

**Michael Manley**

7 HEATHWOOD MANOR  
12A WISHAW DRIVE  
KINGSTON 8, JAMAICA

Mr. Peter Abrahams  
RIR.

**Michael Manley**

7 HEATHWOOD MANOR  
12A WISHAW DRIVE  
KINGSTON 8, JAMAICA

Dear Peter,

You were the  
first person to question  
me on the ~~money~~  
Devlety ~~in~~ review  
in 1972 - after that  
election.

I wondered if the  
enclosed letter to  
Carl Stone (not for  
publication) might  
interest you. We must talk!!  
warmly  
Michael

**Michael Manley**

2 April 1992

**7 HEATHWOOD MANOR  
12A WISHAW DRIVE  
KINGSTON 8, JAMAICA**

PERSONAL

Professor Carl Stone  
University of the West Indies  
Mona  
Kingston 7

*Dear Carl,*

I read your article yesterday with interest and thank you for the many kind things that you wrote.

I do not write you this letter in a spirit that is even faintly quarrelsome. On the other hand I must comment on one aspect of the article.

You refer to my "changes" of ideological position in terms that suggest sudden shifts in fundamental beliefs. You take as your point of departure the interview that I gave to Tony Verity in 1972 where you correctly quote me as expressing distrust for ideological labels.

Interestingly enough, I did say this to Verity and must plead guilty to a careless remark. Since that time I have often explained that what I meant was ideological labels unaccompanied by clear definitions.

I understand how it happens that people take the Verity interview, put it along side the 1974 declaration of Democratic Socialism, then put both beside the market economy commitment since 1989 and conclude that all of this is explained in the simplistic way that your article suggests.

Admitting what may be a popular perception, may I crave your indulgence while I share the salient facts of an historical sequence.

The most radical policy of a socialist type ever offered to the people of Jamaica was that of the P.N.P. in the 1967 election. I suggest you let somebody resurrect the relevant pamphlet for you.

I was a member of the Policy Committee of the P.N.P. which put together that programme and persuaded my late father to accept it. He, in turn, persuaded the Party, including some very reluctant elements, to adopt it as our election platform. David Coore was the Chairman of that Committee with Allan Isaacs and Vernon Arnett as two of the major moving spirits behind its leftward thrust. I confess they were aided and abetted by me and David Coore will confirm to you that I told him at the time how good I felt about the fact that this was a strong reflection of socialist thought of the non-communist variety.

In that election the voters' list was so out of date that no one under twenty-three years could vote and the constituencies were cruelly gerrymandered. The P.N.P. lost by some one percent of the popular vote and my father his last opportunity to head a government in the independence era.

The P.N.P. had declared itself socialist in 1940, a position which has never been reversed but often ignored. Furthermore, it had never attempted to define what it meant by socialism and, consequently, had often paid a heavy price in bitter internal struggles about the meaning of socialism itself.

In the aftermath of the 1967 election, when I was turning my mind more and more to the political side of the movement as I became Vice-President and later Party Leader, I came to the conclusion that:  
a) ideological terms were profoundly divisive if they were not made the subject of serious internal dialogue leading to some level of definitional clarity.

b) that political parties need ideological focus or they can rapidly deteriorate into machines for gathering votes and distributing benefits. (See "Politics of Change").

Upon becoming leader in 1969, I, and the group with me, decided that it would have been very unwise to attempt to launch a process of ideological discussion in the three years leading up to the 1972 elections. It is against that background that I made the comment to Verity.

The 1972 election was held on February 29th. At the N.E.C. meeting of, I believe, April 1972, I made a major speech outlining the two convictions which I have just summarised under a) and b) above. I called upon the Party to go back to its fundamental declaration of 1940 and to devote the necessary time and energy to trying to relate the commitment to socialism to the world around us so that there could be ideological focus and a basis for internal education.

I say none of this by way of self-justification, because it is easy to make the argument that ideology is a waste of time, or that I should have been concerned with other things! On the other hand, you are bound to take a totally different view of my own mental processes if you go back to the 1967 election platform, my part in it and the fact that within two months of winning the '72 election, I persuaded the P.N.P. to begin a major internal exercise aimed at clarifying the socialist commitment which we had made in 1940 and had never rescinded and had often paid a high price for in terms of internal division.

The first ideological process took about two years and led to the now famous declaration of "Democratic Socialism" in 1974. Far from being sudden, the declaration came at the end of intensive internal discussion involving different levels of the party organisation and different elements of the membership.

Ironically, and as if in conformation of my own fears, even that declaration, with its careful definitions, was to spark a major interpretational quarrel which raged over the next four years and was only resolved when "Principles and Objectives" was adopted, as I recall, in late 1978!

The period from '78 to '82 calls for no comment. However, in the course of 1982 I began the long and painful process that led me to conclude that heavy reliance on state intervention in the economy would not lead to effective and sustained development.

My eventual acceptance of a genuine market economy model as the form most likely to produce sustained growth was not a sudden conversion on any road to a new ideological Tarsus! On the contrary, as people like Bogues and others in the Party can attest, it was a long and difficult journey. Then the acceptance of market economics by around 1988 led me to two resulting exercises. The first was to persuade the Party of accept a market economy model, not as a matter of rhetoric, but more as a mechanism with a logic which has to be understood and, hopefully, mastered. Again, there is the evidence of speech after speech to the N.E.C., to Annual Conference and other levels, working towards clarification and understanding.

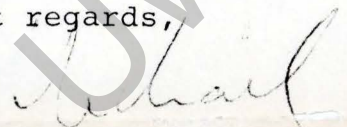
**Michael Manley**


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The second exercise involved the attempt to explore a conceptual framework with programatic implications aimed at making the market model consistent with the enduring socialist objectives which we can loosely label as concerned with equality, empowerment and social justice. My more recent, "Compass", "Management of Change", and "Role of the State" represent my attempts in this area.

Carl, I do not for a moment pretend that I have succeeded in any of this. What I do know is that it is very hard to have spent so much of one's life struggling with the problems of ideology in practical politics, only to hve this dismissed as some kind of ideological flip-flopping. It is ironic that the people who have worked most closely with me in the course of this intellectual journey often comment upon the consistency of the inner commitment which has driven me throughout my life. On the other hand, I well understand popular perceptions or the tendency of the pundits of the press to trivialise everything. However, when a social scientist of your stature appears to share what may be a popular mis-conception, I hope I will be forgiven this attempt to share the facts with you in the hope that they will give you a sense of an unfolding journey and what it really entailed.

Kindest regards,

  
Michael Manley

P.S. Incidentally, I was intrigued by the facility with which you dismissed another lifetime commitment of mine, that to the struggle in Southern Africa in general and South Africa in particular. This is dispatched with a flick of the wrist as "posturing". As the French might say: Mon Dieu !!!!  




# PNP

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY

HEADQUARTERS  
89 Old Hope Road  
Kingston 6  
92-77805

May 12, 1984

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

I am going to urge you to spare the time to read the enclosed Release from the People's National Party with the closest attention.

I am taking this almost unprecedented step because I think that the country is at a very grave crossroads, more grave than we may realize. The more I think of the implications of the events in Rema, including the failure to bring out the Mobile Reserve, the failure to cordon off the area with the Army, the failure to search for the guns, and the failure to pursue the terrorists into their stronghold -- the more I am convinced of the depth of the moral, political and legal crisis that this implies.

All of this, however, pales almost into insignificance beside the behaviour of the country's Prime Minister in sitting down with persons, who in overwhelming probability, are guilty of terrorism, if not murder, and then dismissing the events as something which we can now forget over a drink. We now face a situation in which a large army of gunmen have been made to

PRESIDENT: Michael Manley      VICE-PRESIDENTS: Portia Simpson, O.D. Ramtallie, S. Ann Mullings, Win  
CHAIRMAN: P. J. Patterson      DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Bobby Jones, GENERAL SECRETARY: Paul Patterson  
GENERAL SECRETARY: Robert Pickersgill      ORGANISING: Donald Buchanan, TREASURER: Robert Pickersgill.

*Michael Manley*  
*2 Washington Close*  
*Kingston 10 Jamaica*

February 2, 1988

Mr Peter Abrahams  
c/o R J R  
32 Lyndhurst Road  
Kingston 5

Dear Peter,

I thank you for your fascinating discourse on Sunday. You set the PNP in an international historical context with telling effect. I liked too your exposition of nationalism and nationalist movements which set a tendency to hysterical middle class response in a beautifully objective context.

I particularly appreciated your call to the PNP to resume a nationalist agenda with the injunction to take that cause off the back burner. I must assume, therefore, that you strongly approve of the things we have been doing in the last three years where we have persuaded the PNP "rank and file" to accept a deliberate policy of national consensus on Education, Health and Security. Equally, we plan to set up a National Council for Economic Planning, pulling together private sector, trade unions and farm leadership along with the political and technical directorates which, again, reflects a decisive move by the Party towards a national rather than a partisan agenda.

contd 2/

=2=

Mr Peter Abrahams

February 2, 1988

Perhaps most important of all has been our single-minded pursuit of peaceful cooperation together with the repeated offers of cooperation in the national interest with respect to the struggle against drugs and crime. I think we are just beginning to get acceptance for this.

I was happy to feel from your speech that these are the directions you think we should take even though it was not clear from your remarks that you had noticed the enormous efforts that we have made in this direction since 1985.

Again, please accept my warm thanks for and appreciation of the fine tribute which interested everyone deeply.

Sincerely,

*Abraham*

*Michael Manley*

*2 Washington Close,  
Kingston 10,  
Jamaica, W.I.*

November 28, 1984

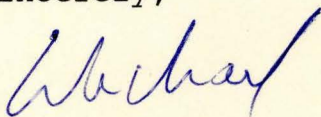
Dear Peter,

You may have noticed a letter from Horace Barber carried on the front page of the Gleaner of last week. I enclose a photocopy if you missed it.

It may interest you to know that I wrote a reply which the Gleaner managed to decimate. A photocopy of that is also enclosed. Finally, I am enclosing the letter that I actually wrote partly because I want you to see it and partly as an interesting indication of the Gleaner's sense of journalistic fair play.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



Mr Peter Abrahams

## Barber on 'gimmicks'

Foreign exchange "auctions" in the street rather than the banking system could be the outcome of a fixed exchange rate, the Governor of the Bank of Jamaica, Mr. Horace Barber, said in a letter to the Editor yesterday.

Mr. Barber was responding to the criticisms of Mr. Michael Manley, President of the PNP, about 'gimmicks' in the auction system. Mr. Barber said:

"Dear Editor:

"It is a truism that responsible people should behave responsibly. The President of the People's National Party, Mr. Michael Manley, stated in the issue of The Daily Gleaner of November 22, 1984, under the caption "Manley raps auction 'gimmicks'" that "the PNP was again demanding that the auction be abandoned and call for the establishment of a fixed value for the Jamaican dollar." Mr. Manley should have stated also the conditions for such action within the context of a shortage of foreign exchange to meet the demands of the Jamaican community. Conditions which include QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS, LICENSING SYSTEM, FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATIONING AND ALLOCATION, DETAILED SURVEILLANCE AT PORTS OF ENTRY, WIDESPREAD PRICE CONTROLS, AND A HUGE BUREAUCRACY TO MAN THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

"Without resources to defend a fixed rate, other defence mechanisms must be employed. A possible outcome could be the emergence of widespread street market foreign exchange operations and "auction" in the streets rather than in the banking system."

Daily Gleaner

23/11/84

# Manley questions Barber on IMF

Mr. Michael Manley, president of the People's National Party, has called upon the Government of the Bank of Jamaica, the Hon. Horace Barber, to answer questions in connection with Jamaica's arrangement with the International Monetary Fund.

Writing to Mr. Barber yesterday, Mr. Manley asked him to answer the following questions:

During your last series of talks with the IMF in Washington, did the Fund agree that Jamaica had passed the 1984 September test on all counts?

If the answer is yes, where is the Clearance Certificate for passing the test?

Alternatively, if it has now been issued, what was the date of its issuance?

If the answer is no, why has this been concealed from the Jamaican public and upon what do you base

the claim that there is or was no disagreement?

Mr. Manley was responding to a statement by Mr. Barber, published on November 19, in which the Governor of the Bank of Jamaica stated that there has been no dispute between the IMF and the Jamaican Government over the September 1984 test under the current agreement.

Stating that "there is a tradition under which public servants are spared political criticism or attack when acting in the line of duty", Mr. Manley said he noted that Mr. Barber had decided "to become an apologist for the Labour Party Government".

"Since you have now chosen the path of political apologist in spite of your position as the senior public servant of Jamaica, you leave me no choice but to put a series of questions to you," Mr. Manley said in the letter.

