



Year End, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 31, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: On Friday, December 29, 1978, I rounded off my year end commentary with the following words: "So it seems that the worldwide economic problems will persist in 1979, and that there may be some major political consequences stemming from this in some parts of the world. How we in Jamaica stand up to all this in 1979 will depend on our own hard effort and on our own determination to survive and to become more self-reliant and less dependent. It is up to us really." That is what I said at year end 1978, and now, at year end 1979, I could repeat this same general forecast for 1980 which is only a few hours away. The important thing is that we have survived 1979; and we have survived this hard year with all of our key institutions still intact. Our multi-party parliamentary democracy is still very much alive. The Judiciary is still unquestionably free and independent. The police and the army have come in for some harsh questioning, but they are still performing and, on the whole, performing effectively under trying circumstances in which some/ ^{people} in the society have done their damndest to undermine public confidence in the overall integrity of our security forces. Nobody would dream of denouncing the entire business community because of a handful of corrupt or dishonest or thieving businessmen; nobody would denounce the entire political community because of a handful of self-seeking, dishonest and anti-democratic politicians. So why the wholesale attack on the security forces if the intent is not to undermine public confidence for political purposes? The church, too, that other key pillar of the society, has survived some (at time savagely unfair)

criticism for not seeing or speaking in the way that some special interests in the society would have liked it to. And the church, in 1979, seemed to me to have grown stronger in its commitment to the poor and its concern with the problems of the poor. And the news media - radio, television, newspapers - have survived ^{in freedom} all the dire and dreadful prophecies and predictions and at times ~~hysterical~~ ^a screechings. Indeed, there were times during the year when ^{was} sections of the news media ~~was~~ so self-absorbed, so pre-occupied with its own self and its own narrow little ^{self-} interests that it served the wider Jamaican community very poorly. Still, the news media, in 1979, reflected a much wider variety of views and interests within the Jamaican society than ^{the media has ever done} ~~was ever done~~ before. And that, I think, is a major advance. And then there are the Jamaican people, this nation's most important and most precious asset. They have been buffeted by economic misfortunes over which we really have no control. But they have also been imposed upon by people who performed badly, or who were allowed to perform badly without being removed from the job. And they have been imposed upon by price gougers who seized upon the world inflation to squeeze the people even more. So they have increased the price of food and clothing and footwear more than the inflation really justified. So while a majority of the people suffered under the ^{of inflation} burden, a few actually grew richer. In this sense the burden has not been shared equally: the majority, who are the poor, have been made to carry the heaviest burden. And this is something that must not be allowed to go on in the 1980s. But the people have survived, and they will survive next year and the 1980s. And if you have watched the Jamaican people closely and listened to them ^{in the ways of the world} closely, you will know that they have more than just survived. They have grown wiser, more mature, more sure of themselves, and they insist on ^{'s} thinking for themselves instead of being told what to think. And that the future. Goodnight

28/12

Price Increases & the True Nature of Self-Reliance

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
December 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The year and the decade draw to their close on a note of local price increases, the most dramatic of which is yesterday's announced sugar price increases. And we know that the price of fuel is going up within the first couple of days of the New Year and of the new decade, and that with that ^{energy} price increase will come a whole new round of other price increases. So, as far as the cost of living is concerned, there is grief ahead for us. It does not make any kind of sense for any of us to pretend otherwise. Unless we face the facts coldly and soberly we can only make the coming hardships more difficult than they need be. But facing the facts, and insisting on certain patterns of behaviour and certain codes of conduct, we can cope with the hardships and we can survive and hold on ~~xxxx~~ while we re-order our economic structures so that we can better withstand the shocks and pressures of the future than we have been able to do up to now. And among other things, facing the facts means asking hard questions and demanding honest answers. For instance, how much of these new sugar price increases are the result of downright bad performance? Is the Jamaican taxpayer, the Jamaican consumer, again being asked to pay ^{more because of} ~~for~~ shoddy performance? The state now runs ~~some~~ 18 of our 12 sugar factories. Are these now operating as efficiently as they did when they were in private hands? Is the Sugar Industry Authority managing its business as efficiently and as profitably as ^{the multinational} Tate and Lyle did when it ran the West Indies Sugar Company? The figures I have seen suggests that in straight business terms the SIA is not

anywhere near as effective ² ^{manager} ^{overall} as WISCO was. If SIA were a private management company which had to account to private investors, it would, I suspect, be in very deep trouble right now, with whole-sale firings from top to bottom. I single out SIA because the ^{top} managers of any enterprise must take the first responsibility for performance. If performance is good they get the credit; if performance is bad they must take the blows. But the ^{cane} farmers, too, have not performed as well as they could and should have. There has been a general decline in the care of the land, and because of this poor husbandry the quality of the cane they grow has declined. We used to ^{get an} average of 32 tons of cane to the acre in the 1960s, now we are down to 28 tons of cane to the acre. Of course there are many and valid reasons for this decline. One can always justify things and explain failures. But when one's back is to the wall explanations ^{however good} are not enough. I remember ^{at time} when successive governments of Jamaica, and of both parties, refused to give bus fare increases or telephone or electricity rate increases or sugar price increases because they said these enterprises, which were then in private hands, should pay for their expansion out of profits and should not be capitalised by the consumer. If we are to cope with the hardships of the 1980s we are going to have to insist all productive ^{unfairly}, like the ~~like the~~ sugar industry, that state-owned and state-managed enterprises pay their own way ^{these enterprises} without taxing the consuming public. And for us to go forward ~~they~~ will have to show a profit, whether some of our young ultra-leftists approve of profits or not. Indeed, from here on socialism, of whatever brand, is going to be judged by its performance rather than its chat. And making the poor capitalise one of the highest cost sugar industries ^{but it} in the world, may be an absolute necessity now, is both poor business and poor social engineering. It is also a ^{key} touchstone of the challenge we face in the 1980s: To produce as efficiently and profitably as possible ^{to pay our way in the world} and to have surplus to pay for the things which improve the quality of life for us all. Goodnight.



Boxing Day, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

December 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope you have had a very happy and a very peaceful Christmas, and that what remains of the season will be good and will be safe. Please remember to take care, especially of the very young and the very old; and if you are driving take it easy and drink sparingly. One of the dubious blessings - if a crisis can ever be termed such - of the energy crisis is that, inevitably, we are going to have fewer and fewer motor vehicles on the roads as petrol becomes scarcer and more expensive and as there is less and less ~~money~~ foreign exchange with which to import new cars. And fewer cars on the roads will mean fewer road accidents. And fewer road accidents and less pollution of the atmosphere will be blessings. Against this we must set the problem of how people are to get about. How do children get to school? How do people get to work on time and in reasonable comfort if there is a drastic reduction of private cars? The bus service we have now, and indeed the unregulated and unsafe mini-bus service we have now just will not do. And it is high time that those who are responsible for providing these services began to anticipate problems and plan ahead to deal with them instead of always waiting until we are hit by the problem before doing anything about it. ^{almost} When/everybody - not just the poor - have to get about by public transport, as they do in most of Europe, and to a lesser extent North America, how will we cope? When the teacher and the nurse and the manager and the secretary and the senior civil servant and the senior technician all have to share the public transport with those who now

traditionally use that public transport, how will we cope? These people are not going to be satisfied with the shoddy, irregular, ill-mannered and unclean service the poor now have to endure. So what will we do? Will ^{trying to ensure} go on/~~makingxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that this group go on running their private cars at greater and greater and greater cost in foreign exchange we cannot afford, and at the expense of improving public transport? This is what we have done in the past and what we are still doing. Or will we begin now to seriously create a ^{decent} public transport system that everybody in the country can use? I think we either begin this now or else we will face chaos a few years down the road when people will have to abandon their private cars and have no alternative to turn to. It is all a question of how we are going to manage the scarcities of the 1980s, and in whose ^{best long} ~~interest~~ term interest. And this sort of decision is going to have to be made globally as well. What happens when jet fuel becomes so scarce and the price so high that air fares become impossible for ordinary people? Will air travel come to an end? And what becomes of our, as well as the rest of the world's, highly paid pilots? When you've tasted that kind of life it comes hard to ^{again} live like an ordinary mortal. Perhaps this is why most of us are, or appear, so unwilling to really think out the implications of the energy crisis. For instance, how the devil are the Americans and the Russians going to launch ^{at each other} those deadly bombs and rockets and missiles which they are now stockpiling at such enormous cost, if they do not have enough fuel? It takes fantastically vast quantities of fuel to fight wars with planes and tanks and rockets and the like. So what will these superpowers do when they run out of fuel to propel their military hardware? Will they throw stones at each other? I looked down on the twinkling lights of Kingston at dawn on Christmas morning and I thought of all the twinkling lights in all the cities of the world I have seen. What if they all went out? The country side, worldwide, would of course still be the same. Think of it. Goodn

 Christmas Eve, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
December 24, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This is the last Christmas Eve of the decade of the 1970s; and tomorrow we celebrate the last Christmas of this decade. This time next ^{week} Wednesday we will be into the decade of the 1980s. So what do we say, how do we evaluate, this traumatic and now fast vanishing decade of the 1970s? I think above everything else the decade of the 1970s will go down in history as the period which saw the beginning of the end of Western capitalism's total and complete control and management of the world economy. If we cast our minds back to the start of the 1970s - to the year 1970 itself - we will remember a world in which the United States, and to a lesser extent its European allies, called the tune to which all the rest of the world danced. It was a world ~~in~~ in which the American/^{and European}multinationals determined the price and the flow of oil. The Middle Eastern countries which owned the oil had next to no say in how that oil was exploited and in who got the lion's share from it. At source, in the Middle East in 1970 the oil was literally cheaper than dirt. At that time it cost the Americans and European oil companies something like 30c to drill and pump and move one barrel of oil to a Persian Gulf port. There are 42 gallons of oil in every barrel. At 30c a barrel this was less than 1c a gallon. And after shipping and refining, and still selling for only cents, the price to the American and European motorist of a gallon of petrol was some 7,000% higher than the cost of the oil at source. And of course it was always a little more expensive for the poorer Third World countries. And oil then, as now,

was the energy that made the whole world move. It ^{the world's} ~~grove~~/ ~~xxx~~ ships
 and planes and buses and trains and cars; it ^{lit up the world's} ~~light~~ ~~xxx~~ homes and
^{its} made/ ~~xxx~~ factories and farms produce in great abundance. And because
~~oil~~ ~~it~~/ was controlled and managed by what has been described as the
 'military-industrial complex' of a certain group of powers, that
 group of powers controlled and managed and, where necessary manipulated
 world economic power. Cheap oil, cheap energy, was the foundation
 of the economic power of western capitalism which created the highly
 consumerist/ ^{age} ~~xxxx~~ of post-world-war-two. And that is how it still
 was at the start of the decade of the 1970s. And then, from 1973
 onward, we witnessed that world change at a blistering pace which
 many of us have not fully grasped yet. And the single most important
 factor in this change was the taking away of the control of oil, of
 energy, from the Western capitalist powers. / ^{One} ~~xxxx~~ of the earliest
 and most visible results was the change in the status of the once
 all-mighty American 'greenback'. Because of American economic and,
 therefore, political dominance, nobody ever questioned the wholesale
 printing of American dollars without any backit if to them. But when
 a grip on oil was removed, every treasury in the world was suddenly
 anxiously aware of some \$600-thousand-million greenbacks which cannot
 be redeemed floating about the world. And still we are only at the
 start of the profound changes which were set in motion by this removing
 of control of oil from Western capitalism. And this means that all
 the crises, all the problems, all the difficulties that the world has
 experienced during the decade of the 1970s will be intensified during
 the decade of the 1980s and onward, until this profound revolutionary
 change in world power relations, finally settles down. Until then we
 are all of us, worldwide, in for trying and difficult times. Only the
 wise and the hardworking will overcome, not the tricky. So I will not
 wish you a false prosperity: peace and love instead, and the will to
 overcome and stay free. Have a happy Christmas. Goodnight



The Cabinet Overhaul: What Next?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It is now four days to Christmas, and still the political passions and the political chat run high. And over the past couple of days the main theme has of course been last Wednesday's overhaul of the Cabinet; for, like it or not, approve of it or not, the axeing of ^{six} ~~xxxxx~~ ^{Ministers} Cabinet/and the reducing of the number of Ministers from 20 to 13 is drastic enough to be more than just a 'reshuffle'. It is, in fact, a very deep and drastic pruning. The thing to watch now is to see just how far down the line this drastic pruning will go. And this is going to be no less hard and difficult to work out than must have been the decision on the deep Cabinet cuts. But just to clean up at the top/ and leave the rot to go on eating away at the middle and bottom will not help to grapple with our hard problems. So we want to know how that 71c out of every tax dollar which goes in wages and salaries of public servants is going to either be reduced or else justified by providing more goods and better services to the Jamaican taxpayer. This is a critical issue. We are obviously going to have to wait for some of the details as well as for the outcome of the new round of talks with the I.M.F. I am one of those who happens to think that the Prime Minister is right to bring the weight of the influence / of his office to bear in taking over responsibility for Agriculture. There is no more dramatic way of making it clear to the nation that our ^{ability to} ~~xxxxxx~~ absorbing and withstanding the shocks and pressures and strains of the 1980s will ~~be~~ depend greatly on whether we ~~are~~ can provide most of the food we eat from our own land. For make no mistake about it. All the food ^{we} import - the cheapest and lowliest

like chicken neck and back included - are going to go up in price, no matter who forms the government of Jamaica or what ideological posture that government strikes. That is something beyond our control as long as we depend on imported food. The one way to break^{out of,} or to minimise, that dependence is to feed ourselves from our own land. If anybody tells you otherwise, ask them to spell it out for you in detail. And we are also going to have to look to the land as our main area for the creation of new employment. So, from here on, the Jamaican earth, and how productively and well we use that Jamaican earth is going to be almost more vital than at any other time in the history of this island. All the foreign borrowing, and all the foreign investments, and all the trick financial finessing, and all the adjusting of our policies not to offend this or that great power - all these are going to have to be secondary to our dependence on the Jamaican earth - if we want to go on being the free and independent people we now are. Mining and tourism, our two main^{net} foreign exchange earners right now, are both based on the land and what it has to offer. Export agriculture^{should be} the other logical net earner of foreign exchange. These three between them should provide all the foreign exchange needed for our ~~basic~~ essential imports, and they should also provide most of the jobs we need. And what of manufacturing? I think export manufacturing which is a net earner of foreign exchange must be seen as essential to the economy. But the Jamaica of the 1980s may just not be able to afford, or want to afford, the type of ~~manu~~facturing which is a net consumer of large amounts of foreign exchange in return for creating a handful of jobs. The whole world, not only Jamaica is in economic crisis. ^{for instance} Israel has a 100% inflation rate and has cut out all subsidies on basic foodstuffs. Britain's unemployed who now number 1,350,000 ^{is expected to increase} ~~will rise~~ by another 400,000 over the next 18 months. We are ^{and we live} in this same tough and difficult world. Goodnight.

- 1) The Govt.'s Reshuffle or Real Overhaul?
2) ~~An Important Piece of Social Legislation~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It looks like there is going to be no break for us from politics this Christmas; but do not let it spoil your fun and your enjoyment. We can all enjoy ourselves and still keep a watch on developments. You know that for all our troubles there is still much to enjoy and to be thankful for. So don't let the bad news or the sourpusses sour up your Christmas. In a couple of hours from now the Prime Minister will tell us the make-up of his new administration and how he proposes that we grapple with some of our most acute problems. And let us face it, it is we who are going to have to grapple with these problems. The Government must give a lead; but the government cannot do everything for us. One of the problems is and has been too much government: too many Ministers, not all of whom have performed satisfactorily, and too big and burgeoning and unresponsive a bureaucracy. That is the basic aspect of the government's side of the problem. And on this aspect Mr. Manley's statement should give us some very clear pointers as to whether we are being presented with just another government reshuffle or whether we are ~~whether~~ embarking on a real and serious and drastic overhaul of the whole bureaucratic structure, beginning at the top and going all the way down. A reshuffle would of course be easier and less painful: a serious overhaul will shake-up things and hurt very deeply in some areas. It is like an overgrown tree that puts out more leaves and branches than fruit. To bear/again such a tree needs drastic pruning ^{fully}. Just snipping a limb here and a limb there may look pretty but it will

not restore the tree to full bearing. So let us watch this closely. And then let us all remind ourselves that we too have an important part, indeed the most important part, in grappling with our problems. They, the government, must give us the proper guidelines and the proper tools and set the proper example; and we, the people, must get on with the job. That is the way. And in order not to be unduly confused let us be clear about the Opposition's call for the Prime Minister himself to resign. There's nothing wrong with that call. It is a straightforward party political response to the fact that the government is in worries. Any opposition in any parliamentary democracy would make such a call: it is part of the parliamentary game. But it does not mean that the Opposition either expects or hopes that the Prime Minister will resign. They know that the only constitutional way in which the Prime Minister can be forced to resign is for the JLP Opposition to move a vote of no confidence in Parliament and to then try to persuade enough PNP MPs to vote with them to defeat the government. And if you bear in mind that the JLP has only 13 members in our present Parliament as against the PNP's 47, then it would mean that the JLP would have to persuade 18 PNP MPs to defect and vote with them. And not even the wildest dreamers in the JLP can hope to attract 18 PNP defectors. So the resignation calls should be seen for what they are, the routine party exploitation of the government's difficulties, and should not be allowed to distract us from the hard problems that are going to have to be grappled, no matter which party is in power. What, for instance, would the opposition do to deal with that shocking revelation that between 60c and 70c of every tax dollar goes in paying the wages and salaries of those in government service? This is a fundamental issue which has been developing from before 1972. And this should be an election issue. So what would this or any other govt do about it?

Goodnight

17/12

The Economics of Survival:
The Public Sector & the Productive Process

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
December 17, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Of all the many statements made from public platforms and public forums over this past weekend the one which has caused me personally most concern and most thought was that reported statement by the Prime Minister that between 60% and 70% of all the taxes collected by the government went to pay civil service salaries. Just pause and think about it: between 60c and 70c of every tax dollar goes to pay wages and salaries. This means that only between 30c and 40c of that dollar are left to buy the materials needed to build/our schools and hospitals and the teaching and medical equipment they must have, and to get our road construction material and to pay the/casual workers who must do that road building and maintaining work; it means that only between 30c and 40c out of every tax dollar you and I pay go into providing and improving and expanding the social services we, as tax payers, are entitled to expect and demand from our government. Now, if you look at this in cold business terms, in terms of getting value for your money, this is a clearly unsupportable situation. Because such a very high proportion of our tax dollar goes into wages and salaries and fringe benefits, there just is not enough left to make even/moderately good improvements in the quality of service provided for the person who does the paying, the Jamaican taxpayer. If any businessman, any manufacturer, any farmer, were to pay/between 60c and 70c out of every dollar he earns there would not be enough left to cover his overheads, to pay for his raw material and other equipment and he would not be in business for long, especially if he also has both

local and foreign debts which have to be serviced and which have to be paid off one day. In cold business terms the paying of between 60% and 70% of income in wages and salaries is something no business can survive, no matter how well it is run or how efficiently it is managed, and no matter what the social or political system under which it operates. And please note very carefully that 60% or 70% of income is not the same thing as 60% or 70% of profits. And if the Jamaican government is currently paying between 60% and 70% of its income from taxation as salaries and wages, then doing something about this untenable ^{situation} must be a matter of top priority. So what are the alternatives? There is always the simplest and most traditional capitalist solution of cutbacks and lay-off? Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative Government in Britain has opted for this course. I do not myself think that Jamaica can afford this course. We already have far too many people out of work. A second and also capitalist alternative is a massive works programme such as the one launched by President Roosevelt during the Great Depression of the 1930s. But the Americans were in a very much worse state than we now are before they were ready to embrace the WPA. I suspect things would have to get much worse before we would be willing to accept that kind of project. In wartime Britain they built a land army which soon had an embattled Britain all but self-sufficient in food. We were not willing to sustain a national youth service so can you see our bureaucratic desk jockeys willingly being mobilised to go out into the country to cut cane and grow food? And yet, one way or another, the government, this or any other government, is going to have to change the ratio ^{under which 60% to 70% of every tax dollar goes} ~~between its income and what it pays~~ in wages and salaries. The most desirable way in which to do this is of course to make its workers vastly more productive so that what they put in ^{in wages & perks} is greater than what they take out. There is no other way ahead. Goodnight.

