortnight ago. We are now into the situation where one group of Jamaicans would deny honourable Christian burial to another group of Jamaicans on a particular Jamaican plot because of differing party political loyalties. This is ugly; this is sordid; this is nationally degrading; and I think that this is personally degrading to each and everyone of us who live in this country because it forces on us the notion of party political Apartheid in Jamaica.

The idea of people living in separate and segregated areas; of people dying in separate and ^{segregated} ~~segregated~~ areas; of people being buried ^{of} ~~in~~ the socio-political side in separate and segregated areas - is at the heart of/racism and all of racial segregation. This is how it is in/South Africa; this is how it is in much of the United States; this is how it is wherever people are artificially separated and divided from each other on grounds of race or colour or tribe or religion. And after being one of the very rare and shining symbols and examples to the world of a people moving ~~away~~ consciously and deliberately ~~away~~ away from this particular brand of human ugliness, we ^{now} have this business of one group of Jamaica of Jamaicans trying to deny another group/decent Christian burial because of party political affiliation. And this, let us face it, is party political Apartheid and is just as ugly and degrading of people as that brand of South African Apartheid which we all say we detest so much. And here in Jamaica this ugliness is being wished on black

Jamaicans by black Jamaicans. But this nasty business of trying to ^{deny} ~~praxxat~~ those eleven Jamaicans a particular burial spot in their own country is the logical extension of the dangerously ugly notion of the particular and special and exclusive area in which only people belonging to a certain party and swearing loyalty to a certain leader can live. The idea of this area ~~being~~ or that area being exclusive to PNP or JLP, being an area where only labourites or only comrades, can live, must lead, sooner or later, to the point where only this or that set of people are entitled to live or to eat or to send their children to school or to enjoy protection from violence or to have the right to a burial plot. The logical end of this must be a series of closed and embattled ^{small} societies ^{each of} in which ~~there~~ is only one overlord, a ^{strong-arm} series of henchmen, and an obedient and submissive community. In exchange for security ^{, protection,} and the privilege of living in the community, the members of that community do as they are told. If they are told to ensure that nobody from any other community, no 'outsiders', are to be allowed burial in a particular cemetery, they obey unquestioningly. This was the type of society Jim Jones ^{sought to} fashion ~~there in~~ ~~out of~~ the Guyana bush, and which, on his order, poisoned itself en masse. This is the logic of the closed exclusive community or society. In our case it is, I think, the logical outcome which must result from any intensification of the party political Apartheid on which some of us seem bent. This not the Jamaica most of us want. Most of us want a Jamaica in which every person, PNP JLP No-P is free to live and work and play anywhere they want to because the whole place is open to all of us; a Jamaica in which everybody has the right to a dignified burial after a free and dignified life. But all this will not just come: we must work for it against the forces that would create closed communities and closed society. Goodnight.

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- 1) 2 Bad Omens for Upcoming Elections
 - 2) President Carter's Brother Billy

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

July 28, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Three weekend events, and what they tell us, add up to a very disturbing portent of the shape of things to come over the next three months or so. First, we had, early on Friday, the making public by the Jamaica Council of Churches ~~for~~ the guidelines it had drawn up for the conducting of a peaceful, honest, fair and non-violent election campaign. And one of the great and welcome good things about these guidelines was the report by Archbishop Samuel Carter that the guidelines had been discussed with both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, and had been accepted by both leaders. And we must assume that the acceptance of the guidelines by the leaders of both political parties also means the acceptance of the guidelines by the political parties these two men lead and, therefore, by all the members of the two parties. And one of the injunctions of the guidelines to party leaders and candidates says, and I quote: "Remind your supporters that we are all brothers and sisters; prevent your campaign from developing ^{into} ~~the~~ violent confrontation; state publicly your abhorrence of violence..." That is a small part of the Churches' guidelines, endorsed by the two party leaders and made public early on Friday. But later on that same Friday Mr. Hugh Shearer, Member of Parliament and a former Prime Minister of Jamaica, was injured in what was reported as a deliberate partisan political attack as he travelled through the town of Falmouth on his way to the JLP's rally in Montego Bay. Reports say that it is only the sheerest accident that Hugh Shearer was not more grievously hurt.

I think the Prime Minister spoke for most, if not all, Jamaicans of all parties and of no party, when he expressed his shock and outrage and his profound relief that Mr. Shearer was not seriously injured. But the fact remains that the attack did take place and Mr. Shearer was hurt. And also hurt in the town of Falmouth that Friday, and reportedly much more seriously, was a nine-year-old little girl, an innocent little victim of the confrontationist violence which erupted as people drove through the town on their way to the Montego Bay rally. Is this really how "brothers and sisters" deal with each other on the very day of the announcement of the agreed-on guidelines? Elsewhere the guidelines say, and again I quote: "campaign speeches should avoid wild propaganda and attacks on personalities;...oppose intimidation and victimisation; avoid character defamation of opponents or supporters of opposing party". end of quote on that section. And I think we must pose the question: How does this square with that "swamp pit" outburst of the Leader of the Opposition against the journalists of the JBC on the same Friday on which the guidelines were made public? Do our parties and our political leaders really take these guidelines seriously? Or are they just to be used to try and neutralise the 'other side'? Please don't get me wrong. I do not think any journalist, or any media house for that matter, is above criticism: but there is a world of difference between criticism and a menacing smear. And finally, and briefly, ^{because of} ~~in~~ one of those sudden and very dramatic/American revelations President Jimmy Carter's chances of being chosen as the Democratic Party's candidate for a second term ~~seem~~ ^{look} (at the American Presidency) seem to be collapsing. Mr. Carter's brother Billy has just been exposed as having been a paid agent of a foreign power, that power being Libya. Indications are that the President might have known about it, and the Democrats do not want a candidate who is sure to lose on a scandal, so watch this one. Goodnight

- 1) Turning on the Gun Violence
- 2) Foreign Press & Elections
- 3) JOSE Minibus Agreement

NEW COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
July 25, 1980, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: The political gun killings are stepping up again, after that all-too-brief lull which followed the joint call made by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. It would seem that those who have the power to turn this ugliness on or off at will, have decided to make sure that none of us miss the point that they do have this power. For me this underscores the fact that these political gun-killings are neither senseless nor stupid, neither random nor unplanned. You can only turn on and turn off/something which is highly organised, highly disciplined and highly controlled. So the fact that these killings were so dramatically turned off last weekend, and are now being turned on again, is confirmation, if such were needed, that there are those among us who would use this as part of partisan political election activity. Of course we have had elements of this violence in our party politics all the time. But the thing that made our two-party parliamentary democracy possible in the past was that those who controlled the parties and managed the campaigns always knew the limits beyond which not to go. They knew that to go beyond those limits was to do damage to the two-party system and to democracy itself. And this, until recently, they did not want to do, and so our democracy flourished. Now, for that democracy to survive the parties must again be made to recognise the limits beyond which they dare not go without destroying democracy itself. And only an alert, unafraid and clear thinking people can send that message to the parties and to their leaders. Political terrorism must not be allowed to confuse Jamaicans about this responsibility to themselves and the future.

Next, Jamaica's man in Washington, Ambassador Alfred Rattray, has ~~just~~ had to protest bitterly and angrily last week to that highly respected American financial/^{newspaper}~~journal~~ "The Wall Street Journal" about an editorial in which it was said, among other things, that Jamaica was failing to ~~pay~~ make interest payments on its foreign debts, and was attempting to control newsprint, (which implies attempting to control the Gleaner). Mr. Rattray point out that he had protested against similar falsehoods three months earlier, in April of this year. Some of you may recall that I told you at the time of the strange situation in which the Associated Press wire service had sent a ^{piece} ~~piece~~ of false or mis-information about Jamaica all over the United States and all over the world, and when our man in Washington contradicted it and asked for the source because the information was date-lined Kingston, AP said blandly that it could not trace who had sent it this false information. Now, the thing is that/^{highly respected} papers like the New York Times and the Times of London and the Wall Street Journal, are usually very scrupulous in ensuring that they do not publish false information. When these papers carry misinformation a fair assumption must be that they have either themselves been misinformed or else that they are 'for higher political reasons' allowing themselves to be used. And Washington has made no secret of its desire to see Manley defeated electorally. So this is part of that 'snow job' the foreign press is doing on Manley and Jamaica. But it is the Jamaican people, not the foreign press or foreign governments, who must and will decide the outcome of the upcoming elections. Those who campaign overseas need to be reminded of this central fact. And finally, yesterday's news of the agreement between the JOS and the Jamaica Minibus Association is the best news we have had on public transport in a long, long time. Goodnight.

- 1) War Against Political Violence Steps Up
2) Growing Unemployment - worldwide
3) Some Foreign Press Snow Jobs
4) The Haitian Refugees

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

July 23, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The war against political gun violence - for that is really ^{what it is} - is stepping up visibly, and that is a very good thing indeed. And it is particularly good to know that the Government is taking immediate steps to provide the security forces with increased fire power so that they can effectively counter the sophisticated new weapons now used by the political gunmen. There is still, of course, the question of why this ugly cancer was allowed to fester for so long before this kind of action was set in motion. But looking into this one will of necessity have to wait until the killings and arson are stopped and a measure of peace and order return to the affected areas. So, without relaxing our guard, we can look at other important matters as well. And unemployment is just about one of the single most important such other matter. And just to underscore the fact that it is a worldwide problem, as well as a Jamaican problem, we had the news yesterday that in highly developed and comparatively rich Great Britain there are now close on two million unemployed workers and the figure is growing. And the Asian and African and West Indian communities will feel the pressure of this mounting unemployment most. But you also have a very highly developed unemployment assistance and social welfare programme. So the unemployed worker in Britain will be helped with his or her rent and will get enough unemployment pay to buy the basic necessities. In other words the unemployed worker is not just thrown on the scrap heap and forgotten. The society takes some responsibility for him or her. But the society also insists that if it can find a job for such an

unemployed person that person must take the job. This way it ensures against the 'freeness mentality'. So the nearly two million unemployed in Britain will not be in the same brutal situation as our own unemployed. And the same pattern as in Britain applies with slight variations in the rest of Western Europe. I am not sure that even Mrs. Thatcher's hardline Conservatives will dare to seriously cut Britain's unemployment benefits. In the United States where unemployment is now in the region of eight million, and also growing, and where the blacks and other minorities are also getting the worse end of it, there is not the same compassionate and comprehensive system of help and relief as in Western Europe: but there are some relief measures, even though these tend to sap at people's self-regard and self-respect. ^{and brand them as losers.} It is only in Third World countries that the society takes no responsibility for the unemployed. And this is perhaps one of the greatest failures of leadership. We could, for instance, have worked out systems where overtime is banned when unemployment reaches a certain level and where two or three men share one job in order to spread the little there is more evenly. That we have not even tried these things is a failure of leadership at both government and union levels. Next, monitoring the foreign news on Jamaica right now reminds me of the 'snow job' the 'foreign press' did on Indira Gandhi before her last elections. The Old Men of the Janata, according to the foreign press, were going to wipe her out at the polls. Michael Manley is getting the same treatment right now. Another leader who is beginning to get this kind of treatment from the foreign press is Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. It seems the short honeymoon ^{of Western approval} is ending as Mugabe seems determined to do what he said he would. And finally, I find myself disturbed and unhappy about the government's decision to send back the Haitians who landed here. The reasons ^{are} sound but what of the humanity? Goodnight. _{maybe}

- 1) Violence De-escalates
2) Enumeration Completed Successfully

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
July 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend brought us two pieces of very welcome good news for Jamaica. First, we had the striking reduction in political gun violence. This is not to say there was no gun violence; just that it had been dramatically de-escalated. Remember the newspaper headlines this time last week? Remember the radio reports of that calculated and deliberate slaughter in Greenwich Town which shocked the nation last Monday morning? Compared with that what a quiet and peaceful Monday morning we all woke up to today. And it all came to ^{pass} because of that joint statement from the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition ^{calling} ~~asking~~ for an end to the daily savagery by poor Jamaican against poor Jamaican. And the fact of this ^{de-escalation} ~~*****~~ of the political gun violence after that call ~~shows~~ demonstrates that it was political ^{and local} ~~in~~ nature; that it was turned on politically; and that it could be turned off politically. I say this because ^{and probably still are} ~~there were~~ ^{and do not} ~~people who did not~~ ^{those} ~~believe~~ that there are ~~people~~ ^{among us} who will use violence in this brutal and cynical manner to achieve their ends. It is this awareness that this brand of political violence can be turned on or off, can be stepped-up or reduced, at will, which instils a sense of foreboding, a sense of alarmed concern even as we welcome the easing of the gun violence over the weekend. There can be no real relaxation, no real relief, until this ugly thing is firmly banished from Jamaican political life. I still recall how, in the mid-1970s, the political gunmen went to ground whenever the security forces stepped-up their anti-crime activities, and then

reappeared as soon as the security operations were relaxed a little. So let us not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. There can be no real ^{sense of} security ^{as long as} ~~until~~ this monstrous beast ^{manipulated and} of political gun violence can be/turned on or off at anybody's will. So stay on guard. I have no such reservations about the second piece of welcome news which was the completion yesterday of the enumeration exercise. I think we can now say with reasonable certainty that the electoral reform and enumeration exercises have been much more successful than the most optimistic among us could have hoped for. And to have succeeded in enumerating something over one million people between June 7 and July 20 is no mean achievement for which all the people involved deserve great credit. And so, as soon as all the other steps are finally completed, the one-million-plus eligible Jamaican voters will go to the polls and decide, freely, what direction they want the country to take. There is no reason why the campaigning up to that date should not be peaceful and orderly: those who truly respect the right of the Jamaican people, and only the Jamaican people, to decide their own future, will show ^{that respect} ~~it~~ by how they conduct themselves; those who do not will try the tactics of terror and manipulation. The catch is that the Jamaican people can and will judge for themselves. And just for the record, in the 1962 General Election there were 796,476 persons on the voters list. In 1967 the figure had dropped to 543,307; over a quarter of a million less voters than in 1962. That, you may recall, was the period when everybody under 23 somehow lost their voting rights. In 1972's election the number of people entitled to vote stood at 605,662; a small increase of 62,000-plus over the 1967 list. In 1976 the voters list shot up to 870,972. An increase of over a quarter-million. And this time ^{the voters list} ~~it~~ will be one-million plus. Goodnight.

The War Against Political Violence

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

July 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday's joint call by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition for an end to the savagery of the daily killing of poor Jamaican by poor Jamaican has, I am sure, the full support of the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans. We are, all of us, heart-sick of this terrible slaughter and it is long past time that a stop is put to it. One of the obstacles has of course been the politics and the political manipulation of this dirty business. Now that both national leaders have come^{out} firmly and publicly and jointly against it we should see a visible de-escalation of the killings. If we do not see such a de-escalation and see it quickly, it will mean that both political parties, and their leaders, are really out of control. And I, for one, do not think that they are. I think one of the things which has tended to inhibit sharp and decisive action against politically motivated or inspired gun violence, has in fact been the fear that political capital might be made of it. In this sense political considerations have been allowed to over-ride national security considerations. If action were taken, and if that action were seen, rightly or wrongly, to be against the one side the other side could always mount a propaganda campaign. We know that there are people who want to blame all the violence on the one side; and they are always on the lookout for the 'evidence' that could be used to support what they want to do. And since both sides know that this is so, each is always on guard to protect its flanks and rear and on the look out for 'evidence' to use against the other. And so

whenever there is an incident we have the flood of quick statements and counter-statement, the quick press releases, all of which are more concerned with ^{the} scoring partisan political points than with the saving of human lives. And so that ugly business of the killed being seen primarily as PNP or JLP supporters, which Robert Fray mentioned here last night, becomes a sort of norm. Being Jamaican and being ^{destroyed} ~~just~~ a human life/is subordinate to being the sacrificed party symbol. This is ugly and it is partisan politics carried to dangerously destructive extremes. Let us hope that the joint call by the two leaders will bring some sort of ^{balance and steadiness} ~~balance and steadiness~~ among the party loyalists. If it does not then things are bound to go from bad to worse. But it is not only up to the leaders or the parties. Jamaica does not belong only to the parties and their leaders and their activist supporters. Jamaica belongs to all of the two million-plus Jamaicans; and they all have a share and a responsibility in the shaping of the Jamaican present and the Jamaican future. It seems to me that one of the designs of this ugly political terrorism that we are now witnessing is to frighten the Jamaican people into a state of ^{bewildered} ~~panic and~~ confusion so that they would be prepared to submit to anything for the sake of peace. The Jamaican people must not allow this to happen. They must insist that those whom they have put in authority exercise that authority to bring the political violence ~~under~~ under control without the destruction of their democratic rights and freedoms. And it can be done. I am not sure ^{we} ~~you~~ even need a state of emergency to bring this about. There are other powers already in hand that can be used. All we need is the will on the part of the political directorate. The coming together of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition on this matter ^{new} should and could make it that much easier for the security forces to mount a short and decisive all-out war on political violence and political gun crime. So let it begin.

Goodnight

- 1) The Politics of the
Double Standard;
2) Seretse Khama

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
July 16, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Jamaica's Parliament met yesterday to discuss and work out refinements to the special measures designed to deal with the dreadful gun violence - mainly political - which now grips the nation. And the parliamentary Opposition was not there, did not attend. And so, of course, those who support the Opposition will be almost instinctively hostile to whatever decision the Jamaican Parliament made. We say that violence, politically motivated violence, is the greatest threat that this country faces at this time. And yet we cannot, or will not, close ranks to face this threat. We talk of the national interest; we act out partisan interests. And this is not confined to one side only, or even to the political arena only. This double standard by which the party political interests, or the special interest, or the class interest is projected and put forward as the national interest is all-pervasive. And so it becomes 'normal' for this or that political party to become very angry/when its members are gunned down or its buildings are burnt out: and to be absolutely/indifferent when the same thing happens to the so-called 'other side'. The other side is the enemy so you don't care what happens to them; indeed, the misfortune and mistakes and setbacks suffered by 'the other side' are usually seen as a 'good' thing for 'our side'. When the ghetto youth of the one side are slaughtered there is quiet, unspoken approval among the other side. And so it goes in other areas of our life too. Take this sudden uproar over the proposed PNP publicity campaign on the Leader of the Opposition which is being denounced in advance as a 'smeat'

campaign. Leave aside for the moment the fact that the PNP says it is not going to be a 'smear' campaign but instead a campaign based on truth and fact. The question/comes up ' where were all these latter-day apostles of clean/^{still}politics based on the ^{and decent and honest} issues only, during that long period when the person and the character of the elected Prime Minister of this country was smeared and defamed and mocked at? Where were they when some of our church leaders were villified and abused and mocked in a most personal way?/ Here again I recall no waves of protest then. Why? we are up against that double standard which in effect says it is all right to smear those with whom we disagree or disapprove of, but it is wrong to smear those with whom we agree or approve of . And so even those who were active in some earlier smear campaigns are now adopting the hypocritical posture of moral disapproval. The fact is that if a thing is wrong it is just wrong, no matter who does it or whose interests it serves. I think all smear campaigns are wrong; but I do not think people who have condoned past smear campaigns by their silence or tacit approval or secret encouragement or open approval have any business to now turn around and lecture the rest of us on what bad things smear campaigns are. It seems to me that until we can cleanse Jamaican politics of this ugly and sordid double standard coping with our problems will continue to be more difficult than it need be. And finally, and briefly, a word on the political role of Seretse Khama. He was never the/^{pragmatic}political neutral that the wire service stories make him out to be. He was a full and committed and respected ^{he} member of the African frontline states; participated in all their decisions despite the fact that his country was economically dependent on racist South Africa. It simply meant he had to play his part with greater care and delicacy; and he did that superbly. He served African freedom with skill, wisdom and enormous dignity. Goodnight.

Political Gun Violence:
What is its Purpose?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
July 14, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: What are we to make of this latest political slaughter in which seven people were killed in Greenwich Town yesterday morning, and four more in Jones Town this morning? Are these killings just an escalated continuation of the ^{party} political violence which seems to have become a now regular feature of ghetto life? Or is there more to it? And if there is more to it, what is the point to it? What is the purpose of this stepped-up and highly organised killings with very sophisticated and very modern weapons? And where are these weapons from? In the past, the political gunmen, and indeed the criminal gunmen, usually got their guns by stealing them from citizens who were licenced to carry fire-arms, or else by disarming members of the police. But these people usually carried revolvers; they did not carry automatic or semi-automatic weapons or sub-machine guns. So yesterday's ^{and today's} killers could not have got their highly sophisticated weapons from our local citizens. There has to be another source. Could that source be the reports of ^{weapons} ~~gun~~dealings which have filtered through to us from Miami? Certainly, the quality of the weapons now being used does suggest that this is more than the old-style political gunmanship. In the old-style political gunmanship violence was sometimes used to try and change the political complexion of a marginal constituency. The one side would use force and the threat of force to drive the supporters of the other side out of the area and so ensure victory at the polls: this was a kind of gerrymandering by brute force. And some of us have tended to see the present violence

in this light. But is that really all there is to it? The pattern of the recent killings have caused many Jamaicans to think otherwise explanations. and to seek other ~~explanations~~ And more and more the question has emerged of whether this latest and most brutal manifestation of political violence is not designed to make sure that we do not have elections, or if we do, ^{have them,} that those elections are held in such doubtful circumstances that nobody in the outside world will accept them as being either free or fair. For instance, let us say the violence is ~~is~~ stepped up to a point where it becomes almost impossible for the security forces to maintain the peace unless they are given extraordinary powers. The most obvious of such powers would be to declare a state of emergency. And we all know that no election held under a state of emergency would be accepted as free and fair - even if it were to be. So, to have an election that is seen to be free and fair there can be no emergency declared. And without a state of emergency the violence can be stepped up and stepped up to a pitch where it seems that civil authority is breaking down. And an election held in the midst of an apparent breakdown in civil authority can also be dismissed as neither free nor fair because it cannot be properly administered and supervised. And if the internal authority appears unable to administer free elections, who is to do it? Some external agency? Or if not some external agency, then who? Some not elected / ~~election~~ caretaker group? The military? The point is that if the violence is carried to a point ^{and a pitch} where serious doubts can be raised about the government's ability to manage the situation this could be used to frustrate the electoral process. Political change could then be imposed on the Jamaican people by means other than the ballot box. And once political change is imposed by means other than the ballot then the Jamaican people will have lost their political power and freedom. Is this the ^{real} purpose ^{behind} of the violence? Goodnight

- 1) Smearing or Tell^{ing} the Truth?
- 2) The Politics of Confusion.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
July 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The latest storm in our political teacup is the charge by the Jamaica Labour Party that the People's National Party is planning 'an eight week smear campaign' against the Leader of the Opposition. And in support of its charge the JLP made public the details of a PNP public relations programme in a two-page JLP advertisement which was in itself quite a dramatic example of hot public relations programming. The PNP dismissed the smear charge. It said its planned programme would be based on ^{telling} the truth, on the record of what the Leader of the Opposition has himself said ~~and~~ done. The PNP General Secretary said that reminding the Jamaican people of the kind of leadership they could expect was ^{the P.N.P.'s} ~~their~~ duty and the campaign would go on. He also said that no section of the news media had been involved in the planning of the campaign. So there you have it. The one side screams 'smear': the other side retorts 'nonsense' telling the truth is not smearing. So let us watch it and see how this thing unfolds. I am sure the Jamaican people are quite able to decide for themselves and put their own value on any political campaign. The days of mindless duppy politics are fading fast. And here, incidentally, let us also remind ourselves that we have still not been offered the election programmes of our two major parties. The importance of an election programme is that it spells out clearly what a particular party will do if it were to become the elected government of the country. So the programme commits the party, in advance, to a certain course of action. It tells the electorate what that course of action will be, and so

the electorate can make an informed and intelligent decision on whether they want the country to take that course or not. And where the two parties offer differing lines of action, it is up to the people to choose which they want. That is the essence of political power being in the hands of the people. So please insist on the parties unveiling their programmes. Of course ^{some of} /the side-issues are important. The electorate has a right to know something of the character and personality of those who offer themselves for high leadership. So examining their records is important. But what is more important is for the voters of the country to know, in advance, and in the clearest possible terms, just where those leaders would take the country if they were entrusted with power. To be sure mention has been made of many things. But until these things are presented to us as solemn commitments of policies the parties will pursue, if elected, they are not election programmes. And if the Jamaican electorate votes in any party without insisting on knowing policies what/that party would carry out, the electorate would in fact be giving that party a blank cheque to do as it pleases: to bring in a dictatorship if it wants to; to destroy the trade union movement if it wants to; to suppress free speech if it wants to; to eliminate all political opposition if it wants to. And I personally do not think any political party in Jamaica should be given that kind of power. It is not a question of whether they will or will not abuse that kind of power. It is quite simply that the entrusting of political power must always be conditional, tied to a clearly stated programme of action which, if not carried out, can be used against the particular party the next time around. So do not be sidetracked from the issues, which are and should be the key aspect of the upcoming election. All the violence and noise may in fact be attempts at sidetracking *us from this central point.* Goodnight

9/17
1) N.Y. Times on Jamaica

2) High Politics in Tokyo

3) Trouble in Zimbabwe

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

July 9, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: What are we to make of the apparent complete about-face by the New York Times on Jamaica? Until last week that very powerful and very influential/^{American} newspaper, like almost all the rest of the American news media - with the rare and honourable exception of the black-owned and circulated newspapers - was giving this country ~~and~~ a very bad name and a very bad time. Except for the black publications, we were getting a uniformly bad and negative press. Not one thing was going right in Jamaica: the Manley government was failing at every thing: the house was rapidly collapsing: bankruptcy was forecast for this month, then the month after then the month after that. Of course, much of this originated here in Jamaica or among Jamaicans living in North America; and the North American news media - except for the black section of it - was quick and glad to take it up. But suddenly, last weekend, there was a kind of thaw in the cold war against Jamaica. The New York Times said that Jamaica seemed to be holding up far better, both politically and economically, than had been predicted. That, in itself, was and is quite an about-face. And what the New York Times and its syndication services say today, hundreds of American newspapers all over the country will say the following day. And then, hard on this news report saying that Jamaica is surviving and is coping with its problems, the New York Times yesterday carried an editorial comment reportedly advising the American State Department not to get involved in our upcoming elections and not to make any promises to the Opposition and to remain neutral. I did not myself read or hear the

full text of that editorial but/^{both}~~this~~ radio stations, as well as foreign broadcasts, carried extensive summaries of it; and I think it would be very useful if one or both our newspapers were to reprint that editorial for all Jamaicans to read. So what are we to make of this apparent turn-about in attitude by this major American newspaper? I think there are/^{at least}two factors that should be considered in arriving at any sort of judgement: one is to do with internal domestic Americans politics and November's Presidential elections, and the other with America's relations with the Third World. You may recall the little storm a couple of weeks back over the State Department's alleged message to the Congressional Black Caucus advising its members to meet with the Leader of the Opposition or the members of his party - the reports conflict on which. You will also remember how strongly the Black Caucus reacted to this advise. Well, there is the simple but important business of the black American vote involved here. If Mr. Carter's Democratic Party is going to ^{the votes of}lose/some of the traditional white middleclass supporters of the Democratic Party, as now seems likely, then he is going to need a very big black voter turn-out to offset that loss. If there is no such big black turn out it could make the difference between victory and defeat for Mr. Carter. And the Black Caucus, and the overwhelming majority of black Americans see what happens in Jamaica as part and parcel of their own struggle: and they have made no secret of their pro-PNP, pro-Manley posture. This may be one factor behind the New York Times turn-about. The second, which has a similar bearing but on a wider scale, is what the reaction/^{of}the Third World would^{be} if the Manley government were seen to/^{be}defeated with the active assistance of the United States government. ^{Like it or not}Manley is a Third World hero and the loss of American influence and goodwill in the Third World would be serious. So American self-interest is to be neutral. Goodnight

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- 1) Lightbourne Gets Manley Award
 - 2)
 - 3)

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

July 7, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This year's Norman Washington Manley Foundation Award for Excellence ceremony stood out in sharp and dramatic contrast to almost everything else which is now taking place in Jamaica. For one thing, it swept aside the party political extremist nonsense by honouring Mr. Robert Lightbourne for his outstanding service in the field of Industry. The fact that Mr. Lightbourne had been a very senior/~~Minister~~ Minister in the JLP government of 1962-72 was clearly subordinate to the fact of his outstanding service to Jamaica in his chosen field. It is the recognition that Jamaica comes first, must come first; and that service to Jamaica can and does transcend party political labels and party political differences. These realities, simple and obvious in normal times, are largely submerged in today's polarised politics where one set of hate-mongers are more concerned with scoring partisan political points when they denounce another set of hate-mongers. And so we have the ugly partisan violence and counter-violence; the killings and bombings and the counter-killings and counter-bombings, with each/seeing evil only in the deeds of the otherside, never seeing the evil in the deeds of its own side. And the name for this is warfare. What happened at that Manley Foundation Award ceremony on Saturday night was the antithesis - the complete opposite - of political warfare: it was the politics of peace and respect and high recognition for service rendered to the nation, and it went way beyond partisan politics. The

graceful acceptance speech of Mr. Lightbourne, with that touchingly honest confession of his momentary hesitation, reminded me vividly of the great Norman Manley himself: and I could almost see the ^{Manley's} twinkle in ~~his~~ eyes as he listened to that ^{confession} ~~momentary~~ of the moment of hesitation. It was one of the great virtues of the politics of the Norman Manley-Alexander Bustamante era that politicians, and, indeed most Jamaicans could and did talk to each other rather than at each other. And so we did not have all that screaming and shouting and cursing and abusing, all that violence of language which passes for political debate or for sharp criticism these days. People ^{other, were honest with their facts,} listened to each and argued out the points raised. They did not belittle their leaders with sneers and jeers and nasty slogans, and so they did not belittle themselves. For we cannot degrade and debase our chosen leaders and our institutions without also degrading and debasing the nation itself. And it is the one great virtue of our kind of democracy that when we no longer want any set of leaders we can get rid of them in a quiet and peaceful and orderly manner by way of the ballot box, and without degrading or defaming them ~~or~~ and ourselves in the process. And we are as experienced at this as any other comparable nation in the world: indeed, we are probably better at this than most. The Jamaican people are experienced at managing their own affairs. ~~this~~ They have several times over changed and changed again those whom they wanted to govern on their behalf. And they have done it in comparative peace and order and quiet and, as the Rev Hugh Sherlock reminded us, without any outside interference. And this, in essence, was the main theme of this year's Manley Foundation Award ceremony, and gave it its point and significance at a time of bitter partisan violence, a coup plot, economic troubles. The message: steady, Jamaica

Goodnight.