*So many things to see*

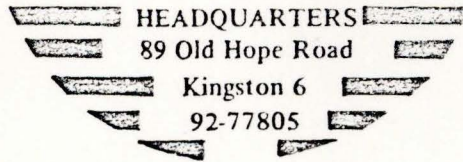
**Mall Plaza Constant Spring Road Tel: 92-65691**

*Daily Gleaner*

*27/11/84*



PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY



HEADQUARTERS

89 Old Hope Road

Kingston 6

92-77805

November 26, 1984

Mr Horace Barber  
Governor  
Bank of Jamaica  
Nethersole Place  
Kingston Mall

Dear Mr Barber,

I note that you have decided to become an apologist for the Labour Party Government and in the course of that activity, are offering gratuitous advice about responsibility.

There is a tradition under which public servants are spared political criticism or attack when acting in the line of duty. For the public servants themselves there are reciprocal obligations. We have scrupulously observed this protocol where you and other public servants are involved.

Since you have now chosen the path of political apologist in spite of your position as the senior public servant of Jamaica, you leave me no choice but to put a series of questions to you.

The Gleaner of November 19 reports you as saying that there has been no dispute between the IMF and the Jamaican Government over the External Payments Arrears Target and the Net International Reserves Target of the September 30 test.

I now put the following questions directly to you as the Governor of the Bank of Jamaica and a public servant who has chosen to enter the field of public controversy:

contd 2/

PRESIDENT: Michael Manley, VICE-PRESIDENTS: Portia Simpson, O.D. Ramtallie, Seymour Mullings, Winston Jones.  
CHAIRMAN: P. J. Patterson, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Bobby Jones, GENERAL SECRETARY: Paul Robertson, DEPUTY  
GENERAL SECRETARY, ORGANISING: Donald Buchanan, TREASURER: Robert Pickersgill.

Mr Horace Barber

November 26, 1984

During your last series of talks with the IMF in Washington, did the Fund agree that Jamaica had passed the 1984 September test on all counts?

If the answer is yes, where is the Clearance Certificate for passing the test?

Alternatively, if it has now been issued, what was the date of its issuance?

If the answer is no, why has this been concealed from the Jamaican public and upon what do you base the claim that there is or was no disagreement?

Since you raise the issue of responsibility, let me remind you that the greatest responsibility of a public servant is to be honest.

For example, the question remains unresolved: Who lied when your Prime Minister announced that we had passed the IMF Test in September 1983 and claimed that he had been told so by the Governor of the Bank of Jamaica?

If you do not now favour me with a complete and satisfactory response to my questions, I will go beyond the issue of gimmickry and raise even more profound questions concerning the honesty of those who currently conduct Jamaica's financial affairs and who have the impudence to talk about responsibility.

In the meanwhile, I note that before being willing to undertake the admittedly great efforts that would be required to operate a fixed exchange rate, that you and your Prime Minister prefer to take the easy way out of transferring the burden of our common problem to the backs of the poor who sink deeper and deeper into poverty and despair as the prices soar on the wings of your agreement with the IMF.

Sincerely,



Michael Manley  
President  
People's National Party

MANLEY & MANLEY CONSULTANTS LTD.

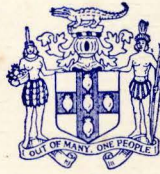
*Caldon Finance Centre, 52-60 Grenada Crescent, Kingston 5, Jamaica, W.I.*

PERSONAL

Mr. Peter Abrahams,  
c/o Radio Jamaica Limited,  
32 Lyndhurst Road,  
Kingston 5.

Personal & Confidential

Peter Abrahams, Esq.  
c/o Radio Jamaica Ltd.  
32, Lyndhurst Road  
Kingston 5.



**JAMAICA HOUSE  
KINGSTON, JAMAICA**

20th November, 1974

My dear Peter,

May I write you in absolute confidence. I have thought very deeply about your question last night. The truth is that when I was asked the question by Verity nearly three years ago, the P.N.P. had not undertaken the exercise which we have just come through. Because there is such a fantastic range of possible definitions of Socialism, I have always tried to steer clear, as a Politician, of being trapped into discussing it until we had arrived at a clear Party consensus for today's world and today's problems.

I have always been a Socialist and the presentation of Socialism with which I am now associated is very close to the beliefs that I have always held. I have always thought that the principle of social responsibility and accountability within a general framework of clear egalitarian purpose is the relevant terms of reference for Socialism in Jamaica. I do not share the view that the ownership of the means of production is the key to the argument. I think the key lies in the total organisation of the inter-personal relationships in the society. Seen in this light, ownership of the means of production becomes one of many complex issues. It is, in fact, simplistic to believe that the ownership of the means of production is a central key to the solutions which we seek.

I prayed that you would not press me last night and thank you for your charity in letting me off the hook!

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Michael Manley

Peter Abrahams, Esq.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

0354-580

March 10, 1969

Dear N.W.,

I am sorry you had to remind that I had not answered your earlier letter. The truth is it came when both Daphne and I were going down with this nasty virus infection which is now going the rounds. It reduced us to a state of near-helplessness out of which we are only now coming. But I do apologise for not writing.

I have very mixed feelings about the book, partly I think because I allowed my concern~~ed~~ for an immediate situation to dominate the tale. The dictatorship theme is after all a very old one and I think I might have written a much better book if I had concentrated more on the people and less on the politics. I am not satisfied, for instance, that Josiah is more than the outlines of a character. But I am ~~a~~ equally not sure that a more detailed examination of the character of Josiah would have produced anybody with any more of a sense of fun or any more gusto. But this is the logic of the make-up of this type of character. You and I both know a Minister of government with this type of make-up - all painstaking scheming and planning and very little flair or gusto or sense of fun, or, most important, compassion for people. I think it is a theme I will have to return to one day.

All the best to both of you. I understand they have sent you the broadcast.

Yours ever

N. W. MANLEY, M.M., Q.C.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

4, Washington Drive,  
~~42 Slip Road~~, Kingston 10,

~~Kingston 5,~~

Jamaica

4th March, 19 69

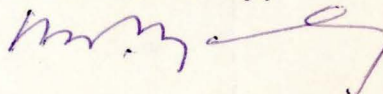
Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
c/o Radio Jamaica & Rediffusion,  
Broadcasting House,  
32, Lyndhurst Road,  
KINGSTON 5.

Dear Peter,

I have written to ask the General Manager to let me have,  
with your permission, a copy of the Broadcast you made on Monday,  
3rd March at 6.10 p.m.

By the way, I wrote you a letter about your book  
"This Island Now". I think that is the name, but it's the book  
about a man who was in process of establishing something like a  
dictatorship in an island. Did you receive my letter? I thought  
and still think it deserves an answer.

Yours sincerely,



N. W. Manley

NWM:fec

42 Slipe Road,  
Kingston 5,  
Jamaica

Jan 29

190

Dear Peter,

*[Handwritten signature]*

I have just got hold of a

copy of your latest book. This Island man -

I want you to know that I like it very much & think it very relevant to all that has happened this last 6 months.

I'm not interested in the detachment of theme & title that is not why you write it. I am interested in the ideas of structure & change.

Tosiah is fascinating but little sense of fun & no gusto. Did he really enjoy what he was doing?

All that's good -

*[Handwritten signature]*

## MESSAGE FROM PREMIER TO COUNCIL

### A STATUTORY BODY TO PROMOTE RESEARCH

IN MAY, 1960, A BILL to provide for the establishment of the Scientific Research Council was passed by the Legislature. The Law (No. 30 of 1960) was published in the Gazette on the 16th of June, and the members of the Council have been appointed.

Establishment of a body with statutory powers to foster and co-ordinate scientific research, and encourage the application of the results of both local and overseas research to the exploitation and development of the island's resources was proof that the essential character of research in any plan for progress was fully realised.

The Scientific Research Council replaces the Scientific Research Committee which paved the way for its establishment. It has been given the status commensurate with its responsibility for guiding research into channels that will strengthen Jamaica's economic and social structure.

The demand for applied research in every branch of the economy is extremely great. There is an urgent need to find uses for a country's own resources, to stop waste, upgrade standards, improve efficiency, diversify for protection against the vagaries of foreign markets, and for the satisfaction of home needs — in short, to produce more and more from the same area to provide an ever-improving standard of living for an ever-increasing population.

Every nation is turning to research for the solution of its economic problems. In the big, already highly industrialised countries, much is done by individual industries working in specialised areas. Frequently, however, governments take a hand and sponsor research organisations. Such organisations are now influencing the economy of many areas and most notably so in countries like ours where development along modern lines is vital to the future.

Jamaica has now taken action to set up a permanent organisation for the promotion of research. This body will be known as the Scientific Research Council. Its success will depend on the use that is made of it by the community, the support that is given to it by local industry and the calibre of the work put out by its staff.

The Council starts its work with my earnest and sincere good wishes.

N. W. MANLEY,  
Premier.

Information, Vol. 1, No. 2.

September, 1960.

## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Scientific Research Council was established by the Scientific Research Council Law 30 of 1960 (amended by Law 39 of 1963).

Under this Law, SRC has been assigned the following powers and functions:-

1. To undertake, foster and co-ordinate scientific research and to encourage the application of the results of such research to the exploitation and development of the country's resources.
2. To undertake and foster scientific research leading to:-
  - (a) the development and utilization of the natural resources;
  - (b) the improvement of existing technical processes and methods.
3. To encourage industry to undertake scientific research on a co-operative basis.
4. To advise Government on scientific matters.
5. To co-ordinate scientific research schemes and programmes undertaken by Government departments or statutory bodies and authorities.
6. To publish and disseminate scientific and technical information.

SRC is governed by a Council consisting of not less than fifteen and not more than twenty members, one of whom is the Chairman.

### Current Activities

The current activities of the Scientific Research Council are classified under the following major headings:-

1. Bioresources, including Food and Nutrition
2. Mineral Resources
3. Technical Information Service
4. Liaison and Public Relations.

These subjects are of immediate importance as they bear on the country's agricultural and industrial development.

### Mineralogy

SRC has, in conjunction with the Geological Survey Department, carried out a search for commercially useful clays. Likely deposits have been surveyed and evaluated. As a result of this work, the potential of the clay resources have in a general way been assessed, and in the case of Frenchman, and Hodges, the assessment has been quite detailed and quantitative.

Other ceramic minerals have been explored by SRC. SRC has also begun a search for quality chalk deposits as source of whiting for paint.

In structural ceramics, SRC has demonstrated the practicability of using Jamaican clays in a variety of building products such as floor tiles, clay pipes, building blocks, roofing tiles, etc. A larger pilot plant is in the process of being built to supply trial quantities of floor tiles and to provide cost data.

SRC has provided "know how" and technical service for the building and operation of the clay processing and ceramic centre at Duanvale for the Ministry of Youth and Community Development.

It might also be mentioned that in other activities such as mineral processing (e.g. clay, silica, limestone and chalk), and in materials characterization, SRC is now competent and is offering its services to industrial organizations. These are services for which SRC charges fees to cover the direct expenses involved.

## BIORESOURCES

On the Bioresources side, there are active sections in Natural Products (essential oils, oleoresins, sugar and citrus derived products), Organic Chemical Process Technology, Fermentation processes, Food Science and Nutrition. SRC also supports projects of a biological and ecological nature at the University of the West Indies.

### Essential Oils and Oleoresins

SRC has had in operation for over a year a very modern pilot plant for the production of essential oils and oleoresins. These are secondary products which are not being fully exploited. Pimento berries as presently exported will be in a very serious competitive position in 3 or 4 years when very extensive plantings in Guatemala become mature. By expanding into oil and oleoresins Jamaica will be working to hold its competition position.

SRC's liaison role has sharply increased now that there is a cadre of experienced and competent scientists. SRC serves as Jamaica's representative to various scientific organizations associated with the UNESCO programme, represents Jamaica on the Commonwealth Scientific Committee (the Technical Director is past chairman of CSC), and liaises with the Scientific and Technology Department of the Organization of American States. SRC is called upon by the Ministry of External Affairs for comment, advice, and to represent Jamaica with respect to the scientific and technological matters. In addition, the Council has been working closely with the Ministry of Education and with the UNESCO National Commission on matters of science and technical education.

Because the Scientific Research Council has a staff of experienced industrial scientists and because of its close working affiliations with academic, governmental and industrial scientific centres, it is in an excellent position to advise or assist the Government in matters in which science and technology have a bearing.

## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL

### Research in Food and Nutrition for Jamaican Home Economics Association

March 1972

The Scientific Research Council a statutory body appointed by the Government in 1960, and currently under the Ministry of Mining and Natural Resources, undertakes, foster and co-ordinates scientific research for the economic and social development of the island.

In implementing this broad mandate, the Council has 4 areas of activities one of which is Food Science and Nutrition. Involvement in food and nutrition goes back to 1963 when the Human Nutrition Research Unit was co-opted by the Council.

Work in this sphere of activity has progressed along the following lines:-

1. Surveys of the dietary and nutrition status of children and adults (data published) have confirmed the presence of mal-nutrition in children and poor nutritional states of pregnant and lactating women.

