NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Aug 1 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Godd evening: It is the year 1980 and the place is Moscow or any big Russian city. A Russian citizen wakes up early on a Monday morning. He is in a very nice apartment with fine furniture, a good carpet on the floor, and in spite of the fact that it is winter, his apartment is warm and comfortable. His wife and children are up already and he can hear them chattering away gaily in the living room. He lies still for a little while, thinking how good life is, and then he jumps out of bed, puts on his dressing gown and goes out to join his family. There is his wife and three children, two girls and a boy: they are all at the breakfast table. And on the table there is butter and cream and milk and cheese, and the smell of hot bacon and eggs and sausages and toast; and there is a whole heaped bowl of fruit - oranges,peaches, pears,apples, bananas, pineapples, grapes and the like. The man kisses his wife and his children and then the happy family settle down to a good and healthy breakfast. Just as they near the end of their meal the telephone rings and one of the children answers it. She listens for a while then says they are coming. She hangs up, turns to the other children and tells them that their school transport is xxxx waiting downstairs. The children get into their thick fur-lined coats, hug their parents, and dash out to the warm, centrally heated school bus. The school bus picks them up at their door every day and takes them back to their door at the end of each school day. Their schooling is free; the clothes they wear are free, their shoes and uniforms are free, the food they get at school is free - everything is free.

In fact, the food they had with their parents for breakfast is

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free and the ~~xxxxx~~ three-bedroom apartment in which they life is free, and there telephone and their gas and their electricity and their furniture and their radio and their television and the clothes of their parents - all these things are free. They do not have to pay a penny for them.

After they have finished their last cup of coffee the man and his wife put on their warm fur-lined overcoats, check the time and go down in the lift. The lift attendant greets them cheerfully and gives them each a morning paper. Down stairs, the first centrally heated bus that comes picks up the husband; the next one picks up the wife. They work in different parts of the city. The man ~~xxxx~~ works nine hours a day for only four days a week to make up his total of 36 working hours a week. His wife works a much shorter week. And from Thursday evening until Monday morning they are free.They can catch a plane and fly down to the Black Sea for a weekend of sunshine in a luxury hotel. And they can eat all the fine food and drink all the good wine they like and it won't cost them a penny. Of course, during their working hours they work very hard. But the reward for hard work is that everything is free: food, housing, clothes, medical attention, transport, the whole works. And the golden rule of the land is: from each according to his ability; to each according to his need. So every Russian gives what he can in skill and labour, and the state gives to every Russian what he or she needs. Does it sound like heaven on earth? Well, this is what the Russian government promised its people in a new policy programme last Saturday night. It says that in the next 20 years the conditions which I have just described will come to pass for all the people of Russia. Can this happen? The Russians say it can and will happen if there is no war between now and 1980. Let us hope we live long enough to see. Goodnight.

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No 183

1) End of Banana Strike
2) Holiday with Pay for Maids

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Aug 2 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I am glad that the banana strike is over and I hope that whatever can be salvaged of the fruit will be loaded and shipped as quickly as possible. But of course, the damage which has been done cannot be undone. And there is no question but that this strike has caused the industry some severe harm. Incidentally, a listener who happens to be a banana grower got in touch with me after my comments of Thursday of last week. This listener said that I had given the impression that loaders were being paid fifty shillings for a full week's work whereas in fact loaders generally worked for some 30-odd hours for the money they got. I am glad to make this correction. However, I still feel that the basic point I make stands. Even if a man works for only thirty hours, if that is all the work he can get in one week and the pay is only fifty shillings, that man is certainly not well off. And in the light of the announced decision of the banana growers to do their own loading in the events of wildcat strikes, I wonder whether we should not think in terms of leaving the entire responsibility of loading to the All Island Banana Growers Association and encourage the workers who now do the loading to find other means of earning a more decent living. Here, I think, is where the Roosevelt idea of works projects could come into operation. Certainly, from the national point of view the banana industry is heading for a mess if we keep on treating it as if it is one of the instruments for obsorbing some of the unemployed.

It seems to me that this strike, as well as the terms of the settlement, has just underlined my basic point which is that the time

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has come when we should all look at this question of mechanisation as an urgent national matter. I think it is high time that the government gave the country a clear statement as to where it stands on the whole question of mechanisation. I think we are all agreed that we do not want the workers to suffer. I think we are all agreed that men are more important than machines, and that we must make sure that the introduction of machines must be so handled as to not hurt men. But when that is said and done, where are we? How are machines to be introduced? Over what period of time? When and where do we begin? And what about the workers who will be displaced?

I honestly think we are dead wrong to tackle this issue on a peacemeal basis. Just as the government has drawn up a ten-year development plan, so I think it can draw up a five or ten year plan for labour and mechanisation. This would set a direction and chart a course, and that is something we need very badly in the Jamaican labour situation today.

Finally, I am very glad that the question of holidays with pay for domestic workers has come up in the House. I know this is a sore subject with most housewives. They feel that they are getting poor service from their maids and they do not see why they should pay them well and give them holidays with pay on top of it. The maids on the other hand, do not see why they should worked hard for a mere pittance and no holidays. I think an effort is needed from both sides, but I think the initiative is with the employer. I think many of you would be surprised at just how a little thoughtfulness and decency and consideration will pay off in the long run. The fault is rarely on one side only, and maids are human too, you know. Goodnight.

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No 184

The Referendum Date &
Manley's Future

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Aug 3 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Today is the big day; and later this evening Mr. Manley will announce the date on which the Referendum will be held. He will announce the date at two public meetings, one at Half Way Tree, and the other at the Coronation Market. He will also tell us whether he is going federal or not.

Before I go on to discuss these two very important points, let me try to clear up an important point of procedure. Many people have expressed concern about the manner in which Mr. Manley will announce the date of the Referendum. Some have said they thought the announcement should first be made in the House of Representatives and not at a party political meeting. Others have said that even if the announcement was not first made in the House, it should be made as first of all as a statement from the government before being given from a party political platform. The first group holds that it is an insult to the dignity of the parliament of the country if the announcement is made to a public meeting before the members of our parliament, who are the elected representatives of all the people, know of it. The second group says that this is an important national matter and it would be an insult and more to the whole concept of democratic government, if such an important issue is treated first and foremost as a party political issue to be announced from a party political platform.

Now I think there is a great deal of sense in both these objections. I think it would be wrong if the first public announcement of the date of the Referendum is in fact given at a public meeting. But I am absolutely convinced that Mr. Manley will not do this. I am sure he

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is as mindful of the dignity of parliament and the government as the two groups who have expressed their concern. In fact, I would go further and say that he is more mindful of the dignity of parliament and the government than most of us. So I cannot see him doing anything which would undermine the dignity of these two institutions. In any case, it would not suit him to do so because he knows that his enemies would make political capital out of it. So what will he do? He has already announced that he will give the date at two public meetings this evening.

I think those of you who are interested should make a careful check tomorrow morning. If you do, I think you will find that either one of two things have happened - or perhaps both. First, I think you will find that today's Government Gazette - or perhaps it will be an Extraordinary Gazette - will have published the date well before Mr. Manley made his announcement at the public meetings. The second thing I think anybody who makes a check tomorrow morning is likely to find out is that the government issued a public announcement of the date - with a possible time Embargo on it - long before Mr. Manley makes his announcement at the public meetings. Or perhaps both these things will happen. So I think you will find that these objections are not really valid because Manley will go about it in the correct parliamentary way.

I think the date of the Referendum will be either the 17th, 18th or 19th of September and I think Manley will declare that he himself will go Federal. That is my guess. In just over a couple of hours' time we will know how right or wrong I am. Goodnight.

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No 185 The Referendum: ~~Date & Manley's Future (2)~~ P.N.P + J.L.P. Line-up

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Aug 4 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The great secret is out and, to use the phrase made famous by the late Roger Mais, 'now we know'. The lines are drawn and the battle is on. I think from here on the Federation debate is going to get so hot that what has gone before will seem like child's play. Well, I think it might be a good idea for us to pause and take a good look at what the picture looks like at this moment before the battle is finally joined.

First, let us look at the line up of the political forces. I think it is idle for anybody to pretend that the votes in this referendum are going to be cast on nonparty lines. This is likely to happen with what is known as the floating vote. But I think the vast majority of voters are going to vote along party lines, and I frankly do not see how it can be otherwise. The P.N.P. is for Jamaica remaining in the Federation: the J.L.P. wants Jamaica out of it. It is therefore a party issue, whether you like it or not. I think all this talk of approaching the referendum in a non-party spirit is rather silly. And this idea that it is wrong for a major national issue to be approached on party lines is so much humbug, especially when the country's two major parties stand opposed to each other over the matter. So I think we cannot escape the party political aspect of it.

So, as I see it, the first part of the line-up is the P.N.P. against the J.L.P. on strictly party lines. Of the two the P.N.P. seems to have the more tightly knit political machine at present. Such differences and disagreements as there were in the top leadership before the Port-of-Spain and London Conferences, have disappeared and the party now seems to be working pretty smoothly. I have the feeling

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that the P.N.P. steamroller has warmed up and is just about ready to go into top gear. And there is a new confidence among them. Manley's victories at the conferences in Port-of-Spain and in London where he got all the safeguards for Jamaica's interests that he wanted, has given the P.N.P. a great boost with the electorate. The general public recognises these as solid achievemmts. And then there is the very important fact that the P.N.P. has announced a definite date for independence with in the Federation in May of next year. So much for the P.N.P. What of the J.L.P.?

They too have closed their ranks remarkably well in the last few months. At their disastrous annual conference and when Mrs. Leon left the party, it looked very much as though the party was in danger of falling apart. But they rode the storm successfully and today the party seems more tightly knit than it was at the beginning of the year. Their very successful anti-Federation march on Emancipation Day showed that the J.L.P. is by no means a spent force and that they too could get a political machine going. It seems to me that their great disadvantage is that they have not yet found an issue to capture the popular imagination or an issue on which they could press and embarrass the government in a way that would win public approval. If they can find such an issue soon they might still give the P.N.P. a good run. Another factor against them is the fact that many people have had serious second thoughts about going it alone in view of the political restlessness of this part of the world at present. But let me repeat, the J.L.P. is by no means a spent force. The question is whether they can find a really popular issue in time. Tomorrow I will look at some of the other forces in the political line-up, so till then, Goodnight.

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No 186 The Referendum: Position of other groups.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Aug 5 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I gave you my view of the P.N.P.-J.L.P. line-up in the great referendum encounter that is now on. Now let us look at some of the other parties and groups and see where they stand xxxxxx and what possible influence they can exert on the results of the referendum.

First let us deal with the two new political parties, Mrs. Rose Leon's Progressive Labour Movement and Mr. Millard Johnson's People's Political Party. Mrs. Leon is an old hand in Jamaican politics, and, as she showed when she broke with the J.L.P., she has a fair amount of popular support in the country. But somehow her Progressive Labour Movement does not yet seem to have got off the ground, or if it has, we are hearing very little about it. On the question of Federation and the referendum, the Leons have decided to sit on the fence. The Progressive Labour Movement, they say, will tell the people of Jamaica about the good points and the bad points of federation but will not take a stand either for or against. So I do not think the Progressive Labour Movement is going to influence the results of the referendum one way or the other. My guess is that they see this as a position of strength which would leave them free to carry on, no matter which side wins. But I am not so sure that either history or the voters will see their stand in this light when the next Jamaica elections come along. However, this is still a very young party and both history and the voters make strange allowances sometimes.

The People's Political Party which is about the same age as the Progressive Labour Movement - both are about four months old now - the People's Political Party has taken a clear stand against Federation.

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It wants no part of the Federation and it wants Jamaica to get out. But it does want a closer contact with the independent African states. Apart from its firm stand on the colour question and on Jamaica's getting out of the federation it has not yet offered the country any programme on which the new party will campaign in any local election. No doubt this will come in time. But the party has campaigned actively against federation though it is very hard to determine just what influence it exerts at present. I think the voting in the referendum will be a small but by no means conclusive pointer. But such direct influence as the People's Progressive Party has will be a for a 'No' vote in the referendum.

So much for the political groups. Rececently a new groups, the "Save Jamaica Volunteer Non-Partisan Group" under the leadership of Mr. Adolphe Roberts, the elder statesman of Jamaican writing, has appeared on the scene with a published declaration and one radio broadcast so far. This group is against Jamaica remaining in the federation and calls for a 'no' vote. As one of the founding fathers of the Jamaica National Movement, Mr. Adolphe Roberts is a man of influence among Jamaica's intelligentsia and it is here that his, and the influence of his group might be strongest. But against this must be set the very active campaigning for federation which is being conducted throughout Jamaica by a group of graduate and undergraduates of the University College. This then, is the line-up of the parties and the more active pro-and anti-federation groups. They will liven up the campaign. But basically, the battle is between the two major parties because this is fundamentally the most important party issue in Jamaica today. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Aug 7 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I want to discuss the latest Russian space achievement, but before I do so I want to deal with something very much nearer home, and something which affects all of us nearly all the time. I am thinking of this very vexed question of what we should do if we see someone doing something wrong. Does the citizen have any responsibility to do something when he sees another citizen behaving in a way which can cause damage and danger and possible death to other citizens?

This question was forcibly brought to me over the weekend. Let me tell you how it happened. I had to go up to Spaldings to take part in the opening of the Knox College Summer School on Friday evening. We have a friend from America staying with us and so I thought it might be a good idea to make it a family trip and show our friend something of that part of the country which she had not yet seen. And so, after my day's work we all left Kingston on Friday evening for Manchester. It was a pretty good run and I thought I was doing very well to keep up an average speed of 50 to 55 miles and hour on straight roads outside built-up areas. Every now and then some speed maniac flashed past us, going at 70 or 80 miles an hour. As long as the road was clear these speeding characters were all right. But at that speed there is no margin for error. Should a cow or goat or pig or donkey suddenly step into the road, these people would be in a mess, facing the prospect of a smashed up car and broken bones if they are lucky, or death. But they do not seem to think about this, or about a little child that might suddenly dash across the road. This is bad enough. But we experienced something very much worse ~~that~~ Friday evening.

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Just outside May Pen one of those yellow P.W.D. water tanks on wheels came up behind us. I heard the racket of its coming for miles. There was a steady stream of cars and we were all running in a line going at between 50 and 60 miles. But this P.W.D. tank shot past one car after another, going at a lick of at least 70. One car had to partly climb a bank and risk turning over because this thing was passing and there was traffic coming in the opposite direction. And then it shot past me and I had to swing in to avoid having my front fender licked. And away it went, horn blaring, pushing everybody on to the banks in its mad career. I felt it was only a matter of time before it crashed into something and I prayed that no poor innocent human beings would suffer injury or death. And I was frankly glad that we were now far behind it. But unfortunately we met up with it again shortly after Porus because a couple of big country trucks had slowed it down on a narrow road. But the driver was impatient and making an awful racket. When the road widened, I shot past and hurried on trying to put as much distance between us and this dangerous thing. It must have turned off somewhere because we didn't see it again when we slowed down to a normal speed. But we did see it on the way back to Kingston on Saturday morning. We saw it just outside Porus. The front was smashed into a bank. The water hose was partly broken and lying on the road. The smash I had feared on Friday had come; and there was no-one in the thing. I hope no innocent person had been hurt. But what should all those of us who witnessed this terrible driving - what should we have done? I bet no one contacted the nearest police post to tell them there was a potential killer on the road last Friday. And yet we should have, you know. And I am as much at fault. I also think we should have seen at least one police patrol rider on that road.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Aug 8 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Before I go on to talk about the latest Russian space achievement just let me quickly finish what I said last night. A whole heap of us saw this potential killer on the road on Friday evening, but I do not think anyone reported it. We behaved as though it was none of our business. I saw people standing on the side of the road watching this yellow P.W.D. water truck number S.86 running at this fantastic speed. And I could see the disapproval on their faces. But none of us did anything about it. It is no credit to us that some man, woman or child was not maimed or killed. And yet it is only when the citizens do their duty that we will begin to control this dangerous recklessness on the roads. So please, let us all try to help keep death off the roads by reporting reckless driving whenever and wherever we see it. We owe this much to our children, if to nobody else.

And now for the new Russian space shot. A 26-year-old young Russian, Major Titov, came safely down to earth yesterday morning after spending 24 more than 24 hours circling our earth and passing over continents and oceans and cities 17 times. He ate, slept worked and performed all the normal human functions at a height where a few years ago it was said no man could survive. This is the second time the Russians have shot a man into space and brought him back safely. For all we know, it might be the third. Before Gagarin went up last April there were strongly supported rumours that someone else had gone up before him but had met with disaster. But in any case, whether Titov is the second or third man, the Russian achievement is still the greatest scientific achievement of the ages. And even if they did lose one man, it is, in terms of scientific research, a fantastically

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small price to pay for such a revolutionary achievement. The fight to conquer and control malaria has claimed more lives than has the conquest of space so far. The roads to the North and South Poles are more littered with human casualties than is the road to the stars so far. Just think of how many men died before Mount Everest was climbed. And yet for this much greater and more far-reaching achievement we have the rumour of only one possible casualty. This initself is fantastic.

But I have heard many people say: 'What is the point of this? Millions and millions in money is wasted on these space attempts while human beings go hungry and homeless and naked'. But you know, this has always been the cry in the face of some new and startling achievement. The people who first tried to fly in little machines built in their backyards were considered damfools and nobody could see the point of it at the time. Today man spans the continents and oceans in giant airliners because of the experiments of those so-called damfools.

Today it is somewhat the same. Because we cannot yet see the possible results of man's exploration and conquest of space we tend to belittle it and dismiss it as a wasteful extravagance. Of course, some of us do it because this space achievement is a unique triumph for the Russians. I think that is short-sighted and rather silly. Does it matter now what nationality the person was who discovered the antidote to malaria? Does it matter that the Curies who discovered radium were French? Does not all mankind benefit from these? So I think it will be with whatever gains come from the conquest of space. So let us honour a great pioneering achievement whose staggering implications are still beyond our understanding. This is a great step forward for all mankind. Goodnight

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Aug 9 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Some of you may remember my recurrent little theme about good news and bad news. It goes something like this: whenever anything good happens, when people behave well, when they help each other, when they show kindness and thoughtfulness and consideration, that is not considered news and so it rarely makes the headlines in our papers or over our radios. When a man knocks down a stranger and robs him, that is news. When a man picks up a stranger's wallet and gives it back to him and puts him on the right road to where he wants to go, that is not news. In other words, all the bad happenings: the robberies, the violence, the bad manners - all this gets into our papers and goes over our radios. All the good happenings on the other hand: the helpings, the good manners, the kindnesses, the friendliness - these are hardly ever reported. And so we tend to hear and read only about the bad and rarely about the good. And so our country and our people and the world and its people are all painted as ugly and mean and nasty and rude and agressive and without consideration. And if we get this sort of reporting day afterday and week after week and month after month and year after year, we get to a point where we believe it. And once we believe that everybody and everything is no good, we shrug our shoulders and behave as badly as we expect everybody to behave. We expect them to be aggressive so we get in first with our own aggressiveness; we expect them to be rude so we forestall them by getting in our own rudeness first. We expect bad manners from the shop assistant so we snap at her to try and put her in her place before she begins. And so we set of a chain reaction of behaviour which started with the news we read and heard.

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When we read or hear about political meetings we sort of half expect the reports to tell us how one leader cursedthe other leader, sometimes running down his family tree and picking on any physical weakness he might have. And of course we almost always expect these reports to tell us that the supporters of the different parties have been violent and rowdy and disorderly. When there is no abuse, no violence, no disorderliness, we are hardly ever told about this because this does not make good news.

So let me give you some good news which is not good news in the accepted sense. It is simply this: I visited all the meetings that took place last Thursday night when Manley announced the date of the Referendum and his own future plans. I went from the P.N.P. meetings to the J.L.P. meetings. And I was so impressed by the orderliness of these meetings. People behaved as responsible and mature citizens. I had an American friend with me and I took my friend into the thickest parts of all the crowds. And my friend too, was greatly impressed by the good behaviour of the crowds. The crowds were enthusiastic, some were gay, but they all behaved wonderfully well and I was proud that the stranger with me got such a good impression of Jamaican crowds. Indeed, my friend's strongest impression was that the people knew this was a great event and they were meeting it with a sense of sober responsibility. Now some of you may think this is a small thing. I do not. I think it is a big thing and a good thing. And it is the kind of good news I would like to see reported as fully as the other kind of news. If it is reported it might even teach some of the leaders to speak and behave with as much responsibility as their followers showed/last Thursday night. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Aug 10 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The British Guiana General Elections under the new constitution are eleven days away and we are now witnessing a strange campaign of interference from the outside in the affairs of that country. It all began with an English Peer who visited B.G. some weeks ago and who then made a speech in the United States warning that if Jagan won the elections on August 21st British Guiana would become a communist satellite. Since then a number of American politicians, notably some American Senators have taken up the matter of warning that British Guianan would become another Cuba if Dr. Jagan's People's Progressive Party wins the elections. There have been dark hints that some sort of action should be taken to ensure that British Guiana does not become another Cuba. Until Friday of last week we had only warnings and a call from some Americans to the people of British Guiana not to return Jagan to power.

But on Friday of last week the London Daily Express came out much more sharply and clearly. The Daily Express said that Jagan was likely to win the election and then it went on to say that if he did there will be no more lessons in democracy for British Guiana because there will be no more democracy. It said that the Americans saw this danger clearly and were justified in being anxious about it. The Americans already had Cuba on their doorstep and with Jagan in power in B.G. communism would have two outposts on the American continent. It said that Whitehall ought to be as anxious as the Americans. Then it went on to say that Britain acted decisively in 1953 and that if a similar situation were created by another Jagan victory on August 21st then Britain should not hesitate to repeat her firm action of 1953.

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Now, I think the meaning of all this is pretty clear. The line of the Daily Express is: if Jagan wins the August 21st elections he would set about trying to create a communist state. It was on this charge that B.G.'s constitution was suspended in 1953. If he does set about creating a communist state after the coming elections, then Britain should again suspend the B.G. constitution. And the Express' justification for this proposal is that Britain owes to her American ally and also owes it to the people of British Guiana to protect them from voting away their freedom through ignorance.

Now I find this as tricky a situation as you could want. The people of British Guiana have been given the right to elect whomever they want to power. That is the meaning of their new constitution. And now the elections are nearly here and it looks as though they are going to choose Jagan. But, say some very powerful Anglo-American forces, if they do choose Jagan then their constitution should be taken away from them. From the point of view of the Guianese people this makes a mockery of their right to choose whomever they want to govern them. And of course, all this advance anti-Jagan propaganda is like finding the man guilty before he has committed any crime. What these people do not seem to realise is that the effect of their anti-Jagan campaign is more likely to strengthen support for Jagan rather than to take it away from him. I am sure that both Forbes Burnham and Peter D'Aguiar must be cursing this outside interference as much as Jagan, because it can only hurt their chances. Even those who understand the Anglo-American fears feel that this is just about the silliest way to go about winning friends and influencing people. Goodnight.

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No 191 The Destruction of the Jamaican Earth

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Aug11 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Much that is big and dramatic and important is happening all over the world right now, but my mind is on the Jamaican earth right now. And although this may not seem as big and dramatic as most of the other news going on today, I think it is one of the two or three most important challenges facing Jamaica and Jamaicans. And this challenge of the Jamaican earth and what we do with it is, to my mind, the most important if we look at it from a long term point of view.

Man has a very intimate and a very special relationship to the earth on which he was born, on which he grew up and played and suffered and flourished and which gives him his daily bread. Without the earth on which he lives and from which he gets his living, man is nothing. When you say Jamaican, you are not just describing a man, you are describing a man in relation to a particular piece of the earth called Jamaica. When you say a Frenchman, you are describing a man in relation to a piece of earth called from. And so it goes with all men everywhere. They are rotted to that part of the earth on which they were born and which gives them their identity and which gives them their living. Without this piece of the earth called Jamaica there can be no Jamaicans. And if this Jamaican earth flourishes and is rich and healthy then the people who live on it and live by it are likely to flourish and be rich and healthy. If, on the other hand, this Jamaican earth is sick and poor and unhealthy then the people who live on it are likely to be sick and poor and unhealthy. This is the way it always has been for the vast majority of people in every country. As it is with the land, so it is with most of the people. And this is

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particularly true of agricultural countries, and Jamaica is basically an agricultural country. We are not an industrialised country. True, we are making every effort to build up industries here. We have not done badly so far and it is very likely that in the years ahead we will do better, especially if our industries are based on foods and fruits and other raw material we produce right here in Jamaica. But fundamentally, Jamaica is an agricultural country and it will remain an agricultural country for as far ahead into the future as I can see. And this fact makes the Jamaican earth especially important to every Jamaican, whether he lives in the town or whether he lives in the country. So how does the Jamaican deal with this earth which is his most precious possession and which gives him his unique and distinctive personality as a man?

The answer, I am afraid, is a sad and unhappy one. The vast majority of Jamaicans are either indifferent to this earth which gives them life, or else they abuse it. Now I am not saying that all Jamaicans do this. There are many who care for the land, many who love it and nurture it, but they are a minority. The majority abuse the land. Often they do so from ignorance. It is often easier and quicker to clear a hillside patch of land by firing it. And often they had not been taught better ways and they have not been told what would happen if they go on abusing the land. So there is no point in blaming these people. They are trying to get a living as best they can. But in the process, by firing the land, by chopping down hillside trees and bush, they are destroying the Jamaican earth which feeds or should feed us all. So what can we do about this? How can we stop it? And what would happen if we don't stop it? I'll try to answer these questions tomorrow. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Aug 12 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I said the majority of Jamaicans ~~were~~ are destroying the Jamaican earth. If you doubt me, do what I did on Thurday: fly across Jamaica in one of these small planes that operate as air taxis and look down on the Jamaican earth. If you do this, three ~~two~~ things will strike you very forcibly. One of the three things you may know, but the other two things may shock and surprise you. The one thing you may know is that most of the Jamaican earth is not flat land; by far the largest part of Jamaica is made up of hillside land which can be very steep in some places. The second thing - and this is likely to come as a surprise to many people - is the fact that you will see vast stretches of the Jamaican earth lying unused and unpopulated. There is a great deal of unused land space in the interior of this island: and it made me wonder about all this talk of overpopulation. And I began to wonder why we imported so much of our foodstuff when we had all this land ready and available to give us food if we worked it and worked it well. The third thing - and this was the thing that shocked and upset me - were the very clear signs of erosion in all too many parts of this hillside land. Some farmer, some cultivator, had cleared a hillside by fire. He had burned bush and tree and everything else to grow his catch-crop or cash crop. No doubt he had had a good first crop. But then the rains had come down and because there was no bush or trees, it had washed away all the top soil. And many of these hillsides showed bare limestone rock where the life-giving earth had been washed away, and where hardly anything can now be grown. This is a crime. And I am not talking about crime in terms of the law. This is something very much more serious. This means that we are fast turning

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Jamaica's hillside land into a desert of rock. If this goes on we will suffer, but others will suffer even more. Our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren will suffer even more because they will inherit a barren land which cannot feed them because we have abused the good earth of Jamaica which should give us and them a good life. And they will curse us for having destroyed the Jamaican earth. The warning signs are there already. Droughts are becoming more common in Jamaica every year. If there is no rain for a few weeks there is a drought and a water shortage. This was not always so. A hundred years ago droughts were unknown in Jamaica because the hillsides were thickly forested and acted was watersheds. But we have cut down the trees and burned the land and so we have droughts. So what can we do about this? People like Harold Cahusac are doing all they can through the Watershed Protection Commission- and fine job it is. But I do not think that is enough. I think we have done too much damage already for this problem to be handled piecemeal. I should like to see the government laying down a long term policy to save and restore this Jamaican earth. I should like to see a ten or twenty year policy to terrace all the hillside land of Jamaica. I know all the forward looking farmers and the people in our Forest Department would welcome this. But the policy decision must come from the government. And it owes to the country and its people to preserve and protect the land by launching such a policy. If we save the Jamaican earth, this land can feed all its people and still leave food over for export. If we don' do this then our government and all of us will be guilty of a crime against unborn generations of Jamaicans. Goodnight.

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No 193 Facts of Berlin Crisis

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Aug 14 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: A very large number of people are utterly confused about the facts of the Berlin and German crisis. Our news agencies tell us that the Berlin crisis is the most dangerous threat to the peace of the world today. Our radios and our papers tell us that the West - the United States, Britain and France - will not surrender their rights in Berlin and Germany. We hear that the American President has called for a stepping up of the armed forces and for more money for military defence. In the same vein, the Soviet Union has declared that it will not surrender its rights in Berlin and that it was going to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany this year whether the Western Powers like it or not. And from inside Germany itself come reports of a steady flow of Germans fleeing from East Berlin to West Berlin. And today we have reports that there have been ugly scenes over the weekend as the East German authorities tried to stop people from their zone from running away to the Western zone of Berlin. They have put up barbed wire barricades; and on Sunday there were clashes between protesting crowds and armed East German police using tear gas and smoke bombs. This was because in the past ten days or so the steady flow of fleeing refugees had begun to turn into a flood.

Now we know all this, or most of it, because the Berlin story has been the number one world headline story for a few weeks now. What many people do not know, what many people have asked me to tell them about, are the hard facts behind this present Berlin crisis. We know there is a crisis; we know it is an ugly business which can

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lead to just about the most destructive atomic war the world has ever known; we know that it is another phase in the 'cold war' between Russia and the United States, and we are all very worried about it. But we are xxxx confused and a bit lost when it comes to the details.

So let us begin by trying to see how this situation came about. One thing I think most of us know is that it all goes back to the end of the Second World War and the defeat of Germany. And today's Berlin crisis stems out of the nature of that defeat. You will remember the war started on September 1st, 1939. Hitler's armies invade Poland and in a lightning sweep they spread through all of Europe, occupying France, menacing Britain from across the English Channel, and then sweeping east until they were at the very gates of Moscow. But then the great alliance of Russia, the United States, Britain and France, rallied and mounted a counter-attack. The Russians pushed from the east and the Anglo-American and French forces pushed from the west. The allies declared that they would not make peace with Germany; that they wanted Germany's unconditional surrender. And so they swept all before them, destroying Germany's economy, killing roughly 7 million Germans and leaving the land in ruin. The Russians raced on to Berlin and reached it before the Western allies. And when the Germans surrendered unconditionally on May 7th of 1945, the Russians were the effective lords of all Berlin. But the allies had agreed that Germany should be divided up among the four allies and so this was done and Berlin too was divided into four sectors. But there was something very peculiar about Berlin in the new set-up. I will tell you about this tomorrow evening: so till then, goodnight.

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No 194 The Location of Berlin

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Aug 15 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I told you that Russia, America, Britain and France had decided not to sign a peace treaty with Germany. Instead, they demanded unconditional surrender. And in fact the Germans did surrender unconditionally on May 7th of 1945. I also told you that in the conquest of Germany the Russians had swept into ~~the~~ Berlin and were the effective masters of the city by the time the Western allies got there. In fact, the Russians had gone further, they had swept west one hundred miles and more beyond Berlin. And so it was that when Germany was partitioned into four zones, Berlin was at least 100 miles deep inside ~~the~~ the Russian Zone. This was the peculiar situation of Berlin in the new set-up. In order to reach Berlin anybody from the West had to travel at least 100 miles through the Russian Zone or else fly over Russian held territory. But this presented no problem as long as things ran smoothly between the Russians and their allies. And in the early days of the occupation of Germany things did run smoothly. Everybody was friendly and co-operative. They had just won a bitter war and Russian and American and British and French saw each other as comrades and brothers in a great crusade. And so Germany was broken up into Four Zones with the Russians getting control of 41,380 square miles of the total area and with a population which at the time was estimated at 17,000,000 people. Britain, France and the United States, together got control of an area of 95,683 square miles and with a population of roughly 51,000,000 people. In terms of land space the Russians got the lion's share from the partitioning of Germany. But in terms of human beings the Western allies got most.

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The city of Berlin itself was also partitioned into Four Zones, one for the Russians, one for the Americans, one for the British and one for the French. The total area of Berlin is 341.2 square miles. The Russians got 155.5 square miles of this, and the Western allies combined got 185.7 square miles. So here again Russia got the lion's share. Before the war the population of all Berlin was nearly 4½ million In 1957 the population of West Berlin was just under 2¼ millions and that of East Berlin was just under a million and a quarter. So it would seem that again in the partitioning of Berlin the vast majority of the people were in the Western Zones.

After the partition of Germany the four powers agreed to regard Germany as one economic whole with each zone under a military governor. These four governors - one Russian, one American, one British, one French - made up the Allied Control Council for Germany. In 1947 the British and American authorities decided to combine their two zones into one. The British and Americans were then pressing for the uniting of all Germany and an ending of the occupation. This set off a series of disagreements between the Russians and the West which ended with the Russians withdrawing from the Allied Control Council in 1948. And straightaway the peculiar situation of Berlin came dramatically into play. The Russians blockaded all the railways and roads linking Berlin with West Germany. Remember, West Berlin was deep in the heart of the Russian Zone. The Russians were showing the West just how weak the western position in Berlin was. They were also showing their disapproval of western policy. Tomorrow evening I will tell you just what the result of all this was. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Aug 16 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I ended my comments on Berlin last night with the breakdown of the Four Power Allied Control Council and the Russian blockade of West Berlin. This blockade, some of you may remember, lasted for eleven months. During that time the Western powers flew more than 2,000,000 tons of food and other necessities into West Berlin, so preventing the Russians from starving the West Berliners into submission. When the Russians lifted the blockade it was both a western victory and a promise of troubles ahead.

Up to this point the French had tried to stay out of this growing partisan scrap between Russia and the United States. But in May of 1949 the French threw in their lot when Britain and the United States decided to establish the Federal Republic of West Germany. In October of the same year the Russians followed suit and established the East German Democratic Republic. West Germany became a western style state and East Germany became a communist style state. And so all hopes of a peaceful and friendly and allied solution of the German problem were in effect abandoned by both sides. The West wanted a solution along western lines, with free elections throughout the country. The Russians were not sure that those they backed would win such an election and so they were apposed to it. And now the peculiar position of Berlin had come to the fore. Berlin now became the challenge and the symbol to both sides. So let us look at it from each side in turn.

As the Russians see it, here is 185 square miles of land deep inside the Soviet world but not belonging to it. This, as Mr. Khrushchev has put it, was 'a bone in the Russian throat'. The Russians had tried to swallow it in 1948 but it had stuck because they had found

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that the Americans were prepared to go to war over Berlin. And today the bone is still in the Russian throat, still irritating, and they still want to swallow it. The existence of West Berlin deep inside the communist world is a daily challenge and insult to communism. If the Russians give up the fight for West Berlin it will be a great moral defeat for communism and Russia. And so Russia cannot give way over West Berlin.

As the Americans see it, holding on to West Berlin is as important to them is winning it is to the Russians. They are there by legal right of the Occupation Statute and as long as they hold on to West Berlin they are showing the uncommitted world that they can stand up to communism. And their case is strengthened by the fact that the West Berliners do not want communism. The daily flights from the communist zone to the western zone does the communist cause great harm in the eyes of the world. And also, the material prosperity of West Berlin as against the poverty of East Berlin is, as they see it, a daily mirror in which the two systems can be compared. And so the struggle for Berlin has become the great ideological symbols of the bitter struggle between communism and democracy in Europe today.

I am no prophet so I cannot tell you how this struggle will end. What is clear is that neither side are prepared to give way on it. And it is not a situation over which some compromise can be worked out. It is a situation in which neither side is prepared to lose face and that is what makes Berlin the potential trigger point of world war today. Goodnight.

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No 196 The B.G. Elections

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Aug 17 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: As you listen to me this evening I should be down in Port-of-Spain Trinidad, if all has gone well. I hope to stay overnight in Trinidad and get a plane to British Guiana as early as possible tomorrow. The whole point of this whole exercise is of course to be in British Guiana for next Monday's elections. I plan to be back in Jamaica on Wednesday of next week and I hope to give you a first-hand report of all I heard and saw over the election period. I also hope to give you my personal impressions of B.G.'s political leaders and the possible lines of action they might take in the future.

British Guiana is one of the three or four West Indian territories I have not yet visited, and so I am particularly excited about this trip. I always find it exciting and challenging to go where I have not been before. And then there are features about Monday's elections in B.G. which are out of the ordinary and which ~~xxkxxxxx~~ people concerned with the news are anxious to observe at first-hand. I personally am particularly interested to see just what kind of external pressures are likely to be at work in the elections. You will remember that it was on Thursday of last week that I told you about the campaign of some American politicians as well as of the London Daily Express against Jagan's People's Progressive Party. The Daily Express said that if Jagan won the general elections then the British Government should suspend the B.G. constitution as it did in 1953. This, as I told you last Thursday, strikes me as a very dangerous suggestion. And it was because of this campaign against him and his party that Jagan invited the United Nations to send observers to the B.G. elections. The United Nations has turned down that invitation. But

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others, and I am one of them, xxxxxxxxxxx are more interested than they would normally have been to see just how the elections go off. And so I expect to see a very large number of newspaper people when I reach Georgetown some time tomorrow. The searchlight of the world's press will therefore be very sharply focussed on British Guiana over the next four or five days.

What is very unfortunate about this whole business is that there are these powerful outside forces who are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of British Guiana. And what is even worse is this prejudging of Jagan by people and institutions who are not particularly famous for their concern about the well-being/of people the conditions under which people in under-developed countries live. And so you get the impression that it is the most reactionary forces, those with least interest in the welfare of the people, who are against Jagan. As I told you before, I think all that these people will succeed in doing is to rally the mass of the Guianese people behind Jagan. But we will soon see whether I am right in this.

And now for a point of correction about some facts and figures on B.G. When I discussed the new constitution on July 26th, I gave you the population of B.G. as roughly 800,000. A listener phoned and questioned this figure. The listener was right and I was wrong. The 1959 figure for the population of B.G. is 557,960: of this total 268,710 are of East Indian Origin and 186,800 are of African origin. I am sorry about my mistake and I am grateful to the listener who drew my attention to it. And goodnight until tomorrow.

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No 197 The Case of Roy E Burnett
& B.O.A.C.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Aug 18 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: As you know, I am out of Jamaica this evening and more than a thousand miles away from home. And you know by now that whenever I have to leave Jamaica I record these commentaries in advance. And of course when this happens it means that I cannot keep up with the news that happens every day. But when I am at home the daily news happenings often make it impossible for me to deal with very many subjects which are important but which are not immediate news. So I welcome these rare opportunities when I can get away from the day-to-day news and deal with subjects that I have neglected. For instance, I have had the case of Mr. Roy E. Burnett and ~~B.O.A.C.~~ one of the local airlines on my file for a very long time now and my being away has given me a chance to deal with it.

Now, basically it seems to me that Mr. Burnett's case is one of procedure and of approach. Mr. Burnett wrote to tell ~~xxx xk~~ me about the matter and invited my comments. His case was that he took an American lady to the airport to see her off after she had spent a 3-weeks holiday in Jamaica. When the lady's luggage was processed there was some misunderstanding, it seems to me. The baggage on the scale weighed 351bs; but the lady also had some rum and some hand luggage. The ~~B.O.A.C.~~ airline hostess knew the weight of the rum, and with her great experience, she made a pretty accurate assessment of the weight of the hand luggage and charged the American lady £5.3.6. excess. Mr. Burnett and his American guest, on the other hand, had seen the scale registering 351bs and not having the experience of the hostess they could not assess the weight of the rum and the hand luggage. Mr. Burnett therefore asked how the ~~xxxx~~ hostess had arrived at her

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figure. And as I understand it, it was at this point the the trouble began. From what Mr. Burnett wrote to me it seemed that the manner of the hostess' reply upset him and his guest most. According to Mr. Burnett the hostess said abruptly: "Do you want me to send back for the things?" The suggestion is implied that the hostess sounded aggressive and impatient. Mr. Burnett then went and talked the matter over with a duty officer. The baggage was weighed and it was found that the hostess' assessment had been correct.