- 1) The Mood Ten Days Before Christmas
- 2) Shearer on Retail Prices
- 3) Some International Notes

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Older Jamaicans will remember that in that now-almost-unbelievable-past when petrol cost less than five shillings (or fifty cents) a gallon, and a loaf of bread cost pence, and you paid 1/6d (or fifteen cents) for the cheapest beef like soup and stew, and between 3½6d and 5/- for the very best cuts - in that past the jingles at this time would be about the number of 'shopping days' of a past to Christmas. By that yardstick/ of cheap energy and cheap food and cheap raw material - and, lest we forget, cheap labour - we now have less than ten shopping days to Christmas. And even in these hard and difficult times - and they were just as hard and in some ways even more difficult for the unemployed and the very poor in the past - when Christmas was as near as this partisan politics/~~was~~ ^{was put} into low gear because this was accepted as the season of peace among men (and women) of goodwill. But the sound and sight of the news headlines suggest that it might be different this year. With ~~less~~ ten days to Christmas the harsh and strident political war of words continues unabated. This time there is a sort of attacking line-up of all ^{key} the/private sector groupings against the government, with the First Supplementary Estimates to the 1979/80 Budget as the main focus of the attack. And one of these groups has even gone as far as calling for the withdrawal of these Estimates. One of the worrying things about this is that the attacks seem not to be concerned with specific details of proposed expenditure which could be identified as either

wasteful or not in the public interest. For surely, some of the proposed spending in the Supplementary Estimates is unavoidable. There has to be additional spending to repair this year's flood damage. Are we really to ^{cancel} ~~cancel~~ the roughly \$30-million on this repair work? Are we to cancelled the \$33-million-plus for teachers' salaries and allowances? And the roughly \$20-million for nurses' ^{salaries} and drugs and other medical supplies? And the \$31-million-plus for Christmas work? Just these four items alone add up ^{to} more than \$114-million of the total of \$129-million-plus. So what is it that the private sector critics really want? It seems important, in their own interest, that they avoid the suspicion that their concerns are really narrowly partisan and political rather than with the national good. Both Mr. Eric Bell and Mr. Hugh Shearer have recently offered the private sector sound advice. Mr. Bell urged them to be progressive businessmen and women; Mr. Shearer urged them to take an interest in the retail prices that ~~have~~ pressed consumers have to cope with. Mr. Shearer said prices on non-controlled imported items were outrageous compared with the prices of those same articles in the United States. There can be no justification, he said, for price differences of seven to fifteen times more than in New York or Toronto. Mr. Shearer here touched a very raw and a very sore point and spoke for all Jamaican consumers of all parties. In addition to all their other hardships most Jamaican consumers feel that they are the victims of massive rip-offs and mark-ups. And things are not much more seasonal anywhere else in the world. That \$6-a-barrel oil increase is bound to lead to further world-wide inflation. Even if OPEC makes things a little easier for Third World countries with discounts on the prices they have to pay, all the things they import from the rich countries will still go up because the cost of producing things will go up. So, better we get serious about feeding ourselves. There are no trick political solutions around. Goodnight.

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- 1) Iran: U.S. Calls for Economic Sanctions
 - 2) Rhodesia Reverts to Colony Status

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The two main events on the international scene - the crisis caused by the holding of American hostages in Iran and the Rhodesian independence talks - have both taken new and dramatic turns: and it might be useful for us to try and understand some of the future implications of these new developments because they could end up affecting the whole world, including all of us here in Jamaica. Mr. Cyrus Vance, the American Secretary of State is currently in Western Europe to drum up support there for an American move to get the United Nations Security Council to impose economic sanctions on Iran. You will remember that this same form of U.N.-ordered economic sanctions was one of the weapons used in the long effort to end Ian Smith's white Rhodesia rebellion. You will also remember that on that one the entire Security Council supported Britain's call for the sanction and so did most, if not all, the members of the United Nations. All the indications are that there will be no such unanimity over any call for economic sanctions against Iran. Even if the United States were to succeed in persuading its N.A.T.O. allies to go along with the sanctions idea - and I doubt very much that it can do this - I do not see any Middle Eastern country other than possibly ~~than~~ Israel and Egypt agreeing to sanctions against Iran. And certainly, the overwhelming majority of Third World countries are not likely to agree. They all agree, either openly or privately, that the seizing of the Embassy and the taking hostage of its American occupants, is a violation of long-standing international law and custom, and all want this situation

to end as quickly as possible. But in face of the record of what the former Shah did, and did with American support, it is difficult for any Third World country to participate in punitive action against the Iranian people. Then of course there is the likelihood of an almost certain veto by the Soviet Union. So this course of action, if carried out, and ^{Europe} ~~even if only supported by the Western/~~ ~~Europe~~ is certain sharpen conflict between the Western powers and the Third World. Indeed, the United States is already have problems with its major Asian ally, Japan. While the other western powers have been trying to discreetly support the American pressures, Japan has been buying larger quantities of Iranian oil on the spot market. The Americans are openly angry; but the main concern of the Japanese is, and has to be, Japanese self-interest. And they need oil desperately; no matter from whom or at what price. And so Japan is quietly turning to that other Asian giant, China, which has vast ^{untapped and} underdeveloped natural resources, including oil. ^{Economic} ~~Thixxway~~ co-operation between Japan and China is logical and makes a deal of sense in the constantly changing alignment and realignment of political and economic power in the world. In this ^{Western} sense/economic sanctions against Iran could end up further weakening the already declining ^{hold on} global economic power of the West. And Rhodesia's reversion to being a British colony once more mean, among many other things, that any raids against Zambia or Mozambique can, and will, from now onwards be placed squarely on the United Kingdom. By resuming control of the rebel colony, Britain also assumes responsibility for all its actions. The question is: If there is some hitch over the ceasefire, will the Patriotic Front then have to face the British army? This is one of the more dangerous possibilities that also has to be thought of. Perhaps it was this thought that made Mr. James Callaghan so angry in the British Parliament yesterday. Goodnight.

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- 1) The Economy as a Political Pawn
 - 2) Dangers of The Technique of the 'Big Lie'
 - 3) The Police, the Journalist & the Public

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 10, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It was a weekend of 'the same mixture as before' both locally and on the international scene. The U.S.-Iran crisis is still very much with us. They still talk peace while the bloodletting goes on in Rhodesia. And we^{, or some of us,} in Jamaica still continue, in the name of patriotism, to tear this good little country apart because the Jamaican economy is now seen as the principal pawn in the political power game. With some two years more to go before national^{, both foreign and local,} elections are constitutionally due investors/are being warned that if they do put their money into ~~xxxxxx~~ investments in Jamaica, those investments might not be safe, might not be honoured or respected, if there^{very proper, not obviously but} were to be a change of government and if such a new government were to decide that such investments are not in the national interest. This warning is not accompanied by any clear statement of what would be ~~regarded~~ as investments which would be in the 'national interest' and what would be in vestments seen as 'not in the national interest^s'. It is all/~~vague~~, unspecific,/~~threatening~~;/~~xxx~~ crystal clear to any would-be investor in Jamaica. And the effect is to frighten investors away. This is in fact a variation on those posters carried by Jamaicans in Miami on November 29 calling on Americans not to invest in Jamaica. And if this warning off of investor were to succeed, if investment^{from now on} were to dry up/over the next two years Jamaica's very serious problems would indeed get very much worse, and you may indeed end up with the collapse of the economy. What is not so sure though is that this will

necessarily result in the Jamaican electorate entrusting political power to those whom they may see as responsible for frightening away the investors. This is the great risk of this particular business of using the economy as a political pawn. It assumes that Jamaicans, or at least most Jamaicans, put their personal short term economic needs above patriotism, above self-respect, above national pride, above a sense and feel of national sovereignty. If this assumption proves wrong then any change of government may in fact end up sweeping away those who have based their strategy for ^{gaining} power on the using of the economy as a pawn in the political power game. It is ~~very~~ ^{very} possible that a highly politicised Jamaican electorate may feel disgust and contempt for this nationally destructive and degrading strategy and reject it. And if they do, where do we go from here? Can our multi-party parliamentary democracy survive partisan politics carried to these nationally destructive extremes? We shall see. And what do we do about ^{the} obeah thing which has crept into our politics where people repeat over and over and over again that they are going to win or that so-and-so is going to lose until they really believe it? The trouble with this sort of thing is that if their obeah does not work, ^{try and} and to avoid being discredited as false prophets, these people will go to all sorts of lengths to 'prove' that they were robbed. Here again the politics of wild extremes and claims ends up as destructive of a multi-party parliamentary system ^{whose survival} ~~which~~ is based on reason and moderation and the observance of ^{certain} rules by all sides. I am afraid some of our journalists are hooked on this wishful obeah business. Perhaps they should be reminded that today's Jamaican voter is not easily conned or fooled by any side in the power game. And finally and very briefly, I do agree that we could do with better relations between the police and journalists but this, I suspect, will most likely come out of better and happier relations between the police and the public.

Goodnight

- 1) Iran: The Crisis Deepens
- 2) Rhodesia: Many Pitfalls Ahead

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
December 7, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With American warships approaching Iranian territorial waters, and with Iranian jet fighter planes shadowing these war-planes, and with elements of the Soviet navy also reported to be somewhere in the area, the situation over U.S.-Iranian relations takes on a new delicacy. Mr. Carter, the American President, is reported as having told a group of Congressmen that the United States is now about to tighten the screws on Iran every few days. And there are powerful pressures within the United States for the President to 'do something, anything' to hit back at Iran. The big question is: In this atmosphere of American outrage and anger which seems to be growing almost by the day, how long can President Carter maintain his quiet control and determined use of diplomacy rather than military might? Make no mistake about it: the longer this thing goes on, the greater will become the pressure for the President to use force. And sooner or later there will come a point when Mr. Carter will be unable to contain the pressures. And the fact that we now have a show of American might in the area, of Soviet might in the area, and of an Iranian show of military defiance - does not make matters any easier. And so, unless this weekend shows a sudden and dramatic easing of tension with the release of some of the hostages the crisis is bound to lurch a little nearer to that point of explosion which nobody really wants. And what makes it all so very much more explosive than ever before is the mounting anger and frustration and loss of patience of the American people. And the deadly danger is war

The second issue currently dominating the international scene is Rhodesia where, on the face of it, the outlook for an end to the fighting now appear much brighter than ever before. There has been agreement on a ceasefire formula, a new Governor has been named and Rhodesia returns to legality as a British colony until new elections leading to internationally recognised independence are held. That is what ^{has} ~~ix~~ been worked out and if the few remaining points of dispute - such as where the armed forces of the Patriotic Front are to be stationed and what role they will perform during the time leading up to elections - if these can be resolved then the Rhodesia crisis would indeed appear to be over, and independence under genuine black majority rule will be at hand. But rosy and hopeful as this optimistic picture seems, it would not be wise to take it at face value. Consider just two matters. Already there are indications that Bishop Muzorewa is determined to 'steal a march' by making it difficult for the Patriotic Front people to electioneer in the country while he himself is already hard at it. If the elections are too obviously rigged and manipulated in favour of the present regime, the Patriotic Front is likely to withdraw in disgust and resume the fighting. And this is not as unlikely as those painters of an optimistic picture would like it to be. Then there is the second matter. If the elections are fair and if the Patriotic Front won those elections, will the South African whites stand by while Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe set in place a radically inclined black government in Zimbabwe, a government which is more likely to turn to Cuba and the Soviet Union for technical and economic assistance than to South Africa? I frankly do not think the South Africans are going to say 'Alright, the people of Zimbabwe have made their and we will abide by it. So for me personally, there are still many pitfalls ahead before Zimbabwe will be really free. Goodnight.

- 1) The North Coast Flash Floods
2) The Weather in the U.S.
3) ~~U.N. Security Council & Iran~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
December 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The sudden and unexpected and unpredictable flash flooding in Portland and St. Mary and St. Ann was the latest blow in a year in which Jamaica has had more than its fair share of natural ~~disasters~~ ^{disasters} - if such disasters can ever be described as 'fair'. And all the damage, or most of it, has been done by water, the most life-sustaining of all the minerals of the earth. Without water there can be no life. And yet, too much of it, and uncontrolled, and moving too fast or rising too high, ~~water~~ or in combination with wind or earthquake, water can become a terrible and destructive force, a force that causes natural ~~disasters~~. We know all this, and knowing this, we should, long ago have taken the kind of action which would protect us, as a people, from the damage water can do, while we enjoy all its blessings. And permanent flood control and soil conservation ^{measures} and the building of proper roads and gullies which would stand up to the kind of sudden and heavy downpours which are a common feature of our lives, should have been ^{an} obvious and on-going policy which cut right across party politics, and which should have dated back to 1962 at the very least. The fact that the April and June downpours, ~~and the heavy rain~~ caused the havoc suffered in the West End of the island, and now the lesser but still serious damage on the North coast, are telling criticisms of ^{how} poorly successive governments of Jamaica have dealt with this problem. Please don't misunderstand me. There is nothing any government can do to prevent the kind of saturation of the earth which took place in Western Jamaica in June

because no government can control the weather, and no opposition can manipulate the weather to embarrass or unseat the government. But if they^{both} know that the land is prone to retaining water and is prone to turning into a lake in times of heavy flooding; and if they know that heavy flooding is^{a permanent likelihood} ~~is/likely~~ in the rainy season, then they should also know that a certain kind and quality of flood control, and of drainage, and of road building, and even of where homes should be located, is absolutely essential if the damage from water is to be reduced to the minimum possible. It is here that they have all failed. And so each year, after each flooding, we have spent more money than the year before or the year before to patch up the damage caused by the last flooding. And this patchy-patchy business, however necessary, will go on being the most wasteful use of our national resources until we have a properly worked out and permanent policy of flood control and management and conservation in place. In the long run this ~~xxxxxx~~ policy is the very cheapest. But, you know, many of us have slipped into the habit of seeing only the dark side of things; and yet there are so many things that are good and beautiful too. It is very cold and wet and snowing and miserable right now in most of the United and in much of Europe. For most of us the sun is shining and the world is beautiful. And there is a gentle and bracing coolness to the Jamaican hills right now. And there is all the green that you do not see in cold countries. Please try and get up very early one morning, wherever you are, and turn to the hills and watch the sun come up. And look at Jamaica with seeing eyes: it is a good and beautiful place, and it is ours. For all our troubles, we have very many blessings. It is a good idea to pause and count those blessing every now and then. Goodnight.

The Political Process and the
Limits of Power

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
December 3, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The world political crisis sparked by Iran continues events in to bedevil the international scene: and there is the widespread realisation that unless it is handled with delicate care it would easily flare up into war with unforeseeable consequences. And one of the more hopeful indicators from the very outset of this crisis has been the American President's apparent understanding of some of the deeper religious and psychological^{and historical}/driving forces behind the Iranian action. Perhaps it is because Mr. Carter is himself a very religious person that he has been able to understand the critical importance of the hitherto latent force of a now aroused Islam which is at work throughout the Middle East and in many other parts of the world. Without that understanding, with a John Connally or a Ronald Reagan or even an Edward Kennedy in the White House, some 'tougher' line of action might have been decided on and the United States in particular, and the Western world in general, might^{today}/have found itself locked in an Islamic Jihad, an Islamic holy war. Those flash-fire eruptions in Pakistan, at the Grand Mosque at Mecca, in Libya and elsewhere, are small indicators of just how potentially explosive this whole thing is. And any sort of 'holy war' between Islam and western christendom, would be as terrible and ugly as only religious wars have proven to be in the history of mankind. And I think it is largely, if not mainly because Mr. Jimmy Carter had the unique ability to see this hidden danger that he did not use America's vast power in the conventional and traditional way in which problems like these are handled. And so a greater imperative than the nationalistic - and if you like chauvinist

ic impulse to prove to the world that they are the top dog and the greatest and the rest, / compelled Mr. Carter to see the hidden dangers and to recognise the limits these imposed on American might and power. The fact that Mr. Carter had the power did not mean that he could use it - without risking setting our world on fire. And it tells us something about the man and about his understanding of the use and the limits of power in today's world. In an electioneering speech over this past weekend Mr. Edward Kennedy made it clear, to me at least, that he does not have this kind of understanding of the realistic national self-interest, limits that can be imposed on the exercise of power by a sense of responsibility to a particular group of people, to a nation, to mankind, to the world and to the future. But then, there are not very many political leaders or opinion makers in the world who have this ~~kind of~~ ability to understand the limits imposed on power by the need to serve the public good. Here in Jamaica, for instance, the now common threat to lock-down the country is a declaration of power without any apparent recognition of the consequence that would flow from such action. And so you have people who appear ready and willing to tear down a whole country in order to bring down one man. You have a newspaper which lies and distorts the truth and defames people and assassinates character and then bawls when it is served back in ^{very small measure} its own coin. You have political hotheads who are drunk with their little new-found political power and use it to decry and denounce and destroy. What these groups appear not to want to face up to is the fact that ^{if} their activities are successful - if they lock down the country, if their lies and dishonesties totally confuse and mislead the society, if people are transformed into obedient partisan of extreme right or extreme left cyphers/walking some tight party line - they will have succeeded in ^{restraining} smashing the limits of power in our kind of political process and we would then be forced to find new processes and new systems for handling the business of power in Jamaica. Goodnight.

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- 1) Political Confrontation: Betraying the National Interest
 - 2) Iran: An Epochal Historical Challenge?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
November 30, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: No political opponent of President Jimmy Carter, and supporter of any political opponent of Mr. Carter, will go outside the United States and tell the people of some foreign country not to invest in the United States. And no political opponent of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher will go outside Britain and tell the people in some foreign country not to invest in Britain. Neither the British nor the American opposition politicians and supporters will do this because they know that to do so would be to betray the national interest of their countries. And in parliamentary democracies where governments are changed by way of the ballot, all partisan political confrontation stop short of betraying the national interest. This is so because both the British and the Americans know that once the national interest is used as a pawn in any party political power game the whole nature of the political system is changed. And so there is a clear understanding that no matter who is in or who is out, and no matter how rough and tough the political contest, neither side will betray the national interest. And so you do not hear Mr. Callaghan or his supporters or even the far-left of the British Labour Party calling on foreign investors not to invest in Britain. And you do not get Mr. Ronald Reagan or his supporters or any of the other Presidential Republican candidates or their supporters, or even the far-right John Birchers, calling on foreign investors not to invest in the United States. And yet, in Miami yesterday, Jamaicans carried posters

calling on Americans not to invest in Jamaica. And when Jamaicans, any Jamaicans of any political affiliation, deliberately set about to sabotage efforts of economic recovery, that is betraying the Jamaican national interest. It is not even like someone burning down a house to try and get rid of a tenant because the house has to belong to for him to have the legal right to burn it. only that someone in the first place, And Jamaica does not belong to the greedy power hungry ones or the ~~xx~~ Jamaica hotheads of either political party; and/certainly does not belong only to those betrayers of both the national interest and, ultimately, the parliamentary system which cannot survive this type of activity. Where the national interest, where national economic survival, is the one certain casualty is bound to be made a pawn in the political power game/parliamentary democracy. ~~xxxxxx~~ multi-party parliamentary ~~xxxxxx~~ And if/democracy in Jamaica were to perish those who have , those who have frightened away investors deliberately sabotaged all efforts at economic recovery/and those who have aided and abetted them by using the Hitlerian technique of the big lie, will all bear a heavy burden of responsibility.