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- 1) Gun Violence Continues
 - 2) Enumeration time extended
 - 3) Human Rights & all that

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

July 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The trouble with our kind of deep political polarisation is that it leads one ^{to} question and to doubt all sorts of things which would be accepted in 'normal' times. Take the gun violence: it is very real; it is very worrying; a majority of Jamaicans want to see an end to the violence and a return to those now-hazy memory days of a Jamaica of peace and tranquillity. But are there also people who have ^a vested interest in keeping the pot of Jamaican gun violence bubbling? And are we of the media unwittingly helping to keep that pot of violence bubbling along? At times some ^{of} the headlines look as though there is nothing else of any moment happening in Jamaica. Only gun-violence; only killings. And they all seem to be treated as main frontpage stuff. Please don't get me wrong. I am not saying this ugliness must not be reported and reported fully. All I am saying is that there is much else that is also happening in Jamaica today, and some of it is bad and some of it is good, and it might even help to cool things a little if we balanced things a little more. A daily dose of two or three screaming front-page headlines on violence is not likely to help cool things. There are ways of telling all the truth about the violence, and indeed about most other things, in quiet and balanced and sober tones. And it is now sadly clear that we are going to have trouble containing the violence at least until election day. So the fact that the enumeration is to be continued until the 20th of this month must be seen as a bit of a setback. Most of us would like to have the

elections over and done with as soon as possible. We hope that after the elections some of the political heat will be defused and the politically inspired violence will die down. This hope is, of course, based on the assumption that everybody, winners and losers alike, will accept the verdict of the people and will abide by that verdict. This is why the present enumeration is so serious; why everyone who is eligible should get himself and herself on the voters list. The enumeration is a bipartisan exercise this time. Both sides have had an equal hand in working out the details. And so it is going to be very difficult indeed for anybody involved to blame and to denounce the system. They are both responsible for it and they must both abide by its results. And/^{since}if that is the case why do we still have questions about whether elections will in fact be held or not? If the PNP and the JLP are/^{both}committed to our having elections, who can stop those elections taking place? I honestly do not see any other force in this country which could stop elections taking place, if both our major parties really want those elections to take place. The only way elections can be fr^ustrated would be for key elements in one or the other of our two main parties to working secretly with others to try and fr^ustrate the holding of elections. For instance, if the present violence were to be escalated to a point verging on civil war, a situation could be created in which elections become impossible and in which some elements may call for outside intervention in Jamaica's affairs. But I do not think this would happen naturally and all by itself. There would have to be a great deal of deliberate effort to bring this sort of thing about. And I do not think that a majority of Jamaicans in either party will countenance or condone any such/^{effort}~~action~~ or action. And our security forces have just shown how alert they are. Goodnight

- 1) Energy Crisis & Public Transport
- 2) Enumeration & Election Platforms
- 3) On Cooling the Violence

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
July 2, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The long lines of cars at ^{corporate area} petrol stations over the past few days, and the reports of continuing problems and difficulties at the bus company would suggest that we have not yet seriously come to grips with our energy and our public transport problems. We have not achieved that targeted 18% cut in petrol consumption; and watching the lines upon lines of parked cars at almost every petrol station throughout the working hours of the day is testimony to a massive loss of working manhours. How can we expect, or even hope, to produce when such a large percentage of our producers and middle management people are spending more of their working hours/^{driving}~~running~~ around looking for petrol than getting on with the job of producing? And to make a bad situation worse our public transport system is being cut back. You would have thought that really serious planning to conserve energy and/^{to} cut back on fuel consumption would almost logically lead to an expansion and improvement of public transport and thus to a reduction in private transport. There are vast numbers of people who would ^a happily give up the use of their cars if they could get to work or school or shopping easily and comfortably and reasonably quickly by public transport. For one thing, the money savings would be great; for another the strains and stresses of keeping a car on the road these days would be eliminated. And there really is no good reason why this should not be possible. Public, not private, transport is the main means by which people in most of the world's bigger cities get about. A majority of the citizens of London and New

York and Toronto do not travel to and from work or school or shopping by private car. Indeed, very senior managers and business people routinely travel to and from work by public transport. Where they have a car it is usually kept for emergencies and for weekend trips into the country. And so these people save on the use of energy - which is a saving for the entire nation - and they save on their pockets. But of course these people have the kind of public transport system which makes this possible: clean, efficient, courteous, regular and on time. And of course, these public transport systems usually pay their own^{way}/and make a profit. The publicly owned British National Bus Company, for instance, made a net surplus or profit of £17.7-million in 1978. And they did this while allowing old-age pensioners to travel for free on their buses, and for school children to travel either free or on a subsidised fare. So the scrapping of subsidies is not a condition for profitability, as seem to be suggested here. It seems to me that the truth of our public transport problem is one of proper and efficient ~~and~~ financially sound management/~~based on a clearly~~ ^{based on a clearly} and clearly defined/~~understood~~ ^{regularly} policy on public transport. There ^{was} a time when JBS/made a profit for its British owners. There is no reason why it should not do the same and provide a better service now that it is publicly owned. That it does not do so now is a criticism of its management, its workers and the government. And that criticism will stand until we have a public transport system/~~which is good enough and reliable~~ ^{which is good enough and reliable}, enough to make it unnecessary for hard-pressed and economically embattled urban dweller⁵ to have to run private cars which they cannot afford. So how serious are we really about energy conservation? And finally and briefly, please do get enumerated so that we can go on settling our problems by the ballot, not the bullet. And where are the election manifestoes? And cool it on the violent words and deeds, please. Goodnight.

- 1) A Comparatively Quiet Weekend
2) The Hate Brigades
3) ~~W. Germany's Schmidt in Russia~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 30, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This past weekend - when compared with the weekend before, and the one before that - was a comparatively peaceful and quiet one. There were no shocks and alarms; no revelation of efforts to 'erupt' the country by subverting freedom in the name of freedom. But of course, the propaganda surrounding those shock events continued to assault the society; and people found it difficult at times to sort out political fact from political fiction. Perhaps this was one of the intentions: to so confuse things that people would give up and refuse to believe anything. If this was the intention then I am not sure that it has succeeded. To be sure some people have reached the point of refusing to believe anything at all, no matter where it comes from. But I think very many more people have quietly sorted out things for themselves and made their own judgements. And I have detected, here and there, a contained anger at being taken for fools ^{some of} by the propagandists. For most Jamaicans that plot against the constitution was no joke, and not a joke to be treated as ~~such~~. So, scoffers and mockers, be warned! And talking about propagandists: is it really any less propagandist to launch a sustained campaign of opposition to the government than a sustained campaign of support of the government? I would have thought that propaganda is propaganda no matter what ends it serves. Once there is a systematic and sustained campaign to achieve certain objectives such as the political defeat of a particular party, or the victory of a particular party, then we are into the realm of propaganda. And it is ^{patently} dishonest and nonsensical for one propagandist

or one group of propagandists or one organ of propaganda to denounce any other propagandist or group of propagandists or organ of propaganda for being propagandist. It is the kind of cheating and politically loaded argument which is summarised by the lines:

"I am a freedom fighter/ you are a guerilla / he is a terrorist: we are civilised/ you are primitive/ they are savages". But then, it is part of the propaganda business that all means, including loaded and dishonest journalism, justify the ends. And one of the uglier features of propaganda carried to this stage is the hate and hate brigades it almost invariably bring into existence. And so we have the 'hate-the-Americans' brigade on the one side; and the 'hate-the-Cubans' brigade on the other. And out of this, logically, comes that ugly and shameful business of that Dominican ^{attached} ~~being~~ to our Survey Department being badly beaten up because he was mistaken for a Cuban. It would have been just as ugly and just as shameful if he had been beaten up because he had been mistaken for an American. And the ugliness resides in the blind fears and the blind hatreds instilled in some of our people by the propagandists so that they forget their own natural decencies and they forget the humanity of those whose persons they violate, be they Cubans or Americans. And as the assault on that Dominican shows, the 'hate-the-Cubans' brigade is the one to the forefront at the moment. This is propaganda at its ugliest, at its meanest, at its most destructive. Propaganda, whether from Left of Right, can be good and useful when its objectives serve the broadest st national interest. ^{al} Propaganda for ^{some} Family planning, afforestation, land terracing, the enumeration drive, are ^{ga} examples of good and useful propaganda serving the broadest national interest. We need more of that. We do not need the propaganda of hate or of fear or of destruction. And we can certainly do without the propaganda by which one propagandist tries to silence all the other propagandists. Goodnight

that would violate freedom of expression.

- 1) The Plot: Charges Laid
- 2) The Ongoing Language of Violence
- 3) South Africa Invades Angola

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 27, 1980, 6.10p.m.

5/10

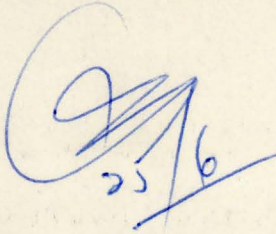
Good evening: Charges have now been laid against those who are said to have been involved in the plot to overthrow the elected government of Jamaica. I think it would now be a good thing for all of us to cool it and let the due process of the law take its course. Let all the hot chat ~~about~~ on this matter cease until the people involved are tried. And please, could we all try to be a little less nasty and abusive and insulting in expressing our differences with each other? It is possible to disagree strongly with somebody without resorting to nastiness and tracing and personal abuse. It is possible to criticise without making those who listen cringe with shame at the ugliness that comes out. Those who do this belittle themselves, and they belittle Jamaica, and they belittle Jamaica's institutions. At times like these we need to support and protect those institutions, not to try and tear them down. So take it easy, please; and let the law take its course.

There will be time enough for all the nastiness later on when this thing is really behind us.

And remember: violent language feeds the impulse to violent action.

And while we have been rightly concerned with our own problems an ugly and dangerous situation has been building in Angola where the South African racists on Monday launched a major attack across Angola's southern borders. The U.N. Security Council is today hearing Angola's complaint against this latest attack. And a spokesman for the Organisation of African Unity has warned that the OAU itself takes this invasion of one of its member-states

as a serious threat to world peace with which it will deal at its next meeting. So we have here all the makings of a new international crisis based on Southern Africa. What is behind it? Why are the South African racists adopting this provocative posture towards Angola? I think there are two factors we need to bear in mind in looking for possible explanations. First there was the blowing up of those massive fuel depots in the early hours of the morning of June 2nd; and then, a fortnight later, on June 16, there was the start of the widely dispersed strikes and demonstrations in observance of the 4th anniversary of the Soweto riots of 1976. The sabotage of the oil storage tanks was a complete shock to South Africa's rulers. Till it happened, they were sure it could; after it happened they are not sure of anything. They admit to that piece of sabotage causing \$7-m worth of damage; you can safely double that figure. And the question which haunts them is: where next? Where are the nationalists likely to strike. And then, while they massed for trouble in Soweto it erupted in the Cape and popped up in a series of widely dispersed flashpoints. It is possible that these two events have forced the white South Africans to decide to try and bring forward the showdown between black and white which they know has to come sooner or later. And if they have decided that the showdown should be now, rather than later, then the new provocations in Angola make sense. It has long been part of the South African plan to 'internationalise' any showdown by ensuring that the Western powers get involved on their side. A shooting war with Angola is almost certain, by their calculations, to ^{result in} the Angolans again asking for Cuban and perhaps Soviet help. If this help is forthcoming the South Africans would be able to ask for Western help. In such a war the pressure on the white racists would be temporarily eased. It is a dangerously clever scenario. Goodnight.

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- 1) Aftermath of Coup Plot
 - 2) The International Scene:
 - a) Venice; b) India; c) U.S.A.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 25, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Predictably, Sunday's revelation that the security forces had uncovered a plot to overthrow the constitutional Government of Jamaica, has been the weeks main talking point here at home. It has also received wide news coverage and comment abroad. And, equally predictably, given our highly polarised partisan politics, supporters of the political parties, or ^{many} ~~most~~ of them, have tended to see these developments in mainly partisan terms. And so there has come, from the ^{supporters of} ~~one~~ side, a fair amount of the scoffing and casting of doubt about which I warned on Monday. And from the other side there has come a strong tendency to prejudge the issue even before the investigations are completed. But the much more pervasive reaction which I, for one, have encountered has been a deep and quiet concern to know all the facts behind this plot to overthrow the elected government of Jamaica. Why now, many ask, especially with elections just around the corner? And there is, too, the disturbed and disturbing realisation that if this thing had succeeded political power would have passed out of the hands of the ^{people} ~~Jamaican~~ the power of the Jamaican people to choose or to reject those who ~~make~~ govern would have been cancelled, and PNP and JLP and No-P would have all been the losers. This realisation may, indeed, be the single most important long-term national political benefit to come out of the unsettling events of this week. We have tended to take Jamaican democracy for granted. We have tended to feel that "it can't happen here". Military and political coups, the forceful

and violent, and at times bloody overthrow of elected governments happened elsewhere, not in Jamaica. The events of this week taught us that it can happen here, if we are not on guard. All the indications are that only the alertness and loyalty to the Constitution of Jamaica of the security forces as a whole saved us from that planned coup. And let us remember the central fact to this whole thing is that it was the security forces who uncovered this plot. And let us put a rein on the loose talk that is now going the rounds. It is not just coming from one side. And loose talk is loose talk, no matter where it comes from. You cannot have 'good' loose talk from one side and 'bad' loose talk from the other. So if we are serious about curbing the loose talk, let us all do it. Above all, the Jamaican people of all parties and all persuasions must look again with new alertness ^{for themselves} at their democracy and decide/ on the limits beyond which they are not prepared to have it pushed. Next, our own problems have tended to push some important other news into the background. That meeting in Venice for instance, where President Carter met with the leaders of West European Common Market countries to try and resolve the ^{them and} differences between/ the United States/ ^{over} ~~and~~ the Middle East. The ^{reported} fact that hardly anything was/ ~~said~~ out of the conference on Israel and the Palestinians would suggest that Mr. Carter and the Europeans are as far apart as ever. Much more was said about the gloomy world economy on which there was basic agreement. And for the present nobody seems to know what to do the turn the world economy around. So the international capitalist economic crisis deepens. And from India came the intensely human news of what is perhaps the ultimate in human tragedies, when a parent has to bury an offspring. Sanjay Gandhi was on the verge of becoming both a national and international force when he died in that plane crash. And all India wept.

Goodnight.

Wither Jamaican Democracy?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 23, 1980, 6.10p.m

frontpage

Good evening: The main/headline in this morning's Daily News read: "Coups Plot Smashed: 23 soldiers 1 civilian detained"; the Daily Gleaner gave it far less prominence. It had a two-column headline on the frontpage but below its main headline which said: "\$7-m Esso project vetoed by Exxon: climate in Jamaica said not right". And the dealing with the discovered plot ~~this~~ headline/said " Civilian, Certain JDF Men Detained". And all this was of course based on that very careful statement from the Prime Minister last night in which he told the nation/after a conference with the Heads of the Security Forces, and now I quote: "I must state that a civilian and certain members of the Jamaica Defence Force have been detained for questioning in connection with an alleged conspiracy to commit certain acts detrimental to National Security and subversive of the constitutional Government of Jamaica". I think it is most important for us to note that the Prime Minister's statement comes out of a conference with the Heads of the Security Forces. So those who have already begun to scoff and cast doubt had better be absolutely clear about whether they want to scoff at and cast doubt on the ~~information~~ confirmation ~~of the information~~ by the Heads of our Security Forces of the information made public by the Prime Minister. It is one thing in this highly charged climate of partisan politics to question what the political directorate says and does; it is quite another thing to cast doubt on the integrity of the leadership of our security forces. So let us all think very carefully about this. The security forces have uncovered a plot. Any of us who pretend it is some kind of minor fiction play a dangerous game indeed.

And what do we say about the plot itself? The first obvious thing is relief that it has been uncovered in good time and, as far as we know, without bloodshed. Many people had felt for some time that something was brewing. You do not have the kind of violent and threatening deeds and words we have had for so long without it leading to some sort of explosion. There had been too much build-up for something not to happen. Fortunately the plot has been frustrated. But what if it had not? What if the plan had succeeded? The answer is that Jamaica today would have been a ^{profoundly} ~~very~~ different place because political power would have been removed from the hands of the Jamaican people. The Jamaican people would have lost the power to choose or dismiss those who govern on their behalf. And when the people of a country lose that power ^{they lose control and} anything can happen to them for they cease to be masters and mistresses of their own destiny. When the military take over by force it does not really matter whether they run the country themselves or whether they put up some civilian politician as head of state or Prime Minister. The soldiers would still be in control. The Constitution ^{would} ~~would~~ lose all meaning as the document guaranteeing our rights and liberties. The rule of law would be subordinate to the rule of the military. This is how it has been wherever you have had military takeovers. Indeed, this is how it has been wherever political power did not come from the people and was not under the control of the people. It is the one great virtue of our kind of democracy that because the power to choose and to reject is vested in the people, the people can change their governments in peaceful and orderly manner, without killing each other and without murdering their leaders. The plot uncovered yesterday was just about the gravest threat so far posed to that democracy. It is up to the Jamaican people, ⁱⁿ ^{to} in their interest, ^{to} to protect that democracy.
 Goodnight

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- 1) Rattray Assumes Responsibility
 - 2) What Happened at the Airport
 - 3) Two Versions of the news

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 20, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Prime Minister's transfer of responsibility for National Security, 'until further notice', to Mr. Carl Rattray should bring some sort of easing to the mounting clamour over this matter. Whether it will in fact do so is another question again, and only time will tell. One of our very real problems right now is that most of us are so busy screaming and shouting at each other that there is very little time to pause and listen and really hear what each is saying to the other. And so we only half-hear, and we only half-hear what we have already decided the other person is most likely to say or write. We do not read; we look at the headlines and we skim and then we pass judgement. And the judgement is usually based on a mixture of preconceptions, on stuff only half-heard, on printed news only skimmed over. And this cannot be good for an open democracy seeking to arrive at sound decisions on the basis of informed judgement. And so there is an uneasy and not very healthy mood abroad in the society. It is not just the political disagreements - these are normal in our kind of system: it is the violence and the confusion, and that general mood first articulated by ^{Isaiah} ~~Isaiah~~ in the Old Testament thousands of years ago when he said: "And judgement is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter".
at least
And so there are two versions of what happened at the NormanManley Airport on Wednesday. One has Mr. Dudley Thompson travelling with the Cuban Ambassador and the general manager of Moonex Limited.

in what at the very least appeared the most suspicious of circumstances. The other version showed a straightforward and above-board journey with no sinister undertones to it. But there were two versions to this piece of news, and it made things that much more difficult for the ordinary citizen to sort out and to come to some understanding of what really happened. What was the real truth of this situation? And how is the ordinary citizen to arrive at that real truth? It seems to me that we are making it unnecessarily difficult for the citizens of this country to arrive at the ^{hard} facts of some controversial matters unaided and without being nudged in this or that desired direction. Please don't get me wrong. There is nothing wrong with interpreting the news to serve this or that point of view. There is nothing wrong with the expressing of opinion or preference or bias. All I am saying is that ^{hard} news and commentary should not be so intertwined that the listener or reader does not know where the one begins or the other ends. The ^{hard} facts of a matter, especially ^{any} highly controversial matter, should be as clearly distinguishable as possible from interpretation, commentary or opinion on it. People should be in a position where, after reading or listening, they can say: 'Yes, these are the facts; now what are these people's views or interpretations of these facts'. Until we can do this we will go on making it rather more difficult than is really necessary for the ordinary citizens of this society to get at the hard facts on which to base ~~the~~ sober judgements. One of the dangers of the 'two versions' ^{was} business with the news/ dramatically illustrated last year when a majority of the American people flatly refused to believe that the energy crisis was real because they did not trust the media reports and they did not trust the oil companies. Goodnight.

1) How Rodney Was Kill

2) Dudley Thompson's Seat: Bar Association Statement

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday's statement by the Council of the Bar Association of Jamaica on Mr. Dudley Thompson's seat in Parliament represents perhaps the last opportunity for the government to deal with this matter at the legal and constitutional level rather than at the party political level. ~~xxxxxxx~~ If this opportunity is not taken, if this matter is not removed from the miasma of party politics in which it is now enmeshed, this issue may, apart from anything else, become one of the central issues of the present election campaign. And I ^{question} ~~xxxxxxx~~ whether this is really what the ^{present} ruling party ^{or indeed any party} ~~itself~~ wants. So let us hope that the government will heed the Bar Council's recommendation and avoid the further build up of confrontationist postures on what is essentially a legal and constitutional matter which should be dealt with in a legal and constitutional context. That is the essence of the rule of law.

Next, the details out of Georgetown Guyana of how Dr. Walter Rodney was killed. His brother's story of so the so-called "walkie-talkie" plot could only be told because that brother survived. If he, too, had died in that bomb blast there would have been nobody to tell the tale. And yet, on the BBC news reports out of London we were told quite early on of allegations made by officials ~~xxxxxxx~~ of Guyana Government that Dr. Rodney was killed by a bomb which he himself was taking to some place. According to the brother's account the taking of the so-called "walkie-talkie" for testing at the wall

of the Georgetown prison was part of the set-up. If the device had exploded at the prison wall~~x~~, perhaps blowing a hole in it, and if/Rodneys had died there or been hurt there ^{both} a near ironclad case could have been made against them. They could have been accused of attempting to free prisoners by blowing a hole in the ^{prison}/wall and nobody would have been able to dispute the charge. But things went wrong and now the world knows about the involvement of a former Guyan~~am~~ army sergeant. Will that former army sergeant now be brought forward to answer questions about the so-called "walkie-talkie" which killed Walter Rodney and of which Donald Rodney bore witness? And will that former army sergeant be asked to tell on whose behalf he did what he did? And how did that informant of the BBC know, so soon after the event, that Walter Rodney was carrying the thing which killed him. It seems to me that Mr. Burnham's government has some very serious questions to answer. On the wider international scene two news developments are of note. First, from the United States come reports that Mr. Ronald Reagan, the Republican challenger for the Presidency has now got a slight lead over Mr. Jimmy Carter in the opinion polls. It would now seem that the man whom former President Gerald Ford once described as un-electable could do what Mr. Ford himself failed to do and beat Jimmy Carter in November. That is, if elections were held today. But it is all of five months between now and November and all sorts of things could happen to change the picture between now and then: the fact, however, remains that Mr. Reagan has taken the lead in the presidential campaign. And in South Africa the enemies of apartheid on Monday employed the new tactic of striking where police did not expect them to: so the police were concentrated in Soweto and they struck elsewhere, then, when the police moved from Soweto they struck there. The tactics of the long struggle are being refined. Goodnight.

- 10 Walter Rodney: end of democracy in Guyana?
2) Soweto Remembered

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 16, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The car-bomb killing of Dr. Walter Rodney in Georgetown, Guyana, on Friday ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ has provoked shock and horror and dismay both inside the Caribbean region and far beyond. The savage manner of the this and brutal/~~and~~ killing of a brilliant young man just entering the prime of life would be cause enough for the shock and the horror and the anger. But it is the implications of this killing for the political future of Guyana and for the future of the people of Guyana which may, in the long run, be most disturbing. Dr. Walter Rodney was the third senior member of the Working People's Alliance to be killed in this violent/~~fashion~~ manner in less than a year. And it is no secret that many people both inside and outside Guyana are convinced that the Government of Guyana must be held accountable, in one way or another, for these deaths. There is of course no known proof which would stand up in a court of law to show that the government of Guyana had anything to do with the deaths of these three leading members of the Working People's Alliance. What we do know, what has been demonstrated beyond any doubt, are two basic facts: first, that the government of Guyana is intolerant of any kind of opposition; and second, that it would not hesitate to crush any opposition which it saw as threatening its hold on power. And the Working People's Alliance, and Walter Rodney in particular, had of late increasingly threatened the Burnham Government's hold on political power. It is one of the ironies of the Guyanese situation that Burnham is less afraid of the threat from the communist PPP

led by Cheddie Jagan, which is possibly the single largest political party in the country in terms of mass support. One reason is that in terms of naked power the police and the military in Guyana are black and Jagan's mass support is predominantly East Indian. In any confrontation between Jagan and Burnham raw power used with brutal efficiency is bound to prevail. The Working People's Alliance, on the other hand, cuts right across the communal divisions which Burnham has exploited successfully in the past. It was in fact bringing all the various racial elements in the society together against the Burnham regime, which is why it was and remains such a political threat. But when any political system resorts to settling ~~its~~ differences by the ^{murder} ~~murder~~ of opposing political leaders parliamentary democracy is automatically cancelled. You cannot stay in power by killing off opposition leaders and still operate a ^{parliamentary} /democracy. Likewise you cannot overthrow an elected government and kill its leaders and still operate a parliamentary democracy. The moment you do either of these things you also kill parliamentary democracy. And the savage killing of Walter Rodney in Guyana last Friday may also have been the final act in the killing of parliamentary democracy in Guyana. And once this kind of killing, killing at the level of the political leadership, is started there is usually no end to it except through iron dictatorship. These are some of the grave implications for Guyana ~~and~~ after the car-bomb killing of Walter Rodney. This is where the use of /political violence, even a little political violence, leads.

And finally and briefly, today, June 16th, is the 4th anniversary of the Soweto riots in which hundreds of young black South Africans were killed legally and in the name of law and order by the white racist establishment. As Indira Gandhi said when she was here in Jamaica: Power is as power does. Goodnight.

September General Elections

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 13, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Chairman of the Electoral Advisory Committee, Professor Gladstone Mills, yesterday described as 'totally untrue' that his committee had given advice as to an estimated date for the completion of preparations for holding elections. So wherever PNP General Secretary Dr. D.K. Duncan got his information from, it was not from the Electoral Advisory Committee. But having said that we are still left with the fact that Dr. Duncan has given this likely time-table for a count-down to election day. And as a timetable it looks reasonable enough, provided nothing goes wrong, and provided nobody or bodies throw a spanner in the works. So, September it^s, provided... So we must all watch out very carefully for that 'provided'.

And with September a little under three months away, where are the election ~~manifestoes~~ manifestoes of the two parties? What are the issues that the two parties themselves want the Jamaican people to base their choices on? And, indeed, who are all the candidates? The PNP has announced its full slate of 60 candidates: the JLP has so far announced only some of its candidates. So please let the people have all the candidates for all the constituencies so that the people can begin the important process of examining them and their backgrounds, the important process of seriously and quietly evaluating ^{them as} ~~the~~ people and what they stand for. There are some, the committed party supporters, who are going to vote on the straight party ticket, no matter who is put up. This is so on both sides of the political fence. But there are very many other people who are going to wait

and watch and listen and think. And I do not think that these people are going to be frightened into panic voting. I think the riding of the anti-communist bogey, for instance, will not panic these voters and unless those who seek their votes can come up with something more positive they may be in for a surprise. I think it is the hard bread-and-butter issues which are going to influence these people - listed as undecided in the polls - very much more than the ideological stuff. To be sure ideology will come into consideration but only in terms of how it affects the serious day-to-day lives of poor people. Where it points a direction and a way of coping with the hard issues of our lives, these 'undecided' voters will consider it calmly and make up their minds. I do not think they will be stampeded by any duppy politics ^{or witchhunts}. I think the politicians who wish to be elected would be wise to look at this aspect rather more carefully than they have done up to now. The Jamaican electorate has grown up and in some ways changed very much more than some of our politicians tend to give them credit for. So the simplistic talk of 'vote for me and all the money we need will flow in' will not be taken at face value. There will be questions, asked silently perhaps, like 'At what price will the money come in? How much of our sovereignty will we have to surrender? How much of ^{and personal} the national/self-regard? The National/^{and personal}self-pride? It might just turn out that those who cannot answer these questions may lose the vote of the undecided. And there is the question which I have met in some unexpected quarters: What is the point of going through this costly and elaborate exercise to reform the electoral system by mutual bipartisan agreement and then still continue with the threatening language of what will happen if you are not satisfied with the results? This too, the 'undecided' are watching with close care.

Goodnight

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- 1) President Carter & U.S. Blacks
 - 2) Zimbabwe: Whose Interests should Media Serve

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

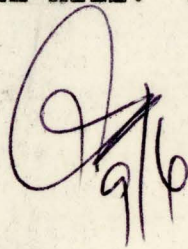
Good evening: The best news we have is that the enumeration is going reasonably well; the worse^t news, the ongoing violence and the ongoing political bad-mindedness. Inbetween there is the tear-down politics and the violent language which creates the climate for physical violence. I am sure that if we were to speak less violently to and about each other the climate of violence would be considerably eased. But just in case we think that we are the only people with these troubles consider what happened to no less a person than the American President on Monday night. Mr. Carter visited Miami to try and cool down the tensions caused by the recent race riots in that city. But instead of receiving a welcome the President and his men were pelted with bottles and rubbish of any kind that the black citizens of Miami could find. News reports say that the demonstration against the President was violent and bitterly abusive and although he himself was not hurt several of the cars in his motorcade were damaged. It is cold comfort but at least we should know that these things do not happen only in Jamaica. And, basically, some of the same reasons that are at the root of our violence were at the root of that show of violence against the American President. Black Americans, especially black Americans in the South had hoped for much from Mr. Carter. He was a man from the South himself, indeed, the very first man from the South to be elected President in modern times. He was an enlightened Governor of Georgia and a close friend of Andrew Young. And when black Americans helped to put him in the

White House with their votes, they expected things to get better for them. Unfortunately for them, and for Mr. Carter, the world economic crisis hit and even big and rich America felt it; and other matters such as Iran and Afghanistan and the escalating Cold War between East and West also took Mr. Carter's attention off the problems of black Americans. But the Black Americans are in a problem too: they are very angry with Mr. Carter and they have threatened not to vote for him this November. But will they vote for ~~anyone~~ Mr. Ronald Reagan? Not likely. If Mr. Edward Kennedy were around and likely to be the candidate most, if not all of them would desert Mr. Carter. ^{at least for this time:} But Mr. Kennedy does not look like being around/ so they are stuck with Mr. Carter or nothing, other than a protest vote for Mr. Reagan which most of them see as a protest vote against themselves. All this ^{was, I suggest,} as well as their growing economic frustration/~~is~~ behind Monday's ^{black} angry/outburst against the American President. So the hard, 'black-dog-for-monkey' dilemma that some Jamaicans see is also very real for America's black voters. Another news development with a familiar ring to it came to us from Zimbabwe by way of London. And ^{it is} the question: whose interests should the mass media serve? When the whites were in control in Rhodesia they owned and controlled press and radio. The transfer of political power from ^{white} ~~black~~ to ^{black} ~~white~~ has not meant an automatic change in ownership of press and radio in Zimbabwe. All this Zimbabwe's Information Minister has relayed to the Commonwealth Press Union on Monday of this week. So what will Zimbabwe do about the urgent need to have a press that serves the interests of 'the broad masses' of Zimbabwe? Are we going to see a collision between the government of Zimbabwe and the so-called 'free press' similar to the sort of thing we have seen here? Will the Rhodesia Herald be that fighting 'free press' with lots of foreign friends? It will be interesting to watch this familiar tale unfold. Goodnight.

Frank Hill: 1910-1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 9, 1980, 6.10p.m



Good evening: I first heard about Frank Hill through George Padmore, something over forty years ago. At the time, and among his many other activities, George Padmore was also running a kind of one-man news service directed at the then colonies of the British Empire. Padmore was based in London and he received the newspapers, ^{, pamphlets,} and news sheets put out by trade unions and political parties and groups in all of the colonies: papers and other documents from Asia, Africa, the West Indies as well as from the black groups in the United States. And from these papers, and using the two-finger method, he painstakingly typed summaries of the news from these colonial territories and circulated it. And so it was mainly through Padmore that the Indians in India learned of what was going on in Africa and the Caribbean; or that the Africans learned about what was going on in Asia or the the West Indies; or that the West Indians learned about what was going on in Africa ^{and Asia.} Indeed, Padmore informed Africans in West Africa of what was going on in East, Central and Southern Africa, and the other way about. This flow of information between and among Britain's colonies in those days was, I think, one of George Padmore's greatest contributions to the solidarity of the anti-colonialist movement which has since flowered into today's Third World and Non-Aligned movements of co-operation. I am not sure that we will ever be able to place a true value on this aspect of George Padmore's work of making those involved in the colonial struggles of the time aware of each other and of the problems with which each was grappling at the time. And so it was that a group of young South Africans struggling

to build up a a black trade union movement in a place where trade unions for blacks were not legal, received from Padmore the news ~~frankhill~~ of what a young labour leader by the name of Frank Hill was doing in Jamaica. From Padmore we heard of Public Opinion and of W.A. Domingo and/ of the unfolding nationalist movement with which they were associated. And we published Padmore's information on Jamaica, and indeed, on the other islands and colonies in our own ~~own~~ cyclostyled news sheets and used the information in the night schools we conducted to teach both the three Rs and political and nationalist awareness. Occasionally Padmore sent us articles written by these people and we reproduced them in our cyclostyled literary magazines. And so, in the same way that he had helped to make Africans aware of the great Garvey, Padmore made the ^{Jamaican} political and trade union pioneers of the 1930s and 1940s part and parcel of our own cultural baggage in the struggle to be free. I remember telling Frank Hill, many years later, how ~~ixfix~~ and the context in which I first got to know about him: and I think that was the only time I had him speechless. I think even he was unaware of the fact that there was a dimension other than just the Jamaicans dimension to his work. To what extent did he influence African trade unionism through the information sent out by Padmore? There is no way of knowing, no way of measuring. One thing I do know is that the knowledge that there were other people in other parts of the world, people like us, engaged in the same kind of struggle as we were, and succeeding, was a great morale booster. It meant that we were not alone: and knowing that ^{short-term} made the/defeats and ~~the~~ setbacks more bearable and the hope for ultimate success more feasible. In this context Frank Hill was one of that ^{20th century} ~~winning~~ army of true pioneers who helped to change the thinking of colonial peoples and so helped change the world itself.