Mr. Burnett sent a copy of his letter to me to the district Manager of ~~B.O.A.C. here~~ the airline. The district manager investigated the matter and wrote me a pretty detailed letter setting out the case from ~~B.O.A.C.'s~~ airline's point of view. From the ~~B.O.A.C.~~ airline's point of view it seemed that Mr. Burnett was most concerned with the question of the weight and on this the hostess had been proved correct. But to this Mr. Burnett said no, his main concern was with procedure and the attitude of the hostess.

For myself, I see a lot of right on both sides. The hostesses have to process a large number of people in a very short time and so they work at top speed. But that in itself can sometimes be tricky. When you know your business and you know you are right you tend to be impatient with questions. On the other hand you are selling a service to the customer and so it is your duty to be patient with his questions. The very fact that you have upset the customer to the point that he has complained is a failure on your part. The customer is entitled to courtesy at all times from those who sell him their service.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Aug 19 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I think one of the surest ways in which we can measure the health of any society is by the relations between the police force of that society and the ordinary citizens of that society. Where the society is healthy and civil liberties flourish, where the rule of law is the order of the day - in such societies you will find a very cordial and friendly relationship between the citizen and the police. There will be mutual respect between citizen and police: the citizen will regard the policeman as his friend and the guardian of his peace. Children crossing streets will confidently slip their hands into that of the policeman because they will see him as the symbol of safety. Strangers in a strange place will seek out a policeman first of all if they are lost: he will be the best person to help them get where they want to. Only the law-breakers, only the evil-doers will be afraid of the policeman. All the good citizens, whether they are rich or poor, proud or humble, well-dressed or in rags, will see him as a friend, as someone who will protect the peace, guard the rule of law, and be helpful to anyone who appeals to him for help. That is the image of the policeman in the good and healthy society.

In an unhealthy society where the rule of law is flouted, where civil liberties are not respected and where the rule of law is weak, there is very little, if any, friendship between the police and the citizen. In such societies the citizen keeps as far away from the policeman as he can. He does not regard the policeman as his friend. As far as possible he avoids having anything to do with the police and he will not do anything to help the police keep the peace. In such

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societies parents use the policeman as a bogeyman with which to frighten little children. They say: if you don't do this or that the policeman will come for you. And even little children shy away from the police.

Well now, using these two yardsticks: one of the healthy society in which the policeman is everybody's friend; and the one of the unhealthy society in which the policeman is everybody's enemy, where would we put Jamaica?

I myself would put it somewhere in the middle. It is not unhealthy, but at the same time it is still far from being really healthy. There are some very good people in our police force, and I am particularly impressed with one group in the force, the C.I.D. under the leadership of Superintendent George Mullen. I think that branch of our police is as good as you could find anywhere in the world and better than most. But I think you will find that many people, especially the poorer citizens, find many of the uniformed policemen rude, agressive and bullying. I met one such rude policeman the other day when I went into a police station for guidance and information about an accident. He was just about as rude and bad mannered as anybody I have ever met. He saw himself as a public master rather than a public servant. It is people like this man who make for the unhealthy relations which now exist between the public and the police. But in fairness let me say his superior officer immediately apologised for the man's behaviour. But what happens when there is no superior officer around or when this rude policeman deals with little people out on the streets? This is one of our big problems about which something should be done.

Goodnight.

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No 199 XXXX Jamaica and Colour
B.G. & the Federation

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Aug 21 at 6.15p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Today is the big day in B.G. and as I have told again and again in the past, my bet is on Jagan. I expect him to win though it is possible that his majority may be reduced. But I will give you an eyewitness account of todays happenings on Thursday evening when I am back in Jamaica.

One of the things that will be of immediate interest to us about British Guiana is the pattern of its future and the pattern of B.G.'s possible relations to the West Indies Federation. In the election manifesto which Jagan's People's Progressive Party published on Tuesday of last week certain important points of future policy were laid out.

First, the manifesto said that if the P.P.P. won the elections, and when they gain independence one year after the elections, B.G. would hold a referendum to ask the people whether they want to enter the West Indies Federation or not.

By this, as you know, hangs quite a story. You will remember that it was late last year, and on one of my radio programmes that Mr. Wills Isaacs dropped his bombshell on B.G.. Wills, you may remember, said that he did not want a Jagan-led B.G. in the West Indies federation. Some of you may also remember that shortly after that interview I went down to Trinidad and brought back a recording of Dr. Eric Williams' reply to this statement of Mr. Isaacs. Dr. Williams said very firmly that as far as Trinidad was concerned they wanted British Guiana in the Federation. He rejected the idea that British Guiana's entry into the federation should be made difficult xxxxxx under any circumstance. As he saw it, British Guiana had a right to be in the Federation and it was the duty of the federal government

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to make things as smooth and as easy as possible for B.G. to enter. What form of government B.G. had and who headed her government, he felt, was the business of the Guianese people. Our business was to make it clear to the Guianese people that the door of the West Indies Federation was open to them. ~~There~~

These were the main lines of the disagreement between Mr. Wills Isaacs and Dr. Williams. As far as I know these two conflicting views have not been reconciled. If the ruling West Indies Federal Labour Party has in fact arrived at any decision on the matter, they have not given it out. But it seems to me that a decision on how the rest of the West Indies feel about B.G.'s entering the Federation now becomes a matter of some urgency.

Obvisouly, if the Guianese people are told that they are not wanted in the West Indies Federation or that they are only wanted under certain conditions, this is bound to influence ~~they~~ way they look at the matter. They are very likely to say; alright, if they don't want us then we won't have anything to do with them. This is a a very natural and human reaction.

If, on the other hand, the spokesmen of the West Indies Federation make it clear that they are anxious for B.G. to come in, if they make it clear that a place has been reserved for her and she would be very welcome, the Guianese reaction might be very different. And so it seems to me that the attitude of the rest of the West Indies to B.G.'s entering the Federation can have a very important bearing on the results of the referendum which Jagan has promised his people. But we will have to make up our minds early. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Aug 22 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I told you about Dr. Jagan's decision, contained in the People's Progressive Party election manifesto, to hold a referendum when B.G. becomes independent next year. The referendum will be on the question of whether B.G. should join the West Indies Federation or not. I told you that this meant that the spokesmen of the West Indies would have to make up their minds as to whether they want B.G. in the federation or not because how the rest of the West Indies react to B.G. will have an influence on how the Guianese people decide. As you know, last year Mr. Wills Isaacs expressed the view in an interview with me that B.G. under Jagan should not be allowed into the federation. You will also remember that Dr. Eric Williams disagreed flatly with this view.

But this is only one side of the penny. It is an important side, but it is not the most important. What is far more important is how the Guianese leaders themselves feel about the Federation and the extent to which they can influence their followers. And it is at this point that Dr. Jagan becomes particularly important. As a Guianese of Indian origin and therefore the leader of the largest single racial group in the country, Jagan's is the dominant influence. Now please do not misunderstand me. I am not saying that Jagan approaches the problems of B.G. from the point of view of the interests of one group. He does not; and indeed the thing I admire most about both Jagan and Burnham is the fact that they have both firmly refused to conduct their politics on racial and communal lines. As you know, Burnham recently expelled Sydney King from his People National Congress because King was pushing a racial line. I think in this both of the

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two B.G. leaders have shown a balance and a maturity which is often lacking among some of our own so-called leaders.

But facts are hard things and they should be faced squarely. And the hardest fact in B.G.'s political life is the central point that the Guianese of East Indian origin make up the majority of the population. And whether we like it or not, there is more than a tendency among both the masses of East Indian origin as well as the masses of African origin to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ see their political problems in a communal spirit. The leaders may disapprove of this, but the fact is there and it is a fact that constitutes one of the greatest possible dangers for the future of B.G. as I see it. But what has this to do with the possible outcome of the referendum?

Simply this. If Jagan throws his weight in favour of B.G. entering the federation then it is almost certain that B.G. will enter even if a large section of the East Indian community deserts him. If on the other hand, he throws his weight against B.G. entering then it is most unlikely that B.G. will. The non-Indian section of the population still outnumbers the Indian section - but only if <u>all</u> the non-Indian elements are united, and at presnt they are not and federation does not seem to be the issue to unite them. In any case, such a unity <u>against</u> the Indian community would be a most unhealthy thing and I, for one, would be against it. And yet it seems to me that B.G.'s threatening communal problems has its best chance of being solved within the larger frame-work of the West Indies Federation. And for this reason it seems to me important that our leaders should let Jagan know that he and B.G. would be more than welcome inside the Federation. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Aug 23 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I wonder how many of you have read the letter to the editor which appeared in the Gleaner of Wednesday of last week under the heading: 'Colour Prejudice in Mobay Hotel'. If you have you will recall that this was the story of a resident of Montego Bay who made friends with two white women teachers from Canada. These two friends then invited this man to join them and another male tourist for an outing. But on the way they stopped at the hotel where this male white tourist was staying and the Montego Bay resident and one of the young women sat on the hotel veranda while the other two went inside for something. It was at this point that the man who seemed to be manager of the hotel behaved in what can only be described as a prejudiced way thus embarrassing both the Jamaican as well as the foreign visitors to these shores.

Now I know many people feel that there is too much talk of race and colour going on in Jamaica today. And most of them deplore this and say we must stop talking about it. A businessman who happens to be a good friend of mine one day gave me a tongue-lashing because he felt that I was contributing to this racial feeling by talking about it on the radio. But you do not get away from things by shutting your eyes to them and pretending that they do not exist. And my own feeling is that it is incidents such as the one about which the man wrote to the Gleaner last Wednesday which create more racial feeling than all the talking of all the agitators in Jamaica. And I think we must face the fact that what that man wrote about was no isolated instance. I have heard of incidents like this on more times than I

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like to remember. Jamaicans have been made to feel that they are not welcome on Jamaica's north coast tourist resorts/ Sometimes they have been told so outright, at other times they have been overcharged, and at yet other times they have encountered a studied rudeness which can be worse than the outright insult about which a man can do something. And I frankly do not see the sense in pretending that this sort of thing does not happen.

Now I am not saying that it happens everywhere. I am not saying that all the people concerned with the hotel industry do this sort of thing. For instance I have always felt completely welcome at the places with which Mr. Abe Issa has anything to do and the same goes for the places where the Elkins are. But there are places where coloured people are not welcome in their own country. And whatever the reason this is a bad thing which should be stopped immediately. As I said, this makes for more real racial feeling than a thousand speeches by a thousand hotheaded agitators.

The tourist industry has associations and organisations of its own. I should like the Tourist Board, which is subsidised with public money, and the government, to make it clear to all these hotel operators that Jamaica belongs first and foremost to the Jamaican people and that there should not be one corner of this island where people from the outside can go to which Jamaicans cannot go, provided they observe the rules and behave properly. If we have to choose between a tourist industry based on colour lines or no tourist industry, then for the sake of peace and harmony in Jamaica, it would be better to have no tourist industry. But that choice need not be made. The rememdy is in the hands of the leaders of the industry. Goodnight.

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No 207

B.G Election Postmortem:
The High Poll

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Aug 24 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I have just returned from British Guiana a few hours ago.And as I promised you last week when I left for B.G., I have come back with areportfor you. I am sure you all know the hard facts of the election: youknow Jagan has won twenty seats; you know Forbes Burnham's party has won eleven seats, and you know Peter D'Aguiar's United Force has won four seats. These hard facts about B.G.'s Genenerl Election have been reported very fully on the radios and in the press. So, instead of repeating what you already know, I thought it might be a very good idea to hold a sort of post mortem on the B.G. elections.

Once you stop and think carefully about the results of the B.G. elections, and once you look at the figures carefully, two very interesting points come out. If you only look at the number of seats each of the three parties has won, Jagan's victory looks very decisive indeed. His People's Progressive Party has five more seats than the combined total of the two opposition parties. This is a clear majority, suggesting that Jagan has the approval of a clearcut majority of B.G.'s voters.

But, if you look at the total number of votes cast, and if you work out how they are shared among the parties, then the Jagan position does not look so good. Some of you will remember from your radio and press reports that British Guiana has a total voting population of just over 246,000. Up to this morning when I left Georgetown, there were still 45 undeclared votes in one constituency and six boxes to be opened in another, but these will make no basic difference to the figures which I want to give you now. Of the 246,000 Guianese who have the vote, 217,887 went to the polls and cast their votes. This means that without the six boxes and 45 undeclared votes, 88.5% of the voters of B.G. went to the polls. And this,

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to me, is the first really startling thing about this election. If you know something about the physical size of B.G., if you know the distances that people often have to walk to get to a polling station, and if you know the conditions under which they sometimes have to travel to get to a polling station, then you are likely to find this turn-out of voters a really amazing thing. Just let me give you one little example. Just before voting started on Monday morning rain fell in several areas. When the rain stopped it was found that in one area the polling booth had become flooded and was under water; and I understand that elsewhere one box full of voters' returns got flooded and had to be given up. But in spite of all these difficulties there was this fantastic turn-out of voters. I personally do not know of any recent election in either Britain or the United States - or anywhere else where democratic elections are held - where there has been such a high turn-out of voters. And believe me, these people turned out not because they were forced or bullied or because there is a one party system or for any such similar reason.

They turned out because this election was important to them; because they knew that how and what they decided would set the future course of their country for generations to come. And so each man and each woman went out and assumed his or her responsibility. Some got up from their sick beds, some had to be carried, I know of at least one woman who was in labour: and they had a voting turn-out such as we have not known in Jamaica. As I wandered from voting station to voting station in and around Georgetown on Monday, I thought of Jamaica's date with destiny on September the 19th, and I hoped very much that the Jamaican voters would match and outmatch the turn-out of voters that I saw in British Guiana. Tomorrow I'll tell you of the second thing that struck me. So till then, goodnight.

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203

B.G. Election Post Mortem:
The Popular Vote

NEWC COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Aug 25 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I told you of the fantastically high turn-out of voters on Monday in British Guiana's General elections. You will remember that out of a total voting population of just over 246,000, 217,887 Guianese cast their votes - in fact the figure is higher because of the six boxes and 45 undeclared votes which were then still to be counted and included. This means that more than 88½% of the electorate went to the polls. And this, look at it any way you like, is an amazing achievement. It means that the Guianese voter has, in this election at least, taken his responsibility as a citizen more seriously than the voters in countries which are supposed to be more developed. Certainly, you did not have this kind of voting turn-out in the American Presidential election and you certainly did not have it in the last British General Elections. And of course we in Jamaica have never come near this figure though xI do hope w will do so when the voting on the referedum comes around. As I told you last night, I think the reason for this high poll was because the Guianese knew that they were not just choosing for the next four or five years. The government that leads British Guiana into independence is almost bound to set the pattern for Guianese development for a very long time to come. That Government has now been chosen. But by the very nature of the large turn-out, the voters have set a serious limitation on that government.

Of the 217,887 votes that were cast, 93,073 went to Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party. This means that the P.P.P. got 42.7% of the total vote: Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress got 89,283. This is 41% of the total vote. Peter D'Aguiar's United Force got 35,531, which

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is 16.3% of the total popular vote.

Once you break the figures down in this way then you see that Cheddi Jagan's total majority in terms of seats becomes a minority in terms of the popular vote. Jagan won more seats than the two other parties combined. But he did not get more popular votes than the two other parties combined. The two parties combined polled a popular vote of something like xx 124,814 as against the P.P.P.'s 93,073. But elections, as you know, are not won or lost on the popular vote but on a majority of seats. And I have certainly not discussed these figures in order to make any of you doubt Jagan's clear mandate from the people to lead British Guiana. The twenty seats Jagan's P.P.P. holds is a clear mandate according to the rules of parliamentary democracy.

The reason why I have discussed these figures is because I think they are likely to have an influence on the way Jagan goes about things. The knowledge that 57.3% of the voters did not cast their votes for his party will tend to make him move cautiously where otherwise he might have moved boldly. All politicians who depend on votes for their power are sensitive to factors like this. And Jagan is both shrewd enough and wise enough as a politician for this factor to be important, especially during the life time of this, the first parliament of B.G. under the new, self-governing constitution. Goodnight.

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No 204 1)Brazilian President Resigns
2) Alliance for Progress

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Aug 26 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news of the resignation of the President of Brazil which broke last night was just about the most unexpected and startling event of the week. After only seven months in office, President Janio Quadros suddenly resigned and said he had taken this action because he had been defeated by the forces of reaction in his country. I think most of the world outside Brazil is very much in the dark about this dramatic turn of events in Brazil. There is obviously a very big story behind this resignation, but at the moment nobody outside knows just what all of that story is. But there have been a few straws in the wind over the past few weeks.

A little over two weeks ago President Quadros presented his Congress with a bill to cut down on the flow of profits out of Brazil. There had been criticism that most American companies operating in Brazil were sending all their profits back to the United States instead of re-investing such profits in the country and thus helping its development. The Quadros bill was to curb this situation. But instead of dealing only with the profits of foreign companies - which are predominantly American - the Quadros bill included all companies, both foreign and domestic. The bill laid down a flat 30% tax levy on the distributed profits of all companies operating in the country. But on the other hand, if profits were plowed back into Brazil, then the tax on this re-invested money would drop to only 10%. This meant that if the bill were passed companies who exported their profits would face a tax increase of 50% while those who chose to re-invest their profits in the country would have their taxes cut in half. And as an encouragement to local

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capital the bill provided for a 15% cut in taxes for companies one third of whose shares were own by Brazilians.

Now, to people whose main concern ~~was~~ is the welfare and development of Brazil, and the expansion of her industries, the Quadros bill seemed sensible and reasonable. But to those who were concerned only with their profits and the safe stacking away of their profits in the safety of Switzerland or the United States, this was a very revolutionary and undesirable measure. And my guess is that this was one of the points on which what ~~Xxxx~~ Quadros has called Brazil's forces of reaction, have been putting up a bitter fight. And it would seem that for the moment they have defeated him.

But Janio Quadros is politically the most popular man with the Brazilian masses who voted him into power. And how the mass of the Brazilian people react to his resignation and the reason he gave for it, is ~~xxxx~~ very important. The mass of the people may accept this as part of the pattern of Brazilian power politics. In that case they may say a brilliant amateur tried to clean up the country but was beaten by the machine. Or they may decide to take a direct hand to reinstate Quadros. If that happens then we might expect some political trouble in Brazil. And any real political trouble in Brazil may act as the flashpoint for a wave of unrest throughout Latin America. An d this, if it happens, could play the very devil with President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress idea. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Aug 28 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The crisis in Berlin, the British Guiana elections and the resignation of the President of Brazil - these were the three big stories of last week. These three stories were considered so important that they over-shadowed almost everything else that happened in the world. But there was another item of news last week which was so important that it may, in the long run, prove more important for the world than two out of last week's three big stories: that item of news was the final and complete freeing of Jomo Kenyatta.

You will remember that it was just over two weeks ago that Kenyatta was given a sort of limited freedom after spending some nine years in prison and under restriction: he was a prisoner for seven years and for the rest of the time he was restricted to a small area in the semi-desert far north of Kenya, at a Godforsaken place called Lodwar. Then, on August the 14th he was transferred to a place called Gatundu which is near Nairobi. There too he was restricted. He could only move about in the three-acre plot of land. And he was barred from holding political meetings or political office because he had been convicted under the charge of 'managing the Mau Mau'. And then suddenly last week, all restrictions were lifted and Jomo Kenyatta had complete and unconditional freedom.

Those of us who know Kenya and who have followed the Kenya story with some care, knew that it was just a matter of time before the Colonial Office had to release Kenyatta, and, much more important, had to admit that only Kenyatta could unite the major political forces in the country. But the Kenya settlers plus a very powerful group in Britain, still thought it was possible to keep Kenyatta out

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of the political life of his country. They did everything in their power to dicredit him, both among the Africans in Kenya as well as in the outside world: and the Kenya government itself was a party to this campaign. The Corfield report on the Mau Mau which was published by the British Government a few months ago painted a very ugly picture of Kenyatta: according to that report he was everything that was evil and depraved and he had corrupted his people. And last year the Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, denounced Kenyatta as "a leader to darkness and death". All this confirms the view that both the Colonial Office and the white settlers still felt, as recently as three months ago, that they could keep Kenyatta out of the political life of Kenya, either by banishing from the country or else by permanently restricting him inside the country. But the pressure of events soon showed them how foolish this was. A new movement of violence began to build up. Mass African pressure forced the new African leaders to demand the release of Kenyatta. And it soon became clear that there could be no peace or stability in the country without the leadership of Kenyatta. And so the white settlers suddenly discovered that after all Kenyatta could not have been the evil genius of the Mau Mau because it only began after he had been imprisoned and there was no way he could have managed it from prison. And early this year the same Sir Patrick Renison who had called him a leader to darkness, said there could be no stability without him. At last, the Colonial Office had accepted the new reality and adjusted its policy accordingly. That is the meaning of the release of Kenyatta. Tomorrow I will discuss the new reality in Kenya and East Africa. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Aug 29 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I told you about the complete and unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta last week. I told you that in the long run this may prove more important for the world than the B.G. elections or the resignation of the President of Brazil; and I described it as the new reality to which the Colonial Office has at last bowed its head.

This new reality is the hard fact that white settler rule in East Africa is fast ending, and in her own interest Britain must now back the Africans rather than the white settlers. In the past Britain has, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, backed the white settlers. And in some ways British policy in East Africa has been a watered down version of policies persued in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. There was not the same elaborate pattern of colour bar by law as in South Africa. But to the African at the receiving end the practices were all very similar. There were no Pass Laws as in South Africa where every black man and woman had to carry several pieces of paper to indentify himself at all times. But the East African black man had to carry his Kipande ~~⊖~~ which in fact was a pass. And there were the same restrictions about entering hotels and bars and restaurants. And of course there was the same basic social attitude. And when the early constitutional changes were made, at best they made sure that something like 50,000 white settlers had the same political representation as something like 20,000,000 Africans. In Kenya 30,000 white settlers had the same number of seats as 5½ million Africans: in Tanganyika a little over 16,000 settlers had the same number of seats as more than 8,000,000 Africans. Only in Uganda were

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things different. There you only had a little over 3,000 whites and they were not settlers in the true sense as were the settlers of Kenya and Tanganyika. And so there was not much of a colour thing to be found. Instead, there was conflict between the ancient African kingdom of Buganda and the Colonial Office. The Baganda wanted an independent African state. But the whites of South Africa and the Rhodesias as well as the settlers of East Africa put very strong pressure on the British Government. They were afraid that if the people of Uganda did xxxxxx set up an independent African state it might act as a spur and as an example to all the other Africans to strive for the same sort of thing in Kenya, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias and South Africa. And their pressure was so strong that it did in fact inhibit the Colonial Office. And so it was that to a very large extent British policy in East Africa had constantly to appease the white settlers for whom life was very good, and who certainly were not prepared to give up the good life without a fight. This was particularly true of Kenya, where some of the best land had been alienated and set aside for whites only. These lands were known as the White Highlands and indeed xxxx most if not all settlers saw East Africa as the whiteman's Africa. And this was the root cause for what became known as the Mau Mau rebellion. But why, you might ask, does all this make the release of Kenyatta more important than the B.G. Elections and the resignation of President Quadros of Brazil? Because I think it is the beginning of a great new power bloc in Africa and the world. I will discuss this new power bloc tomorrow; so till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Aug 30 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The release of Jomo Kenyatta makes possible the bringing into being of the East African Union as a political fact. And once the East African Union does become a political fact, then one of the most powerful new forces will step onto the world stage. But let me set out the facts first. What has been known as British East Africa are: the British colony of Kenya which has an area of 219,730 square miles, and a population of just over 6,000,000; next there is the British Trust Territory of Tanganyika, which is 342,706 square miles in size and has a population of just over 9,000,000 people; and finally there is the British Protectorate of Uganda with a total land area of 80,292 square miles and a population of just over 5,000,000. Together, these three countries have a population of of more than 20,000,000 people and a total land area of 642,729 square miles.

Now, it terms of physical size, this is obviously a big unit. It is nearly twice the size of Nigeria. It is a third larger than South Africa. It is a third larger than Egypt. In fact, it is the largest single physical unit on the African continent the moment Nyasaland leave the Rhodesian Federation, which Dr. Banda has declared she will. And it is rich. It has some of the best farm and cattle lands in the world and it has mineral wealth as well. It has a long coastline and several good ports into the Indian Ocean. Shipping access to Europe would be easy through the Suez Canal. Economically, the East African Union can be very powerful.

It has already gone far on the road to political union. It has a common currency and a common customs tariff which the British brought

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into being. There is a University College of East Africa at Makerere, and Sawhili is the language common to all three East African countries. These are all factors which would help make union easy. Cultural difference between the three peoples are very slight and there are more similiarities than differences.

But much more important than these factors is the fact that all the East African leaders have declared themselves in favour of the East African Union. Mr. Julius Nyerere has said that he is prepared to postpone independence for Tangnyika if that would help bring the East African Union into being. And although Dr. Banda wants to take Nyasaland out of the white-dominated Rhodesian Federation, he too is prepared to join an East African Union run by Africans. Such a Union would change the whole political face of Africa. It will bring pressure on South Africa and the Rhodesias in a way no West African state can. And it could really hurt South Africa economically. And the voice of the East African Union could easily become the most influential African voice in world Affairs. If you agree with me that the way Africa goes is largely going to determine the shape which the future takes, then you will agree with me that the creation of the East African Union by men like Nyrere, Banda and Mboya is far more important for the future of the world in the long run than the B.G. Elections and the going of Quadros. And at the centre of creating this new power force stands Jomo Kenyatta, the one man whose influence is so powerful and widespread as to bring these leaders together. All this will not happen overnight. But it will happen. Goodnight.

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No 208

1) The Harmon-Blades Fight
2) New Palisadoes Airport

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Aug 31 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I do not normally comment on sporting events. That department is in the very capable hands of Roy Lawrence. But I do hope he and you will forgive me if I touch very briefly on last night's main fight between Jamaica's Al Harmon and Florida's Freddie Blades. Like hundreds of others I went to Sabina Park and paid a lot of money mainly to see this fight. And like almost everyone there, I was disappointed and disgusted with the downright bad display we saw. It was a really sorry exhibition that can only do harm to boxing in this island. I think one man behind me summed up the feeling of most spectators when Blades knocked down Harmon. He shouted: 'Tell him you sorry, man; that was an accident.' I think that if it had not been for the fine and skilful fight put up by Bunny Grant and the Cuban Garcia the entire show would have been a disaster and a washout. I think our promotors and our boxers owe the paying public a better deal than the dismal business we had last night. If they don't give us a better deal then the boxers might as well pack up and find other honest but less well-paying jobs and the promoters might as well invest their money elsewhere. The long suffering public will not put up with much more of the kind of stuff we had last night. And to cap it all, a number of people had their cars forced open and robbed. My own car was also forced open and the windows damaged. Just what the large turn-out of police was doing is anybody's guess.

And now for a letter from a listner on a very important point. Mr. Cecil H. Cousins of Kingston ~~wrote~~ wrote : "Dear Mr. Abrahams, I would appreciate if you could bring to the attention of the public through

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your news commentary the following: A few Sundays ago I visited the new terminal building at the Palisadoes Airport and was shocked to see the manner in which the public is treating this wonderful building. You should have seen the way in which the wall behind the waving gallery is dirty. Finger marks by the thousand are all over it. Seeing it, one would believe the wall is years old. Although rubbish disposers are placed all over the waving gallery, there were bottles and pieces of paper strewn all over the place, even on the apron under the waving gallery.

"Please make an appeal to the public to keep this building clean. Surely Jamaicans can show some amount of civic pride. This building is a national show-place and it does not reflect well on the island when a visitor gets such a first impression as what I saw on that Sunday." That is the letter from Mr. Cousins and it is one with which I agree wholeheartedly. The new airport is an attractive thing. Let us not defile it. The only point on which I am not sure I go all the way with Mr. Cousins is why we should keep it clean and beautiful. Of course visitors will be impressed if they see a well-kept and clean new airport. But I think that basically we should keep it clean and attractive for ourselves and out of our own sense of pride rather than simply because of what some visitor might think. Beauty and cleanliness should be good and right for us and we should have them for our own enjoyment and pleasure first and foremost. So please let us keep our airport and all our other public places clean for our own sakes. That is the way we foster national pride in national achievement. Goodnight.

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No 209 The Trinidad and Barbados Elections

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Sept 1st at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: When I passed through Trinidad on my way back from British Guiana last week, I tried, naturally, to get a feel of what was going on in Port-of-Spain political circles. I met Bertie Gomes at Piarco Airport and later on I met Learie Constantine at lunch in the Heart of Port-of-Spain. Bertie Gomes, who now sits as an Independent in the Federal Parliament, seemed to me to be in a mood for making mischief between Jamaica and Trinidad in particular and Jamaican and the rest of the West Indies in General. He told me gleefully of the article he had written and which appeared in last Sunday's Trinidad Guardian in which he said that Jamaica was making 'colonies' of the other islands of the Federation. To back up this mischief-making journalism, he quote one paragraph from the West Indian Economist's July-Aug / editorial which surveyed the federal scene and discussed the possible results of the referendum. According to Mr. Gomes the struggle between the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. is a 'beautifully staged' affair for which Trinidad would have to pay in order 'that Jamaicans could hog all the jobs and the glory also'. In fact, Mr. Gomes is now saying that Trinidad should not stay in a federation based on the London agreement.

The interesting thing about this stand taken by Bertie Gomes is how remarkably ~~xx~~ close it is to the stand taken by Sir Grantley Adams since the London Conference. Both Sir Grantley and Mr. Gomes have now come out bitterly against the London Conference decisions. Both have accused Jamaica of wanting to dominate the federation. But in fairness to Sir Grantley, he has never sounded as irresponsible as Mr. Gomes was last Sunday. When he ~~xxx~~ delivered the main speech at the opening of the Barbados Labour Party election campaign in Bridgetown on the

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18th of August, Sir Grantley again declared that he would never support the federation as it was shaped by the London Conference. He said Freedom of Movement and the right of the Federal Government to impose taxation on the units were the two essentials.

It seems to me that this clearly indicates the shape and nature of the future opposition in the Federal parliament. And this is where both the Trinidad and Barbados elections have as important a bearing on the federation as our own referendum.

If the Barbados Labour Party wins decisively in the Barbados General Elections, then Grantley Adams will be strengthened in pushing his new line in Federal politics. He hopes to muster enough small island support to challenge Manley for the Prime Ministership, that is, assuming that Jamaica says 'yes' in the referendum. But for this to become feasible the Trinidad D.L.P. opposition should win a number of seats from the P.N.M. And so the Trinidad General Elections also become crucial for the future shape of the Federation. If Jamaica says 'yes' in the referendum and if the P.N.M. sweeps the board in their elections which are now expected in late October, then it looks as though Manley will become Prime Minister after independence and Sir Grantley ~~the leader of the~~ opposition. At present everything hinges on our referendum. And that is why Eric Williams has been so silent on Federation. If Manley wins the referendum then the P.N.M. will go along on the basis of the London Conference. If Manley does not, then Williams may chart a new course. That is why his party conference begins four days after the Jamaica referendum. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Sept 2 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Mr. Jonathan Grant, the Minister of Labour, made what I consider a major policy announcement at the closing of the seventh annual trade union course. Mr. Grant said that many workers in various grades of employment have for a long time been very dissatisfied with the fact that people were imported from abroad to fill jobs which could comfortably have been filled by local workers. I think few fairminded people will deny that this is a fact. The tendency has been, and still is in many places, to give the better paid jobs, the jobs with more authority and responsibility, to people from outside. I think this has now largely come to an end in the public sector of our economy. But it is still very pronounced in the private sector. Whatever the reasons for it, whether it is prejudice, whether it is old habits dying hard, or whether it is simply thoughtlessly selling Jamaica and Jamaicans short, this business of giving preference to the outsider is a fact and a fact that has been going on for far too long. Now, Mr. Grant says, this will have to come to a stop.

If, in future, any firm wants to import someone to do a job, that firm will have to satisfy the Ministry of Labour that it has first of all made an effort to find a Jamaican to do the job; and that if it had not found such a Jamaican, then it has tried to find someone from the other units of the West Indies. Only after it has failed in this would the Ministry permit it to import some one from abroad. Now this is fine. But there is the problem of enforcement.

You may have an employer who will pay lip-service to this pattern

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of Jamaicanisation. He will put an advertisement in the local paper; he will get some applications; he will interview the apllicants; he will then decide that none of them are quite right for the job. He will then go through the same prodedure with some of the other West Indies territories (though here we are likely to come up against the problem of applicants having to travel to Jamaica for an interview). And then he will turn to the Ministry and say: Sorry but none of these people will do for the job. What will the ministry be able to do? How will the Ministry be able to measure the good faith of such a man? Such a man may have made up his mind right at the outset that he was going to end up by saying no one except someone from outside would suit. I am not saying that this is likely to be the general pattern. What I am saying is that unless the Ministry tries to make some provision for this sort of thing the whole idea might be defeated by intelligent sabotage. So I would suggest that both the unions and the Ministry think about this aspect.

The other very important aspect of Mr. Grant's announcement was his call for Jamaicans to fit themselves for jobs needing higher skills and qualifications. We now have a first-rate college of arts, sience and technology and it is going to be almost impossible for any employer to say a Jamaican in not qualified after that Jamaican has passed his technical training at our college of Arts, Science and Technology. So I would strongly endorse the Minister's call, especially to young workers,to get themselves trained. Once they prove that there is no need to import people with technical training, the whole business of Jamaicanisation in the private sector of our economy should shoot ahead. And of course, the wise employer will help rather than hinder this move. Goodnight.

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No 211 P.P.P. Founding Conference

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Sept 4 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The founding conference of the People's Political Party took place at the Jamaica Success Club in Wildman Street yesterday. I did not attend the meeting myself and reports as to the size of the attendance was rather conflicting. Some people told me the conference was well attended, others said it was not so well attended. But I gather it was a serious and businesslike conference. In fact, I gather it was so businesslike that the Conference did not get through the discussion of the P.P.P.'s Five-Year Programme. Delegates discussed the programme in great detail and only got through eight of the fifteen clauses. According to press reports there will be another meeting to get through the discussion of the programme and for the election of officers. Meanwhile, the Steering Committee of the Party is made up of: Mr. Millard Johnson, Chairman; Mr. Martin Allen, Vice Chairman; Mr. Byron Moore, Secretary; Mr. Sylvester Lowe, Assistant Secretary; Mr. Reuben Martin, Treasurer; plus ~~the following gentlemen~~ add others: S.O. Guntley, Chris Lawrence, S. George Minott, Herbert Campbell, David Cooper and Sam Brown. ~~At a continuation meeting of this founding conference these gentlemen are likely to become the Executive of the P.P.P. though there might me some additions or subtractions or both.~~ From the proceedings of yesterday I think we can draw the fair conclusion that the party is no in process of establishing itself as an organised and proper political party which is out to challenge the dominant positions now held by the ~~Jxxxx~~ People's National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party in the political life of this country. I think that as such it is as entitled as the two major parties to put forward its views and seek the support of the voters of the

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country. And if a sufficiently large number of the voters of the country accept those views then the party may become a force in the country. And if a time comes when the majority of the voters accept those views then that party will become the ruling party of the country. That is the way of parliamentary democracy.

The P.P.P.'s Five-Year Programme was published in Sunday's Gleaner. Like the programmes of nearly all new political parties which are anxious to win popular support against strongly established old parties, it tends to be rather lavish in its promises. It says that if it is given power, the P.P.P. will wipe out unemployment, it will wipe out illiteracy, it will wipe out race and colour discrimination, and raise the standard of living of the masses. It promises to bring at least 100,000 acres of idle land under the plough; it promises to reduce import duty on the essential foods eaten by the masses, as well as on textiles and shoes. It also promises to reduce taxes on all Public Passenger Vehicles as well as on private and commercial vehicles. Now, duties and taxes are the key ways in which governments get their money to supply their citizens with services. Cuts in taxes mean a drop in government income. This is just a cold fact. But having proposed these cuts in taxes the P.P.P promised free education for every child from 5 to 17; it also promises old age-pensions and unemployed benefits. Now I approve of all these things. But where is the money to come from if taxes are cut? And can all these promises really be carried out in five years? If not all, then which? These are just some of the questions raised by the P.P.P.'s Five Year Programme. I hope the P.P.P. will spell out the answers a little more clearly for us. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Sept 5 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I wonder how many of you gave any serious thought to a small item of news on the front page of yesterday's Gleaner. On the face of it this was no earth-shattering piece of news, and I rather suspect that most people read it and then went on the other news without giving that particular item much thought. And yet I found this news terribly disturbing; and I am not the only one. I am sure Morris Cargill found it equally disturbing; and I am sure the people of the Watershed Protection Committee and the people in our Forest Department found it equally disturbing.

This particular piece of news was the announcement by Mr. Ernest Muirhead, the owner, that the Treasure Beach Hotel has been closed down for good. Mr. Muirhead said that he had decided to close down the hotel because over the past few years there had been a regular shortage of water for domestic use. At times this has been so critical that guests at the hotel had cut short their stay and gone away. Mr. Muirhead tended to blame the St. Elizabeth Parish Council for this state of affairs. He said he had repeatedly informed the Council of his water problem but nothing had been done to help. I am not sure though that Mr. Muirhead is totally correct in blaming the St. Elizabeth Parish Council. They may be blame-worthy in terms of the direct and immediate responsibility. The Council may have been forced to decide that if there was a water shortage the people of the area should have prior rights over the hotel. But I do not think that takes us to the heart of the matter.

The Treasure Beach is a small hotel which can only accomodate some 18 people; it is the only hotel in St. Elizabeth and so its

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closing is a pity because it is good for our tourist trade to have resorts in places other than the north coast and the Corporate Area of Kingston and St. Andrew. But the big thing about the closing of the Treasure Beach, as I see it, is the reason behind it: the shortage of water. And behind that is a problem which is very much bigger than the closing of a dozen Treasure Beaches. I spoke about this problem on Saturday, August the 12th, and Morris Cargill has written and spoken about it too. It is the problem of the growing water shortage throughout Jamaica; the problem of turning the hills of Jamaica into semi-desert patches of rock that can hold no water when it rains. The north coast resorts have known water shortages too. We have the dreadful business of an area being in a state of drought because it has not rained for six weeks. We are getting shorter and shorter of water every year because each year more of our hillside land is cleared by fire. Trees and Bush are burned down, the land is not terraced or else there is a sort of silly show of terracing, and when the rain comes all the top soil is washed away, and there is nothing to hold the water and store it up for our needs. If we go on with these old practices, if we do not protect our watersheds, if we do not start a national policy of terracing to correct the damage which has been done for years, then it is only a matter of time before Jamaica becomes known as the land of Floods and Droughts. The Treasure Beach would not have needed to close if we had cared for the Jamaican earth. It is a warning of what might happen on a large scale of we do not take heed.

Goodnight.

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No 213

1) Citizens Committee for a Better Jamaica
2) Stones at Sangster Meeting
3) Public Opinion Criticism

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Sept 6 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: As with men, so with societies, there are two impulses always at work. There is the impulse to build and there is the impulse to destroy; there is the impulse to do the big and the clean and the generous thing and there is the impulse to do the mean and the petty and the cowardly thing. I think both these conflicting impulses in our natures and in the nature of our society, were shown up very clearly last week.

We had published for the first time on Friday of last week a manifesto by the Citizens Committee for a Better Jamaica. This manifesto was signed by thirteen well-known Jamaican citizens. It offered no blue-print by which all our problems could be solved overnight; in fact, it offered no blue-print of any kind at all; it was a simple declaration of faith: faith in Jamaica and in the future of Jamaica; and above all it was a declaration of faith in the people of Jamaica and a call to "all men and women of goodwill in Jamaica to aid in the spread of a new, dynamic awareness of our progress as a people, and a new sense of pride in that progress".