2. Supplementary Infant Foods

The surveys laid the basis for the development of vegetable protein mixtures to supplement the diets of pre-school children. Two of 13 mixtures were selected as possible supplements. Although these were acceptable, the problem was one of relatively high cost in making them available to those most deserving.

3. Nutrition Education

At the recommendation of a consultant to the Government (1962) the Scientific Research Council undertook the role of co-ordinating nutrition education. A programme was organized with the objective of making the people to whom it is directed more aware of the nutrition problems and the measures which might be used to overcome them; Ultimately, to guide the population in selecting the best diet possible, within ones own social and economic environment. The programme is directed to the "teachers" of nutrition (public health nurses, community development officers, Child Welfare Officers, School teachers and trainee nurses). It is conveyed by lectures, mass media and visual aids which are prepared at the SRC.

A Food Guide for Jamaica was the first publication in the educational programme. Simple leaflets on specific topics were deemed more effective to this end. The SRC embarked on the publication of a Nutrition Education Series, entitled Food for the Family (8 booklets).

Currently a series on the Economics of Good Nutrition is in progress; Budgeting already completed. A number of single and double concept reading cards have been devised as well as other aids for pre and school aged children. "The Good Food Book" is one of these.

Eight posters have been made and distributed for posting in Health Clinics and school rooms.

Of the 4 films (16 mm) - 2 deal with child feeding, one with shopping wisely and the other with the value and use of vegetables.

There are 6 sets of slides - 2 currently under revision.

#### 4. Food Science

In this area the SEC is engaged in determining the nutritive value of foods commonly used and for which data are not available or are questionable. Formulating recipes and examining the nutritional value of traditional dishes with a view to demonstrating how nutritional deficiencies in these diets may be corrected.

Work has been completed on callalu (callaloo), skimmed milk powder, cho cho, peas and beans, susumber, salted codfish and dumplings.

Another responsibility is to evaluate toxic factors in local foods e.g. aflatoxin in peanuts.

#### 5. Service Work

Service has been in the form of laboratory investigations, advice and literature to other Government departments. Services have included suggestions for the enrichment of locally available cereals, the non-use of sweetened condensed milk in infant feeding, recipe testing, evaluation of feeding in institutions and curriculum planning in Home Economics.

In summary food and nutrition at the Council is concerned firstly with guiding "teachers" of nutrition into practical information techniques, hence the preparation and availability of visual aids to augment teachings.

Secondly, in Food Science determinations of nutritional values of single foods and composite dishes as a background for the nutrition education programme. This information is made available through mass media, leaflets and through the Council's Annual Reports.

Membership of the Scientific Research Council

W. Mahfood, Esq., B.Sc. (Mechan. & Civil Eng.) Chairman.	Chairman, CMP Industries Ltd.
R.E. Anderson, Esq., B.Sc., F.G.S.	Chief Geologist, Alcan Jamaica Limited.
G.G. Bonnick, Ph.D. (Econ.)	Director, Central Planning Unit.
Morris Cargill, Esq.	Solicitor and Journalist.
S.R. Chen-See, Esq., B.Sc.	Managing Director, Caribbean Cement Company.
T. Chinloy, Esq., M.Sc., D.I.C.T.A., F.S.S.	Director of Research, Sugar Manufacturers Association of Jamaica Ltd.
F. Fox, Esq.	Managing Director, Seprod Limited.
A.C. Ellington, M.Sc., Ph.D.	Government Chemist.
I. Goodbody, M.A., Ph.D.	Professor of Zoology, University of the West Indies.
J.W. Lee, M.A.Sc., Ph.D.	General Manager, Farms Jamaica Limited.
C.B. Lewis, Esq., O.B.E., B.A.	Director, Institute of Jamaica.
R.E. Mais, Esq.	The Priory School.
A.D. Skelding, D.Sc., A.R.C.S.	Professor of Botany, University of the West Indies.
R.H. Stephenson, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Dip. Arch., Dip. T.P.	Chartered Architect and Town Planner.
W.G. Stuart, Esq., M.Sc., D.I.C.T.A.	Chief Technical Officer, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
A.L. Walters, Esq., B.Sc. (Econ.)	Under Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Planning.
A.W. Sangster, B.Sc., Ph.D.	Principal, College of Arts, Science and Technology.

SENIOR STAFF

Professional

<u>Post</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Years and Nature of Experience</u>
Technical Director	R.N. Gonzalez, Ph.D. (Chemistry, Plastics Engineering).	31 Years chemical and chemical engineering experience in Industry. Directing industrial research for 14 years.
Assistant Director	Vacant	Qualifications called for approach those of Technical Director.
Senior Principal Scientific Officer	P.R. Ashurst, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Organic Chemistry)	9 Years industrial research prior to SRC; 2 years with SRC.
Senior Principal Scientific Officer	E.S. Jordine, B.Sc. (Physical Chemistry), Ph.D.	10 Years professional experience in mineralogy and mineral processing.
Principal Scientific Officer	C. Chambers, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Organic Chemistry)	10 Years professional experience prior to SRC; 6 months with SRC.
Principal Scientific Officer	V.S. Campbell, B.Sc., M.Sc., (Food & Nutrition).	14 Years experience in Food and Nutrition; 9 years with SRC.
Principal Scientific Officer	A.R. Firth, B.Sc. (Chemistry) Acting.	7 Years process development experience in organic chemicals.
Principal Scientific Officer	Vacant	Active recruiting underway for experienced researcher in Ceramics.
Scientific Officer	V. Phillips, B.Sc. (Chemistry)	
-do-	D. Lee, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Organic Chemistry)	
-do-	W. Taylor, B.Sc. (Chemistry)	
-do-	C.M. Chong, B.Sc. (Geology-Chemistry)	
-do-	B.E. Thompson, B.Sc. (Geology-Chemistry).	
-do-	C. Lowers, B.Sc. (Chemistry).	
-do-	R. Machin, B.Sc. (Ceramics)	
-do-	J. Wright, B.Sc., (Organic Chemistry).	
-do-	O. Lewis, B.Sc. (Chemistry).	
-do-	L. Donaldson, B.Sc. (Chemistry)	
-do-	R. Johnson, B.Eng. (Chemical)	
Post-Doctorate Fellow	J. Grahame, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Zoology)	
-do-	Vacant	- Active recruiting underway.

Dear Peter - This is a speedy note about  
your very enchanting book - I love  
the way it weaves between past  
& present - it is quite wonderful in  
some patches -

Over Norman perhaps you missed the  
dano devils - who drives too fast & at  
one time held every road record  
in a car - who will take a boat  
out into a fantastically rough  
sea - who is never completely  
happy unless he has the odds against  
him in some unknown & dangerous  
sea trade.

When Gusto conspired with Arthur  
Richards campaigned "Self government  
is slavery" & challenged Norman  
to speak South of Touring for Friday  
& we began the battle for the freedom

of the streets - Buster & Richards had  
 no police & no stationers -  
 Norman took his wife & his devilish  
 courage & took on the fight  
 I have seen him speaking a  
 foot away from an electric light -  
 & a full sized brick smash the  
 light & break into fragments on the  
 wall behind him covering him  
 with fragments & he completed the  
 speech in total darkness - without  
 a pause

I have seen him proceed to take refuge  
 at his chair few left in front of  
 him & was knocked unconscious  
 with a blow meant for him & went  
 unconscious to hospital - & Norman  
 go back out and complete a  
 meeting with a staunch few restoring  
 order

& I have in all seen him in his same  
battle for the streets - win out one  
famous night - when he was met by  
a crowd that had been deliberately  
made drunk & reckless - throw  
away the microphone which was  
making no impression on the  
& hummed & with wit & cunning  
speaking softly - tell Gandhi stories  
to a crowd that from sheer  
curiosity was forced to keep quiet  
to listen. He was that night -

There are things Peter dear -  
that you could not know & understand.  
Jamaica could have been a very  
different country - if we had  
allowed a bally his own way.  
We all know that the British  
would never have considered self  
government for Jamaica in the early  
stint for some one of N's calibre  
having set his feet on that path  
& in identical adult suffrage  
too - which they all opposed!

19.....  
He was moving in that direction from the moment when he went to Remunah of U.F. to James to ask him for the help to launch Jamaica Welfare. Remunah is reported to have said - "What a strange man & what a patriot - what an advocate for his people".

Jon asked me for a comment on Norman - I would say - that his outstanding qualities are - an almost im'placable will once he has set his feet on a path - & he doesn't do that without deep thought - & under a gentle manner a quite fantastic dare devil courage - that is literally never happy unless he is under the stimulus of a challenge.

William (Sugler) said of Norman - "He is  
sometimes almost unflappable & exacting - when  
things go so well - but as difficult  
toom - he flashes a line & looks  
almost radiant."

A man on the street said after  
the loss of the 1944 election -  
"P.A.P. will win one day -"  
"Why do you say that?"  
"So long as Frankly started -  
it will come through - him  
is forever"

Just leaving for St. Lucia -  
God bless you Peter - work  
a little more on the book - it  
is going to be widely read &  
glorious -  
- done -

later

On art section - left out gloria  
 Sedberry - painter, writer muralist  
 & Rosie Clerk is not young -  
 but he is contemporary & good -  
 Theatre - the work of Little Theatre  
 Movement - can't be ignored - it has  
 continuity & greater Bourke, Henry  
 Fowler - have created the equivalent  
 of English pantomime - it has taken  
 many years & now it is a combination  
 of Anansi - political wit & sheer  
 good enter tainment. It packs  
 the theatre at Xmas for often  
 as late as into February -  
 They achieve a great cross section  
 of Jamaican physiognomy on  
 the stage! (bless them)

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,

JAMAICA

17th February, 1958.

Dear Morgan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th January, 1958, and for letting me know that I may keep the copy of Peter Abrahams' "Jamaica" which he lent me.

Peter Abrahams has written a lively, sympathetic understanding book about the Jamaica of today and by relating what he saw going on around him with the history that lay behind it he has given point and meaning to much on the local scene not easy to understand without that setting. Of course, the book is not altogether free from bias but every living portrait done by an affectionate hand must have a bias. Obviously, Peter Abrahams fell in love with the heart and spirit of the country and found inspiration in its social climate and in its drive for better things. I doubt if anyone who did not have Peter Abrahams' African background could have seen Jamaica and depicted her in just this way. It is a good book and everyone should read it.

The last paragraph may be quoted. Incidentally, I read the book in manuscript.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) N.W. Manley

(N.W. Manley)  
Chief Minister

F.R. Morgan, Esq.,  
United Kingdom Information Officer,  
Orrett Building (1st Floor),  
5/7 King Street,  
Kingston.

C/o Public Opinion,  
2, Torrington Road,  
Kingston.  
December 18th, 1957.

My dear Norman Manley,

I was very grateful indeed to receive the copy of your letter of December 14 (the original has not yet reached me) and to know that you are not angry with me for deciding to leave Public Opinion. It would be the easiest thing in the world to say "Yes, I am leaving because I am going to write a book" and be sure of your sympathetic understanding - which is very important to me. But that would not be all the truth. Of course I want to write; I want to write many books about Jamaica - and if I am lucky or inspired or both I might be fortunate enough to hit a "moment of truth" and bring off something really big. But I have spent all my working life writing and doing something else as well, generally journalism and radio. So just the writing of a book is not the whole answer. Part of the reason why I am leaving Public Opinion is that the pace at which the needs of the paper have forced me to work is such that there simply would not be a chance to write at all if I kept on.

For the past fifteen months I have been putting in a ten to twelve hour day as a matter of regular routine. Under existing physical conditions this was necessary simply to set a standard and maintain it. There has been no time for playing with my children; for telling them the bedtime stories they love so dearly; for sharing in their basic education. And I have had to neglect my wife almost equally badly. And on press days I have had to be at the office from eight in the morning until midnight and often till one, two three, four o'clock in the morning. I had of course raised the problem of these killing hours with my management from time to time. But I was a willing horse, determined to produce the best paper I could under any circumstances, so management sympathised but did little to get someone to help relieve me of the sheer grind of rewriting, sub-editing and processing every piece of copy that went into the paper.

I had set myself three targets when I took on the paper: to raise the standard of the paper; to create as happy and competent an editorial staff as possible; to break the rapid sequence of changing editors. I have not done too badly with the first two, though the staff situation is not made easy by a difficult management. But I have certainly failed on the last point.

I have explain this in great detail to my Board of Directors who had me to lunch today. They were mainly ignorant of the facts and said so. They pressed me to stay on in some not clearly defined hope that the situation might change. My management has now engaged Slade Hopkinson to come and do some sub-editing, but it is very unlikely that he will be able to leave his teaching job until the end of next March which is when I leave the paper. I have lived most intimately with the paper and its problems for the past fifteen months and it is because I honestly can see no solution to its major problems, and because I have found our management particularly difficult that I have decided to leave before the situation turns sour on me. Also, inevitably under such pressure, it is only a matter of time before one relaxes the sustained effort and then the quality of the paper will suffer. And I should hate to be associated with anything

slipshod and slapdash because I would not only be letting myself down. I would be letting you down as well. And there is, of course, the needs of my family to be and live as a family with a father and husband who is at home as often as other fathers and husbands. And there are some Jamaican books to write.