Next, on the international scene, the crisis in relations between the United States and Iran continues to defy solution. Iran will not attend tomorrow's U.N. Security Council meeting and whatever is decided there or at the International Court of Justice will be ignored take The U.N. is not likely to agree to/military action against Iran. For the U.S. to do so by itself will almost certainly plunge, first the Middle East, then the rest of the world, into a war of unforeseeable hitherto dimensions. And so it would seem that the/accepted international code of understanding and behaviour among nations is being challenged. And when any law, any code of conduct, and convention, is challenged, and challenged successfully, it usually marks a turning point in the relations which were ^{once} regulated by such law or code or conduct. In this sense the stand-off between Iran and the United States could have epochal historic importance for the future. Goodnight

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- 1) Confrontation: Who Pays the Price?
 - 2) Manipulating the Political Process
 - 3) Who Controls Political Power?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Partisan politics/^{in multi-party systems} has never been a nice and pretty business; it has never been a picnic or a Sunday school outing. It has always been something of a rough-and-tough brawl of words, with occasional flashes of physical confrontation. All evolving multi-party democracies/^{,because of their very competitiveness,} have this basic confrontationist characteristic in common: it is usually at a comparatively low level where the system has been in existence longest and where the democracy is most stable and most mature. The younger the democracy the greater the confrontationist tendency and the greater the political volatility. And the testing time for all evolving democracies is the ability of the people to handle the confrontation and the political volatility/^{it breeds.} Where they do this successfully, democracy survives. Where they fail to control the confrontation and the political volatility it breeds, democracy perishes and is replaced by something else, usually by/^{either} a dictatorship of the extreme right or the extreme left, or else by some ~~mf~~ sort of paternalistic/^{junta or} one man rule. And recent political developments here in Jamaica, and some of the uglier outbursts and revelations of this past couple of weeks would suggest that we are now well into this testing time for the survival of multi-party democracy. Consider just a few of the signs. National elections are not due until 1981 and yet we have had an ongoing/^{and endless} election campaign which goes back to a few months after the last elections/^{of 1976. This campaign} ~~which~~ is now beginning to peak again and ~~which~~ looks like maintaining that peak until new elections are called. Not even the richest and most stable multi-

party parliamentary democracy in the world supports or can support
 kind of
 this/endless electioneering because it makes government almost
 impossible. No/~~party~~ ^{government} - PNP, JLP or No&P - can govern effectively
 while coping with an/endless election campaign which grows dirtier and nastier
 by the month. I think we can predict with absolute certainty that if
 the JLP were to win the next elections, and if the PNP were to follow/
 and
 / immediately start electioneering, the JLP would find it almost as
 impossible to govern as the PNP. In other words, this/~~xxxxxx~~ ^{confrontationist} brand
 of endless electioneering ends up making the democratic process itself
 unworkable. And when democracy fails it is the people, not the
 politicians, who pay the heaviest price; it is the people who bear
 the heaviest burden. And because it is the people who bear the/heaviest
 who highest
 and/pay the/~~xxxxxxxx~~ price, it is also the people who must/~~xxxxxx~~ to
 handle and to control and to put checks on the confrontationist
 characteristics
 characteris~~tics~~ of this political system, if they want it to continue.
 The hard problem is how to do it. If politicians want to manipulate
 the process it is difficult for people who only have their vote, to
 do much in the short run. And this is the great weakness of our prewar
 system. It is this weakness that makes it seem that the politicians
 are in ultimate control of political power, when in fact it is the
 people who control political power./~~and~~ ^{But} once the people really begin
 understand how to
 to/use their trade unions, and their church groups, and their citizens
 associations, and their farmers groups and their community organisati
 ns as instruments/~~xx~~ through which to tell the politicians
 what they want
 and what they do not want, the politicians ~~and~~ the parties will get
 the message and everyone will know who controls political power both
 during and between elections. This, after all, is what business people
 do through their PSOJ and JMA and what makes them seem strong. The
 people are and can be stronger once they understand it and provided
 they never hand over final power of key decision-making to anybody
 they cannot control afterwards. That is the meaning of democracy and
 of power controlled by the people. Goodnight.

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- 1) The JLP Conference
 - 2) Security Council Meeting on Iran
 - 3) Patriotic Front Defies British Demand

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening. It was an intensely political weekend, both at home and abroad. The 36th annual conference of the Jamaica Labour Party was the main event here at home, and, predictably, the country's economic problems and preparations for the coming elections were the main themes of yesterday's public session of the conference. The JLP has now formally decided to go back to contesting all elections; and that is a good thing. The condition is that fair voters' lists be prepared. But since the JLP now forms part of the committee which will supervise the preparation and implementation of all the electoral reform processes they can ensure that fair voters lists are prepared before any election. So the business of 'reserving the right not to recognise the results' if fair lists have not been prepared, must be seen as a bit of shadow-boxing for/highly enthusiastic supporters. The economic criticisms were very much more telling precisely because the economy is in such a bad state. And since it is the business of politicians to get political mileage out of the setbacks and failures of their opponents, hammering the government over the economy is fair game. No matter that the economic climate and situation, both locally and internationally, of the pre-1973 era compared with today is of two totally different worlds, the fact still remains that unemployment according to the Labour Force statistics which stood at 184,500 in 1972 was up to 247,100 last year. And the cost of living has gone up fantastically, and social services such as transport, health and education are grossly inadequate. It is good

and fair electioneering tactics to pick out these things and highlight them. But then there is the question of what to do about them. What to do about unemployment? What are the targets? To bring unemployment back down to the 1972 figure? And how? To bring down the cost of salt fish or rice or bread to what it was in 1972? And how? And since those grossly inadequate social services are already an improvement on what prevailed ~~in~~ in 1972 what do we do about them? And how? of the Opposition. These are fair questions for the electorate to ask. But the government of the day cannot hide behind these questions. Any government which claims to be socialist - and it seems all/parties/are doing that now - sorts of and persons any government which claims to be socialist must address itself urgently to the key social problems of our unemployed youth, in particular; of our grossly bad public transport and public education systems and of our public health service. No amount of propaganda, no amount of explanation, no media campaigns no matter how well managed, can substitute for urgent action on these issues which affect the lives of the majority of Jamaicans. It is on these basic , on how they are tackled, issues/that the outcome of the next elections will depend. On the international scene two events dominated. First there was the decision of the U.N. Secretary-General to use his special powers to call a meeting of the Security Council today, on Iran. The U.S. which had resisted such a meeting up to now until the hostages were freed, has agreed to it. The hope is that there will be a cooling of the tense atmosphere and perhaps negotiations. And second there was the flat rejection by ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the leaders of Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front of today's British deadline for accepting ceasefire proposals. After checking with the leaders of the frontline states they have dug in their heels. So now Britain must either agree to negotiate some more or wreck the talks. The stakes are high and the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia power game is far from over. Goodnight.

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- 1) Iran Update
 - 2) Zambia: South African Design Unfolds
 - 3) Of Guns & Principles

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
November 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: In spite of the scary crisis flurries of earlier this week/~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ it is still very clear that the United States is not about to try any kind of 'military solution' to Iran's seizing of its Embassy and holding hostage of its citizens. Mr. Carter's tough talk of not ruling out the use of force was, when you examine it, very carefully worded and very carefully timed. So we had, for the first time, a broadcast from inside the Soviet Union beamed to Iran calling for the release of the hostages and the giving up of the Embassy. And almost as though orchestrated, we had statements from some key world leaders, our own Prime Minister among ^{them}, calling for the release of the hostages as a pre-condition to everything else. The United Nations Security Council had made that call, and so had many other countries and leaders, mostly through diplomatic channels. The United States government knew of all these initiatives and Mr. Carter's strong language was to add further pressure. There is of course the point that if the hostages are harmed ~~they~~ Americans may be forced to take action, no matter what the consequences. But even here, the Americans would prefer that any such action should be under the auspices of the United Nations. The real joker in the pack, as we saw earlier this week in that attack on the American Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, is a rampantly militant Islam on the move. There have been reports of anti-American - and anti-Western - Islamic demonstrations in Turkey, in Bangladesh and as far away as Indonesia. And then there was the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the most holy of all the shrines of Islam. All of which testifies to a turbulent ^{new} ferment in

the world of Islam. The burning and the deaths in Pakistan were the results of a rumour; and so were the eruptions elsewhere: and we are not yet clear as to why the Grand Mosque at Mecca was seized. Is it all irrational? Will it go away if non-Moslems in general and the Christian Western/world in particular denounced it as mediaeval and primitive barbaric? This is the political joker in the pack which may well dominate the decade of developments in the 1980. The other political hotspot whose problems are bound to loom large in the 1980s is of course Southern Africa where President Kaunda's Zambia is now caught in a deadly squeeze-play masterminded by South Africa's white racists and tacitly condoned by the United Kingdom government. This is why they are having those anti-British demonstrations in Zambia and why Bishop Muzorwewa was warmly received by South Africa's rulers and why he was able to threaten Kaunda with a much greater force than Zambia could withstand. So, if Kaunda reacts militarily to the present Rhodesian attacks which are designed to cut his road and rail links with Tanzania, with Angola and with Mozambique, the South Africans may intervene. The only links which are not being cut in these attacks are those with Rhodesia itself. The design is quite simply to force or starve Zambia into turning to Rhodesia and South Africa for survival. And the South Africans have chosen their target well: Zambia and Kaunda are the most vulnerable, in every sense, of the Front Line states. So much will depend on how the U.N. Security Council and the Africans in the rest of the continent react. The South Africans are not going to be diverted from their grand design for white dominance for racist ~~xxxxxx~~ by verbal attack and moral condemnation, no matter how sincere and thundering. And finally, the notion of 'One Man One Gun' is really no substitute for one man one vote. There is no qualitative value to the gun. It is a tool to liberate or to enslave. Only the freely expressed choice of people is the true measure of their freedom. Hope our friends in Grenada think this one through with great care. Goodnight.

- 1) Justice, the Rule of Law & the Young
Who are Poor & Black
~~2) Update on the International Scene~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Of all the many and varied problems which beset this country at this time, one problem which is causing a very large number of thoughtful Jamaicans deep concern and deep distress is the way in which our institutions/of justice and the rule of law often deal with the young/^{men} of this society who happen to be poor and black. For many of us/^{this} ~~this problem~~ is the single most serious specific aspect of the general problem of poverty and social neglect in the society. Now, it is very easy to generate a great deal of emotional heat that is of no help, so let me say straightaway that I am not talking about young men who are known criminal types. What I am talking about are those young men/^{with no known criminal background} who are alleged to have threatened the police with a stone or a stick or a knife and who are then shot to death. How often have you heard or read about this sort of thing? over the past year or two or three? A dozen times? Two dozen times? More? And usually, when the police have shot to death some young man in these circumstances, the young man was usually alone and there were two or more armed police on the scene. Normally one would expect the police to wound or maim someone so that they can overpower him and arrest him. And that would mean aiming for the arm or the shoulder or the leg, not for the heart or the head. And have you noticed that it is only when the young man has some political connection that his killing by the police might lead to some enquiry following some row by this or that political party? At other times we have a brief news item which says: "Police shot and killed a man who is alleged to have attacked a

constable..." or a police party. And the ages of these shot and killed youngsters usually range between 18 and 25. And there the matter usually rests, unless of course there is a political connection. The question is: What effect does this have on the other young^{men} ~~sters~~ in the society? What is their attitude to a society and a social system whose laws and whose law-enforcement agencies seem set against them? Seem ready to shoot them down the moment they show any self-assertion? And seem not to afford them the same due process the other people in the society are entitled to? You know, and I know, some of the answers to these questions already. There is no need to labour the point that very many of these young men see the law and those who enforce the law as their enemies. What we do need to do is to remind ourselves just how often we have heard or read that brief news item: " Police shot and killed a man who was alleged to have..." and just how often we have condoned it by our indifference. It was and it remains our responsibility as citizens to insist that the law and the rule of law be applied just as fairly to those young men who happen to be poor and black as to anybody else in Jamaica. And this means that except in provably genuine self-defence the police have no business to shoot and kill a man. The rule of law says that only our courts sit in judgement and dispense/ punishment. Why do our courts allow some police to usurp that high responsibility? It seems to me that if justice and the rule of law are to continue to prevail in Jamaica then we had all better respond seriously and firmly to those much too frequent brief/^{news} items beginning : "Police shot and killed a man who is alleged to have..." There is no way that we can justify the taking of human life, any human life, on this basis. And where it is done, only our courts must decide whether it was right or wrong. Fail in this and justice itself will die. Goodnight.

Iran Update:

- a) The Crisis Eases
- b) The Limits of Power

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With the release of three of the American hostages held by Iranian students at the American Embassy in Iran, the tension in the relations between the United States and Iran has eased considerably. Much of the dangerously explosive heat has gone out of the situation. The chances of violence have been greatly reduced. The frightening prospect of some incident, some act of daring or some show of strength resulting in fighting which could flare up into a new Middle East war are now largely past. And for this easing of the crisis, American President Jimmy Carter deserves most of the credit. Mr. Carter had to resist enormous pressures from the American right-wing pressure groups as well as from political opponents within his own party all of whom wanted him to act swiftly and firmly and sternly to show the world that 'nobody could push us around'. But after the first few days, when the shock of the seizure of the Embassy had been absorbed, and when people began to think through the implications of any course of action, most Americans gave their approval to the restrained and deliberately measured and slow response of the Carter Administration. And once the politicians, of all shades and complexions saw that Carter had the backing of a majority of the American people, they all endorsed the President's action or non-action and saw it as wise 'statesmanship' and sound leadership. Even Dr. Henry Kissinger's criticism that the Carter Administration was to be blame for the fall

of the Shah, which would have made banner headlines at other times, was allowed by the American media to die quietly. And the reason for all this, I think, is that suddenly, and with startling clarity, a majority of the American people had come face to face with the limits of American power in a situation like this. The cold brute fact was that short of making war there was very little that the United States could do. And there was no way of ensuring that if the U.S. marines or a paratroop brigade were sent in everybody else would just standby and watch. And even if the Americans were prepared to risk that, there was the haunting memory of Vietnam where for the first time a great nuclear power, the United States, went down to military defeat at the hands of a poor Third World country. And as was Vietnam, Iran was half a world away and also shares common borders with a great communist power. And do not forget the thousands upon thousands of millions of dollars' worth of highly sophisticated armaments Iran has thanks to the massive arms buying by the former Shah from the United States. So unlike Vietnam Iran would begin any fight already in possession of the most advanced American weapons of war. In this sense Mr. Carter's quiet and restrained response to the crisis was because he could not do better. But one of the hallmarks of leadership is to recognise the limits of power: and Mr. Carter did just that. And for the Third World one lesson must be that if you have to pick a fight with, or form an alliance with ~~take on~~ a great power, take on one who is half a world away and whose great competitor is in your own backyard. The advantages are obvious, when you think about it. But even more important in the cold-blooded terms of geopolitical power manoeuvring is the fact that Third World events like Cuba and Vietnam and now Iran, for all their many differences - and Iran's just about as different from the other two as possible - are manifestations of the fundamental changes taking place in the relations between the great powers & the poor of the earth.

Goodnight.

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- 1) What Gives at Air Jamaica?
 - 2) International Notes
 - 3) On Being Quoted

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
November 16, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: What gives with Air Jamaica? All the recent news about our national airline makes it clear that there is something wrong. We have had a report of a protest sick-out by the airline's North American staff over the appointment of a Jamaican secretary at the Toronto office. We hear of an investigation into what could be a truly massive overpayment to Air Jamaica pilots - and some, if not all of this money, remember, is in foreign exchange. And we hear, apparently three or four weeks after the events, that the Chairman of the Board of Air Jamaica, has resigned. So, what gives with Air Jamaica? What is going on? What is going wrong? And why? The Economic and Social Survey for 1978 gives the clear impression that 1978 was a reasonably good year for Air Jamaica compared with the year before. It operated a fleet of 14 aircraft, and it carried some 748,000 passengers - the highest number in its history. The one discordant note, according to the Economic Survey, was that the airline's expenses per ton mile went up from 53.3c ^{in 1977} ~~XXXXXX~~ to 81.9c last year. And this was mainly due to the increase in the cost of fuel. So, given this reasonably good performance, what went wrong? One of the problems that seems to have surfaced, and I think it is manifested in the sick-out over the hiring of a Jamaican secretary, is the problem of control. Are the North American managers of Air Jamaica subject to control and direction from headquarters here in Jamaica, or are they a law unto themselves? In theory the answer is clear. The question is: what happens in practice?

Another aspect of this/^{problem}~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of control is at the local policy-making level. Clearly, the airline's Board makes policy, but to whom is that Board accountable? To the Ministry of Transport, as it should logically be? Or to the Tourism section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, which also has a very real and practical interest in the airline's performance? I get the impression of a great blurring of accountability and responsibility here. And this, I am sure, cannot be good for the airline and for the morale of the people who work for the airline. Perhaps all the other problems of Air Jamaica boil down to this point of a rather diffused leadership which is unclear about ~~the~~ whom it does or whom it should serve. If this is in fact the case then the sooner the Cabinet sorts this one out the better for Air Jamaica, and the better for the Jamaican national interest. And, you know, experience has shown that whenever governments and government agencies have withheld the facts from the people, whenever they have tried to hide mistakes, things have got worse. Whenever they have opened up it has become easier to grapple with the given problem. So tell the people what gives with Air Jamaica! And finally, ^{is briefly} while I am very extensively ^{elsewhere} quoted today some key parts of what I said are ^{consequently} dotted out. So add back this, and I quote: "All freedom is conditional and relative. And the owners of the press can always cut off the freedom of the journalist whose views offend them because the press, as Sealy said, is their thing and you cannot do your thing with another man's thing. It is at this point, the point where there is a sharp clash between the interests of the owners and the freedom of the journalists that we face the real test-questions: Whose press freedom? Freedom to serve whose interests? And these ^{are} the questions we are all still side-stepping." Journalistic ^{naivety} cannibalism, and upending ^{the} that fact that people, not governments, represent the greatest concentration of power in elective democracies, are not answers to those real test-questions. Goodnight.