I am sure the people who signed this manifesto know that not everything in Jamaica is rosy; that there are people who are hungry and homeless and that there are many who are without hope and who must be given hope, and this cannot be done by noble words and lofty sentiments only. There must be deeds to match the fine words. But having said that, let me say that I found this manifesto with its message of hope and pride a very welcome change from all the gloom and misery that so many people have tried to generate lately. This is the spirit in which to go forward and build, not the spirit of fear and

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hate. I hope you will all support the Citizens Committee for a Better Jamaica. It is the nobler impulse at work in our society.

The other impulse, the mean and cowardly impulse, was shown at a political meeting. On Wednesday of last week, Mr. Donald Sangster, the Deputy leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, was stoned at Hampstead St. Mary while he was speaking at an anti-federation meeting. Fortunately neither Mr. Sangster nor anybody else was hurt; but the meeting was broken up.

This was bad; it was mean and cowardly; the people who threw those stones succeeded in interfering with a fundamental right each of us should have in a free society, the right to express our views, no matter how unpopular those views may be~~en~~. If we allow this sort of thing to go on unchecked we will end up by losing all our freedoms, not only the freedom to speak. So I hope that in the days that remain before we go to the polls on the 19th all citizens will avoid any form and violence. It is the mean and cowardly way and it only hurts Jamaica in the long run.

Finally, a question to listeners. This weeks Public Opinion criticises me for sometimes discussing a single subject over two or three commentaries. I have found that there have been times when I have not been able to give you all the background information in one commentary. I have assumed that you would prefer me to give you all the facts over two or three commentaries instead of skimming the thing. You will remember I did this with Jomo Kenyatta and East Africa. I would like to know if you think I should stop doing this even if it means a very superficial treatment of a subject. So please write and let me know how you feel so I may be guided in future. Goodnight.

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No. 214 1) Brawling Politicians

NEWS COMMENTARY

For transmission on
Thursday Sept. 7 at 6.15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good Evening: Last night I talked about the mean and cowardly business of people breaking up public meetings by throwing stones. Tonight I want to talk about brawling politicians, who set the kind of example that leads to people throwing stones to break up meetings. You must have seen in the Press recently a number of startling headlines about violence and brawlings either at political meetings or at the headquarters of some political party. I am sure you will remember that only this week a newspaper carried the story of a brawl in which some prominent politicians were involved.

I know that some of us find this funny. There is a certain amusement to people in high places making public fools of themselves, but I think that there is a more serious aspect to this business of brawling politicians.

Our politicians and would-be leaders are supposed to set us an example of good behaviour and good conduct in public life. They talk about democracy - They talk about freedom of speech - They talk about the democratic right to differ, and still respect each other, and indeed this is the corner stone of parliamentary democracy, and then they set just about the worst example possible. How can we condemn the little man who flings stones to silence people whose views he does not agree with, when we have the example of some of our so-called leaders knocking each other about and using cuss-words instead of intelligent arguments.

The function of leadership is not to appeal to our lowest instincts and our meanest impulses - The function of true leadership is to set standards to which we should aspire - But what sort of standards can we be set by so-called leaders who go in for public brawling.

I think this matter of public brawling by our politicians is a shameful thing which should be bitterly condemned. The

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rights and the wrongs of who started what fight and why is the matter for our courts to settle. What I am concerned about are the moral and social implications of such affairs. And from that point of view all this business of public brawling by our politicians are sordid exhibitions of irresponsibility - which it is the duty of every responsible citizen to condemn in no uncertain terms. I frankly am ashamed to think that there are aspiring leaders in Jamaica today who go in for this kind of brawling and seem to take a pride in it. If there is violence in the few days that remain before we cast our votes on the 19th, I will lay a great share of the blame at the door of these irresponsible politicians.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Sept 8 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There are eleven days left before we go to cast our votes to decided whether Jamaica stays on in the Federation or whether she gets out. As ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ part of the preparation for this most important event our electoral office has just issued the new ~~xxxxxx~~ list of voters who will be entitled to cast their votes. I have found one or two very odd features about this new list.

First, there is the very great drop in the number of voters on the roll between June of last year and now. In June of last year we had 808,085 registered voters. Today we have only 774,787 registered voters. This means that in just about twelve months 33,298 voters have disappeared from our voters' roll. This is a very large number of people indeed to disappear from the voters' register in just a year. Where have they gone?

Mr. Osmond Royce, the Chief Elecoral Officer, says that over 25,000 people migrated to Britain between June of last year and this year. That, he feels, is the main reason for the drop in our voters' list. But that still leaves more than 8,000 people to be accounted for. What happened to these people? It is possible, but not very likely, that more than 8,000 people who registered in 1960 did not register this year. But I frankly find this hard to believe. I do not think that people who went to the trouble of registering last year would suddenly decide not to register. The people who are more likely to refuse to answer the questions of registration officers are people who have never been on the lists before. Those who have already been on the list are not likely to become funny about answering questions which they had already answered the year before.

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So this missing 8,000-plus from the voters' roll become very curious. But when you think of the natural increase in population then the whole business becomes even ~~curiouser~~ more curious. I have no exact figures for our population increase, but if we accept a very modest estimate of some 30,000 or 40,000 live births a year I do not think we would be exaggerating the rate of population increase. This means that the 30,000 or 40,000 children who were born in 1940 would be 21 this year. But let us trim the figure even more by saying that at least half of them were born before June and the other half after June of 1940. This would give us, as very conservative estimate, a new crop of between 15,000 and 20,000 people who are eligible to go on the voters roll for the first time this year. Thus, logically and in spite of migrations, deaths and non-registrations, our voters list should show an increase rather than this very big drop of over 33,000 in a matter of twelve months.

I think this is a sufficiently surprising and curious thing for our Electoral Office to do something about it. I think the government should call for a full investigation and report on the strange phenomenon of our suddenly shrinking voters roll.

On Tuesday September 19th we will have 78,752 people fewer who are entitled to vote than the number of people who were entitled to vote in the 1959 General Election. Then we had a turn-out of just over 66% of the voters. This time I hope we will have a turn-out of at least 75%. So I hope everyone will go out and do his or her duty to the country. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Sept 9 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There are some things we do not like to talk about, publicly because we feel that these things are either too private or too concerned with intimate human habits to be discussed publicly. I want to talk about one such subject this evening because I think it should be treated as a matter of serious public concern and because I hope that something will be done about it soon. This problem does not really arise in the country areas of Jamaica: it is a problem of our cities and in particular it is a problem for the great city of Kingston.

The other afternoon I saw a woman near the bus stop in Dunrobin Avenue in the Constant Spring area. The woman was squatting relieving herself as far back against a fence as she could get. She was trying to hide her face. A motorist in a passing car shouted his disgust at her. The woman looked like an ordinary, decent working-class housewife; poor but neat and tidy. She looked dreadfully embarrassed as she got up and hurried away almost blindly.

Now the fancy name for what this woman had done is 'public voiding', and it is something we all frown on. We say it is bad and we say it is wrong and we condemn people who do this. Some time ago the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce conducted a campaign against 'public voiding'. And yet, what was that woman to do? Where could she go to relieve herself in that part of suburban Kingston? The nearest public convenience which she could have used is at the Half Way Tree square. And anybody under real pressure would find it impossible to hold themselves in and walk that distance. And so it was the lack of a public convenience which made it necessary for this woman to go through

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the humiliation of doing an intimate private act in public and suffer the curses of a superior and thoughtless motorist. It is easy for those of us who go around in cars to stop at the nearest gas station and relieve ourselves. It is not so easy for a poor and humble man or woman. Some of them have been turned away because they are not customers. It is very easy for us to criticise people who under extreme pressure relieve themselves whever they can. But that is no answer to this problem.

Kingston's population has grown enormously in recent years. And as in all great cities people are increasingly becoming strangers to each other and this means that a person cannot just walk in anywhere and ask to use the toilet. And so there is an urgent and pressing need for more public conveniences than the very few we now have.

I think it is high time that the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation Council paid some attention to this public need. The few public lavatories we do have are filthy and they do not seem to have full time attendents to keep them clean. What I should like to see is the putting up of at least another half dozen public lavatories in central Kingston, especially where you have heavy shopping traffic. And I should like to see full time attendents keeping these clean. I am sure few people would object to paying a penny for the use of a clean lavatory, and three pence to be able to wash and tidy themselves and have the use of a clean hand towel. This is the sort of service which people can buy for a few pence in almost every great city in the world. We need that kind of service very badly in Kingston today.

Goodnight.

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No 217 Colonial Shirt Factory

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Sept 11 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: ~~On the front page of~~ this morning's ~~Gleaner~~ there ~~is the news~~ that the Colonial Shirt Factory has been closed down and that some 650 workers who are now on strike will be paid off finally on Wednesday. This information was given ~~to the Gleaner~~ by Mr. Sol Burgher, the President of the Colonial Shirt Factory, who arrived from the United States recently to investigate the strike situation at the factory. The reason Mr. Brugher gave for the decision to close the factory was that the workers on strike had made threats against members of the management staff. Mr. Burgher also said, and now I an quoting his own words as reported in this morning's Gleaner. He said: "We have 11 other factories in the States and we do not bargain with unions in any of them".

From all this it would seem that the factory is definitely closed and that some 650 workers will definitely be unemployed. But my information is that things are not quite as definite as all that. I made some equiries today and my understanding is that a settlement may still be worked out. The representatives of the factory and the representatives of the workers are meeting with the Ministry of Labour tomorrow, and out of this May come a settlement. If a settlement is arrived at then the factory will not close. If, on the other hand, there is no settlement, then the factory will close.

Now, this dispute is one of the clearest we have ever had in Jamaica. There may be a few side issues but these are not really important; the central and the important issue is a very simple one of principle, and it is this: the workers demand the right to be

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represented by a union of their choice: the management on the other hand, are not prepared to negotiate with any union. As Mr. Brugher said, they have 11 factories in the United States but they do not bargain with unions in any of them. This right to organise has been the issue between the workers and management almost since the factory was started two years ago. Some of you may remember that there was a strike at the factory last April over this same issue, and the strike was only called off after it had been proposed to set up a Minimum Wages Board for the industry. But up to now no such Board has been set up; and so we have the present strike which was set off by the dismissal of two workers.

In fairness to the management of the Colonial Shirt Factory, they say they were given the impression that their factory would not be unionised for a long time to come, if at all. If this is true, and I for one am inclined to believe them, then someone, somewhere, has given them the wrong information. If they were given the impression that they could come to Jamaica and set up a factory with cheap, non-union labour, then whoever gave them this information is the really guilty party in this matter. I think it is most important for all who are concerned with our industrial development to make it unmistakeably clear to all would-be investors from overseas that Jamaica is not a market for cheap unorganised labour. The workers' right to organise is one of the cornerstones of this society. We need and welcome new industries, but not at the price of sacrificing this cherished right.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Sept 12 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: One of the really healthy developments in Jamaica today is the spirit of dissent that is abroad in the land: people are questioning, people are arguing, people are challenging; ideas that had been accepted without question before are now being challenged; old values are being put under the searchlight of critical examination. All this is good, though there are many people who seem worried and disturbed by all this mental and emotional activity. It is good because it is a sure sign that the society is healthy and growing and groping towards something more spiritually satisfying.

One of the areas in which this spirit has shown itself most sharply in recent months and weeks has been in the field of the creative arts. The Jamaican novelist, Andrew Salkey, was back here in Jamaica recently; and John Hearne is also back with us at this moment. Both these Jamaican writers are now operating from England. And we also had Trinidad's Vidia Naipaul passing through here and expressing his dismay at the Jamaican and West Indian society. The coming and going of these writers has stimulated much discussion on what part the artist should play in his society. And last week John Maxwell made his own contrbution to the discussion of the role of the artist when he opened the Parboosingh exhibition which closes today.

I think that to a large extent John Maxwell has summed up the position and the feeling of the artist in his speech which was fairly fully reported in the Gleaner of Tuesday September the 5th. I think the Maxwell speech reflected fairly accurately the way Jamaican artists - whether they are writers, painters or composers - feel about their position in this society. Maxwell said that the creative artist in Jamaica

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could consider himself with justice as living in a cultural jungle surrounded by barbarians who were completely unconscious of their culture. Now this was strong language, challenging and provocative; and it certainly provoked strong reactions in some people. I had the pleasure of hearing some of these reactions on some St. Andrew verandas. Of course Maxwell was right. This is the way the young artist does tend to see his world. There is a permanent conflict between the artist and his society - and the younger the artist, the more fierce the conflict and the more passionate the language. Maxwell was in fact doing what is cardinal to the creative artist: he was shocking his audience; he was being the creative critic, which he says the artist is not allowed to be in Jamaica. The one point where I do part company with Maxwell a little was the implicit suggestion that what he described was a uniquely Jamaican situation. It is not: it is a pretty universal situation for the artist everywhere - unless he is a 'yes-man' for the dominant forces in his society. The genuine creative artist is impelled by that 'divine discontent' on which creativity feeds. And it is this divine discontent with things as they are which gives him his unique vision and which compels creation. This is not Jamaican; this is universal, and the 'barbarians' too, are universal. The function of the artist, as I see it, is to help make the 'barbarians' less so with the challenge and power of his art. And this requires moral toughness, passionate involvement and a sharp clarity of vision. There are other and easier ways of making a living, if that is his main concern. Goodnight.

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No 219

1) Kennedy Raps Time Magazine
2) The Sewerage Scheme

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Sept 13 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I was very glad to see that no less a person than the President of the United States has criticised Time Magazine for some of its inaccurate reporting. The President, you will remember, described Time's reporting on the details of the Cuban invasion as 'the most inaccurate of all the articles that have appeared on Cuba". And on the 10th of September, that is last Sunday, the Sunday Gleaner, reprinted an article which had appeared in another American Magazine, Harper's Magazine, showing Time's brand of reporting on Latin America. The article was by D.H. Rodier and the heading was: 'Our Talent For Offending People'. As you know, we have had our share of Time Magazine's reporting on our affairs, and that has not always been too happy. But it is part of the burdens of a free society that we must put up with this kind of reporting. What I hope is that our government Public Relations Office will not allow any inaccurate reporting abroad on Jamaican affairs to go unchallenged. I would ~~xxxx~~ like~~x~~ to see the Public Relations Office pick up every point of factual error that is published and send it to the editor or editors concerned with a request for correction. If an editor keeps on getting factual corrections to stories, it will only be a matter of time before that editor will begin to lose confidence in his local representative and either tell him to mind his ways or else replace him. I think the damaged ~~xx~~ untrue reporting can do to the good name of Jamaica abroad is sufficiently important for our Public Relations Office to check all foreign stories for fact and to correct any errors promptly and firmly.

And now for something smelly nearer home. The Citizens Association

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of Vinyard Town and Rollington Town have decided to ask the government to include those two towns in the proposed giant sewerage scheme which the Water Commission announced three months ago.

I was off the island when the scheme was first announced and so I am not familiar with all the details but I know that it is proposed to spend somewhere in the region of £250,000 for a sewerage scheme for the New Kingston-Briggs Park area. This, I suspect, is the scheme into which Vinyard Town and Rollington Town want to be incorporated. If it is, then I hope it will be found possible to include these two towns even though the contract has already been handed out.

But what I want to talk about is something even bigger and more ambitious and, I am afraid, very much more costly.

Kingston is one of the fastest growing cities in the entire Caribbean. It is a city in which house plots are becoming smaller and smaller. If we go on building at the present rate then another ten to twenty years' time should see the entire plain dotted with houses on small lots. The present practice is to use spetic pits throughout suburban Kingston and St. Andrew. This is so in even such large housing estates as Mona and Harbour View. I think it would be wise for us to think of a sewerage system for the entire plain. I know the Water Commission has a very big scheme under consideration. What I hope is that it will be so devised that the future growth of the city will be accommodated. I also hope that the authorities will lay it down that all future housing schemes should provide proper underground sewerage systems rather than the present septic pits. If we do not plan for this today we may have to pay a very high and smelly price in a very sickly tomorrow. Goodnight.

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No 220 1)End of Colonial Shirt Affair
2)Delays in postal deliveries

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Sept 14 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I am very glad indeed that a settlement has been reached in the Colonial Shirt Factory dispute, and that the factory will re-open next Thursday. The most important single point of the settlement is the one of principle about which I spoke on Monday evening: which is the right of the workers to organise themselves and be represented by the union of their choice. This was the central point of the dispute, not some of the other irrelevent nonsense that has been talked by some people. And this central point has now been accepted by the management of the Colonial Shirt Factory. And so the factory management has agreed to recognise the National Workers Union as the bargaining agent for the workers. That was the key issue of the dispute and that has now been settled.

Under the settlement, the factory's management and the union will meet regularly, probably once a week, to discuss settle any labour relations problems which might arise. I think the management of Colonial Shirts are going to be surprised at how much more smoothly their relations with their workers will run as a result of this arrangement. And I am very glad too that the union has made it quite clear that it strongly condemns any violence and intimidation on the part of the workers.

All in all, I think this is a very good settlement; and now that the Colonial Shirt Factory people have accepted the principle of the right of our workers to be represented by the union of their choice, I hope the workers will put aside past differences and get on with the job in a mature and responsible way when the factory opens next Thursday. And I repeat my hope that those who are concerned with

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the encouragement of foreign investment would make it abundantly clear to all would-be investors that we do not offer them cheap and unorganised labour.

And now for a word about our postal deliveries. A listener in Kingston showed me a letter which had been sent to ~~him~~ his firm by another firm which was also located in Kingston. The letter was dated the 19th of August but did not reach its destination until the 2nd of September. This listener then checked on whether the firm sending the letter had delayed in posting it; the firm sending the letter had proof to show that it had been posted not later than the 21st of August. So, between the posting of the letter in one part of Kingston and its delivery in another part of the same city, twelve days had passed. This was bad enough but there was something worse. Although the letter must have reached the G.P.O. by the 21st of August, the date stamp with which the post office ~~xxxx~~ cancelled the stamp was dated the 31st of August. This gave the impression that the letter had been posted ten days later than it was. Now, where was the letter during those ten days between its posting and the date-stamping of it by the post office? And why this fantastic delay? I think the tax paying public are entitled to answers to these questions. I know that since the settlement of the Post Office strike in July overtime has been cut very drastically from almost unlimited overtime to two hours per day per worker. But that is an internal problem, which it is up to the post office to solve. As far as the public is concerned we are entitled to a very much better service than we are now getting. Our present service is poor and shoddy and just not good enough. Goodnight.

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No 221 Police Violence

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Sept 15 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I had hardly stepped into my office on Tuesday morning when the telephone rang. The man at the other end of the line wanted to know whether I ~~had read the report in that morning's Gleaner~~ knew of that morning's news report of the policeman who had been found guilty of assaulting a prisoner. I told the man that I did not know of it and he read the whole story for me over the phone. He felt it was such a serious matter that he hoped I would talk about it and try and get the authorities to do something about it. The man was obviously very angry and some of his anger came at me because I sounded so calm about the matter. A few minutes later the phone rang again. This man was less angry but felt equally strongly about the matter. I told him that I knew of the report and I would do something about it.

I hope all of you who read that report still remember it. It was a report that a Corporal Herbert Cunningham of the Manchester Police had been found guilty on a charge of 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm to the person of Vivian Simpson of Balaclava on June 7th'. Mr. H.R. Campbell, Acting Resident Magistrate for Manchester had sentenced Cunningham to be bound over for one year.

Vivian Simpson gave sworn evidence of his arrest and told of how he was kicked in the stomach by the Corporal. Simpson was later bailed and when he got home he began to suffer pain that grew so bad that he went to see a doctor at Balaclava that same evening. The Doctor immediately sent him to Mandeville Hospital where another doctor examined him next morning and after an operation found a ruptured intestine. In his evidence to the court this doctor said that the injury he found was consistent with having been inflicted by a kick.

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The doctor said that Simpson remained ~~xx~~ in hospital for two months and that at one stage his condition was so critical that a dying deposition was taken from him.

Cunningham, for his part, denied that he had assaulted Simpson but the Magistrate found him guilty which means that the court was satisfied beyond doubt that the charge that Cunningham had kicked Simpson was a true one.

Now I have tried to be dispassionate in tell this story because it is such a deadly serious one. A man is arrested for the trifling offence of failing to move on when he is ordered by a policeman and he ends up near death's door with a ruptured intestine. And a policeman, a guardian of our law and order is found guilty of kicking that man. And to cap it all, this man is bound over. It is a very long time indeed since I have felt so bitterly angry as when I read the details of this case. And this is no isolated case. Almost every week there is some story of some assault by some policeman with a jackboot mentality. Some woman has all her clothes torn from her, some little man is clubbed to the ground, some poor person is bullied and harried. I am a little tired of talking about this, and I am more than a little distressed because basically we have a good police force. But the bad ones are giving that force a bad name. And I think the authorities are helping to give that force a bad name by not firmly and sternly and publicly punishing the bad ones and throwing them out of the force. It is up to the police High Command to firmly stamp out this violence and ~~boorishness~~ brutality if they do not want us to lose our respect for the rule of law. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Sept 16 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There is only Sunday and Monday left for the parties and the politicians to make their speeches, to appeal to us to vote this way or that, to warn us of the terrible consequences of this or that decision - and then their part will be over. And the final act will be in our hands. We will go to our polling stations (and I am sure we will do so quietly and peacefully) and we will make the final decision for the future. And that is the beauty of democracy: that after all the talking and pleading, after all the cleverness and the sharpness of the politicians - whether they be honest or dishonest, whether they be telling the truth or lying to us - after all this, the final decision is in our hands. And on Tuesday we are going to make that great decision in peace and privately.

I thought it make be a good idea for us to look back on the steps which have led to this moment and which will end one important chapter of our history on Tuesday.

Some of you may remember that it was on Monday, the 30th of May, 1960, that Sir Alexander Bustamante made the sudden and dramatic announcement that he had resigned his position as leader of the Democratic Labour Party of the West Indies. Busta said that he had taken this step so that, and now I am quoting his own words: "Jamaica, the West Indies and the world must understand that our decision that Jamaica should secede from the Federation of the West Indies is irrevocable". Thosewere Busta's own words. And note that they were made in a context of party political alignments. I mention this simply for the benefit of all those who have been confused by all this talk that this was a non-party decision.. Anyway, that is how the whole thing started

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on the 30th of May, 1960. And those of you with long memories will recall how this announcement hit the country like a bombshell.

Manley's reply to this bombshell came a day later, on Tuesday, May 31st, 1960. On that Tuesday afternoon Manley announced that the government had decided to hold a referendum in 1961 and put it up to the voters of the country to say if we should stay in the federation or if we should leave it. Manley said he had decided on this course of action because Busta's announcement had created a completely new situation about Federation. Until the Busta announcement, both parties had supported federation and it had always been treated as a bi-partisan matter. But now things had changed. With one of the two major parties in the country opposing federation, it was only fair and right that the voice of the people should be heard on the matter, that the final decision should be left in the hands of the people. And that was the beginning of the great debate which is now in its very last stages.

For myself, I am very pleased and very proud to have had a hand in getting that debate going, and I hope it has helped to clarify some of the issues for you. Some of you may remember that it was on Saturday June the 18th, 1960, that you heard the very first radio Forum on Federation. And after that, every Saturday evening, ~~hundreds~~ scores of people from all walks of life, high and low, rich and poor and all parties, have come to the microphone and discussed their views with me. This, I think, help greatly to make us understand the issues involved. And now the great debate is ending and I'll give you my closing words on it on Monday. So till then, Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Sept 18 at 6,15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: From the 31st of May, 1960 to the 19th of September 1961 is a year and three months and nineteen days. This is the period of our great decision which ends tomorrow. And tomorrow it is the turn of those of us who are not politicians, the turn of those of us who have not made speeches, the turn of those of us who have not stood on platforms or made speeches over the radios or written letters to the papers. And yet ours is the final decision. It is we who will decide whether Jamaica will remain in the federation or whether we will go it alone. So finally it comes round to the ordinary people and their is the most important part of all.

So tomorrow is your great day, the day when you and I will decide the fate of this Jamaica and its more than one-and-a-half million peoples. The responsibility is ours and it is a greater responsibility than that of Manley's or Busta's; for what we decide is the way things will be. That is our power; but because we have the greater power, we also have the greater responsibility. So it is we who are going to be the star performers in tomorrow's great drama of deciding the shape of the future of this country for generations to come. It is you and I, the higgler and the street sweeper, the small cultivator and the big farmer, the domestics who work in other people's homes, and those who work in factory or office or field. It is up to us.

And when we have decided and cast our votes the responsibility for the decision we make will be ours. We won't be able to blame Manley or Busta or the unions or the bosses or anybody else. If we decide to take Jamaica out of the federation we and we alone will be responsible for the consequences of that decision. If we decide that Jamaica must

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stay in the federation, that too will be our sole responsibility. And after tomorrow's votes have been cast there can be no going back and there can be no blaming of others because when you have power then you must assume the responsibility that goes with that power.

And the world will be watching to see how and what we decide tomorrow. The Africans, the Asians, the Americans, the Europeans - they will all be watching us and judging us, and so will the people of the other islands of the Caribbean. And when we have finished with this referendum and our decision is known, the world will pass judgement on Jamaican and on the choice made by Jamaican men and women. If the world thinks our choice was small-minded and petty and selfish, they will look on us as a small-minded and petty and selfish people. If they think our choice was big and brave and of high courage and faith, then they will say we are big and brave people full of high courage and faith. They will not say this of Manley or Busta; they will say this of the people of Jamaica because it is the people of Jamaica who will make tomorrow's decision. So please think carefully and decide wisely. You are deciding for generations to come. And most important of all, whether you are for federation or against federation, go out and vote. Vote the way you like, but vote. Many of you have asked me my views. I am and I always have been a pro-federationist. But whether you agree with me or not, it is your duty to yourself, to your country and to the unborn Jamaicans of the future, to go out and vote. Let us have a really record poll tomorrow so that all the world should know the clear voice of Jamaica has spoken. Goodnight.

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NO. 224

THE NEW SITUATION FOR JAMAICA

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Sept. 20 at 6.15p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking.

Good evening: Almost from the moment that the Federation issue was settled listeners have been asking me "Where do we go from here?" It was clear that Jamaica was out of the Federation. It was clear that the people of Jamaica had said in a firm and decisive voice that they wanted us to go it alone, and seek Dominion Status by ourselves. What was not clear and what disturbed many people was this question - "Where do we go from here?".

I am glad that the Government of Jamaica has now answered this question as clearly as did the people when they decided decisively last night that Jamaica was to go it alone. The Government has sent a cable to the Colonial Secretary asking him to receive a delegation from the Jamaica Government as soon as possible to report on the results of the Referendum and to fix a date for Jamaican Independence at the earliest possible moment. The Government hopes that the delegation will leave for England next week. This is quick, and decisive action. It is the sort of action I had hoped would be taken. Afterlast night it would have been a mistake for this question of what is to happen to be dragged out. There was an air of confusion, there was an air of uncertainty and in this atmosphere it was the duty of the Government to clear the air as quickly and as decisively as possible.

The meaning of this decision by the Cabinet is that the Government of Jamaica has accepted the will of the people as expressed in yesterday's vote. The people said "we want't to get out of Federation". .. and the Government's response is ~~that~~ "the people have spoken now it is our duty to carry out their will". I think in this decision Mr. Manley and his colleagues in the Cabinet have shown a bigness of spirit which I for one can only

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praise in the highest terms. It takes bigness on the part of any man to accept defeat of what he believes in and then go forward and carry out the will of the people. This is the spirit of a true democrat, and as Mr. Manley made clear in the statement announcing this decision it showed bigness of spirit to put this issue of Federation up to the people in the first place.

The second point about the announcement made by Mr. Manley on behalf of the Cabinet today is that a general election will be held before Independence Day so that the people of Jamaica will once again be able to decide the shape of their future by deciding which Party will lead Jamaica to Independence.

So we have two clear things - first, that the Government will send a delegation to Britain next week to work out the details of how Jamaica is to become Independent on her own at the earliest possible moment and, second, that before Independence comes there will be a general election to decide which Party will lead Jamaica into Independence.

To me this is good news. It is good news because it is the democratic process of work at its highest level. In one fell swoop all our doubts and all our confusion has been cleared up. Now we know what is going to happen immediately and we also know ~~who~~ that we will have the final say as to who will lead this country on the last stages towards full Independence. It is not every day and it is not in every country that the people of a country can say that their Government has shown sufficient faith and trust in the people to put a vital issue up to them and after they have decided, against the advice of that Government, to then follow the decision of the people and set about carrying it out faithfully. This I think is the best ~~credit that~~ criticism ~~that~~ against wailing Jeremiah's who see the death of democracy in Jamaica. Democracy in Jamaica is very much alive and kicking.

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No 225 Busta Reply to Manley Announcement

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Sept 21 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Events are moving very fast in Jamaica just now, and we are going to need to keep our wits about us if we are going to keep up with the pace of things. And I think it is a very good thing that the pace is so fast. The sooner we work out the details of just how we are going to move to independence, the better it will be for the stability of the country. As it is, we will have to be going through some lengthy negotiations later on, so the less confusion we have now the better it is for the country and the people. So let us try to sort out yesterday's moves and counter-moves by the two major parties.

Last night I talk about the Premier's statement on the Cabinet decision to send a delegation to London next week, and to call General Elections before independence. As soon as the Manley statement was out, Sir Alexander Bustamante issued a statement of his own. Busta welcomed Manley's announcement that there will be General Elections before independence as in keeping with his expectations. This, he said, was the only course Manley could adopt in the light of the Referendum result. But Busta objected strongly to Manley's announced decision that a Jamaica Government delegation should go to London next week to see the Colonial Secretary. Busta described this decision as 'unconstitutional, unparliamentary, a breach of public faith and political trickery at the lowest level'.

Busta says that the only honourable and proper thing for Manley to do is to resign straightaway and give the people the opportunity to elect the government they want to carry out the referendum decision. Or, he said, the very least that Manley can do is to take the issue

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to the House of Representatives which alone has the authority to take action of any kind or approach the British Government to discuss Jamaica's independence. Busta further demands that a Parliamentary Committee made up of both sides of the House be set up immediately to work out the details which will lead to Jamaica's secession from the West Indies Federation and to her attainment of independence and Dominion Status.

So there are three very important things that Busta says: First, that Manley should resign straightaway and leave it up to the people to elect the government that they would like to lead them along the new path they chose on Tuesday; second, if Manley does not resign then the very least he can and should do is to put the whole issue before the House of Representatives to debate and decide what course of action should be taken; and third, that there should be a joint parliamentary committee to work out the details of the new direction we are taking. Now, I am no constitutional lawyer and so I am not competent to comment on whether what Manley has decided is constitutiona or not. But it does seem to me that Busta has a very powerful case when he demands that the matter be discussed in the House before any trip to London. After all, there is a new situation in Jamaica, and whether we like it or not, it has been brought about by Busta and his party. Over 53% of the electorate voted ~~the way~~ Busta's ~~told them to~~ way. That is the weight and the authority behind Busta's statement. Until there is a new and clear mandate as to who should lead Jamaica on the new road Busta's voice will carry that weight and that authority, so I think it best that the matter be debated in the House before the trip to London.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Sept 22 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night and the night before I discussed the moves and counter-moves by our two major parties. You will remember that it was on Wednesday evening that Mr. Manley issued his statement on behalf of the Cabinet. In it he said that the government and he, himself, accepted and will abide by the decision of the people. And he outlined the steps the government planned to take to carry out that decision. He said he had cabled the Colonial Secretary and that he planned to lead a delegation to London to discuss Jamaica's referendum decision and the earliest possible date for Jamaica to become independent on her own. In the same statement he also announced that a General Election would be held before Independence Day to give the country a chance to choose the government which it wanted to lead it to independence. You will remember that when I commented on this announcement on Wednesday evening I said it showed bigness of spirit on the part of the Premier. I said it takes bigness on the part of any man to accept the defeat of what he believes in and then to go forward and carry out the will of the people. Of course, it so happens that Manley could accept the will of the people, even when it was against him, because it did not real violence to his conscience and his basic beliefs. He was never against independence for Jamaica. Indeed, he and his People's National Party had pioneered the independence movement in Jamaica at a time when others wanted no part of it. But he and his party had campaigned very actively and very strongly for remaining in the federation, and so the result was a defeat. It was as much a defeat for Manley and the P.N.P. as were the results of the federal elections of 1958. And it was as much a victory for Busta and the J.L.P. as was

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the 1958 Federal elections. I think it is a mistake to pretend anything else.

In his reply to Manley's statement, on which I commented last night, Busta made it clear that he saw the referendum result as a defeat for the P.N.P. and a victory for his party, when he said and now I quote Sir Alexander's own words: "Mr. Manley must understand that on the matter of Jamaica's secession from Federation and its independence, he does not speak for Jamaica - I do." But Busta did go on to suggest a joint parliamentary committee to work out the details of how we are to go forward.

So the present position of the parties is that the J.L.P. today has a greater authority than it had before Tuesday and the authority of the P.N.P. is of necessity less than it was before Tuesday. We had a similar situation after the 1958 Federal Elections when the J.L.P. talked and behaved as though they were really the majority party in the country. It was only after their clearcut victory in the General Elections of 1959 that the P.N.P. was again able to function with the decisive authority of a government that had a clear mandate from the people. It seems to me that we are in a very similar position today as far as the parties are concerned. The big difference is that federation is no longer an issue. But in the very process of settling the federation issue the J.L.P. has gained a new confidence and authority which is going to make things very rough for the PN.P. until they get another clear mandate from the people - or are defeated in a General Election. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Sept 23 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: When this day is over the most fateful week in the history of modern Jamaica will be over. To many people who love Jamaica as dearly as do the best of those who voted no this has been a week of high tragedy. To them Jamaica's choice is out of step with world trends today. Everywhere else in the world people are moving closer to each other because they see safety, security and xprosperity in larger units of co-operation. Other good Jamaicans see our choice as a rejection of a people of the other islands, as a turning of our backs on those whom we consider less fortunate than ourselves. And some of them have said: Pray God that the greater and richer powers in the world do not do unto us as we have done unto the people of the smaller islands.

Comment from the outside world has so far been of surprise, of shock of amazement. The day after the Jamaican decision was known the British Government started discussions on what they call 'the new situation'. This new situation has to do with how our decision will affect the other islands of the West Indies. We have been so busy with our own reactions that we have not thought much about what our decision means to the other islands. Now that we have made our decision and cannot unmake it, it might be salutory for us to have a look at the other islands and how they reacted.

Now that we are out, will the federation smash up? I think the final answer now lies with Trinidad. In the past Dr. Eric Williams has said that if Jamaica leaves the federation Trinidad would not be prepared to remain in it. If he keeps his word then Trinidad will get out and like us, seek independence on her own. This would leave

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Barbados and seven other small islands to shift for themselves as best they can. For these islands this will mean putting aside all hope of a proud, independent and self-respecting identity. The best they can hope for would be a tiny federation of the Windward and Leeward islands with a population of much less than a million people who would have to depend permanently on some form of charity from the outside world. And of course, the outside world may decide that we have let them down and their needs are greater than ours, and so aid and assistance we may want might be given to them. If that does happen we will hardly be in a position to bawl. After all, this is a choice we made. And we certainly will be in no position to blame Eric Williams if he decides to leave the people of the small islands high and dry: we set the example. I do not know how many of you noticed that Dr. Lewis flew down to Trinidad the day after our decision was made. The University College is a federal activity and while we can hope that the other islands will agree to continue sharing its costs and keeping it in Jamaica, we cannot insist on it. Jamaica has had the main benefits from the University and its hospital so far. Dr. Lewis is now discussing its future.

All this and much more flow logically from our decision. The other islands will feel we have let them down, and some may never forgive us for denying them their one chance of a proud and independent identity in this modern world. Whatever happens to us, the future will never again look as hopeful to the people of the small islands as it did before we made our decision. Goodnight.

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No 228 1)Manley's 'No Resignation' Statement
2) Adams & Continuation till 1963
3) Jagan's Comments

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Sept 25 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: In his broadcast yesterday Mr. Manley said firmly and positively that his Government has no intention of resigning because of the 'No' vote in the referendum; and that seems to settle the matter for the present. Those who know Mr. Manley and his methods will be satisfied that he would not have made such an announcement unless he was absolutely certain of his constitutional and legal grounds. He has always been a stickler for doing things legally and constitutionally. But many people who are firm supporters of Mr. Manley have expressed grave doubts about the political and tactical wisdom of this decision. Whether these people are right or not in their fears will only be settled in the General elections which Mr. Manley has promised will take place before independence. As I told you last Friday, I expect the J.L.P. opposition to make things as rough as they can for Mr. Manley's government between now and the calling of elections. My only hope is that the best interests of the country will not be too badly damaged in the process.

Sir Grantley Adams who has made no small contribution to the referendum result seems determined to go on making mischief. News from Trinidad is that he now plans to ask the British Colonial Secretary to keep Jamaica in the Federation until 1963 when the life of the present Federal Parliament comes to an end. I hope Mr. Macleod will have the good sense to reject such a proposal out of hand if Sir Grantley does put it forward. Now that Jamaica has decided to quit the Federation it would be both foolish and dangerous for anybody to keep her in it for longer than it is necessary for us to get disentangled So the sooner Sir Grantley stops trying to make any more mischief,

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the better it will be all round. Instead of this mischief-making nonsense, I should like Sir Grantley to pay serious attention to the very constructive suggestions made by British Guiana's Cheddi Jagan last Friday.

Dr. Jagan found Jamaica's decision regrettable, but he said it also presented a challenge and an opportunity to Dr. Eric Williams and Sir Grantley Adams. He said with Jaamaica in the federal constitution had been so watered-down, at Jamaica's insistence, that it could hardly do what was needed for the well-being of the people. With Jamaica out, Williams and Adams had a chance to rewrite the constitution in such a way as to give strong powers to the federal centre and so lead a strong Eastern Caribbean group. Jagan also condemned the costly and overgrown federal government structure and said Sir Grantley and Dr. Williams now had an opportunity to cut down on its running costs and streamline it so as to best serve the interests of the people of the region. He said the only way to raise living standards for the people is to refashion the economy along socialist lines. So to sum it up, the Jagan message is: Cut down your running costs, write a proper constitution for the Eastern Caribbean, and get on with the job of raising living standards for the people. I am sure this is the sort of programme Eric Williams will buy; I am not so sure of Sir Grantley Adams. And I rather suspect that it is because Eric Williams has his doubts about Sir Grantley Adams that he will be unwilling now to stay in a Federation which is headed by Sir Grantley. Instead of listening to Jagan Sir Grantley is off to London today, and bent on mischief.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Sept 26 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Monday, September the 18th, was the day before our referendum and so our hearts and minds were full of the decision we had to make the next day. Anything not connected with the referendum, all other news, seemed unreal and far away. And so it was with the death of Dag Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We heard about it, we read about it, it registered, but in a sort of far-off and remote way. There was no time to really think about it, no time to really ask how it had happened, what it meant and what it was likely to lead to. And yet, that was the biggest and most far-reaching piece of news of that week and for a long time to come because the death of Hammarskjold was more than just the death of a man; it was also an event with important international political implications.

To begin with it looked as though Hammarskjold had died in a straightforward plane crash. He had left Leopoldville on Sunday September 17 in the early evening to fly to Ndola in Northern Rhodesia where he was to meeting Moise Tshombe, the President of the secessionist Congo state of Katanga. There had been six days of bitter and bloody fighting between United Nations forces and the forces of Tshombe led by white mercenary officers recruited from Belgium, South Africa and the Rhodesias as well as elsewhere. The meeting was to try and stop the fighting. The plane was over Ndola airport just after midnight and received clearance to land. But then it disappeared and nothing more was heard from it until thw reckage and the dead body of Hammarskjold and fifteen other people were found 12 hours later. Only one of the 16 people who had been on the plane, a United Nations security guard, was alive, though badly smashed up and burnt. He died last Saturday.