I have not attempted to organise this letter but rather to give you the whole picture as it is with me. And it is only to inform you because I feel I owe you that information.

I leave the paper at the end of March. I would like to, and I need to find some job additional to writing books. But something that will not call for the long hours of Public Opinion. If there is such a job either in Government's information service or in the projected radio set-up which you feel I might be able to do, if you are not too angry with me for leaving Public Opinion now that you know the full reason, I would be greatly honoured to work for you and ~~xxxx~~ my adopted country.

Yours sincerely

Peter Abrahams.

The Honourable N.W. Manley, Chief Minister.

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,  
JAMAICA

14th December, 1957.

My dear Peter Abrahams,

I am very sorry to hear that you ~~are leaving~~ <sup>are leaving</sup> Public Opinion.

I am told because you wish to write a book. Of course if that is the reason I understand and accept it.

I think you have done a very good job at Public Opinion and they are going to miss you terribly. The paper has recently been making a very real contribution.

However good luck to the book. I read a review the other day of the book you published on Jamaica. I hope there is a copy out here because I would like to get one.

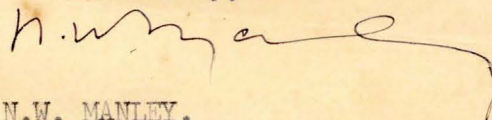
I should have written to thank you for your very warm and generous letter of November 9th. I appreciate it very greatly but believe that most of the credit must go to the Party and that I only share in it as party leader.

Next month I have to finally make up my mind whether to stay here and try to ensure that we get back to power when the next election comes and help to get Jamaica in line with the federal developments which are going to confront us with peculiar and very difficult problems or whether to go into the exciting new field that will open up with the establishment of the Federal government next year.

Fortunately for me I have learnt how not to worry so I postpone decision for the time being without allowing myself to become too anxious.

All good wishes to yourself, your wife and the children for Christmas and the New Year.

Yours sincerely,



N.W. MANLEY,  
Chief Minister.

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
Public Opinion,  
2 Torrington Road,  
Cross Roads

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,  
JAMAICA

14th November, 1957

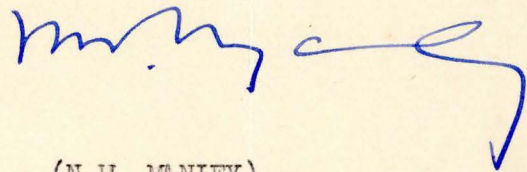
Dear Peter Abrahams,

I thank you warmly and sincerely for your most kind and generous letter of November 9.

I am very glad that you have come to like Jamaica and think so highly of the work here, and it gives me a lot of satisfaction to know that you have settled down here more or less permanently.

I think your work in Public Opinion is a real contribution to the country and I hope you will always remain with us in Jamaica.

Yours sincerely,



(N.W. MANLEY)  
Chief Minister

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
2 Torrington Road,  
Kingston

# PUBLIC

*The First Loyalty*



# OPINION

*Loyalty to the truth!*

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Saturday, November 9th, 1957.

My dear Norman Manley,

I would have liked very much to have been able to say to you in person what I am putting down in this note, but these are exceedingly busy days for you and it is not likely that I will see you before Monday's great celebrations are over.

It is a rare and unique achievement, given to few men, to have been able, after only two and a half years in power, to carry through a social, economic and political revolution as you have done. Of course there were the hard years of preparation, but they only enhance the uniqueness of the achievement in so short a time. And the manner in which you have done this has filled me, as I think you know, with the most profound admiration for your stature as a man and a statesman.

You have made a rare contribution not only to Jamaica but to the Self-Government struggle everywhere in the world, for it is all of a pattern. Please accept my most sincere congratulations. I am extraordinarily happy for Jamaica, for you; and I know that your and Jamaica's example is going to be a great inspiration to the still unfree peoples of Africa and elsewhere.

I would like to think that you know that if there is any way in which I can be of use in the days ahead I am entirely at your disposal.

Again my congratulations on a task nobly accomplished.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. I enclose some documents which explain themselves which I have received from Mrs. Roosevelt. I think it would be especially appropriate at this time if you and the party and, perhaps, the country (you will know the wisdom or otherwise concerning the country) were to be associated with this move. There is little time left otherwise I would have asked ~~you~~ them to write you formally. I would urge you to write Mrs. Roosevelt or Mr. King. It would mean very much to our friends if you could do this

CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE

JAMAICA

No. \_\_\_\_\_

23rd August, 1956

My dear Peter,

I went up to my little cottage in the Eastern St. Andrew mountains a couple weeks ago and took with me your "Jamaica Mosaic".

I read it with deep interest and I would like to congratulate you most warmly and sincerely on what I regard as a quite remarkable account of this country. It is, I think, a real contribution to literature about the Island.

The Governor is getting our local historians to have a look at the historical parts and he himself is to read it immediately now that I am returning it to him. I hope you will allow me to make a few factual comments and to refer as well to one special matter.

To begin with the special matter. I note that you set out at great length and verbatim an interview between yourself and Michael in regard to trade unionism in Jamaica. I think this should come out and it would not be difficult for you to write it up as comment and opinion formed by yourself based on your own observation and enquiry.

The fact of the matter is that it would be completely disastrous to a union leader to be quoted on such frank and forthright statements about union problems here and the state of political and trade union rivalry. It would be copied, quoted all over the Island on every political and trade union platform with every sort of distortion, and the person concerned would simply have to quit the field once and for all. I don't have to tell you that it is not everything that you know or think.....

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
37 Jessel Drive,  
Loughton,  
Essex,  
England

or think that can be stated in that way whilst you are still an active worker in a very difficult and tricky field. I am sure this won't present any difficulty to you and in fact I rather think that the whole section on trade unionism could be presented more attractively if it was a sympathetic statement coming out of your own mind rather than a mere quotation.

Now for some details in regard to modern developments. Almost all of them are of minor importance, but it is just as well to have the facts dead right.

(a) I refer to page 221 and your first reference to the origin of Jamaica Welfare Limited. It is not true that a number of Jamaican citizens led by me started talks with the representatives of the two big fruit companies. What happened was that the British Government set up a Commission to enquire into the difficulties that confronted the Banana Industry in Jamaica and about that time Mr. Sam Zemurray then President of the United Fruit Company and a most remarkable and original man, came to Jamaica to try to persuade the Banana Producers' Association to give up the co-operative organisation. I represented the Banana Producers' Association and had been doing work for them which went beyond the ordinary province of a lawyer. I handled the representations on their behalf before the Governor and spoke at public meetings and so on. When Zemurray came to Jamaica I had a four-hour talk with him on the value of the co-operative enterprise to Jamaica. It was not that he thought that the co-operative enterprise was revolutionary or communistic. It was merely that theirs was a typical American free enterprise and he disliked the co-operative because it was a threat particularly in the field of fruit marketing. I did not argue the case with him on economic grounds; I argued it entirely on social grounds and found him most understanding and sympathetic though on the main issue, of course, quite immovable.

I went to New York later on to lead in the negotiations

between.....

between the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association and the United Fruit Company which ended in, as you rightly point out, transforming the co-operative association into a joint stock company.

When those negotiations were successfully concluded Zemurray made his offer of a contribution per count bunch for social welfare purposes and stated that it was because I had convinced him of the needs of the peasantry and the value from the social point of view of a co-operative organisation that he felt that the Company should do something to set up an organisation which would help along the fields of effort that were so necessary to our future development.

It was then that he asked me to set up this organisation and at the appropriate time I did so and remained Chairman of it for ten years until the time came when it was taken over by Government and became the present Jamaica Social Welfare Commission. At that stage, for obvious political reasons, I had to leave it.

(b) I refer to page 204 and page 224 where you speak of Professor Simey. There is no such thing as the Colonial Development and Welfare Corporation. The position is that England, partly as a result of the Commission of Enquiry which was held in Jamaica in 1938 and reported, I think, in 1940, passed a Colonial Development and Welfare Law whereby funds to aid schemes for the social and economic development of the colonies were made available for a 10-year period. The Act has recently been extended for another five years. An organisation known as Colonial Development and Welfare, headed by a Comptroller, was then set up and has functioned in the West Indies ever since. It is the West Indies organisation deriving from this Act of Parliament and it was to that organisation that Simey belonged. This, of course, is just a minor point of terminology.

Indeed what I have stated above is what is set out at page 224, but it is wrong to say there that Professor Simey came to Jamaica to find a formula for carrying out the proposed new programme of the Colonial Development and Welfare organisation. The Colonial Development and Welfare organisation covered a whole range of activities.

It.....

It had an adviser on agriculture, on education, on medicine and health, and Professor Simey was only the adviser on social welfare. All these advisers toured all the Islands and Simey's job was to make recommendations for a particular social welfare programme. It included such things as poor relief and prison reform. But for the general social welfare programme of community education and co-operation he came to the conclusion that the Jamaica Welfare model was one which should be copied in the other Islands and he did recommend that that aspect of the work in Jamaica should be entrusted to Jamaica Welfare Limited, and that indeed happened. An organisation similar to Jamaica Welfare Limited was set up <sup>in other Islands</sup> throughout the Caribbean Area.

With quite minor amendments you can get all this set in proper perspective.

(c) I refer to page 251 where you are dealing with the origins of the trade union movement after the 1938 outburst.

It is a pity you did not discuss this with me because I could have given you a slant on those events which I doubt if anyone else could do as well.

It is not true that I represented the Frome strikers, nor indeed was there any strike at Frome. What happened was that tension developed down there basically as a result of the growing tension throughout the Island but directly because of the fact that thousands of unemployed persons had gone down to look for work on the large new development programme started by West Indies Sugar Company and the whole area was in a state of turmoil and confusion. A large crowd assembled at a pay table on a Friday was very badly handled by management and as a result there was a spontaneous eruption of violence which rapidly led to riot conditions, with the Police being called out and shooting taking place. This was in March or April of 1938. A few weeks later there was a dock strike in Kingston and that resulted in a terrific explosion one morning when by 10 o'clock,

for.....

for practical purposes, almost every group of workers in Kingston spontaneously came out on strike. Bustamante who for some time had been playing the role of agitator, was arrested really because he threatened to call out the Fire Brigade on strike though in fact he was arrested on a trumped-up charge.

It was then that I offered to act for all the strikers in Kingston and elsewhere in Jamaica and got the Governor to set up a Commission to investigate all the grievances arising. After three months of work I think it is true to say that wages had gone up all over Jamaica on an average of 15% - 20% and dozens and dozens of groups of strikers were represented by me before the Commission.

My action for the dockers was an incident in a much wider course of action, but it happened that they were the first or second group who sought my help after I decided to intervene.

It was as a result of two or three months' work in this field that I decided to form a political party.

The whole of 1938 and all that happened in that year is of tremendous interest and there are aspects of it which I really do wish you had asked me to talk over with you when I would have been only too glad to do so. I was not only personally concerned in every event but there are aspects of it from a sociological point of view which I have deeply studied and think I truly understand, and they are not understood fully by many people.

(d) In regard to Bustamante, there are three points to which I would call your attention:-

- (i) Page 258. I do not know if you have deliberately misstated the cause of Bustamante's detention in 1940. It was not because he called a series of waterfront strikes. In fact, there was one strike at the Kingston waterfront and I don't think he actually called it. It just took place. The people were members of his Union and he had to lead the strike. Nethersole and he were actually acting in relation to matters arising out of the strike and arrangements were being made.....

made to set up a Board of Enquiry, when Bustamante made an incautious speech in which he - and I believe it was the first time he had ever done it - threatened violence. Richards the Governor, who was a ruthless man and anxious to find an opportunity for laying Bustamante by the heels, promptly seized upon this fact as justification for making a Detention Order. It was really very unfair because, basically, Bustamante had always been on the side of preserving order in the course of union conflicts and I think it was just one incautious slip. It may be of course that you did not wish to state the real facts and I must leave that for your judgment.

(ii) On page 271 you make a reference to Bustamante's account of his early life and his having been taken to Spain in 1899 and going to Cuba in 1925. I suppose you must know that these statements are entirely legendary and imagined. I wonder if a person writing a historical account should perpetuate a matter of that sort? As you know, I am related to Bustamante and I knew him in Jamaica up to the year 1908 when he spent a year at my then home in St. Catherine where he worked as an Overseer on a derelict property which my mother owned. He left that job in 1908 to go to Cuba <sup>for the first time.</sup> He returned to Jamaica from Cuba in 1911 or 1912 and got married in Jamaica. He went back to Cuba and next came back to Jamaica in 1922, the very year when I returned from England. He kept the name Clarke up to early 1930 and changed it to Bustamante, <sup>when</sup> ~~and~~ he entered America for the first time from Cuba, described himself as (Alejandro Bustamanti) and entered as a white man of Spanish origin. The facts are well known to me and I have copies of the particulars from the New York public records. The reason should be obvious to you.