- 1) Iran Update
2) ~~What Gives with Air Jamaica?~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Godd everning: The holding of the American hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Teheran is now into its second week and still there are no signs of an end to it. Instead the tension escalates daily. Both Iran and the United States have announced the end of the flow of oil from Iran to the United States. In what most informed observers saw as a kind of face-saving pre-emptive move, President Carter announced the oil cut-off/shortly before it was made public in Iran itself. And there is no question that/~~the United States~~ States will be most hurt by this cut-off, especially in the long run. Iran sold the U.S. 600,000 barrels of oil every day, and Americans need every drop of that oil just to keep up with their present consumption habits. For a short while they will be able to make up/^{from reserves} for the loss of that 600,000 barrels a day. Some estimates are that Americans will not really begin to feel the pinch for the next 30 to 60 days, and then things will really begin to hurt. That should take them into the heart of next January and bitter winter. The poor and the old and the unemployed /^{in the U.S.} this winter. are likely to hurt and to suffer grievously/ And it is not likely to be easy for the United States to make up for that 600,000 barrel a day shortfall by shopping on the open spot market. Iran on the other hand will have absolutely no difficulty selling those 600,000 barrels a day on the open spot market for probably very much higher prices. A great deal will depend on how much of their own oil America's West European partners may be prepared to divert to help her out. But many

of them are already very critical of America's high and wasteful consumption habits, and may not be prepared to hold strain in order to feed those habits, especially with new oil price increases in the offing for 1980. And earlier today we had news which further complicates the picture. Word from Teheran was that Iran was withdrawing all its bank deposits, given as \$12,000-million, from American banks and transferring these to more friendly European banks. Predictably, the value of the U.S. dollar took a nosedive on the world money markets, and only steadied a bit when Washington announced that President Carter had decided to freeze all Iranian official assets in the United States. Now, the 'official Iranian assets' which are held in the U.S. Central Bank are given as \$4,000-million which is \$8,000-million/^{less}~~more~~ than the \$12,000-million figure given by Iran. So if it is only the \$4,000-million of direct Iranian Government assets which is being frozen, Iran would still be able to withdraw the \$8,000-million held in commercial banks and cause some /^{considerable} short-term commercial degree of/dislocation in the private/banking system. If on the other hand the Carter freeze turns out to include the assets held by private commercial banks, this move might well provoke wider reaction from other oil producing countries with large investments in the United States. If Iran's assets/^{in commercial banks} can be frozen, then why not Nigeria's if there is some fall-out between her and the U.S. over South Africa? Or/^{the assets}~~that~~ of Saudi Arabia in the event of some fall-out over Israel or the Palestinians or the P.L.O.? Or the assets of Mexico over some fall-out about illegal Mexican migration or the price of Mexican natural gas? In short if the vast sums of oil money now held by private U.S. commercial banks can be frozen at will by U.S. administrations, the oil producers may think it prudent to quietly remove their money and keep it elsewhere. And that would open a new can of worms. So it is still America that looks like hurting most. Goodnight

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- 1) PAJ Annual Dinner:
 - a) Gil Noble on the media & the Third World
 - b) Citizen's Enquiry on Gleaner
 - c) Who Write the Code of Ethics
 - 2) ~~International Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 12, 1979, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: One of the highpoints of the weekend here at home was
36th
the/annual dinner and Seprod Journalism Awards ceremony of the Press
Association of Jamaica. This was a genuine media occasion, not some-
thing thought up or manufactured in order to promote some idea or some
personality or some special interest: it is an occasion which has
for almost
taken place /every year of the life of the Association, no matter who
was in or out of political power, or who led the Association, or what
was the mood and social climate in the country. And for fifteen of
annual
those years we have had the/Sprod Journalism Awards, which was the
branchchild of Mr. Felix Fox when he headed Seprod, and which has been
a great contributor to the raising of standards within the profession.
So this was no special trumped-up occasion. It was part of a continuous
process which connects past and present and is a signpost to the
future. And to the extent that the news media is a reasonably
accurate reflection of the society in which it functions, the changes
within the media and within the Association will be reasonably
accurate reflections of the changes within the society. The Jamaican
society is today more politicised than ever before in its history.
(Which has always been political)
So the media/is more politicised than ever before; so the Association
is more politicised than ever before. There is political polarisation
in the society: so you find the same in the media and in the Associat-
ion. And there is nothing strange or terrible about this. What would
be strange and terrible would be for the society to undergo these

profound, and at times traumatic, changes and for the media and for the Association to be completely untouched by these changes. The fact that the media and the Association are affected by these changes are the strains and tensions of proof of their involvement in/the changing life of the society. The very change in the leadership and direction of the Association is a reflection of the ~~xxxx~~ shift of the true control of political power in the society. The very economic problems faced by the so-called public media are a reflection of the dichotomy which comes into play within the wider society when/ ~~those who control~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ political power do not also control economic power. The debate about whether this is good or bad, about whether journalists and their Association should or should not take stands on certain issues, is really a very subjective one (and I use the word 'subjective' in the same sense that Gil Noble used it on Saturday night). It is really all a question of what and whose any given section of the media interests/~~xxx~~ serves of what ends ~~xxx~~ wants to achieve. What all sides media and should in the/debate can/agree about are the rules to abide by in the conducting of that debate and in the serving of the ends they desire. This is really what journalistic professionalism and our Professional Code of Ethics which was drawn up by the Press Association in 1965 is all about. And fourteen years ago, when our Professional Code of Ethics was drawn up it was not drawn up by the so-called 'radicals' and the so-called 'leftists'. ^{the records shows that} The President of the PAJ when our Code was drawn up 14 years ago was/~~Theodore Sealy~~ Mr. Clifton Neita, now ManEditor of the Gleaner; the Secretary was only one Ken Chaplin. And there was/~~xxxx~~ single person who could in any way be described as 'radical' on the Executive, that was John Maxwell. The others were Sealy, Percy Miller, Hector Bernard, JC Proute, Morris Cargill and V.G. Bailey. These are the men who wrote our Code of Ethics. And it is under this Code, and on charges of having violated this Code, that the citizen's enquiry into the conduct of the Gleaner is being carried out. And this, like it or not, is what professional accountability and responsibility is all about. Goodnight.

Iran Seizure Update:
Carter's Dilemma

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
November 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: While some among us here in Jamaica seem to be trying desperately to artificially create one kind of crisis or another where ^{what we face are} ~~none~~ really ^{problems} ~~exists~~, the very real international crisis caused by ^{the} seizure last Sunday of the American Embassy in Teheran, and the holding hostage of 60 Americans who were in the Embassy at the time, continues to simmer. The pressure continues to build up. An anxious world waits to see what happens next. It is the kind of situation which could suddenly dissolve overnight. The Ayatollah Khomeini/^{may} ~~may~~ suddenly order: 'let the Americans go' and the whole thing would be over. The deposed Shah ^{quickly and quietly} may/leave his New York hospital and the United States, and the whole thing would be over because there would then be no point in holding on to the 60 Americans. The Ayatollah, who is a very old man, may die suddenly and Iran may/^{then} be into a new situation; the former Shah, who is a very sick man, may die suddenly. Each of these possibilities could become reality at any moment and totally transform the situation. None of them may come to pass and the crisis may then drag out for more days. And it is then that President Carter's delicate and difficult dilemma could get to a point where the U.S. Administration would/^{be forced} ~~have~~ to take some bold action. The pressure for such action is already building up very strongly within the United States, and not only at the level of partisan or presidential politics. That aggressive, rightwing Texan America-firster, Mr. John Connally, was the first to attack the President's handling of development in Iran. It was easy for the

President's men to brush off that attack by saying that it was the President, and not Mr. Connally, who had the responsibility for ensuring the safety of the Americans held in Teheran. And the criticism of former President Gerald Ford could also be ignored. But it became a little more difficult when Mr. Ted Kennedy, who is challenging Mr. Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination, also criticised the apparent no action on Iran. And now American ~~xxx~~ dockers and airline ground staff have decided not to handle Iranian ships and planes, and Americans are staging protest demonstrations in many cities across the United States. And this pressure is certain to grow if the hostages are not released quickly. And this pressure ^{for some sort of bold dramatic act} goes counter to what has emerged very clearly, during the course of this week, as the deliberate and carefully thought-out tactics of the Carter people. And those tactics are in the first instance to ensure that nothing is done to provoke the Iranian students into killing or brutalising the American hostages; to try by quiet diplomacy and through all and any possible third parties to get the hostages released; and to make quiet plans and preparations for action in case the first to efforts fail. So for the Carter Administration buying time was and is an important factor. When you are dealing with a problem more than five thousand miles away, and in which other critical and complex issues are involved, and in which your own options are in any case very limited, hasty and impulsive action, some dramatic show of force, can be dangerous and self-defeating. And this is the position of the United States in this matter. Almost anything she may do to 'punish' Iran is likely to damage American interests more. If she sends in the marines the hostages will be killed, ^{is likely to} war/~~will~~ erupt which could easily engulf the whole Middle East and suck in the great powers; and the flow of oil could dry up. All this adds up to the Carter, and American, dilemma over Iran.

Goodnight.

A Threat to National Sovereignty:
Partisan Politics Run Amok

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
November 7, 1979, 6.10p.m

Jamaican Jamaican
Good evening:/ Sovereignty,/national sovereignty, means that the
Jamaican people, and only the Jamaican people, decide how they are
governed, who governs them, ^{for how long,} and the political and social systems
under which they live. Nobody else, no matter who, no matter how
big or powerful or rich, can take away that power from the Jamaican
people without also destroying their national sovereignty. I think
in today's Jamaica, and in today's world, most people would accept
this as almost so self-evident as not to need any stating. And yet,
there are ^{clear} trends and tendencies in Jamaican ^{partisan} politics today which go
counter to this concept of national sovereignty, and which indeed,
are a threat to Jamaican national sovereignty. At the very heart of
national sovereignty ^{in the multi-party context} is the business of settling your differences and
your disagreements among yourselves ^{or} keeping your fights to yourselves
and of not involving or allowing outsiders to become involved in your
internal affairs. Some quick and easy examples of this are to be
seen in both the American and British political processes. The British
Conservatives and the British Socialists fight like political cats and
^{both} dogs inside Britain, in an out of the British Parliament. They do not
indulge in the nastiness and the sneering and jeering and the personal
abuse ^{attempts at} and character-assassination which ~~many~~ some here use in place of
serious debate and discussion and comment; but this does not make their
attacks and counter-attacks any the less hard-hitting. Indeed, this
relative absence of personal nastiness as a tool ~~of~~ of party political
debate has given the British system a healthy vigour and toughness

which are good for parliamentary democracy. And the same sort of thing can be said about the American party political system which is now going into top gear for next year's Presidential elections. The debates and the struggles for leadership and power ~~in~~ within each of the two major parties will be tough and ~~gruelling~~ ^{bruising}. But when that is over and the candidates are chosen, each side will unite behind its chosen candidate and there will be another tough and bruising battle against the other party. But nowhere, at no point, will any American Presidential candidate take his campaign for the Presidency outside the United States, except perhaps to American voters who are, for the time-being, outside the United States. No American Presidential candidate will plead ^{his} case for being elected, or his party's case for being returned to power, or will ask for help in his campaign for political power, before any non-American audience. And this applies to both the Democrats and the Republicans. And this applies too, to both the British Prime Minister and the British Leader of the Opposition. When these people go outside their countries, when they speak to non-American audiences or non-British audiences, they leave their party politics at home and speak as British ^{National} leaders or American ^{National} leaders. And they do not ever invite any outside force to become involved in their internal party political power struggles. For they know that to do so would be to compromise their national sovereignty, and would be to show contempt for the people of their countries. Contrast this with what some of our political leaders have been saying recently, and with where they have been saying it, and to what audiences, and you will recognise the threat to our national sovereignty. It is as though they see the solution to ^{all} Jamaica's problems - political, economic, social, ^{as well as} and the direction Jamaica should take - as having to be imposed from outside Jamaica. This would take political power out of the hands of the Jamaican people. And this is dangerous to our ^{National} sovereignty. Goodnight.

Student Action In Iran:
A New Middle East Crisis in the Making?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
November 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday a well-armed force of Iranian students stormed the American Embassy in Teheran, seized it, and took as hostages the Americans who were in the Embassy at the time. According to a student spokesman there were 90 Americans, according to U.S. reports there were 59 Americans, and a smaller number on non-American employees of the Embassy. Reports are that the students seized Embassy files and papers which the Embassy workers had not been able to destroy in time. And the students vowed that they would hold the Embassy until the United States Government agreed to return the deposed Shah of Iran to face trial for his crimes against the Iranian people. Reports earlier today were that so far nobody had been hurt or killed and that the hostages were being well treated and fed. There were also reports that the Ayatollah Khomeini had expressed his personal support for the action taken by the students, while the Iranian Government is reported to have advised the Americans that it would do everything in its power to resolve the issue as quickly as possible. Those are the bare outlines of what is the most dramatic as well as what is potentially the most explosive new development in the Middle East. And there are two factors which give this new development the disturbing importance of threatening the peace of the Middle East. The first is that the whole of that area of the Middle East - Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq - are in varying states of social and political restlessness, with Turkey (next door to Iran) being in acute economic and political crisis and even deeper in^{to} the

I.M.F. debt-trap than are most Third World countries who are not oil producers. Earlier this year, about June-July, the Turkish economic situation was so desperate that the I.M.F. had to step in to arrange for the rescheduling of \$5,000-million in short-term debts. The reason for this special treatment is because Turkey is part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and is NATO's closest/listening post for spying on the Soviet Union. But in an area floating on oil, Turkey has all sorts of minerals except oil, so she is up to her neck in crisis, in debt, and ⁱⁿ dependence of the U.S. at a time when the tide of anti-Western feeling is very strong in that part of the world. So there is no way of knowing what responses the student action in Teheran yesterday might evoke in the area. And the second disturbing factor is how the United States itself might react to the seizure of its Embassy and the holding hostage of its citizens. And the fact that the United States is now into its protracted year-long Presidential campaign is not likely to help if the matter is not quickly resolved. Already President Carter and his advisers have felt compelled to show, here in the Caribbean, that he can be as 'tough' and 'hardnosed' over 'American rights' as his most extreme rightwing opponents. And so we have the Caribbean Task Force to prove to the American voters that Mr. Carter is a 'strong' President who is not going to be pushed around and is therefore worthy of re-election next year. If the Iranian students do not give up the Embassy and its hostages quickly the need to protect his new 'tough-guy' image may force the President to take drastic action or else stand condemned as 'weak'. And it is this essentially domestic electoral need to be seen to be tough and decisive and strong which could lead to action which deepen rather than ease the crisis. And what has happened to that waning of support for the Ayatollah the Western press has been telling us of? Goodnight

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- 1) The Spreading ~~xxxx~~ Intemperate Language
 - 2) Guerrilla Raid on SOWETO Police Station
 - 3) On Censorship & Editorial ~~Discretion~~ *Control*

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
November 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A careful reading of the statement issued yesterday by the Minister of Finance on the government's moves to tighten its campaign against the illegal importing and smuggling of goods into the country, makes it very clear that the government had in fact set in motion its control and enforcement operation well before the threat by the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association to stop paying excise duty unless the government did what it was in fact already doing. And so we had another round of confrontationist headlines. We had 'Govt. Gets Ultimatum: Excise duty ban threat by JMA'; we had: 'Manufacturers Threaten Shutdown' and we had 'No response to excise withholding threat: Govt's Silence Unacceptable'. And now it turns out that this threatening language, this language of ^{aggressive} defiance, was not really necessary. So why were Jamaicans subjected to it? It is of course possible that the JMA and the leaders of the JMA did not know that all illicit imports which had been detected had in fact been confiscated since July of this year, or that the Ministries of Finance and Nation ^{some 3 days before the JMA threat} Security had ^{set up} a joint Police-Customs Enforcement operation to tighten up the fight against illicit imports even further. ^{For} ~~And~~ we must assume that if the JMA had known these things it would not have issued that threat. What I personally cannot understand is why the JMA seems not even to have tried to find out from the Minister, even if on a confidential basis, what, if anything had been done, before issuing its threat and unsettling things a little more. This is not the way to create ^a climate conducive to productivity.

And still on the business of news headlines we had recently been treated to some self-serving and deliberately misleading nonsense on press freedom and censorship. Now, there is no newspaper under the sun, no radio or television station under the sun, no magazine of any kind anywhere in the world, which publishes or broadcasts any and everything it gets just like that. Always, no matter what the medium of communication, no matter what the social system, no ^{what} ^{or class} matter/the political or social/interests or ideological positions the radio station or the television station or the newspaper serves, always the editor, who is the servant of the owners, chooses what will or will not be broadcast or published, how much of it, and how ^{selection and} and where. This is what is called editorial/control and it is exercise^s everywhere. In the United States, in Russia, in China, Britain in France, everywhere. Our two radio stations and our two newspapers here in Jamaica exercise that same control. The important thing is how and in whose interest that control is exercised, and what ^{of a particular medium} particular interests the editorial policy/is designed to serve. Within this framework there can be variety of view and differing opinion pieces. But even here there is the ultimate editorial control which ^{radio or t.v.} is exercised by stopping a particular/programme or commentator or by consigning some self-important columnist to the obscurity from which ^{act of} he or she came by simple/stopping the column. So the notion of some/ ^{totally} is unrestricted press freedom is a piece of fiction : all freedom/condition^{al} ^{and relative} And the owners of the press can always cut off the freedom of the ^{whose views offend them} journalist/because the press, as Sealy said, is their thing, and you cannot do your thing with another man's thing. It is at this point, the point where ~~where~~ ~~that~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~sharp~~ ~~clash~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ ~~interest~~ of the owners and the freedom of the journalists that we face the real test-questions: Whose Press freedom? Freedom to serve whose interests? And these are the ^{ones} ^{questions} we're all ^{still} side-stepping. Goodnight.