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Such imformation as we have is what this man gave before he died. He said that Hammarskjold ordered the pilot to change course just as he was getting ready to land; and he said there was a series of explosions before the plane crashed. And then the rumours and the speculations began. It was said the Hammarskjold ordered the change of course because he saw firing from the ground. These rumours were strengthened by the fact that bullets in the body of one of Hammarskjold's guards. A Rhodesian government spokesman confirmed that bullets had been found in one man's body but said these had been exploded by the fire which broke out after the plane crashed. But the rumours persisted and the Prime Minister of the Central Congolese Government, Mr. Adoula, blamed some of the Western powers for the death of Hammarskjold. Certainly, Sir Roy Welensky and his Rhodesian Central African Federation government had made no bones of their support of Tshombe and their bitter hatred of United Nations action in Katanga, and for Hammarskjold in particular. So I fear their will always be the suspicion that Hammarskjold did not die in a simple accident.

But far more important for the world is the fact that his death has created a crisis in the United Nations. The Russians wanted the position of Secretary-General abolished and replaced by what they call a Troika - a 3-man committee representing the East, the West and the Neutralists. In this way they would have a permanent veto on U.N. action. With Hammarskjold out of the way they have a good chance of getting this and so neutralising the United Nations itself. Goodnight.

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No 230 The Parable of the Foolish Politician

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Sept 27 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: This evening I should like to read you a parable which seems to suit the times in which we live. Let us call it the parable of the foolish politician.

There once lived a man who wanted to be a politician. He was bright, he was intelligent and he was full of ideas. He genuinely wanted to serve his country because he felt that his country needed his service. But he was in the very difficult position of disagreeing with all the other politicians in the country: he disagreed with their policies, he disagreed with their practices - in fact, he disagreed with everything they did or said or represented. So he could not join with any of the politicians or any of the parties in order to serve his country. And indeed, politics being what it was in his land, none of the other politicians and none of the parties had any time for him. He was young and new on the scene. They had been on the scene for a long time, and they were not going to make room for any new boy. And so they all kept him out and made it plain to him that they wanted no part of him.

But he decided that he would defy them, that he would fight them and he also decided that the only way in which he could serve his country was to work actively to get state power into his own hands.

Now in this country, all the politicians had developed the technique of 'The Promise'. Whenever a politician stood for election, he made promises and the one who opposed him also made promises and the people of the country had got into the habit of voting for the politicians who made the biggest and the most lavish promises. But the older hands at the game had all shared in the business of power and so they tended to be careful about the promises they made because many a one of them

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had been badly roughed up for not keeping his promises because the people took these promises seriously and had come to expect the politicians to do everything for them.

But the new man was not inhibited by any such fears. He wanted power and so he went out and made promises. He promised that if they elected him to power he would abolish all work. He said that work was slavery and freedom meant no work. He said that paying taxes was a form of colonialism and he would abolish all taxes. He promised free housing, free education and free health services. He said the only work each person would have to do when he came to power would be to go and collect the £10 a week the State would pay each man, woman and child. And of course, liquor and food would be free. Now this was a real rallying call and all the people flocked to his banners and supported him. And when the older politicians still held on to their offices, he went to the Council of Nations and denounced them and said they were enslaving the people and the people were rising in revolt.

And then one day, he suddenly found himself in power. His promises had paid off. For a few months there was great celebration throughout the free land and he gave the people all the things he had promised them. And then everything ran out because nobody worked and nobody paid taxes. And so it came to pass that a day came when he had to tell the people the country was broke and they now had to work for their living. But the people turned on him because he had broken his promises; and they hung him the public square and so died the foolish politician, and darkness came over the land for many years.....Goodnight.

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No 231 Post-Referendum Attitudes

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Sept 28 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I hope you have followed some of the reactions and attitudes that came out as a result of the referendum decision. I have found the reactions of some of our younger people particularly interesting. In the main they were bitterly disappointed with the decision that Jamaica should leave the federation and quite a few eighteen-year-olds have told me that the result would have been different if they had the vote. And a large number have expressed the same views as those of a teenager published in a letter to the editor ~~in the Gleaner~~ of the Star a few days ago. This youngster condemned the decision and said it had been made by ignorant and illiterate people. The youngster was obviously very upset, but for all that, that letter and the tone in which it was written must be strongly condemned. We should not abuse our fellow citizens because we disagree with their decision. And certainly, we should not abuse them on the grounds of ignorance and illiteracy. I think we should never forget that nobody chooses to be ignorant or illiterate. Such ignorance and illiteracy as exists is the fault of our society. And in any case, under universal adult suffrage there is no literate and illiterate, no ignorant and wise - only citizens who have the right to express their views freely. So please, let us put an end to all this abuse and name-calling. The way forward demands that we be constructive and creative, and demands it especially from tomorrow's citizens.

Another not so happy aspect of this 'after-the-referendum inquest' is all this talk about crisis. There is a crisis in this; there is a crisis in that; and now we hear that there is a crisis in leadership.

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'A crisis in leadership' is a fine-sounding phrase, I admit. But just what does it mean in our present context? Let us try and examine it. Just over a year ago the Jamaica Labour Party decided on a cessionist policy as far as federation was concerned. Up to that point both parties had broad agreement on federation. As a result of that change in J.L.P policy the P.N.P. decided to call a referendum to let the people determine which road Jamaica should take. The people decided in favour of secession. Undoubtedly, this was a psychological and moral victory for the J.L.P. and a psychological and moral defeat for the P.N.P. We had something very similar in the federal elections of 1958. And then, as now, we had voices calling on Manley to resign because they said/he had lost the confidence of the people. But when the 1959 elections came around these people were proved wrong. The vote against Manley in the 1958 federal elections turned out to be not a vote against Manley's local, Jamaican, leadership. How then can we say that this one is? Only the people can tell us this. And Manley has already promised to give them that opportunity soon. It is for this reason that I cannot agree with my friend and colleague, Morris Cargill, when he talked about 'a crisis in leadership' ~~this~~ yesterday + this morning. Busta and Manley are still the leaders of our two major parties. There have been no internal attempts to unseat them. The party structure of our politics has not broken down. The natures of our two major parties have not changed radically since the 19th. I frankly can see no crisis in leadership as a result of the referendum. There are problems of leadership, of course, but these have been with us a long time and are not connected with the referendum at all. (I will discuss some of these ~~tomorrow, so till then, goodnight.~~ in my second commentary this evening which follows almost immediately)

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No 232 Some Problems of Leadership

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Sept 29 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

~~Good evening~~: Last night I told you that I, for one, did not buy the proposition that there was a 'crisis of leadership' in Jamaica today because of the result of the referendum. But I did say that there are problems of leadership which have been with us for a long time. I think that in order to make any sense out of this leadership question we should put it in its proper setting. And to me the proper setting is not the personal habits of this or that politician or party. The proper setting, as I see it, is the hard economic, social, political and historical realities of the country.

Let us get down to hard cases. What are the most important realities in Jamaica today? First, there is unemployment; second, there is the grave housing shortage; and third there is the wide economic and social gap between those who have and those who do not have. I think these are the three most important factors of the Jamaican reality today. There are others of course: there is the problem of watershed protection ~~xxxxxx~~ which I consider most serious from a long term point of view; there is the urgent question of trying to feed our people from our own land instead of importing more than we are exporting: and there are a whole host of other important factors. But I think the three most important are unemployment, housing and the wide gap between the rich and the poor. And this, I suggest, is the proper setting in which to discuss our problems of leadership. And please note that these realities have been with us for a long time, not just since the 19th of September 1961: and these problems would still be with us even if the people had voted 'yes' in the referendum.

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I think it would be stupid to pretend that our leaders have not tried to cope with these problems. When the J.L.P. was in power it tried to cope with unemployment and housing; and when the P.N.P. came to power it too did its best to tackle these problems. And I think it is fair to say that for some people conditions are very much better than they were ten or fifteen years ago. But unemployment and the grave housing problem are still with us. So how do we deal with them?

To build houses we need money. If the government is to build low-cost houses it would have to find money. Some of this it could probably borrow from abroad but the rest would have to come from us in the form of taxes. But what would the voters say to any leader who went to them and said: 'If you vote for me, I shall have to raise taxes in order to solve the housing problem.' My guess is that they would not vote for him. What would they say to a leader who went to them and said: 'We have a grave unemploymnet problem. The only way we can solve it is by setting up compulsory work camps and moving men from one part of the island to another to work on development projects such as terracing the land and building low cost housing.'/What would I think the unemployed themselves would be against him. the workers and the employers say if such a leader said: 'The development needs of the country are such that we will have to freeze profits and wages.' I am sure that such a leader would find both workers and employers against him . To survive in ~~This xxxxxxxxxx~~ Jamaica today the leader must selfish appease so many conflicting/interests that he dare not do what is unpopular, even if he knows its is good for the country. That is one of our major problems of leadership. Tomorrow I will conclude this leadership discussion; so till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Sept 30 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: If you agree with what I said last night then you will agree that the leader in Jamaica today tends to be the political prisoner of all the conflicting interests in the society. But there is nothing wrong with this, you will say. These are the necessary checks and balances which safeguard democratic government. I agree. But democratic government is possibly the most sophisticated form of government in the world and requires a higher degree of political maturity and social consciousness than almost any other form of government. It is also open to more abuse than almost any other form of government.

Under even the most benevolent dictatorship, whether of the right or left, the father-figure of the dictator will in his wisdom decide what is best for the country and God help any person or groups who do not jump to. If the dictator-father says there is to be a cut in wages then there is a cut in wages: if he says busnessmen must give up 90% of their profits then they do so. If he says a thousand men must work for the state for three months and only get their food and keep, then it happens just as he says and no nonsense.

Am I then saying that the only way in which we can solve our problems is by setting up a dictatorship? I am not saying that at all.

I think we can solve our problems without turning Jamaica into a dictatorship. The British, the Scandinavians and the Swiss have proved that countries can have detailed economic and social planning without any loss of the political rights of the individual citizen. But these are societies in which political and social awareness is highly developed. Each citizen accepts his responsibility for every other

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citizen. Please note I said 'responsibility'.

Here in Jamaica we all demand our right but few of us are prepared to assume the responsibilities that go with those rights. I think the politicians must carry a large share of blame for this. They have gone to the people and said we will do this and the other for you if you vote for us. You hardly ever hear them saying 'this or that is expected of you'. Julius Nyerere of Tangnyika campaigned with the slogan: 'Freedom and Work'. And he stressed the work part in all his speeches. He told his people they had to make sacrifices and work harder when they were free than they did when they were a colony. But some of our leaders have suggested that freedom means less work. This too, is one of our main problems of leadership.

It seems to me that if Jamaica is to go ahead in peace and is to prosper then we must choose our leaders and give them real freedom to lead. They must be free to plan and reorganise our economy for the general good. And if drastic steps are needed then they should take those steps. And they in turn should come clean with the people and stop making pie-in-the-sky promises which cannot be fulfilled.

I think the only way in which we can solve our problems is by careful and intelligent planning of our economy. The alternative is to let things drift and go on making fine-sounding speeches about co-operation until the whole thing collapses on our heads. There is no easy road ahead and the sonner our leaders tell us so and chart the new course the better it will be. Our task is to give them the freedom to lead. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Oct 2nd at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news of Syria's break away from the United Arab Republic is a very serious set-back for Egypt's President Nasser and his dream of Arab unity. It also reduces considerably the influence that will be exerted by the Arab nations as a group at the United Nations. Groups of nations always lose some of their influnce when they are divided among themselves. And the Arab world is as divided today as it has ever been. When the Syrians staged their breakaway revolt last Thursday, both Turkey and Jordan gave recognition to the new Syrian regime as soon as it looked like succeeding. Egypt has reacted by cuttung off diplomatic relations with both these Arab countries. And it is not unlikely that other Arab countries, such as Iraq might recognise the new Syrian government. Whether the Egyptian government will then cut off diplomatic relations with them as well is a very intriguing point. If Egypt does cut off relations with every country that recognises the new set-up in Syria, she might risk finding herself in splendid isolation from much of the Arab world as well as from many other countries in the world. But in any case, this is, as Nasser has said himself, just about thw worst blow dealt to Arab unity.

How did this come about? The critics of Nasser, and there are many of them, will say that the Syrian people have revolted against Egyptian domination of their country. And the more extreme of these critics will even go as far as to say that the Syrians have revolted against Nasser's dictatorship. But this is not the whole picture.

From the moment of its establishment on February 1st, 1958 the United Arab Republic was one of the weirdest political marriages

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ever made. On the part of Egypt it was an exercise in nationalist idealism. Nasser was the heart and soul of this idealism. In 1952 he had been the leading figure in a group of young officers who forced Farouk off the Egyptian throne and an end to just about the most corrupt government of modern times. In place of the graft and massive thieving which ran through Egyptian politics, he brought in clean government and honest leadership and offered his people a new vision and a new pride. He gave the Egyptians a sense of direction and a sense of destiny such as they had not had for a century or more. And his great dream was a powerful group of united Arab states that would be a force in the world. Egypt is a massive land of well over 386,000 square miles, with a population of over 30 million people. Syria on the other hand is a small country of just over 72,000 square miles and a population of less than 5 million people. Great big Egypt wanted union with tiny Syria not because there was anything material to gain from the union, but because it could be the beginning of the fulfiment of the great dream of Arab unity throughout the region. Syria, on the other hand, joined the union because her government was unstable and the people were terrified of being taken over by the communists. The Syrian motive was selfish, the Egyptian motive was idealistic. And now that the Syrians feel a little more secure they have broken with Egypt. I think the critics of Nasser should note that after his first angry reaction, he called back his troops and said he wouldn't use force to keep Syria in the union. This, as we know, is not the way a dictator would behave. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Oct 3 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news from Ghana shows that that country is now gowing through some very profound political changes. Just over a month ago President Nkrumah called for a general wage freeze which set off a series of strikes in most of the main cities. At the same time he called for all Ministers in his government and all members of parliament in his party to declare all their private financial interests. He set up a committee to investigate the financial affairs of all the people who were high up in his ruling Convention Peoples Party. Then he went on a triumphant tour to Moscow and at one of the parties behind the iron curtain he said such harsh things about the British that the British representative walked out of the party.

On his return from his travels, which included the Belgrade conference of what has now become known as the Non-Aligned nations, he went into action. First he took over direct and personal control of the C. P.P. - the political party which he founded on June 12th 1949 and which has led the country to its present stage. With complete control of the party in his hands, he set about reorganising its structure. All the various wings of the party, the women's organisations, the youth groups, were deprived of their independent and autonomous existence and were drawn into the central organisation. People whose loyalty he doubted were shifted to less responsible positions and other were completely removed from office. Meanwhile the investigation into the personal affairs of leading party members went on.

And then Nkrumah took the next step. He assumed personal responsibility for all the country's armed forces, the navy, the air

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force and the army. He was now President of the Republic, secretary of the ruling Convention Peoples Party, and Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces. This was as formidable an accumulation of all the sources of power into the hands of one man as was possible.

And then, last week, there came the next phases in the gathering of power. On Saturday of last week President Nkrumah announced the extensive reshuffling of the Ghana Cabinet. He invited a number of his Ministers to resign. Among them were two men who had been Nkrumah's closest associates in the long years of struggle and power. One was Kojo Bostsio and the other was K.A. Gbedemah. Botsio had been with Nkrumah in the London days of student agitation. With Nkrumah he had been thrown into jail during the Positive Action campaign of 1950. He had been the first Secretary-General of the C.P.P. at a time when the party had no money and no power; and he had been Ghana's first Minister of Education. Gbedemah too, was a very old and close friend who had gone to jail in the country's interest in 1950. He had been the first Minister of Finance and in the early and tricky days when they first took power he and Botsio had been pillars of strength to the young Nkrumah. I think it is fair to say that without these two men the way ahead might have been very much more difficult for Nkrumah. So why has he dropped them now? They are still the two most experienced of his team of Ministers. I think Nkrumah has a major political reason for his action. I think we will see that reason within the next few months. Whatever that reason may turn out to be, Nkrumah is preparing the ground carefully by drawing all power into his own hands. And I think the world may be in for quite a shock from Ghana. Goodnight.

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No 236

1) Milk for Schoolchildren
2) Cruelty at the Zoo

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Oct 4 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: A listener has written to me asking me to ask the Minister of Education why children are charged four pence for a bottle of milk at Rollington Town School. This listener has asked me to ask this question over the air and I have now done it. This listener then went on to say that milk should be free to children.

All my sympathies are with this listener. I think a basic food such as milk should be available to all children. I do not think youngsters learn properly when they are in school with empty bellies. And I think we ought to face the fact that there are large numbers of parents who just cannot afford to give their youngsters four pence daily for a bottle of milk. It is only those who have tried to learn on an empty belly who will understand just what a hindrance an empty belly can be to this business of learning. And then there is the very important of youngsters growing up straight and tall and healthy through having the right amount of milk and fresh food. So I hope our education authorities will look into this matter very carefully and try to provide free milk for those children who obviously cannot afford to pay. But I think it is only fair for all of us to remember that the government will have to pay for this milk and that the only way in which it gets its money is from us. We always want to government to do something, and wuite often what we want it to do is good but costs money. And yet we always tend to bawl when the government come to us for that money. I think we must accept the fact that the whole community must pay for such services as free milk for children. If we want a welfare state we must be prepared to pay for it.

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There is another important point about this milk business. I know that we get a certain amount of powdered milk free from the United States which is earmarked especially for young children. But I know that there is a very strong prejudice against powdered milk in some of our country areas. Parents just will not give this milk to their children and some of them get this milk powder free and then sell to other people instead of giving it to their children. Let me assure you that this is very good milk and if you mix it to the right thickness it is a wonderful body-building food for children. You are really harming the health of your children by selling this milk for a few pennies instead of giving it to them. So please make a nice micture of it and give it to your children. If you do we will have a great deal less bad teeth in the country areas.

Finally a word about the Zoo. Many people have been very distressed by all the stone-throwing at the animals. I think it is silly and ignorant and stupid and cruel to hurt dumb animals, especially for no reason and I hope this will stop. I think one way in which we can help to put a stop to it is by getting children to get to know and enjoy and love these animals. And I think one way in which this can be done is for schools to organise groups to the Zoo under the supervision of teachers. But then there's the problems of each child having to pay a sixpence. But I think we can get over that if good citizens would undertake to pay five shillings each for ten children to go from a school. If any teacher would like to start the experiment I would be very happy to co-operate. So please let me hear from you. Goodnight.

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No 237

1) The Marchers For Peace
2) The Unilateralists.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Oct 5 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Earlier this week a group of men and women marched into the Red Square in Moscow. They carried banners calling for the stopping of nuclear tests and for the banning of all atomic weapons. These people had walked across a goodly portion of the world to reach Moscow. Some had started their march in the United States; some had started walking in Britain; in Europe others had joined them and they had walked all the way to Moscow. Of course they had to cross oceans and seas where walking had not been possible; and I rather suspect that they travelled in trains and cars and busses over certain long stretches of uninhabited country. But in the main they had marched. And the point of their march was in order to express to the world their desperate desire that there should be no war.

When they reached Moscow's Red Square nobody molested them. The police had put up barriers, apparently expecting a large turn-out of Russian citizens to either watch the marchers for peace or join them. But only some 300 curious Russians showed up and the police hurriedly removed the barriers. The marchers were not allowed to make speeches to the small crowd, but they were permitted to hand out leaflets. And with that the March for Peace came to a very quiet end in the Red Square, and the world's press and radio went on to tell us about the size and power of the latest Soviet test explosion. And all over the western world there was anxiety and some American newspaper columnists even suggested that there was no point in fighting over Berlin and the United States had better make a deal with Russia. Time magazine of course soon slapped these newspapermen down as cowardly types who were out of touch with the American national mood

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which it said was one of determination.

But it was in Britain that the enemies of atomic warfare made their biggest impact. For months they had protested and demonstrated and marched against the establishment of the Polaris submarine base in Scotland. They wanted no American atomic bases in Britain, and they wanted Britain to disarm unilaterally and so they became known as the Unilateralists, the people who said: "It does not matter what the Russians or Americans do, the British should get rid of their atomic weapons and should disarm completely."

And the leader of the Unilateralists was and still is Earl Russell, a nobleman who has refused to use his title, who has never sat in the House of Lords, and who is known throughout the world as the great philosopher, Bertrand Russell. Russell is a frail old man of 89 but a few weeks back he delibertately courted imprisonment when he led a huge sitdown demonstration in London's Parliament Square. He and a whole host of others were arrested. Among those arrested was the Reverned Michael Scott and some of your favourite British actors, actresses, poets, singers, playwrights and the like. And almost spontaneously, a new slogan was born. It was; Better red than dead. The fear of atomic warfare had led many people to feel that it would be better to surrender peacefully to Russian communism. In 1948 Russell had himself said that either the west should fight and defeat Russia before she got atomic weapons, or else the west should lie down and tell Russia to take over. And now the Unilateralists seem ready to lie down. And yet, what is the alternative? An atomic war is likely to destroy all life. So what do we do? I'll discuss that tomorrow. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Oct 6, at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I think there is no doubt that if an atomic war did break out Britain herself could be reduced to a barren desert of death and destruction within an hour. I am sure that this knowledge is one of the driving forces behind the Unilateralist position that it is better to be Red than dead. What the Unilateralists do not seem to realise is that whether they dump all their weapons into the sea or not is most unlikely to make any difference to what the Americans or Russians might do. In terms of Atomic warfare Britain is very small beer indeed. On the other hand, if you tell an enemy in advance that if he licks you you are not going to lick back, then you are really inviting that person to come in and lick you. If that person is certain that you are going to lick back then he will think twice before attacking you.

But even worse than this invitation to disaster, it seems to me, is the terrible fatalism of the Unilateralists. They seem to assume that there is going to be war and that they and all they have is going to be destroyed. And that with their destruction everything will be destroyed and nothing that is worthwhile would be left and so nothing is worth defending. And yet it was Russell himself who taught us, in his History of Western Philosophy, that the circumstances of men's lives are determined by their beliefs, and their beliefs, in turn, are determined by their circumstances. This interaction of ideas on our physical conditions and our physical consitions on our ideas, has been inherent in the unfolding of man's history. Let us take a simple example. A country of vast ignorance would also be likely to have

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vast poverty and vast sickness. But as education, which is the idea, is introduced and spreads, knowledge overcomes ignorance: the resources of the country are better exploited, better living conditions and better living standards lead to better health. If then the ideas are positive and creative, the physical results are likely to be creative and positive. Where the ideas are negative men see no end to their problems and sink deeper and deeper into despair. And it is a fact of history that all man's greatest achievements have stemmed from his psotive faith himself and in life and in the possibility of a better future. Abandon this and there can be no progress. E.M. Förster it was who said that the only way to be creative is to behave as though we are immortal even in the face of disaster.

But perhaps the worst aspect of the Unilateralist position is the tacit assumption that the Russians will, and are indeed anxious to drop the bomb and the only thing civilised men can do is to surrender to the new barbarians. The Russians are no more barbaric than anybody else. And my guess is that they do not want war any more than anybody else. When we talk about the Russians we almost make them sound as though they are not human. And we seem to forget that communism is just one of the newest and most important, of a long wave of ideas that has flowed like a stream through the story of man. And just as those other ideas were changed and modified and liberalised by time. so it will be. It is only when we lose our sense of history that we forget that nothing in the world is static, neither communism nor democracy. Once again the Unilateralists have shown that man's greatest enemy is still fear. Fear of change, fear of himself. Goodnight.

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No 239

1) Drop in ~~Trade~~ Adverse Trade Balance
2) J.A.S. Drive to Produce more Food.
3) Housing Ministry

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Oct 7 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news is that Mr. Manley is due back in Jamaica a little later this evening. I expect him to report that his talks in London with the Colonial Secretary have been satisfactory. I certainly do not think Mr. Macleod will even attempt to keep Jamaica in the federation until 1963. This, you will remember, was a suggestion made by Sir Grantley Adams shortly after the referendum. But I am sure that none of the officials in London took this seriously.

As I say, I expect Mr. Manley to say that his talks were satisfactory, but I do not expect him to make a really full report until Thursday of next week when the House of Representatives will meet for the first time since the referendum. I am very glad that things have moved so fast because I am sure that any long delay would have led to confusion and would not have been good for the country.

There have been two very good signposts to the future this week. The first was that the island's adverse trade balance in the first six months of this year has dropped by nearly a half, when compared with the first six months of last year.

Between January and June of last year we imported goods worth £39.3 millions and we exported good worth £28.3 millions. This meant that we spent £11 million more than we earned. And this, as any housewife knows, is not a good state of affairs. The housewife who has only £10 coming in each week and who spends £12 a week, is heading for trouble. And the same applies to the nation's housekeeping.

We did not break even this year; we are still in the red, but we have reduced the figure considerably. Between January and June of this year we imported £37.7 million worth of good and we exported

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good worth £31.8 million. This means that we still spent more money on good from abroad than our exports earned. But instead of over-spending by £11 million as we did last year, we overspent by only £5.9 million. And this is a very great improvement. Our exports went up this year and our imports went down. If we keep this up over the next few years the country may get into the very happy position of earning more from overseas than it is spending. This new trend, incidentally, is largely due to the very good and steadying influence of our recently established Bank of Jamaica which seems to me to be doing a very good job now that it has settled down. I hope it keeps up the good work and soon guides us out of the red and into the black.

Another thing which should help our financial stability greatly is the decision made by the J.A.S. Board of Management on Wednesday to make a special effort to get their members to grow more domestic food crops so that we can cut out the importing of about £9 million worth of food each year. I think it is utterly silly for us to go on importing stuff like carrots and lettuce and onions and Irish potatoes. Many much richer countries than we are would not dream of importing such crops. And we certainly have the land on which to grow these. So I welcome the promise of this new effort and I wish the J.A.S. success with it.

Finally, a brief word of welcome to the new Ministry of Housing and the new Minister. Housing is just about our most pressing social problem and Mr. Ken Sterling will need all his energy and ability to cope with the problem. So let us all wish him well with a very tough job. Goodnight.

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No 240 1) Manley's Return + The Constitution
~~2) Trinidad & the Federation~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Oct 9 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Mr. Manley has returned from London pretty much with what we expected him to. The British Government has accepted the Jamaican decision to go it alone, and a Bill will be put before the British parliament to legalise this fact as soon as possible. The British Government has also undertaken to sponsor Jamaica's membership to enter both the Commonwealth and the United Nations as soon as we attain independence. Jamaica wants independence at the earliest possible moment, and this too the British Government has accepted. It has said in effect that we can have our independence as soon as we have worked out the constitutional and legal problems that must be resolved. This means that the speed with which we move forward from here on is entirely in our hands. If we want independence early in 1962, we can have it, provided we have put our house in order by then.

Both parties have expressed the wish that Jamaica should become independent in May of 1962. The only disagreement so far is over what date in May, and that is a small point over which there need be no real crisis. So May of next year looks pretty definite. This would leave us with just about seven months in which to work out all the details, and that, as you know, is not very much time ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in which to write ~~xxx~~ new constitutional instruments and have these properly and widely discussed. To get this done in time is going to demand a great deal of very hard work from our political leaders in parliament, as well as from those of our civil servants whose duty it is to translate political decisions into constitutional and legal instruments of government.

I think that above all else we are going to need a great sense

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of urgency and of national unity. We are going to need to approach this busness of constitution-making as a national rather than a party matter. If either or both of our two major parties in the House approach this constitutional-making business in a partisan spirit, then, at best, we may be in for a nasty few months of really dirty politics; or, at worst, we may not be ready in time with our constitution and we may then find that we cannot go forward to independence by next May.

The challenge that now faces our political parties and our political leaders is to put the business of constitution-making for independence above party and above person. The temptation to score personal and party victories are going to be great for all concerned. All our politicians know that a General Election is not far away: so it will be a great temptation to try and score points for the coming election. Up to a point this is inevitable. There will be a certain amount of party rivalry. What I hope is that it will not get out of hand to such an extent that it puts back the clock.

The real time for the party political free-for-all should be at the General Election, after we have hammered out the constitution for an independent Jamaica. Now is a time for soberness and responsibility. I sincerely hope that the members of our House of Representatives will set us all an example of bi-partisan responsibility when they meet on Thursday to begin the big job of shaping the new constitution. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Oct 10 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: A number of things that have happened down in Trinidad over the past few days seem to suggest that with Jamaica out of it, the West Indies Federation is as good as dead. First, we had the news that the Trinidad Government had bought British West Indian Airways. Some of you may remember that almost up to the time that Jamaicans went to the polls to cast their votes in the referendum, the Federal Government was negotiating with the British Overseas Airways Corporation about taking over B.W.I.A. Then, after the Jamaica decision was known, these negotiations were postponed indefinitely. And last week came the news that Trinidad had bought B.W.I.A. for about half-a-million pounds. It seems to me that if Dr. Eric Williams had entertained any idea that the federation would continue in its present form, or would be strengthened, he would not have bought out B.W.I.A. but would instead have waited for a reorganised federal government to do so later. That is pointer number one.

Pointer number two was Dr. Williams' refusal to discuss the Federation with Dr. Arthur Lewis when he especially called on Dr. Williams. This, plus Dr. Williams' statement that he and his party are not prepared to go to London or have any discussions on the Federation until after the Trinidad elections, suggests that he has made up his mind on an indppendent course of action for Trinidad. This was backed up by the announcement that Mr. Learie Constantine would be Trinidad's High Commissioner in Britain. And then, at a public meeting at Woodford Square on Saturday evening, Eric Williams declared that the federation no longer exists.

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All this would suggest that Dr. Williams has made up his mind to write off the Federation as a dead loss. His actions are those of a man who is now laying the foundations for a Trinidad which will seek independence on her own. This, of course, should not come as a surprise to any of us. Dr. Williams had declared often enough in the past that if Jamaica left the federation Trinidad would do so too. A number of wiseacres in Jamaica have dismissed this as just a bluff by Williams. It would seem that they were a little less wise than they thought.

Of course, much will depend on the outcome of Trinidad's General Election. No date for this has yet been set but it is still expected to take place either late this year or early next year. The Trinidad D.L.P. Opposition has come out strongly in favour of Trinidad remaining in what is left of the federation. If the opposition fights the election on the federation issue then Dr. Williams will have to come out and declare himself, and perhaps fight the election on federation. But at the moment the opposition is in such a state of disunity and seems to be pulling in so many directions, that it looks as though Williams will be able to dictate the terms on which he will fight the election. And if Williams dictates the terms then federation will certainly not be an issue. So it would seem that Trinidad will definitely follow Jamaica out of the federation. This would leave Barbados to lead the Winwards and Leewards. But will they follow that lead? People like Mr. Gairy makes me doubt it: which leaves Britain with quite a mess on her hands. Goodnight.

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No 242 1)Harbour erground Wiring
2)

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Oct 11 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I think the Harbour View Citizen's Association is one of the liveliest and most active civic groups in all Jamaica. I think it has done a very fine job of creating a community spirit in the area and I think it has ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ helped to turn Harbour View into something approaching a model community in a very short space of time. From time to time it has had a run-in with the power-that-be - some of you may remember the case of the stop signs - and it has not been afraid to campaign actively for what it thought best for the community. I am, and I always have been a great admirer of the Harbour View Citizen's Association and I should like to see more community organisations like it everywhere in Jamaica. But having said all that, let me say that I disagree with the latest protest campaign launched by the Harbour View Citizen's Association.

First let me set out the facts. The Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation has decided that wires for lighting the streets of Harbour View should run underground. In order to bury the wires the K.S.A.C would have to dig trenches along pavement verges. Now the point is that the citizens of Harbour View have gone to a lot of trouble to plant grass and trees along these pavement verges. They have done this as an effort to beautify the area and they are alarmed at the prospect of all this beauty being destroyed and all their efforts wiped out by ditch-diggers who will show no respect for the beauty they have created. They say it is true that the verges are owned by the K.S.A.C. but they have beautified them and so they do not want the K.S.A.C. to dig them up. They do not say that the K.S.A.C. must run thr wires

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overhead, but I think there is no doubt that that is what they want. And so they are up in arms and have written a letter of protest to the Town Clerk asking the K.S.A.C. to reconsider the decision to bury the wires. Those are the facts.

As I said, I disagree with this protest campaign. But please do not misunderstand me. All my sympathies are with the Harbour View citizens. I think it is dreadful for anybody to have to watch beauty being destroyed, especially when you have created that beauty with your own sweat and toil. But I think we must face one hard fact, and it is this. Underground electric wiring is safer, and in the long run, it is cheaper than overhead wiring. Overhead wiring is a deadly dangerous business. In a storm or a hurricane an overhead pole could be hit by lightning; it could either be knocked down or some wires broken and so cause fire or death. And in a crowded community like Harbour View this could be very serious. Or a live wire might snap on a perfectly calm day and dangle,harmless looking, until the first little boy or girl runs along and touches it and is burnt to death in seconds. These are some of the real hazards of exposed, overhead wires. You do not have these risks with buried wires. And when it comes to choosing between a beautiful verge and the safety of a child, my choice is the child every time. You can always beautify the verge again; you cannot restore life to a child. So, in the interest of safety I am for the K.S.A.C. burying the wires though all my sympathies are with the protesting citizens of Harbour View. Goodnight.

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No 243 The Nursing Situation

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Oct 12 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The story behind the deep unrest that now hangs over our nursing profession as as sad and depressing as any story I have ever tried to make sense of. On the face of it, the nurses, especial those at the Kingston Public Hospital, were discontented about their conditions of work and nobody did much about it until Mr. Thossy Kelly of the National Workers Union stepped in, led a delegation of twenty nurses to a conference with the Minister of health, and came out of that conference with important gains for the nurses. On the face of it, it would seem that as a result of this decisive action the working week of the nurses has been cut from 48 hours to 42 hours and that all nurses who work on public holidays will in future be given a day off to make up for this. Also, as a result of this decisive action a working party composed of union representatives and Ministry of Health officials was set up to work out the details of the new 42 hour week. This working party held its first meeting this morning. So it would seem that Dr. Lloyd has given the union de facto recognition as the spokesman and bargaining agent for Jamaican nurses.

And yet there is a whole lot more to the story than this. When I looked closely into the matter I found that these dramatic gains Mr. Kelly had stepped in and secured had in fact been worked for over a long period of time by another organisation. I found that the Jamaica General Trained Nurses Association had been negotiating with the Ministry over these and other points for over a year. I found that as far back as 1960 the Trained Nurses Association had recommended to the

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Ministry that the nurses be given a 40-hour working week with 8-hour shifts. But that was not their only recommendation. They recommended a number of other things to make life easier for our nurses. Some of these, like the establishing of canteens and change-room cupboards at K.P.H. and Bellevue, have already been carried out. They also got a duty allowance for night supervisors, as well as a washing allowance. With the assistance of the Jamaica Civil Service Association the Trained Nurses Association got the rent charged to nurses reduced from 5% of their pay to 2½% of their pay. They got additional staff nurses for Operating Theatre work. The discussed the shortage of staff in rural hospitals and got the Ministry to get six additional sisters for these hospitals. The outsanding questions which remained after these changes had been made were on the question of salaries and working hours.

The Civil Service and the Nursing Association representatives met with the Minister of Health in February of this year. They with the Minister again in July and again the discussion was about working hours and salaries. The Minister assured them of his sympathy and assistance. But nothing happened and some of the poor nurses began to wonder whether anything would be done for them through their very sober and responsible Trained Nurses Association. Nothing happened until Mr. Kelly appeared on the scene and threatened the Ministry with an ultimatum. And then things happened fast. Which makes it seem that our government only respects people who threaten it. And this is depressing. But there is something even more depressing from the nurses point of view and I will deal with that tomorrow. So till then,

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Oct 13 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: From what I said on the nursing situation last night you will have gathered that I am not particularly impressed with the dramatic entry of Mr. Thossy Kelly and the National Workers Union into the nursing situation. I am not impressed because I think Mr. Kelly has stepped in and reaped what others have laboured for, and also because I do not think it is a good idea for either the National Workers Union or the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union to represent any section of our civil servants. Both unions have strong party links and if they step into the ranks of the civil service then we are in danger of soon having a highly partisan and political civil service, and that would be a tragedy. It is for this reason that I find the attitude of the Ministry of Health so very bad on this question. First they deal in a casual and off-hand manner with the recommendations of the body which has worked for the nurses for over 13 years. They do this because the leaders of that body behave in a manner of great responsibility. And then they seem to jump to give recognition to a political trade union which spits fire at them and whose leader tells the nurses they must be prepared to strike the moment the High Command gives the word. Are we now in for the time when a cut up person is going to be left on an operating table to die because the union has called a strike? It seems as though the Ministry is making it clear that it respects only aggressiveness and irresponsibility. I am frankly not impressed with the Ministry's part in this affair.

But what about the nurses? They are pensionable civil servants. The Trained Nurses Association came into being in 1948 and fought for

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their recognition as trained nurses with professional standing. In 1951 the Registration Bill gave them this position as registered professional nurses and civil servants entitled to a pension. But Registration gave them very much more. It made it possible for them to affiliate with the International Council of Nurses and be recognised as trained nurses anywhere in the world where the Council is recognised. This means that a Jamaican nurse will be accepted as a traine nurse in such countries and will be allowed to work as such and get the pay and conditions of the trained nurses of that country. Here and there she may have to do more work on one subject, but basically she will enjoy professional recognition and status. But the code of the International Council of Nurses forbids any political affiliation on the part of any of its member bodies. So, if the nurses are represented by a trade union with political affiliations they are likely to find the International Council of Nurses unwilling to accept them. If that happens any Jamaican nurse going abroad may find herself in the unhappy position of not being recognised and only being able to get a job as a subordinate unskilled worker. This was the position of nurses right here in Jamaica. They were unskilled subordinate staff until the efforts of the General Trained Nurses Association brought them to where they are now. Some of the younger ones have either forgotten this fact or have not taken the trouble to find out. It seems to me that in the process of trying to improve their conditions, and they should be improved, they stand in danger of losing some very important things their own association won for them. I hope our nurse will think, think carefully, and then think again. And the Ministry needs to do the same.

Goodnight.

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No 245 The Transfer of Macleod

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Sat ~~Friday~~ Oct 14 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: A large number of listeners have asked me why Mr. Ian Macleod has been removed from the Colonial Office; and some have asked whether this was just a reshuffle in the British Cabinet or whether there was some deeper meaning to it. Well, I think the first thing we must remember is that no British Prime Minister has ever reshuffled his Cabinet just for the fun of it. There has always been a reason for it. Sometimes the reason has been that the government has become so very unpopular that some new window dressing was needed; sometimes it was because there was some scandal connected with one of the Ministers; and sometimes it was because some major point of policy had come unstuck and the Minister in charge of that point of policy had to be removed. This means that almost every British Cabinet reshuffle has meant either that some policy has come unstuck or that confidence in the government had sunk very low.

In the case of Mr. Macleod a point of policy had come unstuck. That point of policy was Jamaica's decision to leave the Federation. The British Government had been almost more enthusiastic about the Federation of the West Indies than anybody else. And Mr. Macleod was the spokesman and representative of this British enthusiasm for federatio So Jamaica's decision was a very big defeat for British policy in the Caribbean. And since Mr. Macleod was the Minister responsible it was a big personal defeat for him.