Goodnight.


June 6, 1944 - June 6, 1980:
A Very Special Anniversary

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 6, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Roughly two out of every three Jamaicans who are alive today are under the age of thirty. So two-thirds of all the Jamaicans in Jamaica who are alive today were not around on June 6th, 1944, which was one of the pivotal dates in the history of this century. June 6, 1944 was the day on which world war two took a decisive turn. Until that day Germany under Adolf Hitler was in control of ~~all~~ practically all of Europe - except for a couple of countries which, for convenience sake had been allowed to remain 'neutral' - and he also controlled huge chunks of the Soviet Union. And Europe, under Hitler, had been turned into a huge slave camp in which the Poles, the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Slavs were literally used as slaves in the service of ~~the~~ Hitler Germany and the German people whom Hitler had hypnotised into believing that they were indeed the 'master race', the race born to rule the world and to have dominion over all the inferior races. To get any sort of first hand idea of what Hitler's Germany was like people need only to look at South Africa today. The only difference was that Hitler's so-called 'inferior' people with their so-called slower mental processes were not black; they were the same colour as the so-called 'master race'. So Hitler's racism had to be based on something more complex than just the colour of a person's skin. And ^{in the seven} ~~thirteen~~ years between 1932 and 1939 Hitler used racism, with the Jews of Germany as its first target, to gain political power and whip the German populace into a patriotic frenzy by proclaiming them 'the master race'. The

Jews were persecuted, their property was confiscated and later they were hearded into concentration camps which later became extermination camps, death camps where they were destroyed by the millions. And between 1932 and 1939 the world looked on and did nothing as Hitler's power and the racism which was the driving force of that power, both spread. So Hitler's Germany killed millions of Jews and the world looked on; he seized other people's lands and the world looked on; he turned other people into slaves of the 'master race' and the world looked on: much as the world looks on at South Africa today. By 1939 Hitler had grown so strong and his racism so arrogant that he no longer hid the fact that his driving purpose was to conquer all of Europe, and then, later, all the world. And so, finally, in September of 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland, the Western Powers realised that unless they did something it would be their turn next. And it pretty nearly was. Between 1939 and 1944 Hitler's forces occupied all of Europe and were at the gates of Moscow at one point. Only Winston Churchill's defiant bluff and bluster stopped them from invading Britain at a time when she was very weak. If Hitler had invaded when she was world in Britain/at her weakest, he might have prevailed, and the/~~history~~ which we live now would have been a completely different place: a world in which inferior races served one 'master race'. But Churchill's bluff paid off and Hitler hesitated long enough for the tide of war to turn. And on June 6, 1944, the tide had turned sufficiently for the greatest land, sea and air invasion ever undeftaken to be launched in order to liberate/~~xxxxxxx~~ Europe from the slavery of Hitler Germany. It all happened just 36 years ago today. And the cost in human life and in human suffering was terribly high before Europe was/~~finally~~ freed. And the things which made possible the terrible damaged and suffering Hitler caused are still with us. Let us think about that on this very special anniversary of the struggle to be free. Goodnight

End of U.S. Primaries Season

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday saw the end of this year's American Primary elections to choose the two men who will oppose each other in the November Presidential elections. What the primaries did was a kind of state by state electoral process through which each of the two parties in the United States selected the delegates who would go to the national convention of each party to choose that party's Presidential candidate. The Democrats will hold their nominating Convention in New York in August; and the Republicans will hold their nominating Convention in ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Detroit in July. And perhaps the single most interesting thing about this year's Nominating Conventions is indeed the fact that the American electorate, and the rest of the world, already know who the candidates will be. There is always of course the remote chance that something extraordinary might happen to change this. Disability or death or the outbreak of nuclear war could, for instance, totally change the American political picture. But such extraordinary happenings apart, Mr. Jimmy Carter is certain to be the Democratic Party's candidate for a second term in the White House, and Mr. Ronald Reagan is certain to be the Republican Party's candidate. There will be no bitter fights to win or retain delegates as has been the case in most previous Conventions of both parties. And the reason is that both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan will go to the nominating conventions already controlling more of the convention delegates each will need to be nominated on the first ballot.

President Carter's camp of the Democratic Party already has more than the 1,666 delegates needed to win the ^{Democratic} nomination. And Mr. Reagan already has more than the 998 delegates needed to win the Republican nomination. So, with the nominations practically sewn-up why did not Mr. Edward Kennedy do like Mr. George Bush on the Republican side and gracefully withdraw? When the Reagan nomination became a certainty Mr. Bush abandoned his campaign and instructed the delegates who were committed to him to transfer their votes to Mr. Reagan. Mr. Kennedy has done no such thing. Why? Consider these possible reasons. By fighting Mr. Carter all the way to the convention Mr. Kennedy makes sure that he will play a key part in the drafting of the Democratic election platform. If Mr. Carter then goes on to win a second term it will be on a platform strongly influenced by Kennedy. And remember that by 1984, when the next Presidential elections are due, Carter will not be able to run again and Kennedy would still be a comparatively young man, more seasoned, more experienced and still only in his early fifties. But what if Mr. Carter were to lose to Mr. Reagan in November? In that event Mr. Reagan, on the verge of 70, would be one of the oldest men ever to become President. And the young Mr. Kennedy would be the logical leader to hold a defeated Democratic Party together over the next four years while the ageing conservative Reagan's ^{rightwing} policies lead America deeper and deeper into turmoil and conflict both at home and abroad. In such a context the Kennedy leadership could be made to look better with each passing year, and almost ensure a Kennedy victory in the 1984 Presidential elections. So if the Kennedy people are indeed look beyond November of 1980, and are thinking in terms of November 1984, then what Edward Kennedy is doing right ^{now} is logical in terms of the Democratic American political process. Goodnight.

- 1) Attack on Dudley T.: Coincidence or Set-hand?
- 2) Scooting of Vernon Jordan
- 3) South Africa: A Sraw in the Wind

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 2, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: What ever were the disadvantages and the discomforts of this past wet weekend, its one great advantage was that it also acted as a damper on gun violence, especially political gun violence. So, for that at least, let us give thanks. But much more important than just giving thanks for a little ease from the violence, let us, the peaceful majority, decide to put a stop to it. Do you remember the case of the higgler woman a few years back who got so angry at a gunman who tried to hold her up and rob her? Remember she beat him up and took the gun from him? Well, I think if this society, collectively, became angry enough about the lawlessness and the violence, we can bring it under control. There are enough decent and upright people in our security forces and in our political system with whom we can co-operate to stop the violence. We are many and the lawless ones are few. All we need is the will and then to mobilise against them. One of the main obstacles to this united action against violence is the fact that there are some among us who seek political gain by exploiting the violence. And it is this that makes the fight against violence that much more difficult. But I think that sooner or later the Jamaican people will see through this and turn their backs on those who would use violence to divide the house against itself. Indeed, the signs are already there for those who care to look closely. Next, there is much speculation on whether the two events concerning Mr. Dudley Thompson, and coming so hard on each other, were coincidental. You will remember that

on Wednesday of last week we had those startling frontpage headlines in both of our daily newspapers /that the Police Federation, through its chairman, had declared its 'no confidence' in Mr. Thompson as the Minister of National Security. And then, on Saturday, and again in both of our newspapers we had those equally startling new frontpage headlines/~~stating~~ stating in one case that Mr. Thompson's seat in Parliament had been declared vacant, and in the other case that he had been 'unseated'. As it turns out Mr. Thompson's seat has not been declared vacant and he has not been unseated: but this is by the way. The teasing question is whether there was any connection between the 'no confidence' declaration by the Police Federation and the High Court ruling which had the effect of causing Mr. Patterson to temporarily remove the portfolio of National Security from Mr. Thompson. In other words, did the officers of the Police Federation/^{know} about the High Court ruling which was about to be made public? For if they did know it would tend to put their ~~this~~ 'no confidence' declaration in a completely new light. And /^{so} the questions are: was this action/^{opportunist,} the seizing of/~~an~~ opportunity of the ^{known} coming High Court ruling to get at the man for personal or political or both reasons? Or was it one of those one-in-a-million coincidences which/~~happen many times more often in fiction than in fact?~~ happen ~~many times more often in fiction than in fact?~~ more often in fiction than in fact? And finally and briefly, the shooting of black American civil rights leader Vernon Jordan last Thursday, and the blowing up of a/^{massive} fuel storage depot outside Johannesburg, South Africa in the early hours of this morning, are straws in the wind, worlds apart, but linked by the struggles of black folk. Coming so soon after the riots of blacks in Miami after the beating to death of a black man, the Vernon Jordan shooting has triggered fears on new black unrest all over America. The South Africa explosion shows the ultimate vulnerability of even the most ~~rigid~~ racist system in the world. As long as there are blacks in South Africa - and there are 20-m - they will fight that system ~~wherever~~ the price. And in the end they will prevail. Goodnight

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- 1) Continuing Violence
 - 2) The JDF Chief's Response

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
May 30, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: In spite of that moving appeal for political peace by Mr. Hugh Shearer, and in spite of the Prime Minister's warm and positive echoing of it, the violence and the bloodletting continues. One news report^{on this station} carried the depressing^{and shocking} information that ~~something~~ ^{twenty} ~~sixty~~ people had died by the political gun between Tuesday and Thursday of this week. And those who died were, in the main, poor and young and black. And to this we must now add last night's killings in the Olympic Gardens area. If this madness does not stop, if this savage political bloodletting is not stopped, then the lives of hundreds of poor Jamaicans are going to be snuffed out by the political gun between now and election time. So what is this all about? You would have thought that when electoral reform was put in place, and when we were told that elections would be held as soon as the electoral reform process was completed, people would have settled down to prepare for those elections. This, after all, is what a great part of the agitation had been all about. With this out of the way, a new situation, new conditions, should have come into play. The action now, you would have thought, would centre on the parties organising and mobilising and educating their supporters for the campaign. You would have thought that the working out of the issues and positions of the parties and the meetings and preparations of the groups and branches, would take pride of place and push the divisive and violent street politics into the background. Instead, what do we have? We have this upsurge in violence. Why?

There is an awful lot of talk about setting the stage for a new state of emergency. But two can go in for the business of stage setting. The government can set the stage and the Opposition can also set the stage. And don't forget, like it or not, we are into the realm of dirty tricks in Jamaican national politics these days. And to compound all this we are told of some mysterious other group, neither PNP nor JLP, which is determined to undermine the ^{holding} ~~process~~ of elections. And what of that Daily News report of Tuesday of this week about a mysterious black army being trained in Miami for service in a 'Caribbean island'? And one thing you can be sure of is that if such an army is being trained, nobody is going to come forward and admit it, any more than the CIA will step forward and say yes, we tried to destabilise this or that. And this of course applies to the KGB, the DGI, British Intelligence and any other spy service. So it is foolish for us to expect anybody to own up. The best we can do is ask ourselves: who is most likely to do it, and why? So, if there is an external attempt to overthrow the Jamaican government, who is most likely to do it and why? If this is what this current violence is all about, then why cannot our two major political parties ^{at least} put a stop to ~~it~~ their supporters being used as pawns? Instead, each side seems more interested in scoring partisan points from it. The one ray of hope and sanity in this ugly sea of violence was that letter from the Chief of Staff of the Jamaica Defence Force in response to one he had received from the Leader of the Opposition. It is a wise and balanced and mature letter, and if you have not read it, please do so. At one point the Brigadier writes: "What we do not need are false facts or allegations designed to weaken our position. We will strive at all times to deal with the public in a fair and impartial manner so as to earn their trust and confidence." To which I say amen. Goodnight.

- 1) National Security & Partisan Politics
2) Violence & the Language of Violence

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 28, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A very worrying question on the minds of very many Jamaicans today is whether we can continue to keep national security ^{narrow} separated from/partisan politics. And that worry has been heightened by news reports of what took place at yesterday's public session of the annual conference of the Police Federation. In his News Analysis last night Robert Fray dealt fully and impartially with the specific issues raised/~~by the~~ ^{in the} speech of the Chairman of the Police Federation, so there is no need to go over that. But there is need to question and to think out very carefully the likely implications of any efforts, and there have been some, to pressure the police, or at least some policemen, into adopting narrow partisan political positions. The principle of the rule of law is of course very clearly above partisan politics. And those whose ^{that job} job it is to uphold, and where necessary, enforce, the rule of law, can only do ~~so~~ properly and successfully if they too operate at a level which is above partisan politics. This, and not some nebulous fetish about national security, is the cornerstone of our social and political system. Of course you have the rule of law in other social and political systems too. In South Africa, for instance, racism and Apartheid are enforced by way of the rule of law. The South African Parliament has passed the laws which legalise all that racial nastiness: and it is in the name of national security that they ^{legally} brutalise and imprison and kill black people. So the social and political system within which the rule of law operates is quite as

important as is the rule of law itself. The law can and has been used to oppress and exploit and even to kill: the rule of law can and has been used as an instrument of oppression. The protecting of national security can and has been used as a tool of oppression. So when we talk about upholding the rule of law and when we talk about safeguarding national security we must always remember the context of the social and political system. Where the social and political system are geared to serve the interests of the majority usually also serve majority interests national security and the rule of law /~~are totally different things~~

Where the social and political systems are geared to serve the interests of minorities; national security and the rule of law are usually also geared to serve minority interests. In dictatorships national security and the rule of law are used to perpetuate those dictatorships. In open pluralistic democracies national security and the rule of law are used to protect and perpetuate the democratic process. But open, pluralistic democracies can only continue as such for as long as those whose job it is to safeguard the national security and uphold the rule of law abide by the basic rules of the system.

And the most basic of all the rules under our system is that they be genuinely non-partisan in the doing of their job. The efforts to/ ^{manipulate} and involve our security forces in narrow partisan politics is therefore a very grave threat to our system itself. So watch this one very carefully, please. And then there is the business of the violent and brutal language which is the first step to violent and brutal action. So listen to the language too, please. Violent language leads to violent deeds; peaceful language/ ^{leads} to peaceful deeds. You do not threaten war if you really want to live in peace. So listen carefully and you will know who is really for peace. Goodnight

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- 1) Eventide: After the Funeral what?
 - 2) Tourism and Violence
 - 3) ~~The Miami Race Riots~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
May 26, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The nation today buried in solemn ceremony at the place reserved for our heroes and heroines the old people who died in the fire at the Eventide Home in the early hours of last Tuesday morning. And today is being observed as a National Day of Mourning for these old people who died so cruelly and so tragically. In life we neglected these old people cruelly. Is the homage we now pay them in death an acknowledgement of that neglect while they were alive? If it is an honest and humble acknowledgement of that neglect, if it is an admission of a national failure which we mean to remedy, then we will show it by deeds rather than words in how we deal from now on with the old people, and the homeless and the helpless ones who are still alive among us: it will show in the re-ordering of our priorities. So let us watch and see what comes after this national ceremonial show of grief. And, watching, let us remember that we are each watching ourselves for each one of us is a part of the whole that went into the making of that cruel neglect/ which led to the fiery death of those old people. For Jamaica to become the good society that it can be, and that it will be one day, we must take ~~care~~ better care than we have up to now of the very old and the very young who are also poor. In part, of course, this is the problem of poverty, the problem of how poor countries and poor societies allocate what/^{little} they have. And here, for instance, would it not have been so much better socially if we could have spent less money on say, National Security and funnelled some of the money from that Ministry into some of our basic social needs? But the

ugly politically inspired violence which now stalks the land seems almost designed to ensure that an unusually large part of what we do have goes into fighting the violent crime. In 1978/79 Recurrent spending Estimates for National Security was a little over \$84-million. In 1979/80 it had gone up to over \$115-million. And for this year 1980/81 it has gone up to ^{over} \$136-million. And this increased spending on National Security is part and parcel of the struggle to protect the society from the violence of the gun, often the political gun. If, for instance, the land had been peaceful ~~enough~~, if the land had been free of gun violence and the threat of gun violence, there would have been less need to concentrate so much of what we have on providing protection and security. If, for instance, we had been able to keep spending on National Security at its 1978/79 level, we would, today have had something over \$50-million in hand which could have been channelled into taking care of the very old and the very young and the helpless. And \$50-million-plus would have been more than enough to replace those firetraps at the Eventide Home. But the violence was there, the violence had to be dealt with, so the money had to go to strengthen security while the old and the young/^{and} the helpless who are poor were neglected. There is a connection here between the violence and the neglect. And I, for one, am not so sure that we should just dismiss those who say the connection is deliberate ^{example} and calculated. For/there are very few people who these days believe that it is an accident that just when our tourism is on the upswing we are hit by political violence at home and highpowered negative publicity abroad. And the sad thing about this brand and this style of/^{violent} partisan politics is that it is usually the poor and the helpless and the weak and the dispossessed and those in need who are the main victims. Goodnight

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- 1) Labour Day, 1980
 - 2) The Budget Debate

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
May 23, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope that you have had a peaceful and productive Labour Day, with many trees planted, and that the weekend will be peaceful and productive. And it is important at this time to remind ourselves, ^{to tell} and/the younger people in the society, that the observance of this ~~xxxx~~ day is in honour of the working people of this country and of the trade union movement they fashioned to serve their needs. That trade union movement has, over the years, played a critical role in ~~xxx~~ both the political and social evolution of this society. Most of the rights and privileges working people take for granted today had to be fought for at one time or another: and at times the fight was bitter. There were bitter struggles before workers won the right to join trade unions or to organise themselves into trade unions. There were people who were prepared to shut down their plants and withdraw their investment rather than accept the unionisation of their work force. There were times when workers who dared to unionise lost their jobs. There were times when today's respected union leaders were dismissed as 'those damn trouble-makers'. The fact that the trade union movement exerts the power and influence that it does today is a measure of how far the ^{organised} /working people of Jamaica have come. It was not always so; and it was not easy to reach this point. The struggle was hard and long; the resistance the workers encountered was fierce. Nobody gave them anything; they had to earn each right, step-by-step, often through bitter and costly struggle. And perhaps the single most heartening thing to note on this Labour Day of 1980 is the emerging

of a new unity of purpose and unity of action among our major trade unions. I think that when this unity of action and purpose comes fully into play, when a united trade union movement recognises and decides to / use its latent political power for the common national good, our national politics will enter an important new phase. Perhaps there was a hint of this in Mr. Hugh Shearer's very warmly received contribution to this year's budget debate, especially in his passionate appeal for an end to political violence. He could appeal across the narrow party lines separating PNP and JLP precisely because our trade union movement is breaking free of those narrow party lines. All our major unions represent working people of all political affiliation: so you will have supporters of the PNP as members of the BITU and supporters of the JLP as members of the NWU and supports of both as members of the other big unions. And when this happens the kind of mechanical and blind party loyalties which lead to mindless political violence or ^{to} the easy ^{and unscrupulous} manipulation of political violence tend to be reduced and eliminated by understanding ^{by} and/enlightened self-interest. So, for me, it was no accident that it should be Hugh Shearer, the spokesman for the Big Five trade unions, who called with such passion and authority for an end to political violence and for a return to the politics of peace. And it was no surprise either that Prime Minister Michael Manley should endorse that Shearer call and remind us of how as two young Island Supervisors of the two major trade unions they contended mightily against each other at times without their followers ever hurting or damaging or maiming each other. That call by Shearer and ^{indeed,} response by Manley, was, for me, ~~and~~ for very many Jamaicans, the political highpoint of the 1980/81 Budget debate. Goodnight

 The Eventide Home Fire:
What of the future?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Most, if not all, Jamaicans are heartsick and depressed by the terrible fire at the Eventide Home in the early hours of yesterday morning, which took so many lives. And the way in which vast numbers of Jamaicans have responded to the tragedy is proof, if proof were needed, that Jamaicans do care about each other and about the weak and the helpless among us. We had this proof during last year's flood rain in the west end of the island: we had it again yesterday. But why wait until some tragedy comes about to remind us that we do care? Why did we not, why could we not, do what had to be done to make lives of those old folk as safe and as secure from the hazard of fire as is possible? And what can we do to ensure as far as is humanly possible that this kind of fire with this kind of death toll does not take place again in the future? I think it must begin with buildings. Some buildings are more prone to fire than others. Old wooden buildings which have stood for over one hundred years, even if some of the older wood had been replaced from time to time, would be most prone to fire. I recall that some time last year some such similar wooden building in Canada went up in flames and also claimed a large number of lives. So the first thing we need to do when thinking of rebuilding is to make sure that whatever new structure we put up is as fire-proof as possible. The less wood the less likely the type of matchbox flash-fire which consumed that Eventide structure in so short a time. Another thing we need to be acutely conscious of in putting up any

buildings for the very old and the very young is the fact that the very old and the very young are usually either totally or partially helpless in any emergency. So it should be easy to get such people in or out of the buildings. For instance, to have bedridden and blind old people/^{or little babies} in an upstairs wooden building is almost to ensure disaster in an emergency. And let us face it, no society can ever plan so carefully that it will never be hit by some disaster or some emergency. The best we can do, the best any society can do, is to plan in such a way as to minimise the loss of life if and when we are hit by some disaster or emergency. So we want to ensure that the helpless ones can be moved very quickly out of danger, or are even able to crawl away from danger. In all this how we build is critical. Then there are people who say that perhaps yesterday's tragedy would not have happened if the Eventide Home were located elsewhere, in some rural setting perhaps, away from the population pressure and the political pressures of the area in which it is. These people may very well be right. The hard problem is that old people need and want to be part of the community. Like all of us they need and they want to be in touch with the flow of things which gives meaning to life and makes being alive a worthwhile experience. If we were to quarantine these people in some sort of fenced-in isolated place where they see only other old people and their keepers there would be very little point and meaning to their lives. At the Eventide Home on the Slieve Pen Road they are at the centre of things, part of a community, watching and hearing the traffic and the children and all the other noises which make their lives part of the life of the wider community. Of course it would be easier to take care of them if ^{we} isolate them like fenced-in prisoners. But for their sakes as well as for the sake of the soul of this society let us keep them with us in love and care while they are alive. Goodnight.

 An Election Year Budget

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

May 19, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The main thing about this year's Budget Debate which got under way at Gordon House earlier today is the fact that it is an election year budget, and, therefore, it is an election budget. Both the PNP and the JLP speakers will see it and deal with it in that light. Each side will do its best to get the maximum electoral mileage out of what is perhaps/^{the shortest} budget debate in the memories of most Jamaicans who are now alive. But then, as Mr. Mullings, the Business Leader of Government/^{Business} is reported as saying: this is not a normal year. This is a highly political year; a year during which the lines dividing the parties are drawn more sharply than they were even back in 1976. I think it is important for us to bear this fact in mind as we try to grapple with the numbers and the arguments floating from one side to the other in Gordon House between today and Thursday. I think the short-term and immediate issues will be relatively clear and easy to grasp. The first and most important of these short-term issues is of course the business of finding the money needed to bring in the basic food the people must have. In electoral political terms this is crucial. It is of course crucial in any case, election or no election. But the fact that this is election year makes the bringing in of adequate supplies of basic food an election issue. This is so, and this would be so, whether the government of the day is PNP, JLP or No-P. And no government, of any party, can bring in basic food by printing money. You have to find hard foreign exchange to pay for imported basic food. Here

the numbers should be relatively clear. Normally, no Minister of Finance will put anything into his spending budget without first making sure that he can lay his hands on the money to be spent. So when Mr. Hugh Small tabled his spending Estimates in Parliament on May 8th, he had to have a pretty clear idea of where the foreign exchange to bring in the basic food and the essential medicine and raw materials had to come from. And one important though not publicised reason why this budget could not be made under IMF conditions was the fact that the IMF was opposed to any kind of special assistance from friendly countries to ^{help} close the budget gap because it said such assistance is abnormal and not sustainable. In other words under the IMF Jamaica was not allowed to accept special budget support help from friendly countries. And without that help Jamaica would not have been able to bring in the level of basic food and other necessities now budgeted for. So, in electoral political terms the PNP would have gone into this election with both its hands and feet tied if it had stuck with the IMF. And on the domestic side the key issues are unemployment, runaway prices and wage restraints. Freeing up the workers and their unions, creating some highly visible jobs, and bringing prices under a measure of control not possible with the IMF are again electoral political imperatives for any party making a budget when elections are just around the corner. These are the key elements of what is essentially a short-term election year budget. How the Opposition counters it ~~is~~ going to be important as a pointer of what it would do if it were to win the coming elections. The tearing to shreds part should be relatively easy. How it is done, what, if anything, is approved of, what is denounced and condemned/should provide us with clues of ~~how~~ what policies the / Opposition would pursue. The catch here is that as for the government side, so for the Opposition side, the ^{really} key concern is the coming election. Goodnight

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16/8

Political 'Dirty Tricks'

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

May 16, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Secretary of the PNP held an urgent press conference very late last night to tell the nation that he had received information of a coffin packed with guns coming from Miami to Jamaica and addressed to him. He had ~~altered~~ the Commissioner of Police and he wanted the nation to know that he had nothing to do with this coffin-load of guns. But just assume for a moment that Dr. Duncan did not hold that press conference last night because he had not got any information about any alleged coffin-load of guns; and assume further that a few days hence, or a few weeks hence, a coffin loaded with guns were to arrive in Jamaica and were to be addressed to the PNP secretary. Just imagine the sight. Customs receives the documents clearly identifying the coffin as consigned to a particular person. And whatever the documents say about the contents of the coffin, they open it for examination. And lo and behold, the guns are revealed. And, you know something, I do not think that ^{politician of any party} ~~anybody~~/to whom such a deadly cargo is consigned, whether it be a set-up or not, is going to be able to explain that one away after the fact. Such a politician, whatever later facts or later court proceedings might bring out, ^{will be trapped and} ~~will be~~ so badly damaged by the ~~revelation~~ ^{is} revelation, especially if it/carefully manipulated in the media, that he would ~~rather~~ have to leave politics, in all likelihood dragging his party down to defeat with him. The only way for any ^{politically} politician not to be/buried in that coffin loaded with guns would be if he were able to find out and expose the plan and the shipment

of the coffin of guns. Now, if that coffin loaded with guns does arrive the man can say: 'I warned you about it; they were trying to frame me'. But the very facts that we are into this kind of thing, that we are so deep into what became publicly known as political 'dirty tricks' during the time of the U.S. Watergate scandal, is ~~the~~ the gravest and greatest challenge to our democracy. For it raises all sorts of questions about just how free our elections will really be, even if we set the most perfect system in place. Mr. Richard Nixon, you may remember, condoned and encouraged the use of political 'dirty tricks' to get his enemies and protect his friends. During those Watergate hearings of the early 1970s the world watched and listened in shock and horror as the details came out of how political opponents were framed, how false evidence was deliberately and dishonestly manufactured, how people's reputations were/damaged all in pursuit of political victory. And when such methods are brought into play, when an opponent is framed so that people think he has committed crimes which he has not, are those people in fact being asked to make free and honest choices or are they being manipulated? There are many ways of subverting the democratic process. And the employment of dirty tricks; of lying, of framing and setting up opponents, of rearranging the composition of constituencies by fire and the gun, of the manipulation of scarcity and scarce benefits, these are all dirty tricks which are as subversive of the ^{multi-party} democratic process as are the efforts to forcefully overthrow duly elected governments by way of the ^{military} coup. So if we are serious about our commitment to multi-party parliamentary democracy which is based on the freely expressed will of the Jamaican people then all of us, and all our politicians of every party, will turn out faces away from the use of political terrorism and political dirty tricks as campaign strategies.

Goodnight

The Democratic Dilemma:
Are Ideas Subversive?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

May 14, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: At his recent press conference the Leader of the Opposition was reported to have raised the very interesting point that Marxism or communism was, by its very nature, subversive of the Jamaican Constitution. The argument, as I understood it, was that the Jamaican Constitution provides for the office of Leader of the Opposition, which implies the ^{Constitutional} ~~the~~ recognition of the two party system whereas Communism, wherever it has prevailed, has established a one-party state. I think this is a matter which could be very usefully discussed in some wider public ^{community participatory} forums and which would be very helpful as both political ~~and~~ education and education on the Jamaican Constitution. I think, for instance, that it is important for us to note carefully that nowhere in the Jamaican Constitution is any mention made of any political party. When members are elected to Parliament, they are elected as individuals, not as candidates of particular parties. When the Prime Minister is appointed it is as ^{of Representatives} the Member of the House/"best able to command the confidence of a majority of the Members of that House". When the Leader of the Opposition is appointed it is as the member of the House of Representatives "best able to command the support of a majority of those members who do not support the Government, or, if there is no such person, the member of that House who commands the support of the largest single group of such members who are prepared to support one leader". So the Jamaican Constitution does not recognise political parties. It recognises groups of elected individuals who

separate themselves into a majority which forms the government and a minority or minorities which form the Opposition. In order to find any Constitutional validity for the political parties we have to look elsewhere than in the sections dealing with Parliament. We have, in fact, to look at the sections of the Constitution dealing with the Fundamental Rights and Freedoms to which/~~all~~^{every} Jamaican/~~and~~ "whatever his race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex" is entitled. It is under this section that we all have the right to freedom of association and assembly which of course includes the forming of political parties, trade unions and other organisations. And it is under section 24 that we find the provision that "no law shall make any provision which is discriminatory either of itself or in its effect". And discriminatory is then defined in these words: " 'discriminatory' means affording different treatment to different persons attributable wholly or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, place of origin, political opinions, colour or creed..." And this brings us right back to the age-old dilemma which all human societies have had to face throughout human history whenever new forces have arisen to challenge old establishments. ^{today} Marxism/does pose a challenge to capitalism with its pluralistic democracy. And where the pluralistic capitalist society is genuinely open one the Marxists can use the freedoms enjoyed under that system to propagate and promote their own views and thus challenge the system itself. So what do you do when your own constitution itself allows that kind of challenge? Do you mash up the Constitution in an attempt to stop others from mashing it up? Do you protect freedom by suppressing ~~the~~ freedom?