The Global Implications of
U.S. Presidential Politics

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 31, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The man who is President of the United States, the political outlook and beliefs of the / man who occupies the White House at any given time, and the strength or weakness of that man within the political system of his own country all have a very profound bearing on what happens here in Jamaica, and, indeed, on what happens almost anywhere in the world. This, whether we like it or not, is the brute fact of geopolitical power in today's world. It was not always like that. There was a time when Britain, at the height of her imperial glory, was the dominant power in the world, and when Britain's Prime Minister exercised the kind of pervasive world influence which the American President exercises today. Those were the days when little brown and black and yellow children in faraway places were taught to boast proudly of the fact that the sun never set on the British Empire. And if you go back further in history, before Britain it was France, and before France it was some-now-largely-forgotten entity known the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and before that there was Napoleon Bonaparte's empire fashioned by the sword of war and broken by the sword of war. And so you can go back in history to see the rise of some ~~power~~ nation or other to a position where it becomes the dominant force in the world, deciding what does or what does not happen in almost every corner of the world. And if you study your history well you will also see that no matter how great or how dominant or how powerful a nation, or indeed an individual may be, sooner or later, by the very laws of nature, some other nation, or some other individual, will rise up and

replace the once-dominant nation or the once-dominant individual. And yet, while they are in this dominant position it usually looks as though they are so fixed and so strong and so well-entrenched that nothing can shift them - until they are finally shifted. This is the position the United States has occupied since the Second World War; and already this global predominance is being challenged by the Soviet Union, which is really what the so-called Cold War is all about. In the meantime, how the man in the White House sees the world and deals with it, will continue to affect our lives until a new centre of geopolitical power comes into being. For instance, we in Jamaica who during the Nixon-Ford Presidencies were under very heavy pressures from Dr. Henry Kissinger's toughness on small nations who tried to go their own way, got almost immediate relief and easement when Mr. Jimmy Carter became President. The new President was less of a cold warrior, and because he came from a traditionally under-developed part of the United States he had great sympathy with the problems of underdeveloped countries. And we, and Africa in particular, were relieved of some of the more brutal manipulative pressures we had suffered. We had gone through somewhat similar phases of being left alone or being helped during the periods of such liberal Presidents as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. John Kennedy ^{who inherited the Cuban crisis from Gen. Eisenhower.} But both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Kennedy were strong Presidents who were in control of their own parties and who commanded vast popular mass support. So they could maintain their liberal programmes and policies even during election times. It is evident that Mr. Carter is just not strong enough to do that. He is having to swing away from liberalism and to the right in hopes of ^{appeasing and} gaining the support of the powerful rightwing forces who control both the economy and the propaganda and information media. That is why he abandoned Andrew Young. That is why we are again under heavy pressure. That is why the war talk and show strength. It is part of today's Presidential politics. Goodnight of

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- 1) A New Assault By the Foreign Press?
 - 2) 50th Anniversary of Crash of '29
 - 3) Did South Africa Explode Nuclear Device?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 29, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: When a newspaper like the Washington Post, with its high reputation for being liberal, joins with other and mainly rightwing North American newspapers in hammering Jamaica and its elected Government at this time; and when you review all the apparently unconnected happenings of last week in North America concerning Jamaica, some sort of a design, some sort of a plan does seem to emerge. Jamaica, Jamaica's Government, and the leader of Jamaica's government in particular, seem to be in for a large-scale, concerted and well-orchestrated round of economic and political pressure in which the 'foreign press' will play a key role. If I am right then we can expect/a really brutal battering from the foreign press in the days and weeks ahead. All the signs for it are/building up. So watch it all very closely and please check what you hear and read against what you know from hard experience. Part of the design is of course to hurt the already weak economy even further; and one way in which this can/easily be done is by trying to scare away the tourists. If there is supposed to be large-scale unrest and/riots in our streets, as last week's Time Magazine said, then tourists are not going to want to come here. And they are not going to want to come to a country in which they are told by some of the country's own leaders that a military take-over is being planned. And it is part of the reality of neo-colonialism and of the self-contempt it inculcates in the so-called ex-colonial elite and the intellectual

spokesmen of that group that they will themselves provide, or if need be, make up or manufacture the necessary 'evidence' to try and justify these attacks. And then they will reproduce these attacks ^{supporting} as/'proof' from so-called independent overseas sources. So watch it and judge it carefully as the foreign press and its local allies step up the ~~assault~~ ^{or anyone else}. And do not let them/paralyse or frighten you into giving up your right and your power to decide for yourself what it is you want and where it is you want to go. Those are decisions that should be made by Jamaicans, right here in Jamaica: not in Washington or anywhere else. That is what sovereign self-rule is all about. And today, the 29th of October, marks the 50th anniversary of what has become known as the Great Wall Street Crash of 1929, when the American monetary system crashed and dragged the whole world down to ten years of bitter economic depression and worldwide mass unemployment which only really came to an end with the outbreak of World War Two in 1939. And in America, and elsewhere in the world, many people are ^{today} /remembering that terrible economic catastrophe of fifty years ago and wondering whether we are moving toward another such collapse: again there is worldwide inflation, mounting unemployment, and dwindling confidence in the world's number one trading currency, the U.S dollar, of which there are now something like \$600-thousand-million floating around the world without backative of any kind. And some call our Jamaican dollar monkey money! At that time of great depression, which survived best, the countries which fared best/were the countries which could feed themselves from their own soil. Older Jamaicans will remember the times and will remember how basically self-sufficient in food Jamaica was. We had better get back to feeding ourselves. And finally, did South Africa explode a nuclear device last month?. I think so; and I think the Americans know it. So why the backtracking now? Goodnight.

The Politics Behind the Current
"Freedom of the Press" Debate

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
October 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Jamaican
Good evening: The public debate within the/news media on what is loosely described as 'freedom of the press' has entered an interesting new phase. The trouble is that there are so many/false issues and side issues and many red herrings being littered all over the place that we can/get easily hopelessly confused by all the double-talk unless we get the basic issues very clear in our own minds. So what are the basic issues behind this debate? First there is the matter of power and influence. A newspaper, a radio station, a television station, all help to shape and to influence the thinking and the beliefs and the judgements and the prejudices of the societies and communities within which they operate. And if the people who own the television station or the radio station or the newspaper have certain very strong beliefs, you can be sure that those beliefs will somehow come through in what is published or broadcast by the particular medium. So the very first point to bear in mind is that the news media is, by its very nature, a source of influence and power and that those who own and control it determine how that influence and power are used, and in whose interest. This is so whether the particular medium is own privately or publicly. And the difference between private ownership and public ownership is not, as the propagandists would have us believe, the difference between being 'free' or not being 'free'. A very simple example of this fact is that no privately owned newspaper or radio station is 'free' under a dictatorship, whereas the publicly-owned BBC is free in a democracy. The real difference between the privately-owned and public-owned media has to do with the social and political

in which they are born
 al systems/and in which they evolve and the interests that they
 serve. For example Jamaica's social and economic system has been
 an evolving ^{client} capitalist system for all of the 145 years of the Gleaner's
 existence.
 / To say this is simply to state a fact, not to pass a judgement.

Inevitably this has meant that the ownership of the Gleaner, and the
 interests it represented, reflected the views and interests of the
 dominant class in the Jamaican society. And over time the views and
 the interests of that class, nursed and nurtured by the Gleaner,
 became the dominant accepted views of all classes of the society.
 And the Gleaner, as the mouthpiece of that class, did become a power
 in the land. And even when, over the past 30 years or so, the Jamaica
 media began to diversify, and radio and television came, and second
 papers came and fell and came again, the prevailing views and values
 and interests of the society were pretty much accepted as those
 projected by the Gleaner and its owners over the years. And in the
 service of those interests the Gleaner has, as it rightly claims, been
 non-partisan, supporting or attacking each political party, depending
 on whether the policies of that party served or hindered the interests
 of the class it served. The really new development in the media over
 last two or three years is that ^{the view} prevailing of the interests and the
 direction of the society as expressed by the Gleaner, has ^{at last} been serious-
 ly challenged ^{by other media outlets} for the first time in all of the 145 years. There is no
 longer just one Gleaner view of Jamaica; ^{is of the interests of Jamaica} and the real threat that is
 being resisted ^{so bitterly, I think,} ^{this} is the ending of ~~the~~ monopoly of special power and
 influence which has been exercised as of right for so long. As long
 as Jamaica is governed in its present way and under our present
 Constitution the chances of the Gleaner being taken over or nationalised
 are very remote. The real issue is part and parcel of the power play ^{wider}
 of who should control, and in whose interest. The rest is smokescreen.
 Goodnight.

The Mounting Political Tensions:
Some Likely Consequences

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 24, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Leader of the Opposition has now replied to the Prime Minister's invitation to a meeting between the parties to try and 'de-escalate the mounting political tensions' in the society. And the reply is in effect a qualified rejection of that invitation, unless the Government does what the Opposition wants it to do. So read that letter for yourself and you will see the conditions set out by the Opposition. You will also^{see}/that these conditions go back to the 1976 General Elections, and indeed formed part of the JLP's 1976 Election Manifesto. And after reading the letter and thinking it through a fair conclusion might be that the Government is not likely to give in now to demands which it rejected in 1976/~~and after winning an election as part of that rejection.~~ ^{and after} All of which leaves us with the prospect of political tensions mounting rather than easing. If the/~~JLP~~^{Opposition} says we are not going to de-escalate or help/~~to~~ de-escalate political tension /unless you do~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{this and} that then the only alternatives open to the Government are either to give in to the demands or else prepare to meet mounting tension. So what are the likely consequences of a stepping up of political tension within the society? There are, as I see it, at least three basic likely consequences. First, and perhaps the least immediately dangerous of the three, is for our party political point-scoring electioneering to go into top gear and to stay in that gear for the next year or so until elections are called in 1981. In some ways this has indeed ^{been} the course along which we have been going in fits and starts since

the 1976 elections and the effects on the economy have been crippling. To be sure some government policies are also to be blamed for our economic troubles; but so too, must be the endless electioneering and intensified party political pressure plays with their dislocating and disrupting tests of strength and shows of strength. Not even like Britain and the United States rich metropolitan countries/can afford to indulge in the dubious luxury of continuous election campaigning, with a new election campaign starting within a couple of months of a new government being sworn in. And yet this is how we have been going on since 1976. At best this road leads to death by slow strangulation for parliamentary democracy. The second likely consequence of greater political escalation is that the dangerous game of ^{political} confrontation and taking to the streets may, through some accident or miscalculation or deliberate design, get out of hand and result in large-scale civil disorder. And once this happens parliamentary democracy and the rule of law are immediately endangered. And the third and most dangerous of all the likely consequences of escalating political tension is that somebody or somebodies may be tempted by the general unrest to try to overthrow the duly elected government by force. And the main danger here is ^{once it is made,} that whether the attempt succeeds or not, ^{and the Jamaican Constitution we now have,} Constitutional government as we know it/will be overthrown and will be replaced by a dictatorship of one sort or another. And the real meaning of the overthrow of our Constitution is that it will take from the people of Jamaica the final ^{those who govern} power to choose or to remove/them and give that power to somebody else. In this sense the Jamaican people have nothing to gain and everything to lose from any escalating of the present political tension in the society. And on the business of the Services Commissions - the Public Service, the Police - they are all appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister after consultation with the Leader of the Opposition. So says the Constitution. Goodnight.

- 1) Some Implications of the Politics of Confrontation
- 2) War for Essential Strategic Raw Materials
- 3) ~~The Death of Five Children~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 22, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If you have carefully followed the political events of the past five days - which is the time since the Prime Minister sent his invitation to the Leader of the Opposition for them to meet to try and de-escalate the mounting political tensions - you might fairly conclude that political tension is not likely to ease. On the contrary, all the indications are of a stepping up of those tensions. When somebody, anybody, is spoiling for a fight then, sooner or later there is bound to be fight, that is unless the person who is being challenged backs away or runs away or submits ^{to the challenge} in some other way. If the ^{challenged} ~~other~~ person is not prepared to back away or to give in then, no matter how much he may try to avoid the fight, no matter how much he may try to reason, there will be ^a fight. And that seems to be the situation into which we here in Jamaica are right now. When high church leaders are vilified and sneered at for the 'crime' of calling for an end to this madness without also taking sides, then we are well on the way to the bitter confrontation ^{that} we all say we do not want. When newspapers and media houses ^{abandon} ~~abandon~~ their traditional roles of informing, investigating, analysing and providing balance and perspective while critically supporting national institutions and ^{when they} ~~become~~ instead partisans in the business of incitement and confrontation, the prospects of peace are gravely diminished and the showdown fight is made that much more inevitable. And ^{those} ~~the people~~ who are likely to suffer most in such a showdown fight are the majority

of the ordinary Jamaican people - not the leaders ^{and not} or those who are
 the inciters to political warfare. The poor, and they are the majority,
 do not have either the money or the Green Cards or the connections
 that would make it possible for them to pack up and run to live in
 America or Canada or Europe or elsewhere if their side loses the fight.
 The leaders and the rich ones ^{always} can run, but the poor would have to stay
 here and bear the grief and suffer the consequences. This is how it
 always is in violent showdowns. So it is easy for ^{those at the top} ~~them~~ to spoil for a
 fight and call for a showdown; they will not bear the burden if they
 lose; the poor will. So it seems to me that it is up to the poor to
 think this thing through for themselves and to decide for themselves
 if they really want this bitter ^{violent} /showdown political fight that some
 people ^{seem to be} /~~are~~ spoiling for. And, you know, we do not really need any sort
 of violent political showdown to change our government. We can vote
 them in or out every five years, as long as we abide by our Constitu-
 tion. Which brings us logically to the question: Are those ^{who are} /spoiling
 for a fight trying to overthrow the Jamaican Constitution? For make
 no mistake about it, once you break the Constitutional rules they are
 done forever. Please think ^{carefully} /about some of these implications of the
 politics of confrontation and violent showdown. Your ^{freedom and the} /future freedom
 of your children are involved. And thinking about ^{the} /freedom of Third
 World peoples, the very influential American Senator Henry Jackson
 this weekend suggested that the United States and her European allies
 should create a joint force to 'protect our oil sources' in the Middle
 East from complete cut-off. What if the Middle East decides to cut
 down or not to sell its oil to the U.S.? Do they go in there and take
 by force? Do they go into Nigeria or elsewhere and take whatever raw
 materials they need by force? And what of the sovereign rights of the
 Third World peoples? This could lead to war, but you need oil to make
 war. So where do we go from here? Goodnight.

A Dismal Week:

- a) Aftermath to Heroes Day Disorder
- b) Bus Stoppage
- c) Alcoa Lay-offs
- d) Railway Union Impasse

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This has turned out to be one of the more dismal and depressing weeks Jamaicans have experienced in a very long time. We have had that shaming business at Heroes Park on Heroes Day and the depressing partisan responses to it and to Archbishop Carter's appeal for an end to this madness. There are clearly those who are more interested in escalating 'this madness' than they are in cooling it. And as long as this is so, as long as political partisans and those who would use political partisanship put their own sectional/^{and propaganda} interests above the national interest, 'this madness' will continue and Archbishop Carter's appeal will not be heeded. And let us never forget that it needs both sides/^{and the supporters of both sides} to put an end to 'this madness'. One side by itself, no matter which side, cannot stop the madness. And right now it does not look as though both sides are ready to make peace. And so the indications are for more confrontation, more turmoil, more strains and pressures, more tests of strength and more bitter power play. And for what? For the corpse of a nation? And is not the decision as to who should rule and for how long, ^{under our system} one that/is made by the people of this country, not by the politicians and not by the political parties? So keep your cool and watch it all very carefully, please, and judge for yourself and do not let anybody rob or con/^{or manipulate} you out of your ultimate power of control over ~~the~~ those who would exercise power on your behalf. The Jamaican people are not, and should not allow themselves to be used as mindless and helpless pawns in anybody's political power game. And then there

is this latest bus company nonsense which has put the entire Corporate Area, and beyond, to enormous and unnecessary discomfort and distress. How on earth do the poor and hard-pressed people who have to ride the buses, and they are the majority, and who pay very high fares for this uncomfortable and doubtful privilege, how on earth do they come into this Provident Fund dispute? What has it to do with the people who use the buses? Why are they punished? Here again the people are being used as pawns in^a dispute between the bus company's workers and its management. And neither side seems to give one damn about the interests of the people they are supposed to serve. And does the Ministry of Transport care? If it does, it is not letting us know. One of the troubles, it seems to me, is that the J.O.S. and those who work for the J.O.S. appear to see themselves as doing the travelling public a favour. They behave as if the J.O.S. is really for their convenience, there/for the main purpose of providing them with good jobs and good pay and good fringe benefits, and that the bus-users, the customers, are a sort of necessary nuisance/~~which~~^{which} must be tolerated. And this is why they are^{often} rude, offhand, casual and provide an indifferent so-so service. And this is not good enough. If the J.O.S. and those who work for it will not or cannot put the interests of their customers first, then we must look to other forms of transport which will, and we must stop using public money, taxpayers money, to support it. I think that if the J.O.S. and those who work for it were forced to^{either} shap up or go under the bus users would soon~~er~~ see fewer stoppages and very real improvement in the service. It is all a question what some people think they can get away with. And then we have that impasse at the railway which has already cost us \$1¹/₂ million in losses, and which now threatens the lay-off bauxite workers: and all in the interest of a little union power play. Is it not all part of the same madness against which Archbishop Carter raised his voice this week? Goodnight

- 1) Heroes Day Violence: Easing the Tension
- 2) Rhodesia: Complex Geo-political Manoeuvres

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 17, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Prime Minister's invitation to the Leader of the Opposition to meet to discuss ways of trying to de-escalate the mounting political tensions in the society will meet with the approval of the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans who were made sick to the heart by Monday's ugly events at Heroes Park. And one of the best ways for us to contribute to such a meeting taking place, and having ^{hope of} any sort of/success, is to give it a chance by awaiting it in/silence or, if we find silence impossible, by being as sober, balanced and dispassionate in our comments as is possible. So let us watch it and see how it works out: and remember, it only takes one/^{side} to start a war, but it takes ^{sides} two/to make and to keep the peace. And the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans who want to see political peace and order in this land have the responsibility to see that both parties make the peace and keep the peace. You have the powerful weapon of your votes to enforce it. So watch it and let them know you will use that power wisely to serve national rather than partisan interests. They will get the message. Next, we turn to the London talks on ^{which have entered a} Rhodesia, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{moves} critical stage, and where some very complex geo-political/are now taking place. You will get a sense of the complexity of the power play by noting just a few of the developments of the past ^{forty-eight} ~~twenty-four~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ hours. First you had the British ^{and deadline} Government's take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum/on their proposed new Constitution which seemed almost designed to provoke the Patriotic Front ^{to pull} out of the negotiations. This was followed by Nyerere's calling of a meeting of the frontline states and his comment that ~~London was~~

London seemed to be creating a crisis atmosphere which was not in keeping with the facts. And just before that the South African racist regime had let it be known that it was considering direct military intervention in Rhodesia if the London talks were to fail. Then the Commonwealth Secretary-General warned publicly that the situation which was now developing in the London talks was not in keeping with what had been agreed on in Lusaka. And then we had the United States coming into the picture by the side door with President Carter's statement that ^{the} U.S. will not accord Cuba diplomatic recognition until Cuban troops are withdrawn from Africa and political prisoners are released from Cuban jails: and since political prisoners are being released from Cuban jails his real pressure point has to be seen as the call for Cuban withdrawal from Africa. And then to cap it all South Africa's Foreign Minister showed up ^{suddenly} in London yesterday. Add all these strands together and the picture which is emerges is one in which it seems that there are powerful forces at work who are ^e determined to deal the Patriotic Front out of the negotiations, arrive at the settlement with ^{only} the Muzorewa-Smith groups, lift sanctions and accord recognition to the Muzorewa-Smith regime and ^{direct} get South African military intervention on the part of a now-recognised Rhodesia against the Patriotic Front. In such a setting the ^{white} South African and Rhodesia armies ^{and with covert Western support} combined would be able to fight the Patriotic Front forces into the ground, at least in the short run. And white interests and Western investment would be secured for at least the next twenty to twenty-five years. The risk is of course that the frontline states would declare war on the side of the Patriotic Front. But with their superior firepower the white minority and their black collaborators, with the assistance of Western mercenaries could hold for a long time. ^{this} ~~That~~ could be the grand design - if only the Cubans could be got and kept out of Africa.

Goodnight.

Heroes Day, 1979: Of Garvey
and Of Garvey's People

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 15, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope you are having a good Heroes Day, and that what still remains of this day will be fruitful and inspiring. For myself, I have spent most of this past weekend reading and thinking about the life and work of Jamaica's first National Hero, Marcus Garvey, the black man, the black leader who in his day suffered more abuse, more villification and more misrepresentation than any other black leader before or since. Indeed, the news media of Garvey's day, with very rare and honourable exceptions, did such a successful job of nastiness and lying about Garvey that even black people were shamed into denying and denouncing this great man. And so in the end even his native Jamaica did not give him the support and comfort he deserved and he died obscurely, a long way from home. Some of all this came to a point last night as I watched an obviously angry Rev. Oliver Daley on television ~~last night~~ protesting the twisting and distorting of the truth of a matter and the telling of lies for no higher apparent purpose than the scoring of a political point and the setting of pastor against pastor. And suddenly it seemed that time had stood still. Nothing had changed. This is how they had dealt with Garvey and Garvey's people all of forty years ago and more, and still they do it today. Why? Way back in the 1930s Garvey wrote, and I quote: "The national disposition seems to be that of enthroned selfishness. There is no patriotism, no love of country for its sake. Further, there is no love of countrymen, and so anyone going to Jamaica will see the most prosperous people on the island are aliens." And where there is no love of country or countryman it is easy to

divide and so to conquer and to dominate. Another time, while campaigning in Jamaica Garvey said, and again I quote: "My opponents say I am against white and fair-skinned people. This is not so. I am against the class system here, which keeps the poor man down; and the poor are mostly black people. It is only natural therefore that their interests should be nearest and dearest to my heart. If I were a white man I would have the interest of white people at heart; if I were a Chinese, it would be natural that I would make as much money as I could and send some of it to my people in China. If I were a Syrian I would sell my cloth and goods at as high a price as I could get for it and help my people in Syria and Lebanon". So patriotism, love of and service to country and ~~of~~ countrymen was the way to that self-respect and self-regard which would be the most effective psychological counters to the lies and abuse and distortions which are used to try and dominate and so control. And, most important of all, there was the theme of economic self-reliance which ran right through the life and work of Marcus Garvey. As far back as 1920 Garvey foreshadowed today's Third World struggle for a new economic order. He said: "A race that is solely dependent upon another for its economic existence sooner or later dies. As we have in the past been living on the mercies shown us by others, and by the chances obtainable and have suffered therefrom, so will we in the future suffer if an effort is not made now to build our own economic structure." That was said more than 50 years ago. And thanks to the diversionary propaganda of Garvey's enemies and the enemies of Garvey's people, we paid little or no heed to that profound ~~profound~~ warning. Even today some of our leaders try to bemuse us by suggesting that by not angering this or that foreign power we may get more loans or grants or other aid. But ^{the} real, though harder, way ahead for Garvey's people lies in what Garvey said more than 50 years ago, which is to build & control our own economic structures. Goodnight.