Some of you may remember that sometime last year I talked about Mr. Macleod's fight with Lord Salisbury over Colonial policy. Salisbury is possibly the most powerful single personality in British conservative politics. Salisbury was bitterly opposed to Macleod's policies of

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hastening the independence of colonial territories, especially those in Africa. In one of the most bitter attacks ever made in the House of Lords Salisbury accused Macleod of selling the British empire and the white settlers in East Africa down the drain with indecent haste. Salisbury had powerful support: he had the support of the right-wing of the Conservative party and he had the support of the East African white settlers led by Sir Roy Welensky; and this is still one of the most formidable combinations in British power politics. But Mr. Harold Macmillan is the head of the British Government and therefore the head of the Conservative party, and this makes him the most powerful man in th party. Mr. Macmillan's sympathies were very obviously in favour of Mr. Macleod's policies; and so he protected Macleod against these powerful rightwing Tory and settler forces. But Mr. Macmillan could only protect Mr. Macleod as long as the Macleod policies paid off. As soon as the Macleod policies suffered a severe set-back the behind-the-scenes pressures were so great that Mr. Macmillan had to sacrifice Mr. Macleod. This is the meaning of the removal of Ian Macleod from the Colonial Offices. The result of the Jamaica referendum has contributed very greatly to the removal of Mr. Macleod from the very important position of being one of Britain's three major spokesmen to the outside world. This in turn, will, I think, mean some important shifts in Britain's Colonial policy. Just what these will be, only time will tell but the Conservative Party conference decision to curb migration is an important pointer. ~~I will discuss migration tomorrow, so till then~~, goodnight.

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Bad Manners & Bad Behaviour at the Top

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Oct 16 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There has been a lot of talk about manners and behaviour recently. People have mourned that Jamaicans were no longer as thoughtful of others as they used to be in the past. They have said that Jamaica is losing its reputation as a friendly and courteous place. And they have all deplored this trend. The leaders in our tourist industry say that this upsurge of bad manners and bad behaviour will hurt the industry, and if the industry is hurt then Jamaica itself will be hurt. Employers deplore the bad manners of their workers. Teachers deplore the manners of their pupils. The cry is the same everywhere. Things are not what they used to be, and the change in manners has not been for the best. And so political leaders and business leaders and civic leaders are all calling for a return to good manners and good behaviour. And most of these people talk and behave as though this deterioration in manners is something which has happened among the so-called lower classes only, as though it is only the poor and the humble who are bad-mannered. And so the appeal for good behaviour comes from above and is directed to the people down below, or so it seems. Now I am not saying that this is the case everywhere. But it is certainly so in a majority of cases. The only bad manners we seem concerned with are those of the masses. But what of the bad manners up at the top? What of the bad manners of our political and business and civic leaders? Are we saying there is one set of rules for the poor and the humble and another set of rules for the high and the mighty and rich? I do not think any of our leaders will say this but many of them behave as though there is one set of

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rules for them and another set of rules for the mass of the people. And this, I am afraid, is perhaps most pronounced among our political gentlemen.

I had a personal experience of this double standard last Saturday. At about a quarter past twelve I was coming out of Torrington Road and stopped behind two other cars which were waiting to turn up the Slipe Road. In the car immediately in front of me was a Very Important Person. Another car was in front of the V.I.P.'s car. There was a steady stream of traffic going up the road and we had to wait quite a while. But then the V.I.P. got impatient and decided to do something about it. Without looking back he reversed. I hooted but he reversed smack into the front of my car, dented the bumper and broke the glass of one of my lamps. And then, still without looking back, he swung out across the street and bulled his way into the stream of traffic. I was very distressed, not so much by the damage done as by the attitude of this Very Important Personage. It seems to me that the least that good manners demanded in this case was some gesture of apology. I certainly had no thought of making an issue out of the accident, but this high and mighty attitude of being above the normal courtesies of the road because one is a V.I.P. was most distressing and disappointing. And I wondered how anybody who behaves in this manner can demand and expect others to behave with courtesy and good manners. It seems to me that much of the bad manners and bad behaviour in our society today stems from the bad manners and bad behaviour of the people at the top. And the sooner they themselves set better personal examples, the better it will be for the whole society. The standards should be the same for all, otherwise all standards will become those of the jungle.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Oct 17 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news that Mrs. Rose Leon's Progressive Labour Movement and Mr. Millard Johnson's People's Political Party have been merged into one party was not entirely unexpected. But many people seem to have been surprised by the announcement. In the main this surprise was due to the fact that Mrs. Leon had for so long and so firmly rejected any idea of conducting her politics with any hint of a racial line. This, they felt, would always stand in the way of a merger between Mrs. Leon and Mr. Johnson who frankly pushed a racialist line when he first emerged. But I think these people ignored a number of very important factors.

First, I think they ignored the influence that Jamaica and Jamaicans would exert on Mr. Johnson as an aspiring politician. Those of you who have followed Mr. Johnson's progression over the past few months must have noticed certain changes in his approach. He has become less violent in his language; he has eased up considerably on personal abuse; and he has certainly not stirred up the same degree of racial feeling that he did in his very early days. The responsibility of party leadership, the business of winning friends and influencing people, the business of balancing conflicting factions inside his party, and the very tricky business of holding on to the position of leadership, all these seem to have had a sobering effect on him, at least in his utterances. And of course, willy-nilly, Mr. Johnson has become more sensitive to the basic political mood of the country than he was when he first started. Jamaica is Jamaica, and while the emotional appeal of Africa is strong, any Jamaican politician who hopes to succeed must, sooner or later, operate within the Jamaican

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frame-work, submitting to the Jamaican mood to a degree at least, in order to influence it. All this is not necessarily either a conscious or rational process; but it is very real for all that. And the process has reached the point where Mrs. Leon, a very old hand at the political game, feels it safe to merge with Mr. Johnson. And so I expect the new P.P.P. to lay less stress on straight race and more on poverty and the working classes and on opportunity.

Another factor which made for the merger is the will and wish for power, which is the driving motive of all politicians. Like all politicians both Mrs. Leon and Mr. Johnson want power and they think that they stand more chance of getting there as a united force. A General Election is just around the corner. If the P.P.P. and the P.L.M. put up candidates independently you would have a number of four-cornered contests. This would mean that the votes of those people who are against both the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. would be split between the two smaller parties, thus cancelling each other out and making it easier for either labour or the P.N.P. to romp home. With the merger the vote against the two major parties will not be split and the new party will stand a better chance. This is the hard arithmetic of the gamble for power, and that, more than any ideals or principles justify the merger for both Mrs. Leon and Mr. Johnson. The group of P.L.M. dissenters who are against the merger can be written off. Their influence is slight. Mrs. Leon was the P.L.M. Without her it is nothing. The really interesting question now, is what influence the new P.P.P. is likely to have on our two major parties and on the coming general election. We will have a look at that tomorrow, so till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Oct 18 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: It is very difficult indeed to make any kind of guess as to what influence the new-style P.P.P. will have. Neither Mrs. Leon's Progressive Labour Movement nor Mr. Johnson's People's Political Party have ever been tested at the polls. Mr. Arthur Leon who now presumably be the P.P.P.'s spokesman in the House of Representati won his seat on the Jamaica Labour Party ticket. So the fact that the new party can now boast of having one member in the House does not mean anything. We do not know whether Mr. Leon would have retained the seat for West Rural St. Andrew if he had resigned after he and his wife split from the J.L.P. and then contested the seat on the P.L.M. ticket.

So how do we go about trying to assess the new-style P.P.P.'s chances in the coming election? I think the only way in which we can make any sort of guess at this moment in time is by trying to assess the mood and inclinations of the country: and that is a pretty hard thing to do.

I think our first question should be: Is there a really deeply felt desire for radical change in Jamaica today? If the answer to this question is yes then it is very likely that the voters will be more inclined to/some new party in the hope that it will lead them in the new direction. But if ~~on the other hand~~ the answer is: no, ~~there is no really deeply felt desire for radical change~~ then the voters are more likely to want to stick with the two old established parties with whose patterns they are very familiar. So the really big question is the mood of the country.

We know that there are large pockets of discontent ~~among~~ inside the

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Jamaican community: there are people who are homeless; there are people who are jobless. They see prosperity all about them: they see more cars than ever before on Jamaican road; they see houses going up all over the place; theysee others building fortunes. All this makes their own homelessness and poverty all the more bitter and it seems to them that nobody cares about them or their conditions. This is the broad pattern.

Now, if these people, the homeless and the jobless, feel that nothing can be done about their conditions within the framework of the present set-up then they will look for radical measures to change their conditions and they will look for a new leader and a new party to give voice to their bitterness and press for the radical change they want. If, on the other hand, these people feel that there is hope for change and improvement without radically upsetting the present order then they are most unlikely to want to destroy the present order completely. My own guess is that at this moment in time the majority of Jamaicans still feel that they can get the changes they want without any radical upsetting of the present order. They feel that the gap between the haves and the have-nots can be narrowed without violence and revolution. If I am right in this then the coming election will show a majority for one or the other of the two major parties. The showing made by the P.P.P. will be an indication of the extent of the desire for radical change. But the odd thing here is that the P.P.P. itself looks like becoming less radical with each month that passes. Just what this will do for its election chances is anybody's guess. What is certain is that the P.P.P. cannot be regarded as a major force until it proves itself at the coming election. Goodnight.

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No 249 Spell of Bad Weather

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Oct 19 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The weather authorites say that the terrible spell of bad weather we have had since the start of this week is on the way out. I hope, and I am sure most of you do so too, I hope that they are right, and that we will have a clear and sunny weekend to dry out our damp houses, our damp furniture and our damp clothes. I am sure we can all do with a period of drying out.

I suppose the worst thing about the last three or four days for most of us has been the damp and the seepage. I have not visited a single house which did not have damp patches somewhere on the ceiling, and in some houses water literally dripped down and had to be caught in buckets. This, I feel, is quite a criticism of our building methods and of our builders. Houses that look really fine on the outside turn out to be poor and jerry-built affairs that cannot stand up to three or four days of heavy rain without almost coming apart at the seams. Our buildings are supposed to measure up to certain standards, but the condition of a number of them after the rain suggests that those standards must awfully low. Like all too many things in Jamaica the price is high and the quality is low. This is something we ought to try and break.

Motorists, too, have gone through their own particular brand of hell over the past three days, especially in Kingston. The traffic congestion on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday was fantastic. Large numbers of people spent one, two and three hours on what was normally a fifteen-to-twenty-minute journey between their places of work and their homes. On Tuesday evening it took me an hour and a quarter of

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crawling at snail's pace to get from the Half Way Tree traffic lights to the Dunrobin Avenue lights; and there were scores of people for whom this short journey took even longer. Part of the trouble here was a lack of thought and discipline. If we had all accepted the fact that the road was flooded and that we would all get home sooner if we behaved in an orderly and disciplined manner, things would have gone a little more smoothly. Unfortunately there were a number of impatient people who thought it smart to jump the line and get ahead of everybody else. The result was a sort of disorganised and undisciplined scramble, with every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. And so some smart driver would swing out far to the right in an attempt to rush ahead of the line. Someone else would follow his example, and someone else, until three and four cars were travelling abreast of each other through a river of water. And then, of course, one or two stalled and the whole operation came to a halt. And the absence of any police to control and sort out the mess made driving home on Tuesday evening a particular nightmare. On Wednesday when we did have a number of police officers on the scene things moved a lot more smoothly. It is at times like these, when the going is rough, that thoughtfulness and a measure of self-discipline becomes so very essential. And it is then that we seem to fall down so badly and become 'me-firsters'.

But the most terrible damage of all, to my mind, was the fantastic amount of good Jamaican earth that was washed away to the sea in the past few days. Of all the damage this is the most serious and the most dangerous for the future because land is the life of a people.

Goodnight.

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No 250 Harbour View Citizen's Association
Underground Wiring (follow-up)

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Oct 20 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The other day I had a visit from Mr. Ken Jones, the President of the Harbour View Citizen's Association. Mr. Jones wanted to set me right on some information I had got wrong. Some of you may remember that I spoke about the Harbour View Citizen's Association on Wednesday October the 11th. I told you then what a high regard I had for the Association and its work, and then I said I disagreed with their latest protest campaign, which was against the K.S.A.C.'s proposal that the wires for street lighting in Harbour View should run underground. My feeling, you will remember, was that this was a good and safe thing and should be carried out.

Well, it was about this that Mr. Jones wanted to set me right. The news report from which I had taken my information, he said, was not correct; and to prove this he showed me copy of the letter which the Association had sent to the Town Clerk on the matter. To get the record completely straight, let me read the section of the letter dealing with this matter. It is this, and now I am quoting from the letter: "The installation of underground wires for the proposed street lights in Harbour View is another matter which is causing some concern. I have been informed that the K.S.A.C. Council plans to lay their wires along the sidewalks and that this qill necessitate the destruction of the grass and plants which the citizens have been laying out. We have gone a far way to instil and encourage civic pride in our people and I think it fitting that at this time we should be given some assurance that there will be, not only the very minimum of destruction, but also speedy replacement, if and when the verges are

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dug up." That is what ~~kkx~~ is what Mr. Ken Jones wrote to the Town Clerk about underground wiring. And that, of course, is very differnt from the news report I saw and on which my commentary of October 11th was based. And so I am very pleased to correct the facts. The Harbour View Citizens' Association is not against underground wiring for street lights. In fact Mr. Jones told me that they are in favour of it. What they do want is as little destruction of the beauty they have created as possible; and they want the Council to assume responsibility to replace as quickly as possible any verges they may dig up. And here I am in complete agreement with the Harbour View Citizen's Associtaion. My criticism was based on a published news report which turned out to be far from accurate.

There are some other points on which the citizens of Harbour View feel very strongly. They are very anxious about playing grounds for their children. At the moment there is nowhere except the streets or the tiny backyards of the houses where the kids can play. And this is just not good enough for growing youngsters. There is some idea of gettin them a piece of land on the seafront side for playing grounds. I hope Mr. Keble Munn does in fact succeed in getting this soon. But crossing the main road to St. Thomas is likely to be a deadly dangerous business for youngsters and so I should like to see an overhead bridge erected if the playing fields are located on the other side of the main road. As far as I am concerned one of the silliest things that happened near Harbour View was the digging up of miles of sewer mains in order to widen the road. One day it will cost taxpayers a fortune to lay new ~~sewer~~ mains because sewerage is a coming problem for Harbour View. But then, its only the poor dumb taxpayers' money. Goodnight.

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No 251 1) Select Committee on Constitution
2) ~~Restriction on Migration~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Oct 21 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: On Tuesday evening the House of Representatives unanimously approved Mr. Manley's motion for the setting up of a Select Committee to prepare proposals for the Constitution of an independent Jamaica. This is the first important step in the business of drafting the new constitution and I am glad it went as smoothly as it did. As I told you a couple of weeks back, the first sitting of the House after the referendum could so easily have set off a pattern of bitter and rather vicious party strife; which would have been tragic of our constitution-making; and so it is good that our leaders have behaved with the responsibility the ocassion demands. Of course, behaving in a responsible manner does not mean the Opposition must go along with the government line on every issue, and indeed the Opposition has made it clear that it does not intend to do so. Some of the speeches from the Opposition during the debate were so strongly critical that there were times when I wondered whether the Opposition had decided to vote against the Manley motion for the Select Committee.

Then, on Wednesday evening, we had Mr. Clem Tavares' motion calling on the government to resign and hold new elections immediately. This one was defeated on a straight party basis. And ~~this~~ these two things taken together, it seems to me, suggests the pattern of how things will be conducted over the next few months.

I think that on the big issue of Constitution-making both parties will do their best to work seriously for what they regard as the best constitution possible for Jamaica. I think the approach here will in fact be bi-partisan and the problems will be treated as national ones transcending party. This will be particularly so in the Committee work.

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But I think that when it comes to anything which is conducted in the full glare of publicity, we can expect a great deal of straight party politics. And I think we can expect some of this party politicking to reach new levels of nastiness and bitterness. I shall be only too happy to be proved wrong but I, for one, expect some scandals, some really dirty smears and quite a bit of character assassination. And not all of this will necessarily originate in either of the two parties. Some very powerful behind-the-scenes forces are likely to play some not-so-nice politics behind the scenes. And of course the parties themselves will make use of anything they can.

It seems to me that the J.L.P. will make the running pretty strongly. That is the advantage always enjoyed by an Opposition. It can attack and attack and attack. The party in power has the disadvantage of having to defend itself and its record; and that disadvantage becomes particularly marked when that party has suffered the kind of defeat suffered by the P.N.P. in the referendum.

So it seems to me that the months ahead will show a delicate balance of behind-the-scenes co-operation between the parties in the making of the constitution, but a sharpening of party strife on the floor of the House, on the radio and in the press. The great danger here is that some bright young politician may be tempted to make party capital out of the business of constitution-making. If anybody does in fact yield to that temptation then Jamaica's road to independence may become bitter, torn with strife, and perhaps even bloody. A great responsibility to prevent this rests on the shoulders of the two party leaders. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Oct 23 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Many people feel that the current Berlin crisis might lead to a shooting war of nuclear weapons. And feeling this, they have carried the argument a stage further and say that if war does come it will be because the Russians want a war. On the face of it, this approach is logical and reasonable. Khrushchev has broken the agreement not to test atomic weapons. The Russians have set off more than a score of nuclear explosions in the past few weeks and the world is alarmed by the dangers of radio-active fall-out. But instead of heeding world opinion Khrushchev has threatened to let off an even bigger and more deadly bomb. And in Berlin the Russians and their East German friends have been more provocative than at any time since the end of the Second World War. All of which makes it reasonable that they are in fact looking for a war.

And yet the truth of the matter is that the Russians do not want war. For all their struttings and rocket-rattling they are probably more terrified of war than almost anybody else. But if that is so, you might ask, why do they behave in this warlike manner?

Part, if not all of the answer, was supplied, I think, by the 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party which opened in Moscow on Tuesday of last week. At that Congress, and for no apparent reason, Khrushchev launched a bitter public attack against the Albanian communist leaders, accusing them of being Stalinists: and being accused of Stalinism is today just about the biggest political crime any communist can be charged with. But of course things are rarely what they seem in communist-style power politics. And the Cold War that

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goes on among the communists themselves is a very complex and complicated thing. Albania, for instance is a very tiny little country of about 11,000 square ~~s~~miles and with just over one-and-a-quarter million people; she is much too small and weak to defy the giant Soviet Union with its nearly 9 million square miles and more than 200 million people. Russia could crush Albania like a man crushes an ant - if the conflict were simply between the Albanian communists and the Russian communists. But it is not. The real quarrel, the real Cold War, is between Russia and China. The Russians are attacking Albania because she has sided with the Chinese in this quarrel. Albania is the first European country which has chosen to follow the lead of Peking rather than the lead of Moscow. She is therefore a dangerous example to other European communist countries.

And behind the Russian-Chinese quarrel is the struggle for leadership of the communist world. Until communist China appeared on the scene Russia was the undisputed leader of the communist world. But the Chinese are now challenging that leadership. They say the Russians have gone soft, that the Russians have now joined the 'haves' among the nations and so they want co-existence with the West. The Chinese, on the other hand, want an all-out war with the West. In order not to lose the support of other communists in this struggle with China, Khrushchev has to show just how tough he can be, and so we have the threats and the explosions. But basically, Russia does not want war; she has more to lose from it than she has to gain. However, there is this mounting conflict within the communist camp, and it is this Cold War that dictates much of Khrushchev's actions today. Goodnight.

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No 253

1) The Premier's Visit to the Rastas
2) The Voting Age

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Oct 24 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Some very interesting points came out of the meeting between Mr. Manley and a group of Rastafarians on Saturday. First was the news that construction of the oil refinery would begin within the next few months, and that while the building is going on jobs would be provided for some twelve hundred workers. This confirms ~~The implication is~~ that the refinery will be located in Western Kingston and that the 900 permanent jobs it would provide later would largely benefit the people of Western Kingston, of whom the Rastas are a sizeable section. Mr. Manley also mentioned the point that some people 'don't want to work' and I am very glad he did. It is a sad fact but a fact all the same that many of the people who bawl loudest expect everything to be done for them and are not prepared to lift a finger to help themselves. I hope that when work on the refinery does begin my Rasta friends will show that they are not afraid of work and that they can work as well as the next man, if not better. It seems to me that one of the most important points about help is self-help. I think all citizens and all sections of our community are entitled to be given a chance so that they can help themselves. If any section of the community expects everything to be done for it: if people expect to be supplied with free houses, free water, free lights, free everything, then they should be told very firmly that Jamaica just cannot afford this kind of free-giving and that in any case this kind of living on the dole is a corrupting thing. Certainly, the poorer sections of any community is entitled to expect help from the state and the society. But nobody is entitled to expect charity.

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But perhaps the most important point that came out of the talks between the Premier and the Rastas, at least as far as I am concerned, was the point made by some Rastas that they need more land room. This made me wonder how many of the Rastafarian brethern would in fact be prepared to work the land if it were made available. It seems to me that the rastas, as well as other citizens could do a very wonderful job for Jamaica and for themselves if they were prepared to do some pioneering. There are large areas of undeveloped and uninhabited land all over this island. We must develop this land; we must make it bring forth and feed its people and earn money for our foreign buying. Would the Rastas and the other landless people who are now crowded into Kingston slums and who have no work, would they be willing to go out into the hills and mountains and clear the land and work on government supported co-operative farms?

It seems to me that this is one of the important new directions our thinking must take if we are to create a decent future for all our citizens. We must be prepared to pioneer instead of sticking in the overcrowded squallor of Kingston. There is a lot of land room for those who are prepared to work. So let us look inward: inward into ourselves and inward into the challenging hills of Jamaica. That is the challenge to all who want land-room.

Finally, let me say that I am wholeheartedly in favour of the voting age being reduced to eighteen. Many eighteen-year-old age paying taxes and I support the slogan: 'No taxation without representatio

Goodnight

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No 254 The Dangers of Slogans

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Oct 25 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last night I said I supported the slogan: 'No taxation without representation'. Tonight I want to discuss the whole dangerous business of slogans because it seems to me that Jamaica today is in danger of getting slogan-drunk, and that can be a very bad thing for the political health of the country.

Now, slogans are a form of emotional political short-hand. They are popular rallying cries; they are catch phrases used to build up passions to a point beyond reason. These are just three of a number of ways in which slogans can be used. So let us examine these three ways. First, let us look at it in terms of political short-hand. No taxation without representation is a classic example of the slogan as political short-hand. It states the clear political principle that people should not submit to being taxed unless they also have the right to participate in the government of the country. This kind of slogan generally has sense and meaning and a hard moral core to it. Then we have the slogan as the rallying cry. This is generally used in times of war. In the Spanish Civil War the most popular slogan was: 'They shall not pass'. In the Second World War one of the British slogans during the North African and Italian campaigns was: 'Sock the Wops'. They shall not pass, has a certain dignity and declares passionate intention. Sock the Wops, on the other hand, is racialist and nasty in the extreme,, because Wop is the British term of contempt for the Italian. So the rallying cry type of slogan can be either very noble or very nasty.

The third kind of slogan, the catch phrase, is possibly the lowest form of sloganeering. It is often meaningless when closely examined, and it frankly plays on ignorance and prejudice and fear.

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And this, unfortunately, is the kind of slogan we go in for most here in Jamaica. Let us look at the most popular slogan in Jamaica today. It is one word and that word is 'freedom'. I have seen people work themselves into a fine passion shouting 'freedom'. But when I asked one of these shouters what he meant he looked shocked for a moment, and then, unable to explain himself, he just shouted the same word louder. Now, if a slave were shouting that word it would make sense because the word would then have a special meaning in a special context. But when people who have the right to elect the government of their choice, when people who can move about freely in their own land and can speak their minds freely, when such people shout freedom, it becomes more than a little silly. If they had said freedom to work or freedom from hunger it would have made more sense. But the word just by itself has no context here. And that is probably why some poor misguided people left their jobs the day after the referendum and are now sorry. This sort of slogan does not educate, does not advance anything, it just confuses issues and undermines stability and is therefore thoroughly bad.

And I am afraid the same thing must be said of the latest P.N.P. slogan: Power. Why power? In what connection? In what context? Is it a threat? I certainly do not like this one any better. I find this kind of slogan-mongering dangerous. It seems to me that our politicians need to remember that slogans are good when they educate and point a direction and they are bad and dangerous when used to arouse ignorant and unreasoning passions. Our current crop of slogans are misleading, confusing and dangerously stupid. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Oct 26 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: For me the most important and the most pleasing news of this week was the announcement that a black South African has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. But this news is very much more important than as a simple matter of personal pride. However, in order to understand the basic/importance of this awarding of the political Nobel Peace Prize to a black South African, we must know something about both the Prize and the man.

So let us first take a look at the Nobel Prizes and how they came about and what they mean.

A Swedish chemist called Alfred Nobel started working on the problem of making explosives safe round about 1860 when he was just about ~~xxxxxx~~ twenty-seven. In 1863, when he was thirty, he found a way of combining nitroglycerin with another substance called kieselguhr, which made it safe for humans to handle the explosives. He called the new combined substance dynamite. He began to produce dynamite on a commercial scale in 1866 and within a very short time he became one of the richest men in the world.

Nobel was a good man, a great idealist, and a lover of humanity and he had hoped that his invention would only be used for the good of mankind. But he was a realist as well and he soon realised that evil men would put his invention to evil use, and this distressed him. And so when he died at the age of 63 he left ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a fund which at the time amounted to some £3,000,000 and he directed that the interest from this money should be divided into five equal prizes, and these prizes should be awarded each year to persons who have

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contributed most to 'the good of humanity'. So each year, since 1901 those persons who have made the greatest contribution for the good of humanity, have been awarded Nobel Prizes. The five fields in which the awards are made are: Physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature, and for the most important work in the interest of world peace. The awards for physics and chemistry are made by the Royal Academy of Siences of Stockholm; that for physiology or medicine is made by the Caroline Medical Institute of Stockholm; the award for literature is made by the Swedish Academy; and the peace award is made by the Norwegian Parliament.

In terms of money the awards are very valuable; in recent years each prize has carried a sum as large as between £17,000 and £20,000. But much, much more important than their money value, these prizes have become the highest forms of international recognition in the world. There is no single other prize in the world, there is no single other recognition in all the world that carries the honour and the glory and the prestige and the status of a Nobel Prize. This is so because the Nobel Prizes are the only truly international prizes which genuinely recognise greatness and achievement on a world scale and without any consideration of party, colour, class or creed. It is the noblest and highest form of recognition any man can attain in the world today.... And so we come to the black South African, Albert Luthuli, who this week received this most noble of all awards. Why did he get it? And what does it mean? And who is this man? I will answer these questions tomorrow. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Oct 27 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Albert Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960, is a thickset, burly man with a roundish face. He is of the Zulu tribe and he speaks and moves with all the dignity of the proud Zulu. He was born in a little tribal village called Groutville in Natal. He is 62 years old and until 1952 he was the tribal Chief of his people. In order to be a tribal chief in South Africa a man has to be approved of by the Government of South Africa; which means that for years Albert Luthuli was regarded as a 'Good Native', by the white rulers of South Africa. In fact he was a good tribal chief for seventeen years and the white rulers of South Africa held him up as an example of how they expected 'natives' to behave. And because they regarded him as a good native he was appointed to a number of committees that the government approved of. He was put on the Native Representative Council, which was supposed to advise the government on 'native policy' and which the government consistently ignored. He was also a member of the South African Christian Council, a joint council where blacks and whites who were liberal met, and he was a member of the Institute of Race Relations. In 1946 he joined the African National Congress but he did not do much active work. Then he went on a visit to India as a delegate to the World Council of Churches; and later he went to the United States to lecture for the American Board Missions. The very fact that the South African government allowed him to travel when they restricted almost every other black man showed that they felt sure of Albert Luthuli, they were sure of their good native.

But somewhere along the way, possibly in India, the 'good native'

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suddenly began to get out of hand. His Christianity became stronger but he now said that Christ himself would have opposed the debasing conditions under which black people lived. And then he made a personal declaration which shook the entire South Africa. I was there at the time (it was the last time I was allowed into South Africa). It was the end of 1952. Luthuli declared that for thirty years of his life he had tried the method of pleading and moderation and it had got him nowhere. And so he was now urging all blacks to revolt openly and boldly against injustice. But, and this was his most important but, he wanted his people to use Gandhi's method of non-violence. He wanted his people to fight against the evils of the system but not against the white people because they were white. He said discrimination and prejudice by blacks against whites would be as evil as that of whites against blacks. And so the defiance he preached was against the unjust laws and against the evil pracitices, not against the white people. The Africans elected him President of Congress that year. The government dismissed him from his chieftainship. And at the height of the campaign he was one of the 156 people of all races arrested and charged with treason. He was released in 1957 but his movements were severely restricted and still are. He cannot make speeches and he can only move within a few miles of where he lives. But his moral influence has become world-wide. And now the Norwegian Parliament has awarded him the Nobel Prize for Peace, thus giving the racialists of South Africa the biggest moral slap in the face they have ever received. And Luthuli is the first African, not only in South Africa but throughout the continent, to get this most important of the Nobel Prizes. Goodnight.

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3) A Customs Problem

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Oct 30 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Early yesterday evening, when we in Jamaica were still on the alert because there was the likelihood of Hurricane Hattie hitting Jamaica, the danger had in fact passed. But of course we did not know it because we were still going by the ~~fixxxxxxxxx~~ bulletin of yesterday morning. It was by the sheerest accident that my daughter picked up and American station on our radio and discovered that a plane which had just surveyed the area had reported that the storm was swinging gently westward and so away from us. About two hours later our own radio stations confirmed this news. We were saved two hours of anxiety and preparation by this accidental picking up of an American station and this fact made me wonder whether it would not be a good idea if, in between the official bulletins, a constant monitoring of Miami radio stations, would not be very useful when storms are so close. As things now are, there is a long and nerve-straining gap between one official bulletin and the next.

The alarms of Hurricane Hattie resulted in one very pleasing experience for me. The family decided that we may need something to dry out the house should heavy rains and storms hit us. So I was sent into Kingston on Saturday morning to try and buy something. And so it was that after a number of tries, I ran up against the brothers Flannery who are in the heating and plumbing and ventilation business. They did not have what I wanted, but unlike the other people, they did not just shrug and say they did not have it. They made a number of phone calls and went to endless trouble until they found just the thing I wanted. And when they finally located a fan heater for me, they sent one of their own workers to collect it for me. These people did

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not have to go to all this trouble; after all, they were not making a penny out of the deal. Like the other people, they could have said 'Sorry, we don't stock anything like that'. Instead, they showed me an example of the real meaning of service, and it made me feel good and grateful. So, a public salute to the brothers Flannery and may more business houses give the kind of service and help they gave me on Saturday.

And now for another kind of service. A lady in Kingston received a gift package for her baby in celebration of its first birthday. The gift came from the child's grandmother in Ireland and was valued at £1. 2.6. The Customs Declaration label on the package showed that it came from Ireland; so did the postage stamps. I have the label and the stamps with me, so I know. But when the child's mother went to clear the parcel from Customs, a customs official told her it came from Switzerland. The lady protested that this was not so and pointed to the label and the stamps. After much talk the official decided that if it was not Switzerland then the parcel must come from Germany. When the lady protested that this was not so either the customs official told her he did not have any more time to argue so she had better leave the parcel and come back another time. In desperation the lady paid duty on the parcel as though it came from Germany. Now, I know this sounds fantastic, but it is true. And this, God help us, is the kind of service we can do without. This brand of arrogance feeding on ignorance is what makes ~~xixxi~~ uncivil louts out of some of our civil servants and gives the whole service a bad name. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Oct 28 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I hope you have all read Miss Una Marson's letter in last Wedneday's Gleaner; if you have not I hope you will make an effort to do so because I think her letter is very important. Those of you who did read the letter will recall that Miss Marson discusses the recently formed Committee for a Better Jamaica. I am sure we have all seen and heard the advertisements put out by the Committee for a Better Jamaica and so I do not think there is any need for me to go into that. The Committee calls on all of us to cooperate in the building of a better Jamaica and uses the pictures of sportsmen and other prominent figures as examples to us. Referring to one advertisement which showed a boxer, Miss Marson makes that point that boxing can hardly be regarded as typifying gentleness, kindliness and love. I think she has a point. And in any case, the fact that a man can run faster than all other men, or that he can stay under water longer or that he can jump higher or that he has made more money, does not of itself make him an example of good citizenship. Furthermore, we can always say that these are exceptional people whose attainments we can never match, no matter how hard we try. So, like Miss Marson, I think the use of outstanding athletes in these advertisements a little unfortunate.

But even more important than this, and I do hope I am not misrepresenting Miss Marson's views, is her suggestion that some concrete pattern of action would prove much more useful than this costly Courtesy Campaign through press and radio. I agree with Miss Marson that the basic causes for our current wave of anti-social behaviour stem from bad social and economic conditions and that we

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must pay attention to these conditions if we hope to create a better climate of behaviour.

I do not think that this is a point that needs to be argued or that any member of the Committee for a Better Jamaica will dispute it. Father Sherlock founded Boys Town afterall, and he knows what a great contribution it has made to the morals and manners of scores of young men over the years. The trouble is, and I rather think this is part of Miss Marson's point, there is only one Boys Town. And it seems to me that two or three more Boys Towns in other depressed areas of the island would make a greater long-term difference than a whole mass of advertising. And then there is the question of the young girls for whom there is no Girls Town.

I should hate any of you to feel that this is carping criticism. The Citizens Committee for a Better Jamaica is a noble effort and I know that Miss Marson does not want to 'knock' it, and I certainly don't. But I do know that many people feel that the Committee can use the money at its disposal more practically and for more lasting good than by using it on an advertising campaign.

Finally, I hope that the authorities concerned will close Tom Redcam Avenue to all motor traffic when there are performances at the Little Theatre. The noise of traffic spoiled an evening's theatre for a number of us ~~the other evening~~ last Saturday night. Closing the Avenue will be no hardship to anybody and will contribute to the growth and development of the theatre in Jamaica. So please let us have our theatre without the noise and rattle of traffic. It is a small thing to ask in the interest of our cultural health. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Oct 31 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: At least twice last week it looked as though the world was on the brink of war. On Wednesday East German police stopped two American officialsin East Berlin and would not let them through until they showed their identity papers. But the American Government does not recognise the existence of the East German Communist Government and it has given its officials strict instructions not to acknowledge the authority of any East Germans. So the two officials refused to show their papers. The East Germans would not let the two officials pass and so a dozen American military police in battle-dress and with fixed bayonets had to go into East Berlin to escort the two officials out.

That was the first incident and it created an air of electric tension in Berlin and throughout the world. The Americans alerted their entire Berlin Garrison and tanks rolled up to the border between the Eastern and Western sectors of the city. The British and French also alerted their forces. The next day East German guards again tried to check the papers and American officials and again they had to be escorted in and out of East Berlin by United States soldiers. And by this time a dangerous atmosphere of tension had been created.

The point behind these incidents was the occupation rights of what was once the allied powers - Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. After the second world war all four powers agreed, and this was written into the Occupation Statute, that the officials of each and everyone of them would have freedom of movement in all sectors of divided Berlin. Until fairly recently all sides have honoured this agreement. But lately the Russians have increasingly given over guard duty at the borders between East and West Berlin to the East German

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police, and up until two weeks ago the East German police carefully avoided interfering with the freedom of movement in and out of East Berlin of the western occupying powers. Nobody who knows all the details of the unfolding Berlin situation believes for a single moment that the East Germanswere acting off their own bat in stopping American officials. They Russians, these experts say, must have told the East German to do so in order to probe and test American determination.

And when the Russians realised that the Americans were prepared to get tough with the East Germans they appeared on the scene themselves. On Friday ten Russian tanks rolled up to the East Berlin Border and pointed their guns at the ten American tanks on the western side of the border. And so we had on Friday the terrible picture of the two most powerful nations on ~~earth~~ earth pointing guns at each other not much more than two hundred yards apart. If one of the gunners in one of those tanks had lost his nerve, or if the strain had been so much that he had pressed a trigger in sudden panic, we might have seen the beginnings of the most terrible war the world has ever known. That is how close we all are to the horrors of war these days. Because we must make no mistake about it. None of us, not even the smallest island, will escape the effects of an atomic war.

And yet it is in the very fact that war would be so terrible that our greatest hope for peace is found. Both the Russians and the Americans know that whoever wins - if anybody does win - would only inherit a burnt-up earth. And so neither really wants war. The greatest danger of all, as I see it, that war may be started by some crazy accident while these people play their power game. Goodnight.

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thoughts on the spiritual problem.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Nov 2 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news of the terrible damage caused to Belize and other parts of Honduras by Hurricane Hattie is most distressing. As I listened to the dreadful news of death and destruction, a very strange thought crossed my mind. I wondered how I would have reacted if I had known on Sunday evening that when Hattie swung away from us it was going to cause such devastation in British Honduras. If we had all suddenly found ourselves with the gift of foresight, would we have prayed just as hard that Hurricane Hattie pass us by? Would we have said to ourselves: 'We are probably in a much better position to stand the shock; any city of ours that it might hit is less likely to be flooded by the sea; so let it hit us instead of helpless Belize'. Would we have thought like that if we had known what was going to happen? Would you? Would I? I personally find it impossible to answer this question honestly and with the knowledge that I am being truly honest. I know that the Christian ethic by which I try to live commands that I love my neighbour as myself, and I know that my neighbour should be every man. And yet I cannot honestly say that if I had known what would happen and if I had any choice in the matter, I would have prayed for Hattie to hit us instead of very low-lying Belize. So I think it is just as well that we do not have the gift of foresight, otherwise we might be shocked to discover how very weak we are morally, and how few of us live up to the Christianity to which we pay such faithful lip-service.

In spite of all our great scientific and technical and political advances, we seem to have made very few strides forward in the past two thousand years or so. We seem to have leaped ahead in material

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and scientific terms, and to have taken something less than half a crawl forward in spiritual and moral terms. Christ taught that man can show no greater love than by risking the sacrifice of himself for his neighbour. Nearly two thousand years have passed since He taught that. In that space of time we have discovered that the earth was round, we have learnt to move mountains, to fly through the air, to travel under the seas, to split the atom - and we are now on the threshold of journeys into space. All these are fantastic advances in the conquest of our material world. But it seems to me that we are as far-away from the true Christian ethic today as our forebears were when Christ walked the earth. I found it strangely disturbing to realise how very little man has really grown in spiritual and moral terms over the past 2,000 years.

When the Russians whose great revolution wrought vast material changes for the benefit of people's bodies - when they rejected the Christian ethic as the 'opium of the people', theyreplaced the hope of Christian immortality with the embalmed body of a man in a glass case and this became the sort of religious shrine of communism. So the spiritual content of the new materialism was enshrined by adopting the methods of ancient Egypt of mummifying the dead human body. Hardly a step forward in the flowering of the human spirit, is it?

These, ladies and gentlemen, were some of the strange thoughts that passed through my mind as I heard of the terrible disaster in Belize. Perhaps it all adds up to the fact that man is not really as wonderful as he thinks he is: or perhaps great disasters make us stop and think again of our relations with each other and with God.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Nov 3 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: On Wednesday of this week the Government of Trinidad formally took over control of British West Indian Airways, and although B.O.A.C. still owns 10% of the shares, B.W.I.A. is now the property of the government of Trinidad. I was particularly pleased to see that Dr. Eric Williams has asked Mr. H.O.B. Wooding to continue as chairman of the temporary board of management. Mr. Wooding has a long and intimate experience with B.W?I.A. and I think his services will be invaluable to the company. I had been a little afraid that pressure from the more fanatical of his followers might force Dr. Williams to drop Mr. Wooding. Mr. Wooding is not a politician, and some of the P.N.M. people who operate on the principle of 'You are either for us, or against us' have held this against him. And then too, there is this very odd attitude among some dark West Indians of hostility and suspicion of any fellow dark person who has made a great success in business. You will often hear the so-called strong nationalists complain that all the captains of high finance and big business are white, and yet when a black man attains to that position they tend to attack and denounce him. So all in all, I am very glad that the Trinidad government has seen the wisdom of keeping the services of Mr. Wooding.