This is the age-old dilemma. It is only superficially related to present-day witch hunts of either the extreme left or

1980/81 Spending Estimates:
The Political Context

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
May 9, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A first look at the 1980/81 spending Estimates which Finance Minister Hugh Small presented to parliament yesterday brings out two revealing facts. First, that the ^{presence of the} IMF is no longer the heavy ^{inhibiting} dark/shadow over the government's spending strategies; and second, and flowing logically from the first, there is a re-ordering of priorities back to the pre-IMF spending pattern. For instance, that much quoted PNP document of March 8 prepared by its Economic Affairs Commission shows that if we had still been under IMF conditionality Capital spending would have been some \$60-million less than the \$629-plus-million tabled by Mr. Small yesterday. And the indications are that the job creating programmes such as road maintenance and improvement would also not have received the same amounts under the IMF as they are now going to get. In last year's spending Estimates, under the IMF, road improvement works received only \$6-million: this year, without the IMF, the sum has been increased to \$17-million. Last year, under the IMF, there was no provision for special employment projects. This time there is a provision for \$2-million for special employment. So, in these two areas alone, there will be a great deal of job creation which should help to ease unemployment. And this return to the type of financial planning which is designed to bring social and economic benefits to the broadest cross-section of the community is suggested by many of the other figures in these spending Estimates, particularly in agriculture. But the big question is of course how we are going

to finance this \$2,000-million Spending Budget. Our biggest problem here continues to be the business of finding all the foreign exchange we need and on this one we are going to have to wait the presentation of the Revenue Estimates for an answer. What is clear already is that the sky has not fallen in on us as a result of our breaking with the IMF. So although things are difficult, it is not all as gloomy as the propaganda makes out. For instance, if you look back at the 1979-1980 Revenue Estimates you will see that before any borrowing of any kind the country had total Recurrent and Capital Revenue of \$1,048,962,000. In other words ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{internally generated} the nation's/income from taxes, licences and the like, was well over \$1,000-million. So it is not as if we start with nothing. What is important is that is that the money we generate locally cannot pay for the things we need to buy from abroad. Only U.S ^{English} the/dollars and/pounds and Japanese Yen and German marks we earn or borrow from abroad can pay for our imports. And that is at the heart of our problem. And so the people who call for the building of more factories to ease our unemployment must understand the importance of the kind of factory which is built. If it is a factory which earn more foreign exchange than it consumes then it is a double blessing for Jamaica. If it consumes more foreign exchange than it earns then the choices become hard and difficult. This will be so for as long as we consume more foreign exchange than we earn. So the earning, not the borrowing, of more foreign exchange is the really critical factor for the long term future. Borrowing is a short-term necessity; ^{in the long run} the kind of investment which/takes out more foreign exchange than it brought in is of short-term help but of long-term grief. These are some of the key factors to bear in mind in the making of this or any other budget. And as always a key question is what interests is the budget designed to serve. Goodnight

The Politics of Food:
Shortages & Distribution

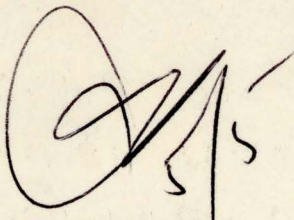
NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

May 7, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Food, the shortage of food, the distribution of food, the price of food - are all becoming major political issues. Yesterday the Committee of Women for Progress demonstrated outside the Ministry of Finance demanding that the government not delay any longer on their proposals to deal with the food problem. Radio has been carrying commercial spots from the private sector blaming food problems on shortages due to unavailability of foreign exchange to import food; and for this, they hold, the government, and not the private sector, is responsible. And now, also yesterday, four of our five major trade unions have issued a statement criticising the government for doing nothing about proposals for food distribution which the trade unions made since as far back as 1977, and for now setting up a committee to seek to implement some of these self-same proposals but without any trade union representation on it. This trade union protest, seems to me perfectly reasonable in light of the position adopted by the unions ~~an~~ over the years on our food problems. They have made strong and practical and detailed representation for increasing food production, reducing prices and coping with our food problems. So let us hope that the exclusion of the trade unions from that committee which was announced last Thursday was an oversight which will now be corrected. One of our difficulties is that food and the availability of food and the price and distribution of food has, like unemployment and crime and violence and even the ~~shurak~~ role of the church, become embroiled in partisan election-

eering politics. The charges that the food shortages are manipulated in order to embarrass the government are no less far-fetched than are the statements that it is all the government's fault. Make no mistake about it: the shortages are very real/^{and it is} because we do not have all the foreign exchange to import all the food we want to. But make no mistake about it: these shortages are also being grossly aggravated by manipulation. A range of foodstuffs which is not available through regular channels at regular prices can be got and is being got through the flourishing black market and higgler trade. And, admit it or not, the higglers are able to somehow get supplies of scarce/^{food} items brought in by the State Trading Corporation. Where and how do they lay their hands on these? There is a revealing item on the frontpage of today's Daily News on 'How higglers get scarce food items', as well as an equally interesting article inside by the group known as The Unmuzzled Ox on food distribution. The fact is that there is a very serious/^{food} distribution problem, and I do not think it is one that is going to go away in the foreseeable future whether there is a change of government or not. The whole world is entering into a period of food and other shortages: the age of abundance is ending. And, like it or not, where there are shortages controls and some form of rationing must come about. One way of rationing is to make it impossible for the poor to afford to buy/^{the} food; another is to control prices and share what is available as fairly and as justly as possible. So until we get around to producing the bulk of our own food the shortages will remain with us. How we manage the situation, how much of the scarce food we can bring in, ^{whole} how we deal with prices and distribution, how ~~***~~ we feed the/nation, not just special or privileged sections of it, these will to a large extent determine both the outcome of the election and the shape of the future. Goodnight.



Tito & Non-Alignment

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
May 5, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yugoslavia's President Tito was, until his death yesterday, the last of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement, that worldwide body of independent nations who are determined not to be dominated or manipulated by either of the two super powers or by any power grouping such as NATO in the West and the Warsaw Pact in the East. Tito also happened to be the only European among the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement: all the others were non-European. There was Nehru of India; Nasser of Egypt and Nkrumah of Ghana: an Indian, an Arab, an African. Tito also happened to have been the only Communist among that group. India's Nehru was a socialist with^a/very deep personal and intellectual commitments to social justice and individual liberty and anti-colonialism. Nasser was ~~a~~ another socialist and a very religious muslim, and the founder of that brand of Arab socialism which seeks to create a synthesis between Islam and socialism. Nkrumah, the passionate Pan-African, was yet another socialist who was a pioneer of the continentwide African freedom struggle in the years immediately after the second world war. But the socialism of the three non-communist founding fathers in some ways differed almost as much from each other as they did from Tito's communism. So from its very inception the Non-Aligned Movement was as^{as} poly-centred and/multi-faceted as the men who founded it. And the founding of the movement came out of the simple and basic need of these leaders to each steer an independent course for his country

free from domination, manipulation or interference by the great powers. Tito did not stop being a communist; he did not dismantle the communist system he had created in his country or behave any differently from communist rulers elsewhere. He still suppressed dissent and jailed those who ^{opposed} ~~himself~~ the party. He resisted Soviet pressure under Stalin but ^{he} never became anti-Soviet. It was not a requirement of the Non-Aligned Movement that he, or any other member, be either anti-Soviet or pro-Soviet, be either anti-American or pro-American. It was, and it remains the right of each member of the Non-Aligned Movement to choose, freely, the path they wish to pursue. Being communist or capitalist or in-between neither qualifies nor disqualifies. So, as was shown again in Havana recently, the Non-Aligned Movement accommodated both those who leaned to the West - as some African and Southeast Asian countries did - as well as those who leaned to the East. But of course, since its very inception, ^{and notably the West in recent times} the great powers ^{and} their organs of opinion and of manipulation have tried to turn the Non-Aligned Movement into yet another arena for their own power conflicts, with the non-aligned countries being the pawns. They tried to use Tito in this way in Havana. They failed. And of course they will continue to try to manipulate the Movement until the Movement itself helps to bring about a world situation in which ~~there~~ is an end to the politics of spheres of influence and the politics of global confrontation is replaced by the politics of global co-operation. At present this looks like a most unlikely vision, a kind of unattainable dream. But remember, before Tito defied Stalin ^{that} ~~it~~ seemed impossible because it had never been done. And before they ^{yet} ~~found~~ the Non-Aligned Movement that, too, seemed an impossible thing. Nehru, who died in 1964, Nasser in 1970, Nkrumah in 1972 and Tito who died yesterday were the kind of giants in the human struggle who made what seemed impossible come to pass. Goodnight

Political Violence & the
Psychology of Terror

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
May 2, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There was a funeral procession yesterday. And because it passed off without incident the entire Jamaican nation breathed a sigh of relief. And today there is a mood of startled wonder that the expected violence did not break out. We, all or most of us, had expected that funeral procession to result in the outbreak of violence at some point or the other. Political violence and the expectation of political violence had become the norm for such occasions. We had become conditioned to it. The warnings and the brutal and threatening language which all but invited violent confrontation, and all the violence and ^{the} killings which have taken place since the events of April 20 at Gold Street, had all prepared and conditioned us to expect violence yesterday. And when the expected violence did not come and things passed off quietly there was a kind of after-shock of relieved bewilderment. We had braced ourselves for ^{what had become} ~~what had become~~ a normal and to be expected eruption of political violence. And the fact that it did not come was abnormal. In other words, we have largely been conditioned to accept politically motivated violence as the norm in certain circumstances. And so when the violence does not erupt it is abnormal. Political violence is the norm; its absence is abnormal. What are we coming to when we, as a society, quietly accept this deliberate upending of our values? Consider all the places which stopped doing business yesterday afternoon; consider all the people who stayed away from work. What are we really doing but allowing ourselves to be psychologically terrorised

by the threat of political violence? And when people and societies allow themselves to be ~~xxxxx~~ psychologically terrorised into automatic panic reactions it is easy to ^{to} upend values and/make such people and such societies accept political violence as the expected norm, and ^{the} ^{of political violence} ~~xxx~~ absence/as abnormal. The Nazis under Hitler reduced the use of political violence and the psychology of terror to such a fine art that a whole nation lost its sense of values and it needed a world war to put an end to the Nazi terror. Many others have tried to follow the Hitler example since, notably the South African racists and the Latin American dictators. And always, it begins with the psychology of terror which makes people shut down and close down and give up and run away and keep quiet about what they know. I think we all need to think very seriously about these things if we are not to become passive accomplices to the destruction of multi-party parliamentary democracy in Jamaica. We have already gravely compromise the principle of the rule of law by the straight partisan nature of our protests when the law is violated. When ghetto youth with no known political affiliation are gunned down the parties and their spokesmen are usually silent. They speak up only for those of their side and when they can turn it into a political 'event'. For instance ^{since} the Gold Street affair there have been nine other killings in that same constituency. ^{happen} They/~~xxxx~~ to have been almost evenly divided between supporters of the two parties. Are those snuffed out lives, are all the others who have been killed since, of any less value than those singled out for heroic treatment. These are all Jamaica lives which have been snuffed out, of equal value in the sight of God. Let us not allow political violence and the political use of the psychology of terror to panic us into not seeing this reality. Goodnight;

- 30/4
- 1) Political Violence Continues
 - 2) Edmund Muskie Replaces Vance
 - 3) Yankelovich on Opinion Polls

NEWS COMMENTARY

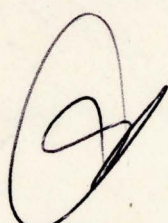
For broadcast on Wednesday
April 30, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: National Security Minister Dudley Thompson's statement to parliament yesterday that the security forces had informed him about a planned campaign of terror to coincide with tomorrow's funeral procession for the four people killed at Gold Street on Sunday the 20th, is cause for grave concern. When this kind of information comes from our security forces it cannot be dismissed as party political propaganda or partisan efforts at setting a political hand for this or that side. It is one thing when politician^s or political partisans/~~make~~^{give} this kind of warning: it is quite another thing when our security people do so. So please take it very seriously and be on the alert and on guard tomorrow. And please think seriously about the almost daily political violence to which this nation is now being subjected. Why is it/~~re-appearing~~^{re-appearing} so strongly at this time? What is behind it? The one thing, I think, Who is behind it?/~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ on which we are all agreed ~~is~~ is that the violence is politically motivated. There may be a few criminal opportunists on the fringes who exploit the situation to their own criminal advantage, but the current violence remains basically a political rather than a straightforward criminal problem. And if you have this kind of political violence, and we do have/ it, then there is no way that it can be independent of some sort of political direction. If those in-volved are political mercenaries^{or several someones} then there must be someone/ who pays them: you cannot have mercenaries without paymasters. So who are the paymasters from whom these

mercenaries, if they are mercenaries and not fanatic ^{al} party loyalists, take their orders? That is one key question that only our security forces can grapple with: no number of meetings and discussions between parties and churches and special interest group will help in this.

And who supplied them with their sophisticated arms? This, too, would require good and very sophisticated ^{arms supply} /organisation such as gabja-for-high-calibre-automatic-guns, for instance. And the timing of this latest resurgence of political violence is obviously to shake-up and unsettle the mood of the society as elections draw near. And here let me say I think myself that the government ^{may have} /made a major tactical mistake as far as security is concerned when it allowed itself to be manoeuvred into flatly declaring it would not call another state of emergency. The fear of the ^{possible} /calling of a state of emergency could have acted as some sort of deterrent to the political gunmen and arsonists, it could have inhibited the extremes to which they might have been prepared to go. Now, they may see this declaration as a green light to go ahead. So while it might have been a good move politically, it was bad from a security point of view. But in a context where everything, including national security, is used as a pawn in the power game this is not surprising. And finally and briefly, there is much relief among America's allies that Senator Edmund Muskie and not Mr. Brzezinski has succeeded Mr. Cyrus Vance. Mr. Muskie is a political moderate but we are still to see if he can contain Mr Brzezinski. And for those interested in opinion polls and how to judge our current local storm of the polls the latest issue of Time Magazine that of April 28th, has a very interesting essay headed: How Not to Read the Polls. It is written by Daniel Yankelovich, a long-time and highly respected expert on opinion polls. Please read it. I think you

will find it a helpful reference frame in assessing our own ^{local} /polls.

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- 1) Cyrus Vance Resigns - some implications
 - 2) Japanese PM on State of U.S.
 - 3) ~~CAU & Liberia~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 28, .980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It was a weekend of politics as usual here at home.
political
We had/gun violence and arson, as usual; political shouting and screaming and cursing, as usual; political sneering and jeering and attempts at character assassination, as usual. In short, as usual, many among us did their damndest to make our bad situation worse by accentuating the negative and down-playing or completely ignoring the positive. It is as though some among us want Jamaica to fail in whatever she is trying to do. And so, as usual, we are a house divided against itself. And this is not what party politics in a parliamentary democracy is supposed to be. Indeed, this kind of political civil war is a deadly threat to parliamentary democracy, no matter/which party wins. We either put a stop to this political civil war or it will put a stop to parliamentary democracy in Jamaica. And the churches, or rather, the leaders of the Jamaica Council of Churches, seem to have been made targets in our bitter political warfare. But this should come as no surprise to anybody with a working knowledge of the history of the Christian church. Almost from its very birth there have been special interests and special groups who have tried to use the church and its influence. And where these interests have succeeded in using the church, they have approved of the church. But wherever the church has resisted being used the would-be users have turned on the church and denounced it, and abused it, and, at times, persecuted it and its leaders. So the current

attacks on the Jamaica Council of Churches and its leaders ^{are} ~~is~~ neither new nor unique to Jamaica. ^{It happened and continues to happen} ~~They said it was a unique thing~~ all over the world in places where people want to use and manipulate the church in ^{political} ~~political~~ ^{end} ~~end~~ or in the service of some special interest group. On the international scene the most worrying development following last Friday's disastrous American rescue attempt in Iran was this morning's revelation of the fact that Mr. Cyrus Vance had resigned from the post of U.S. Secretary of State. Mr. Vance, it turns out, was totally opposed to the rescue attempt: he was convinced it would not succeed and would create greater problem for U.S. foreign policy, and so he quit when the Administration decided to make the attempt against his advice. Mr. Vance was right; the 'hawks' led by Mr. Brzezinski were wrong. And one of the things worrying Americans allies is the fact that the man who was right is out and those who were wrong remain in office where they can make more 'hawkish' mistakes. Specifically, they are worried about the hardline anti-Soviet posture of Mr. Brzezinski and where it might lead in the absence of a Cyrus Vance to exercise some moderating influence on U.S. policy. The Europeans know that they would be the frontline, and certainly the battlefield, of any violent conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States: and they do not want to be that battlefield for the third time in this one century. So where do they go from here? Much will depend on what Mr. Carter says and does over the next few days and on who he chooses to replace Mr. Vance. That reported statement by Japan's Prime Minister that the United States is no longer a superpower and should therefore be helped to pursue the right policies will not go down well with Americans.

But the alternative to accepting such help in the making of U.S. foreign policy may well be a weakening and further fragmenting of the western alliance, the thing Cyrus Vance tried to avoid. Goodnight



Abortive U.S. Hostage Rescue Attempt

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast in Friday
April 25, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The news of the unsuccessful American attempt to rescue the hostages held in Iran sent shockwaves reverberating through the world's power centres in the early hours of this morning. And one small measure of the international consternation and concern caused by this abortive attempt was the speed with which Britain, America's staunchest European ally, declared publicly that she had absolutely no advance knowledge that such an attempt was going to be made. Israel and Pakistan were equally quick to declare that their territories had not been used as the launching point. Indeed Israel pointed to Egypt as the place from which the American planes made the ill-fated trip. The Egyptians scoffed diplomatically. I think it is reasonable to question whether everybody concerned would have been as anxious to dissociate themselves from this attempt if it had been successful. There is a saying about success having many parents and failure only one. And President Jimmy Carter seems cast as the only parent of this one. What are the wider implications of this event? And what really happened? What caused the failure? Clearly, the Carter Administration felt that it had to do something. It had tried negotiation; it had gone to the United Nations; it had gone to the International Court of Justice; it had agreed to the setting up of a Commission to investigate the crimes of the former Shah; and all these efforts had not brought the release of the hostages any nearer. It had resorted to economic, diplomatic and political pressure; it had prevailed on its major allies to support these pressures, and just this week the Common Market

countries as well as Japan had announced that they would adopt limited economic and diplomatic sanctions by the 17th of next month unless there was progress to freeing the American hostages. I told you on Wednesday of Iran's uncompromising reaction to this West European and Japanese threat. If you add to all this the fact that within the United States itself a mood of frustrated impatience has steadily built up as weeks and months passed with nothing happening about the hostages you will understand the enormous pressure on the President to do something. His apparent inability to ^{either} ~~maximize~~ free the hostages or 'punish' Iran ^{had begun} ~~xxxxxx~~ to seriously hurt his chances of being re-elected. Mr. Ronald Reagan had caught up with him in the opinion polls and looked like passing him. And within the Administration itself there were those, the so-called 'Hawks', led by Mr Brzezinski who wanted America to 'act tough' and show Iran and the world just what American power and might could do. This, I think, was the mix of motives which led to yesterday's ill-fated rescue attempt. And today must be a very low, if not the lowest point of the Carter Presidency. There are already several versions of what actually happened that led to the colliding of the two American planes and the death of 8 American servicemen. Were the U.S. planes scrambling to get away from Iranian air attack when they collided? That is the Iranian version. But more important what now? Will the Iranians who have warned that they would kill the hostages in the event of any American attack or rescue attempt, carry out their threat? If they do the United States would be forced to retaliate. And if the United States were to retaliate the Middle East will go up in flames; and with one superpower involved it would be almost impossible to keep the other out. These are the seeds of a wider conflict. So let us hope the Iranians will not retaliate by killing or harming the hostages for that is the road to war. Goodnight

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- 1) The Language of Violence
 - 2) Middle East: A Realignment of Forces?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

April 23, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If condemnation and denunciation of political violence could, by itself, stop the violence then Jamaica and Jamaicans would soon be freed of this dangerous and ugly horror. The Prime Minister, our church leaders and, yesterday, members from both sides of the Jamaican Parliament, have roundly denounced political violence. But, of course, while words can trigger a general mood for violence, once the violence has erupted, words alone cannot bring it to an end. And this is why the language we use in our political debate is so very important. Where the language is aggressive and abusive and violent, it makes physical violence that much easier. The seeds of violence are first planted in the minds of people by the violence of the language with which ^{politicians and some others} ~~we~~ conduct our national debates. Think it out for yourself: think of the ^{abusive and} ~~hard~~ ^{often} ~~threatening~~ language which flows from all sorts of platforms almost daily. Even that debate in parliament denouncing violence yesterday had an undercurrent of the language of violence about it. And to create a climate for peace we need the language of peace. So if we are serious about wanting to end the acts of violence then one of the things we can all do is to put a rein on ^{the} ~~our~~ violence of our ~~xxxxxx~~ utterances. It will not, by itself, stop the current violence. That is a job for the security forces. What ending the language of violence can and will do is to create a mental climate within the society which is conducive to dealing with our problems in ^{a spirit of} ~~peace~~. But while we have been understandably preoccupied with our own very serious problems, there have been serious new developments in the wider world which could have a profound bearing on how we manage with

our own problems. And the single most important of these developments is what is emerging as a new power alignment in the Middle East. Yesterday the European Common Market countries decided to set May 17th as the deadline for introducing limited sanctions against Iran unless there was progress to freeing the American hostages. They also decided to reduce their diplomatic representation and limit the size of Iranian representation in their countries. This was their response to the American insistence that they support U.S. sanctions against Iran. The Europeans did not in fact go as far as the Americans but they hoped that this limited pressure would achieve two things: first, persuade Iran to move toward releasing the hostages; and second, persuade the Americans to hold off on such military action as blockading Iran by mining the Persian Gulf. But they did and said nothing about the roughly one million barrels of oil a day which Iran sells to the West. Iran's reaction was swift and sharp. Earlier she had announced a cut-off of oil to Japan. Now, hard on the European decision, Iran announced that she was opening trade negotiations with the Soviet Union. Whatever the West withheld from her she would get from the Soviet Union: and there was the implied threat that she would cut off all oil supplies to the West. So in one fell swoop Iran would give the ^{and her allies} Soviet Union/access to the Persian Gulf and its oil riches, and cut off critical supplies to the West. And then, to cap this shocker, Saudi Arabia yesterday announced that they saw no need for the presence of the British Ambassador in their country. The ostensible reason was because of the showing ^{of a film} on British TV of the public execution of a married young Saudi princess and her commoner lover for adultery. The executions actually took place three years ago. And the British Foreign Secretary ^{had} last week apologised for any offence caused. So the question is: ^{are} they the conservative Saudis warning the West of what will happen if / do break with Iran? A new twist to a simmering old crisis. Goodnight

Political Violence, Economic Sabotage:
Twin Threats to Democracy

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The killing of five people in the early hours of yesterday morning at a Central Kingston dance, which was reportedly a party political fund-raising affair, is the latest round in the ugly and dangerous and apparently escalating political violence which some seem determined to visit on poor Jamaicans as part of the election campaign. And as is becoming routine with this sort of violence the reports of what took place are so conflicting, and so manipulated to serve this or that side's ends that it is difficult to know what is true and what is false. For instance, was the attack carried out by about 100 or about 25 men dressed in military-type black uniforms? We are given both figures from the same source. Which is true? And was the Gold Street Police Station shot up, as reported? The police themselves are reported as saying the station was not shot up. So why this attempt to add further horror to something that is already gruesome enough? It seems to me that we are all of us going to have our work cut out for us/just to keep cool and calm and on top of what is really happening. Doctoring what really happens, over-stating it or trying to suppress it can only make matters worse and contribute to further disturbing of the peace. The people of Jamaica have a right to know the facts, undoctored and unvarnished. But, unfortunately, violence and the manipulation of the use of violence is now/an important part of the party political process. And that is one of the gravest dangers our democracy faces in today's Jamaica. Party political violence and a

multi-party parliamentary democracy cannot exist side by side indefinitely. Sooner or later one must destroy the other: sooner or later parliamentary democracy will put down political violence or political violence will destroy ^{that} democracy. And what makes parliamentary democracy such a difficult system to operate is the fact that unless the two major parties agree to contain the violence and make ^{the system} ~~it~~ work, it will not work. No one party alone can make the system work: the PNP cannot make it work alone; the JLP cannot make it work alone. They either co-operate to make the system ^e work or the one eliminates the other and we go into a completely new situation. And when an election campaign begins to look like a civil war then we are indeed on the dangerous path to this new situation. There are many ways of subverting ~~ending~~ democracy: political violence is one of those ways. Economic sabotage, the use of the economy as a tool of political activity is another, though very much more complex and subtle form in which democracy can be subverted. The siphoning away of foreign exchange out of the country is one of the more obvious ways in which any party in government can be hurt politically, and Jamaica has suffered some massive foreign exchange leakages. If the use of the economy as a political tool is carried to the point of trying to bring down an elected government the danger is that if that government survives such attempts it may turn against those who made the attempt and make it impossible for them to continue. And wherever this kind of punitive action has been taken against ~~xxxxxxx~~ a private sector which was actively politically hostile to an elected government, it has usually resulted in far-reaching changes in the political system ^{em} itself. There has either been a violent swing to the extreme left or the extreme right, with democracy the loser in either case. Goodnight

So which is the main issue for us: the survival of democracy at any price?

- 1) Countdown to General Elections
2) Political Violence: A Special Task Force
3) ~~International Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
April 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If ^{today's} ~~the~~ reports of a statement ~~by~~ the Director of Elections that the new voters list will be ready by August are correct then we are not likely to have ~~general~~ elections before Independence Day 1980. And that means a countdown period of at least four months to new elections. With campaigning hotting up and seeming to get more violent each day, what can we do to keep the country on a relatively even and peaceful keel over the next four months?

Reports are that five people were killed in incidents of political violence between Wednesday and yesterday morning. If this were to continue and /become the norm between now and election day - if we are to have ^{every week} five political killings/between now and election day - then somewhere in the region of at least one hundred Jamaicans could die ^{violently} by the gun or knife wielded by political henchmen. And in the main those who will die will be ordinary poor working-class people like that young truck driver from Clarendon, and the peanut vendor and his girl-friend from the McGregor Gully area, and the two men who were stabbed to death outside Christ Church in Vinyard Town. It is nearly always the poor and the ghetto folk who are hurt and maimed and killed: and if this bloodletting continues until election time, the poor will inevitably be the greatest sufferers. So what are we to do? The churches are, I think, doing their best to bring the party political leaders together to try and work out an understanding and call on their followers not to resort to violence. But one gets the

impression that the political leaders either cannot or will not impose effective restraints on their more violent supporters. And there is, too, the sad fact^{that} ~~fact~~/vi^{ts}olence is seen by some political activists as a very useful tool in the struggle for political power: there are great political dividends if one side can, honestly or dishonestly, pin the charge of using violence ^{on} ~~against~~ the other. I think myself that we can look to the trade union movement for help with much greater hope of positive action against violence. The Unions have in recent years achieved a unity and understanding which cuts across partisan lines, and if they were, collectively and as individual unions, to bring their considerable influence to bear in ^a ~~the~~ campaign against political violence I am sure the country would benefit. I know the leaders of / big five trade unions meet regularly among themselves. I hope that at their next meeting they will ^d ~~ad~~dress themselves to this problem of political violence and to what action they can take to help try to stop it. After all, ^{the welfare and interests of} / all the working people of Jamaica, unionised or not, should be the concern of a truly enlightened trade union movement. So let the ^{trade union} ~~the~~ movement help us deal with political violence before it mashes up our democracy. The short-term important thing is, of course, containing action by the security forces such as was outlined by Commissioner Bill Bowes. What I hope they will also do is set up a special and highly mobile political task force whose main job would be to anticipate and prevent political violence. Let us not fool ourselves. Most political violence is planned. Roadblocks don't happen accidentally: groups of armed gunmen being at certain places at certain times don't just happen accidentally. These things are planned. And planners and their plans can be detected and stopped if skilled and experienced people are looking out for them. But for this the force would need the support of all of us and perhaps the help of the unions to resist all political pressure while they go after the violent ones and their sponsors. Goodnight.

- 1) The Alpart Expansion
2) Unemployment, Shortages, COL

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 16, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The news out of that Jamaica House press conference yesterday that Alumina Partners of Jamaica, Alpart, is to invest some \$100-million in an expansion and improvement programme which will result in alumina production going up by 18% this year^s, and bauxite production going up by 5% over last year's level, is just about the best and most encouraging economic news we have had so far this year. This is hard good news about improving production and increasing foreign exchange earnings. It is the sort of news that is good for Jamaica and therefore for all Jamaicans. So let us all note it for the good and welcome news it is for all Jamaica. And let us note it has nothing to do with loans or hand-outs or crawling under anybody's armpit, or seeking anybody's approval for the posture in which we stand. This is hard/^{good}business. We have the bauxite Apart wants; Apart has the capital and the know-how to exploit it at the best possible return for them^{selves} and the best possible return for us. And this, coming hard on the news that the winter tourist season which ended officially yesterday, was a good one, should dispel the notion which is so carefully cultivated in some quarters that everything is going wrong and that nothing is going right. Mining and tourism are two of our key/^{foreign exchange}~~exporters~~ earners; and on this week's evidence they are not doing so badly, you know. The challenge now is to work to turn around agriculture, especially export agriculture, so that it will play its full part in earning enough foreign exchange to pay for the things we need to import. Remember, mining,

tourism and export agriculture are our three main tradition^{al} sources of foreign exchange earnings. Mining and tourism are now looking good. If we can get export agriculture to perform as well we would be even/~~maxxfixmly~~ ^{further} on the way to earning/^{rather than borrowing} the bulk of the foreign exchange we need to pay for the basic items we need to import.

Mining and tourism are showing us that it can be done, all the gloom and doom notwithstanding. So let us have an end to the wishful prophecies of total collapse. It need not come to that unless we ourselves work to bring it about. And it will suit nobody, neither JLP nor PNP, to tear down the house in order to inherit the ruins. If the house is allowed to be destroyed the hard burden of rebuilding will fall on the backs of the/^{poor} Jamaican people who cannot ~~gm~~ migrate. So let us build on what is good so that the political contenders will have something worth inheriting. And talking about the poor, the thing I find most interesting about the latest set of opinion polls is what they tell us about issues which transcend partisan politics. Today's poll on the economy, for instance, tells us that most people see unemployment as our most serious problem, with shortages of basic commodities as the second most serious. But the thing which has apparently upset people most has been the soaring cost of living. If the government were to take these findings as any sort of guide it would immediately do something about prices and shortages. Indeed, the re-imposition of price controls on a wide range of basic items seems to emerge as ~~perhaps~~ the single most important short-term positive action to take. And it is interesting to recall that for a long time, under both JLP and PNP regimes and before the coming of IMF conditionality, price controls on basic items was an accepted

Jamaican norm. A minor but interesting and revealing point was the comparatively small percentage, 5%, of people who were upset by the so-called 'left policies' of the government. It would seem that for the ^{po}progranda, ideology is not much of an issue for most people. Goodni,

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- 1) Price Increases, Violence, Divisions
 - 2) Confused Signals from President Carter
 - 3) The Liberian Coup: A Background

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 14, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It was a weekend of price increases, shortages, political violence and the type of negative and destructive divisiveness which is depressing to observe. And it is cold comfort to know that things are no better elsewhere in the world. And that war of the opinion polls which I mentioned to you on Easter Monday appears to be with us already, rather more quickly than I expected, and carrying some of the same undertones of nastiness to which political debate in this country has sunk ~~to~~. It must surely be possible for people to disagree or interpret things differently or present figures in a different format without necessarily indulging in 'trickery'. Or are we already into that sad position of total intolerance where anybody whose views we do not like or disagree with is automatically a liar and a rogue and partisan and dishonest and hypocritical? Opinion polls are just that, samplings of opinion. For anybody to try to turn them into some sort of oracular or prophetic pronouncements in which are as exact as say a mathematical equation, is misleading. Good Opinion polls usually are pretty accurate guides as to what people are thinking ^{a given} at ~~the~~ time and in ^{given} ~~the~~ circumstances. Change the time and change the circumstances and the result of a particular poll may itself be changed. Indeed, I suspect we are going to see this very point proven as the war of the polls hots up over the next couple of months. But do they really have to become part of the general ^{political} (nastiness? I think not; and I hope they will not. So, let there be a multiplicity and a diversity of polls. The more the merrier

But what are we really coming to when any ~~Mx~~ elected Member of Parliament, let alone the Prime Minister of the country, cannot move about his or her constituency without encountering road blocks and gunshots? Whatever else it is, this is not the democratic way of conducting our politics; and it is a very bad foretaste of the months ahead to election time. It is up to the people of Jamaica, of all parties and persuasions, to insist that they do not want this violence and that they ~~xxxxx~~ want ^{all} interest parties, political or otherwise, to stop attempting to manipulate the reports of violence to serve ~~any~~ sectional interests. At the moment the churches are the only force setting the kind of example Jamaica needs on this matter. On the international scene two developments are worthy of special note. First indications are that America's West European allies are as a group not/going to follow the U.S. call to break relations with Iran and impose economic sanctions. On the other hand the American decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics may now get the support of key West European countries. And if West Germany and Britain were to pull out others may follow and much of the value may go from the games. And in/~~West~~ Africa the coup which overthrew ~~the~~ President Tolbert ended 133 years of rule by what are known as the Americo-Liberians and descendants of repatriated former slaves, their True Whig Party. The Americo-Liberians/make up roughly 50,000 and they ruled and controlled and dominated the 1.5-million so-called 'primitive native tribesmen' quite as firmly as any colonial occupying power. Until quite recently the 'natives' were kept almost as firmly 'in their place' as ~~xxxxx~~ the 'natives' were/in Rhodesia. And it was, ironically, when this rigid system was beginning to be eased that the unrest and anger of the 'natives' began to show. There were bloody riots last year which were brutally put down. So the coup and the change it heralded came as no real surprise to those who watch these things. Goodnight.