- 1) Of Politics & Politicians
- 2) Of Politics & Businessmen
- 3) The Economy & A Political Solution

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
October 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: From some of the many speeches made during the course of this week, from what were supposedly non-political platforms, have come some very interesting and teasing questions. For instance, if politicians, or at least one lot of politicians/^{are}~~xx~~ to be criticised for the escalating of political struggle then we had better ask ourselves what ^{politics &} politicians are really all about. And the simple fact is that politics is about ^{the gaining of} the exercise of power and politicians are politicians because they want to be the ones exercising that power. The primary purpose of every politician is to gain power and then having done so, to hold on to that power; and the primary purpose of every politician who is out of power is to defeat the one who is in power. This is a basic proposition of the party political struggle; and this being so it does not make/^{serious}~~xxxx~~ political sense for anybody to go on as though there is something terribly wrong and wicked for a ~~the~~ party in power to hold on to power. If that party observes the Constitution and the rules/^{governing the}~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ timing of elections, then that party ^{has the right to} ~~can~~ call elections at a time that it considers most favourable to its own chances. By the same token the party in opposition is entitled to do everything it can to try and force the calling of elections at a time which it thinks would suit its own interests best. And again the one condition is that the party in opposition must also observe the Constitution and the rules governing elections. So to denounce or in some other way try to belittle the government for holding on to power, or to do the same with the

opposition for being hungry for political power, is to miss the point of what our politics and our politicians^{, and the rules governing them,} are all about. This, I think, must be seen for the partisan propaganda that it really is. Then, too, some of the week's speeches have brought into focus the usually uneasy relations between business and politics. The business community main interest is to get on with business. And the first purpose of business, what makes it 'good' business, is for it to be stable and orderly and to be making money and to be yielding the highest possible profits: everything else is subordinate to this primary objective. So what suits this primary objective is good for business; what hinders it is bad for business. And so, by the very logic of its nature, the business community - and this applies to and everywhere business communities anywhere/in the world - find politics and politicians something of a necessary evil. One result has been a long history of business trying to influence and at time manipulate the political process by giving financial backing to the party or parties and politicians who are seen as either best serving the interests of business or else as the lesser of a group of evils. Where a political party or politicians are seen as ^{persuing} ~~making~~ policies which go against the interests of business then you can expect business to close ranks against that party and those politicians and try to get them out. It is at this point that business and politics meet openly. And because/ ^{business} is a minority it, like the political parties must promote its views and interests as if they were the national interest. But then this is something that practically every special interest group does: everybody claims to speak in the national interest. And if the solution to our problems is a political and not an economic one, what happens if the Jamaican electorate again votes for Democrat-

ic Socialism in 1981? Do we then accept the freely expressed will of the people? Or do we only believe in democracy when it suits us?

X the people? Or do we only believe in democracy when it suits us? And on special interests?

- 1) The Political Numbers Game
(2) A Little Easement for our Old

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
October 10, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This week's statement to the press by Mr. Desmond Campbell, the Police Commissioner, on the business of estimating the numbers of people who were supposed to be at a particular march or demonstration or meeting, is, I think, of more political importance than ~~it~~ would appear at first sight. And as we draw closer to election time, the business of the political numbers game will tend to assume even greater importance. Like it or not, contending political groups and factions and parties and those who support or oppose them are going to use the political numbers game to try and build up their own confidence and their own support and to try and undermine the confidence and erode the support of their opponents. It is a sort of variation on the power game of showing your strength ^{so} and/scaring those who are undecided into joining you because they do not want to be on the losing side. And once again, the main target is the so-called floating or undecided or uncommitted voter. And since, in today's Jamaican politics all is as fair as in love and war, nobody is going to hesitate if they can get away with ~~lying~~ deliberately overstating the numbers and with manipulating the way in which those numbers reach the public. So, if I have say 100 supporters, all I do is to put on a nought and my hundred supporters become ^{a claim of} a thousand supporters. And if I have say a thousand supporters, and if I am a careful operator I will multiply it by five and claim to have five thousand. The important thing, always, is to play the political numbers game with care so that what I claim appears reasonable, or else cannot be easily questioned or checked. And all political

parties where the popular ballot decides who exercises power, play this political numbers game to ^{some} ~~any~~ degree ^{or} ~~of~~ another. Indeed, it is in itself part and parcel of the whole electioneering process, of trying ~~try~~ to influence and so win over the voters. It is, in fact, a very important part of party political propaganda. I think if we see all the claims and counter claims in this light then we will know what value to place on ^{these claims,} ~~them~~, what judgement to make about them. ~~important~~ The really important thing is not to allow the ~~the~~ issues to be overshadowed by ^{this} ~~any~~ ^{political} kind of numbers game. So let all the political and their supporters contenders/tell us what they will do about the economy, about unemployment, about the needs and problems of our youth ^{& about the quality of life for the majority}. The issues are many, where are the programmes to deal with them?

Next, we must all welcome that first small step which was taken by the Ministry of Social Security this week to give tangible expression to this society concern for our senior citizens and others suffering physical handicaps. Giving these people the right to travel on buses for a flat 15c fare is not very much because many of them will not even be able to afford that 15c; but it is a beginning. The National ~~Health~~ Insurance Scheme also had very small beginnings so do not scoff just because it is small. My understanding is that in Britain senior citizens have passes to travel free on the buses. That may be something of a dream to us now, but it should be one we should work to make reality. The old folk have made their contribution to Jamaica: they have an undischarged claim on us. It is time we began to pay off. I think for instance that it would be a very good thing if the special identification card for going on the buses could also be used to collect ^{say} a little rice to supplement the ~~the~~ often near-starvation diet on which many of them have to subsist. So thanks for this first easement and please try and give a little more.

Goodnight.

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- 1) National Heritage Week
 - 2) Third World & Cold War Politics
 - 3) ~~Rhodesia: Talks at Crisis Point~~
 - 4) Japanese Elections: Beware of Polls

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 8, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Jamaicans begin this National Heritage Week in an unfortunate, and in some ways unnecessary, atmosphere of heightened political polarisation. I say unfortunate because in such an atmosphere in which everybody seems more interested in political one-upmanship than in solving or helping to solve the problems of the country, the task of dealing with our problems is made that much more difficult. And/~~with~~^{given} the very real and very hard problems that/~~we~~^{do}/face, anything, any action, any politicking which makes things/~~more~~^{even}/difficult really is unnecessary. But this is how it usually is when contending forces and competing and conflicting interests are locked in a raw struggle for power, in a struggle to determine who should control and in whose interest that control should be exercised. For this, when you strip it of all the window-dressing and of all the social and political big chat is what the present political polarisation is all about. And I think it might be a very good thing for each Jamaican to use this National Heritage Week to try and think out for himself or herself all the possible implications of this struggle. And I am convinced that ^{the overwhelming} a majority of the Jamaican people can think it out and work it out for themselves. They do not need anybody else to think for them or to tell them what to think: all they need is to be given the facts as truthfully, fairly and honestly as possible and they will know how to arrive at what is in their own best interest. And once they know that they will know how to choose when the time for choice comes. This is the ultimate power which belongs to/^{and with}the people,

not to the politicians, not to the political parties, not to any special interest groups, but to the people as a whole. In whatever other ways Jamaica's National Heroes whom we honour this week may have differed, they were agreed on this one thing: that power should be vested in the Jamaican people and that the Jamaican people - and nobody else - should determine/ ^{by whom and} how that power was used and for how long. And that is/ ^{a key part} ~~part~~ of the Jamaican Heritage; cherish it; do not ^{or manipulate it.} allow anybody to abuse it/ For the rest, the weekend news was dominated by overseas developments. In Japan Prime Minister Ohira suffered a serious political setback partly because he took a chance on the opinion polls. Mr. Ohira sees a pretty rough time ahead for the Japanese economy next year. Already his economy is under heavy pressure there is a big trade deficit of over \$1.5-thousand million; inflation is climbing, production is declining and unemployment is growing. And Mr. Ohira's government held less than half of the seats in the Japanese Parliament and depended on the support of a handful of Independent MPs to stay in office. In order to deal with the coming rough times and make the tough decisions needed Ohira needed a stronger hand in Parliament, which means an absolute majority of at least ten or twelve seats, and all the opinion polls predicted that he would get that and even more. Well, yesterday's/ ^{election} results, thanks in part to rain, made complete nonsense of the opinion polls. Ohira now has one seat less in the Japanese Parliament than he had when voting began, and Japan's problems are not going to go away. The moral is: Beware of the predictions of opinion polls; they can be hopelessly wrong, especially if it rains. And over in East Berlin President Brezhnev pulled off a very clever diplomatic stunner when he announced that 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 Soviet tanks would unilaterally be withdrawn from Eastern Europe. Coming hard on President Carter's Caribbean sabre-rattling the Third World is bound to make interesting comparisons.

Goodnight.

- 1) The Stand-off Continues
- 2) Venezuelan Oil: A ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Govt-to-Govt deal
- 3) U.S. Inflation Worsens

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

October 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The party political stand-off continues and the street are reasonably peaceful; and this is a good thing. But the threatening ^{split} ^{divide} sounds continue to ~~xxx~~ the air and the nation; and that is a bad thing. And the new and interesting twist to it all is that everybody is a defender; everybody will either defend their right to ^{take to the streets} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ or defend themselves from attack. But if both sides are really only poor, unaggressive, ^{harmless} and peaceful defenders then there is nothing for either side to worry about. Because, really, two genuinely peaceful defenders ^{are most unlikely to end up in} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ violence. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ That is unless one or the other, or both, are using the language of peace ^{try to} to deceive while preparing for violence. And the shooting at Mr. Howard Cooke's home, and some of the political chat surrounding it suggest that we had better not take any protestations of peace for granted. So keep on watching it very closely, please, and let all the political operatives know that you are doing so and that you will pass your judgement with your votes, including your judgement on who is insulting your intelligence. Next, a word on the latest round of price increases on some of our basic food items. There is no question but this will grievously hurt all of Jamaica's lower income earners but especially those who make up ^{that} more than 70% of the employed work force which, according to the 1978 Labour Force Statistics, earned \$50 a week and less. For these people, and even more so for the 26% of the work force which is unemployed, any price increase on basic food, no matter how justified, is grief. And when you visit this

kind of grief on people, even if you cannot help it, you really owe them much more careful and detailed explanations than we have so far received. I think people have a right to demand more than just the general statement that because the cost of imported raw material on a particular item has gone up by percentage increases ^{say,} of/between 11% and 25%, as we have been told was the case with cheese, they have to pay so much more. Don't get me wrong; the increase may in fact be justified when all the numbers are examined. But how are the people to know? Once or twice when we ^{had} ~~have~~ insisted and all the numbers had been laid out, it turned out that ~~there~~ had been cases of using imported inflation to impose unreasonable mark-ups. You will recall the case of imported oxtail. How are we to know that this is not being done in some instances now? Why should ^{poor} people who have so often been the victims of unreasonably high mark-ups take anything on trust? So let us have the whole arithmetic of each new increase - from raw materials to wages and salaries and mark-ups and profit margins. That is the way to convince the people that the main burden of this inflation is not being put on the backs of the poorest Jamaicans. They know that the inflation is worldwide. They are aware of yesterday news out of Washington that the cost of food in the U.S. has gone up faster in the month of September than over any other similar period in the past five years. What they do want to know, what they have the right to know, is that the burden is being shared fairly, justly and equitably. And they have grave doubts which are not dispelled when the Government does not give them all the facts. So more openness, please. And finally a brief ^{preliminary} word on what strikes me as the key point of the Prime Minister's quick trip to Venezuela this week. At the end of the year the government's contract with Esso to supply our oil will end and ~~from January 1~~ ¹⁹⁸⁰ we will get our oil direct ^{from Venezuela} on a Govt-to-Govt basis and ~~all that that implies~~ will be removed. Goodnight

If that majority tells the politicians that it is sick and tired and fed up with all the shouting and screaming and all the threats and counter-threats, and all the double-talk, I think the politicians will read the message loud and clear. And once they know you are going to keep your heads and watch their every move and judge their every word and every deed and then pass your judgement with your vote when the time comes, they are going to cool down; and they are going to treat you with the respect due to those who are the controllers of power. So there is much that the citizens of this country can do to contain our present political madness and to safeguard all that is best in Jamaica. Instead of the politics of taking to the streets let us insist on the orderly politics of policies and programmes to best serve the national interest. Where are their policies and their programmes? Let us have the details and the timetables for grappling with all our multitude of problems, social and economic. And let us insist on ^{enough time} ~~enough time~~ to examine and compare the proposed policies and programmes of each side so that we can know what it is we are voting for. That is the real alternative to our present duppy politics: and those described as the 'uncommitted vote' have the power to insist ^{on it.} ~~on it.~~ It is cold comfort but it is noteworthy that little Jamaica is not the only place where duppy politics can result in dangerous and unnecessary crises. For reason best known to only itself, the Carter Administration ^{has} painted itself into a very difficult corner over some Russian troops who have been in Cuba, by invitation, for at least ten year and probably longer, according to U.S. intelligence sources themselves. Why? Because Mr. Carter's popularity is very low in the opinion polls the presidential and Congressional election campaigns are shaping up and some dramatic foreign policy issue was seen as a safe popularity booster. But this time it backfired badly and all this sabre-rattling is really a desperate face-card effort. The moral: it is dangerous to play party politics with foreign relations. Goodnight.

"Taking to the Streets": The Anatomy of
The Politics of Destruction

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
October 1, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: On the surface this past weekend was comparatively peaceful and tranquil here in Jamaica: under the surface it was disturbed and tense and uneasy, with a hint of threat and menace to it. And the threat and the menace were caused by the hot political talk about one side 'taking to the streets' and the other side being there to defend the streets. ~~At one point~~ ^{weekend} there were indications ^{ed} that the 'taking to the streets' might start today. ~~/xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ But whether today or later, the promise of 'taking to the streets', and the promise of a response to it, remain, and with them the threat and the menace to the entire Jamaican society. So why this business of the politics of 'taking to the streets'? What is the point of it? And where is it likely to lead? ^{us} Normally, those who take to the streets do so because they have no other way of bringing their case to public attention. You do not, for instance, see either of the two major political parties in Britain taking to the streets when they are in opposition. And likewise you do not see either of the two major political parties in the United States taking to the streets when they are in opposition. And the main reason is that the political parties in both of these countries do not want to upset or weaken or undermine the political systems in which they operate, and which allow~~s~~ them to peacefully bring to public attention anything they want to. So why should we, with our basically similar parliamentary democracy go in for the politics of 'taking to the streets'? I think it is very important for all Jamaicans of all parties as well as of no party, to think this one out very carefully. The dangerous fact is that once partisan politics takes

to the streets, once it becomes a business of who controls the streets, then political violence cannot be far off. And no matter who wins in any such confrontation and encounter on the streets, the national interest is bound to suffer, is bound to be damaged. And, of course, once we are into the politics of taking to the streets all sorts of innocent and uninvolved people are bound to get hurt or killed and have their property damaged. You know and I know that this is so because it is in the nature of taking politics ^{overheated} to the streets. And given our present/political climate and theugly political developments of recent weeks, it is ~~frankly~~ politically , or self-serving, naive/for anybody to expect any one side to stay off the streets if the other side takes to the streets. The argument about one side staying home and getting on with the job while the security forces ensured that the other side ~~would~~ keep the peace while taking to the streets, is, in reality an invitation to commit political suicide. Like it or not, and I do not like it, the challenge has been posed in terms of taking to the streets and the alternative to capitulation and surrender is to respond to it by taking to the streets. This is the ugly and menacing situation into which Jamaican politics has been manoeuvred. And the real tragedy is that there was and is no need for it. We have a constitution and we have a political system and social and legal structures which make it possible for us to deal with all our problems and disagreements/without having to resort to the dangerous politics of 'taking to the streets'. But as I have told you again and again, it takes two sides to make our system of government work but it needs only one side to wreck it and pull it down. So if the majority of Jamaicans do not want this system to be destroyed, and I believe they do not, then it is up to ~~them~~ ^{Jamaican people,} up to all of us, to call on both parties, not just one, to back away from the politics of 'taking to the streets'. Goodnight.

South Africa Embattled:
Apartheid Prepares its Defences

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: While we here in Jamaica, or at least a powerful and vocal minority among us, seem ^{determined to make} ~~making~~ it impossible for our very good democratic parliamentary system to work, people in other countries with ugly and undemocratic political systems seem equally determined to ensure that their ugly systems work. And so we with our good and decent democratic structures were this week goaded and manipulated to the point of nearly tearing each other apart on the streets of Kingston; while in South Africa they were carefully and methodically preparing themselves to use their intelligence, their skills and all their powers ^{to try} ~~to ensure the survival~~ of their racist ^{control of real political & economic power.} ~~system of Apartheid~~. And so we had the two pieces of ~~apparent~~ startling and apparently radical news items out of South Africa this week. On Tuesday there was the item which was later headlined; South African Blacks Get Union Rights. And on Wednesday there came the story of the South African Prime Minister talking of changing the laws which ^{make} ~~sex~~ and marriage between black and white criminal offences. And for the Western world's major news organs this item of sex and marriage was the stuff of sensational headlines. To some it amounted to nothing less than a revolution of policy by the racist regime; to others it, especially when coupled with the trade union bit, it was the beginning of the end of Apartheid. The fact is it is nothing of the kind; and it is important for us to understand the cold politics of survival that is behind it all.

To the east South Africa has a very long border with black ruled and ~~communist~~ ^{Marxist}-led Mozambique. In the West there is Namibia and there is

Angola. South African control of ~~Ang~~ Namibia is rapidly coming to and end, and when Namibia becomes independent it is almost certain to have a radically-inclined government that will be hostile to South African racism, and which will make common cause with Angola in any future military clashes. To the north-west is Botswana which is one of the frontline states in the Zimbabwe struggle. And directly north is Rhodesia itself which will, in the not-too-distant future, become the independent black state of Zimbabwe. And this means that within the foreseeable future South Africa will be ringed by a group of radical black states, all of whom ~~desires~~ Apartheid and all of whom want to see an end to it. This, by the way, is not only my assessment of the situation. This is also how ^{white} South African political and military intelligence see the situation unfolding. And it is the South African military in particular who have warned the white political leaders of the dangers and problems of having to defend borders stretching all the way from south-east Africa to south-west Africa. And the military have made it clear that they would not be able to even begin to think of defending those very long borders if they are also to deal with internal uprisings. And so the government has decided to try and appease the blacks by getting rid of what they call 'petty Apartheid' which includes the business of sex and marriage and discrimination in clubs and hotels. Black trade unions have always existed; well organised workers were always able to strike or shut down a place, whether they were registered or not, whether they were recognised or not. So that one is part face-card and part attempt to gain some kind of control over the hitherto unregistered, unrecognised but very vigorous black union movement. So there really is no change; they are not prepared to share, let alone give up, real economic or political power. But it is a measure of their deep worry and anxiety and of their ^{determination} to hold power even at the expense of the ugly race theories which have been their justification up to now. Goodnight.