I was also particularly pleased with Dr. Williams' statement that his government had made provision for the participation of other West Indian governments in the B.W.I.A. venture. When the Trinidad take-over was first announced there was talk here in Jamaica of our setting up our own national airline. I hope this was no more than talk. I think

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it would be both foolish and an unnecessary expense for Jamaica to set up a national airline just to show 'face'. We do not need a national airline. All the international airlines are still at our disposal, they still come into Kingston and Montego Bay to take us wherever we want to go and bring us back. And B.W.I.A. is all the link we really need with the Eastern Caribbean. So I do hope we will not be foolish about this national airline busness. What would be very much more useful to us would be a well organised internal Jamaican air taxi service which can take us from one end of the island to the other in short time and at a reasonable fare.

And talking about duplication, I think Dr. Jagan's idea of a university college for British Guiana is equally unfortunate. B.G, with its very small population does not need a university college of its own. I think the university college of the West Indies with its branch in Trinidad can very well satisfy all our needs and will cost much less than a whole series of university colleges. This fragmentation and duplication of services can be very costly and can, I think, create an ugly new kind of insularity.

Finally a word about the Trinidad and Barbados general elections which will both be held on December 4th. Present indications are that Dr. Williams' P.N.M. will have no trouble winning in Trinidad. Reports from Barbados, on the other hand, suggest that things do not look as bright for the ruling Barbados Labour Party. It seems that the young men of the Democratic Labour Party have made great strides, and unless Sir Grantley Adams moves with care he might find himself with no power in both Port of Spain and Bridgetown. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Nov 4 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The British Government has now definitely decided to limit migration from the West Indies to Britain, and I think we all know that Jamaica is one of the places that will be most seriously affected by this decision. Officially the decision applies to the entire Commonwealth as well as to the Irish Republic. The Bill which will bring this decision into effect, as had its first reading in the British Parliament. As far as I am concerned this Bill is a mere formality. Unless the British Government has a sudden change of heart, which is most unlikely at this stage, the Bill will pass through all its stages without trouble and become law very soon. The terms of the Bill are such that nobody can describe it as being any kind of colour-bar law. But everybody knows that whatever the legal nicesties might be, the introduction of this Bill would have been most unlikely if the migrants from the West Indies were of the same skin colour as the general populace of great Britain. As I have told you before, ~~in~~ during and since the second world war, more Poles, more Hungarians and more Irishmen have entered Britain than West Indians and no thought of limiting migration came up until the large flow of coloured West Indians. So, as far as I am concerned, this is in fact a decision based on colour, and I am bitterly against it. But I am afraid the British government has made up its mind and I frankly do not see how we can unmake it now. So where do we go from here?

The Jamaica government has set up a group to study the implications for us of this decision. I am glad of this because we will have to think about this problem and tackle it. For instance, I see one of

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the most serious and dangerous implications of this restriction as causing a vast unemployment problem here in Jamaica. Things have looked much brighter than they really are because migration has been a safety valve easing the pressure of unemployment. When that safety valve is closed, we are going to have a really big problem on our hands. And I do not see how we are going to be able to cope with this problem, unless we do some very careful planning and make some very tough decisions. When other countries have faced severe unemployment their governments have taken control of the unemployed by setting up work camps and labour battalions and these have been used on great national projects like building roads or dams or reclaiming land. I should like to see a special labour force of unemployed used on a national project of building permanent terracing for Jamaica's hillside land. This will both help ease unemployment and save the Jamaican earth, large amounts of which is being washed away today.

One of the things which has always worried me about migration was the fact that so many children were left behind. The migrants who left Jamaica between 1955 and 1960 had almost 97,000 children between them. But only 6,500 children left the island during that period, which means that something like 90,000 were left behind, often in the care of casual acquaintances. How are these children going to grow up? What kind of home-life, what kind of love will they know? This is another problem which lies ahead of us. It is another problem about which we must think and for which we must plan. The challenge of this British decision is that we must now think and plan for our own salvation. And if we dont face up to this challenge then a whole heap of trouble lies ahead of Jamaica. From here on it is up to us alone to shape our future. Goodnight.

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& Operation Belize

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Nov 6 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: It now looks as though the death roll in Belize is likely to end up somewhere near the thousand mark. That is the terrible extent of the disaster which have befallen British Honduras in the wake of Hurricane Hattie. But for me the greatest tragedy is the tragedy of living: the tragedy of the children and the homeless old people, and the horror of people being driven from such shelter as remain by snakes seeking shelter. And yet, in a way, our minds tend to refuse to accept the full horror of this great tragedy. We know it is terrible and we express our sorrow and we are prepared to do whatever we can to help, but somehow the starkness of it all cannot sink in all the way. Perhaps it is just as well. Perhaps this is one of the ways in which the human mind protects itself against too great a burden of horror, because if the mind were exposed to more horror than it can stand it might break under the strain. And so I think it is that we have this appearance of detachment which is the way in which our minds protect our sanity. And it is what we do that shows our awareness of the greatness of the tragedy of Belize.

And there has been a great wave of awareness. Britain, the United States, the countries of Latin America have all sent help in the form of food medical supplies and badly needed water. The Federal Government has launched an appeal for a British Honduras Hurricane Relief Fund, and it has put the two Federal ships at the disposal of the effort for the relief of Beitish Honduras. Jamaica is to act as the co-ordinating centre of this federal relief effort. And Jamaica itself has of course been one of the first places to go into action. The Daily Gleaner has

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opened its own Relief Fund and military and police forces have gone from Jamaica to help restore order.

With all this going on many of us may feel that things are under control. We read and hear that relief of all kinds - food, clothing, medicines, building materials, are pouring in in a steady stream. And this may lead ~~us~~ some of us to relax and feel that we ourselves need not do anything. I think such an attitude would prove to be a very serious mistake. I think we are very far from the end of this horror yet. The city of Belize has been practically destroyed; there is no list yet of the vast numbers who are homeless; and typhoid is a dangerously serious threat which could wipe out at least as many people again as did Hurricane Hattie. All this means that there is an enormous job ahead.

The first and most important immediate task is to ensure the health of the people. Ten doctors from the University College left for B.H. yesterday to join a large number of others who are now carrying out a massive inoculation campaign to try and beat the threat of an epidemic. Pray God they succeed because if they do not a very large segment of the entire B.H. population may be wiped out. Then there is the feeding and the people; and then there is the restoring of safe water and light. And then the will be the big task of rebuilding Belize which is likely to take a very long time. So please, there is no reason to ease up. The people of British Honduras have need of every penny we can give them. It is going to take years to restore the great damage done and they are going to need the help of everyone of us. So please give all you can. Goodnight

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Nov 7 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I am glad to see that Jomo Kenyatta is back in London after an absence of something like sixteen years. For half that length of time he was either in prison or else restricted in the remote nothern territory of Kenya. But now Kenyatta is back on the political stage and it looks as though things are likely to start moving in East Africa. Up to now West Africa and the Congo have been the parts of Africa which have commanded most world attention. But from now on I expect East Africa to get its full share of attention, and I think much of that attention will be focussed around the personality of Jomo Kenyatta. Of course, Julius Nyerere, whose Tanganyika becomes independent next month, will also be very much in the limelight: but for the time being, at least, I expect Kenyatta to dominate the East African scene. So what has brought Kenyatta to London?

When he was given his unrestricted freedom earlier this year, Kenyatta was the accepted leader of all the African political groups in Kenya. Both the major African parties - the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union - claimed him as their leader. Both had demanded his release, and the leaders of both parties had declared that they would surrender leadership to Kenyatta as soon as he was free.

When Kenyatta was released he tried to bring the leaders of the two parties together. The Kenya African National Union was the party which had won most seats at the last election./ But it was on the Kenya African Democratic Union that the Governor called to form a government. The leaders of K.A.N.U. naturally resented this, and rivalry between the

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two parties was also fanned by minority groups like the white settlers who have no liking at all for what is happening in Kenya today. And so Kenyatta faced his first big challnge when he tried to bring the two parties together. A conference of the two parties was held at which Kenyatta urged them to sink their differences and form a coalition government. But in spite of his considerable influence, the conference broke down and the old familiar charges against the Kikuyu were trotted out. It was said the K.A.N.U. was really a Kikuyu party and the Kikuyu were planning to take over Kenya and to dominate all the other tribes. Now it is true that the Kikuyu are the largest tribe in Kenya and that the majority of the Kikuyu support K.A.N.U. But K.A.N.U. is definitely not a tribalist party. A number of its leading personalities including Tom Mboya, are not Kikuyu. But some of the settlers are doing their damnedest to create tribal divisions, and the breakdown of this attempt at unity was in fact a settler victory. After the breakdown, Kenyatta accepted the leadership of K.A.N.U. and his trip to London is to ask the British Government to hold new constitutional talks.

I hope the British government will agree to these talks. I also hope they will not be influenced by settler attempts to create division along tribal lines. The settlers dream of having a sort of casting vote in the power set-up of a tribally divided Kenya, is very dangerous and could lead to frsh trouble. Kenyatta's way, the way of a united and independent Kenya without barriers of tribe or race, is the only way to a peaceful future for that country. Goodnight

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The Queen's Visit to Ghana

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Nov 8 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: To my mind possibly the most depressingly cynical piece of news out of the West Indies last week was Dr. Williams' statement that he had all along intended not to abide by the decisions on Federation reached at the London Conference last June. Williams said that even if the people of Jamaica had voted 'yes' in the referendum he never intended to accept the London decisions. And he gives as his reason for keeping silent until now the fact that he did not want to be involved in the Jamaica referendum.

The position then is this. If Dr. Williams had been frank and honest and declared himself at Lancaster House, the London Conference would have broken down. Jamaica would then have withdrawn from the federation without the costly business of holding a referendum. Instead we were given the impression that agreement had been reached and that the way was clear for Jamaica to remain in the federation if her people so decided. And now Dr. Williams tells us that the federation would have been in a bigger mess if Jamaica had voted 'yes'. Perhaps it is just as well, in the light of Dr. Williams' statement, that the people of Jamaica did vote (no'. What is so depressing about the whole [illegible] business was this fooling of the people into the belief that agreement had been reached and that this agreement would be honoured by all our leaders. I supported federation but in the light of this Williams revelation I think it is just as well that we are out of it and all our energies can now be devoted to creating in decent life her in Jamaica.

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh are due to begin a State Visit to Ghana tomorrow; and what was planned as a joyous visit has

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turned out to be charged with concern and anxiety. Many people are frankly worried about the visit and many voices have been raised in a demand that the visit be called off. Last Sunday evening the British Government sent Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, hurrying off to Accra to explore the situation on the spot and decide whether the Queen should go through with the visit. And there was worldwide speculation that the visit might be called off. Mr. Hugh Gaitskell raised the matter in the House of Commons on Monday and Mr. Macmillan told an anxious parliament that he had nothing new to say.

Now all this anxiety about the Queen's safety stems from the fact that on Saturday a bomb was let off by the political enemies of Kwame Nkrumah. This bomb damaged a big bronze statue of Nkrumah, and there is an air of tension and relstlessness in Accra today. I think it is pretty obvious that the British Government is not happy about this visit. So why not just call off the visit? Because to call off the visit now would be to admit that there is a crisis in Ghana, and it would also be a blow at the prestige of President Nkrumah at a time when he can least afford to let his prestige suffer. If the visit were called off now Nkrumah's enemies could use it to rally support against him, and so I am reasonably certain that Nkrumah himself is pressing for the visit to go through. My guess is that Mr. Sandys went to Accra to ask Nkrumah for a postponement which Nkrumah turned down for political reasons. So tomorrow's State visit looks like going through unless Nkrumah's enemies let off more bombs. All in all, this is a very tricky political situation which we can only hope will pass without incident. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Nov 9 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: A few evenings ago I met a very attractive young woman who had come out to Jamaica from England to join her husband who is doing a contract job here. She was a friendly and outgoing sort of person but she seemed frightened and on her guard, especially with the Jamaican men at the party. She seemed to like Jamaica and Jamaicans very much; she talked like someone who had really fallen in love with the place and the people: and yet she was anxious to leave Jamaica. I asked her why she was so eager to leave a place she obviously loved and it took me quite a while to get the reason out of her. And the reason was just about as depressing as any reason could be.

When this woman first arrived here she had been struck by the charm and warm friendliness of Jamaicans. And then she had gone down-town on her first or second shopping expedition. And as she would have done in England, she went down to the bus stop with her shopping basket on her arm. The trouble started when she got into the bus. Some ignorant person told her the bus was not for people like her, and made some nasty remarks which made her feel unwanted and out of place. And the terrible thing was that nobody spoke up for her. If any prejudiced white person had made such remarks to a Jamaican on an English bus, at least half a dozen English people would have turned on that person and put him in his place. But no-one on that Jamaican bus came to her defence. But worse still was to come.

When she got off the bus three young men walked behind her calling out the most filthy, lewd and suggestive remarks you can think of. And these young louts were not soft about it. They did not seem to mind who else heard; and the people who did hear just went about their business

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as though nothing out of the way had happened. And this, I think, distressed the young woman even more than all the dirty remarks. She knew that this sort of thing does not happen in Jamaica only. Filthy remarks had been flung at her on English streets. But there passers-by who heard were quick to turn on such young louts and either cuss them out or give them a cuffing or else hold them and call the police. And so it seemed to her that as on the bus, so on the street, no one came to her aid because she was an outsider of a different colour; and being sensitive she felt unwanted, and so, much as she loved Jamaica she wanted to leave.

But what this young woman did not realise was that this sort of thing does not happen to her only, and does not happen to light-skinned people only. It is common on the streets of Kingston and it is our own dark girls who are possibly the worst victims of this crude filth. I am sure very many of you, especially the men, can tell of seeing ordinary Jamaican girls being molested or called to. I once watched to see if a policeman would do anything about a couple of young men who walked behind a girl calling out to her in really filthy language. The policeman heard them but did nothing. And it is in this business of doing nothing that we are all as guilty as these dirty-minded young louts. By looking away and pretending that it is none of our business we encourage rudeness and bad manners, and these sooner of later, lead to crime and violence. So please, next time you see this filthy calling out going on, make it your business to interfere. You'll be surprised to find out what cowards these foul-mouthed people are. Let us stop them for the sake of the good name of Jamaica. Goodnight.

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The Bus Strike & Harbour View Citizen Association

Special
NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Nov. 10 at 6.15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Once again, and for the second time this year the people of the Corporate Area are without a bus service. You will remember that it was in February of this year that we had the last strike and it lasted for three days during which all of Kingston walked to work and to school. At that time the J.O.S workers were protesting against the dismissal of an inspector. A government appointed Tribunal later ruled that the company had been justified in dismissing the inspector. But this, of course, did not alter the fact that thousands of citizens had suffered great inconvenience. So, in that last strike the workers were proved wrong. Are they wrong again in this one?

The answer is yes; they are as wrong today as they were in February. According to the law, and remember public transport comes under the Essential Services, they should have obeyed the company's instructions and then raised the matter with their union. That would have been the correct and legal way of going about the matter. But they discovered in February that they could break the law and get away with it; and so they have taken the law into their own hands once more. But let me add that I do not think the company is completely without fault in this case. I think that if the company had discussed this clocking-in issue with the workers' representatives in advance we would not now be in this mess. To spring a thing like this on the workers without prior discussion shows bad labour relations. But this does not alter the fact that the workers have once again broken the Essential Services law, and I am sure it is because they feel they will get away with it again. And for this the government must take a big share of the blame.

The one good thing that has come out of this bus strike is the magnificent action of the Harbour View Citizen's Association. I have told you before now what a high regard I have for the

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Association. Now it has won my unbounded admiration by setting us a very good practical citizenship in action.

Last night the leaders of the Association decided to arrange their own transport so that the working people and the children of Harbour View could go to work and school today. They arranged to charter a bus at a cost of £3. 0. 0 a trip. They then got a loudspeaker van and drove through the streets telling the citizens that they had chartered this bus and that it would leave Harbour View Post Office at 6.30 this morning on its first trip into Kingston and at 7.30 on a second trip. And this evening, they said the bus would make its first trip back to Harbour View starting from the Kingston Post Office a little after four. And it would return for a second and, if necessary, a third trip. As I said, the cost of hiring the bus is £3. 0. 0 a trip. The bus can only carry 30 people a trip. But the Association is charging each passenger only a shilling a trip with half price for school children. So they are going to lose money on this business, and the Association will have to make up the loss.

As far as I am concerned this is the rarest and finest example of citizenship in action that I have seen in a very long time. Talking about good citizenship is very easy. Acting it out is not so easy; and this is what makes the Harbour View Citizen's Association so unique in Jamaica today; it acts out its professions of good citizenship. In this it is an example to all of us. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Nov 11 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I am glad to see that the Joint Constitution Committee of our Legislature has decided to write into the proposed constitution for an independent Jamaica the inherent rights of citizenship. Now this word inherent is very important. It means something which is a part of you, something inborn and basic and natural. That which is inherent to you cannot be taken from you except life itself is taken from you. And this word inherent makes a world of difference to me as far as the present discussion of A Bill of Rights for Jamaica is concerned.

Let me confess quite frankly that right from the moment that this talk about a Bill of Rights was raised, I was suspicious and on guard. I was neither for nor against, but I was very curious. And to a large extent I still am very curious. Now I am no constitutional lawyer and I cannot and I do not want to discuss this thing in high-flown terms; so I hope you will bear with me if I look at this thing in very practical terms. In the political tradition of Great Britain the people have certain rights that are inalienable, rights that cannot be taken away from them, and their constitution merely affirms these rights which already exist. In most other democratic countries the constitution gives certain rights to the people. And as you know, that which is given to the people by the state can also be taken from the people by the state. So here we have two very different approaches to a Bill of Rights: first where the state recognises rights which are inherent or inalienable to the citizen, and second where the state gives rights to the citizen; and as I said that which has been

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given can be taken away. And yet it is these kinds of rights, the rights that can be taken away because they were given, that people who want Bills of Rights often press for most. Let us take the example of the right to property. For some people this is a more sacred right than the rights to life and liberty (except their own, of course). And so it was that even in Britain there was a time when people were hung for stealing a sheep. Of course, if you do have wealth and property you are almost bound to value this as higher than the life and liberty of those who do not have property; and the demand that the sacred right to property be entrenched in a Bill of Rights is really an attempt to stop the redistribution of the wealth of a country. What has in fact happened where the sacred right of property has been entrenched and the mass of the people were miserably poor is that you have had revolutions of either the Right of Left. But the defenders of the sacred right of property do not seem to learn from this. In Jamaica today we have all the legal safeguards necessary for property, and if these safeguards were entrenched in our constitution that should be enough. Other people would limit the power of parliament. But to limit the power of parliament would in fact be to limit the power of the people in the running of their country. Clumsy and silly and out of touch as it sometimes is, parliament is still the truest expression of the will of a people evolved under democratic government. All we need is to entrench the rule of law without limiting the power of parliament. Ours is a changing, growing society which cannot afford to entrench any vested sectional interests in a Bill of Right. So let us stick to the rights which are the inherent aspirations of all men. Goodnight.

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& the Rule of Law

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Nov 13 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Our latest bus strike was bad enough in itself: it put scores of thousands of people to great hardship, it upset the schooling of large numbers of our children completely, and it slowed down Kingston's business very badly. And people were, and are, understandably angry and bitter about all this. I think the feeling of most citizens was summed up by the letter which appeared on the front page of last Friday's Star and which was signed; 'Tired Traveller'. In this letter 'Tired Traveller' mentioned the news of a week earlier when the J.O.S. had paid its workers approximately £35,000 in back pay, and suggested that with all that money in their pockets the workers did not feel like doing anything until they had spent their sudden riches. 'Tired Traveller' then suggested that if these people no longer wished to work they should make room for the vast army of unemployed, many of whom would jump at the chance to take the jobs of these strikers. I have found the views expressed by Tired Traveller pretty widespread among people who have been the victims of this latest bus strike.

Another view, which I think is very much more serious in terms of our future, has to do with the way in which this strike has undermined our respect for the rule of law. People have said 'What is the good of having this Essential Services Law if anybody can break it and get away?' And some others have said: "The law in Jamaica seems to be prejudiced: if the employers, rather than the workers, had broken the law there would have been some firm and quick action'. And you know, there is enough validity in these remarks for

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us not to be able to just dismiss them. And this, I feel, is a very serious situation.

The law, any law, can only operate successfully as long as the citizens of a country accept it, respect it, agree to live by it, and know that it will apply impartially to all of them. And if they accept that much then they will also accept the right of the state to enforce that law if any citizen or group of citizens break it. That is the essence of the rule of law. And for the survival and the continuation of the rule of law enforcement is important. The authorities must be able to punish those who break the law.

If at any time anybody can break the law and get away with it, then there is either something wrong with the law, or with the enforcement of the law, or with both. So when Mr. Seivright, the Minister of Home Affairs, told us in a statement on Friday that it is extremely difficult to prosecute successfully under the Essential Services Law, we are entitled to feel that something is wrong with the law. A law which cannot be enforced is a bad law. And since the government is responsible for the passing of our laws, they must be held responsible for this bad law. They must either rewrite the law so that whoever breaks it can be successfully prosecuted, or they must scrap it altogether. To wash their hands of this responsibility is to contribute to the break-down of the rule of law.

To my mind then the most serious long-term harm done by this strike is the way in which it has undermined respect for the rule of law in the minds of large numbers of our citizens. And that is very dangerous for the future. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Nov 16 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I have found reactions to the latest developments in Britain's moves to restrict coloured immigrants, most interesting and most revealing. I think we all knew right from the start that colour came into this business. Most of us said so, either publicly or among ourselves. And yet when the British Home Secretary, Mr. Butler, announced yesterday that the restrictions would not apply to the citizens of the Irish Republic, many of us reacted with shock and horror. Why the shock and horror? We all knew this was a colour bar thing. I had said so a number of times on this programme; the last time I said so was as recently as twelve days ago, on November the 4th. The only new thing that has happened is that the British Government has decided to give up the pretense that this is not a colour bar decision. Are we then shocked and horrified because the British government has decided to be frank and honest? Or is it that we would have preferred not to have this ugly thing come out into the open? That we would have preferred to go on hoping that it might not really be based on colour?

I think it is a mixture of both: we would have preferred the fiction to go on; we would have preferred to go on hoping that it was not straight colour, no matter what it looked like. I think this is so because Jamaicans, and indeed most people who have been under British colonial rule, have always cherished a strange and very deep faith in British justice, and in British fairness. There has been a sort unspoken belief in the moral superiority of the British over almost all other men. And when you set people up on that sort of pedestal you expect more from them than you expect from lesser men; and you also

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give more of your loyalty and your faith to them than you would to others. And so we have the concept of the Mother Country, charged with all that the word 'mother' implies. For most of us 'mother' means trust, love, safety, security, someone to whom we can always turn in times of trouble. And now the mother country has let us down and in the process she has destroyed one of our most cherished illusions. In effect she has said that even in this Commonwealth an empire there is a difference between white and black. She has said that Irishmen who are not even British subjects will be allowed in without any restrictions but Jamaicans and other coloured people who are British subjects will be restricted. And this, let us face it, is the view of the majority of British citizens.

And yet, you know, we ourselves contributed to this situation. I am not saying that this would not have happened if we had behaved differently. What I am saying is that we made it easier for the British to take this action. You will remember that out of self-interest Trinidad rejected freedom of movement among West Indians in the West Indies. And the British tories have used this to justify their action. And when we in Jamaica decided that we had no obligation to the weaker and smaller islands of the West Indies, we made it easier for Britain to decide that she was under no obligation to us. And so it that once more we are seeing meanness, selfishness, small-mindedness and prejudice being used to justify even greater meanness and selfishness and small-mindedness and prejudice. And in the process a very great and a very noble idea is dying: but I'll tell you about that tomorrow: so till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Nov 17 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: When Mr. Manley condemned the British decision to restrict migration, in a statement issued in London on Tuesday evening, he said: "The Commonwealth will never be the same again". I am prepared to go a stage further: I think it is only a matter of time before the Commonwealth falls apart. Indeed, I think the Commonwealth idea and ideal is dying right before our eyes. And even if the Commonwealth stayed together for the next ten or fifteen years, it will be as a thing of convenience. It will be as a loose union based on self-interests with each member being in it just for what he can get out of it. The idealism, the vision, the striving for a universal pattern of political morality will have gone out of it. And it will cease to be one of the greatest factors for peace in the world. And the great example of men of different races colours and creeds and of different countries with different cultural backgrounds working and striving together for the same ideals - that great example will be lost to the world, perhaps forever.

Now, xx the Commonwealth and no part of the Commonwealth has ever really achieved this great ideal. It may well be that it is in any case impossible to achieve this ideal. But the very act of striving for a great ideal makes those who strive for it more noblexxxxxxxxxxx and invests their lives and what they do with grandeur.

But what do all these fine words mean in reality? The world in which we live today is a pretty sorry sort of place. It it divided on lines of race, of colour, of class, as well as on lines of political ideology. Some parts of it are rich, others are poor; some people in it are permanently underfed while others have more than they can eat

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and have to destroy surplus stocks of food so as to make sure prices do not fall because of a glut on the market.

Into this rather sorry world, and out of the greatest empire of this century came the British Commonwealth. It came almost by accident. And Britain was at the centre of it. And the idea was that this empire which had been transformed into a commonwealth could develop into a strong community of free nations, scattered all over the world, in which all the citizens would one day enjoy the same basic freedoms. The idea was that in the economic field they would all work together to their best mutual economic advantage. The strong would help the weak, the rich would help the poor, those with special skills and know-how would help to train those without. And so standards would be raised and a common prosperity achieved for all. In a world torn by strife and fear and hunger and conflict, this was a wonderful idea. If this idea succeeded it would be an example to all men. It would show that men could change the world in which they live,that men could destroy prejudices of race and colour without having to make ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ violent and bloody revolutions. But to succeed, someone, one country, had to lead in the journey towards this ideal. That country could only be Britain. She was the strongest, the oldest, the most experienced, the richest. And to lead successfully she had to be the symbol for all the other members. For years Britain was that symbol. Now she has decided that the price of being the symbol of that great ideal is too high because it means racial integration in Britain itself. And so we are witnessing the death of what I consider the noblest ideal of the 20th century.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday ~~Friday~~ Nov 18 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Every now and then some listener brings to my attention some matter which seems impossible, something so fantastic that if the listener did not supply me with proof that the particular thing had happened, I would refuse to believe it. I want to tell you of one such event this evening.

I have in my possession right now an envelope which was posted on the 13th of December 1960 and which finally reached its destination on the 27th of October, 1961. This envelope contained a cheque settling an account. It was posted at Cross Roads and the post office there has clearly date-stamped it as having passed through their hands on December 14th, 1960. The letter with the cheque in it was going to an address not very far from Cross Roads. But between the time when it was date-stamped at the Cross Roads post office, and the time it reached where it was going, ten solid months passed. Unbelievable, isn't it? Well, it happened and I have the evidence, and I will be only too glad to show it to our Postmaster General any time he wishes to see it. It is a cold hard fact that one important letter settling an account took ten months to go from one part of Kingston to another.

Now, I am not saying that this sort of thing happens every day; but it does happen and I am afraid it happens a little too often for us to dismiss it as just one of those rare freak accidents. We have heard all too often of letters taking ten days or a week or a month or longer to get from one part of Kingston to another. So this ten month thing is just an extreme example of something which has become all too common in our postal service.

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Let me give you another example which is less dramatic but equally serious. A letter which was clearly addressed was posted in St. Ann's Bay on September 21st. It was not delivered in Kingston until October 28th. And the post office explanation was that it had been incorrectly delivered in the first instance and that the person to whom it was delivered did not return it to the post office immediately. Now the striking thing about this explanation by the post office was that it was not a letter written to this particular person. It was a stencilled letter and the date of it, October 25th, was stencilled too. This, as you know, means that a large number of copies of this explanation, all dated October 25th, must have been printed, otherwise you do not cut a stencil. So I think it is reasonable to assume that there must have been quite a large number of so-called wrongly delivered letters which turned up a month or more late and for which the Post Office put out this standard explanation.

Surely, there must be something seriously wrong if one of our biggest government organisations function like this. And I do not think just putting the blame on the postmen is all the answer. In the main they are a hardworking bunch of men who try to do their best. But if the leadership they get is poor, if planning is poor, then their best will not be good enough. And the leadership, in this case, is the Ministry of Communications. The House of Representatives is due to meet soon. I hope some bold M.H.R. will raise this mess at the Post Office on the floor of the House. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Nov 20 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: It is perhaps appropriate that the last Constitution Day before Jamaican independence should see the country's leaders once more wrestling with the problems of making a constitution. And this one should be the final constitution for as far ahead into the future as we can imagine. So the one that is now in the making is by far the most important for all of us. It is for this reason that I was particularly glad that such good progress seems to have been made on it.

At his Press Conference on Friday morning Mr. Manley reported that the Committee working on the Constitution had achieved a remarkable degree of broad agreement in principle. And that, as far as I am concerned, is saying a very great deal indeed for the political maturity of our two major parties. It also shows, I feel, that the two party system has taken deeper roots here in Jamaica than almost anywhere else among Britain's former colonies. All we have to do is look at some of the newer countries of the Commonwealth to see the truth of this.

In Kenya there is a constitutional crisis building up because the two major African parties (which control most of the seats in the legislature) will not sit together at the constitutional conference table. In Ghana most of the members of the opposition party are in jail, and the very weak two-party system seems to be dying fast. Only in Nigeria does the two party system look as though it has a hopeful future and there it is based on the three powerful tribal groupings. Tanganyika looks like one of the most hopeful countries in terms of democratic development but no forceful second party has so

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far emerged. In Jamaica, on the other hand, the two-party system is older than the 1944 Constitution. Indeed, it was the effective working of the two-party system that brought that constitution into being.

From all this I think we can fairly say that although constitutions are important, what the people of a country bring to their constitution and to the making of it is of even greater importance. As Mr. Manley said to the press people on Friday morning, a constitution is just a piece of paper. It is what the people of a country bring to it that makes it important. And it is because the people of Jamaica have, over the years, developed a high degree of political sophistication and maturity that the leaders of our major parties can sink their differences and work together to draft this new constitution. No piece of paper could have forced them to do this. Just as no piece of paper could force our civil servants to serve a P.N.P. government loyally and, if there is a change of government, to serve the other party just as loyally and faithfully. All these - the two party system, the secret ballot, the rule of law, the non-political civil service, the liberties of the individual, the right of property - all these are already part of our constitution. They have become part of the traditional way of doing things in this country. And these, I am sure, are the things our new constitution will enshrine.

But the big thing that we must always remember, and this too Mr. Manley mentioned, is that the people of a country are the true guardians and creators of their liberties and that is a responsibility we cannot transfer to a piece of paper, no matter how beautifully written. Goodnight.

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Premier's Regular Monthly Press Conference

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Nov 21 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Mr. Manley's Press Conference of last Friday morning was the first of what we hope will be a regular monthly affair. At these conferences the idea will be to bring the people closer to the workings of their government through press and radio reports. Those of us who attended that first conference realised the value of it straightaway. And you, the listeners, heard extracts of that conference over your radios the same evening and read a pretty full report of it in your papers the next morning.

In a conference lasting just about an hour and a half Mr. Manley informed the country, through press and radio, of a number of most important things. He told us the work on the Constitution was going well and that a draft should be ready before the end of this year. He said this would give the country an opportunity to discuss the draft constitution very thoroughly before a delegation goes to London to settle our independence. He told us of the country's defence plans for independence and he also discussed what the government was doing and what the thinking was on foreign affairs. On some of these matters Mr. Manley could not be very explicit. He could not, for instance, say anything very firm and clearcut on Foreign Affairs; and rightly so because that would be the responsibility of the government we vote into power to lead the country into independence. But he did say that, speaking for himself, he did not see how Jamaica had anything to gain from a neutralist foreign policy. My own feeling is that as a matter of cold fact this is the way both the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. will approach foreign affairs; so I do not see foreign affairs as an issue in the coming

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election - certainly not between the two major parties. Whether the Peoples Political Party will make it an issue is something still to be seen. In the early days of the P.P.P. Mr. Millard Johnson did talk about a neutralist foreign policy, but since then he made common cause with Mrs. Rose Leon and some of the more radical elements have left the P.P.P. and so we cannot be sure until the P.P.P. issues its election manifesto.

In any event, at that first press conference we got a great deal of clarification on a number of most important matters. And that was a very good thing indeed. Some of you may remember that I have often complained that far too few people were aware of what their government was doing and thinking and that this had led to a feeling that the business of government was none of their business. You will recall I I had told you how impressed I was with how familiar I found Trinidadians were with the business of their government. And I told you I thought Dr. Williams' regular weekly press conferences plus the broadcasts of debates in the Trinidad parliament had a great deal to do with it. So I am very happy indeed that we will have these regular press conferences. If the succeeding ones are anything like last Friday's then they should be very useful indeed to the whole country. The plan is that Mr. Manley will let the journalists know in advance the subjects he wants to discuss and the journalists in turn will let him know what they want to discuss, so that both sides will come to the conference well prepared. I think this is so important that I hope it becomes a regular feature of Jamaican public life, no matter what party gains power. It will help to bridge the unhappy/gap that now exists between the rulers and the ruled. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Nov 22 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I like the sound of the new Ten Year Plan very much and I also like the new thinking which it suggests. If I under stand the basic Idea of the plan correctly then it can be defined in this way: under the old Ten Year Development Plan the government had or anticipated having so much money and merely planned how to spend what it had or expected to get. Under the new plan the basic needs of the country will be worked out and then we will go looking for the money to pay for these needs. If this definition is correct, then this is a radically new approach to planning in Jamaica. And I think the effects of it are going to be very far-reaching.

When Mr. Manley told us about this plan he said the Central Planning Unit had been working on it for the best part of a year. This means that this plan was being worked on long before the referendum and cannot therefore be considered as a political move which is suddenly being sprung on us for election purposes. Indeed, the Premier himself said that this Plan would be there for the country, no matter which party won the coming election.

Before we had news of this new Plan most of us were not quite sure what Mr. Egerton Richardson and Mr. Ivo DeSouza were doing in Israel. I certainly could not make any sense out of the visit, especially when I read a report that these two gentlemen had visited military camps. But now there visit does make sense, because Israel is one of the countries which has pioneered the kind of planning and action implicit in the new Ten Year Plan.

One of the key features of Israeli planning was and is the the

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very high degree of participation by the people, especially the young people, in the building of the country's prosperity. The planning and achieving of Israeli prosperity was not merely the government's business, or the business of the capitalists or the moneyed people, or the business of the workers or the trades unions. It was everybody's business. And in the early days of the building of the young state, doctors and teacher, lawyers and office workers, professors and housewives, all left their offices and their homes and studies and went out at weekends to help on construction work or turn the desert into a flowering garden of food and fruit. Nobody was too high or mighty or important for the work of building the prosperity of the nation with their own bare hands. But the core of the whole effort were the young people. In the early days camps of young men and women, all dressed in khaki shorts and shirt, almost became the symbol of Israel. They lived and worked in these camps. They got their food and shelter and a very small allowance and they worked harder and longer than the most highly paid workers anywhere in the world. And they did this because they had faith in themselves and faith in their dream of building a happy and prosperous country for themselves. And they performed a miracle which is there for all the world to see.

If I am right in thinking that this new Ten Year Plan is conceived in the spirit in which Israeli planning was, and demands the best from everyone of us, then we are certainly starting on a new road of high and creative national adventure for the good of all the people of Jamaica. Let the government give us the tools, and let us, the citizens of the country, do the job of building a truly better Jamaica for all.

Goodnight.

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Is there a swing?

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Nov 24 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Polling Day - December 4th which is now less than ten days away - is the same for both Barbados and Trinidad. But while there are reports of emergencies, violence, and death even from Trinidad, events in Barbados are moving along with the traditional Bajan calm and sense of order. Any news of violence in the Barbados election campaign would be most surprising and most unexpected.

But beneath the calm of the Barbados election campaign there are some very interesting developments. Reports suggest that there is a very real chance that the Barbados Labour Party may lose this election. Certainly, it would seem that the chance of Sir Grantley Adams' Labour Party losing have never been as real as now since the coming of adult suffrage to Barbados. The best hope that most experienced observers would concede the Barbados Labour Party is that the result of the lection may be so close that neither it nor the opposition Democratic Labour Party may win an outright majority. In that event we may see a minority party like the Barbados National Party, which is conservative, holding the balance of power. And the National Party is more likely to form a coalition with Sir Grantley's party than with the more radically inclined Democratic Labour Party. Of course, all the observers may be wrong and Sir Grantley may once again do what he has so often done in the past - pull a victory rabbit out of the hat.

But let us look at the line up of forces. On the one side is the Barbados Labour Party which has been in power for so long that the younger people cannot remember a time before its rule. In the main it is the party of the old men, solid, steady and experienced in the handling of power. Reports from Bridgetown suggest that it has conducted

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a dull and lacklustre campaign, offering no really new ideas, and certainly not firing the imaginations of the younger people who have reached the voting age over the past three or four years. In this party the only really outstanding figure, the only one with any personal glamour and appeal, is Sir Grantley Adams who has been so preoccupied with federal matters that he has had very little time to devote to the problems of his party at home.

On the other side is the Democratic Labour Party, the party of the young men, of Errol Barrow and Cameron Tudor. They are good speakers, they give the impression of being full of new ideas and they are eager and pushing for power. They seemed to have injected real ecitement into the campaign and, much more important, they seem to have aroused the emotions of the voters, especially the young voters who are unfamiliar with Sir Grantley's past record and past achievments. And the Democratic Labour Party has one very powerful new ally. In the past the Barbados trade union movement has always back the Barbados Labour Party at election time. Indeed there was a time when the link between the ruling party and the trade union movement was taken for granted. But in this election campaign Mr. Frank Walcott, one of the most distinguished and respected trade union leaders in the entire region, has thrown his considerable weight behind the D.L.P. If the young men of the D.L.P. win power on December 4th, Walcott will be able to claim much credit for it. So, on the face of it, it looks as though there could be a swing in Barbados. But do not bank on it. The magic of Grantley Adams could swing things back. The whole situation is most interestingly fluid at this moment in time. Goodnight.

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The outbreak of violence.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Nov 23 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Yesterday and Today we had the news from Trinidad that the Governor, Sir Solomon Hochoy, had declared a state of emergency in ~~the~~ four ~~two~~ electoral districts, ~~of St. Augustine and Barataria.~~ & asks the Federal Govt for the use of U.S. Regiment troops This is the result of a very disturbing outbreak of violence that has hit that country now that polling day is only ten days away.

The immediate reason behind the declaration of the state of emergency is that/~~xxxxxxx~~ on Monday of this week ~~xxxxxxx~~ one man was shot dead and four others were seriously injured at a public meeting near P.O.S./ Before this meetings had been stoned, party constituency offices had been invaded and smashed and the homes of candidates had also been stoned. To try and cope with this problem Trinidad's police authorities have set up emergency police stations in the more explosive areas and the Governor has appealed to ex-servicemen to join up as special/~~xxxxxx~~ constables for the election period.

But almost more serious than the violence itself is the story behind it because it is a story that highlights in a most dramatic form the problem of the rule of law in one aspect of the political life of a country.

On October the 15th Dr. Rudranath Capildeo, the leader of Trinidad's Democratic Labour Party Opposition, spoke at a monster public meeting at Queens Park Savannah. This, incidentally, is opposite the home of the Governor General of the West Indies, Lord Hailes. It was one of the lrgest political meetings ever held in the history of Trinidad. At that meeting Dr. Capildeo told his audience to break up all meetings of Dr. Williams' Peoples National Movement, whenever and wherever they were held. He told his followers to run the P.N.M. out without

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allowing their speakers to be heard. And then he told his followers to arm themselves with weapons to take over the country.