(iii) Page 274. Your account of the Asylum strike is wrong. When the strike was called an agreement was made by 8 o'clock

that.....

that morning that Government would see a deputation led by Glasspole and the workers would go back to work. Bustamante was ill in bed. He had to be told by the Governor that that was what was proposed whereupon he sent a telegram to say -

"Have no dealings with the strikers. This is not a strike it is a rebellion it must be crushed"

He got out of bed, went down to the waterfront, assembled a large crowd and went up to the Asylum and forced his way in through the picket lines, and it was as a result of that that the waterfront people beat up the strikers and the pickets and eventually set upon a member of the P.N.P. who was going <sup>home</sup> to lunch and was so foolish as to stop and have a look at what was going on. This led to his firing a revolver to protect himself killing a man and then being run down on the street and beaten to death. It is quite incorrect to say that Bustamante went up there and was stoned and went off and brought a force in retaliation.

On a very minor point. I note that you refer to the fact that I had a good education because my Father was a merchant. I don't really mind what is said about that, but the truth is that my Father died when I was six years old and left my Mother without any resources except what I have previously described as a derelict old property in the country. She was a very heroic woman and as many another Jamaican mother has done, she pinched and carved and worked herself to the bone to provide her family with an education which was really beyond her resources to do except at great personal sacrifice, and indeed the life she led led directly to <sup>her</sup> death at a comparatively early age when I was only 17 years old.

One last point. Referring to pages 245 and 246, I wonder if you have not over simplified the effect of the Garvey movement in Jamaica? From an organisational point of view the Garvey movement in Jamaica was ultimately a complete failure, but he left behind a very strong and persistent effect and no one would deny that he made a

major.....

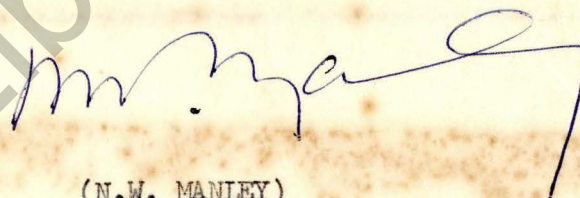
major contribution to the breaking up of the sense of inferiority from which the Negro in the British Caribbean suffered over generations. This psychological emancipation was taking place in the latter stages of his life but it was to come to full strength and fruition after his death when it pointed back to him as one of its own sources. Of course it may be true that movements sometimes mistake their own origins, but the facts are as I state.

You will, I am sure, treat everything that I say in this letter as strictly personal and confidential and you will not quote me on anything at all, and you will make what use of it you think best.

Incidentally, I have just heard a remarkable and exciting story that you are thinking of coming to live in Jamaica. That would be very good indeed. Do let me know if it is true.

All good wishes.

Yours sincerely,



(N.W. MANLEY)

# THE JAMAICA EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION

TEL. NOS. 23170  
4176

11 Duke Street  
Kingston,  
Jamaica, W.I.

Our Ref: 852

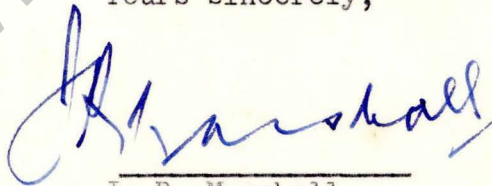
October 30, 1962.

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
The West Indian Economist,  
164, Harbour Street,  
Kingston.

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

With reference to my letter of October 11, dealing with the subject of K.S.A.C. Directive etc., I would now refer you to copies of the letter received from the Hon. Leopold Lynch and my reply in the Daily Gleaner of October 29, page 10.

Yours sincerely,



---

J. R. Marshall,  
Director.

MEK/ba

# THE JAMAICA EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION

TEL. NOS. 23170  
4176

11 Duke Street  
Kingston,  
Jamaica, W.I.

October 11, 1962.

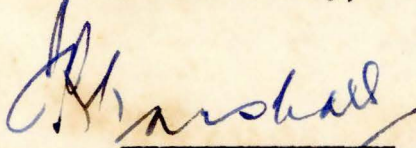
Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
c/o The West Indian Economist,  
164, Harbour Street,  
Kingston.

Dear Sir,

We enclose copy of our letter of  
October 11, to the Hon. Leopold Lynch, Minister  
of Local Government.

If you think this material is of  
public interest, we leave it to you to comment  
as you wish.

Yours faithfully,



J. R. Marshall,  
Director.

JRM/ba  
Encl.

COPY

October 11, 1962.

Hon. Leopold Lynch,  
The Minister of Local Government,  
79, Duke Street,  
Kingston.

Dear Sir,

Government sets distribution - of-work formula

On page 16 of the "Gleaner" of 9th October under the above heading the following appeared:-

"The Minister of Local Government the Hon. Leopold Lynch, has announced that Government has decided that a formula for the distribution of work should, in future, be provided for work awarded by the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation, all Government departments, and all other quasi-Government bodies (except the Water Commission) in respect of all works financed by Government.

The Percentages decided upon for future distribution of work in respect of these agencies are as follows: I Contracts: Bustamante Industrial Trade Union - 45% National Workers Union - 45%, Ex-Servicemen - 10%.

II, Labour directly employed: Kingston Employment Bureau- 100%"

2. We are not concerned with the percentages but with principles, and if this directive is correctly reported we are amazed at its terms.
3. The directive as it stands shows gross discrimination in that:-
  - (a) It appears that only contractors who were unionised would be given the opportunity to participate in contracts,
  - (b) 90% of all workers recruited through the Kingston Employment Bureau must be union members.
4. This is not only forcing recognition of Trade Unions by decree but is also forcing individual workers to join a Union in pain of not getting a job. It is laying down reservation of contracts to certain types of contractors, and is restricting employment to persons who had certain affiliations.

5. It might be relevant here to quote from International Labour Conference - Employment Service Recommendation, 1948 No. 83, Section IV "Referral of Workers", Para (12).

"The Employment Service should:-

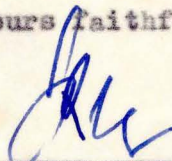
- (a) observe strict neutrality in the case of employment available in an establishment where there is a labour dispute affecting such employment;
- (c) not, in referring workers to employment, itself discriminate against applicants on grounds of race, colour, sex or belief."

The wide interpretation of these clauses should be obvious as the emphasis is on non-discrimination.

6. We draw attention to the foregoing points. While we appreciate that these practices could not be attributable only to the present Government, we are concerned with the principles which in our view show discrimination in grave form.

7. We are sending a copy of this letter to the Minister of Labour, the Hon. L.G. Newland, The Press and the Radio.

Yours faithfully,



J.R. Marshall  
Director

JRM/ba

18th April 1990

c/o  
General Secretary  
ANC Information Service  
P.O.Box 31791  
Lusaka  
Zambia  
Africa

MESSAGE TO THE ANC FOR SOUTH AFRICA:

- Fraternal greetings.
- Congratulations on Mandela's release.
- Congratulations on unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations.
  
- Very worried about negotiations with apartheid regime.
- Firmly convinced we are again making same historical colossal mistake.
- European settlers will never give up power and privileges through negotiations.
- African negotiations centuries ago created this present mess.
  
- Always simpler to choose easy road.
- But easy roads often lead to more future calamity for generations.
- We foresee more bloodshed, oppression and misery for African masses through this easy road.

CONCLUSION:

Freedom for the majority will only come through intensified armed struggle.

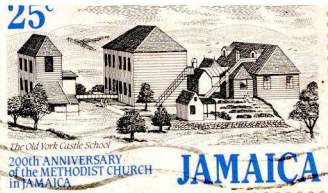
ADVICE:

- At the very least - follow Zimbabwe example and intensify armed struggle.
- Sanctions necessary but will not succeed by themselves.

Sending this message with great respect and humility.

John Mateete  
Black African Patriot (in exile)  
P.O. Box 206  
Windward Road  
KINGSTON 2  
Jamaica West Indies

cc. Mr Nelson Mandela	- Vice President	- ANC
Mr Oliver Tambo	- President	- ANC
Mr Mbeki	- Official	- ANC
Mrs Winnie Mandela	- C/O	- ANC
Mr Walter Sisulu	- C/O	- ANC
Mr Ramophosa	- Official	- COSATU
Archbishop Desmond Tutu	-----	- Johannesburg S.A.
Reverend Allan Boesak	-----	- c/o Rev D Tutu
President	-----	- United Democratic Front
General Secretary	-----	- OAU
Hon Mengistu Mariam	-----	- President of Ethiopia
Hon Fidel Castro	-----	- President of Cuba
Hon Robert Mugabe	-----	- President of Zimbabwe
Hon Chisano	-----	- President of Mozambique
Hon Dos Santos	-----	- President of Angola
Hon Kenneth Kaunda	-----	- President of Zambia
Hon Dr Masire	-----	- President of Botswana
Hon Sam Nujoma	-----	- President of Namibia
Hon Julius Nyerere	----- (former)	- President of Tanzania
Hon Ali Hassan Mwinyi	-----	- President of Tanzania
Hon Babaginda	-----	- President of Nigeria
Hon J. Rawlings	-----	- President of Ghana
Hon Y. Museveni	-----	- President of Uganda
Hon Z. Mothopeng	-----	- President of PAC
Mr Louis Farrhkhan	-----	- Head-Nation of Islam (USA)
Rev Jesse Jackson	-----	- Head-Rainbow Coalition (USA)
Mr Robinson	-----	- Trans Africa (USA)
Hon Colonel Shodaji	-----	- Head of State - Libya
Hon Hosni Mubaraka	-----	- President of Egypt



To  
Mrs Peter Thrams

Box 2 J.R.

Halfway Tree P.O.  
St Andrews,

# The evil Deeds of the J I P

- 1 They brought the house of parliament to fish market
  - 2 Ganga planting bring Jamaica to Sardinia <sup>and</sup> rice
  - 3 We want back the Tram car, to teach our Bus drivers about time table, bring no more Bus
  - 4 We want back Yallahs valley farming that the J I P mess up, which was so encouraging;
  - 5 They take away Crash program and the parolical Rd and works to do better, worse
  - 6 We want The Cuban Doctors on Jamaica back
  - 7 We <sup>want</sup> back our horse drawn cane mill, which Busta take away, to mill our cane for our local use and market as before for Bakery;
  - 8 put back property tax where it was, and cut down water rate, and make it one staple rate for every body instead of riding sea-saw with water rate people are suffering; they afraid even to plant a little kitchen garden; Again if you count from mahogany vale to Serge Island is over eight property close down; bring over foreign investors and place back Serge Island
- We must see that the Gun men who are paid to create dread, see that the two ministers, the one who gave out the first Gun and others follow put a Law now to let them either throw them away, Busta say strike for wages not production, have they promise increase wages no production, now no food, but wages
- Kindly find out if it is Mr Manley, Call for increase wages, for ministers who did not even sit down yet in parliament; if it is

tell him to correct, at once for people  
are saying manley fooling them, he is  
not for the poor, tell him to call on the  
opposition now if it is even a sham  
to cut down the amt of ministers in  
the house, and both of them cut their  
wages for a year, and call back all  
redundant workers, even at a average  
rate, for when Jamaica, was in full bloom  
it was only fourteen in the house, let them  
put it now at even 28 two for each parish,  
for the poor people and their children are  
starving, it is grievous to behold, it is  
no use for us to be gathering up riches  
and cannot tell who will reap them  
again for God sake, see if you can cut  
away that hospital fee, of \$50 for those  
poor unfortunate young mothers. they  
are in tears hungry, yes Sir kindly  
look on the obligation, with your fatherly  
eye of sympathy and draw the sorrow  
we have long sustain

Yr truly

R McDonald

Seaford St Thomas

Important kindly Study Sir this letter  
and take same to the prime minister in time

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,

5 SOUTH RACE COURSE,

P.O. BOX 498,

KINGSTON,

JAMAICA, W.I.

ANY REPLY OR SUBSEQUENT  
REFERENCE TO THIS COM-  
MUNICATION SHOULD BE AD-  
DRESSED TO THE PERMANENT  
SECRETARY AND THE FOL-  
LOWING REFERENCE QUOTED:-

No. \_\_\_\_\_

23 December, 19 59

Sir:

I am directed to express this Ministry's appreciation and thanks for the services you rendered as a member of the Fact Finding Committee appointed to investigate conditions at the Government Printing Office.

I am to say that the Report of the Committee was submitted to the Permanent Secretary of this Ministry on the 17th December.