- 1) A Dismal Week:
a) KPH Closes
b) Unemployed Teachers; c) Flood Damage
2) ~~International Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The marches and counter-marches, the hints of violence and counter-violence and the ^{political} general/ugliness and nastiness and short-changing of all that is finest and best in Jamaica/ ~~was~~ ^{were} enough, by themselves, to make this a dismal week for Jamaica. But there was more unwelcome news in yesterday's closing down of the Kingston Public Hospital, in reports that flood damage for this month of September alone, according to preliminary estimates, stands at over \$14-million. And to cap it all we had that report of trained teachers being unable to find jobs at a time when many of our school children were reportedly unable to find school places. You know, it really is not good enough for "The Ministry of Health(to)regret/~~the~~ ^{any} inconvenience to the public." as though it is into some sort of customer-relations business. The Ministry of Health had no business to allow the situation to deteriorate to this point and then blame it on industrial action by its pharmacists and ancillary staff. Workers in the medical services in particular are noted for not taking strike action lightly. To be sure there are ^{important} ~~serious~~ money problems involved but I believe that urgent and serious and sincere reasoning with the workers while these money problems ^{were} ~~are~~ being tackled could have prevented the closure of the hospital. The KPH is the main hospital to which the poor of the Corporate Area turn for medical help and to shut it down for even one day is to do a great dis-service to the poor. And the business of having unemployed teachers at this time is only a shade less dismal

and deplorable than the shutting down of the KPH. I sometimes find it hard to arrive at any kind of understanding of what makes our educational/^{bureaucracy}~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ tick: is its main concern the providing of education for the nation's children? Or is the providing of education just the excuse for the existence and self-perpetuation of that bureaucracy? If you look at the Chapter on Education of the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica for 1978 you will see that in spite of all our economic troubles spending on education increased by more than 8% in 1977-78 compared with the previous year and by more than 16% in 1978-79 compared with the year before. But when you look at the breakdown of these figures, especially those for 1978-79, you will see under the heading 'Central Administration and Support Services' a figure of \$14.64-million for 1978-79 a spending/~~XXXXXXXXXX~~246% compared with only \$4.1-million in 1977-78. And this, expressed in percentage terms is an increase of 246%. We are told that this was due to salary increases for teachers. And if you average out the increase in the school enrolment in all departments - infant, basic, primary, all-age, secondary - except Jamal, the school population grew by less than 4% in 1977-78. So, when you put the children of Jamaica and the interests of the children of Jamaica, at the centre of things educational - as they rightly should be - these figures tell us that the children are being short-changed. We, the taxpayers are spending more on ~~THEIR~~ education; and they, of the benefits the children, are getting the smallest share/of that increased spending. It is as though the educational bureaucracy comes first, then the teachers, and then, last of all, the children. And this is not right and cannot be right. As with the KPH, our priorities here are just about as wrong as they can be. And that \$14-million-plus which flood damage, caused mainly by we are going to have to spend to repair/our previous patchy-patchy flood control work will again be wasted unless we do better work this time around. Goodnight.

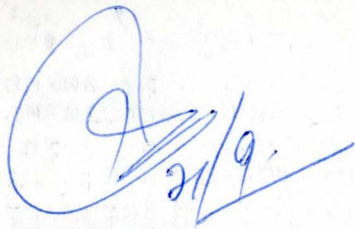
The Politics of Confrontation:
Some Warning Notes

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 24, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: At this time on Wednesday of last week I warned that "There are signs that unless we are very careful, we may be in for yet another round of the kind of negative and destructive partisan politics which has so badly hurt Jamaica's best interests in recent years". Well, the events of this past weekend have confirmed my warning. We are now firmly into a new round of the politics of confrontation, and no matter what the ultimate outcome, Jamaica is bound to be hurt and damaged while the confrontation lasts. The first signs of it were there over the weekend. ^{as well as in today's sheet scare in Kingston} There was the scare / ^{the} story about tourism which the President of Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association, Mr. Gilbert Byles, has described as totally false. But still the reports persist, quoting unidentified sources. And one of the troubles with unidentified sources is that you cannot check them to find out whether they really said what they are supposed to have said. Under normal circumstances, in a non-confrontationist situation where a degree of trust exists that we will all behave with reasonable honour and honesty the tendency is to accept the truth of what we are told and to find some sort of excuse for the anonymity. But in our present climate of the ^{of the} ^{one enemies} political savaging of ~~xxxxxxx~~ by fair means or foul means, everything is suspect, everything is questioned. So who are those who deny Mr. Byles' statement of last night? Do they really exist? And the sad thing about tourist scare stories is the fact that tourism is such a sensitive and panic prone business. It is not difficult to frighten tourists away. Almost any idiot can do it. But when it is done all Jamaica suffers, and especially the workers

who depend on tourism for their living. And this, I think, brings
 one of moral
 us to the greatest of all the dangers to come out of the politics
 of confrontation: and that is the assumption that all means justify
 what lie you tell or
 the ends, that it does not matter/what damage you do or whom you
 hurt ~~an~~ what you destroy, so long as you win. This was once a charge
 levelled almost exclusively against that Soviet brand of communism
 practised by Joseph Stalin and ~~by~~ against the Nazi and Fascist dictatorships
 of Hitler and Mussolini. Today some of those of us here in Jamaica
 who shout loudest about freedom and democracy are using these/same
 dirty
~~unethical~~ methods of all means justifying the ends. And so that
 sordid and ugly and nasty and degrading advertisement is possible.
 there is no way that
 The trouble is that/~~for~~ our brand of Parliamentary democracy can
 survive, once we take this direction. Think it out for yourself.
 At the heart of our system is the assumption that we all want the
 system to continue and that no matter how hard we fight or how much
 we disagree we will not do anything to upset or undermine the system
 itself. And that being so, we all voluntarily submit to certain
 and conditions
 rules/and certain limitations. And one of the limitations is that
 those who lose an election will not do anything to make it impossible
 for those who win to carry on the business of government until it is
 time for new elections. And the reason is simple: if one side makes
 it impossible for the other to govern, then the other, when it becomes
 and will
 the opposition, can/do the same and then our system of government
 to work it
 will become totally impossible/and we will have to change/ And this,
 threat
 it seems to me, is, right now, the single greatest/danger we and
 the
 our democracy face. Confrontation, escalated to ~~a certain~~ level
 all present
 where/~~the~~ means justify the end, is bound to destroy our/democratic
 system. If we do not want that to happen then we had better be on
 our guard. Goodnight

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- 1) The Referendum Squabble ends
 - 2) Free Speech and Diplomacy
 - 3) Who Speaks for Jamaica?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

September 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It looks as though we may have a chance to dry out over this weekend; which is very good and very welcome. It was wonderful to go out early this morning and feel the sun on one's body and to look up at clear blue skies with only a touch of snowy white here and there. And the Blue Mountains were really blue in first clear cloudless/light of day this morning. We tend to take all this for granted most of the time: and then we are hit by the bad weather of these past ten days. And when it passes we realise, often with a hint of wonder, just how beautiful and caressingly warming and comfortable Jamaica is most of the time, just how good it is to be alive in Jamaica. In my youth and young manhood I wandered across half the world and I found no other place like this. And still we have our problems and our troubles and our political warfare which continues to escalate, though in a rather unexpected form this time around. The little squabble - as it has turned out to be - over the type of voting in next year's referendum on the Constitution seems to have died down as quickly as it has flared up. And just as well. There was clearly no need for the flare-up in the first instance and I think we must insist that all future points of misunderstanding, confusion, changing of minds, clarification or what you will, be dealt with at the level of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional and Electoral Reform and that anything that needs to be made public is made public through that Committee or by way of Parliament. That is the best way to ensure that the Electoral and Constitutional

Reform process is not sidetracked or stalled or sabotaged or recon-
 verted into the party political football it has been for so long.
 So watch this one closely and you will soon see who is serious about
 it all and who wants to play politics with it. Another issue to watch
 with great care is the war of hot words now going on between the
 Daily Gleaner and its friends and supporters on the one hand and the
 Cuban Embassy on the other. This one seems to have all the makings
 of a long and sustained campaign, and if it is, then it is going to
 be important for us to try and keep our cool and not be confused or
 panicked by any torrent of hot words. So let us try and put the whole
 thing in context by posing some basic questions. First, I do not
 think any fair and reasonable person will argue that, putting it very
 mildly, ~~the~~ Gleaner publications have/exercised their right and freedom
 to say whatever they wanted to about Cuba and Cubans. And this, as
 you know, has been going on for a very long time: they have said
 exactly what they wanted to say ^{how they wanted to say it} when they wanted to say it. So
 question one is: Do the Cubans have any right to reply to the things
 that have been said about them? Or are they supposed just to take the
 licks and to say nothing? At this level it is a question of whether
 freedom of speech means one side does all the ^{criticism -} ~~cursing~~ and bad-mouthing
 while the other side must take it all in silence. And if you bring the
 business of diplomacy into this then you have to think in terms of
 all of us ^{Diplomats + people of the host country alike,} observing the correct and proper behaviour laid down by the
 rules of diplomacy. ~~Here again, it is not a one-way street with one~~
~~rules of diplomacy. /XXX~~
 or some part of it,
 side observing the rules while the other side is free to do whatever
 it likes. And this is so whether you like or dislike the diplomats
 involved, whether you love them and their countries or whether you
 hate them. And, lest we forget, under our system only the duly elected
 Government of Jamaica speaks for Jamaica: nobody else does - no matter
 how self-important. Remember ^{all} this as the hot words fly. Goodnight.

A Time for Thought: A Time to Reason

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There are signs~~xxxxxxxx~~ unless we are very careful, that/we may be in for yet another round of the kind of negative and destructive partisan politics which has so badly hurt Jamaica's best interest in recent years. And I am not thinking now of the stepped-up party political activity which is inevitable as election~~xxxxxxxx~~ time draws near; that is part and parcel of our political system and we have to put up with it as best we can. What I am thinking about is the national mood and the political climate which are created by the manner in which^{we}/deal with some of the most sensitive issues in the society. Take the issue of Constitutional and electoral reform. Having got as far as we have with this, do we really now want to stall or side-track the whole exercise by taking it back onto the point-scoring party political platform? I think most Jamaicans would say no. And yet that danger now exists, unless our political leaders pause and think carefully of just where their often intemperate language would lead. What is for sure is that once the argument about the so-called 'free' ballot versus the so-called 'tied' ballot in next year's referendum is moved from the discussion room/^{of the bipartisan committee} to^{now} the political platform^{here} the whole process is in trouble. The big point/is not whether you believe in this or that type of ballot but whether you follow the laid-down and agreed-on procedures to have that point discussed, examined and, perhaps, agreed on. Any bypassing of this proper procedure is wrong, no matter from what quarter it comes. And you do not correct one wrong by committing another. So, please, let this

matter be trashed out at the level of the joint Parliamentary Committee where it properly belongs, and not by way of party political propaganda. There ~~really~~ is no need to slow-down the constitutional and electoral reform process in order to resolve this matter. And I am reasonably/~~sure~~^{certain} that the joint Parliamentary work out mechanisms to Committee will/ensure that each Jamaican voter really votes according to his or her conscience on all the issues. There ~~really~~ is no need for party politicking on this one. So hush the hot words and get on with the job please. One of the problems with hot words is that they tend to inflame passions rather than to encourage thought and reason. And the Prime Minister's speech to the Non-Aligned Conference in Havana has provoked the kind of reaction in some quarters which has resulted in the hot words coming hard and fast. And yet, you know, if you go back over the record you will see that this so-called 'new foreign policy direction' about which hot words are now flying all over the place is the same basic policy which this government has been pursuing for many years. You will, for instance, find the outlines/~~and~~^{as} well as some considerable detail of this foreign policy in Ministry Paper No. 40 entitled Relations Within the Hemisphere, No. 41 'Jamaica and the Commonwealth', No. 42. 'Relations with the Third World' and No. 43 entitled 'Foreign Economic Policy'; all of which were tabled ~~in~~ Parliament on July 30, 1974. And there is nothing in any of those Ministry Papers or in the speeches made at the United Nations or on other international platforms by any of the official spokesmen of this government which goes against or is at variance with anything the Prime Minister said at Havana. This is a fact which has nothing to do with whether you approve or disapprove of what he said. And sober thought and reason, as opposed to/^{hot} propaganda, demand that we set even our quarrels in a context of factual concern for what is truly the public good. Goodnight.

Q 17/9

- 1) PNP Conference: Return of D.K. Duncan
- 2) IMF Report: Gloomy Prospects

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 17, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The highpoint of this past wet weekend here at home was, of course, the annual conference of the People's National Party which, for all practical purposes confirmed the return of Dr. D.K. Duncan to the key post General Secretary of the party. And Mr. P.J. Patterson's warm public endorsement of the return of Duncan puts generated mainly by forces outside the PNP, paid to the hopes, ~~that the return of Duncan would split the party.~~ that the return of Duncan would split the party. The hope had been that the so-called 'moderates' in the PNP would lead a movement of revolt against the Duncan candidacy and that the fear of a split would result in the so-called 'radicals' either dropping or deferring the Duncan candidacy. After all, a somewhat similar tactic had forced the resignation of Duncan before; and a more subtle and complicated variation of this same tactic many years earlier had led to the purging of the 'Four Hs' from the party during the leadership of Norman Manley. But things were different this time around, mainly, I suspect, because of the very high degree of political maturity and political sophistication of the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans, in and out of our political parties. Most Jamaicans are no longer frightened ~~frightened~~ by ideas or labels; and most Jamaican, today, see through attempts to manipulate them. What is more to the point is whether the PNP has learnt the lesson of its 1976 mistake of merging the then party secretariat so closely with the Ministry of Mobilisation as to almost make them indistinguishable. This, I thought, was at the heart of the many problems which were exploited by Duncan's enemies and which ultimately forced his resignation. Under our ^{multi} party political system the relations between the party which wins an election

and the government which it then forms are much more complex and delicate than are the relations between governments and parties in one-party states. For instance, our present Jamaican Constitution does not even recognise ^{the existence of, of} or make mention of ^{our} political parties. They are not at all constitutional entities; so ~~if our politicians want~~ ^{if our politicians want} to give our political parties some sort of legal authority then the present constitutional reform exercise should deal with this matter as well. Till this is done the separation between party and government must be sharp and clear. And the most important weekend item on the world scene was the release in Washington yesterday of the Annual Report of the International Monetary Fund - the IMF - for 1978. It paints a gloomy picture of the whole world - rich and poor countries alike, the big as well as the small, the highly developed as well as the underdeveloped - being in the grips of an economic crisis to which no end seems in sight. And for the first time, to my knowledge at least, the IMF does not sound as though it has or knows the answers to all the world problems: there seems to be a hint of doubt within the IMF itself that the traditional IMF solutions will solve the world's problems this time around. But it has no other solutions so it urges the governments of the world to persist. And for countries like Jamaica the IMF forecast is for further serious deterioration in the balance of payments position. And this of course means that unless we really cut out all the waste ^{and all the foreign exchange thieving} / that is still taking place in spite of all our bawling, life is going to get even rougher and harder. We have talked for years about idle hands and idle lands: when do we bring them together to drastically cut the food we import? When do we, ~~stop~~ public and private sector alike, stop talking and politicking around production and really produce the things we need to eat or wear or export? Even the IMF ^{the banker of capitalism} is facing the moment of truth: when will Jamaica do so? Goodnight.

14/9
The Politics of Our Foreign Exchange Crisis (b)

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: However you care to interpret or to restate that disturbing piece of financial news which was first carried on this station last night, it still ~~has~~ adds up to a danger signal that we had all better think through very carefully. The news, you may remember was that the government had been in discussions with some of the North American banks to whom we owe roughly \$450-million, in order to examine the possibility of re-financing and getting additional standby credit to the tune of \$200-million, and that nothing had come of this. So, however you interpret it, the fact is that we did not succeed in persuading those banks to agree to the refinancing and/or the additional standby. And this, unless we can tap some other loan sources, must mean that our ^{already} tight foreign exchange position is going to get even tighter. So where do we go from here? It seems to me that when a person or a family or a business or a country reaches the point of paying more than one quarter of the income from a particular enterprise just to service debts, not to pay them off, then that person or family or business or country had better stop and ask some very serious questions. And that is the situation with our foreign exchange earnings, our foreign borrowings and our debt servicing costs. And this, lest we forget, is a problem that goes back a very long way. From way back before independence Jamaicans have consumed more foreign exchange than they have earned, even in the boom years of world trade. For instance the Economic Survey for 1959 talks of the economic recovery of the manufacturing countries and the greatly increased trade between those countries. And Jamaica, please note,

in the boom year 1959, spent £68.6-million on imports and earned £46-million on its exports. In other words, we spent £22.6-million more foreign exchange than we earned. And in each of the years before 1959 the pattern is the same: we spent more foreign exchange than we earned. And the more that we ^{spent and still} spend all added up, over the years, to make the external debt on which we now have to pay more than a quarter of every dollar we earn or borrow from overseas just to service that growing external debt. But let us note that while the external debt grew by tens of millions of pounds between the 1950s and the 1960s it grew by hundreds of millions of dollars in the 1970s. So what we could, ^{afford} as a society, between the 1950s and the 1960s is very different in both quality and quantity from what we can afford today. And if you want to see how easily and neatly and tidily a national budget of £42.7-million can be balanced then look at the diagram on page 71 of the Economic Survey for 1961. Some of the figures will make your flesh crawl. And one of the things today's Jamaica cannot afford and has to review urgently, is the type of screw-driving productive ~~development~~ enterprises which are net consumers of vast amounts of foreign exchange. When we are told that a particular sector like, say manufacturing, ^{for example} creates 100,000 jobs, I think it is reasonable to ask: at what cost in foreign exchange? And what foreign exchange, if any, ^{rigorous separating} does it bring in? And I think the ~~wrong~~ ^{selfish and} of the truly productive/with foreign exchange earning capacity from the/self-serving net consumers of foreign exchange is long overdue. A relatively small handful of Jamaicans have traditionally consumed a ~~disproportionately~~ ^{disproportionately} large share of Jamaica's foreign exchange, whether earned or borrowed, than can be justified on grounds of national economic betterment.

To be sure, these people have bettered themselves; but they have beggared the nation. This, however, is only one aspect of our acute foreign exchange crisis which no amount of borrowing will solve. We'll look at some of the other aspects next week. Goodnight.

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- 1) Hurricane Frederic & the B'd Weather
 - 2) Agostinho Neto & Angola's Future
 - 3) ~~Some Conference Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For boradcast on Wednesday
September 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Frederic is now a full-blown and violent hurricane with raging winds of more than 130 miles an hour, and earlier today it was threatening the Mississippi-Louisiana-Alabama coastline on the Gulf of Mexico. The fear is that Frederic could do the kind of damage there that David did in the Caribbean. And yet when it passed near Jamaica it was a comparatively mild tropical storm with winds of less than 50 miles an hour. And if you consider the kind of wet weather we have had over the past 24 hours, and the flooding and the dislocation that came with it, it is not hard to imagine^{the suffering of} the people of those Gulf Coast states on which Hurricane Frederic is now advancing. Here at home, one of the most depressing/~~things~~^{social} aspects of this kind of weather, for me at least, is the knowledge that so much of our very scarce national resources are going to have to be spent on cleaning up and repairing and patching^{after the rain}. I have talk of this before so I will not labour the point too much. But, you know, the hundreds of thousands of dollars, perhaps adding up to millions, which are going to have to be spent on road and gully and drainage repairs, would not have needed to be spent if the roads and gullies and drainage systems had been built properly and to withstand this kind of weather in the first instance. That money could then have been used to make more school places for our children, or more training centres for our young people, or to create more job opportunities for some of our school leavers. Instead, each year, that money

has to be spent on patching up the same roads and gullies and drains which were ~~xxxxxxx~~ patched up last year, and the year before, and the year before for as far back as you care to go. And this, in a developmental ~~sebbe~~, is a wasteing of national resources and a key reason for our still being underdeveloped. We really must tackle this problem serious.