Now this was clear incitement to violence and under the Trinidad law, which is much the same as the law of Jamaica, Dr. Capildeo had laid himself open to prosecution. The Trinidad Guardian made just that point when it editorially condemned Dr. Capildeo's speech. But Trinidad's law officers did nothing about this open incitement to violence; and this is where the political consideration comes in.

If Dr. Capildeo were prosecuted, the D.L.P. could set him up as a martyr and build their campaign around his prosecution. And this, skilfully handled, could be very embarrassing for the P.N.M. and xxx could even lose them the election. Alternatively, the prosecution of Dr. Capildeo could have led to an earlier and even more serious outbreak of violence and communal rioting. These are the arguments which could, and have been advanced in certain Trinidadian quarters, for nothing being done about Dr. Capildeo's open incitement to violence and rebellion.

On the other side of the penny, there are those who feel that if the law had acted firmly and impartially and prosecuted Dr. Capildeo, just as it would have done with any other citizen who broke the law, the violence and death of this week might not have taken place. They feel the law has shown itself to be weak and influenced by political consideration. Those are the two sides of the penny. What is certain is that this outbreak of violence in Trinidad is one of the greatest challenges ever posed to the rule of law in that country. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Nov 25 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Mr. Harold Cahusac's warning that the operations of the West Indies Sugar Company at Frome may collapse is very serious indeed. Mr. Cahusac said that the Frome Division of the West Indies Sugar Company made only 1.4% profit on its 1961 sugar crop operations. He also pointed out something which most people tend to forget and that is that his estate, as indeed all the big Jamaican suagr estates, are run on money invested by people in England. Now, when people invest money in any enterprise they do so because they hope to get some return from it. This is normal business practice and there is nothing sinister in it.

Generally speaking, the bulk of the investment in something like a sugar company or a mine come from people who are not fantastically rich. In England for instance, old ladies who have inherited a little money, sometimes it is a few thousand pounds, are among the most important investors. These people put their inheritance or their annuity or their savings into something which looks safe and which promises them a reasonable and steady return on their investment. This is how some of the biggest firms abroad get their vast sums of capital. Often, the money of these small investors make up as much as half or two-thirds of the total capital of some big concern. And for these small investors the steady income from their investment is as important as is the wage packet to the worker. Some old lady who has inherited a house and two thousand pounds will often, on the advice of her lawyer, put the two thousand pounds into some safe business which would ensure her a return of 10%. This will give her a steady income of £200 a year to live off. But if the interest drops

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from 10% to 5% or less she will end up having only £100 or less a year to live off. As long as she is prepared to do that things are fine for the company which is using her money. But if she decides that she cannot live off that money and might do better with it elsewhere and withdraws the money then things will begin to get rough for the mining company or the shipping company or the sugar company which is using her money. And if ten thousand other small investors make the same decision then the company is in serious trouble. And it is at this point that the country where the money is invested begins to feel the pinch. Because of the flight of investment capital the company may decide to cut down on its operations. And this in turn may mean the laying off of some of its workers and so creating unemployment.

This danger of the flight of investment capital is the essence of Mr. Cahusac's warning. And if the situation in the sugar industry is that the investor got only 1.4% return on his investment for the 1961 crop operation then the danger is very real and very serious.

One of
The reasonsfor this situation, Mr. Cahusac says is that thw worker is not giving a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. He says that over the past few years wages have gone up from 2/6 a day to 10/- a day, but although the worker earns four times more today he gives half as much work as he did whenhe got a quarter of his present pay. And so our cost of producing a ton of sugar is roughly £16 more than that of Cuba, which means Cuba can sell her sugar cheaper on the world market than we can. Look at this anyway you like and the fact still remains that the workers of Jamaica will suffer grievously if Jamaica's sugar industry collapsed, for what ever reason. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Nov 27 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: At their annual Conference yesterday the leaders of the Jamaica Labour Party gave us an outline of the policies on which they will fight the coming general election, and which they will persue if elected. They also named the people who might be regarded as their Shadow Cabinet and the posts these people will hold if the J.L.P. wins.

Of course what was given out was only the outline of policy. A committee is now busy drafting a full Election Manifesto which will no doubt be published later. As you know, we already have the People's National Party's Policy Statement which was adopted at their annual conference earlier this month and which has been published in the press in sections.

So, bearing in mind that the J.L.P.'s policy is only in outline, let us see where the two policies agree and where the differ on major matters. First let us look at the area of agreement. Both parties are agreed on the importance of agriculture; both agree that the use of land must be planned. But there is a difference in stress. The P.N.P. plan proposes to enact measures to ensure that land will be put to good use and will provide that every farmer with more than 100 acres who leaves the bulk of his land in idleness will have that idle part of his land leased by the government for a fair rental and with an option to buy. Such land will then be rented to tenants who must undertake to develop it according to a plan. If,on the other hand, the farmer with more than 100 acres does try to develop all his land, the Government will do everything to help him within the limits of its resources. So the P.N.P. plan envisages a combination of incentives

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and controls. Those who make good use of their land will be helped: those who persist in leaving large chunks of their land idle will have to rent it to others who will make good use of it. The J.L.P. outline sees the development of the small farmers, to use Mr. Seaga's own words "as the greatest single potential for the development of Jamaica" and it is proposed that farmers who become efficient and produce will be able to get more land to develop. So the J.L.P. plan also envisages incentives but, in the outline at least, there is no indication of any controls for those who do not produce and who do not become efficient. But perhaps this point of difference will disappear when the details of the J.L.P. manifesto is published.

Still on agriculture, both parties are agreed on the importance of proper marketing arrangements. The P.N.P. plan proposes that the government or some agency created by the government will buy all or produce of certain crops grown on specified land and at fixed prices. Buying depots will be set up for this purpose and the agency will distribute the crops throughout the country or else can and preserve them for future use. The J.L.P. outline proposes the setting up of a Marketing Authority with headquarters in Kingston and branches all over the country. It is planned to provide each of the major branches with equipment for buying, cleaning, grading and packing for distribution of the food grown by the farmers. The language here is different but the basic approach on marketing seems to be the same in both parties, or, at least, in the election plans of both parties.

But time is up, so I will try to finish this balancing of the two programmes tomorrow. So, till then, Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Nov 28 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: You will remember that last night I discussed the approach of the two major parties to land use and agricultural marketing as expressed in the P.N.P. policy statement and the outline of J.L.P. policy which was given in speeches at Sunday's annual conference of the J.L.P. You will also remember that I found the basic approach of both parties much the same. The one point of difference was that the P.N.P.'s approach was a combination of incentives and controls where the land was persistently left idle. The J.L.P. also offered incentives but said nothing about dealing with farmers who did not make good use of the land. But this point of difference, I said, may disappear when the J.L.P. comes to publish its manifesto in full.

It is not possible to carry t~~xxxxxx~~ this sort of point-by-point comparison very far down the line because we do not as yet have the full J.L.P. policy statement. It was relatively easy with agriculture because this was the one point, according to news reports, on which the J.L.P. gave most details.

The J.L.P. proposed the setting up of what they call Vocational Training Camps on a massive scale for the youth of the country to learn some vocation after leaving school. And there would be opportunitie for adult training too. Here again, the two parties seem agreed on the basic idea of national training camps for our youth. But on the face of it there is again a difference in emphasis. As I understand it, the P.N.P. idea is more than just vocational training for the young: it is that plus a definite pattern of civilian national service in the interest of the country. But here again the apparent gap may disappear when we get the details of the J.L.P. manifesto.

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I think it would be most unfair to try to carry the comparison any further than this point. The P.N.P. has issued its policy statement in full and so we know what it proposes to do about roads, about electric power, about housing. The J.L.P. has so far only said that they will tackle the problems of housing, water supply, road, light power, electricity, medical facilities, clinics, post offices and postal agencies. To find out just how they will tackle these problems we will have to wait for the detailed statement of their manifesto. And when we have that detailed statement we may find that some points which now look like differences may turn out to be points of agreement, while points on which it now seem there is agreement may turn out to be differences.

But in spite of all this, I do feel we can now arrive at one or two basic conclusions about the policies of the two parties for the coming election. It would seem that the needs of the country and the mood of the people are such that a certain degree of national radicalism is demanded of both parties. There are certain basic jobs that have to be tackled and on the whole they require planning. So both parties must offer the country planning. There is economic inequality so both parties must offer greater economic equality. The P.N.P. programme talks about an old age pension scheme; I shall be most surprised if the J.L.P. programme does not also come out with a pensions scheme. No party with a conservative programme could hope to win the next election so we will all be radical and the issue is likely to turn on which of the radicals, the old or the new, are best qualified to lead the country to independence. Goodnight.

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1. Nursing Situation
2. N.W.U. on Wildcat strike

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
~~XXXXX~~ Wednesday Nov. 22 at 6.p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The Jamaica Trained Nursing Association had been in touch with me again to tell me of the unhappy mess in which the entire nursing service now seems to be. As you know, under pressure from Mr. Tossy Kelly of the National Workers Union the Minister of Health introduced the 42 hour a week without reference to the nursing organisation and without consulting the matrons whose responsibility it is to translate these decision into reality.

The result is that there is utter confusion in the nursing profession and we face the danger of a complete breakdown of discipline in the running of our nursing services.

I have heard distressing stories of junior nurses being agressive and abusive towards senior nurses, matrons and those in authority over them. The fine discipline, the dedication, the sense of service which has always been outstanding as the hall-mark of the nursing profession throughout the world now seems to be in very grave danger here in Jamaica.

You all know the history of the unfolding of this very unhappy situation so I will not burden you with it now. All I would remind you of is that for more than a year the Jamaica Trained Nurses Association through the Jamaica Civil Service Association has recomended the institution of an eight hour duty shift and a forty hour working week for Jamaican nurses. For reasons of its own the Ministry of Health did nothing about these representations until Mr. Tossy Kelly of the National Workers Union appeared on the scene and forced the hand of the government with the result that the Minister issued a circular No. 55 dated November the 9 directing that a 42 hour a week come into immediate effect.

Now nobody is quarrelling with the 42 hour a week but all the senior nurses, the matrons and everybody else who is concerned with the efficient running of our nursing service are more than distressed at the manner in which this was brought into effect.

If the representation of the nurses more than a year ago had

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been listened to and if the Ministry had acted upon it the transition to the 40 or 42 hour a week could have been carried out gradually and peacefully xxx without upsetting the efficiency of the service and without creating the deep and unhappy rift which now exists. And certainly we would not now be face d with the situation where all discipline and all respect for authority is in danger.

Possible the most unhappy aspect of the whole situation is the fact that matrons whose duty and responsibility it is to see that their hospitals are run efficiently have now been turned into the villainesses of the whole affair. Once respect for the matron of any hospital is undermined then that hospital cannot function effectively. And if that happens then it is the poor sick patients who will be the first sufferers. And this is the unhappy situation which is now coming to pass.

I think that the Ministry of Health has been as wrong as it is possible to be. I do not think Mr. Tossy Kelly has done the Nursing service of Jamaica any service at all. And I am desparately afraid that the government of Jamaica is going to compound this wrong. All one can do now is to hope that Mr. Manley will personally intervene and try to save the situation. If he does not then I fear that those of us who may find ourselves in hospital under the Trade Union regime of Mr. Tossy Kelly may be in for a really bad time. So please Mr. Manley try and clear up this unhappy situation.

Finally, I am glad to see that the National Worker's Union, Mr. Floriezel Glasspole, the Minister of Education, and Mr. J. Grant, the Minister of Labour, condemn wildcat strikes at Sunday's annual conference of the National Worker's Union. The workers of Jamaica no less than all the other people of Jamaica owe the country and a special sence of responsibility at this time in it's history. And so I hope the workers will take note of this call from their leaders and that we will see and end to wildcat strikes. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Nov 30 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking.

Good evening: I am sure those of you who heard last night's 'Press Conference' programme found it very interesting. I certainly did. I thought Mr. Manley and the three journalists who questioned him supplied us with good entertainment while clarifying major points of the programme on which the P.N.P. will fight the coming election. I hope we will soon have a Press Conference on the election programme of the J.L.P. with Sir Alexander Bustamante - or someone named by him - being questioned by the same three journalists who questioned Mr. Manley last night. I am sure we will get as much entertainment and as much clarification from that as we got last night. Indeed, I think this should be arranged for next Wednesday evening, if that is at all possible. Everything will then be still fresh and listeners will be able to balance the two programmes against each other.

This brings me to the whole question of election broadcasts. At present all the political parties buy air time and broadcast as often as they can get the time and/as they can afford the time. This is fine, and I do not think we want to quarrel or interfere with this. Anybody who has the money can buy time on any of the radio stations. Of course, the stations have to examine scripts to make sure that nothing which is damaging or lands the station in a court of law, is allowed to pass. But I wonder if you have noticed something which has struck me very forcibly. It is this: For about five or six weeks before ~~an election~~ the referendum, the airwaves ~~are~~ were choked with political broadcasts; and in that period we generally have more party broadcasts than we have throughout the rest of the year put together. And any one of us, you or I or anybody who had the money, ~~can~~ could buy time and go on the air. We had an example

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of this during the closing stages of the referendum campaign when all sorts of groups and individuals bought time and, within the limitations of the law of libel, said almost everything and anything they wanted to. And I heard some really fantastic ones. For instance, I heard one politician say that he had arranged with some African governments for £150 million , but of course he could do nothing unless the people voted a certain way. Nobody has since bothered to saying anything about these millions.

And this raises the problem and the question of freedom of speech. Are we, is anyone entitled, provided he covers himself against slander or libel, to mislead and misinform the general public? Is freedom of speech freedom to mislead and misinform by just about the most powerful medium of communication we have? If the answer is yes, then there is nothing more to say. If, on the other hand, the answer is no; if we say that our freedom of speech, like all our freedoms, can only survive and flourish if we guard and use it with responsibility, then this whole question of political broadcasts at election time should be reviewed, and I think, changed. What I should like to see is some sort of control on the content of election broadcasting starting about six weeks before the date on which votes are to be cast. ~~Up to that time the present system can carry on. But from that time only the parties with candidates in the field should be allowed to make election broadcasts. And they should be given free government time, according to their strength and representation in the House.~~ People should not be free to lie + mislead the listening public, not even if they commit no libel. And this only the political parties and their leaders can do — if they are really responsible. This would make for greater clarification of issues and less abuse of our cherished right to free speech. Goodnight.

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2. Seivright & Police Brutality
3 Re-organisation of Postal Service

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Dec 1 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Let us, for a change, look at some of the good news of this week. All too often we underline only the bad and ignore the good. There are three pieces of good news on the local scene about which, I personally am very pleased. First, I was very glad to see that the Kingston and St, Andrew Corporation Council had more money to spend on Christmas work this year than they had last year, and that this applies to most of the Local Government Authorities in Jamaica. It looked at one stage as though this issue of Christmas work was going to become a party political football. It would have been tragic if at this season of the year, party politics had been played based on the economic misery of a section of our community. What makes this news especially good though is that nearly three times as much money will be spent this year as was spent last year. This means that Christmas cheer will be spread more widely than it was last year. Another pleasing aspect is that this year's Christmas work will be tied in with the country's broader developmental projects. This gives it a greater value than a mere seasonal easing of unemployment.

The second piece of good news is that the Minister of Home Affairs has at last decided to take action on the mounting volume of complaints about police brutality. This came out of the case of a sixteen-year-old youngster who missed his bus home to the country, was then arrested, badly beaten up and held in prison for some twelve days without being able to make contact with his people. This was just about as nasty a case as any I know of. Mr. Seivright has asked for a full report. I hope he will publish that full report when he gets it. Indeed, I think it is his duty to do so. The temptation will be

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to deal with the matter on a departmental level, punish those who are found guilty and hush the matter up. To do so would be a mistake and it would also be grossly unfair to the very large number of good and decent policemen in the force. Unless this whole affair is conducted ~~xxxxxxxx~~ publicly and the guilty and their crime held up to public scrutiny, the distrust and suspicion most of us have will be directed against good and bad policemen alike. So, in the interest of good relations between the public and the police I would urge Mr. Seivright to publish all the facts of this case. Or even better still, do what was done with the Harmony House Hotel colour bar allegation: appoint a Commissioner to conduct a public enquiry. That would really clear the air and make for confidence.

Finally, it is very good to know that the postal service will be re-organised. It has been obvious and evident to everybody that our postal service has been in an awful mess. I have talked about it on a number of occasions recently. It was only on November 18th that I told you the fantastic story of a letter with a cheque in it which took ten months to get from one part of Kingston to another. So I was very glad when Mr. Arnett tabled his Ministry Paper this week setting out the proposals to revise the service. There is only one additional suggestion I would like to make, and it is not an original idea of mine. It comes from someone with vast experience in post office work and it is for the setting up of a Post Office Advisory Board to work with and give advice to the people who run our postal service. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Dec 2 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Miss Una Marson has been working very hard to try and interest us in the setting up of a Community Chest for Jamaica. So far most of us have been singularly uninterested and I am not sure our lack of interest is not due to ignorance. So it might be useful to find out just what a Community Chest is and how it operates.

At the present time we have a whole heap of voluntary and charitable organisations and they are particularly active around this time of the year. You have people begging money to give underprivileged children a good time at Christmas. You have others begging to give old people and those in institutions a cheerful Christmas. The Mayor of the Kingston has started his own fund and there are a whole host of others.

The result is that the business community in particular is bombarded with appeals at this time of year. And quite often one businessman may find himself seeing four or five different people each of whom is begging for a different charity. And four or five times he has to write a cheque. His time is wasted and, depending on the kind of person he is, he is either embarrassed or upset or angered by this direct begging and waste of his time. He knows that each begging is for a good cause, but a whole string of beggars still add up to a nuisance, no matter how good the cause. And so he gives with anything but a charitable or cheerful spirit. This has become a form of ransom to which he must submit every year. And there are very many businessmen who dread the coming of the Christmas season with its rush of begging. But Christmas is only the high point of something which has been going on all through the year. He has already had his belly full

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of the beggars and so he gives his guinea or two or three guineas and hopes nobody else will turn up. But somebody always does. That is the way of it today in Jamaica.

But if the same businessman were living in a country where they operate a Community Chest, he would be relieved of this string of people who come begging for good causes all through the year and whose numbers increase alarmingly around Christmas. Instead, he will make only one single contribution for the whole of the year and this will go into the Community Chest or United Fund. His name and the amount he gives will be published for all to see and no one will come begging to him or will bother him for the rest of the year. From his point of view this is a very great convenience and it makes it possible for him to give in a spirit of genuine generosity. And what applies to the businessman applies also to the professional or other citizen who is in a position to give to charity.

From the point of view of the various voluntary and charitable organisations the Community Chest will cut out a lot of unnecessary work and it will get rid of the rather shady charities. And these organisations can then call on the Chest for money on the basis of their needs and their work. In terms of organisation I can see the Council of Voluntary Social Services running the Community Chest and sharing out the money to the organisations. All in all, I think Miss Marson's idea is excellent and I hope that by this time next year we will have a strong Community Chest going. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Dec 4 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Today is election day in both Trinidad and Barbados. In Trinidad the polling booths will have closed by now and th counting of votes will be well under way. In fact, since Trinidad is using voting machines, there will hardly be much counting to do and we should know the results from there relatively early this evening.

In Barbados on the other hand the result of the voting will not be known until tomorrow. The Barbados Government has decided that the counting of votes should not start immediately after the closing of the polls, which is the common practice almost everywhere else in the world. Instead, they are going to lock up their ballot boxes tonight and store them away until tomorrow morning when they will be opened and counted.

I feel that this was a most unfortunate decision on the part of the ruling Barbados Labour Party; it raises all sorts of disturbing and unhappy questions. Why did the Barbados Government decide to do this? And who will be in charge of these boxes overnight? And what guarantee is there that a few thousand votes will not be slipped into the boxes during the quiet hours of the night? And has any one party, even if it is the party in power, has it the right to change such an important/electoral piece of procedure on its own? It is not enough to say that the people who will be in charge of the boxes overnight are honest and responsible civil servants. They may well be. On the other hand, one or two among them may have such intense partisan feelings, or they may have been offered such an attractive bribe, that the temptation to slip in a few bogus votes may be irresistable. But even if this does not happen, the mere fact that it is possible, and that

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the voters of Barbados feel that it is possible to monkey with the ballot boxes during the night, is the strongest possible condemnation of this procedure. Many observers feel that the critics of Sir Grantley Adams' Barbados Labour Party ~~have said that this is a trick to ensure that his party is returned to power.~~ is likely to come out of today's voting with only 9 seats and that the Opposition DLP will win eleven. This would leave the remaining four seats in the hands of independents The government party, on the other hand, claims ~~that doing this will ensure that the votes are counted in an atmosphere of calm. My own view is that it is a very bad election practice.~~ piece of In any event, we will not know the Barbados results until some time tomorrow. And if, as some people think may happen, the Barbados Labour Party is defeated, then we may witness the twilight of the very long career of Sir Grantley Adams on the West Indian political scene.

The Trinidad picture is a lot more complicated. We may know the results of the Trinidad voting later this evening, but that is not going to help us very much in coming to grips with the unrest which is now so widespread there. Observers in Port-of-Spain are very worried about what might follow the results. Dr. Rudranath Capildeo, the leader of the Trinidad D.L.P. has promised violence and bloodshed if the P.N.M. is returned to power. And he has hinted to at least one very reliable observer that he might call for the partitioning of Trinidad into two states: one Indian and one non-Indian - if the votes go against his party. So the results of today's Trinidad election may only be the prelude to a period of greater restlessness and trouble. Capildeo may of course be pulling a fast one to try and frighten the voters into voting D.L.P. for the sake of peace and order. But we cannot be sure of this until we see what happens after the voting is delcared tonight.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Dec 5 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: At last the long debate among Jamaicans as whether or not Cuba's Fidel Castro is a communist or not can finally be put aside. For a long time now the friends and supporters of Castro and Cuba have said that Castro was not a communist and that the charge that he was leading his country to communism was American imperialist propaganda. The enemies and critics of Castro on the other hand, have stoutly insisted that he was leading his country on the road to communism. And then there were those who were somewhere in between these two extreme positions. Those who said that Castro was a victim of circumstances, that he was not a communist but that he was under strong pressure from the communists in Cuba. These people saw Castro as a nationalist revolutionary who had received his strongest and most consistent support from the communists both inside and outside Cuba and who therefore saw himself as beholden to the communits. These people insisted that Castro himself was not a Marxist and much of the Marxian appearance of his regime could be blamed on his brother Raul and his Argentine-born friend Ernesto Guevara, the two men closest to him in Cuba today.

This was a pretty universal view held by people who were neither passionately anti-communist nor passionately pro-communist, people who did not see everything as either a sinister communist plot or a sinister Yankee-imperialist plot. And these were the people, too, who argued that if Fidel Castro had been treated differently by the United States in his early struggles, if the United States had given him both moral and material support when he first launched the fight against the Batista dictatorship, the Cuban revolution might have taken a more

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libertarian direction and would have been less bitterly anti-American.

Let me confess that I tended to side with the people who held this middle position on the Cuban situation and on Fidel Castro. And I still feel that this view was by far the most sound and the most realistic of the three views on Castro and Cuba. In the beginning Castro was not a communist. All he said, all he promised attested to that fact. He had promised elections and I think he meant it at the time. But Castro was as subject to pressures as any other human being. And the pressures were great. There was fantastic political and economic pressure from the United States culminating in the Bay of Pigs adventure. There were the political and economic pressures from within Cuba, and there were the inevitable pressures of the Cold War which came into play when the U.S. turned against Cuba and the Soviet Union became its champion in both the political and economic fields. And all these pressures have gone into the making of the shifts and changes of Castro's personal outlook as well as of his policies.

The making of a revolution is no easy thing: within that limitation, possibly the easiest thing about any revolution is the actual violent uprising, and possibly the hardest thing is to keep a revolution from running away from its original intention. Stalin turned Lenin's socialist revolution into a quarter of a century of personal dictatorship and terror. Castro's libertarian revolution is now set on the road to communism and the dictatorship of the party. It seems to me that Castro has simply submitted to the strong pressures from both within Cuba as well as from the outside world. Goodnight.

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~~Resignation of Conner Cruise O'Brien~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Dec 6 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The present political crisis in the Dominican Republic presents yet another important challenge to United States policy in the Caribbean in particular and in Latin America in general. The dictatorship of the Trujillo family is at an end after over thirty years. But as happens so very often in such cases, the end of the dictatorship has left the country in a political mess. When a dictator is xxxixxxxxx assisinated, and is not immediately replaced by another strong and ruthless dictator, you generally have political confusion in a country. And this is especially true where the dictator's personal rule has been absolute over a long period of time. Another factor which makes for political confusion in the case of the Dominican Republic is the fact that the dictatorship was not overthrown by a single organised movement with recognised leaders and a clearly stated programme of proposed action, as was the case when Castro's movement fought and overthrew the Batista dictatorship. In Cuba there was one revolutionary leader and one movement with whom the people could identify the movement. In the Dominican Republic no single leader and no single group can claim the credit for the overthrow of the Trujillo family. And so you have the confused situation where a whole hosts of parties/ as well as some military types who are scrambling for xxxxx the spoils of power, and you have a President who is not free of the taint of association with the Trujillo dictatorship.

From the point of view of the United States this is a very tricky situation. During the closing stages of the Trujillo dictatorship the United States showed its disapproval of the regime by adopting certain economic measures in association with other Latin American states. So,

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the United States has, in a sense, contributed to the overthrow of the Trujillo dictatorship. But the United States is acutely sensitive to the latent anti-American feeling among the masses of Latin-America, and she is scared stiff of being accused on interfering in the internal affairs of any other country. And yet she has interfered: first by giving conditional support for the son of dictator Trujillo, provided he gradually introduced democracy. But last week young Trujillo, who was in any case more fitted for the life of a playboy, gave up the attempt and skipped the country. He is reported to have taken with him something like $500 million and a blonde German beauty to comfort him in his lonely exile. The United States, meanwhile, sent a cruiser and a couple of aircraft carriers loaded with U.S. marines because two of the ex-dictator's brothers were making a bid to recapture power. This U.S. show of strength stopped the two Trujillos but did nothing else to relieve the crisis. And this poses quite a problem.

Having intervened to keep out the Trujillo family, should the United States now go a step further and try to influence the situation until a genuinely democratic government is established? And if she does interfere in this way in favour of democracy, is it a good or a bad thing? Cuba has already denounced the United States action as setting a precedent for action against Cuba. But then, many people have criticised the United States in the past for not helping to overthrow the Batista dictatorship in Cuba, as she is now doing in the Dominican Republic. The knowledge that we tend to find fault with whatever they do inhibits the Americans very badly, even when they try to do what they think is right. This is part of the American problem in this region. Goodnight.

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After the Barbados Elections:
Sir Grantley Adams.

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Dec 7 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The complete and utter defeat of the Barbados Labour Party in last Monday's General Elections has been the talking point throughout the British Caribbean. It has dominated the news; and it has even pushed the striking P.N.M. victory in Trinidad into second place. And yet Barbados is smaller than Trinidad, has less people and is economically weaker. And in terms of the future of the federation, the last word ~~will be~~ rests with Trinidad, not Barbados. So why this intense fascination with the Barbados results.

I think the main reason is that we all know that what happened in Barbados on Monday signalled an important turning point in West Indian affairs. Some of us know this instinctively and may not be able to put forward sensible factual arguments for this knowledge. But the knowledge is there. We know that this is the end of an era and we know that it is the twilight of the career of one of the really big men of that era. The long and very distinguished career of Sir Grantley Adams is ending, and ending in defeat. And it is always saddening to witness the fall of a titan.

Grantley Adams, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley were the three most important leaders thrown up by the crises of the angry thirties. There were others, of course, like Uriah Butler and Bertie Gomes. But they were not in the same class as these three. And old man Marryshow was really a link and a survival from another generation of West Indian leaders whose dreams were fulfilled by Adams, Bustamante and Manley. And these three, more than any other individuals, more than the Colonial Office even, shaped and made the islands of the British West Indies into what they are today. They shaped the political

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thinking of these islands and they created such pride as the people of these islands have in their West Indian-ness.

And of the three, Grantley Adams seemed the most securely based. Busta had Manley to contend with and Manley had Busta to contend with right from the start. But Grantley stood head and shoulder above everybody else on the Bajan political scene. The Barbados Labour Party was his creation. And all the vast changes that have taken place over the past fifteen years: the economic and social progress, the stability and political maturity of the people; the changes in labour conditions - Grantley and his party have had a major hand in the shaping of these.

And it was precisely because his personal position and the position of his party in Barbados seemed so secure that he was the only one of the big three with enough confidence to leave the base of his power and go into the federation. And it was during his years away from home, during the years when he tried unsuccessfully to give shape to the idea of a West Indian nation that his personal power eroded at home and the power of his party collapsed. I think a second reason for the collapse of his own and his party's power was because Grantley did not believe in genuine party democracy. The party was his personal tool. And so the young men of spirit and idealism soon broke away from him and only the 'yes' men and the party hacks remained; and they just could not cope without him when he left the scene.

But whatever his faults, he made a great contribution and I think history will judge him a hero who risked and lost all for his dream of West Indian nationhood. And that, surely, is a noble cause in which to lose; much nobler than winning in lesser causes. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Dec 8 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The new government of Barbadds will be sworn in on the 19th of this month when the new sessions of the Barbados parliament opens. I thought you might like to know something about the new men who will take over.

First there is the Premier-designate, Mr. Errol Walton Barrow. He is a relatively young man, somewhere between 39 and 41. His friends call him 'Dipper'. He is a very successful barrister who was regarded as the young man most likely to succeed Sir Grantley Adams as the leading lawyer in the island. And in the days when he was a member of Sir Grantley's party he was considered the leading intellectual of the Barbados Labour Party and a man who would go far if he followed the guidance of Sir Grantley. During the Second World War he flew with the R.A.F. and at one stage he was General Alexander's personal pilot. For his war services he won the D.F.C. He is also an economist, having earned the B.Sc. degree in England.

When he returned to Barbados at the end of the war, he and his good friend Cameron Tudor joined the Barbados Labour Party. In the 1951 elections he contested a seat for the Barbados Labour Party and won. But a year later, in 1952, both he and Cameron Tudor broke with the party. The reason for the break was that they disagreed with Sir Grantley's economic policies and because Sir Grantley just could not stand criticism from any of his followers. Between 1952 and 1956 they worked very hard building up a nucleas for the launching of the new party. I met both Barrow and Tudor for the first time towards the end of 1955 and I saw the great odds against which they had to struggle. All the leaders of the Barbados Labour Party had nothing but contempt

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for them; and Sir Grantley was then still very much on the Bajan scene. They lauched their party in 1956 with Barrow as the leader and Cameron Tudor as the secretary. Just how well and hard the party worked over the next five years was shown on Monday of this week.

Cameron Tudor is most likely to become Minister of Education and I expect him to play a very important part inside the House. He is in his early forties, either 41 or 42. He studied History at Oxford University and I think he was the first coloured man ever to become president of the Oxford Union Society. He is a brilliant debater and he taught history in both Barbados and British Guiana before he entered politics. Although they are young, both Barrow and Tudor are political veterans who have come up the hard way. Anyone who knows the Barbados scene will tell you just how rough life was for anybody who fought against Sir Grantley Adams in Barbados in the early 1950s.

Other likely Ministers are: for Trade and Industry, Mr. Wynter Crawford, an old-time enemy of the Barbados Labour Party and a political veteran who is the publisher of the oldest weekly in the island, the Barbados Observer. Crawford is in his fifties. The likely Minister of Africulture and Fisheries is Captain Wilfrid Ferguson. He pioneered the inter-island trade in the days of schooner. He is in the middle fifties. Next there is Ellison Carmichael, a lawyer of about 39 to 40 who is likely to be Minister of Communications and Works. Then there is Edwy Talma, possibly the oldest of the group and in his late fifties. He was a Minister in Grantley's government but broke with him in 1956. Finally there is Theodore Branker who will be Speaker. He too is an old hand. These are the new men in Barbados and I am sure we wish them well.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Dec 9 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Last Saturday the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Keble Munn, told a gathering of farmers in St. Catherine that a special incentive subsidy of £5 per acre, up a maximum of two acres, will be given to farmers to encourage them to produce food for local consumption. This will go on until March of next year, and a total of £20,000 is the amount earmarked for the subsidy.

Then, on Tuesday of this week, the President of the Jamaica Agricultural Society, Mr. Rudolph Burke, told a press conference of the Society's plans to operate a Farmers' Marketing Organisation. He said the Society is now negotiating with the government for a loan of £180,000 to finance the operations of the new organisation.

The idea behind this new organisation is that the food grown by farmers should be made available all over the country in the best possible condition and at the best possible prices. The organisation will be run as a straightforward business company which would have to stand on its own feet and pay its own way; and, of course, it will have to pay back, with interest, the money it borrows from the government. To do this, it will have to make a profit, no matter how small.

As Mr. Burke explained it, there will be a central collecting centre in Kingston and about five or six smaller centres throughout the country. Farmers would take their produce to the centres nearest to them. There their produce will be graded and packed and made available to the consumers in the district. Any surplus would be shipped out of the district to other areas which are in need and where it could be sold. For instance, if there is a glut of one crop in Manchester

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and a severe shortage of the self-same crop everywhere else on the island, both the farmers and the consumers generally find themselves in a mess at present. The producers in Manchester find themselves having to sell that particular crop at a give-away price. The only people who benefit are the consumers in the area. If the producers manage to ship part of the crop into Kingston or some other large centre, the cost of transport often is so high that the selling price in Kingston or elsewhere is pushed up to an unreasonable degree. And where this does happen it usually some middleman, rather than the producer or consumer who gets any benefit. More often though the surplus cannot be got to Kingston before it goes bad and so it is a dead loss to the farmer and the housewife in Kingston buys imported lettuce and carrots and tomatoes and the like. This affects the islands foreign exchange position and it pushes up living costs.

For the sake of the economic health of the island we must produce more of the food we eat; we must import less. But there is very little sense in asking the farmer to produce stuff which he knows he cannot market economically. But once given a reasonable guarantee for his effort and a reasonable return, I am sure the Jamaican farmer can produce all the basic food we need, as well as some luxuries. So good and proper marketing becomes crucial. For this reason I hope the government will find the money to lend the J.A.S. even if it means tightening elsewhere. The setting up of a really decent agricultural internal marketing system is one of our most pressing needs. We can cut living costs drastically with proper marketing. So, I, for one, am completely in favour of this J.A.S. proposal and I hope it comes into effect very soon. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Dec 11 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: At midnight/last Saturday Tanganyika became the 29th independent African state, and the latest proof of the fantastic speed with which the world around us is changing. Nowhere in the world is that change as striking as it is on the great African continent.

Right up to 1954 - a mere seven years ago - the power and influence of the 20,000 odd European settlers seemed strong and secure enough to last another twenty years at least. And the Europeans of Tanganyika were more intelligent about their own interests than the settlers of Kenya to their north, the white Rhodesians and Portuguese to the south of them, and Belgians to the west of them. And so Tanganyika was one of the few places in multi-racial Africa where the whites restrained their arrogance and colour discrimination was at a minimum. The whites there realised that it was in their long term interests to co-operate with the 9¼ million Africans and to share with them such wealth as could be got out of the country. And so it was the Europeans who, immediately after World War Two, pressed hardest for their version of partnership between the races. This gave each of the racial groups ten seats in the country's Legislative Council: the 20,000 Europeans had ten, the 72,000 Asians had ten and the 9¼ million Africans had ten. Few of us thought much of that constitution at the time. It was loaded against the African majority. But we also knew that it was better than the representation enjoyed by all the other Africans of multi-racial Africa.

I think it was at this point that the very rare quality of leadership of Julius Nyerere showed itself. He formed the Tanganyika African National Union in 1954 and although he and his party disapproved of the parity constitution, they set about working it, making it

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succeed. It would have been so easy to do what so many other colonial leaders did when they were faced with an unsatisfactory constitution. Like them, Nyerere could have burnt himself and his movement out in agitation against the constitution; he could have let loose a wave of communal trouble and racial hatred. The first B.G. constitution for instance was a much better one than Tanganyika's first 'parity' constitution. But the manner in which Jagan and his party dealt with it led to a state of emergency. And today B.G. is still not independent. Tanganyika started on the same road later and got there first because of the very wise and very mature leadership of Nyerere.

And in the process Nyerere has won the respect and confidence of all the different racial groups. And he has got there without hurling curses at the British and without having to send a single silly cable to the United Nations. The result is that his country has been accepted into the Commonwealth, that the United Nations will welcome it with open arms, and Britain has undertaken to give it large and much needed financial aid. And please do not be fooled into thinking that Nyerere is any less an anti-colonialist than Nkrumah or Jagan or anybody else. It is just that he is a master at doing things quickly and quietly for the good of his people and his country. Just how much of a master of intelligent politics he is is proved by Tanganyika's present status.

And in the months and years ahead this quiet political intelligence is going to have a profound influence on the part Africa will play in world affairs. In fact, the emergence of Tanganyika's Nyerere is going to create a new power balance inside Africa itself. But I'll discuss that tomorrow, so till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Dec 12 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: Students of African affairs have begun to notice some clear trends and patterns in the new Africa. Until round the beginning of this year the Republic of Ghana was generally accepted as the leading African state in terms of political influence, both in the outside world and among the newly independent African states. Ghana was one of the founding members of the Casablanca powers. This was an attempt to create unity of action and policy between the Arab and Negro states of Africa: and the two leading figures of this movement were Egypt's Nasser and Ghana's Nkrumah.

Side by side with this broader Pan-African-Pan-Arab unity plan, Nkrumah persued his own dream of a United States of West Africa. To this end he got Guinea and Mali to join Ghana in what is known as the 'Union of African States'. Nkrumah also tried to persuade Liberia's President Tubman to enter into this loose 'Union of Africa States'. Tubman did not like the idea. Liberia has strong economic ties with the United States; indeed, American investment is the backbone of the Liberian economy, and the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union showed signs of being strongly anti-American and pro-Russian, though the declared policy of the Union was one of non-alignment in the East-West conflict. But between 1958 and 1960 Tubman dared not offend Nkrumah with an outright no. Nkrumah's was the most powerful voice in free Africa. And so President Tubman looked as though he might go along but he was very careful not to commit himself. He was being a good politician and playing for time.

Then, in 1960-61 there was the sudden rush of independent African states and on October the 1st of 1960 the giant Nigeria with its nearly

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40 million people became independent. Up to this point the only really powerful voice out of Africa had been that of Nkrumah speaking for the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, which was strongly critical of the West and more often than not sided and voted with the East in the United Nations. This led many observer to feel that the free Africa was moving into the Soviet orbit in spite of its declaration that it was following a policy of neutralism. But with Nigeria at the United Nations a new and very much more moderate voice was heard. And this encouraged President Tubman to call, in May of 1961, the conference in Monrovia, of 20 moderately-inclined African States.

There were now two distinct power grouping in free Africa: the radically inclined Casablanca powers and the moderately inclined Monrovia powers. And in terms of numbers and material potential the moderately inclined group was the strongest. And Nigeria stood out as potentially the most powerful single force in either group. This was a severe setback for the Nkrumah dream, especially as he had said things which had offended the Nigerian leaders, many of whom had no time for him.