The Politics of Violent Crime

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 12, 1980, 6.10p.m

Ham
Good evening: Because violent crime, usually politically associated violent crime, has become 'hot news' here in Jamaica, especially since the break with the IMF; and since it has become a partisan political matter, the tendency to distorted, exaggerated, overblown, slanted reporting of it has been given free rein in some quarters. The way it comes out at times you would believe that all of Jamaica has been taken over by sinister types toting the most sophisticated sub-machine guns and holding up the entire country. And somehow you would get the impression that this is especially terrible because in an otherwise peaceful and orderly world, it is only in Jamaica that you find these ~~things~~ dreadful things. To be sure, these are dreadful things. Violent crime, politically motivated or otherwise, is dreadful under any circumstance. The only thing that is possibly worse, or, at least, that adds an extra dimension of ugliness to violent crime is the deliberate and calculated use and manipulation of it to frighten and intimidate and terrorise people into panic political responses. And this, I suggest, is what is happening in Jamaica. And in order for this attempt at forcing a panic political response to succeed the whole thing has to be whipped up to fever pitch. And so it is made to seem that mobs and mob violence and defiance of the police happen only in Jamaica. If you follow what goes on the rest of the world you will know differently. There are mobs out there too, and they too break up things and attack the police and shoot up police vehicles. For only one instance, in Southern California on Saturday five bank robbers heavily armed with sophisticated automatic weapons

shot down a police helicopter and killed at least one policeman, and hundreds of police had to hunt them in mountain terrain somewhat like our own Wareika Hills. And also on Saturday, in Scotland in the British Isles, a soccer match ended in a riot which saw over a hundred people hurt and 160 arrested. Just imagine the kind of headlines we would have had if one of our helicopters were brought down by gunmen, ^{if} or we had a riot of that scale in which many police were also injured. And what if soldiers were to seize one of our Ministers of Government or a prominent member of the Opposition Shadow Cabinet and kill a young woman pleading for him not to be taken away? This happened in Uganda on Saturday. And then there were the political street killings of two Libyans, one in Bonn and one in Rome within hours of each other, allegedly because they are opposed to the Libyan regime. And the people who report our own local violence and who comment on it know all this and more. They know that there is vastly more criminal violence, both politically motivated and otherwise, in most other places of the world than in Jamaica. They know that there are areas of New York or Chicago or Detroit or most other major U.S. cities that are more deadly and dangerous to be in than the most violent political hotspot in Kingston. There are, to use their highly charged and emotive words, more 'massacres' more 'slaughters', more 'executions' in most other places than in Jamaica. To say this is not to excuse or play down our own criminal violence, political or otherwise. It is simply to set it in context so that Jamaicans are not led to see themselves as the worst and ^{their situation} therefore the most hopeless. It is part of the business of trying to force a panic political response by making your situation seem hopeless so that you would give up in despair and transfer your responsibility ^{to your own destiny} to those who promise to save you from a violence whose reality they have themselves ^{distorted &} exaggerated. Don't surrender your sovereign rights to ^{to fear.} Goodnight

Hugh Small's Washington Money Mission:
Success or Failure?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
April 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Was Finance Minister Hugh Small's money mission to the United States a success or a failure? The answer, it seems, depends very much on your political point of view and what you may have expected to come out of the mission. Mr. Small says the mission was successful. The critics say it was not. So let us try and see if we can balance it out and list what it did and did not achieve. First, the North American bankers did not agree to defer or delay our payment of the 12.5% of our commercial bank debt which is due for payment this year. Last year these same bankers had agreed to defer payment on 87.5% of the principal owed them by Jamaica and due this year. So Jamaica will have to pay the 12.5% as well as all the interest due. This, we are told, amounts to about \$8-million-U.S. What the North American bankers have agreed to is to continue with the deferral of ^{payment of} the 87.5% of our due debt which they agreed to while we were still under the IMF regime. So the big deferral stays in place 'for the time being' despite our break with the IMF, but we are given no further easement. And, not unexpectedly, they are reported as being unwilling to lend Jamaica any more money for foreign exchange support. So, as long as Jamaica keeps her interest payment on the debt up to date as she has done up to now, there will be no ~~xxx~~ effort to call in the debt and so force the country to default. And this of course means that there will be no seizing of Jamaican goods or property abroad. It is,

essentially, a holding position. It is not in the interest of the American banking community to force Jamaica to default, if there is any possibility of getting their money sometime. It is only if there is no hope at all of getting/your money back that you force someone or some institution into receivership: otherwise you cut off credit and give them time to pay. To the extent that this was what the government was after Mr. Small has been successful. But he has been unsuccessful over the 12.5% and over any additional commercial bank loans. The/~~matter~~^{question} of negotiating the rescheduling of our debts is a much longer-term matter But it has at least begun and will probably still be there after the elections. So what does Jamaica do from here on? If the Washington Post's report yesterday of an interview with Mr. Small is correct then Venezuela has pledged to lend us \$94-million and loans are also said to be promised from Libya and Iraq. We know the Libyan figure is \$50-million; if the Iraqi figure is another \$50-million, it would give us a total of \$194-million from these three sources. And this, by itself,^{is}/~~more~~ more than the sum the IMF would have provided, and the bulk of which would have gone into debt repayment, if we had not rejected the IMF terms. So why the silence on/~~the~~^{these} alternative sources of balance of payments support? When are we to be told? At the moment there is great confusion and anxiety about the government's proposed alternative path. The Jamaica people just do not know what that path is and where it will lead. Some of the more delicate negotiations may in fact demand a degree of secrecy. But it should/^{still} be possible to tell the Jamaican a great deal more than they have been told up to now. Indeed, it seems that both of our major political parties seem determined not tell the Jamaican people what their plans are: and that cannot be good for democracy in Jamaica. Goodnight.

U.S. Breaks with Iran:
Some Implications

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 9, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: U.S. President Jimmy Carter's decision to break off diplomatic relations with Iran, to expel Iranian diplomats as well as some other Iranians, and to impose economic sanctions on that country, has thrown the Middle East into a new crisis, and has caused confusion and anxiety among America's West European and Japanese allies. Mr. Carter's announcement followed hard on the statement by the Ayatollah Khomeini that the Americans held hostage for nearly six months now at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran should remain in the hands of the students until the Iranian parliament decides their fate. There had been moves recently by Iranian President Banisadr to have the hostages transferred from the control of the students to that of his government. And the Ayatollah's statement was clearly seen by the Americans as a decisive blocking of those moves. But having waited this long, why could not President Carter wait a few weeks more? After all, the new Iranian Parliament is expected to come into being towards the end of this month or sometime in early May. So why not wait till then? Here, I think, we must remind ourselves that this is an American Presidential election year, and that Mr. Ronald Reagan is making a very powerful showing as he sweeps one Republican primary after another. It now looks almost certain - barring some major political accident - that Mr. Reagan will be Mr. Carter's Republican opponent in the elections. And in an America where the political mood of the electorate has shifted noticeably to the Right, Mr. Carter may have his work cut out for him if he is to contain the Reagan challenge. The American

economy is in deep trouble and none of Mr. Carter's efforts to cope with the economy and its inflation have so far succeeded and he has come under heavy fire from both Mr. Edward Kennedy and the Republicans. And lately both Kennedy and Reagan have savagely attacked Carter's handling of the Iran crisis. These, I suggest, are some of the domestic pressures which went into the making of the Carter decision to get tougher with Iran. Where it affects America's allies is in the Carter call that Japan and the West Europeans should take the same kind of action against Iran as the U.S. has. Japan clearly cannot take any action against Iran without suffering grievously. Practically all Japan's oil comes from the Middle East, 10% of it from Iran. Without that oil the Japanese economy will collapse. The West Europeans, especially France, also depend heavily on Middle East oil and have stronger trading links with the Middle East than with the U.S. And whatever the other oil producing Middle East states may feel about Iran and its policies, they will actively oppose any concerted Western efforts to punish Iran. So, with the exception of Britain, the West Europeans and Japan are not likely to take any really serious action against Iran. Britain can ~~xxxxxx~~ support Mr. Carter enough to get by because she now has North Sea oil and in a few years' time she may produce enough of it to export some and help so/break the OPEC stranglehold. So it is very unlikely that Mr. Carter's sanctions will hurt Iran very much. Indeed, in domestic electoral political terms, Mr. Carter is risking much, and I doubt whether his Foreign Secretary, the pragmatic Mr. Cyrus Vance would have advised this course of action. As far as the Middle East itself is concerned, it makes a very volatile situation much more so. The so-called moderate Mr. Banisadr has already called on the Egyptian people to overthrow President Sadat, and his Foreign Minister has talked publicly about overthrowing the Government of Iraq. And there ^{are} always the Palestinians in the wings. The Carter decision may just have lifted the lid. Goodnight.

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- 1) The Easter Weekend
 - 2) Unions Call for Price Controls, No Wage Guidelines
 - 3) The Politics of Opinion Polls

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 7, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The long Easter weekend has, on the whole, been relatively quiet and peaceful, with a welcome muting of the harsh political stridency which has become so much a part of our lives. This is not to say there was no electioneering. There is no way in which any one day of our lives can, between now and polling day, be wholly free of some form of electioneering. What is rather unfortunate, I think, is the clear indication that we are not going to approach the hard issue of trying to have our foreign debts rescheduled as a national non-party matter. This, whether we like it or not, is being used as yet another bone of contention in the party political power game. The reason is clear. If Mr. Hugh Small does not arrive at an understanding with the foreign banks whom we owe money the government's position will be greatly weakened and the chances of raising any foreign exchange from non-IMF sources will be greatly reduced. Conversely, if he does arrive at such an understanding, if there is agreement on debt rescheduling, the government's position will be strengthened and the chances of raising the foreign exchange we need will be greatly improved. And so, because elections are coming, and because of the nature of Jamaican politics today there are those who would do/~~anything~~ ^{whatever} they can to undermine Mr. Hugh Small's chances of succeeding. The real catch is ^{this} that if/~~the~~ government were to fail to reach an agreement with its foreign creditors all Jamaica, all Jamaicans of all parties ~~will~~

PNP, MLP, every-other-kind of P, as well as no-P - will be the losers and the sufferers. We may have to pay a very high price indeed in the long run if we persist in making the issue of foreign debt rescheduling a party political election issue. The other note of interest on the local scene was the call by JALGO's General Secretary, Mr. E Lloyd Taylor for the re-imposition of price controls and an end to the wage guidelines and a return to free bargaining between unions and managements. In these calls Mr. Taylor was obviously speaking for more than just his own union. These are calls which have been made from time to time by one or the other of the so-called Big Five trade unions who co-operate with each other. My guess is that the government is going to find it very difficult to resist these calls, even if it wants to. Generally speaking, the workers, especially the lower paid workers, have had the worse end of things during the three year period of the effort to live up to IMF terms. If turning away from the IMF is to have any sort of meaning for these workers, then it must be reflected in some ^{immediate} change in their conditions. Holding and even reducing prices on basic commodities would be one such immediate change; abandoning the wage guidelines would be another. But both of these will depend greatly on what foreign exchange the government can bring in, soon. And finally, it looks as though opinion polls may add a new dimension to this year's elections. We had the results of one poll being given front-page treatment in one paper yesterday. And we had the announcement in yesterday's other Sunday paper that their poll will start appearing as from next Sunday, April 13th. The one published yesterday was taken before the government broke with the IMF and is based on a slightly smaller sample survey than the one promised for next week. Next week's was taken after the break with the IMF. Will they agree? Or will the war of the polls join our other partisan political battles? Goodnight.

- 1) Lay-offs: What ~~Alternative~~?
- 2) World Economic Indicators

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 2, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Last week the Jamaica Omnibus Service Limited laid off some 250 workers, and after a brief demonstration the service was back to normal. The remaining 2,550-odd JOS workers and their unions faced the harsh realities of their situation and did not lock-down the entire operation as they might have done at another time. So we are beginning to face up to the brute necessities of our problems in this one sector at least. Information is that next month, on May first, 175 of Air Jamaica's workers will be laid off. And I suspect that there too we will have no industrial action to lock-down Air Jamaica. The workers, and their unions, know that any locking down of JOS or of Air Jamaica at this point would only make a bad situation worse; and could lead to more, rather fewer lay-offs, if not to the shutting down of an entire operation. This is not how it is going to be in all cases of lay-offs. And make no mistake about it: there are going to be more lay-offs and there are going to be some shutdowns. And there are going to be some workers and some union leaders who are going to behave as though they can strike and demonstrate these lay-offs and shutdowns away. They can no more do so than could the Luddites, the ^{British} machine-wreckers of 1811, stop the unemployment and dislocation of the time by destroying the machines which brought in the new age of the industrial revolution. We are into a similar bind. The old economic values, the old economic assumptions and therefore, the old economic systems, have been shaken and shattered by the ending of the days of cheap oil and therefore,

of cheap energy. And this has brought a whole new world into being. We see it unfolding right before our eyes daily. Cheap food is no longer cheap. The 3oz tin of sardines is on its way to costing a dollar. Some of us still remember that it once cost a few pence. Cheap travel is coming to an end. In another few years only the very rich will be able to afford air travel. And a day may well come when only government officials and very special people may be able to travel by air. In such a world of costly and scarce energy and high and rising prices for ever scarcer and scarcer food, traditional industry and commerce are bound to contract, not only here in Jamaica but all over the world. Indeed it is already happening, even in the world's richer countries. ^{And so unemployment,} ~~xxxxxx~~ lay-offs, cutbacks are escalating everywhere: in the United States, in Britain, in West Europe, as ^{well} ~~xxxx~~ as in the Third World. And the countries which can and do withstand these shocks and dislocations best are those which produce a surplus of food, ^{their people and their cattle} more food than ~~they~~ can consume. Food, the local production of food, all kinds of food - small stock, market gardening, ^{local and} export crops - has been the historical and traditional standby of nations and peoples in times of trouble and difficulty throughout the ages. The economic experts of the Western world predict a much deeper economic recession for 1980 than the world saw in 1974. If they are right then it would make sense for all of us, for all Jamaicans, to begin now to produce all the food we can. Glut the markets with food and the prices will come tumbling down. To be sure profits will also tumble. But we will survive. And those who are being laid off could become part of a great land army of food producers. ^{Do you remember all that talk} ~~This xxxxxxxx~~ about idle lands and idle hands being brought together for Jamaica's benefit? Well, it is one sure answer to our lay-offs and our food shortages. Goodnight.

- 1) The Election Campaign Begins
- 2) The Economics of the Matter

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 31, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If the events of this past weekend are anything to go by then we are in for a really bruising and bitter three months of electioneering before that July or August polling day. And one of the key elements in that electioneering looks like being the rumour manufacturing business - which may indeed become the most productive of all Jamaican enterprises during this period. Have you heard that this or that key 'moderate' Minister has, or is about to resign? Don't believe it until it happens. Indeed, the Miami branch of the ~~fax~~ rumour factory had it over the weekend that a full six ^{already} Cabinet Ministers had/resigned. So be a doubting Thomas when anybody tells you that the Cabinet is about to stage a coup against the government or against the Executive Council of the PNP. One of the ^{drawbacks} ~~problems~~ with this type of rumour-mongering is that it distracts attention from the more serious problems that need to be faced. The most important of our short-term problems between now and the ~~next~~ elections are, first, to get in enough foreign exchange to keep the nation's business going; second, to set about producing as much as is humanly possible of the food we need; and third, to manage the shortages and the lay-offs and the dislocations in such a ^{handle} ~~away~~ as to avoid chaos and confusion. To/~~do~~ these three short-term problems successfully over the next three or four months would be difficult enough in the best of/^{present-day} circumstances: to do so in the context of a bitter and divisive election campaign is going to be much more than

just difficult, it is going to be a formidable challenge. And the main reason for this is the fact that it is ^{now} the economy itself which is the bone of contention, the issue over which the election is being fought. If the economy itself were not the real issue we would have been able to ^{co-operate to} more easily/managed these three short-term/^{economic} problems while playing out our electoral political game. But since the main/^{political} issue is the economy and the direction it should take such cooperation is likely to be ^{grudging and} more token than real. This, it seems to me, is what is going to make the next few months very challenging and very difficult for the government. It has to succeed in handling the short-term problems if it is to have any hope of setting its longer term 'reconstruction' plan in motion. The Opposition on the other hand does not need to worry about the short-term problems. Indeed, if the government fails to handle the short-term problems the Opposition will reap the benefit. But what if the government manages to hold the line? If the government holds the/^{short-term} line and the PNP's long-term plan looks at least like a workable possibility/~~the~~ ^{for} the future, on what basis will the JLP go into the elections? It seems to me that sooner or later the JLP is going to have to unfold plans of its own for charting an economic future for Jamaica. Delay in doing this has both its advantages and its disadvantage. And since everybody and every party is playing politics it becomes silly and pointless for anybody to accuse anybody else/^{of} ~~for~~ playing politics with the country's future. The big thing is to do it with enough of a sense of responsibility not to mash up the game and the country as well. And finally the Jamaican Constitution says anybody standing for election must have been resident in Jamaica for at least 12 months before the date of registration to qualify for election. Absentee and just returned candidates should note this. The risk is disqualification. Goodnight

General Elections Draw Nearer:
But what of the issues?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 28, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: General elections in Jamaica now seem to be much closer than either ~~the~~ December or even October~~xxxxxx~~ of this year. Wednesday proposals by the Leader of the Opposition to the chairman of the Electoral Advisory Committee, and the Prime Minister's Thursday agreement to those proposals, should bring the date for elections very much closer. Always, of course, depending on the speed with which the Electoral Advisory Committee can get the modified electoral reforms in place. Whether this can in fact be done by mid-year, which is by June, is impossible to guess at this stage. The month of April begins next week and to do everything that needs to be done in the space of eight or nine weeks and then still allow the timegap required by the Constitution between Nomination Day and Polling Day would make ~~xxxxxx~~ a June date seem most unlikely. A much more likely possible earliest date would seem to be ^{either} July or August. And even this would depend greatly on there being no difficulties or unforeseen ~~xxxx~~ hitches. But both sides are now clearly anxious to get the elections over and done with as quickly as possible so the point-scoring manoeuvres are likely to shift away from the electoral reform process itself. So the question of the issues is bound to increasingly come to the forefront of the public debate. What are the issues on which the Jamaican voters are to make up their minds over the next three months or so? The PNP has already chosen its main campaign issues, which is the alternative path to the IMF; and the details of this alternative path are to be unfolded to the nation over this coming weekend. The electoral chances of the PNP

will depend very heavily on how the Jamaican people react to the details as they are unveiled; and those chances will depend particularly on whether the PNP has clear short-term answers to some of the really basic needs of the people. Will this alternative path ensure foreign exchange for the food imports we need now? We need next month, ^{after} and the month/^{Will} and the month after?/~~Can~~ it mobilise enough foreign ~~exchange~~ to bring in the raw material without which there can be no ^{Will it ease, now, some of the hard conditions on working people's} jobs?/These are among the hard short-term questions on which the Jamaican electorate will judge the PNP alternative path. And what of the JLP? Is it going to continue to campaign on the popular discontent in the country? As long as the PNP was being squeezed by the IMF this line made sense; it was highly possible for the PNP to lose power on a negative vote. The critical question for the JLP to answer now is whether this is still so in view of "the events of the past few days which have so altered the course of the nation"? Much will depend on how the JLP strategists answer that question. And if they decide that campaigning without a programme or policy is much too risky, what will they do? The danger of putting up the Puerto Rican model is that it is in fact a prototype of the IMF model. Does the JLP have/^{a non-IMF} ~~an~~ alternative path of its own? And what would be its sources of badly needed short term foreign exchange to deal with our hard immediate problems? if it had ~~an~~ its own alternative non-IMF path?/ Or will it, like the PNP, first try to out-bargain the IMF? These, I think, are some of the hard questions that the JLP will have to answer. Indeed, I think both political parties may ^{of the majority} be surprised at the unwillingness/~~of~~ the present Jamaican electorate to follow blindly. Whether they ask these hard questions ~~openly~~ or silently, you had better believe that the questions are there. And they want answers, hard answers not woft promises. Goodnight.

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- 1) More to Come from P.M.
 - 2) The Civil Service Strike
 - 3) The Tanker Drivers' Strike

NEWS/COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
March 26, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: So the Government has now firmly embarked on a non-I.M.F. policy and we all have to come to grips with all the implications of that decision; and some of those implications are going to have to be handled very delicately and very carefully. Negotiating with the international banking community to reschedule the country's debts is one of those matters which is going to require the most careful and the most skilful handling. Which is why it was so very important for the Prime Minister to make it absolutely clear to the nation and the world that Jamaica had no intention of repudiating our financial obligations. This commitment to the honouring of our ^{debt} obligations is clearly a matter of profound national importance, transcending partisan politics. And I think the efforts to reach agreement with the international banking community to reschedule our debts is another matter which should be seen and dealt with on a non-partisan basis.

~~matter~~ All the rest, almost inevitably, will be the stuff of overheated party political electioneering. But then that is the way our system of politics operates. And the coming weeks and months look like putting our political system to its most severe test yet. Whether the system survives that test is going to depend very greatly on the wisdom and judgement and political maturity and determination of the Jamaican people. We tend to talk a great deal about discipline and self-discipline but do very little about it. Or else we ~~mean~~ expect such discipline and self-discipline to apply to others but not ourselves. And it is usually those in the higher social and income

brackets who expect those in the lower social and income brackets
 to show all the discipline and all the self-discipline/ ^{and to make all the sacrifices.} This, whatever else it is, is not the much touted road to self-reliance. This is how we have behaved during the period we pursued the IMF path; and it has resulted in ^{most} grief and misery for the poorest and weakest and most vulnerable sections of the society. If we think that by simply getting rid of IMF restraints and carrying on in the same old way then we are in for further grief and further misery. Take the glaring example of our massive bureaucracy, They took what they called 'positive action' because some 539 government workers, out of a work force of some 60,000 had been served dismissal notices. They wanted these notices withdrawn, period. If you put this in the context of a civil service which, according to the Prime Minister, consumes 71c out of every tax dollar in pay and perks, and whose quality of service leaves much to be desired in many areas, then we are either all totally crazy or determined to destroy ourselves. There just is no way that Jamaica can go on supporting this kind of bureaucracy at this kind of price, no matter who is in power, and no matter what economic path we pursue, and no matter how often we strike. We either come to grips with this kind of economic reality or whatever path we choose will end in disaster. There is no system under the sun which ^{for long} ^{economic} can/support the kind of/madness of more and higher rewards for lower productivity and less service. And no economy, no matter under what social system ~~an~~ under what political direction can for long support a situation where we ^{, or as special sectors,} as a nation/consume vastly more foreign exchange than we earn. Sooner or later, this kind of madness and this kind of situation, leads to where we are now. And you cannot strike your way out of it, or protest your way out of it or demonstrate or politic your way out of it. I am certain we can work our way out of it. The question is: Are we convinced that it is past time to start? Goodnight



PNP Rejects IMF: Why? What Alternative?

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
March 24, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The National Executive Committee of the People's National Party this weekend finally made up its mind about the IMF. It urged the Government of Jamaica to ^{give up the negotiations} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ for the interim facility and to pursue a non-IMF path in seeking to cope with its balance of payments problems. And since the Government of Jamaica is formed by the PNP, and since it is part of the history and the tradition of the PNP - going all the way back to the founding to abide by democratic decisions of the NEC of the PNP/- this decision of the National Executive Committee of the party will almost certainly be accepted by the government of Jamaica. And this means, firstly, that between now and the elections which ^{further} are due by the end of this year, we will have no/dealings with the IMF; and, secondly, that if the PNP were to win the coming elections, it would continue to pursue a non-IMF path. It is interesting to note here that all the members of the NEC - including everyone of the Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Eric Bell among them - voted for a non-IMF path in the long run. The only disagreement was whether this non-IMF path should be adopted immediately or after the elections. And my understanding is that it was Mr. Eric Bell's own sober and balanced advice to the Prime Minister which tipped the scales in favour of ending the relationship immediately. If we had entered into a short-term stand-by arrangement with the IMF we would have had to pass certain IMF/tests every three months. And Mr. Bell had told the Prime Minister frankly that he did not think Jamaica would be able to pass a test dealing with our foreign reserves which was due to come up

by June of this year. And if Jamaica had failed that/^{June}test, as seemed most likely, the IMF could have tightened the screws a little more and could have demanded more concessions before releasing a little more foreign exchange. And another test was due in September, and it too, could be so stiff as not to be passable. And by then, in straight party political electoral terms the PNP, trying desperately to meet and satisfy IMF terms and conditions would have been in a hopeless mess. And the national economy would have been no better. So on the basis of the cold-headed projections of the so-called moderates going any further with the IMF made neither party political nor economic sense. Indeed, I think it can fairly be said that the toughness of the IMF/^{conditions}as well as the minimal performance, and in some cases downright non-co-operation, of the private sector have forced the PNP to move to the left and to end up at a non-IMF position. If the comparatively moderate policies with which first David ~~and~~ Coore and Vivian Blake and then Denny Williams and Eric Bell has been allowed to succeed, Jamaica might not/^{today}~~may~~ have opted for a non-IMF path, and the PNP document setting out the/^{non-IMF}alternatives would not have said of the private sector: "experience demonstrates that they are not prepared to significantly expand production under a PNP government". In this sense both the IMF and the private sector have contributed to the new situation. But how far left? And how feasible the alternative path. A reading of the document which will be published soon, makes it clear that it is still the social democratic left, not the Marxist left. And the alternative is at least as feasible as the IMF path; with the big difference that it is Jamaicans who are themselves going to have to make the hard decisions about their own future, both in the short run up to election time, and in the long run after that. I hope they will choose to struggle for economic democracy. Goodnight

21/3

The PNP, the IMF & Party Politics
Jamaica Style

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This coming weekend's meeting of the National Executive Committee of the People's National Party is, by all sorts of partisan accounts, likely to be a critical one. The PNP leadership is supposed to finally make up its mind about whether the IMF should continue to have any part in dealing with our economic problems or whether the government should pursue a non-IMF path. And as is fairly usual with party politics Jamaica style the key issues are all but buried under a flood of side issues and ideological posturings and dire predictions of doom and disaster if this course is followed or the opposite course is followed, depending on which side does the predicting. So the pro-IMF faction predicts doom and disaster if we reject the IMF course: and the anti-IMF faction predicts doom and disaster if we do not reject the IMF course. And personalities and their future and the resignation of this or that group, and the splitting of the party, all become the stuff of a debate which generates more heat than light as far as most ordinary Jamaicans are concerned. It is the same style of politics that makes a party leader threaten to resign or to take leave of absence if he feels he is not getting the degree of personal loyalty he is entitled to: the issues that may be involved and principles/are subordinate to the personalities and the cult of personalities. And this is one of the great drawbacks of party politics Jamaica style because it makes a dispassionate dealing with the issues that much more difficult. I would, for instance, be very much more interested in that 49-page report prepared by the PNP's Economic

reportedly
 Commission/setting out an alternative to the IMF route than I am
 in whether Mr. Bell or Mr. Fletcher or somebody else, or all three
 will resign if they do not have their way. And I rather suspect that
 most Jamaicans would themselves like to know whether the PNP has
 itself worked out a feasible alternative way of coping with our
 balance of payments problems if it should decide against the IMF path.
 Such alternative proposals as we have had up to now, and propaganda
 to the contrary notwithstanding, ^{ing} some of ^{these} ~~them~~ have been pretty detailed
 and carefully thought-out, have all come from the political Left out-
 side the PNP. The PNP as a party has itself given us no clue. If
 that report of the PNP's Economic Commission represents PNP thinking
 on the alternative to the IMF then we are entitled to know what that
 thinking is. The days when small groups of people decided crucial
 national issues in secrecy are supposed to be over. So let us hope
 that one outcome of this weekend will be the making public of the
 PNP position and the PNP alternative plan. In spite of all the attempt
 to confuse, most Jamaicans are pretty clear about what the IMF route
 implies: ^{devaluations,} a drop in living standard, curbs on wages, unemployment and
^{delcining} production, lay-offs/have all been part of their experience for three years of
 trying the IMF path. And there seems no end to it. And for all the
 pressure to change it, some even now coming from the United States
 Congress, the IMF persists in ^{pressing} its doctrinaire capitalist exploitive
 free market methods as solutions to the problems of poor Third World
 countries. Unless the IMF changes quickly and radically, sticking
 with it can only mean more grief for the poor ^{Jamaican} majority, no matter
 what happens to individual politicians or political parties. The *Time*
 importance and value of those individuals and parties will only be
 measured and judged ultimately by whether they ² succeed or fail to
 lead Jamaica out of the debt trap and toward ^{real} economic democracy. Goodni ^{ght}

- 1) Political Violence & the Rule of Law
- 2) ~~Decision on the I.M.F.~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
March 19, 1980, 6.10p.m



Good evening: National Security Minister Dudley Thompson's statement to Parliament yesterday that the government intends to deal 'firmly and impartially' with the latest eruption of political violence and political tribalism will be welcomed by most Jamaicans. What would be even more welcome would be for the word to be followed swiftly by the deed. In other breakings of the law on the scale of last week's political violence the response of the law enforcement agencies would indeed be swift and firm. But political violence has, unfortunately, become something special which has to be handled and dealt with in this special way with the representatives of the two major parties being invited to meet the Minister, and with the church leaders meeting with the politicians. And this is not a healthy situation at all. Where the rule of law is truly paramount those who break the law are ^{met by} ~~subjected to~~ the firm and sharp response of the law. You break the law by assaulting a fellow citizen: you are arrested and taken before a court of law, and if found guilty, you are sentenced or fined or both. You burn down somebody's house: the same thing happens. You shoot at somebody: the same thing happens. You terrorise somebody: the same thing happens. Those whose job it is to enforce the rule of law do not first check your political connections or whom you know or whose activist you are. You have broken the law, and the law must take its course. And where the rule of law is truly paramount no politician would dare try to influence or intimidate or pressure the

police into doing their duty in a way he wants. Indeed, where the rule of law is paramount without being either harsh or oppressive there is little or no opportunity ^{the kind of} for/party political mischief-making at the expense of our security forces which is such a negative and destructive feature of Jamaican politics today. There can be no respect for the law ^{for} or/the rule of law when those whose job it is to enforce the law are either bullied into bending it for some ~~far~~ politician or party's benefit, or are threatened with job loss or worse unless they turn a blind eye or see and report things the way some powerful person wants. And that powerful person is usually either a politician or some person with powerful political connections. So I, for one, would like to see our security forces given a relative free hand to deal with this latest outbreak of political violence as straightforward law-breaking that has to be put down firmly. Let the politicians get on with their partisan business if they must; and let them, with the help and guidance of the church leaders, come together, if they can, to tackle some of the urgent social and economic problems that nurture crime and violence. But get party politics out of the day-to-day job of upholding and enforcing the rule of law. Security policy must, of course, be subject to the elected representatives of the people: that is our ultimate control. So I do not want any super Commission which is not directly accountable to the Jamaican people. But subject to that kind of ultimate control, the politicians of all parties should ^{stop manipulating or trying to,} and ^{day-to-day} leave the police alone to get on with the/job of keeping the peace and stopping the violence. Breaking the law is breaking the law, ^{only} whether the motives for doing so are political or not. And the/way to end it is to keep out the politicians and enforce the rule of law without fear or favour. Goodnight.