I am, Sir,  
Your Obedient Servant,

*Steel*  
for Permanent Secretary.

Mr. Peter Abrahams,  
c/o West Indies General Insurance Ltd.,  
164 Harbour Street,  
Kingston.

*File*

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,

P.O. BOX 498,

5 SOUTH RACE COURSE,  
KINGSTON,

PLEASE QUOTE

REFERENCE No. G1/01  JAMAICA, 25th September 1959

IN YOUR REPLY PLEASE

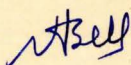
QUOTE REF. NUMBERS

AND DATE

Dear Sir,

I am directed to confirm that the Fact Finding Committee will meet on Wednesday 30th September, 1959, at 9:30 a.m. at Headquarters House, Duke Street.

Yours faithfully,



Secretary  
Fact Finding Committee

Mr. Peter Abrahams,  
c/o West Indies General Insurance Ltd.,  
164 Harbour Street,  
KINGSTON.

9th October, 1962.

Baron Mullenheim,  
Consul of the Federal  
Republic of Germany,  
P.O. Box 123,  
Kingston.

Dear Baron Mullenheim,

I am grateful to you for letting me have the translation of a review of one of my books which appeared in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in December, 1961. I find this a most interesting review but I should like you to know that it is not a review of "Tell Freedom" as you state in your letter. It is a review of the very first novel I wrote about twenty years ago and the title of which is "Mine Boy". "Mine Boy" is a very much simpler and very much younger work than "Tell Freedom".

Thank you again for letting me have this translation.

Yours sincerely,

PA/ul.

Peter Abrahams.

Consulate  
of the  
Federal Republic of Germany  
Kingston

Kingston 1, Jamaica, W. I.  
P. O. Box 123  
2 Church Street  
Tel.: 22218/3178  
Cable Address: Consugerma Kingston

Please reply to:  
Consulate of the Federal Republic  
of Germany Kingston

new Tel.-Nm.: 26551-26552  
new Tel. Nos : 26551-26552

File No:

31 July, 1962.

Peter Abrahams, Esq.  
c/o The West Indian Economist Trust Ltd.  
164 - 166 Harbour Street  
KINGSTON

Dear Mr. Abrahams,

/ Enclosed please find translation of a review of  
your book "Tell Freedom" that appeared in the Frankfurter  
Allgemeine Zeitung in December, 1961.

I trust that this review will interest you and  
I much regret the delay with which I am sending it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*B. Müllenheim*

Baron Müllenheim,  
Consul of the Federal  
Republic of Germany.

Book Review - "Tell Freedom" ("Schwarzer Mann im weissen Dschungel") by Peter Abrahams. This book was translated into German by Juliette Lasserre and Eva Kuhn and published by the Rex Verlag, Munich, 1961.

Peter Abrahams is a negro Author from South Africa. In 1939 he went to England as a ship's stoker and in 1942 published his first stories there. The book under review appeared in England fifteen years ago and was translated last year into French. This probably gave the German publishers the confidence to translate the book.

Even without knowing these dates one senses the primitive world from which the book springs. Primitive in the full sense of the word. The world of the aborigines -- as it was near it's beginning; primeval, unrefined and uncomplicated. This is a novel which proceeds informally, without psychology and meditation --- it is nothing but an extract from the life of a black man who came from the country to the city of Johannesburg and there sought and found work in the Gold Mines of the white man. He also found and lost a girl; made friends and as a result of his friendly and hostile encounters with the whites developed a clear and strong understanding of the race question.

Why do we read this book? Because of its strange and almost unknown setting? - the mineworkers in Johannesburg? These would be the reasons given by an adolescent for choosing a book which is set in a country outside of Europe. No, we read it because the African author has succeeded in drawing us into the thick core of a world which is so alien to us. Although his methods appear primitive - his monotonous way of dealing with minor events in the , and then - and then - and then style - the many people who are always present at the same time - although this is not required by the

plot (the Kraal exists even then) - the artless construction of the sentences, a succession of sentences as from a book of a first year school child -- they produce an atmosphere and mood into which we allow ourselves to be drawn without a struggle. The strength of simple things is irresistibly demonstrated. This simplicity is not altogether praiseworthy and may be compared with the now fashionable "simple life", which is being sanctioned. One has the impression that the black men in Johannesburg are always quarreling and fighting and that they are easily tempted to drink beer - forbidden to them - which together with a common camp is too much of a temptation. With the exception of these excesses, their form of entertainment is of a higher standard than ours: they dance, sing and play wherever they go - in the open, on the street corners - and they know that laughter is best.

There are two kinds of primitive fears that are awakened in us by this story. These would not have been aroused by a more cultured and pessimistic style. We now discover that because of our rooted inhibitions we are unable to enjoy such simple forms of amusement as these persons experience on the streets. More than any travelogue written by one of our own people does this book written by Mr. Abrahams bring home to us the present untenable position of the Africans under the Whites. This is because it is not written by an outsider and so we are made to view the situation through the writer's eyes and share in the experiences. We not only learn as we would by making a trip or through a report obtained second-hand, but we actually take part in the incidents.

Abrahams makes it possible for us to understand with our hearts. "How can you understand me, white man? You

- 3 -

understand through your mind. I understand through suffering. Through the agony in my heart. That is understanding. To understand with the heart and through pain not only with the mind and with the lips. I feel all of that! You would like to be friends with me! How can I be your friend when your people do these things to me and mine?"

That is perhaps commonplace. So much feeling and pain would not have been credited, if put forward by a European, but one believes this simple tale told by a dark skinned man. The dark skins which were for so long sold into slavery by the whites. Now these despised skins have stretched themselves to form a drum, which is being beaten in steady and artless rythms. They should be heeded!

Vilma Sturm.

Mt Pease RA

Hanover

19-5-90

Peter,

Salute.

you interviewed me when you

were at glauca (Harbour St)

on the Federation. It was a

series to enlighten the Public

I was M.H.F. Then - West

Hanover

Now "times" have changed!!

Was picking through my library

and picked up this Public Opinion

Look at page 4. above the rest.

Francis Villon - "When are the

snows of yester year"

Does this socio-political-economic

spiritual micasma forebode

a revolution in the offing?

I am an apostle of the 30's & 40's.

What has gone wrong??

The Media is not taking the lead  
I think there should be a Convocation  
of the media — the famous "D. J's"  
— the Educators — the church  
& the so-called private sector —  
to porting a common uplift.

Take the programmes say 6.30 - 7.30  
A.M. when children are preparing or  
on their way to school what message  
do we give them?

more anon

Can you photo-copy this &  
return                     

Keep talking

Rascelles Murray  
at 76+

P.S. I sent a note to John  
maxwell but got no reply



MR. PETER ABRAHAM

40 R. J. R

32 LYNDHURST RD

KINGSTON 10

The case for Socialism — III

# Capitalism and change

by A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IN OUR first two articles we were concerned with supplying practical arguments why a socialized economy is better adapted than a capitalist one for bringing a high standard of living and full employment to the Jamaican people.

A loophole is suggested by this comparative approach someone could agree that socialism seems better suited than capitalism to cure Jamaica's ills, but say that capitalism, given enough time could provide the same cure. Consequently, we deem it necessary to show not only that capitalism has left Jamaica a sick old man, but that it could not do other-

It is not enough to point out that between 1955 and 1960 the foreign capital induced into the country brought in its wake only 10,000 jobs, while 150,000 people took out passports in the same period, as highly suggestive as such remarks are. Can capitalism achieve on our underdeveloped land what it has not achieved yet.

Only an enormous increase in investments, by all those who save inside Jamaica as well as by foreign capitalists, could raise the living standards of the masses and achieve full employment under the current system. An increase in American aid could occur, but if it retained its present character — the odd well, school books (mostly propagandistic), and antiquated military hardware — the help it afforded would be minimal.

No matter how sanguine one is about the possibility of our landlords, industrialists, merchants, and even the professional classes foregoing consumer goods and the security of insurance policies and foreign bonds to invest in Jamaica's future, a very large part of the money for investment, because of the very magnitude of our problem, would have to come from abroad. In a world where there is tremendous competition between underdeveloped countries for private investment capital, Jamaica enters the lists with

at least one enormous disadvantage. This is Jamaica's powerful union movement with its implied threat to capitalist profit margins.

## Union success

Far more important than tax benefits and protected markets as come-ons to the potential foreign investor is the low cost of labour. Thus, whenever trade unions in any of the undeveloped lands which are still treading the capitalist path succeed in raising the wages or bettering the working conditions of their members they drive away potential investment. Thus many jobs which could have been are not.

An alternate union success is that it encourages automation in the already existing enterprises, with the same depressing effect on potential employment. This contradiction will continue in Jamaica until either our union movement or our capitalist system cease to exist. Which will it be?

## The little bird

On all matters touching his pocketbook, a capitalist's psychology is wondrously simple. Earlier this year, Leslie Ashenheim in the *Gleaner* made a remarkably astute observation when he said that foreign capital is like a little bird. If you are lucky, which means if your country can supply a lot of the profits on which this little bird feeds, it will come and sit on a branch over your head. Any hostile movement, even unfriendly noises we are told, will drive the little bird away. This analogy may be extended to cover our local capitalists as well; they are all little birds, flying here and there in search of profits, totally indifferent to the suffering that is going on below. In fact, it might be said that under capitalism the fate of Jamaica is left to the birds, and must be.

Puerto Rico provides a final example, if any are needed, of the utter

impossibility of an underdeveloped country making real progress under capitalism. Puerto Rico is a country without labour unions as powerful as the ones we have in Jamaica, and to this advantage over us in the way of inducing foreign capital she adds three more which are unique. *First*, goods produced in Puerto Rico have duty free access into the American market. *Second*, Puerto Rico's dissatisfied masses have an open door into the United States, and 850,000 of them have immigrated there in the last ten years. *Third*, Puerto Rico, because she possesses the status of Commonwealth of the United States, receives aid from practically all the United States amounting to £100 million a year.

What, then, are the results of trying to develop under capitalism in a country which has advantages that Jamaica could only acquire by applying for admission as a state of the United States? The results are that Puerto Rico still has an unemployment rate of about 13%, and all signs indicate that the income gap between the rich and the poor has increased. The failure of a country so favoured as Puerto Rico to achieve real progress using capitalist means is conclusive evidence of capitalism's inability to cure the ills of any underdeveloped country.

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE HOSPITAL OF THE WEST INDIES

Applications are invited from qualified Nursing graduates for the posts of Staff Nurse in the Operating Theatre of the above named Hospital of 480 beds.

Salary scale — £525x25-£600x30-£720, and the point of entry into the scale will depend on the appointees qualifications and experience. A full passage to Jamaica will be paid for West Indian Nurses in the United Kingdom who may be appointed.

A deduction of £105 per annum is made for board and lodging and 5% of salary is deductible for Superannuation purposes.

Applications stating full details and enclosing copies of three recent testimonials should be addressed to the Hospital Manager & Secretary, University College Hospital, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, as soon as possible.

Our practical case for socialism, therefore, is not a claim that socialism can do what needs to be done in Jamaica better than capitalism, but that socialism can do it and capitalism cannot.

## The moral case

We have labelled the second group of arguments favouring social ownership "moral" arguments. Further arguments of any kind to support what we have shown to be practically necessary may seem superfluous, but we feel it important to establish, all sense to the contrary, that socialism is on the side of the angels. A much used argument in the capitalist's arguments against socialism is the claim that economic facts are hard to justify in one would be this argument, disregarding many people, completely if place them in the socialist camp, had not been effected.

## Private ownership

The essence of the moral case for public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange is given by Robert Tressal in *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist*: "When a thief is caught having in his possession the property of

others, it is a matter of fact to take the thing and, from him and to restore them to their rightful owners". Are the capitalists all thieves then? Not according to the law, but who drafts the law?

Where did our present-day capitalists get the means of production, the factories and the land, over which they claim the rights of ownership? Inheritance is the short answer, but it must be stretched a little longer. The French novelist

**Snacks**  
at the  
**HITCHING POST**  
Snack Shop are famous.  
Harbour days a week

Hot or Cold  
Children love  
**KOKOMO**  
**BREAKFAST**  
**C O C O A**

**GETTING UP NIGHTS  
MAKES MEN FEEL OLD  
BEFORE THEIR TIME**  
If you feel old, tired, and worn out because of Backache, Rheumatism Pains, Sore, Stiff Swollen Joints, get CYSTEX from your chemist today, and see how fast you improve. CYSTEX also helps men and women who lose sleep and energy because of Getting Up Nights or Burning, Smarting, Itching Acidity. Yes, CYSTEX has helped men, women, and children for over 30 years. Get CYSTEX from your chemist today and let it make you feel fit again.