But so far East Africa had not come into the picture. Now, in the shape of Tanganyika East Africa is in the picture and the Nyerere approach to things is much the same as the approach of the Nigerians. It is moderate, intelligently progressive but quiet: it is neautralist of ideas but with a bias in favour of the West. The next conflict/in Africa may well be between those of the Ghana-Guineas-Mali group on the one side and the Nigeria-Tanganyika approach on the other. That is if Nkrumah survives his present troubles. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Dec 13 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The United Nations is mankind's greatest hope for peace in today's world. If the United Nations Organisation fails in this noble effort to keep the peace of the world, if the United Nations breaks up or if it becomes so ineffective that no state takes it seriously, then the danger of war will increase a thousandfold. And right at this moment in time the United Nations is in very grave danger, and the cause of the danger is the situation in the Katanga Province of the Congo. United Nations soldiers are today fighting in the Katanga against the soldiers of Moise Tshombe and white mercenaries from Belgium, the Rhodesias and South Africa. Patrice Lumumba, the first elected Prime Minister of the Congo - indeed the only elected one - was murdered in Katanga and Moise Tshombe knows a lot more about it than he has told. That great and good man, Dag Hammarskjold, died under very suspicious circumstances on his way to have peace talks with Thsombe. It certainly looks as though there might have been foul play in the case of Hammarskjold as well, though we may never know. And scores of African, Indian and other soldiers who were servants of the United Nations and bore arms in the cause of peace, have died because of Moise Tshombe and the Katanga. Certainly, the casualty rate has been very high, and the cost to the people of the Congo has been terrible.

And now two distressingly sinister features have emerged from that unhappy country. Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, a man who has made no secret of his hatred for racial equality in any [redacted] form, has come out into the open as Moise Tshombe's principal adviser and defender. He has advised Tshombe

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on the attitude he should adopt to the United Nations, and in this Sir Roy Welensky has had the active support of the Belgians. And when Sir Roy was interviewed in London recently, one journalist asked him by what authority he was interfering in foreign affairs since his country was not yet independent. Sir Roy Welensky's answer showed his utter contempt for British policy in Africa and for the United Nations. He said Britain was abdicating her responsibility by giving independence to people not yet out of the bush; Britain just did not know what was going on in the Congo; he did not care what anybody thought, the Congo was next door to his country and he would go on doing exactly what he was doing. And that was that. And let us not fool ourselves. Tshombe has defied both the United Nations and the Congo Central Government precisely because he has this powerful backing from Sir Roy Welensky and the Belgians. Both have a vested interest in the mineral wealth of Katanga.

But by far the most distressing aspect of this Katanga business was Dr. Cruise O'Brien's charge that Britain and France had tried to sabotage U.N. operations in Katanga. These charges could be and were dismissed until Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, confirmed them. It is not so easy to dismiss them now. Under pressure from the Rhodesians and the Belgians, it is charged, the French and British have tried to obstruct the U.N. operation and this has encouraged Tshombe in his defiance. Because the United States would have no part in this miserable business Belgian crowds have stoned the U.S.Embassy in Brussels.

The tragedy of this business is that the authority of the United Nations is now in danger and the fault this time, lies with us, not the Russians. of Americans ? Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Dec 14 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I am very glad indeed to see that the Government had decided to ~~xxxxxxx~~ set up a Commission to inquire into two recent cases where the police - or, rather, some ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~of it members,- were charged with ill-treating prisoners in their custody. Some of you may remember that I suggested that this line of action be taken in my commentary of Friday, December the 1st. Of course, I was not the only one who suggested this; there were many other people who felt just as strongly about this. And I think both Mr. Graham Perkins and the Reverend Pronger did the entire Jamaican community a very great service by their prompt and vigorous protests: and so also did the daily press which gave their protests great prominence. So I think we might fairly and truthfully say that the government decision to set up this commission was in answer to responsible and concerted pressure from representatives of all sections of the Jamaican community. And that is a very good thing. It is good that the community should have reacted as it has; it is good that press and radio reacted as they have; and it is good that the government has been sufficiently sensitive and sufficiently big to respond creatively to these pressures. Giving in to public pressure on a matter like this is not a sign of weakness. It is a sign of strength; it is a sign that our democratic institutions are in a state of good health; that our legislators are responsive to public feeling. And it is in this spirit that I should like to see all of us approach the enquiry.

There is one thing I hope we will not do, because I think it would be most unfortunate. I hope we will not now, or as a result of what comes out of the enquiry, condemn the entire police force for the

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misdeeds of a small minority in that force. There is a danger that some people may be inclined to do this.

It is unfortunately true that many of us still see the police as the enemy. This is part of the hangover from colonial days when the police were in fact the guardians and agents of an externally imposed 'law and order', when it was their business to see that we obeyed the rules made for us by others from outside. In those days it was almost inevitable that there should be hostility and suspicion between the police and the ordinary citizens.

And it is equally true of course that there are many people within our police force who still have the colonial outlook on the duties and functions of a policeman. They feel they have to threaten and frighten us into obedience, that they have to bully and baton us into submitting to the law. Both these views, that of the citizens who see the police as the enemy, and that of the police who still feel they are agents of some alien master, both these views are completely out of date. What has led to the persistence of these out-of-date views has been the tendency on the part of the government and the police high command to protect the police from public criticism and public enquiry until some really nasty crime forced them into a court of law.

I hope Sir Alfred Rennie's enquiry will put an end to this state of affairs. I hope that as a result of it the citizens and the police will see that we must depend on each other in the hard and difficult business of building an orderly society based on the rule of law and the sacred dignity of every man, no matter how humble. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Dec 15 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: If the report in Wednesday's edition of the Star is correct then Mr. Millard Johnson and his People's Political Party had a rough time on Friday evening of last week when they held a public meeting on the Spanish Town Road. According to the report members of the audience took strong objection when P.P.P. speakers attacked Sir Alexander Bustamante and the Jamaica Labour Party. The report says that people demonstrated noisily and speaker after speaker was heckled so persistently that what was said could not be heard at times. The report says the demonstration got worse when Mr. Johnson himself took the microphone and declared: "No brown man in this country mean you any good." Apparently a voice from the audience then yelled that Busta had been here with the people from 1938 and that Mr. Johnson had just come.

Now/the whole point in telling you this is because I think it carries a very important lesson for every would-be politician, especially for every young man who has political ambitions. And I think it is a lesson that could be of very great benefit to Mr. Johnson if he really intends to build a political career for himself here in Jamaica. And the lesson, stated baldly, is this: any young man who wants to build a political career in Jamaica today must know something of the Jamaican past and the road by which Jamaica came to where it is today. For any young man to behave as though there was nothing before he appeared on the scene, is to invite disaster. To dismiss the old leaders as though they have done nothing, or as though their contribution was slight and unimportant, shows two things: first, it shows a lack of a sense of history; and, second, it is a dismissal of what

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might be an important piece of the history of a people.

Certainly, in the case of Jamaica, you cannot dismiss Busta and Manley without, in a sense also dismissing all that happened in Jamaica between the years 1938 and 1961. Very important things did happen between those years, whether you approve of them or not. And again, whether you approve of them or not, Busta and Manley were the dominant political figures on the scene between these years. And, again, whether you like it or not, these years and what these men did in these years are now forever enshrined as part of Jamaican history. And so it seems to me that when the audience protested against the attacks on Busta on Friday night of last week they were also protesting, instinctively perhaps, against the rejection of the history of their past struggles and the leaders of those past struggles. And to me this shows a political maturity and a sense of history which many a leader or would-be leader can learn from.

It is not necessary to try and completely wipe out the past. The wise man takes all that is best from the past and builds on it. He rejects only the bad. And in the same way the ambitious young politician would be wise to acknowledge the contribution made by the old leaders. He will build on it, and he will honour them for what they have done, and then he will carry the torch until he, too, hands it over to a new generation of young leaders suited to the new times. But this approach, like all genuinely creative effort, is much harder and demands more than merely denouncing and tearing down. But it is the only road to real greatness. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Dec 16 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There are only eight days more to go to Christmas. The spirit of the season is on us and already fireworks are going off and the round of Christmas parties are in full swing. This is of course one aspect of the spirit of Christmas and it is an aspect to which all of us look forward for a whole year, and so we tend to let ourselves 'go' over the Christmas season.

But there are creatures for whom Christmas is a dreadful time of year. There are cats and dogs and donkeys and other creatures for whom Christmas is a time of real terror. I am sure most of you have seen dogs and cats running in utter and desperate terror, without knowing where they are running to, while bangers explode all about them. The animals in my family are pretty isolated but even so, we always have to let them into our bedroom, especially on New Years Eve, when the fireworks start on a hill which is at least a couple of miles away from us. It is pathetic to see the utter panic which grips them. And surely, it is not part of the spirit of Christmas to drive other living creatures into a state of wild terror.

And this terror becomes worse where little boys think it is great fun to fling fireworks at dumb creatures just to see how they run. And it is unfortunately true that there are quite a few grown-ups who also go in for this sort of thoughtless cruelty.

Now, I am not suggesting that anybody should be deprived of the fun of letting off fireworks. Let off your fireworks by all means. But please let them off in your backyards. And if you have animals, get your animals indoors and reassure them. And if parents will tell

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their children of the utter misery suffered by children, I am sure the children will be more thoughtful and protective. The cruelty of children generally stems from ignorance and it is up to parents to tell them what is involved. But perhaps the best thing of all is for the father of the family to personally supervise the letting off of fireworks. In this way we ensure that the kids themselves do not come to grief and no harm is done to either property or creatures. In my family we have solved the problem by just not using bangers. We have encouraged our children over the years to be utterly contemptuoys of the 'big noise'. Instead, we have a great deal of fun with sparklers, catherinewheels, shooting stars, rainbows and all sorts of multi-coloured fireworks that never let off a single bang. So why not try a noiseless fireworks display this year. You might find it much more fun than just making loud noises.

Finally, a word about road traffic. Let us face it, most of us drink a lot more at Christmas than at any other time of the year. And it is generally after we have a few under the belt that we tend to be a little reckless. Of course, we do not see it as recklessness at the time. We always feel in complete control; in fact we generally feel that we are more in control and so we tend to take chances that we would not normally take. That is the real danger. So please, let us take it easy this year. Both you and I know exactly what to do. So let us do it and keep death off the roads this Christmas. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Monday Dec 18 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: The news of the Indian military attack on Goa, Damao and Diu poses a most interesting problem in political morality. The British Government and practically the entire British Press have condemned India as an aggressor. The United States government has expressed 'strong disapproval'. And most Western European countries, like France, Holland Belgium and Spain, have followed the Anglo-American lead and denounced India as an agressor against Portugal. On the other side, the Soviet Union has expressed support for the Indian military action, and it is reasonably certain that India will get support from ~~xxxx~~ most, if not all, of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. For this reason I expect the Portuguese to suffer a major political defeat when they raise this matter in the United Nations. But be that as it may, we still have the picture of one group of nations condemning the Indian action as naked military agression; while another group of nations see it as an act of liberation. So, where do we go from here? How do we sort out this business? Is India the agressor or the liberator?

To get at any sort of reasonably unprejudiced answer we need first of all to get at the facts.

The first fact is the physical ~~location~~ location of these enclaves. All of them are on the west coast of India. Goa, the largest of them, is 250 miles south east of Bombay and it is the main trading and business centre for Portuguese interests in what is known as 'Portuguese India'. Damao is the second in size and it is roughly 100 miles north of Bombay. And Diu is a relatively tiny island just off the coast, roughly 130 west of Damao. Altogether these three enclaves have a total

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land area of 1,540 square miles, and with a population which is estimated at about 640,000. The chief exports of the enclaves are coconuts, fish, salt, spices, caju-nuts and copra.

The majority of the people are Indian with only a handful of Portuguese administrators and businessmen. The great majority look and live and behave and make their living like all the rest of India's 400-odd millions. They speak the Indian language of their particular area, but instead of English as the sort of second language, Portuguese is the second language. So in Goa which has much more than four-fifths of the total population, the main language is Marathi, with Portuguese as the second language for the educated classes and the business community. In religion the majority of the people of India's west coast are Hindu, and so the majority in the Portuguese enclaves are also Hindu. And, as elsewhere you also have a small smattering of Christians and Moslems; but whereas this small group of Christians tend to be mainly protestants in the rest of India, they are Catholics in Goa, Damao and Diu.

So what we do in fact have is this position: Goa, Damao and Diu are naturally, logically and historically, physical parts of India, not cut off or separated in any way. The people are Indian in cultural, in language, in race, and in the way they earn their living from the Indian soil. The one big difference is that centuries ago the Portuguese colonisers took thses bits of land from a politically divided India and called them'Portuguese India'. The question now is,'Has the governmen of a united India the moral right to get back these bits of land by force We'll look at this question tomorrow. So till then, goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Tuesday Dec 19 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I ended my comments last night with this question: 'Has the government of India the moral right to get back these Portuguese-held enclaves by force?' In other words, is the Indian military government morally right in its attack on what the history and geography books call 'Portuguese India?'

In the main, opinion in the United States and the West says no, India was not right. And people who have never liked Mr. Nehru, and heaven knows there are very many of them in the West who dislike everything about him, these people have seized on this attack to call him two-faced, a fraudulent moralist and all sorts of other nasty names. Nehru, they say, is always lecturing the Western world about political morality and now he has revealed himself as no better and in some ways worse than those he lectured. I am inclined not to take these people too seriously. I am not saying their views should be dismissed out of hand but I think they suffer from such vast prejudice that we must discount more than half of what they say. These are the people who damned the Israelis for the capture and trial of Adolph Eichmann. Their sense of justice and morality is terribly one-sided. Few of them had raised their voices against the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews. But how they clamoured about legality and Justice and Morality when this mass murderer was spirited out of Argentina to Israel.

I would have taken the bitter protests of these people much more seriously today if they had shown the same rare concern when India did in fact try to settle this Goa business peaceful way back in 1957. In that year the government of India invited the Portuguese government to negotiate a settlement of the Portuguese enclaves. But the Portuguese

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rejected this attempt of a peaceful settlement out of hand. Those pieces of Indian soil, they said, were integral parts of Portugal and no nonsense. They were not prepared to negotiate over'Portuguese India'. And neither Britain nor France nor the United States used their influence to persuade Portugal. And there was no big press campaign or clamour of public opinion telling the Portuguese that the age of empires was dead. This left India with two alternatives: she could either accept the fact that part of her territory must forever be held by the Portuguese or else she could act on her own to free it. Now she has acted. But please note that she did not just act immediately after Portugal rejected her call for negotiations. For four years, between 1957 and December 1961 she tried peaceful means. It was only after these failed that she resorted to force. So if we say that India had no moral right to resort to force then we are also saying that Portugal has a moral right to hold on to Indian soil for as long as she likes, or forever. We may not intend it that way but that is how it would work out in reality. And so we come right back to the question of morality in politics.

At the best of times there is very little morality in politics. Certainly absolute political morality is almost completely impossible for governments. Within this limitation, it seems to me that India has a vastly stronger moral case than Portugal. We may regret that she had to resort to violence, but the oldest and now the most backward of the world's colonial powers forced her to it. And that, of course, is the real problem of political morality in our modern world.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Wednesday Dec 20 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: When the Bill provided for a pensions scheme for the members of our House of Representatives was passed last Wednesday, I wondered just what public reaction would be. People in all countries tend to be very suspicious and very critical of their politicians. They always expect their politicians to pull a fast one, and they sort of nerve themselves for it. And they are particularly suspicious and on the alert when politicians raise their own pay, or build a new canteen, or give themselves any allowance or set up a pensions scheme for themselves. And this is as true of Jamaica as it is of all countries where people freely elect their governments and enjoy freedom of speech.

Some of you may still remember the general reaction to the proposal to raise the salaries of Ministers. Nobody objected to the fact that some civil servants were drawing more pay than the Ministers under whom they served. But many people felt it somehow wrong for these Ministers to increase their own pay. And yet you know, if some of these people had stayed in private business or gone into it, many of them might have earned four and five and ten times what they get as Ministers. And it is a simple fact that any private individual who runs a private business with a staff about the size of one of our smallest ministries generally gets more pay and a whole heap more fringe benefits than the most senior of our Ministers of Government. So any man who is really out to make money would be a fool to go in for politics in Jamaica. Indeed, I do not know of any country which is not a dictatorship in which any man has made a great fortune out of politics. Possibly the best paid of the politicians are the members of the United States

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Senate, but even there I do not know of a single Senator making a fortune out of his political income. Of course, there have been the crooked politicians who have used their positions to make large sums on the side. But I am not thinking of these now: I am thinking of straight and honest earnings in the form of salary and allowances. And the fact is that most politicians end up as poor men, often after a lifetime of service to their country. And yet, in spite of this hard fact, we all still tend to be suspicious every time our politicians try to improve their wages and conditions of work.

And quite frankly, I think this is a very healthy attitude - if we do not carry it too far. I think it is good for them to know that we are watching them: they will then be careful of what they give themselves. But I think we do not want to overdo it. If we create an atmosphere in which they are too scared of the voters to give themselves decent pay and conditions, we might end up with a situation in which only people of inferior ability, people who cannot make the grade in any other big job, go in for politics. And then we will have only the second-raters and the quality of the political life of the country might suffer seriously. We do not want politics to be only a rich man's business. And so I am all for this pensions scheme, especially since they themselves are going to contribute to it. But ofcourse what we do want is not just a pensions scheme for politicians. We want a national pensions scheme for every working person in this country so that every person will be able to spend the last years of their lives in freedom from want after a lifetime of work. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Dec 21 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I hope you will xxx agree with me that politics and the problems of the world should be put aside for the next few days. We have these things with us all the year round and I think it is a good thing to get away from them for a few days - and what better few days than over the Christmas season.

I am afraid some of us are getting to the point where Christmas is seen as the most hectic weekend of the year, something you prepare for with a kind of desperation. More money is spent, more food is eaten, more liquor is consumed. There are times when I have felt, over the past few days, that we are not very far from a straight commercialisation of Christmas: it is the merchants' peak selling period - he can do more business and show a greater turnover than at any other time of the year. You know the line: 'No daddy can afford not to give his baby this super-duper machine' or 'Mr. Y is giving Mrs. Y this superb set of so-and-so. See the stars in Mrs. Y's eyes. If you want to see stars in her eyes do like Mr. Y.' It is the big sale; it is big business.

And in the last few days I have seen the big sale going on with people getting bad tempered and rude to each other. Although trade is not as brisk as the merchants would like it to be, the pace is still hectic for their shop assistants. And when you have been on your feet all day, and you are tired and you are worrying about your own Christmas shopping, and about how to make ends meet, you end up being not exactly in the most tolerant or friendly frame of mind. And so when a customer walks in who is difficult and demanding, you may suddenly lose your temper and snap at them.

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But it is not only the shop assistants whose tempers are frayed. The nerves of the customers are in pretty bad shape too. A woman who has spent hours going from place to place trying to get exactly what she wants at exactly the price she can pay, will gradually build up an irritation. She is tired; she is hot and sticky; crowds have bumped into her; the traffic has been impossible; the children are waiting at home; there is dinner to be prepared. It all builds up to a very unpleasant view of the world. And when the shop assistant seems to be taking her time, or ignoring the customers, the woman may suddenly flare up in anger.

In the course of one afternoon I have witnessed at least four such violent flareups between customers and shop assistants. And it is a sad and depressing sight to see to women snapping and snarling at each other in public places, and saying cruel and hurtful things that they would not dream of saying normally.

And then of course there are the buses. They all seem to be running behind schedule round about this time. And so they bull their way through traffic and leave passengers behind, loaded with parcels. And the cyclists and the motorists are all in a greater hurry than ever before. And so we have everywhere a desperate and dangerous and bad-tempered scramble with no thought for each other.

I think it is time we stopped and took stock. We are approaching Christmas more in the spirit of a Pagan Bazaar, and we are wrong. Christmas especially is a time for thoughtfulness, for friendliness, for helpfulness. And the great social lesson is to love thy neighbour.

Goodnight.

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No. 304 The Red Hills Road

NEWS COMMENTARY
for transmission on
Friday 22nd at 6:15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I travel up and down the Red Hills road every day. It is the way to work from home in the mornings and the way home from work in the evenings, and so at the very least I make the trip once a day. Often I have to do it twice or even three times. And there is a section of the Red Hills road which is just about the worst piece of roadway I know in the corporate area. This section of the Red Hills Road begins when you leave Dunrobin Avenue and go under the bridge. It runs all the way until you get to the Consolidated Bakery. It is a series of potholes, of sandbanks, and of treacherous bumps. I think that little stretch of road causes more damage to cars than any other short stretch of road that I know of in the whole Corporate Area.

And the worst part of it begins at the bridge below Salford Avenue and runs all the way to the Bakery. The bridge below Salford Avenue has been closed down for nearly half a year now and all travellers to Red Hills have to make a detour through twisting roads, in a built up area which was not planned to take such heavy traffic. And the work on this bridge is so slow that it looks as though it might remain closed for another half year. Every single resident of Red Hills I have spoken to is bitter in his or her criticism of the snail's pace at which the work has been going on.

Below the closed down bridge we get what can only be described as just about the most up and down road ever found on relatively level land. The road bounces from a rising into a dip, then up to another rising, and back into another dip again. And this goes on and on until you reach the bakery. After the rain this rising and falling becomes even worse because we now have deep pools and rutted sandbanks to cope with as well. And all this adds up to just about as nasty and dangerous a

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piece of road as you could wish not to be on.

Work is now going on on the road. It is being widened. The workmen are putting up concrete pavements almost right up against the walls of buildings on the right going down, so it looks as though we will only have a pedestrian sidewalk on the left, but perhaps this cannot be helped since we will have to have a wider road if the Red Hills Rock Hall area is to get a decent bus service. And certainly, Red Hills in particular is in very great need of a decent bus service. A growing number of young men and women come down from Red Hills to jobs in Kingston. At the moment they are dependent on a single country bus which makes the journey from the distant fastnesses of Sligoville. This bus makes only one journey down in the morning, and if it is late or breaks down, all our young men and women risk losing their jobs. This is serious enough. But we also have the problem of children who have won scholarships to secondary schools in Kingston. And they are in a mess if the bus is late or kind motorists do not give them lifts. I know of at least one school which sends them home if they are late.

So in the interest of both work and education we need a decent bus service. And for that we need a decent road. And just widening the road without also filling out the rises and the dips is not going to solve our long term problem. As long as these rises and dips exist the Red Hills road is going to be almost impossible after ~~the~~ rain. All the taxpayers money spent on it, will go down the drain. So let us also have a levelling of the Red Hills Road, Please.

Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
for transmission on
Saturday 23rd at 6:15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I think that one of the best Christmas stories I have come across is to be found in the December issue of the Reader's Digest. And like all good Christmas stories it is a children's story; it is the story of how a child reacted to the oldest and most important situation for every true christian.

As usual at this time of year many schools are putting on the Nativity play and so this story could be set in Jamaica or it could be set in Africa or any country of the world. It is universal.

It is the story of the Christmas Pageant. It is also the story of every little boy, and every little girl. It is the story of a child anywhere in the world who comes from a home which is truly christian. The child's parents are not rich but father has a job and so they manage to make things work out. There is enough to eat, they have shelter, and there is a sense of security in the family. it is a hospitable family; a family which never turns away the stranger, a family in which the parents live out their christian beliefs. They help their neighbours in any way they can. They think and speak well of their neighbours. They show no envy, no malice, and no bitterness towards those who have more than they have; and they do not look down with scorn on those who have less than they have.

And so the child grows up wit h a true christian spirit. Nobody tells it that this is the true christian spirit. There are no high-sounding lectures in the family. Mother and father live a good life.

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And it is this child who is selected to play the part of the Innkeeper in the school's Nativity play. The child is excited about the play but becomes unhappy when it discovers that it is to tell Mary and Joseph that there is no room at the Inn when they knock on the door to try and find a place to rest and sleep. And throughoout the rehearsals the child always burst into tears when it reached the point where it had to turn away Mary and Joseph. The teacher could not understand the reason for this odd behaviour and so the teacher tried to find out why the child always wept at this point. The child explained that nobody at its home, neither its mother nor its father, had ever turned anybody away from their door. The teacher understood but the play had to go on, and so the teacher explained that nobody was really being turned away. This was only make belief. The child tried to accept this explanation, but it still was not very happy. The world of reality and the world of make belief are often the same for a child.

At last the day of the performance came. The school was packed with parents and children, and everybody was excited. The curtain went up and there was Mary and Joseph standing in front of the Inn knocking at the door. The door opened and the little innkeeper looked out at them and said in a most unhappy voice "I am sorry there is no room at the Inn" and then he added in a sudden burst of friendliness "But won't you come in and have a drink." Goodnight.

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NO. 306 The Meaning of Christmas

NEWS COMMENTARY
for transmission on
Monday 25th at 6:15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: To me Christmas and the meaning of Christmas is summed up in these two stories from the Gospel according to Luke in the very beautiful translation of Ronald Knox. from the Latin Vulgate

It happened that a decree went out at this time from the Emperor Augustus, enjoining that the whole world should be registered; this register was the first one made during the time when Cyrinus was governor of Syria. All must go and give in their names each in his own city, and Joseph being of David's clan and family came up from the town of Nazareth, in Galilee, to David's city in Judaea, the city called Bethlehem, to give in his name there. With him was his espoused wife Mary, who was then in her pregnancy, and it was while they were still there that the time came for her delivery. She brought forth a son, her first born, whom she wrapped in his swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the Inn.

In the same country there were shepherds awake in the fields, keeping night watches over their flocks. And all at once an angel of the Lord came and stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone about them, so that they were overcome with fear.. But the angel said to them, Do not be afraid, behold I bring you good news of a great rejoicing for the whole people. This day in the city of David, a Saviour has been born for you, The Lord Christ himself. This is the sign by which you are to know him; you will find a child still in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. Then, on a sudden a multitude of the heavenly army appeared to them at the angel's side, giving praise to God, and saying, Glory to God in high heaven, and peace on earth to men that are God's friends."

And the second is the story of the Good Samaritan.
It happened once that a lawyer rose up, trying to put him to the test; Master he said, what must I do to inherit eternal life? Jesus asked him, What is it that is written in the law?

What is thy reading of it? And he answered, Thou shalt

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love the Lord thy God with the love of thy whole heart, and thy whole soul, and thy whole strength, and thy whole mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. Thou hast answered right, he told him; do this and thou shalt find life. But he, to prove himself blameless, asked, and who is my neighbour? Jesus gave him this answer; A man who was on his way down from Jerusalem to Jerico fell in with robbers, who stripped him, and beat him, and went off leaving him half dead. And a priest, who chanced to be going down by thesame road, saw him there and passed by on the other side. And a Levite who came there saw him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, who was on his travels, saw him and took pity on the sight; he went up to him and bound up the wounds, pouring oil and wine into them, and so mounted him upon his own beast, and brought him to an inn, where he took care of him. And next day he took out two silver pieces, which he gave to the Innkeeper, and said, Take care of him, and on my way home I will give thee whatever else is owing to thee for thy pains. Which of these thinkest thou, proved himself a neighbour to the man who had fallen in with the robbers? And he said, He that sheweth mercy on him. Then Jesus said, Go thy way and do thou likewise. Goodnight.

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NO.307 Boxing Day

NEWS COMMENTARY
for transmission on
Tuesday 26th at 6:15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: I hope you have all had a wonderful and family Christmas and that today, Boxing Day, has been full of restful fun. I know we all know the meaning of Christmas, even though some of us may treat it as just anotherday for big eating and hard drinking. But I am not so sure that we all know how Boxing Day came by its name. I remember many Boxing Days ago, when I was still an easygoing young bachelor, a friend and I tried to find out just how Boxing Day came by its name. We had no reference books to look up and so we made up our own explanation, and it is one which I am still rather fond of. It went like this: throughout Christmas Day everybody was kind and thoughtful of everybody else. People had too much to eat and drink and no exercise, and so, on the morning after Christmas, in the olden days, they used to work all the over-eating and drinking out of their system by turning that day into a sort of universal boxing match. And all the people of the world spent that day boxing with each other, in a very nice and friendly sort of way of course: hence the name Boxing Day.

That is of course not the true meaning and explanation.

In all likelihood we can trace this feast day back to a time before christianity, though it was not called Boxing Day then. In the days when the Romans worshipped the stars and the elements Saturn was one of the mightiest Roman Gods; and one of the greatest of the Roman feasts was called the Saturnalia, which was a monumental pagan binge of eating and drinking. On the day after this feast the Roman citizens gave parcels of the left-over food and drink to their slaves and household servants.

Later, during the early days of the Christian era, boxes were put in churches and during the Christmas Day services the wealthy were invited to put their gifts for the poor into these boxes. On the morning after Christmas Day the priests opened these boxes and distributed the gifts among the poor in the community.

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In those early days church offerings were not only in the form of money, and so I think it is reasonable to assume that real boxes rather than collection plates were needed. One could hardly put a chicken or a hunk of roast beef or a sucking pig in a collecting plate.

From this, in feudal times developed the custom where the baron or the squire, and their ladies of course, presented boxes of food on the day after Christmas to the serfs and peasants who lived and worked on their estates.

Still later, and nearer modern times, when serfdom gave way to wage labour, employers made up these Christmas Boxes and gave them to their employees on the day after Christmas. The day after Christmas was traditionally the day on which what we would now call 'the Haves' gave their gifts of food and clothing and the like to the 'have nots'. It was the day on which the errand boy and the post man and the policeman on the beat received their Christmas Boxes from the grand ladies and gentlemen with the fine houses and beautiful carriages.

It is only in relatively recent times that this ancient custom has changed and presents are given on the last working day before Christmas instead of on the day after Christmas.

So, traditionally and historically, today was the day of giving. Today was the day on which the boxes of good things to eat, the boxes of clothing, were handed out to the poor. But times change and the world in which we live is much more democratic. The poor are no longer a breed apart who must only celebrate after Christmas. Boxing Day is a reminder that this was not always so.

Goodnight.

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No 308 Summary of the Year:
1st Quarter

Did This one off the cuff using guide notes on the back.

NEWS COMMENTARY
for transmission on
Wednesday 27th at 6:15 p.m.
Peter Abrahams speaking.

Good evening: I think it is time wee took stock of the year that is fast dying and pick out the high points of the news of the past twelve months. So let us spend the last few days of 1961 in a sort of survey of this dying year.

In January I think the most important local political event was the break between Mrs. Rose Leon and the Jamaica Labour Party. You will remember that Mrs. Leon resigned from the J.L.P. on the week-end beginning Saturday January 21st. At the time there seemed great confusion inside the Jamaica Labour Party. On the broader West Indian scene January saw the coming of full internal self-government to Barbados and the emergence of Mr. Peter D'Aguiar in British Guiana as the first genuine conservative leading a conservative party. On the international scene the very first week of 1961 opened with disturbing news from three corners of the earth. In far away South East Asia there was a running crisis in Laos with the Communists warming up the cold war in a very confused and confusing situation. Nearer home we had news of the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba. And from Belgium had come the news of an acute National crisis with strikes, street-fights and violence the loss of the Congo's massive wealth. Finally one of the most important items of news on the international scene was the inauguration of Mr. John Kennedy as the thirty-fifth President of the United States on January 20th. There were ofcourse other lesser items such as the launching of Rose Leon's new party, the conflict between the upper and lower Houses of our Parliament and the ground-breaking ceremony of the National Stadium.

February opened with a strong wave of criticism of the K. S. A. C. and the Public Cleansing Department because of

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the state of our streets. In February too we had our first bus strike of the year and the announcement of the Sugar Workers' Pension Scheme.

But possibly the most important talking point in Jamaica in February was the sudden eruption of the race and colour question.

On the international scene two topics dominated world headline. The first was the recession in the United States, the emergence of West Germany as the wealthiest and most powerful economic force in western Europe.

The second was the death of Patrice Lumumba. For Africa and indeed for the whole world this was the most important single event of the month. Its repercussions were felt throughout the world. There were demonstrations at the United Nations and indeed in all the major cities of the world. Right here in Kingston we had a protest march through thecity.

March began with the news of the tumble of egg prices to 3/6. This was very welcome to the housewives. And on March 6th the people of Ghana celebrated their Independence Day which dramatised the fantastic speed with which Africa was marching to Independence. In 1961 the total number of independent African states rose to twenty-nine and Africa became the most powerful single bloc in international affairs exerting the most powerful influence of any group of nations at the United Nations. One of the results of the new Africa was the forcing of South Africa out of the Commonwealth.

Here at home the Governor opened the 1961-62 session of the Parliament and towards the end of the first quarter of the year we were in the grip of a crippling strike of government subordinate employees.

I will continue the survey tomorrow, so till then,

goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Thursday Dec 28 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: One of the most striking events of this dying year here in Jamaica was the great debate on the question of race and colour discrimination. This debate reached its peak during the second quarter of the year, between the months of April, May and June. I am sure you all still remember the outlines of that debate: it stirred up strong passions in large numbers of people. Some people insisted that there was racial discrimination in Jamaica: others insisted that there was none: some were all for talking the whole thing out; others did not want to talk about it at all and accused those who did talk of it of building up racial hatred. On the whole those Jamaicans who were dark-skinned and poor wanted to talk about it; the light-skinned and well-off Jamaicans wanted to suppress the talk. Some of the light-skinned people even saw this debate as the beginning of black racialism taking over in Jamaica, and a few of them packed up and sold out and left this island. Now that all the passion and fear has died down a little it should be possible to look back calmly and assess the value of this debate. Was it a good thing or was it a bad thing?

Now, we all know that compared to most countries in the world Jamaica is relatively free of racial discrimination. And in terms of the English-speaking world Jamaica is the freest where race and colour discrimination are concerned. That is the picture in comparative terms. But when you stop comparing the racial situation in Jamaica with the racial situation elsewhere then the picture is not all that perfect. Jamaica's racial picture is perfect when compared with that of South Africa or the United States. But the dark-skinned Jamaican boy or girl

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who cannot get a job in a commercial bank or big insurance office, or the front office of some large commercial establishment, is not interested in comparing conditions with South Africa or elsewhere. To him or her this is discrimination based on colour, and no amount of comparative argument makes any difference to that fact. And it is a fact. Even today, although this pattern is changing slowly, all you have to do is walk down King Street or Harbour Street and look into the big stores or big offices. With rare exceptions the people in the front offices, the people behind counters, the people at reception desks, are light-skinned. The dark-skinned person with ability faces odds because of his or her dark skin. A black girl may be a very able secrtary but her chances of becoming the personal secretary to the managing director of the firm are so slim as to be almost non-existent. And the dark-skinned person knows this and so he or she cannot pretend that this problem does not exist. It is easy for someone who is not a victim of this situation to deplore all this talk about race and colour. Indeed for a long time all those who have benefitted from this situation have succeeded in suppressing all talk about race and colour. And we all shared in the deception that there is no colour problem in Jamaica. It is not a big problem and it is not a difficult one to solve, but there certainly is a colour problem. In the second quarter of 1961 we began to face the fact of this problem by talking about it. And the credit for starting us talking about this problem in the second quarter must go to Mr. Millard Johnson. Tomorrow I will discuss the high point of the third quarter of the year, so till then, goodnight.

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No 310 Summary of the Year:
The Third Quarter

NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Friday Dec 29 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: There is no question and no doubt about the high point of the third quarter of this year. On the 19th of September the people of Jamaica rejected federation firmly and decisively. That, both for Jamaica and for the ~~xxxx~~ other West Indian islands, was the high point of the quarter and the high point of the year. Years of planning and scheming and hoping and dreaming for the creation of a unified nation out of ten scattered islands - were brought to nothing in a single day. At the time when we made this decision we saw it as our business only. We knew that it was likely to mess up the entire West Indies federation, but I do not think many of us saw much further than that. For instance, I do not think many of us realised fully the master-plan to which Britain was working and which made her so very anxious to see us inside the federation. Now, looking back, we can see the unfolding of that master plan a little more clearly. And we can also see how our decision has messed it up a little.

~~As I see it~~, Britain had reached the point where she could no longer sustain the role of a colonial power, even where some colonies seemed unwilling to be liberated. But even more important, the economic and political pressures from a revitalised western Europe, led by West Germany, were getting too much for her. When the European Common Market was first formed Britain was strong enough to refuse to join. At that time she said her associations with the Commonwealth made it impossible. She knew that she could not be both an integral part of the economy of Western Europe and still play her traditional role in the Commonwealth. This was true when the Common Market was first formed

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and it is still true today. And so, when Britain changed her mind and decided to apply for membership of the Common Market, she knew that certain very clear results would flow from that decision. First, the nature of the Commonwealth was bound to change, and second, that in the long run the Commonwealth itself would fall apart. I think we can now be pretty certain that Britain does not like the idea of having to take this course of action. But she has no choice. She either joins Western Europe or else Western Europe would squeeze her: it is a question of survival. And so she tried to set her house in order before taking this decisive step. She set about liberating her colonies and dependent territories as quickly as possible. But she ran up against a snag in the Caribbean. There she had island colonies that were too small and weak to achieve independence on their own and the federation seemed the only way of getting rid of them in a neat and tidy manner. But we upset the applecart by voting 'no' on September 19th. And so she was saddled with the problem of colonies that she no longer wanted. And as far as she was concerned we in Jamaica were responsible for this messy state of affairs. I think the decision to restrict migration is in part one expression of Britain's irritation with our decision. It is likely that this restriction would have come in any case. But I think our quitting the federation just brought it about a little more quickly.

And so the third quarter of the years, with the referendum as its high point, clarified our own new situation in the world and gave a forewarning of Britain's decision to be rid of her remaining colonies. It also heralded Britain's turning from the Commonwealth and towards Western Europe. Goodnight.

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NEWS COMMENTARY
For transmission on
Saturday Dec 30 at 6.15p.m
Peter Abrahams speaking

Good evening: This is the last working day of the last quarter of the fast dying old year. And for most of us the working day is over and we are getting ready for midnight tomorrow when we herald in the new year.

For us in Jamaica xxxxxxxx the high point of the whole of this year was, of course, the referendum decision. But I think for the world as a whole 1961 will be remembered as the year when man first ventured into outer space. If there are men living a thousand years from now, and in spite of all the alarms and threats of war, it is very likely that there will be: those men will look back at this year as a great turning point in the history of mankind. Indeed, those men of a thousand years from now will probably be alive because on Friday, April the 7th, 1961, a 27-year-old Russian airman named Yuri Gagrin, was shot 200 miles out into space, circled the earth like a glowing star, and then was brought back to earth safely again. After all the thousands of years of his existence here on earth, man had finally broken the bond that tied him to the earth. It may take time; the casualty rate may be high, there may be many disasters; but now that he had taken the first great leap forward, man is bound to conquer space. That is his nature. It is part of man's nature to battle against the unknown until it becomes the known. That is how he battled against the frozen death of the north pole until he mastered it. That is how he is now battling against the vast frozen continent of antartica. Many men have died in these battles but in the end man has triumphed. And so it will be with the journey to the stars.

And to the people of a thousand years from now it would not matter

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that the first man who ventured into space was a Russian. Because if if man survives for another thousand years it will be because mankind has overcome its stupid and silly little prejudices of nationalisms and racialisms and all the other little isms which would reduce him to a cipher. So the people of a thousand years from now will be people who travel the sky-lanes between one star and another, and they will not look at each others' colour. And much of the history of this period they will find primitive and barbaric. They will think xx of us as ignorant and backward people who spent our resources building up military strength while millions starve and go hungry. They will think our cold war a silly, childish and dangerous business. But they will forgive us much because xxxxxx Gandhi and Einsten lived in our time: and one taught us morality and the other one taught us science. And they will forgive us because Thomas Mann wrote 'The Magic Mountain' and E.M.Forster wrote 'A Passage to India' in our time. And they will forgive our other barbarisms because we also had poets and singers who dreamed great dreams and sang sweetly. And then they will say: "And it was in the year 1961 that those primitives finally broke the grip of the earth so that we may live and move among the stars." And they will bless us.

The year that is dying was a great year, ladies and gentlemen. A year of difficulty but also one of great achievement. I think our descendents of a thousand years from now will feel quite proud of what was achieved this year. So, let us look at the stars at midnight tomorrow and salute the future with pride and hope.

Goodnight.

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