- 1) Political Violence: Partisan Responses
2) Political Intimidation in India
3) The Challenge of Economic Democracy

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
March 17, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend reactions to last week's eruption of political violence in the West End of Kingston has turned out to be depressingly familiar. Each side of the partisan political fence has pointed ^{the} a finger of blame at the other side. Each side has declared its own innocence and proclaimed the guilt of the other side. When the politicians and the partisan activists do this it is bad enough. But when the organs of information and opinion and the so-called/voices of moderation - the journalists and editorial writers and commentators/and the like - go in for the same sort of partisan finger pointing, then we are in serious worries. And the sad and depressing fact is that with the exception of the Jamaica Council of Churches all the rest of us seemed more concerned with blaming whichever we perceived as 'the other side' and with declaring ~~our~~ the ^{people} of 'our' side. ~~our~~ innocence/ And somehow it seems as though the/who have been shot and beaten and brutalised and burned out of their homes are not quite as human as we are. The compassion and concern for them, where ^{is shown,} it/~~seems to be~~, seems to be on a strictly partisan basis, and geared primarily to gaining maximum political mileage. The question is: What about the indivisibility of the humanity of these people? What are we about when we allow the labels and what the labels represent to overshadow the humanity of people? Please don't get me wrong. I do not want to stop the blaming. Indeed, I wish to heaven we would get past the point of ^{just} blaming and do something about the instigators and perpetrators of this kind of political terrorism. What I am saying

is that we will not seriously come to grips with this ugliness until we put the humanity of these ^{victims of political terrorism} /and of all Jamaicans above the ^{overt or covert} kind of party point scoring most of us, except the churches, have indulged in over this latest eruption of violence. Until we do we debase the humanity of all Jamaicans. That this sort of thing is not happening only in Jamaica was brought out forcibly by that news report out of India yesterday about the killing of three Untouchables and the destruction by fire of the homes of another 1,200 Untouchables. Not all the media carried the background to this piece of horror. What happened was that somebody of a higher caste or class was involved in a land dispute with an Untouchable. ^{The Untouchable went to court.} /The law ruled ~~in~~ in favour of the Untouchable and the person of the higher class just could not and would not peacefully accept defeat from someone who not so very long ago was considered less than human. And so, in ^{reports say, a fire} revenge, / ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was started which swept through the ~~ghetto~~ ghetto shacks of the Untouchables in the Indian town of Moradabad in Uttar Pradesh. And three people died and 1,200 were made homeless. *There have been many such attacks on untouchables who insist on their rights* It was hard enough for India's Untouchables to gain political / ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~ixx~~ But they, like all the rest of the world's poor and down-trodden people, are finding the struggle for economic democracy much harder. ^{and institutions} There, as here and elsewhere, people / who will concede political democracy will resist to the bitter end the demands for economic democracy. It is one of the ironies of the Third World that the ~~just~~ demand for a new international economic order is rarely, if ever, matched by calls for a new national economic order which would see a corresponding / transfer of resources within national boundaries as well. For the ^{unorganised & unrepresented} ~~overwhelming~~ majorities in Asia, Africa and Latin America the struggle for economic democracy is only just beginning; and it promises to be much more bitter ^{it} than was the struggle for political democracy. Goodnight

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- 1) Political Violence & Electoral Reform
 - 2) Mugabe Takes Time

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 14, 1980, 6.10.p.m.

Good evening: Political violence - the burning of homes, the shooting up and beating-up of people, the driving of people from their homes - has come back to haunt us once more. And we are only into mid-March, which is nine months away from December which the Electoral Reform committee tells us is the earliest possible ~~at~~ time for the calling of elections under a new and free and fair system. But the real question raised by this latest outbreak of politically motivated violence and arson and intimidation is: just how 'free' and just how 'fair' can any election be which is conducted in such a climate? Let us say we set up the most perfect electoral system that man can devise: we fingerprint everybody; we photograph everybody; we find a foolproof ink that not even the most acidic soft drink can wipe out. Would that give us 'free' and 'fair' elections if party political gunmen and arsonists and henchmen/continue their shootings and burning^s and beatings over the next nine months? I honestly do not think so. And I think both of our major political parties know that no genuinely free and fair elections are possible in a climate of the kind of political terrorism which has just returned to haunt us. So how seriously do they regard this electoral reform process? Do they really want ~~the~~ 'free and fair' elections? Or was the whole ~~thing~~ costly exercise seen and used as just another facet of the party political power game? If they are serious about wanting free and fair elections under the rule of law and in accordance with the

letter and the spirit of the Jamaican Constitution then they will order all their violent followers to heel. And they can do it - if they really want to. And if they will not do it then we might well be moving toward the position where the Jamaican people have to themselves will/turn on the party political gunmen and arsonists and intimidators. For there is no compatibility, no way in which, let alone free/~~and~~ fair, elections, can exist side by side with political violence and political terrorism. Sooner or later the one must prevail over the other: either political violence and terrorism put an end to those who want will/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a free electoral system or/a free electoral system will put a stop to political violence and political terrorism. It seems to me that we are at that showdown point now. Next, and on a very much more constructive and encouraging ~~note~~ and tactically intriguing note was this morning's news that Mr. Robert Mugabe had decided to put back Zimbabwe's independence date from sometime this month to April 18th. In theory this means that Mr. Mugabe cannot start carrying out the sweeping changes he announced yesterday until power is formally handed over to him/^{by the British} on April 18. In fact he will have between now and April 18 to put all his people in place and refine all his plans while the British provide/^{him with} a kind of protective umbrella against pressures from South Africa, and at the same time allow the white Rhodesians/^{many} ~~time~~ of whom would otherwise flee in panic, a chance to get used to the idea of the changes. Some whites are of course firmly determined not to stay under black rule, and they will most likely move to South Africa. But many others may, a month from now, realise that the blacks under Mugabe are not going to handle them as unjustly and brutally as they had handled the blacks and they may end up deciding to stay. And Mugabe can, without compromising on basics, use all the skills and expertise these people have. It is worth a small delay. Goodnight.

9/13

Continued Unrest on Industrial Scene:
A Question of Priorities

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
March 12, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The welcome news is that the Water Commission workers are back on the job while their wage dispute will be looked into by a Special Tribunal. But that is just about all the welcome news we have on a generally turbulent industrial scene. And now we here at Radio Jamaica have become part of the general unrest on the labour scene: and our hope must be that for us, as well as for the entire body of working ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ people now into various stages of tension, disputes will be settled quickly, peacefully and amicably, and without disrupting or crippling production or the services provided. Any disruption of production, any crippling of services, no matter how justified the reasons may be or may appear to be, ends up hurting the enterprise whose production or whose ability to offer a service is disrupted or crippled. And when ^{private} an enterprise is hurt in this way its viability, its ability to pay its way and to earn a profit, is also usually damaged. And it is never in anybody's interest to see an enterprise become unprofitable and run into the ground. When that happens it is usually the workers who are the first sufferers. The workers know this and so the workers are, generally speaking, as interested in the profitability and the viability of the enterprise for which they work as are the owners and managers. Indeed, the workers, especially those who are aware of the political and economic trends in the society, ^{often} have a greater interest in the viability of the enterprise for which they work than do the owners and managers.

An owner will usually have something else to fall back on if his business fails; good ~~managers~~ in today's climate can always find another job, either here or elsewhere. But when a worker loses his or her job, it is often grief because there may not be another one to find for months and even years. So the job and the safety and security of the job is of special importance to the worker. We know all this and it comes out in the struggle against lay-offs. Where I think we sometimes get ourselves into serious problems is on the matter of balancing short-term interests and priorities against long-term interests and priorities. Workers are under extreme pressures right now. The cost of everything has gone up and, generally speaking, their incomes have not kept pace with the sky-rocketing cost of living. The inequity of our prices and incomes policy has compounded this. And then we have the wide variables in standards and conditions of living which are part of the history of how Jamaica evolved. Given all this the workers's impulse to push as hard as they can for as much as they can get is perfectly understandable. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ And the workers movement of today is strong enough and confident enough to get them the kind of settlements they want in most cases. And so when an enterprise makes any sort of profit there is a strong demand to pass ^{all} ~~it~~, or most of it, on to the hard-pressed ~~workers~~. It is at this point that you have that conflict between short-term and long-term interests. This year's profits, if they are not all eaten out, may mean continued jobs/next year and the year after ^{for the same number of workers} and the year after. But if there are no profits left because they have been eaten out, and if economic contraction continues, then there may be a few lay-offs next ^{year}, and a few more the year after and soon until there are more unemployed than employed workers in our labour force. It is all a question of how the workers and their ^{see their representatives} leaders ~~set~~ their priorities. Goodnight.

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- 1) The Labour Scene
 - 2) Graffiti, Violence & Slective Condemnation
 - 3) ~~International Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 10, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It has not been a very good weekend for us in Jamaica. The public water supply remained in an unreliable mess because the water workers remained off the job. So the threat of sickness and disease was an ever-present weekend possibility. There/~~is~~^{was} an uneasy quiet in the public transport system with the unions not attending the meeting set up between themselves, the bus company and the Minister of Public Utilities, largely, I suspect, because the unions did not want to have anything to do with any talks which might result in the laying-off of some bus company workers. And the word was that the lay-off (retrenchment is the fancy word for it)/^{of}some 240 workers would result in/^{the}ultimate saving of \$1.6-million a year from the company's pay bill alone. The catch is that the company has to cut costs and still improve the service to the travelling public, if it is to remain viable, and if it is to compete successfully with the challenge of the mini-buses. If it does not do that then it is only a matter of time before it is run into the ground by the competition, whether that competition is legally sanctioned or not. I would have thought that it was in the best interest of the unions and of their members to be as deeply involved as possible in the/^{efforts}~~planning~~ to cut costs and update the service. They would, for instance, come up with ideas for cost-cutting that would see lay-offs as the very last resort: there are many other things that could and should be cut before jobs. But this demands a high level of responsibility as well as a willingness to make some other ~~sacrifices~~ on the

part of both the unions and their workers. To be sure, they have every right to demand that management and the government - as owner - make sacrifices too. What I think would be foolhardy to the point of seriously hurting ~~destroying~~ the workers' best interests is to think that some sort of boycott or stonewalling will make the problem go away. If the J.O.S. folds, everybody, but mainly the workers, will suffer grievously.

One of the most worrying things on the current labour scene is the ^{in Jamaica} apparent unwillingness of unionised labour/to really come to grips with the/problems and challenges facing and economy under seige. If the organised labour movement does not make a positive input in finding the solution to our problems labour, the working people, may end up as the biggest victims. And that is not really necessary. Next, a word on political graffiti, political violence and our tendency to selective condemnation of these twin evils. If the political violence, or the graffiti - the writing of foul and nasty personal abuse against our political leaders - is damaging to one side then only the supporters and sympathisers of that side take objection to it. The other side smiles smugly and approves quietly: so if PNP/~~people~~ ^{leaders} are damaged by it, only PNP partisans and supporters condemn it: if JLP leaders are damaged by it, only JLP partisans and supporters condemn it. And this has not been just at the street level. Sections of the news media have been guilty of this to an outrageous degree. So the question^{is}: Are we serious about stopping it? Or are we only bawling because the side we support is getting the worse end of it? The plain fact is that the nastiness on the walls is only a reflection of the nastiness in sections of the press, and the nasty talk and character assassination in so-called 'respectable' circles that should know better. In this sense the ugly writing on the walls is ^{just} a mirror of the level of degradation to which the power brokers in this society have reduced our political process. So instead of cursing the people, look inward, please. Goodnight.

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The Industrial Unrest: The Problems of
Equity, Viability & Responsibility

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 7, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: All the indications are that very many Jamaican families are going to have serious water problems over this weekend, whether the strike is settled or not. The reported damage to some of our water installations will take time to repair and bring back into service. And, as usual, it will be the very poor and the weak and those least able to help themselves who will suffer most. The great danger in this kind of situation is the outbreak, especially among very young children and very old people, of gastro-intestinal diseases which are spread by polluted water. So, wherever your water is doubtful, please boil it before drinking. And I pass on this advice to those striking water workers as well. I know if any of them have young babies they would not want any harm to come to their young babies. I hope they will think of the young babies of other people. Of course the vandalism and the sabotage at the water installations must be ~~condemned~~ condemned. But many of those who are so hot and indignant in their denunciation of this sabotage ~~as we have~~ were remarkably silent over greater instances of economic sabotage when millions upon millions of dollars of foreign exchange were illegally spirited out of this country. It seems to me that some of us are much too selective in our righteous, and at times, self-righteous, indignation. When a wrong has been done, when the law has been violated, when the economy has been sabotaged, it is wrong whether done by workers or employers or people in high places. Are price-gouging and double invoicing and illegal currency exporting really any less damaging to the

national interest, any less worthy of hot condemnation than workers tampering with water installations? Indeed this very double-standard may itself be one of the main reasons for our present labour unrest. An incomes policy that wants to hold wages to a ceiling at one level, and profits to a minimum level that is twice as high, and that allows prices to run riot, is an invitation to labour unrest. And to cap this gross inequity the government is now trying to find its way out of its admittedly very real difficulties with the size and performance and cost of the civil service by attempting to go back on the principle of the rate for the job, for that, in essence, is what that circular to stop paying the acting allowance amounts to. When a worker ~~man~~ is required to do a job in a grade that is higher than his own he or she usually takes on a bigger job with greater responsibility which would normally carry a higher salary. The acting allowance was on the assumption that such a worker was doing the job on a temporary basis and would soon revert back to his or her own ^{regular} grade at that grade's pay. The allowance was to compensate for the temporary extra responsibility. Any time anybody acting was confirmed in the higher grade, that person would get the pay which went with that higher grade. What this cancellation would do would have people act in the higher grade but receive only the pay of their substantive grade: which in effect means not getting the rate for the job even if you 'acted' in it for many years. And whatever else it is this is not a principled way of dealing with the problem. If the idea is to scale down civil service salaries then it should be put forward in a straightforward and honest ^{& equitable} manner. Better still, consult seriously with the workers as they themselves propose; and if no solution can be found then take on the unpopular responsibility of cutbacks, but equitably. We are not going to solve our problems by clever manoeuvres; and the Jamaican workers will no longer accept ^{it} discrimination. Goodnight.

which demands more sacrifice from them than from others.



Robert Mugabe's Victory

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
March 5, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The scope and extent of Mr. Robert Mugabe's victory in Zimbabwe's pre-independence elections has come as a surprise to friend and foe alike. Tanzania's President Nyerere expressed it for the one side when he said the result was better than he had hoped for. And the South African press, echoed by some conservative British quarters, expressed ^{it} for the other side, when they said the outcome was the worst of all the possible options. Mugabe's friends had hoped for a victory, of course: but given the system that had been put in place, and given the massive anti-Mugabe campaign from both within and without the country, that hope was very muted. They saw Mugabe winning the largest number of seats, but not an outright majority, not 51 seats. The highest number of seats I personally could see Mugabe winning was 50 and the hope was that he and Joshua Nkomo would combine to form a majority. The danger was that if Mugabe won less than 50 seats the British Governor and the other groups would tempt Nkomo into heading a ^{coalition} ~~XXXXXX~~ government which excluded Mugabe. This, as the British and South African and white Rhodesians saw it was the most feasible other option, 'the lesser evil' for which they had worked so hard since it became clear that Bishop Muzorwa would not come anywhere near winning a majority of the black seats. But for this option to become a reality the Bishop and the other splinter groups had to win at least eleven seats and so give the anti-Mugabe forces ^{a possible} 51 seats. Alternatively, if there was a dead heat, or if the 80 black seats were so evenly distributed

that no combination of black parties could form a majority without the 20 seats commanded by the whites, the situation would be ripe for the South Africans to 'intervene to prevent chaos and collapse'. It was this last possibility, I think, that led to that angry outburst of President Nyerere on the eve of voting when he denounced the elections as neither free nor fair. And I still think Nyerere was right: they were neither free nor fair as elections are conducted in say Britain; there was bogus, there was rigging, and there was large-scale intimidation. And still Mugabe won. So Mugabe won/decisively in spite of all the efforts to make a clearcut and decisive outcome a near impossibility. And this was so mainly because the young people who had gone into the bush and fought and won the war were able to mobilise their people. It is already becoming clear that they are going to grapple with the problems of peace with the same discipline and understanding they learned during the hard war years. Mugabe will because he does not need to not/form a coalition, as one of our papers suggested: it will be a government of national reconciliation. The absolute victors will invite the others to share in the difficult task of nation-building. And that must come the changes/will be made slowly and gradually so as not to shock and frighten. The whites now control the economy. That will have to change but carefully to cause as little disruption as possible. The experience of Mozambique and Angola and Tanzania will help. Redistribution of land is the most important short-run issue. You cannot go on having nearly half of the best land reserved for whites only. This one cannot wait. The ports and harbours of Mozambique are much nearer/^{Zimbabwe} than those of South Africa. And Zambia, now, will not have to deal with a hostile white ruled neighbour to the South: all of which adds up to a great geo-political and economic change in Southern Africa. And the clearcut size of Mugabe's victory is a key factor inhibiting South African military intervention. Goodnight.

- 1) Our Nutrition Problem
2) Some Important Changes
on the International Scene

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The ugliest and least welcome social combination of all is when food is scarce, when prices are high and rising, and when unemployment is also high and rising. And ~~what~~ we here in Jamaica are into that ugly and dangerous combination right now. It is cold comfort to tell us that most of the Third World is into it too. And the fact that World Bank figures show that the quality of life in Jamaica is ^{still} much better than in most other Third World countries does not make a child with a hungry belly ^{- & they are legion,} any less hungry or a man without a job ^{- & they are legion -} any more reconciled to his inability to earn a living for his family. To be sure the standard of living of the ordinary people in a place like Tanzania is much lower than the living standards of ordinary Jamaicans. And the same can be said of the living standards of the overwhelming majority of ordinary people in the rest of Africa and Asia and Latin America. But the people of Tanzania, for instance, have a much clearer understanding of the nature of their poverty and what they have to do to overcome it. And for all their lower standard of living there are much fewer unemployed people who are utterly demoralised or embittered by a sense of uselessness. Somehow the little that they do have - be it work or food or housing ~~income~~ or schooling - is shared more equitably among them. So you do not have the extremes of wealth and want that you see here and elsewhere. What you do have is a sense of belong^{ing}, a sense of common purpose, a sense of co-operation to some end. I thought about some of

these things as I monitored the hot political chat and the clever
 partisan point-scoring of this past weekend and I got the depressing
 feeling that for some, if not most of these political operators, our
 very serious nutrition problem was ^{-if they recognised it at all,} just another tool to be used in
 the electoral power game. ^{The few remaining} Subsidies are being lifted off basic food
 and public transport: but we can easily, and without any ^{question or} disagreement,
 find \$11-million (including some in foreign exchange) to streamline
 our electoral system. The question is: should there be a choice ^{between} between
 spending on
 /streamlining our electoral system or seeing a whole generation of
 our children being given adequate minimum nourishment? If we look
 ten or fifteen years down the road what kind of people, what kind of
 citizens and performers and producers, will this now under-nourished
 generation of children grow up into? Will people ^{who grew up} /stunted in body
 and mind because of ^{gross} undernourishment be able to create that
 society of justice and equity and human rights of which there is so
 much chat? I would prefer there to be no choice because I want both
 a good electoral system and our children properly fed: but if there
 has to be a choice then see our children fed. But, depressingly, this
 does not seem to ^{have} /pose any moral problems for many of those who held
 forth this weekend. And finally and briefly, there are two new develop-
 ments on the Middle East to watch closely. This weekend the United
 States for the first time supported a United Nations vote of ^{of} censure
 against Israel for her policy of building Jewish settlements in
 occupied Arab territory. And, secondly, France's President Giscard
 d'Estaing signalled a change in Middle East policy. From here on,
 France will support the right of Palestinians to full self-determin-
 ation. These are ^{two} /important policy shifts which are bound to have
 profound effects on both Israel and the wider Middle East. Goodnight

- 1) Another Embassy Seized
- 2) Iran: stalemate on hostages
- 3) Respecting the right to dissent

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 29, 1980, 6.10p.m

Handwritten signature and date: 29/2

Good evening: Yet one more Embassy has been seized and its occupants held hostage. So the age-old convention that foreign embassies in any country are not to be violated in any way, has once again been abused. And each time a convention is abused, it makes it easier for the next time and the next. The idea of a foreign embassy being seen as part of the sovereign territory of the country it represents, and being universally respected as such, has been slowly dying ever since the upheavals of the 1960s. But it was in the 1970s, and culminating with the seizure of the American embassy in Iran, that this particular matter reached its peak. And then, on January 31st of this year, the mounting violation of this age-old convention of diplomatic/^{immunity}~~immunity~~ ^{even more} took a new and/~~ominous~~ ^{even more} ominous twist when members of Guatemala's security forces invaded the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City to flush out a group of Guatemalan peasants who had seized the Spanish Embassy in order to dramatise their grievances. That invasion resulted in 39 people dying. The Spanish Government blamed Guatemala for the disaster and broke off diplomatic relations. Under diplomatic convention Guatemala's security forces had no business to enter the Spanish Embassy, which is Spanish territory, unless they were invited. Thus, for the first time, the official forces of a government had violated the diplomatic immunity of a foreign mission on its soil. Up to that point it had been rebels and revolutionaries and so-called students who had done the violating. In Guatemala City it was the forces of the host government which did the violating.

And one surprising thing was the comparatively calm reaction of the international community to this violation. You would have thought that because this violation was carried out by the armed forces of a country, rather than by a bunch of ^{wild} revolutionaries, the U.N. Security Council would want to deal with it. Anyway, the latest Embassy to be seized was that of the Dominican Republic in Bogota, Colombia. The seizure took place on Wednesday and the leftwing group involved is holding a number of diplomats, including the American Ambassador. They demand \$15-million in ransome and the release of 300 political prisoner. One interesting twist which is the talking point in international diplomatic circles, is the question of whether the communist diplomats who went to the reception were tipped off. Reports say the Soviet Ambassador arrived and handed envelopes to the drivers of the Czech, Hungarian and Rumanian Ambassadors. These people then stayed at the reception for some time, and then left. And, say the reports, it was only when the American Ambassador indicated that he was leaving, that the guerillas struck. So no communist diplomats are among the hostages. Were they tipped off to leave early? And can any sort of issue be made out of it? It would be interesting to see. In Iran, meanwhile, the hostages are in their 118th day of captivity without any sign of a quick end to their long ordeal in sight, despite the fact that the Commission investigating the crimes of the former Shah is now at work. Here again it is the innocent who are suffering this cruel and unusual punishment for someone else's crimes. And here at home the unfortunate business of showing no respect for the other ~~person's~~ ^{usually} right to disagree continues. And have you noticed how it is, ^{the} those who make most noise about ^{real} freedom of speech who are ^{at} the most abusive and nasty character assassins when they deal with people whose views they do not like or disagree with? ^{Real} Freedom of speech is a two-way thing with respect for dissent at it heart.

Goodnight

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- 1) Of Threats & Presures
 - 2) I.M.F. & U.S. Policy
 - 3) Subsidies & Taxation

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 27, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: On the front-page of today's ^{Daily} Gleaner there is a news story headed: 'U.S. did not threaten Manley, says the Embassy'. And on the editorial page of yesterday's Daily News under the heading 'US gives Manley June deadline... Forget Cuba or Else...' there is reproduced an article which appeared in the American paper "Newsday" according to on January 23rd, and which ~~was written~~ the dateline was written and dispatched from Kingston Jamaica by one Les Payne. If you have not read that article I would strongly urge you to get hold of a copy of yesterday's Daily ^{News} and read it very carefully. I would then urge you to go back and read today's statement ^{in the Gleaner} from the U.S. Embassy equally carefully. And without wanting to tell you how to think and what to think, some very interesting points do arise. For instance, I am myself rather intrigued at how long it has taken for this story which is of obvious and grave importance to Jamaica, to come fully to the surface of Jamaican political life. Much less important stories in the foreign press about Jamaica have usually been blazoned on our front pages or on our editorial pages: and the more bitterly they attacked the government of Jamaica the bigger the headlines they usually got. But this one was different. 'Newsday' is a very respected and influential American paper and its story appeared on January 23rd. Some Jamaican and American friends in New York and elsewhere were sufficiently disturbed to phone me and write immediately they saw the story. I am sure this happened to other people here too, particularly to people in the news media. So, based on past

experience, I fully expected the 'newsday' article to appear in bold dramatic form within days: but nothing happen for nearly a month, and then it appeared in dull grey headlines on page 12 of a 14 page paper on the 20th of this month. Now at last, more than a month later, the story/^{was}~~is~~ presented in a way which underscored its real importance and compelled that statement from the U.S. Embassy. So please read both the story and the statement very carefully and decide for yourself how ~~it~~ really goes. I don't think, based on the 'Newsday' report that Manley was 'threatened'; so that careful denial is sound. But there is no denial of the direct State Department quotes or of the statement in the article, and I quote: "Besides, the United States exerts great influence on the I.M.F. and according to another financial source, Washington is responding to Manley's oft-voiced commitment to socialism". There is a clear suggestion here of ~~some~~ a link between IMF and Washington policy toward Manley. So, how political is the IMF? And how real the acceptance that it is, and must be the Jamaican people and only the Jamaican people who decide who will or will not government? Is there ~~really~~ any real difference between straight subverting the democratic process by/brutal military force or by economic clever and secret/~~subversion~~ and psychological warfare? In short, is there any real qualitative difference between the way the Soviets and Americans deal with those whom they see as being in their backyard:

and being in their spheres of influence? Or is the difference only in the methods they use to bring their so-called 'client states' to heel? Does the one have any greater and any more real respect for the sovereignty of small peoples than the other? Anyway, read and then think it out for yourself. And finally and briefly, if there is to be a lifting of subsidies on basic items then there must also be a lifting of ^{the} taxes which were supposed to support those subsidies. For the govt to do one without the other is not to bear its share. ^{of the burden} Goodnight
fair

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- 1) The I.M.F. Softens its stand?
 - 2) ~~Ganja: To Legalise or Not~~
 - 3) ~~Israeli-South African Nuclear Weapon?~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This week's visit to Jamaica by the head of the Caribbean Department of the I.M.F., and the apparent understanding reached between him and our own Minister of Finance, would suggest that the IMF is no more anxious to be rid of Jamaica than we in Jamaica, or some of us, are to be rid of the I.M.F. A careful reading of the news reports would suggest that they are even prepared to give way on that extra \$50-million cut from the 1980/81 budget on which the last negotiations broke down. And there seems to be a new mood of concern and enquiry about how we are faring in our quest to raise money from non-I.M.F. sources. So what is it that is responsible for this apparent softening of the previously tough I.M.F. demands? I think there are several reasons or, if you prefer, several pressure points, to which the I.M.F. seems to be responding. First, and most important in an American election year, is the fact that small but influential groups of Americans are expressing grave concern about some of the methods of the I.M.F. in dealing with Third World countries. And these groups are taking their concerns to the American people who provided the taxes with which the U.S. Government acquired the shares which gives it the single strongest voice in I.M.F. policy and decision making. Some of these people were shocked and appalled when they saw the text of that New Year's Day speech to the Diplomatic Corps ^{in Dar-es-Salaam} by President Julius Nyerere explaining why Tanzania had ^a rejected I.M.F. balance of payments support because of

the conditions laid down. It was in that speech that Nyerere asked the now famous two questions which have echoed round the world. "When did the I.M.F. become ~~the~~ an International Ministry of Finance? When did the nations agree to surrender their power of decision-making?" Nyerere could speak out as bluntly as this because he and his people were prepared to face the consequences of doing without the I.M.F. We in Jamaica were not prepared to face those consequences which is why we surrendered ^{ed} some of our power of decision-making in the first and second I.M.F. agreements, both of which we finally failed. And when, after this last failure, the Jamaican Government decided it could not continue giving in to the I.M.F. ^{conditions and} demands, and when it made that the issue on which it would fight the election announced for not later than this coming October, a new situation was created. If the I.M.F. were made the ^{main} election issues, and if the governing party were return^{ed} to power on a platform of not persuing the I.M.F. path, the result would in fact be a repudiation of our present traditional capitalist economic system. And the I.M.F. was not prepared to stand by neutrally and risk this happening. So it had to come back, a little more flexibly, a little more willing to accommodate, in order not to lose this particular 'customer' to another kind of 'bank' and another kind of economic and political systems. And this, in a way, endorses the ^{rather simplistic} view of those who say the I.M.F. uses its economic power to further political ends. I think a more accurate discription would be to say the I.M.F. operates as it does because of the ends it serves. And those ends are the protection and preservation of worldwide private enterprise and the so-called free market system. What that system does to the people of Jamaica ^{or the people of the third world} is not the I.M.F.'s business: that is or should be the business of ^{and the people of the third world} the people of Jamaica. Goodnight.

The Economics of Survival:
Role of Trade Unionism in an economy under seige

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
February 25, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Late last week five of the island's major trade unions wrote to the Prime Minister asking him to meet with them urgently to discuss the lay-off of workers in both the public and private sectors. The letter said the unions had received letters^f from employers indicating that the lay-offs could affect thousands of workers, and that some businesses may be closed. And this is what the unions want to discuss urgently with the Prime Minister. So, I.M.F. or no I.M.F. our besieged economy has now slowed down to the point where ^{many of those} ~~the~~ workers who have been employed up to now are in danger of losing their jobs. And for them, as well as for those who have ~~lost~~ already lost their jobs, the critical question is: What are we to do? And who is to do it? And how? And this one, like all really important and hard questions, is not an easy one. So we tend to talk around it, to skirt and evade it, and to make a lot of noise, as if noise will make the problem somehow go away. But the problem of unemployment is here, and, in an economy under seige it is going to get worse and worse until we face it head-on. So let us ask bluntly Whose problem is it? Up to now most of us have behaved as though it was and / is the government's problem. The private sector has helped out by creating a large number of jobs but at a very high cost in foreign exchange. And one of the reasons for the current lay-off threat is the fact that we do not have the necessary foreign exchange to pay for the raw material to keep the factories ^{going} ~~going~~ which provide the ~~going~~ jobs. That is one aspect. Another aspect is that the population

has been increasing year^s by year; and as the population grows so the labour force, the people working or wanting work, grows. In October of 1977, for instance, the labour force stood at just under 918,000: a year later, by October 1978, it^{was} just under 950,000. In one year, between October 1977 and October 1978, 32,000 more people had come on to the job market. And we did not create 32,000 new jobs in that year. As a matter of fact job opportunities contracted by something of the order of over 12,000 over that period. But there was another phenomenon at work as well. Those people who were fortunate enough to have jobs, and especially those who were represented by ~~xxxxx~~ the five trade unions who wrote to the Prime Minister, or, rather, their unions, were doing very nicely, thank you. They fought for and won higher wages and better fringe benefits^{even as the economy declined}. And they did not seem too concerned about the wages and conditions of the overwhelming majority of workers who were not unionised and who had to somehow survive on the national minimum wage or less. And they certainly did not seem concerned about that roughly one-third of the labour force that was unemployed. Certainly I have not heard of any of our big unions calling for the cutting out of overtime to create a few more jobs for those who had no job; or reducing ^{wage and fringe} a/claim to ensure that nobody gets laid off. It seems that all they are concerned about is taking care of their fully paid up members, and that's it. The question is: Can this kind of trade unionism continue and flourish in economies that are under seige? This is a question that the entire labour and trade union movement, worldwide, is going to have to face as the world economy shrinks and changes. The lay-offs and threats of lay-offs and close downs are not just a Jamaican thing. It is happening all over Europe and even in rich North America. Unless it changes and becomes more socially responsible, more concerned with the interests of all workers not just members, the union movement may shrivel into irrelevance in the new economic situation now unfolding. Goodnight.