# SAVE MORE!

## Shop Today!



# BETTYMAR'S

## STOREWIDE ANNIVERSARY

# SALE

### 18 KING STREET



# Prices Slashed!

## AMAZING BARGAINS

## NOW YOURS

## ON Everything!

Balzac provides a clue when he says that behind every fortune there lies a crime.

For our West Indian fortune holders, it is clear that these crimes include owning slaves. Never forget that most people whose great wealth buys your respect today, carved this wealth out of the carcasses of your ancestors the day before yesterday.

For capitalists who made their fortunes in businesses — and here we speak of the capitalist breed the world over — these crimes include forcing women and children to work 15 to 18 hours a day for starvation wages and under the most appalling conditions. The absolute horror which was the life of most people in Jamaica, England and America in the last few centuries is the basis of the claims of most capitalists to heir property. The filip of a title, in which exploiter Jones becomes the Rt. Hon. exploiter Jones, only adds the trappings of farce to a content which is pure tragedy.

### Exploitation

But even the capitalist himself has no moral claim over it, for what, after all, does it mean to make a fortune? — It does not mean to work hard and deny oneself luxuries for this applies to most of our population and they are poor. To make a fortune means to get others to work for you whereby they produce a greater amount of wealth

than you pay back to them in wages. This difference between the sum of the value the workers produce and what they get paid is a capitalist's wealth; it is the money he uses to buy new means of production, new stores, etc.

To take from the workers what has cost them sweat and blood without giving them equivalent value in return is exploitation. The fact that this is the way our present system works does not make it right; neither does the law which the capitalists have passed to protect themselves, neither does any argument based on natural right or religion, for these are pieces of straw which can be twisted to suit any taste.

The only fact that could justify the capitalist's appropriating for himself the surplus produced by the workers, or any part of it, is that he performs a necessary function in the production process similar to the function performed by workers. But, in so far as the capitalist performs a useful function, that of manager for example, he deserves a wage and not a profit.

Profit is the booty of ownership.

Most of our working capitalists today get both a wage and a profit. Their great wealth comes from this profit, and as most of this wealth is in the form of property Proudhon is right in declaring "Property is theft".

### UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

A vacancy exists in the Department of Zoology for a Junior Laboratory Technician in the salary scale £312 x 26 — 468. Commencing salary will depend on age, qualifications and experience.

Applicants should have had experience in woodworking and metal working and should have passed the School Certificate or GCE Ordinary Level.

Applications stating age, qualifications and experience and including the names of two referees should reach the Department of Zoology, Mona, Kingston 7 as early as possible.

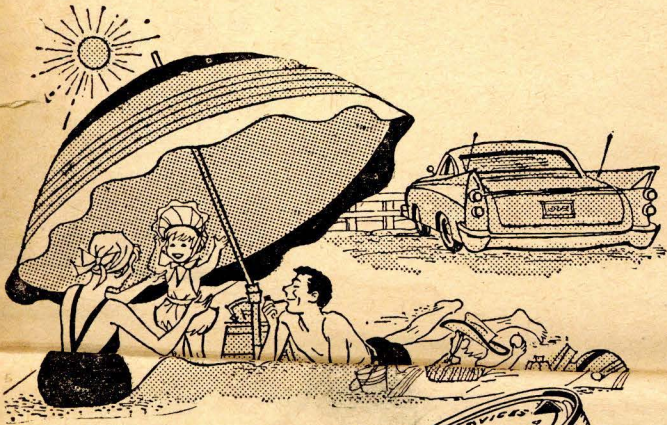
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

The services of a fast and accurate typist are immediately required. Shorthand not essential but would be an advantage. Employment to a suitable person for one year in the first instance.

Applicants should write before Saturday, 7 November 1964, to Head, Department of History, U.W.I., Kingston 7.

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109 Marcus Garvey Drive  
Phone: 37311



Restricted by space

by CALYPSO

THE whole content of *Les Sylphides* is its choreographic beauty. It is a ballet without a plot and relies upon a full corps de ballet to perform it, and it is a fabulous experience to watch the weaving patterns of the dance, on a stage filled with ballerinas. But when presented with solo excerpts, or a pas de deux, it is only tantalizing when danced well, and merely embarrassing when it is not; and quite incomprehensible that these excerpts should be done at all under the circumstances in which these two lost dancers were expected to perform.

The trouble, is, I suppose, to catch the eye of the audience at once, and when a visiting 'ad hoc' company is performing to an unknown quantity, as far as the audience is concerned, the obvious safe choice is something popular and pretty. But what a mistake. The audience's reaction alone proves that. For the minute we

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KIWI



THE QUALITY SHOE POLISH

**Letters**

(Continued from Page 2)

that the Enquiry is taking a direction contrary to the terms laid down, in spite of the leadership of a learned Chairman. On another occasion the C.G.A. may wish to ask experienced gentlemen of integrity to assist in such an Enquiry!! Will any one serve? What a fiasco!

The charges laid by Dr. Gordon against the General Manager of the Association cannot remain unanswered. How can anyone expect to drag a responsible officer before a Court and then, after most serious charges have been made, the complainant withdraws and the defendant is denied any opportunity of defending himself? Surely, if Mr. Colin Russell considers himself to be guiltless, he cannot leave the matter where it stands. If he does so, he is damned.

Why did Dr. Gordon demand this Enquiry against Russell and then call it off? Yet there is no truce and never will be any.

A firm of business consultants will not be digging into details of these charges. That is not their work. The Association, according to a recent publication in the Press, has for a long time engaged the services of a most reputable firm of Auditors. Surely, the books and ac-

counts of the Association must be in good order.

As to politics, it is public knowledge that the Hon. J. P. Gyles, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, had attended the Linstead Meeting at the invitation of Dr. Gordon. The Directors of the Association had invited both the Hon. J. P. Gyles and Hon. R. C. Lightbourne, Minister of Trade and Industry, to the May General Meeting of the Association; indeed, it has always been customary to invite Ministers to the Association's General Meetings. Mr. Gyles was unable to attend, while Mr. Lightbourne was present and spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Russell. This is no evidence of politics being played by Mr. Russell. Mr. U. Wolfe stupidly objected to Mr. Lightbourne's intervention, but he did not object to Mr. Gyles' participation in Dr. Gordon's notorious Linstead Meeting. How funny! Mr. Russell must co-operate with any Government in power—indeed, both Mr. Gyles and Mr. Lightbourne are Ministers who have at heart the success of the Citrus Industry. What else can the General Manager of the Association do, but co-operate with these two Ministers in carrying out his duties, if he is to ensure the fullest assistance from Government for the growers?

A "Journalist grower" has publicly charged that the As-

sociation is inefficient and that he cannot make any profit out of growing citrus. No matter how inefficient a grower may be, it cannot cost him more than 4/- to produce a box of oranges, in the 1963/64 crop he received 12/- per box for his valencia oranges for juice. Anyone who is receiving 300% on his costs and cannot make a handsome profit does not deserve to breathe the fresh air. I am not surprised at this attitude, however, as this Journalist grower only likes to talk and has never made a success of anything even though he was born with a 'gold spoon' in his mouth.

I have a word of warning during the past year quarrelling and arguing and probing. All this is wasteful and costly and can lead to the ruin of a well-established Citrus Industry. Unfortunately, some Directors do not seem to understand that such waste of valuable time must lead to neglect of the proper consideration of urgent serious business transactions and problem in the Industry. Directors in a business must have the courage to deal promptly with problems that arise. Wherever they have incompetent personnel creating strife and chaos in the business, such personnel must be promptly removed as they can only cause grievous harm.

I am informed that this

to issue to citrus growers and their Directors. Far too much time has been spent quarrelling has been going on since the beginning of 1963 until this date. With a little bad luck, serious damage can befall the Industry. All was well and went smoothly until the end of the 1962/63 crop. Will the Directors tell us what went wrong, why and where? They have a bounden duty to citrus growers to do so "William Strong" has said that Gordon has stood alone against all the other Directors. Something must be very wrong and the Business Consultants will not be able to say, because they will not involve themselves in that aspect. The Directors are obliged to do something about

Dr. Gordon if he is against them without good cause. I understand that they have removed him as Chairman of Jamaica Citrus Growers Ltd. and dropped him off the Executive Committee of the Association's Board. Mr. Russell is not indispensable. If any officer is not doing his job efficiently after some 20 years of service, then surely he should be replaced. The Citrus industry is far greater and more valuable than these two individuals and the "humbug" must be wiped out, before too much damage is done.

No Directorate that is without courage to deal with one recalcitrant can survive for long.

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solution arising from Dr. Gordon's Linstead Meeting and the General Meeting in Kingston in May.

Though the May General Meeting was called to discuss the charges made at the Linstead meeting, Dr. Gordon introduced at this May General Meeting in Kingston charges which he had never uttered at Linstead. He also omitted some charges which he had made at Linstead. Further, he made charges before the McGregor Committee of Enquiry which he had never made either at Linstead or at the May General Meeting. It is therefore obvious to anyone who has closely followed the quarrel that Dr. Gordon has been allowed complete freedom and the full play of the field at his will and fancy. If there are any charges which Dr. Gordon

did not place before his May Extraordinary General Meeting in Kingston, then he must blame himself.

Dr. Gordon's Barrister advised the McGregor Committee that his case was not properly prepared and that he wanted more time to prepare and submit a Memorandum, which up to August had not been submitted! My information has forced me to believe that a study of the papers submitted by the General Manager of the Association convinced Dr. Gordon's barrister that they were treading on very dangerous ground, in that there was no foundation for the charges — ridiculous, if not of a very serious nature. Perhaps libel and slander are involved, hence no memorandum.

Why didn't the Doctor suggest at the May General

Meeting in Kingston that a firm of business consultants should have been appointed?

I have concluded that Dr. Gordon did not really know what he wanted to investigate. Hence growers rightly came to the conclusion that he had launched a personal attack upon Colin Russell out of spite. Will Dr. Gordon tell growers and the public how and where "his" Enquiry went wrong before the McGregor Committee? I would not believe that the highly experienced McGregor Committee misdirected the Enquiry. Definite terms were agreed.

It is a grievous shame that gentlemen of high repute should be asked to serve on an important Committee of Enquiry only to be told after the investigation has started

(Continued on Page 10)

## Len Nembhard's

# JAMAICA

**ARE** we to understand that the ever-increasing army of unemployed people in this country should look neither to Government nor private employers to provide more jobs?

What have the employers said? I quote from a statement issued by their Federation:

"An attempt is obviously being made to give the public the impression that employers and the managerial group are responsible for unemployment and that it is, therefore, for employers to devise measures to cope with the unemployment situation. This is perhaps the end result of subtle distortions of the employers' status in the community which has been indulged in for some time; the undertaking of scapegoat hunting . . . The Federation intends to keep affirming its position and to disclaim responsibilities which properly belong to higher authority. Employers are in no way responsible for devising ways and means of maintaining employment levels or of relieving unemployment."

And then, despite the rebuff, a few days ago we had this declaration from Mr. Robert Lightbourne, Minister of Trade and Industry, while addressing business executives at Sheraton-Kingston hotel: "It is because the Government believes in capitalism why it has provided the climate for free enterprise to expand. After the Government has provided this climate, free enterprise has the tremendous obligation to provide jobs. The Government is dedicated to free enterprise and if the country fails to solve the unemployment problem, it so means that the employers have failed."

fling or passing of the buck, this <sup>concept</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>believer</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>responsibility</sup>, will get us <sup>down</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>earth</sup>, neither do I see an early state in Jamaica where there will be a job for every man who needs one, but with proper planning we can provide thousands more. This cannot be accomplished unless government moves into the productive sector of the economy to take up the slack left by private enterprise. Mr. Lightbourne himself recognised this fact. He added in his Sheraton speech that if employers continued to disclaim any responsibility to provide employment "it means that if they control the means of production and take up this stand, then the State would have to take over the means of production in order to solve the unemployment problem."

I will say this much for Mr. Lightbourne; unlike many of his Cabinet colleagues, he has a way of making out a case for change, but like all of his colleagues, shies away from remedial action — the type of action being proposed in the new policies of the PNP.

Just after the British elections I was coming into town from St. Thomas and at a village shop saw a group of JLPs celebrating. I stopped and enquired what it was all about. The reply: "Yu don't hear . . . Labour win in England."

Of course I joined in with gusto although in the end spirits were a bit dampened when I explained that the new British Government is Socialist.

I left one man trying to convince the group that I was all wrong for "Labour is Labour whether in America, England or Asia."

A small incident, but it goes to show how politically-educated we are at the grassroots. . .