- 1) The I.M.F. Softens its stand?
- 2) ~~Ganja: To Legalise or Not~~
- 3) ~~Israeli-South African Nuclear Weapon?~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 22, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This week's visit to Jamaica by the head of the Caribbean Department of the I.M.F., and the apparent understanding reached between him and our own Minister of Finance, would suggest that the IMF is no more anxious to be rid of Jamaica than we in Jamaica, or some of us, are to be rid of the I.M.F. A careful reading of the news reports would suggest that they are even prepared to give way on that extra \$50-million cut from the 1980/81 budget on which the last negotiations broke down. And there seems to be a new mood of concern and enquiry about how we are faring in our quest to raise money from non-I.M.F. sources. So what is it that is responsible for this apparent softening of the previously tough I.M.F. demands? I think there are several reasons or, if you prefer, several pressure points, to which the I.M.F. seems to be responding. First, and most important in an American election year, is the fact ~~of~~ that small but influential groups of Americans are expressing grave concern about some of the methods of the I.M.F. in dealing with Third World countries. And these groups are taking their concerns to the American people who provided the taxes with which the U.S. Government acquired the shares which gives it the single strongest voice in I.M.F. policy and decision making. Some of these people were shocked and appalled when they saw the text of that New Year's Day speech to the Diplomatic Corps ^{in Dar-es-Salaam} by President Julius Nyerere explaining why Tanzania had ^erejected I.M.F. balance of payments support because of

Ash Wednesday, 1980

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 20, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This first Ash Wednesday of the decade of the 1980s, and some of the events taking place all about us in the world, should remind us that in early Christian times the first day of Lent was a day of repentance and a reminder of the mortality of man. In those early days when the priest sprinkled ash on the heads of the penitents he said: "Remember, man, that thou art dust and to dust thou shalt return". Remember man... And in Southern California right now, in one of the most ^{affluent} ~~affluent~~ areas in the ~~most~~ affluent society in the world, storms and floods and landslides are doing terrible damage right now. Earlier today a partial count showed that over 4,000 Southern Californian families had had to evacuate their homes; that more than 100,000 homes were without light and power; ~~that the death toll stood at 27~~; that the preliminary estimate of the cost of all this damage was in the region of \$300-million; and that up to early this morning some 27 people had died. It is a terrible and painful reminder of our mortality, no matter big and rich and powerful or how small and poor and weak. And have you noticed how often this kind of natural disaster which reduces man to his proper size and place in nature ^{occurs} ~~takes place~~ around the start of the Lenten season? Perhaps it is just coincidence; but then again, perhaps it is a pointed reminder to pompous, self-important, ego-riddled man to remember that 'thou art dust and to dust thou shalt return' and without being able to take that fine house or that fancy car or that doubtfully-obtained fortune with you. So on this first Lenten day of

what looks like being the very turbulent decade of the 1980s, remember, man. And I wonder whether President Carter remembered that February 20th this year would fall on Ash Wednesday when he set today as the deadline for the Russians to pull out of Afghanistan or risk the/^{moving or}cancellation or postponement or boycott of the Moscow Olympics later this year. Anyway, the day has come; the Russians are still in Afghanistan; the Olympics are going to take place in Moscow and on time; the one remaining point now is to see who boycotts and what happens to the Olympics afterwards. And today, too, Iran formally approved the names of those who will sit on the United Nations-sponsored International Commission which will investigate the criminal charges brought by the government and people of Iran against the former Shah as well as/^{charges}against the United States for its role in Iranian affairs during the rule of the Shah. By coupling charges against the United States with their accusations against the Shah the Iranians seem bent on re-opening the events of 1952 and 1953 when the CIA stage-managed the coup which overthrew the democratically elected government of Mohammed Mossadeh, allegedly because he was "a communist-associated" leader, and replaced him with the pro-Western Shah. Mr. Carter has now come around to accepting the setting up of Investigating the/Commission before the release of the American hostages; but he says he is not prepared to accept blame or apologise for what happened in the past. Still, there was a time when he said there could be no enquiry till the hostages were released. He has changed his mind on that; he may change his mind on other things too, especially as the charges against the CIA have in fact been confirmed by a Committee of the United States Senate itself. And here at home it seems that we or some of us, are at last beginning to come to terms with the reality of our situation and the fact that we, and nobody else, no foreign sugar daddy, will have to deal with our problems. Goodnight

 Elections, Talk of Elections &
Consequences of Elections.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
February 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Elections, talk of elections, and the consequences flowing from elections, dominated the weekend news both here at home and in many other parts of the world. ^{Voters} ~~People~~ in Canada and in the Caribbean island of St. Kitts went to the polls earlier today. And in the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico Mr. George Bush, a former Director of the America Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA, ^{yesterday} won the Republican Party's Presidential Primary election. This win gives Mr. Bush all fourteen of the island's delegates who will go to the national Republican Convention in July at which the Republican candidate for the Presidency will be chosen. The odd thing about this one is that although Puerto Ricans can vote in the party primaries, they cannot vote in the actual Presidential elections, they cannot directly as do other Americans vote/to elect the President himself. This is part of the ambiguity of the Puerto Rican relationship with the United States, part of the so-called Puerto Rican Model. But, ^{ironically,} the decisive win by Mr. Bush in the Puerto Rican primary now makes him the leading Republican candidate for the nomination. Further afield, in Rhodesia, the electioneering is becoming increasingly more violent and is also assuming some characteristics which are very familiar to us. Yesterday there was the startling news that four black parties, one of them that of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, had agreed on the need/ ^{to form} ~~afix~~ a government of National Unity if no one party won a clear working majority. And this, according to the wire service reports, was the emerging of an

anti-Robert Mugabe coalition of moderates blacks that would have the support of the British Government, the Rhodesian whites and, by implication, the white South Africans. And then, in the early hours of this morning we had the report out of Bulawayo that Joshua Nkomo had arrived at no such agreement. Other aspects of the attempt to pin all the blame for the violence on Mugabe and his supporters came to light when the car in which two black security force officers were travelling blew up shortly after one church had been bombed and bombs were discovered in another. The very strong suspicion was that the security forces were planting the bombs and the literature to implicate Mugabe. Shades of harming your own side to put the blame on the other! Shades of spreading fear and confusion! These things do not happen only in Jamaica. The so-called 'moderates' conniving against the so-called 'radicals' is not an exclusively Jamaican thing. And still further afield, India's Mrs. Indira Gandhi yesterday dismissed nine state governments and placed their administrations under direct Central Government control until fresh state elections can be held. There was an immediate^{opposition} uproar and charges of dictatorship and authoritarian rule. The rub is that this was exactly what the Janata government of the Old Men^{did} after they had defeated Mrs. Gandhi in 1977. They dismissed nine state governments which supported Mrs. Gandhi and gave precisely the same reason she gave yesterday: that in the light of the election result those state governments no longer reflected the wishes of the people. Sauce for the goose - sauce for the gander. And perhaps a lesson for our own electioneering politicians. One serious worry about our campaigning is the unfortunate tendency to drag in and name foreign countries. No matter which party wins, Jamaica will still have to do business with all the countries of the world - communist and non-communist - so cut out the naming and tracing please, for Jamaica's sake. Goodnight.

The B.O.J. Strike:

- a) the rule of law
- b) the fringe benefit issue

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 15, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There are at least two key aspects to the strike which has brought the operations of the Bank of Jamaica to a halt. First, there is the comparatively straightforward aspect that the Bank of Jamaica is an Essential Service, and as such, for the workers to strike in the way in which they have done is to break the Essential Services Law. And when any individual, or any group of individuals, break the law for whatever reason, they ^{risk facing} ~~face~~ the penalties of the law. So, as in the case of the strike of Jamaica Public Service Company supervisors just about a month ago, we must expect the law to take its course without fear or favour. The fact that one of the 'big' unions is involved in this case as against a 'small' union in the case of the JPS supervisors, should make absolutely no difference as far as the rule of law is concerned. ~~It is either that, We either~~ enforce the ~~law~~ Essential Services Law, or we scrap the law altogether. To have a law and to allow it to be flouted with impunity is worse than having no law at all because it invites an attitude of contempt for the concept of the rule of law itself. That is the first and comparatively straightforward aspect of this BOJ matter. The second ^{difficult and} and much more/complex aspect is the whole fringe benefit business. In one of their 'shows of strength' for the television camera some workers taked about two very high-priced cars being bought for the use of top bank executives. And, like it or not, it is an argument that has a valid point. If this kind of money can be ^{found} spent on one car for the use of one individual, and it will be maintained and kept in

full amount of
 fuel for that individual, then the/money they demand for uniforms
 must also be found. The logic behind this is the argument of equity
 with
~~xxxx~~ all its moral and social force and implications. The top brass
 in most public and private enterprises
 / get some of their pay in the form of housing allowances, in the form
 of free and maintained cars, in the form of entertainment allowances.
 And mostly they pay no taxes on these fringe benefits. In contrast
 the workers at the lower levels have to pay taxes on every single
 cent they earn, usually by way of ~~the~~ ^{Housing Trust & Social Secur} P.A.Y.E./deductions at source.
 And when/~~xxx~~ ^{a worker} looks at the very little in/~~xxx~~ ^{his} own hand and contrasts
 it with what looks like the over-abundance in the other man's hand,
 a bitter and angry sense of being wronged comes easily. And so we
 have the often apparently 'irresponsible' and 'outrageous' demands
 and behaviour. The hard truth is that if we do not face up to
 some of the problems and questions raised by this business of perks
 and fringe benefits we may be in for a deal more unnecessary labour
 unrest and conflict in the difficult months ahead. If we run out of
 names for the fringes we demand in hope of increasing our take-home
 pay we may end up with a whole series of 'no-name' fringe benefits.
 It seems to me that one of the things our tax authorities should do
 is to give the kind of/~~reliefs~~ ^{tax} that would eliminate the very high
 level of avoidance by way of perks. They could do this by putting
 a tax-free money value on particular skills and particular pos/tions
 and then not allowing any perks to go with the skill or position.
 We then all have to find and pay for our own transport, pay for our
 own housing, and pay for our own entertainment. We would all be
 taxed in the same way. We would all make the same sacrifices. The
 differences in pay would be strictly on the job and its value and
 usefulness. A sense of equity leads to less tension, less hostility.
 Goodnight.

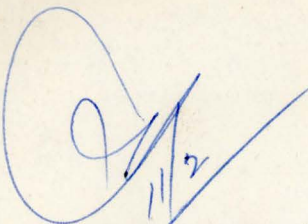
The Albert Robinson Affair: A preliminary
look at its implications for the
Democratic Process

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 13, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Chief Justice of Jamaica, Mr. Kenneth Smith, has now presented his findings on the so-called 'Spy Robinson Affair' ^{matter} which was, you may remember, the first/~~and~~ he looked into in his Enquiry into alleged Government corruption. It is a long report and it is going to take some time to study in any sort of detail, so any comment on the specific details of the matter must await such a study. What we do know now is that the Chief Justice has found that neither the Prime Minister nor ~~xxxxxx~~ members of the government and the police used Albert Robinson corruptly. In other words, on this particular matter the allegations of government corrupt^{ion} have turned out, on the evidence, to be false. And while we await copies of the full report/^{on the Albert Robinson Affair} and the possible serialisation of it in those papers which at the time of the Enquiry served it up to us in daily screaming headlines, there is an aspect of it which/~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{has a bearing} on the foundations of our system of/^{competitive} multi-party ~~multi-party~~ government, which we need to think and talk about. Do you remember those 45 days between September 11 and December 7 of 1978? Do you remember the mood that had been generated in much of the country? Do you remember the steady daily diet of Albert Robinson that came at us from every section of the news media, with one particular section of the print media almost wanting to determine the outcome of the enquiry for us? I think it might be very useful/^{and instructive} for some student doing a Mass Communication course at the university to do a study of the role of the

media in the Albert Robinson Affair in the light of the findings of Chief Justice Kenneth Smith. Please don't get me wrong. The question is not whether the media should or should not/^{seek out and}expose, as forcefully and as dramatically as possible, any wrongdoing. Of course it must do that. The real question is whether any news medium, anywhere in the world, but especially in our kind of world ^{unsubstantiated} should use and manipulate/allegations to achieve a particular end. The difference between ^{some American} the roles played by/journalists in the Watergate business and the roles played by some of our journalists in the Albert Robinson business is the difference between people who build a case on painstakingly checked out fact and those who would use a quarter grain of/^{half-truth}~~fact~~ to build a house of fiction. This is why the judicial process vindicated the journalists in the case of Watergate, and why the judicial process repudiated the case made by some of our journalists in the Albert Robinson affair. And then there is the time that was taken up, and the energy that was dissipated and the money that was spent. Can Jamaica really afford this kind of negative/^{costly} and unproductive activity? If all the skill and drive and energy/^{money} and native cunning which went in to the making of the Albert Robinson Affair had been put into urging people to ^{across party lines,} grow more food or work harder and co-operate more/^{into} helping to end the national confusion of that time, perhaps things would not have been quite as bad as they now are. By dividing the house, by ^{being conned into}pouring so much time and thought and money into diverting the nation from looking after its real hard problems we almost ensure our own failure./ ^{Was that the motive behind it all? And remember} ~~And~~ the Albert Robinson Affair is only one of ~~such~~ many such time and energy and money-wasteing futilities. It is clear that Jamaica's democracy can ill afford this and still grow and flourish. We must either all - PNP, JLP, no-P - stop undermining our ^{by}democracy or it will surely die. Goodnight

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- 1) Politics as usual - Jamaica style
 - 2) Mr. Carter's narrow win in Maine
 - 3) Collapse of North-South Dialogue
 - 4) Rhodesia: What if they kill Mugabe?

NEWS COMMENTARY

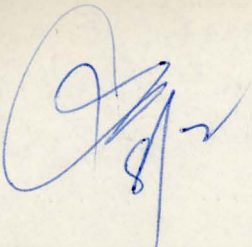
For broadcast on Monday

February 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Here at home it has been a weekend of politics as usual, Jamaica style - which means an awful lot of verbal heat and very little light. It seems almost as though the whole exercise is designed by a sort of deliberate gentlemen's agreement to confuse and mislead the Jamaican electorate utterly. There is an outbreak of political violence and hooliganism and immediately each side accuses the other of either causing the violence or else of perpetrating ^{the} violence against itself in order to embarrass the other. Neither side investigates or awaits an investigation. Each side seems hell-bent on getting its bit of political mileage - no matter what the cost. And this is no good. It is no good because it spreads fear and confusion instead of spreading calm and understanding. And it is no good because it shows a monumental contempt for the Jamaican people and for the intelligence of the Jamaican people. It is up to the Jamaican people to watch it all, and to judge it all, and to quietly identify for themselves those who are the real instigators of violence, and to take this into account when they come to cast their votes. Watch closely, listen closely and you will know. And it is only when the Jamaican people themselves finally make up their minds that they are sick and tired of the politically inspired and motivated violence and that they want an end to it, that it will stop. Remember, the peaceful ones are many and they are in all parties, and the violent ones are a tiny handful and they too are in all parties.

It is a failure of political leadership and of our political system that the violent ones have not been driven out of the parties. It is a failure of the Jamaican society, of the Jamaican electorate, that we have tolerated this ugly destructive political violence for so long. It is a betrayal of our democracy that some among us have tried to manipulate it and exploit it. For Jamaica's sake we must stop it before it stops our democracy. And let us not be conned into forgetting the issues. When they have done with either blaming or defending the I.M.F., when they have done with blaming and denouncing each other, what are their plans? What programmes and policies do they have to offer us? Saying take an alternative route is no programme. Saying confidence and better management is no programme. Let us hear about the positive programmes so that we can judge them on their merits and choose intelligently. And talking about choices, yesterday U.S. Democratic Party caucuses in the state of Maine turned out to be a bit of a setback for President Carter even though he headed the poll Mr. Carter's 44% to Senator Kennedy's 39% gave him a much smaller margin than had been predicted: and Kennedy, for all the magic of the name, is emerging as a poor campaigner. The big question/^{now} is whether the massive/^{bipartisan} support for Mr. Carter stimulated/^{by} events in Iran and Afghanistan, is starting to wane. If it is then the months ahead could turn hard and rocky for the President. On the Republican side Mr.

George Bush is the man to watch. And on the wider scene the collapse in New Delhi this weekend / of the North-South dialogue between the world's leading Western Powers and Third World countries seeking more development aid is, I think, bound to greatly influence the shape and direction taken by the Third World in its search for answers to the twin problems of poverty and under-development. The capitalist West may in fact have written-off its last chance to influence and perhaps guide that development. And finally, ^{for Britain to ponder} what would happen in Rhodesia if Robert Mugabe were killed? *A new Northern Ireland in the heart of Africa?* Goodnight.

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- 1) Squaring Off: the threat of violence
 - 2) Issues, Manifestoes, Campaign Platforms
 - 3) Foreign Lenders; Foreign Investors

NEWS COMMENTARY

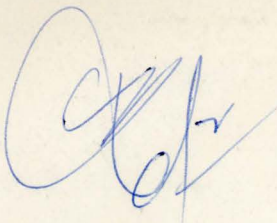
For broadcast on Friday

February 8, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There were reports of gunfire near a political rally and the police had to be rushed to the scene; last night, there were reports of two stabbings; ~~xxxxx~~ there were reports of a much-used main road being oiled: all depressingly familiar reminders of campaign politicking, Jamaica style. The political parties are only just starting to square off, and already the threat of political violence has surfaced. This is ugly and dangerous; it is totally undesirable; and it is totally unnecessary if what we are about is really the genuinely free expressing of their choice by the Jamaican people. Any choice which is made under threat under bullying, under intimidation, or under the fear of these, is not really a free choice. So let us stop the violence and the threat of violence before they get out of hand. For violence and the use of ~~xxx~~ the threat of violence, and intimidation, are as much forms of electoral malpractice as any bogus voting or ballot rigging. So it is very little use our cleaning up the mechanics of the electoral system if we leave the political muscle-men and bully-boys/ threatening and frightening and hurting people into either not voting at all or else voting their way. There are several things that can be done about this. The most obvious is of course the adequate provision of security at public meetings. It becomes more difficult when the various parties meet at group and branch levels, and it is at this point that the hit-and-run type of violence designed to intimidate and discourage usually takes place. If the opposing candidates in a constituency are really against the use of violence they can usually

influence the conduct and behaviour of their most ~~zzzz~~ passionate activists. The trouble is that more often than not the candidates see ~~are~~ themselves as the beneficiaries of a 'little' bullying and pressure and violence, and so they turn a blind eye or play the monkey who 'sees no evil, hears no evil and speaks no evil'. I think in such constituencies church and community leaders should insist on violence free campaigning. The fear that a community might use its votes to punish a candidate whose campaign is seen as being a violent one, could go a very long way to tone down the impulse to violence. So try it please. Let them know we want no political violence this time around; let them know we are prepared to use our votes to punish the bullies and the / violent ones. I think they will get the message fast. Then there is the business of issues. I think most Jamaican voters realise that this is going to be a most critical election for their future. So it is critically important for them to insist on knowing what kind of future each of the parties would shape for them, if elected. Right now they are all sort of dancing around each other looking for point-scoring advantages. Each is trying to make the other show his hand while keeping his own secret. We must insist that all hands are shown: PNP, JLP and any other P - whether it campaigns overtly or covertly. The Jamaican people have the right to know/~~how those who~~ ^{how those who} ~~are now~~ are now seeking to be entrusted with power will use that power. What ends will they try to achieve? Whose interests will they serve? What are the details. The decision on the I.M.F. waiver is due to be made on the 29th of this month. After that all parties should issue their campaign manifestoes as quickly as possible. And let us never forget that ^{with rare exceptions,} any foreign lender, no matter who, and any foreign investor, no matter who, will lend or invest, first and foremost to make a profit for themselves. It is Jamaica and Jamaicans who must ^{take} care ^{of} the ^{national} Jamaican interest. No outside source will do it for us.

Goodnight

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- 1) The Holding Budget: Priorities
 - 2) The Cold War: Iran, Afghanistan.
 - 3) Rhodesia: The Political Numbers

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 6, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: In opening the debate on the Revised Supplementary Estimates of the 1979/80 budget in Parliament yesterday Mr. Eric Bell painted a grim picture of Jamaica's economy under seige. We all know the facts, really, or at least, we are all aware of the basic nature of our problem. The trouble is it has all become and dulled rather blurred/by our ongoing war of words. Perhaps Mr. Bell's stark statement will shake us into absorbing the reality of our problem and into really doing something about it instead of only screaming and shouting at each other and blaming each other for it. We face a foreign exchange crisis; we face a crisis of years of negative growth in the economy in both the public and private sectors; and we face a budgetary crisis. Look at it any way you like; blame it on whoever you like, on any combination of factors you like. the basic problem still remains. And at the heart of our problem is our failure to earn enough of the foreign exchange we need to pay for the things we import. And this is so because we have not produce enough of the things we can export to earn/^{the}foreign exchange. And so we have resorted to the dangerous business of trying to borrow our troubles away. If we had used the borrowed money/^{or the bulk of it,}to increase production and so earn more/^{foreign}exchange it would not have been so bad. But while we borrowed these huge sums of money our economy, in both the public and private sector, showed negative growth - which means going back instead of going forward. And the inevitable consequence of this is cutbacks, shortages, unemployment - all the things we are

now facing. That is the nature of our problem in straight/^{simple}hard
 economic terms. And the answer to it, in straight hard economic
 terms, is to work hard and to produce and to earn our troubles away.
 But there is a political equation as well: who controls the economy
 ultimately controls/^{real}political power. And a key aspect of our problem
 at the political level is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the fact that the Jamaican
 economy is the battlefield of that power struggle. And the new
 priorities Mr. Bell announced yesterday may well intensify that power
 struggle. Power struggles of different kinds dominate the/~~the~~^{three} most
 sensitive and explosive areas on the international scene. In Iran the
 American hostages are now in their 95th day of captivity and indicatio^{ns}
 are that the United States is moving cautiously toward accepting a
 U.N.-sponsored international enquiry on the crimes said to have been
 committed by the former Shah and/~~on~~^{on America's} own role in Iran during the
 long and often bloody reign of that tyrant. If agreement is reached
 on this, and provided the Ayatullah Khomeini says so, the hostages
 may be released. I think it was after the Ayatullah denounced both
 the Soviet Union and the United States with a fine and equal impartial-
 ity that the Americans decided this old man could not be manipulated
 in the cold war and that this was~~x~~ the only way to gain the release
 of the hostages. The Soviets are digging in in Afghanistan and the
 Americans are doing their best to build up in Pakistan. And in
 Rhodesia there/~~is~~^{is} ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ a bitterly desperate and violent drive to
 try and stop Robert Mugabe winning the elections which are now just
 three weeks away. The ganging-up takes all shapes and forms. Ian
 Smith and his/^{white}followers see Joshua Nkomo as the lesser evil. Britain's
 Lord Soames is doing everything to tilt things in favour of Muzorewa.
 The catch is that Mugabe has the numbers. His people, the Shona,
 make up 80% of the people of Rhodesia; and they are behind him.
 Goodnight.

Manley on I.M.F., New Elections,
A Path for the Future

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
February 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: New national elections by October of this year; no agreement with the I.M.F. negotiating team on the terms for a waiver; and the need for the nation to settle on the path along which it wants to proceed and the economic strategy it wants to pursue for the future: these were the highpoints of the Prime Minister's statement to the nation last night. And of course the very first thing that this means is that between now and October - the next nine months or so - are going to be intensely political level electioneering months. And when you consider the already high/~~xxxx~~ campaign and almost endless/~~xxxx~~ of partisan politics and electioneering to which the society has been subjected since 1976, there is natural concern that very little else beside politicking will go on between now and October. And that cannot be good for any country facing the kind of problems and hardships we do. ~~xxxxif~~ Nine months of highpitch campaigning is, in any case, far too long for any battered economy. Apart from the United States, no other rich Western country, ~~xxx~~ does, or can afford to run that kind of long campaign. ~~xxxxxx~~ So it is up to the Jamaican electorate to see to it that the political parties - all of them - do not campaign in such a way as to run the country any further into the ground. Indeed, it does not suit either of our major parties to/~~xxxxxx~~ become the government of a country which they themselves have pushed deeper into division and grief than is necessary. The need to ensure a proper electoral system makes it essential to hold off/^{elections} until October. ~~And~~ The breakdown of the talks

between the government and the I.M.F. following on the recent strident declarations of no-confidence in the government by the private sector are obviously key factors in the decision to announce the election this early. The decision not to accept the I.M.F. demand for a \$150-million (not \$300-million) cutback on the ~~XXXX~~ Recurrent side of the Budget at once meant that there would be no I.M.F. loan drawdown for some time. This in turn meant that the foreign exchange for raw material and debt payments for which the private sector has been clamouring will not be immediately forthcoming. And the essentially political question which emerged from these two factors was: How do we get out of this bind? And who decides on and determines the strategy for getting us out of the trouble? Does the I.M.F. make the decision? Does the private sector make the decision? Does the J.L.P. make the decision? Or does the P.N.P. make the decision? So the coming election will be an invitation to the Jamaican electorate to settle these questions. But if the Jamaican electorate is to settle these questions sensibly and wisely *and in the nation's best long-term interest,* then all the various groups who want to determine our economic and social priorities for us must be called on to tell us just how and by what ~~steps~~ each sees us getting out of our troubles. Only the IMF I think, does not have to do that, because it is not a Jamaican institution. If the Jamaican private sector wants to decide the ^{economic} Jamaican/ and political future and to set out the path along which it wants us to proceed then, like our major political parties, it too must present its case to the Jamaican electorate. For whatever the path which is chosen for the future, it is the ordinary Jamaican ^{who are} people, the Jamaican electorate, ~~which is~~ going to have to walk that path. Theirs is the biggest stake and therefore the biggest risk. So they must question the options closely and carefully. Goodnight.

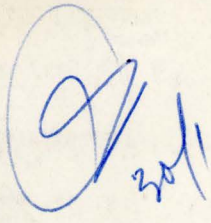
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- 1) No New Price Increases 'For some time'
 - 2) On Monitoring Prices & Supplies

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 1, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: One significant ~~om~~ission from most of the news reports on Mr. William Isaacs' statement of last night postponing new increases on basic food items, was the phrase 'for some time'. These price increases were supposed to be announced by the Minister this week. Instead, the Minister has put off these price increases 'for some time'. And 'for some time' is obviously not the same as, say, for a week or ten days. It is deliberately vague and elastic and could stretch into weeks or months. And I suspect it is deliberately so in order to give no comfort to the economic vultures and to those who would make a profit ^{out of} ~~on~~ shortages and scarcity. So, where they have perishable goods which were being held back in hopes of making a 'killing', they are going to have to bring out those goods or risk losing heavily on them. So one of the consequences we can expect is the re-appearance of those items which suddenly ^{ed} vanish from ~~the~~ shelves when Mr. Isaacs made his original statement about the coming increases. ~~so~~ ^This should be a welcome little ease on two counts for the hard-pressed Jamaican consumer: the prices on basic foods will not go up for now, and what was hidden will be brought out back into the light of day. And investigators of the Prices Commission, we are told, will be out in 'hoards' to see that goods are out on the shelves and sold at the proper controlled prices. The trouble here is that those so-called 'hoards' are very few in number, and some among them are not all that concerned with ^{the} interests

of the communities they are supposed to serve. It seems to me that the communities themselves are going to have to help in the monitoring of prices and the flow of available basic food supplies. The real question is how to get this monitoring started. Bawling about shortages and/^{overcharging}~~high prices~~ and hoarding is all very well: doing something about the problem is what will finally bring it under control. One idea is for that very organised and disciplined and effective Committee of Women for Progress to concentrate its attention for a specified period on the working out of ways in which they and others of like mind can help in setting up community monitoring units to oversee prices and supplies. The basic structures are there already. In rural communities the Agricultural society branch or the local Jamal or the church group could be the centres out of which such monitoring units operate. In our urban areas there are even more organisations in place. So there would be no real problem with structures. The real problem is to work out the details of how these structures could be used to monitor prices and supplies and to have some central point to which they could turn for guidance and help. The Committee of Women for Progress have shown us what they are capable of in their campaigns for paid maternity leave and for a national school uniform at a sensible price. I think they would serve the society well if they were to bring their drive and energy and dedication to bear on the business of helping the society to help itself to monitor the flow and prices of scarce basic food and other items. For it is only when this society gets down to the hard business of helping itself and/^{working}~~making~~ its way/^{out of its}~~in the world~~ troubles, that we will overcome. And for that we are going to have ~~stop the massive waste~~ to replace all the hot chat and hollow promises with just dealings as between ^{one another}~~man and man~~ and ^a fair sharing ^{for all} of what ^{little} there is. Goodnight

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- 1) Petrol: Much Ado About Nothing
 - 2) ~~Coping with~~ Our Shortages
 - 3) On Facing the Facts

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 30, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: At the start of this week we were told that the government was about to bring in measures to limit and more strictly control the sale of petrol to motorists and other petroleum users. Some sections of the news media said that these measures were to come into force on the 1st of next month, which is day after tomorrow. And, naturally, motorists and service station operators were concerned and, in some cases, upset by some of the problems and bottlenecks they saw implicit in some of the ^{announced} ~~proposed~~ measures. And so there was something of a hue and cry and even a reported run on some service stations in St. Catherine. In other words, a community already disturbed and worried and harassed by shortages and ^{the forecast} ~~announcement~~ of shortages still to come was further agitated - unnecessarily this time, as it now turns out. ^{This morning} ~~Earlier~~ this station carried a story from the Ministry of Mining to say that ^{no new regulations concerning} ~~the supply and~~ sale of petrol would come into force until the Cabinet has taken a decision on the matter. So all those headlines, all those news stories all that disturbance and agitation was, for the present at least, much ado about nothing. It seems to me that public figures, and particularly Ministers of Government, should stop and think before they chat. Let us have an end to these disturbing and unsettling announcements until they have been properly thought through and have been approved. No doubt some of these measures will come up in the not too distant future; but we must hope that by then they will have been much more carefully thought through and worked out. What we must all understand

is that going off at half cock and shooting from the hip could turn out to be ~~just~~ the worst way of trying to cope with our shortages. And talking about coping with our shortages, the idea of special police protection for supermarkets is a welcome one. Such a force will keep down the often well organised ^{and highly aggressive} higgler raids on supermarkets where goods in short supply have just come in. And if you have not seen any of these raids they are, believe ^{me}, something to behold. But this is of course only one part of the problem. The other part of the problem is to ensure that the goods which are in short supply and which are under price control are made available as widely and fairly as possible to the Jamaican consumer. And as long as the higgler and the profiteers can get their hands on these things and sell them freely and legally on the roadsides the 'marryings' and the over-charging and the rip-offs will continue. I remember some time back there was talk of amending the law so that all goods which are under price control could only be sold legally by somebody who was licenced to do so. If anybody who was not so licenced offered such price controlled goods for sale the police could seize the goods and arrest the person. What has happened to this very good idea? I am sure that if the law is amended in this way more basic food will be available at controlled prices. And finally and briefly, some people seem to be angry with me ^{over my} ~~commentary~~ commentary of last week Monday dealing with our foreign exchange problem. And yet all I did was to lay out the figures that are to be found in the Economic and Social Survey ^{of Jamaica} for 1978 and the remarks made in the Survey about the performance of the manufacturing sector. It is the figures, not I, that show the negative growth of that sector. And it is the figures which are obtainable from the Trade Administrators Dept. which shows Govt. Providing \$1,500-m in foreign exchange on which the sector earned back \$426-m over 7 years. So get angry and fight with the figures, please, not me. I only made them public. Goodnight.

The Economics of Survival:
Shortages, Profit Margins & the Mixed Economy

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
January 28, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend report out of Ocho~~ro~~ Rios that the Government is to bring in measures to restrict the sale of petrol to not more than \$20 worth a time provided the buyer has less than a half-ful tank, to bring in the odd~~s~~-even system which was started in California something over a year ago, and to further limit opening and closing hours of service stations, brings into sharp focus a number of issues that are bound to become more difficult and trying as our crisis of shortages deepens. And one of the most difficult of the issues we are going to have to face is how to adapt and change and re-order structures which were set up in the first place to^{produce and} handle and distribute and market what was in abundance and what was comparatively cheap. When the large number of petroleum service stations came into being and were dotted all over the Jamaican landscape, the cost of petroleum and petroleum products was dirt cheap and there was as much of it available as you could burn without giving it a thought. And in order to ensure that you consumed and burned all the fuel you possibly could, motorcars and their parts were all comparatively equally cheap. And those who provided the service, the service station operators and gasoline retailers, were on to a good^{thing}. It was almost impossible not to make a very good income from the running of a service station. And so we had more service stations than were absolutely essential, or, to put it in its proper economic context, we had as many service stations as the consumers

could be coaxed or persuaded or conned into supporting in the interests of 'the freemarket system' and capitalist free enterprise. And the free market system and capitalist free enterprise are both based on the abundant availability of cheap consumer goods and services and on the hard competitive drive of those who sell these goods and services for the highest possible profit. The driving motive was profit and the only limit was what the racket could stand, what the consumer could be persuaded to pay and still feel good. This was so, not only for our gas stations and those who sold the cars which companies and individuals routinely changed once or twice a year and which they charged to expenses for tax purposes, this was so in almost every walk of life. Our light and power company urged us to consume as much energy as possible, and our importers helped us to do^{so}/by bringing in all the electrical gadgets you could imagine - from the essential to the frivolous like the electrical egg timer and the electrical toothbrush. Right up to the early seventies, the whole drive was to consume. We shut out fresh air^{and daylight} and built homes and offices^{and plazas and supermarkets} blocks/which ensured the massive use of appliances and the massive use of energy to drive those appliances - all as part of the consumerist free market drive for profits. And these structures and the driving motives which set them up are still in place. And it is these same structures which were created to market^{cheap}/abundance and to gain maximum profit from it, which we are now calling on to conserve and to ration and to hold back and to take smaller profits for the public good. The question is: Can these institutions, can these structures, as they now are, ~~xxxxxxfxxxxxx~~ switch to the efficient and economic handling of scarcities and shortages/without themselves undergoing profound shakeups and structural changes? It seems that neither the government nor the private sector have so far faced up to this question. Goodnight And they are going to have to face it sooner rather than later.