—LEN NEMBHARD



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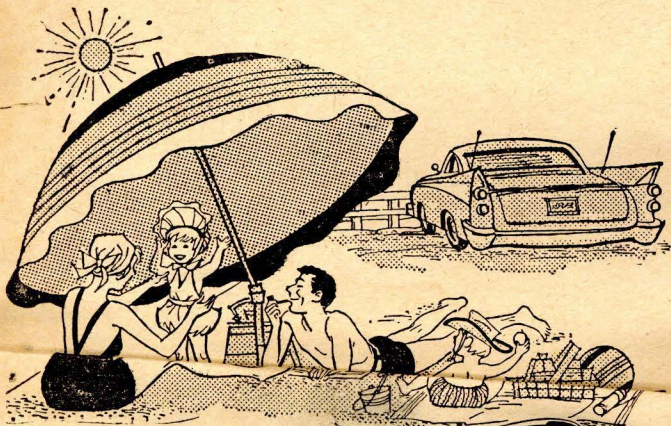
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by CALYPSO

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The trouble, is, I suppose, to catch the eye of the audience at once, and when a visiting 'ad hoc' company is performing to an unknown quantity, as far as the audience is concerned, the obvious safe choice is something popular and pretty. But what a mistake. The audience's reaction alone proves that. For the minute we were given something more spectacular there were even some shouts and quite a lot of applause.

After this we saw Edmund Novak dance The Drummer Boy. It is a very slight and quite pointless without the crowd which should be on the stage watching him. However, he danced with precision and a certain degree of frivolity. He was at his best in the Paganini solo which came later on in the evening. He is extremely agile, and his leaps, pirouettes, entrechats were beautifully executed, and he has a very strong ability to act. So many dancers tend to separate the acting from the dance, but Edmund Novak, particularly in this solo, combines these qualities so that he gave a fluid, humorous interpretation of the violinist which resulted in possibly the most satisfying performance of the evening.

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The last item before the interval was La Muerte de Cisne. This was our first experience of watching Nina Novak, and she gave a meticulous and straightforward, powerful interpretation of the dying swan. There was no subtlety about this death at all, and the final collapse was a trifle precipitous. Her surrounding decor and lighting did not exactly help to create the right atmosphere, but nevertheless, this was the most polished of the dances in the first half.

The pity about all these excerpts is that the novices in the audience probably have no idea that nearly all the dances they were seeing performed were only part of much larger ballets - ballets with moving or exciting tales or ideas which unfold themselves through the

of the dance. It is usually frustrating to watch the scene from a play. So, a scene understandable that in Jamaica where people were at a loss to know what the second act of Coppelia was all about, especially as it was danced on a bare bleak stage. Edmund Novak as Dr. Coppelius was fun, but too much fun as the clowning tended to get out of control at times. Dr. Coppelius, as well as being funny is a very sinister character. He verged into slapstick now and then and this detracted from the lovely comedy in the coming-to-life dance of the make believe doll, danced by Nina Novak as Swanhilda. This type of character dancing is more suitable for her rather than the more delicate and subtle interpretations required for dances such as the dying swan. Her two solos, the Spanish and the Scottish dances were full of vitality and daring and a remarkable technical ability. This can hardly be said for the extraordinary dull Mazurka, danced by Susan Langlois and Lyn Antinovskiy. Just the sound of Delibes lovely lively music is enough to make anybody want to get up and dance. It is in this type of dancing that one notices the more fastidious technique of the 'Western' dancer in comparison to the generosity and abandon of the 'Russian'. When the Kirov touring

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# The PNP's new policy

by OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**T**HE National Executive Council of the PNP has now completed its recommendations concerning the future policy of the party and these have been circulated to groups of the party for their study. Apparently press and public must await the decisions of the party conference for unlike the land policy, the general policy statement

has not been given to the press for publication.

A policy statement is, of course, very much the party's business. There can be no objection to a decision which means in effect that the seal of the party has been not given for publication until the conference itself has reached its own conclusions. The policy statement however, must end up by being very much the public's business if the party itself is to serve as a democratic agent.

If the PNP policy is to be meaningful it must be a statement of intention coming from the opposition party seeking the power to put its intentions into practice. The intentions must, therefore be clearly stated and amplified with sufficient detail to give the public a reasonable chance of judging for themselves whether real changes are proposed or whether the party is offering only more efficient, honest or dedicated

service in an unchanging social and economic framework.

## Changes proposed

In advance of seeing the document itself, we must assume that real and perhaps even radical changes are proposed. The land reform proposals in themselves, if put forward as a suitable appetiser for the strong meat to come, point to an intention of radical change but, what is more important, will be doomed to remain on paper unless the general policy contains the weapons to put them on the land itself.

In the first place, the PNP has proposed that no one in Jamaica should own more than 500 acres of land in an economy which is almost entirely dependent on two groups of landowners — sugar and bauxite — who between them own possibly as much as half-a-million acres and one sugar estate company alone owns 80,000 acres and one sugar estate 75,000 acres. Sugar is to be produced therefore, as the result of small and medium size farming and the sugar factories are, to a great extent, to grind other farmers' cane rather than supplying 50% of it from their own operations.

## Bauxite

The position in regard to bauxite is somewhat different. The mining operations require very little land from time to time and the radical change here will be that a vast acreage will be placed in the hands of government for them to do with as they wish. If there are 600,000 acres to be creamed off from the over-500-acre owners and possibly another 150,000 acres of idle land to come under the Land Authority, the Government will have a prodigious task before it if this land is to be used as the base for employment, expanded social services and economic production.

The Government, of course, need have headaches concerning vital shortages of men and money. The men are now idle and given employment in producing the things that are needed will initiate the process in which the money will be created. There will be real problems because of lack of training but these are by no means insuperable.

The central problem will rise out of the existing control of finance in private hands and mercantile control of production: the two-way traffic of produce going out and food and consumer articles coming in. Industrial and trading activity up to now has been subjugated to the colonial economy, providing bare essentials for the mass of impoverished and luxury articles for the few wealthy.

## Is the PNP serious?

The PNP has already committed itself, therefore, if it has taken its land policy seriously, to a radical change in productive and financial policy and consequently to take-over of the means by which this new policy is to be put into effect. To be plain: economic power would have to be in the hands of public sector and private enterprise no longer rule the roost.

Now here is where the battle of the private interests, of the two parties, and of the ordinary man is going to begin. The private interests and the JLP start off with some ready-made hatchets. Phrases such as nationalisation, communism, atheism, totalitarianism and "socialism is slavery" are used skilfully in an effort to persuade struggling farmers, wage-earners, tradesmen, little shop-keepers and even the unemployed that a policy of full employment in supply of the needs of the country will be destructive to what little they have and the great deal they do not have but would like to have.

It will be the aim of these private interests and the JLP so to entangle the PNP in defence against their attacks that the PNP will have neither time nor strength to win the support of the masses. For once the PNP can reach the masses with the full meaning of their policy, the private interests and the JLP will not be able to use their red herrings to effect.

## Two advantages

I assume, of course that the PNP has committed itself to a policy of radical change, to an intention to solve poverty through the building of a socialist society. They would start off with two advantages. First, the PNP is an established party which has already declared itself as socialist in the past. They are not offering the

public something new way of ideology.

Secondly, the PNP is ready in its ranks the unemployed and the small, struggling wage-earners and farmers who have already seen for themselves that while the PNP gave the country somewhat better government between 1955-1962, it did not solve the problems of unemployment, land room, bad housing, illiteracy and social inequality. All these people therefore must be receptive to a clear confession that what the party did was not good enough and that nothing short of socialism will serve for the future.

Next, the PNP must expose the propaganda of the wealthy and the JLP. Socialism is not a choice between going to church and having a job. It is a system which means that you can still go to church if you wish but you are assured well. The present system of private enterprise means that every two men out of nine can go to church every day if they wish because private enterprise has prevented them from having a job to go to.

## What is Socialism

Socialism does not mean a choice between the right to think or speak as you like and having a job or a good piece of land to farm for yourself. It means having both while the present system of private enterprise means that the unemployed and the landless can grumble as much as they want (so long as others are not moved to action against private enterprise) without any real hope of bettering conditions.

Socialism does not mean that little farmers will lose their cow or their goat but it does mean that the big enterprises of the country—the big estates and the factories — will not be run by private owners for their own profit but will run by the people for the benefit of Jamaica as a whole.

If a statement of policy is a statement of intention, then the PNP must make sure that the policy to be turned out by the annual conference is a clear statement of intention which can win the support of the people who need and deserve a square deal and for whom the system of private enterprise has meant only poverty and misery.

## PEP UP FRESH UP CHEER UP

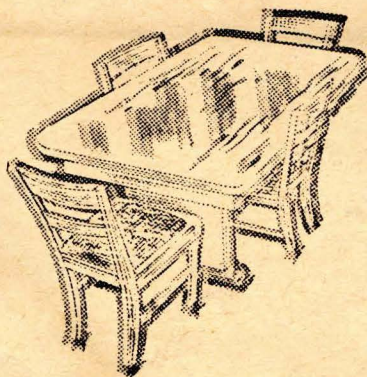
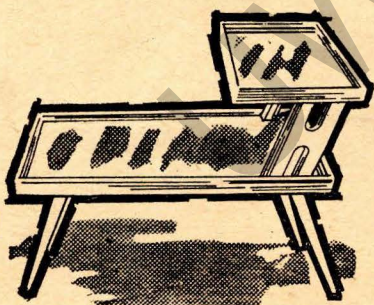
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October 15, 1954

Dear Mr. Abrahams:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 27 to Mr. White.

Mr. White is at present away from the office because of illness and is expected to be gone for a brief period.

I shall bring your letter to his attention upon his return to the office.

Ever sincerely,

*Mabel D. Jackson*

Mabel D. Jackson,  
Secy. to Mr. White.

Mr. Peter Abrahams  
37 Jessel Drive  
Loughton,  
Essex, England

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PRIME MINISTER,  
GOLD COAST.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
ACCRA, GOLD COAST

20th July, 1953.

Dear Abrahams,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th June, which, unfortunately, came during the very busy period before the opening of the Legislative Assembly and, in view of subsequent events, I am sure you will realise how fully occupied I was just then.

I have, however, been able to make some enquiries into the points raised in your letter. I cannot now reply fully, but, as you will soon be here, we shall discuss it all in due course. This is, therefore, merely an acknowledgment of your letter, which I hope will reach you before you leave for the Gold Coast.

I hope you will have a pleasant trip, and look forward to seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

*Kwame Nkrumah*

Peter Abrahams, Esq.,  
37, Jessel Drive,  
Loughton,  
Essex,  
England.



"UHURU"  
104 SHORTWOOD ROAD  
KINGSTON 8

December 31, 1991

Rt. Hon. Michael Manley, P.C., M.P.  
Prime Minister  
Jamaica House  
Kingston 6

My dear Prime Minister,

I, like all other members of your Cabinet, have tendered an offer of resignation as a Minister in order to enable you to restructure the Government.

It is my wish at this time to be allowed to concentrate my energies and attention on a range of political duties as Chairman of the Party and its Campaign Committee and in my Parliamentary constituency.

I am therefore to request that I be omitted from your consideration as you proceed to the appointment of the new Cabinet.

I have already presented to you a full report as to the circumstances in which I acted on the recommendation of the Ministry of Mining and Energy to grant a waiver to Shell. In the light of my request above, I ask that I now be allowed to make this public.

While the validity of my exercise of the power to grant the waiver cannot be impugned, it is now clear that had I insisted that the Ministry of Mining and Energy first place its recommendation before the Cabinet, we would have been afforded an opportunity to discover that the consultations within that Ministry had not taken place in accordance with the mandated framework and therefore issues arose for the likely consideration of Cabinet.

I am reinforced in this view by the legal review of all the issues which was presented to you by the Attorney General last night and which you showed me this morning. I assume you will make the Attorney General's opinion available to the public.

I intend to continue my own contribution in ensuring that the current policies we presently pursue will command full electoral acceptance in due time.

In the meantime, you may rest assured of my full support, as hitherto, for your leadership during your tenure as Prime Minister.

Please accept my kind regards.



P.J. Patterson, Q.C., M.P.

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New Cabinet

Minister of Finance Hugh Small

Agriculture Seymour Mullings

Production <sup>Mining</sup> ~~Industry~~ and Commerce Carlyle Dunkley

Ministry of Public Utilities and Energy Robert Pickersgill

Tourism <sup>& Entertainment</sup> John Junor

Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade <sup>Secy</sup> David Coore

Education and Culture Burchell Whiteman

Local Government Youth Desmond Leaky

Ministry of the Public Service Paul Robertson

Health Easton Douglas

Labour Welfare and Sports Portia Simpson

Constitution - O.D. Phillips  
Public Service - P. Phillips

THOSE WHO ARE OUT

Patterson Rattray Brown

Next Security & Justice - K. D. Knight  
Community Development / Youth Sports

UDC - transferred to off of me  
Peter Phillips to same Cabinet rank  
Errol Errol

Three Special appointments  
Rattray - At. General

Pargle - Ambassador at large for human & inv  
Luelle Maise - Ambassador - U.N.

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Patterson Rattroy Brown

County Council  
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John Blissett  
East Coast  
Three special  
Patterson -  
Patterson -  
W.C. -