The Economics of Survival:
Community Monitoring of Price Movements

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
January 25, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. William Isaacs, the Minister of Industry and Commerce, is expected to announce a new round of price increases~~es~~ in the coming week. Most Jamaicans have been expecting something like this following on the last OPEC oil price rise. When oil goes up, the cost of energy goes up; and when energy goes up the cost of driving the machines that make things and ^{that} ~~the~~ process food and that transport food and other goods all go up. And so the price has to go up. It is a painful business for the consumer, but it is unavoidable in today's world. What we can do about it, as consumers, is to try and ensure that these price increases are as reasonable and as fair as possible. In the past when price increases had been necessary the whole burden of the price increase had generally been passed on to the consumer, often with an increased margin for distributors and reatilers. Mr. Isaacs is reported as saying that the whole burden of ^{coming} any/increase would not be placed on the consumer alone: each sector involved in the handling of the items concerned would be called on to bear a fair share of the burden. Now, where items are under price control it is comparatively easy to make sure that everybody, from manufacturer down to consumer, bear their fair share of any increased cost. But where things are not under price control it is not so easy. And it is a sad and unfortunate fact, but a fact nonetheless, that there are many among us who will, if they can get away with it, seize on any price increase to do a rip-off job. Some time ago there was

talk of both importers and local manufacturers and processors putting recommended/^{retail}~~prices~~ prices on the very large number of items which we need for commonly daily use and which are not under price control. Unfortunately for the hard-pressed Jamaican consumer this excellent idea was never put into practice. And you know, and I know, just how wildly the price on the same item can fluctuate from one store to the other. The same pair of shoes of the same make can vary in price from between \$30 to \$50, depending on where you buy it. And the same sort of thing applies to clothing and household goods. Just last week I need^{ed} to unblock some drains. The same one pound container of caustic soda, made by the same local manufacturer was quoted to me at \$3.75 in one place, \$2.80 in another, and \$2.50 at a third. And this is price madness of the kind that feeds an already bad inflation. And it is pretty widespread. The question is: What can we do about it? It seems to me that the first thing is for Mr. William Isaacs' Ministry to bring that idea about labelling out of the mothballs and put it into practice. Let us know the cost of manufacturing or processing an item and give us a recommended price at which it should be retailed. Or, if they are shy about telling us the cost of manufacturing and processing, at least give us a recommended retail price as a guide. Once the consumers are given that they will have a guiding tool with which to monitor price movements and so help to contain our galloping inflation. It is all very well ^{for Government spokesmen} to talk about consumer groups and community councils and community enterprise organisations helping to monitor prices. But how can they monitor what they do not know? Most of us are not even sure what the latest prices of the controlled items are. And all of us do not know what would be a reasonable and recommended price to pay on scores of items not under price control but which are basic for the business of reasonable living. So, give us the tools and we will monitor price movements. Goodnight.

- 1) Arming, instead of Feeding, the Third World
- 2) U.S. Presidential Politics

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 23, 1980, 6.10.p.m.

Good evening: The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union is now at near maximum pitch. In pursuit of its policy of 'punishing' the Soviet Union for its intervention in Afghanistan, the United States has stopped the sale of grain to the Soviet Union, has put the Salt Two process into cold storage, has mounted a campaign to have the next Olympic Games either moved from Moscow or else postponed, and is about to supply Pakistan with \$400-million worth of military aid. It is also seeking military bases in strategic points near the Persian Gulf and places like Kenya and Somalia and Egypt and Israel have been mentioned. So we have all/^{or most of} the elements ~~of~~ that go into the making of the kind of war of nerves /^{and of pressures} which is described as a Cold War. Short of actually turning it into a 'Hot' shooting war, there is not very much more that the United States can do to put/^{further} pressure on the Russians. And all the indications are that the Russians are not about to bow to the pressure and withdraw from Afghanistan. And so there is something of a stand-off. And one of the problems for the Carter Administration right now is that it does not want a stand-off. It wants action, it wants momentum and it wants movement. In straight political terms - and the Presidential election campaign began in earnest this week - Mr. Carter must make things happen or must appear to make things happen. He must be seen to be the 'strong' leader, the man in control. This was the image he projected in the early days of the hostage crisis

in Iran. His responses were measured and deliberate and the American people generally approved of the various moves he made to try and get the release of the hostages and to ensure their safety while in captivity. But the hostages are still being held, and observers were beginning to speculate on how long it would be before the American people became impatient and demanded drastic action to free the hostages. Indeed, political opponents who had not dared to do so in the early days of the crisis, were beginning to criticise the President's handling of the Iranian crisis. And then the events of Afghanistan came along. And once again, as they usually do in times of crisis, the American people rallied around their President. And again Mr. Carter made all the measured and masterful moves. But it is very difficult to really 'punish' someone who is as strong as you yourself are. And in raw military terms that is how it is between the United States and the Soviet Union. So what is the likely outcome of the present stand-off? One thing we can be sure of is an escalation in the arms race. The President has already asked Congress for more money for arms, and he will get it. And the Soviet/~~Union~~ will not be slow to match any arms build up in the West with its own arms build-up. Pakistan will ~~get~~ in all probability get much more than that \$400-million of military aid because its ruler General Zia has dismissed the amount as 'peanuts', not enough for restoring U.S. 'influence' in Central Asia. And as the Americans arm the Pakistanis and the Chinese, the Soviets will arm their neighbours. And so, instead of giving the Third World and its hungry peoples the food they so desperately need, our two super powers will compete in offering them arms instead. It is very likely that if Mr. Carter can keep up the momentum of this Cold War over the next eight months so he may be returned to the White House for a second term.

Goodnight

Our Foreign Exchange Problems

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

January 21, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A number of government missions ^{reportedly} are, right now, in various parts of the world trying to raise foreign exchange. And, of course, any foreign exchange that these missions do raise will have to be paid back at some time or another. According to the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 1978, our Gross National Debt at 31st, March 1978 stood at \$1.97-~~million~~ thousand million; and there is a projection that it would rise to \$3.3-thousand million for 1979. And over 42% of that is for external borrowing, for the borrowing of foreign exchange. And the servicing of these external debts right now, cost us something of the order of \$240-million a year and goes up with every penny we borrow from abroad. And so just servicing our foreign debts takes up more than one quarter of all the foreign exchange we earn from all our exports and from tourism. So why are we going on borrowing all this foreign exchange, and where does it go? We have to import all the oil we use, and you know what has been happening to the price of oil. We also import all the machinery and motor vehicles we use and the prices of these have also gone. And we import a certain amount of basic food, and the prices of these have also gone up. And then there is the raw material we have to import for the manufacturing sector. In 1978 we spent roughly \$200-million on Consumer Goods. But in the same year we spent roughly \$788-million on Raw Materials. And if you take away the roughly \$300-million dollars for fuels you are left with something of the order of \$488-million worth of raw materials for the manufact

uring sector. The year before 1977, the figure for raw materials was \$510-million of which \$223-million was for fuels and the rest, nearly \$300-million was for the manufacturing sector. Figures for last year, 1979, are not yet available but a reasonable guess is that they were more than \$300-million worth of foreign exchange. And for this year, 1980, spokesmen for manufacturers have said that they must have between \$300-million and \$500-million worth of foreign exchange in order to bring in raw materials or else there would be massive lay-off and shutdowns. And a thing many people do not seem to realise is that it is not the manufacturers who have to find the foreign exchange. The Government has to find the foreign exchange for the manufacturers and the manufacturers then pay the government in local Jamaican dollar. So the Government's foreign exchange debt, or, rather that very big part of it which goes into importing raw materials for the local manufacturing sector, is a debt the whole nation takes on to support the operations of the private sector. And yet, for all our giving the lion's share of our available foreign exchange for raw material for the manufacturing sector, that sector has performed dismally. In 1974 it showed negative growth of - 3.5%; in 1975 there was a small 2.4% growth; 1976 it was minus - 5.1%; in 1977 - 9.6%; and in 1978 - 4.8%. The brutal fact is that since 1972 the Government of Jamaica has provided the Manufacturing Sector with a total of \$1,500-million worth of foreign exchange for raw materials and all that, that sector has earned back for Jamaica over those 7 years was \$426-million. So while we mortgaged the future of generations of Jamaicans to find the foreign exchange to provide the raw material, the manufacturing sector has shown declining production. The economic Survey say, and I quote "This decline of 4.8% (for 1978) follows years of stagnation, beginning in 1973, and suggests that there has been little change in the structure of this sector which is heavily dependent on imported inputs while its earnings of foreign exchange have not been commensurate with its use of these scarce resources." This is at the heart of our foreign exchange problem. And we've got to face it. GOODNIGHT.

- 1) JPS Strike: What Now?
- 2) What's behind the Latest Flour Shortage?
Baker's Politics or National Politics?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 18, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: 'A nation held to ransom' is how most of us described that strike of Jamaica Public Service Company supervisors which and, indeed, domestic and social brought much of the economic/life of this nation to a standstill between Monday and Wednesday evening of this week. If that description is correct, and I think it is, then the settlement arrived at can fairly be described as the paying of the ransom in order to get our light and power restored. Well, we have paid the ransom; we have expressed our shock and our outrage and our anger; light and power are back. *Soldiers have started training at the J.P.S.Co.* So what next? Is that the end of it? Do we now behave as though everything is settled? Will the promises, made in the heat of our anger, that the law must take its course be quietly forgotten? We have been this way before. Will we go this way again? Appearing on television last night, the gentleman who called this strike did not seem at all really disturbed or upset by the terrible harm that had been done. Indeed, I for one got the impression of someone unrepentantly prepared to repeat the same crippling action if, in his sole judgement, there was need for it. And will these supervisors really refuse to obey an instruction from their employers to pass on their skills to others. Normally, if an employer gives an instruction which is not outrageous and a worker refuses to obey, that worker puts his job in jeopardy. So the question is: Which is more outrageous for this nation to be permanently at the mercy of a handful of workers who have no compunction about plunging it into darkness? Or for the

nation to ensure its future light and power by training others on whom it can fall back in the event of another attempt at holding the nation to ransom? This nation, like every nation, has ^{through its elected govt.} /both the right and the responsibility to protect its large ^{and usually unorganised} ~~majority~~ majority from being abused and exploited by powerful well-organised minorities who are prepared to abuse the national interest to gain their own ends. So let there be a beginning on firm action to protect the national interest. Chat and tokenism are not enough. Next, and still on the national interest but concerning our daily bread this time, what are we to make of the information that by this time tomorrow more than half the normal ~~needs~~ flour needs of our baking industry for this month will have been met? I am told that we normally do reasonably adequately with roughly 100,000 bags of baking flour a month. Therefore, if half way through the month our bakeries have received roughly half that amount of flour, then we should not be anywhere near as badly off for bread as we now seem to be. So what is going on? Is some flour being held back? Are we once again in the business of sectional interests being put above the national interest? My information is that the pipeline had become completely dry over the Christmas period. But since the first week of ^{this month,} ~~January~~ January 4 to be precise the Flour Mill has been making regular deliveries: nearly 14,000 bags on January 4, nearly 22,000 bags on the 11th; and for today there will be a total of 15½,000 bags, 10,000 of which will come through Jamaica Nutrition Holdings. So while there should be some shortage here and there, there is no excuse and no justification for such reportedly vast numbers of people being completely without. Are we into baker's politics, which is bad enough? Or, worse still, is flour ^{and the shortage} ~~now being used~~ of flour now being used as part of our national political power game? Goodnight.

The Latest JPSCo. Strike:
A Nation at Ransom

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 16, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope the industrial madness which has resulted in this nation being plunged into a day and a night and a day of almost total no electricity has now been resolved, and that the processes of restoring light and power are now under way. But whether this thing is or is not^{yet}/resolved, there are some hard issues and some hard questions that we all have to face. When a nation of over two million people can be held up to ransom in this almost casual and off-hand way by a trade union bargaining unit of roughly two hundred and fifty people in what has been designated an essential service, then we must ask: where are we going? And what are we about? Who is responsible? Who is accountable? To whom should the Jamaican people turn for protection from this kind of outrage? When poor people's food - and God knows the cost of food is unbearably high for most - is allowed to spoil, who is answerable? Most businesses can claim some sort of insurance for damage and loss. The hard-pressed Jamaican housewife and the army of low-paid workers cannot. Who looks after their interests? Who protects their interests? So where were the elect of the people, what were they doing about protecting the interests of the people between yesterday morning when light and power first went off, and last night when most of the nation was in darkness. Leave the industrial dispute aspect of it aside for the moment. Why was not some sort of contingency plan to look after the interests of^{the wider}/~~the wider~~ community put in place so that the innocent majority were not made the principal sufferers? This, after all, is supposed to be an essential service which is regulated by law. And

the only thing worse than having no laws to regulate and ensure civilised behaviour in public matters is to have such laws and to allow them to be flouted with impunity. That is the road to the breakdown and the ultimate collapse of the whole concept of the rule of law. And when the rule of law collapses the rule of the jungle, the rule of 'Muscle', the rule of 'might is right' takes over. I think that by not taking earlier action to protect this concept of the rule of law and, thus, the interests of the wider Jamaican community, the government is itself contributing to the breakdown of stability in the society. When the political Left warns of what happened in Chile happening here, one wonders to what extent the vacillation of this government in the exercise of the power and responsibility entrusted to it is seen as a factor. Political vacuums, real or apparent, have a way of inviting political adventurism: power seekers of all kinds and under all systems will always 'try a thing' if they think they can get away with it. Which is why governments which act with firmness are usually more stable. And there is no incompatibility between democracy and firm government based on the rule of law. I think the government was wrong in not stepping in swiftly to look after the interests of the over two million people who were held up to ransom by the roughly 250 supervisory workers of the Public Service company. Whatever the rights or the wrongs of any dispute in any of our Essential Services the government has a duty and a responsibility to protect the interests of the wider Jamaican community. If it does not do that then it is failing in that duty and in that responsibility. This is a basic principle on which this government as well as successive earlier governments have often failed the Jamaican people. So let us have firmness in protecting the interests of the majority and the rule of law. Goodnight.

The Weekend:

- 1) PNP, the Private Sector, the Economy
- 2) Afghanistan: The Plot Thickens

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 14, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It has again been a very turbulent political weekend, both at home and abroad. And, as is usual when there is high political turbulence, some of the more basic issues tend to get overshadowed by the political fireworks. For instance I am very anxious to know what that Special PNP Delegate Conference decided about the shocking and untenable situation in which 71c out of every tax dollar now goes on paying wages and salaries and other perks for our public servants. The brute fact is that this situation has to be faced and grappled with if we are to make any headway in coping with our harsh economic problems. One way or another the ratio has to be changed: that 71% of tax revenue going in wages has to be scaled down. And there are two alternative ways of scaling it down. One, you increase the productive performance of the public servant to the point where production or the value of goods and services provided changes the ratio; or, two, you change the ratio by cutting down the number of public servants. In other words, we either/dramatically/increase productivity at every level of the public service or else we lay-off. It has to be one or the other. To think we can get by without doing one or the other is to fool ourselves and to court disaster. But somehow this important issue has been overshadowed, in the headlines at least, by the politically more dramatic response to the private sector's equally politically dramatic calls for a 'government of national unity' of the best brains; and for the government to call 'free elections' before the end of June this year - or else. And I suspect it is that 'or els

the type of
 that is most likely to provoke/outrage and anger which cut right
 across partisan politics. Any group within this society is free to
 call for elections at any time. That is part of the business of free-
 dom of expression which is one of the fundamental rights enshrined
 in the Jamaican Constitution. What no group in the society:-no
 political party, no trade union, no civic or business association -
 has, is the right to bypass, or attempt to bypass, the Constitutional
 and democratic processes of this society. The Constitution lays
 down the processes and the timing for the calling of elections; the
 Constitution sets a time limit beyond which no government can continue
 in office without violating that Constitution. And these are not
 are not conditions which apply to some of us and not to others. The
 Constitution makes no provision for special rights and special powers
 for special people or higher brains. I sincerely hope that the hot-
 heads in the private sector - and there seems to be proportionately as
 as are many/therexxx/in the political parties - will think out carefully
 the implications for themselves and their own ~~imagxxxxxx~~future of
 any action which is seen by the majority of the Jamaican people as
 being counter to the Jamaican national interest and counter to the
 high principles of the Jamaican Constitution. If they do not they may
 end up doing grievous harm to their own interests as a sector. And
 on the international scene the crisis in Iran and the Soviet inter-
 vention in ~~Aghanisstan~~, and the way in which the Non-Aligned Movement
 has responded to these two very complex and delicate power political
 issues, was an interesting pointer to a future not controlled or
 manipulated by Cold Warring super-powers. If you ~~xxxx~~ want to know
 the real meaning of Non-alignment then follow closely the way in
 which the overwhelming majority of Third World countries deal with
 these two issues, and refuse to be manipulated by either side. *of the big power*

Goodnight

The Economics of Survival:
The Politics of Panic

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
January 11, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The economic hard times are starting to bite bitterly in many cases, though even now there are some who are doing very nicely, thank you. And in spite of the threat of more hardships ahead; of more shortages, and of ^{more} unemployment, some among us are still playing the political power game to the hilt. There is a power game going on in the labour movement, with the situation at the railway being a classic example of people on a sinking ship battling it out to decide who will be the top dog as the ship goes down. And if the union leaders do not come to their sense about the Impact Programme, they may very well ensure the scrapping of that programme which will only further swell the ranks of the unemployed. It seems that we have forgotten that the Impact Programme was started in the first place as essentially a social programme to ^{help} ease unemployment. If we are now institutionalising it as a unionised and largely unproductive branch of the civil service then we are really inviting disaster. How can it benefit either the impact workers or the trade union ^{movement} to have this programme shut down because the government cannot meet their demands? A few years back we near-killed the building industry because of outrageous union demands and equally outrageous arbitration awards. Have we really learnt nothing from this? Are we learning nothing from the lay-offs and the threats of lay-offs that are all about us? And then there is the politics of panic which is now being played to the hilt by some employer groups. When somebody tells you that even if we could order raw material tomorrow it is still too late, what are they really saying? What are they saying.

what are they trying to achieve when they pose our very hard foreign exchange problems in terms of 'Should people eat, or should we pay our foreign debts'? If it really is too late, then what/~~is~~ ^{are the manufacturers making} all the fuss about? And you know, and I know, that if you have the land and if you have the will to work the land, then people can and will eat and we can still pay our foreign debts. So these extreme options are false, really. And I think those who pose them in these/^{extreme} terms know they are false. The thing about panic, the thing about the politics of panic, is that it frightens people into being irrational and behaving irrationally. When people are frightened they stop thinking calmly. And when the fear is stepped up to the point of panic people can become totally unreasonable. And people who are frightened into a state of unreasonableness are much more easily/^{influenced} and manipulated and used and 'steered' in the direction the manipulators want them to go. The story of mankind is riddled with the use of the politics of panic to foment race hatred. The Jews in Hitler's Germany is one example; colour prejudice is another; the fear of ideas - whether capitalist or communist, or Christian or Muslim - is another. And people like Hitler and Mussolini were past masters at it. But they were not the only ones and they were part of a long history of men who used the politics of panic to manipulate power. The opposite to this was the great American President Franklin Roosevelt who in America's darkest days of the Great Depression when American self-confidence was at its lowest ebb told his people 'We have nothing to fear except fear itself'. Fear, blind, unreasoning fear can be a terrible weapon with which to undermine the self-confidence of a people so that they come to believe that everything is hopeless and the only way is to put their power into the impartial hands of superior brains. The fact is the people can overcome their problems without giving up their power. But they are going to have drive their leaders.

^{themselves & chosen}

The Economics of Survival:
A Nation of Higglers &
Screwdriver Operators

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 9, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The question is: Can a Third World country which functions essentially as a nation of higglers and screwdriver operators, survive in today's harsh economic climate? If you look at what goes on in Jamaica today it is very hard to escape the strong impression that there are many people who still feel that we can get by on that basis. Consider some of the facts. The price of petrol goes up and the men in the middle demand an improvement in their margin. Shocking cooking gas increases are sneaked on us without explanation or justification and our almost automatic reaction based on past experience of being taken by the middlemen is to look for the hidden rip-off. We accept as a fact of life the reality of the higgler mentality translated into apparently high-class and sophisticated business practice. Let me try and dramatise our problem with ^{what} I saw yesterday and which I am sure people living in our main towns see every day, in one form or another. It was outside a supermarket and a man was sitting near the door with a little box turned into a table in front of him. On the box he had four packs of 20s of a well known brand of cigarettes, and he was selling the cigarettes one-one at ten cents each. He was a big and strapping and strong man; the kind who in other circumstances would be a robust productive worker. And he knew and admitted that he was ripping-off the public. But his justification was that he himself was the victim of massive rip-offs in food, clothing, shelter, fuel, everything. Everybody, or almost everybody, invests a dollar buying something and sells it for \$2 or more, depending on what the racket can take. The big shops

and the little shops do it just as much as the higgler on the rare and sidewalks do it. And with/honourable exception^s, our merchants and manufacturers do it too. You may recall Mr. Shearer recently talking about the staggering price differential on the same item sold in New York or Toronto compared with the price for it here. And it is ^{usually} not/those who produce the item, if it is produced or put together locally, who get the biggest share of the inflated price. It is usually the middle man or woman, the higgler big or small. And so it ends up being more profitable to be a higgler than it is to be a producer. You do not sweat to produce; you take little or no risks; and when somebody else has done the producing and the taking of the risk, you come in as the middle man and cream off the best. And you flourish best in conditions of shortages and scarcity. The screw-driving aspect is a variation on the higgler mentality, more sophisticated and more high-toned but of the same basic origins. The 'factories' which ^{are justified} ~~provide~~ by the fact that they provide jobs are usually net consumers of foreign exchange and end up helping to get us deeper and deeper into the foreign debt trap because they are based on imported raw material. And when other people see this higgler mentality at work, and see how wonderfully it enriches and rewards those who live by it, they say why not me. And the whole rotten thing becomes catching. So while production declines workers' unions demand more pay and perks. After all other people in other walks of life are getting more for doing or producing less, so why not the workers? Why shouldn't the Impact Programme workers demand the same rate increase as civil servants? Who worries about whether they work or not if highly placed and highly paid people can spend half the day leaning on bars instead of shovels? The question is: Can Jamaica survive as a nation of higgler and screwdriver operators? The answer is up to Jamaicans really, but first they must face the question. Goodnight.

The Weekend:

- 1) Afghanistan; 2) Iran & Mr. Carter
- 2) The Return of Indira Gandhi
- 3) Testing Time for Jamaican Democracy

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 7, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The weekend news has been rich, varied and, at times, disturbing - both at home and abroad. The two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are now firmly locked into the new phase of their deadly chess game of power with the nations of central Asia and the Middle East as the latest pawns. And again, as so often in the past, their power game is accompanied by a terrible flow of arms to the pawns. And there never is any guarantee that the arms will be used only as the great ~~gixxxx~~ suppliers intended them to be. Remember that Vietnam today is one of the best armed countries in the world precisely because the United States supplied mountains of arms to those opposed to the people now in power in Vietnam. So we can fairly say that the ~~present~~ Vietnamese army is as strong and well-armed as it is thanks to the arms supplied by the United States. This was of course not the intention, but this is how it worked out. Similarly, those sub-machine gun-toting students holding those hostages in Iran are armed to the teeth/precisely because the United States supplied all those mountains of arms to the former Shah. The Soviets, too, have had their share of this kind of experience in places like Egypt and Somalia and elsewhere. The arms they supplied at times ended up being used against the causes and interestss they favoured and at times against their own people. President Carter's reported decision to supply arms to Pakistan as one of his reprisals against the Soviets for their intervention ~~axxxx~~ in Afghanistan may end up being as counter-productive of long-

term American self-interest ~~was~~ as was the arming of South Vietnam and of the former Shah of Iran. And the Pakistan dictator's hold on power is nowhere near as firm as was the Shah's at one time. Certainly, with Mrs. Indira Gandhi back in power in India the Pakistan dictatorship may have its hands full just surviving against popular pressures for a return to democratic government. And what a ~~return~~ Mrs. Gandhi has achieved! Do you remember all those political obituaries carried by the Western press a little over two years ago? The fall of a dictator; democracy saved; end of the worst corruption in India's political history... and so on and so on? If it were up to the United States and Britain and their European allies, Mrs. Gandhi would have ~~no~~ hope of ever returning or being allowed to return to power; she would have no hope if it were up to the Western news services, or the the multi-national investors, or even up to India own business leaders. All these had, for reasons of their own, written her off as the nearest thing to the sister of the devil. But democracy, multi-party parliamentary democracy is above everything else government by the freely expressed ~~and~~ choice of a majority of the people of a country. The Indian people, not the special interest groups or the foreign powers or the media, rejected Mrs. Gandhi in 1977 and ^{the Indians} returned her to power again yesterday. The lesson in this for us and for the entire Third World is that the people must never allow themselves to be conned or persuaded or frightened into giving up this power ^{of choice} to anybody else. Always, the power to choose or to reject those who form the government must remain in the hands of the people. So whenever you hear talk about coalitions or about entrusting the solving of our problems to higher brains or impartial hands, check out whether you have ^{and whether you} ~~or~~ will have any control over these ^{higher brains & impartial hands} people. If you cannot elect or reject them you have no control. Because things are ^{very} hard ^{right now} it is ^{going to be} easier for people to use tempting promise to rob you of this control. Watch it. Jamaican democracy is at stake.

goodnight

The Economics of Survival:
A Question of Attitudes

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
January 4, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The first effects ~~mf~~ for the New Year of our continuing inflation, with its consequences of rising prices and periodic shortages is already being felt sharply at the end of the first week of 1980. Because of the sugar price increase the price of soft drinks and syrup are both up and it is only a matter of time before prices go up on all other sugar based products. The petrol increase is to come; and the bakers are reportedly getting ready to press for bread price increases. And of course, when petrol goes up, everything else that is based on the use of petrol or of any other form of fuel oil, will also go up. So the outlook, especially for the first quarter of this year, is a grim one. Nothing new there: we all know this: we are all gearing for it. What I think we might usefully do in our preparing for what lies ahead is to take a searching inward look at ourselves as a society and at some prevailing attitudes ~~mx~~ which will have a profound bearing on how we stand up to the problems and challenges of the next few months. So let us look at a few hard practical realities: Basic items like flour, rice, cornmeal, ^{soap,} /may be in short supply from time to time. And when these things are in short supply the wholesale distributors ration them out to the small shopkeepers who serve the small towns and villages and little hamlets up and down this island. This rationing by the distributors is, generally speaking, a good way of making sure that what is available is shared as widely as possible. What is not so good is the fact that these wholesale distributors use the shortage as an excuse for 'marrying' say, a bag of rice, with a

case of ^{canned} fruit or carrot juice or with some syrup or whatever else the distributor wants to sell off. Now, the small shopkeeper may come from a poor district where the people cannot afford to buy syrup or canned juices. But if that is the only way he can get his bag of rice or cornmeal or flour or his case of soap, he must either take the 'married' goods or return empty-handed to his community. And if he, at the village or community level, tries to 'marry' the pound or half pound of rice he sells with a tin of juice, the community (of which he is an integral part) may turn on him in anger. And so, right now, before the shortages are acute, there are little village shops all over the country without rice or cornmeal or flour or soap. And where they do buy the 'married' things and try to sell them in the same way, the prices ^{commission} people pounce and we hear and read those reports about small shopkeepers being fined. The 'marring' starts at the top and I hope Mr. William Isaacs will stop it at the top so that what is available can reach our village shops. Here the problem is the attitudes of the big distributors. Then we have the situation where the staffs of the supermarkets and other big retail outlets first take for themselves all that they want ^{of some item in short supply}, and then take care of their special friends, and only then put what is left of ^{the} some ~~scarce~~ commodity out on the shelves for the rest of us to scramble over. Often, a comparatively small staff will take for itself one-quarter to one-third of some item in short supply while hundreds and thousands of customers have to do without. This happens mainly in the supermarket chains where management is often remote. Owner-operated supermarkets, like small family-run shops have a higher sense of community responsibility about sharing as equitably as possible. I think Mr. Isaacs should persuade supermarket chains ^{to} allocate fixed percentages of items in short supply to their staffs, and release the rest as fairly as possible. It could make all the difference to how we cope over the next three hard months. Goodnight.

The International Scene in 1980:
A Perspective

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 2, 1980, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The directions, the trends and the issues which are likely to dominate the world political and economic scene in 1980 have already begun to take shape. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the almost overheated reaction to it by the United States tells us very clearly that this is going to be a year of heightened East-West tensions, a year of stepped-up Cold War politics. Now, Afghanistan is literally at the other end of the earth in relation to the United States. It is far up in largely desolate mountainous country where the Hindu Kush mountains are over 20,000 feet high and run almost the whole length of the country. It has no known deposits of oil but it does have deposits of gold, copper, lead, iron and coal. It is not a rich or developed country. And the man whose overthrow with the help of the Soviet Union sparked the present uproar had himself overthrown and/killed the man who was there before him. So this was a coup to replace a coup which replaced a previous coup. And the Soviets had exerted some influence in both of the earlier coups. And each of these coups was allegedly leftist in character. So it is not a case of this latest coup overthrowing a more democratic regime or an elected government. The big difference this time around is the large-scale involvement of elements of the Soviet army. And it is this open involvement of elements of the Soviet army which has provoked this strong Western protest. But we say, last year, similar military intervention by the French in Africa to prop up a regime in one case and to support a coup in another. And

neither the United States nor the other Western allies seemed at all concerned or worked up about it. This is not to argue that because the French did it in Africa it justifies the Russians doing it in Afghanistan. It is simply to point out the monumental double standard which is at work; and the fraudulence of some of the ^{apparent} high-minded protestations about territorial integrity and threats to peace. If a thing is wrong, it is wrong no matter who does it. The moral protestations are, in this sense, no more than a face-card behind which a cold and calculated power game is at play. Location is important in understanding that play. The Soviet Union has a long border with Afghanistan to the north. Pakistan has an even longer border with it to the south and east; and it is bordered by Iran to the west. So it is a country in Central Asia which borders the volatile and explosive Middle East. N.A.T.O. has just lost its bases in Iran. Turkey is in turmoil and not much use as a N.A.T.O. ally right now. Turkey's generals have told its civilian leaders to unite to deal with its serious problems or face a military coup. Saudi Arabia is just undergoing a shake-up among its military leaders and nobody can as yet say what effect this may have on the pro-American Saudi royal family. And as long as Iran can earn, as it now does, \$1,000-million a week from its oil, sanctions will hurt it less than sanctions ever hurt Rhodesia or South Africa. In all this, if Afghanistan and events there can be used to at least try and stabilise the Western position or, at worse distract attention from American and Western setbacks in that part of the world, it would be a most useful political and diplomatic power play. Misery loves company and I am sure President Carter must be relieved to have Mr. Brezhnev join him as the second arch-villain of a militant Islam, challenging both Western capitalism and its communist offspring. So the cold war is only one face of a three-sided coin. Goodnight