Next, on the African political scene the death of Angolan President Agostinho Neto is a serious setback for the overall Southern African struggle. Angola is in the frontline of the struggle against South African racism; and you may remember that it was after the white ^{military} South African/invasion of Angola in 1975, and the CIA-sponsored Holden Roberto's attack from Zaire, that Neto asked, and received ~~military~~ help from Cuba. It was with this assistance that Neto's forces were able to drive back the South Africans, drive Roberto back into Zaire and defeat the South-African armed/forces of Jonas Savimbi. Without the help of the Cubans Neto's people just would not have been able to successfully fight the war on three fronts. By winning that war the Southern African geopolitical power picture was changed radically against the forces of white racism/in both South Africa and Rhodesia. The current London conference on Rhodesia as well as developments on Namibia were all profoundly influenced by Neto's victory in Angola. And this is why Cuba has been so passion-^{and bitterly}ately/denounced for going to the help of Angola. Without that help Angola would have been turned into a puppet regime of South Africa, and white South Africa and white Rhodesia would have been that much more secure. But the enemies of Angola are still there and they may well see the death of Neto as an opportunity to try again. That is the great danger. How the leadership left behind by Agostinho Neto faces up to that danger and to the challenges of nation-building is a matter of profound concern to Garvey's people everywhere.

Goodnight.

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- 1) A Wet But Safe Weekend
 - 2) Two Important Conferences:
 - a) Rhodesia
 - b) On Russian Troops in Cuba

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 10, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It was a wet but reasonably safe weekend for us here in Jamaica. The remains of tropical storm Frederick, like Hurricane David, gave us a very wide berth in the end: for which we are all thankful. Reports are that Frederick will gain strength as it enters the Gulf of Mexico, and that if that happens, it could still do grave damage to the lands border the Gulf. And on the electricity front things were rather better than we had any right to expect; there were no power cuts and I understand ^{our} ~~the~~ soldiers gave a very welcome helping hand with that urgent welding job. So it would seem that all the nasty ones notwithstanding somebody up there is watching over us and protecting us from some of the wilder ravages of the elements. The important thing is for us to do better at helping ourselves if we expect the Lord to go on helping us. And talking about helping ourselves, I thought the Press Association of Jamaica made a very valid point in that part of its latest statement dealing with the starving of Guyana's 'Mirror' newspaper of newsprint: the point was that when our own 'Beacon' newspaper in Montego Bay had similar newsprint difficulties nobody came forward to offer any help or any relief or any token gift of newsprint. The question is: Why? Please don't get me wrong, I am not against the help that is being given to the 'Mirror' newspaper: all I am asking is why the 'Beacon' did not qualify for similar help? What is the measuring rod? What the yardstick ^{al} On wider regional and international matters, the weekend also saw the

ending of the very successful 6th Summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement. This time around Cuba was the main target for attack in the massive orchestrated effort to disrupt, discredit, or in any other divide and way/weaken the movement. If you care to check back on the record of these non-aligned meetings over the years you will find that this is how it has been at each Summit. And this is of course one of the main reasons why the Third World is pressing so determinedly for a new information order which would reduce and, ultimately, put an end to Western news manipulation and the/~~existing~~ service monopoly which makes possible the kind of/~~un-~~presented ~~shanked~~ slanted and distorted reporting which/~~saw~~ all the most serious problems and concerns of the Third World as mere extensions of the power play between The United States and the Soviet Union: to them ^{all} we are/~~just~~ pawns and ciphers in their big game; we are not people who judged and decided issues for ourselves and in our own interests. And this is the essence of the neo-colonialism of the Western media; ^{comes to really} until the West/~~understand~~ this issue it will not really understand why it was singled out for such special condemnation at Havana, or why, ^{all its} despite/~~assistance~~, it is so distrusted by most of the Third World. So the charge about the 2,000-3,000 Soviet ~~combat~~ troops in Cuba was countered with: what about the 2,200 U.S. combat troops who are also ^{in their case} stationed in Cuba, and/~~against~~ the wishes of the Cuban government? What about national sovereignty? The right to decide who does or does not come into your country? Increasingly, with each Non-Aligned Summit the issues themselves, rather than doctored or slanted reporting of them, will decide the crucial matter of trust between the Third World and the West. Another aspect of this will come out in the latest Conference on Rhodesia which opened in London earlier today. The Patriotic Front ^{frankly} does not trust the British enough to stop the fighting during the talks; so the proposed new constitution is being negotiated by men who are still at war. Goodnight

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- 1) A Weekend of Power Cuts
 - 2) ~~Soviet Troops in Cuba - Cold War Politics?~~
 - 3) ~~Rhodesia - Preparing for the Conference~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
September 7, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: All the indications are that all of Jamaica is in for a weekend of power cuts. The Jamaica Public Service Company's maintenance workers at the Old Harbour plant, or the majority of them, are not back on the job, in spite of ~~the~~ Wednesday's resumption order from the Industrial Disputes Tribunal. My information is that most of the 70-odd Old Harbour plant maintenance workers did in fact turn out this morning; but they were stopped at the gate of the work place by the bad-mouthing/^{and threats} of a handful who were determined that there shall be no resumption. And so only some ten/^{maintenance} workers finally got in to the plant. And this number is just not enough to do the work that needs to be done on the four boilers in order to bring any one of them into service. And my understanding is that one of the boilers could have been brought into service after just a few hours of welding. But one of the problems is that no outside firm is going to send its welders into a place where there is industrial trouble. So, for this weekend, all four of the power generating units of the Old Harbour plant will be completely out of action; and for all practical purposes the Old Harbour power plant is shut down. This is what some eight workers have been able to achieve by defying the order of the Industrial Tribunal,^{by defying} the weak-kneed leadership of their unions, and by intimidating the majority of their fellow workers. And let me say straight out that the one group I sympathise with most in this whole sorry mess are the majority of those maintenance workers who

turned out at the plant and who were then bullied into turning away again. It is all very well for the rest of us to talk about putting the public interest first and showing responsibility. The fact is that it is something of a binding article of faith/among the best workers in the labour movement that workers do not cross a picket line. And the natural and logical assumption is that when picket lines are drawn they are drawn by order of the union calling the particular strike. If the union or unions involved have not called a strike, or if, after having called it, they have called it off in order to facilitate negotiations, it is the responsibility of those unions and their leaders to see that the picket lines are removed and the workers are ordered to resume. Did the unions involved in the Old Harbour issue follow any of these correct procedures? As far as I have been able to find out they have not. They were not there to defend the workers they represent from the abuse of the minority; they were not there to lead them into the plant. If the union leaders had been there, if they had discharged their responsibility to both their members and to the wider society, I am convinced that ^{there} ~~things~~ would have been a full resumption at Old Harbour by now. The problem here, it seems to me, was a straight lack of courage and leadership on the part of those union leaders involved. And this serves nobody's interests: not those of trade unionism; not those of the majority of workers involved; not those of the society as a whole. And so the nation finds itself in the very precarious position this weekend of having only half its normal electricity capacity. If the Hunts Bay plant can continue at its present capacity then the best we can hope for is to go on having the present three-hourly load-shedding. But if anything does go wrong at Hunts Bay, if there is a major breakdown, then this nation will be plunged into darkness ^{because of} ~~over~~ a minor dispute, ^{because of} the arrogance of a handful of bullies and the lack of courage of trade union leaders. Goodnight

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- 1) Non-Aligned Conference at Mid-point
 - 2) Economic & Social Survey: Some Key Points

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
September 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Non-Aligned Summit in Havana is now halfway through its weeklong deliberations - and still there is no sign~~nt~~ of any roaring crack or thundering split in the movement. Castro has spoken, and Tito has spoken, and there were no flashes of verbal and ideological thunder and lightning. What came through instead, for me at least, was the contrast in style and mood and expectation between the old revolutionary and the young: the old one was a tired old titan who had fought long and hard and who had gone just about as far as he can. Now it was time to hand over to younger hands and there was anxiety to ensure that the younger ones do not betray the trust; and so there was the reminder of where the movement had come from and a quiet appealing statement of how the ~~old~~ very tired old titan would like to see it proceed. But the old dialectician knows, better than most, that no one generation of men have any right to/decide or define for another generation of men how they should see their world or how they should conduct their struggles and their relations with each other and with their world. This is something each generation decides for itself; and Tito knows it. The most that any old generation can hope for and strive for is to carry out its tasks so well that the succeeding generation will want to and will be able to build on it, adapting and adjusting it to the needs of the new times and the new generation. And it seems to me, and Tito's quiet low-key speech confirms me in this view, that the most important non-hard-news event of this conference is this overall transfer of the leadership and, therefore, of the shaping of the future of the Non-Aligned Move-

ment from one generation to the next, from the old to the new. And I think it is because the enemies of the Non-Aligned Movement knew that their/^{one}~~only~~ big hope of successfully discrediting the non-aligned movement or of bringing it into doubt and disrepute, was to try and cause some sort of breach between the one generation and the other; to, if you like, break the succession and therefore the continuity and thus being able to say ~~xxxxxxx~~ it is no longer the same movement because it has been captured by the communists. And one of the ironies of this effort is: how do you explain away the fact that Tito and Castro are both communists, in precisely the same way that the Soviet and Chinese Governments are both communist governments? Tito's communism did not prevent him being non-aligned - with a markedly anti-Soviet tilt. Why should anybody's pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese or pro-American tilt make them any less non-aligned? And let us repeat again and again that non-alignment is by definition concerned with the self-interest of the non-aligned: those who help and support us and respect our/^{rights and independence}~~xxxxxxx~~ to are our friends. Those who try to carry us down and/manipulate us and to exploit us, are not. This is what the new generation of non-aligned leaders will carry forward from Havana in a world which is radically different from the one in which Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah and Tito founded the movement. And finally and briefly, a few figures out of the just released Economic and Social Survey for 1978 to illustrate what Mr. Menley was talking about when he told the Havana Summit yesterday that the "current disarray in the global economic system is a manifestation of the crisis in the capitalist economic system". For every \$100 that Jamaica earns from its exports of goods and services \$5.1% which is a little more than \$25 ^{out of every \$1000} goes into servicing the cost of our foreign debts. This is what you call the 'debt trap': and nearly all Third World countries, as well as some bigger ones, are in

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- 1) Hurricane David Spares Jamaica
 - 2) Conferences & Observations
 - 3) Who Administers Justice?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
September 3, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: All Jamaica must be relieved that Hurricane David passed us by; and our concern and compassion and help must go out to those who were less fortunate. Some reports would suggest that by the time the final count of the death and destruction caused by Hurricane David is completed the death-toll could stand somewhere near 1,000, and the destruction to agriculture and property is likely to run into the hundreds of millions of dollars. We have had a chance to get some idea of the havoc caused in tiny Dominica; but the shock reports of over 600 people being killed in the Dominican Republic is mind-boggling. This is the kind of death-toll you think about in ^{terms of} a fierce one-day encounter between relatively evenly matched military forces. For a storm to do this kind of killing in a few hours it has to be truly terrible. And it is with a mixture of relief and concern for other likely victims that we listen while Hurricane David ^{moves out of the Caribbean} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and, we hope, out of existence. Looking back on last Friday's preparations against the likelihood of the storm getting closer to Jamaica than it eventually did, two points of concern struck me. The first was how very difficult it was to reach most of the top officials and bureaucrats from whom the community had a right to expect information and guidance. Far too many of these officials were in seminars or meetings which could not be interrupted, at a time when they should have been most accessible to the public in general and to the media. The great and

honourable exception was the Ministry of National Security, and where the Minister himself was one of the most easily reached people. Lest we forget let us repeat that the first business of good government is to be attentive and responsive to the needs and concerns of the people. And the second point of concern was that it was ^{late} Friday afternoon when it still seemed possible that David might sideswipe us. And late Friday afternoon, as you know, is the last time you can ^{weekend} do/shopping in most hardware places. You cannot get nails and ~~ladders~~ and board on a Saturday morning. And yet late on Friday afternoon there was no hint that it might be urgent to lay in stock these items where needed. We were lucky and David veered away: but it is dangerous to push our luck. Perhaps that is what happened in the Dominican Republic. We must be better prepared by those whose responsibility it is: and seminars and meetings which cannot be disturbed are not necessarily the best way at all times to look after the interests of the people. So do better next time, please. And one of the points of relief is that Hurricane David did nothing to disrupt or dislocate this week's Non-Aligned Summit ^{which} ~~on Havana~~ ^{in Havana}, on which you will hear a great more during the course of this week. I think the wishful predictions of the collapse of non-alignment are premature. And I think, too, that the predictions that the ^{British} T.U.C. conference which opened in Blackpool earlier today, will seek to confront Mrs. Thatcher's ^{Tory} government, are false. British Labour's plan is to allow the Tories to fail all by themselves so that they, and not the British labour movement, will have to take the blame when the British economy sinks deeper into trouble in the not too distant future. And here at home that reportedly wide-ranging speech of the Commissioner of ^{Police} ~~speech~~ raises the very important question: Do the police administer justice or do our Courts?. This is a critical question if the rule of law is to continue to prevail in Jamaica. Goodnight.

- 1) Preparing for Hurricane David
2) How Not to Sell Jamaica Short

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 31, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening:

That terrible brute of a storm, Hurricane David, is now in our part of the Caribbean and this coming weekend looks like at the very least being a ^{very} wet one for us. There is, of course, the remote possibility of some dramatic change - it could, for instance, break up or be greatly weakened if it crossed the mountains of Hispaniola, or it could turn north through the Windward Passage, which, you may remember is what Hurricane Flora did ^{for two of three days in October 1963.} ~~roughly about xxxxxxxx years ago~~

But while we must hope and pray for some such dramatic change to minimise the threat and danger to Jamaica, we must also make all the preparations we can in case there is no such dramatic change. You know the old saying that the Lord helps those who help themselves. Both of this morning's news papers set out very clearly the safety measures and precautions that we should all take to ensure the least possible damage and loss if this hurricane should come at or near us. So please check those lists of precautions very carefully and then make the preparations they suggest, and, above all, observe those safety rules they set out. ^{I sincerely hope I am wrong, but} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

even if David were to pass 100 miles from us I do not see how we can avoid being hit by gale force winds and very heavy rain. So please be prepared. It is better to be prepared for ^{a disaster} ~~something~~ that does not happen than to be unprepared and to be hit by disaster. And it is at times like these, when danger threatens, that we need to remind ourselves of some of the great strengths ^{& virtues} and inner

reserves of the Jamaican people. The way ^{some among us} ~~we~~ sometimes carry on, usually for partisan political gain or ^{gain or} to retain financial and economic control, you would not believe that most Jamaicans are decent and upright and honourable people. The fact is that they ^{just} are. So let us list ^{truths} a few simple self-evident ~~facts~~ which do not make the headlines or even the middle 'filler' stories. The overwhelming majority of Jamaicans are honest: they do not steal from each other or from those who employ them. The ~~overwhelming~~ majority of Jamaicans are peaceful: they do not murder or maim or rape and rob each other. The overwhelming majority of Jamaicans are law-abiding which is why you have hundreds of villages up and down this country where the peace is kept and differences and disagreements are settled without bloodletting even though there are no police stations within miles. The overwhelming majority of Jamaicans live in harmony with their neighbours and give a helping hand to each other in times of trouble and misfortune. I could go on and on with this sort of list, and so could you if you set your mind to it. And it is because of these truths, which ~~are the most important truths which~~ we all really know, that the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans can stand up to disaster and survive. A really weak and worthless people, a people who are all either fools or dupes or rogues or thieves would break and fall apart in the face of disaster. And this is now how it is with the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans; and you know it and I know it. What some ^{done} of us have done, and ^{both to us and the wider world} very stridently in the recent past, has been to hold up and to project the very small minority of ugly and nasty and worthless people in this society as though they were representative of all Jamaica and all Jamaicans. This is part of what is known as psychological warfare to undermine self-confidence. Well, the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans have every reason to be self-confident. They are a good and decent and honourable people.

Goodnight.

The Non-Aligned Movement:
A Perspective

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 29, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: First reports have started coming in from the Non-Aligned Conference which is now gathering momentum in Havana, Cuba. And, predictably, these reports tend to dwell on the differences, actual and potential, ^{on} and the likely clashes and explosions which are expected to take place. And, if you go by the Western ~~wire~~ news agency reports, and especially the/wire reports, then the most important clash of all is likely to be between forces led by Yugo~~slavia's~~ ^{pro-Soviet} President Tito who will resist a/take-over bid of the movement led by Cuba's President Castro. This, with respect, is to rather trivialise an important movement and some of the very important matter its representatives will try to grapple with at their meetings. So it might be useful for us to try and see the Non-Aligned Movement in perspective so as not to get too/ ^{caught up or} confused by some of the attempts to make ~~for~~ us to see it in the narrow 'cold war' terms of Western interests set against Soviet interests and vice-versa. The cold fact is that the Non-Aligned Movement is by its very nature a repudiation of the notion that all the rest of the world is there for the sole purpose of being the running-dog or the lick-spittle or the satellite of this or that great power, or this or that great power grouping. Just consider its founding fathers: Jawaharlal Nehru, the great social democrat; Gamal Nasser, the great Islamic socialist; Kwame Nkrumah, the great Pan-African; and Josip Broz Tito the great and independent communist. The ideological diversity was there from the very start of the movement way back in September of 1961. Each of these four

men saw their world from the perspectives shaped by their experiences and the needs of their societies in their times. Central to Tito's perspective was his, at the time daring, defiance of Joseph Stalin's insistence on casting all communists and communist parties in a mould decreed by the Soviet Union; Nehru's perspective was fashioned by the needs and struggles of the Indian sub-continent under the British Raj; Nkrumah's by a passionate Pan-African Garveyism; and Nasser's by an equally passionate Pan-Arabism. And being strong men each wanted the movement they founded to see the world through his perspective. And non-alignment was not, for any one of them, the so-called even-handed balance as between the Soviet Union^{and its allies} and the United States^{and its allies}/that some latter-day propagandists would have us believe. The non-aligned movement, non-alignment, was always partisan on behalf of its own interests, as those interests were seen. And of course there were always differences in how those interests were^{are} and/seen. For instance, in South-East Asia countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines tend to tilt their non-alignment^{the West and} toward/capitalism, partly because of their dependence on the multinationals; others tilt toward the Soviet Union or China. This is how it has always been. And one of the big points about the non-aligned movement is that no great power, East or West, has any direct say in its deliberations. They all try to influence, of course, but from outside. And the other big point about the non-aligned movement is that nobody has^{any}/veto power; not even the surviving founding father. So when you hear and read some of the more startling reports out of Havana try to remember that this is how^{most of}/the western press in particular has always reported non-aligned meetings. And above all remember that no matter in what direction who tilts at any given moment the basic concerns of the movement are with its own interests, the interests of its own people, not those of either^{the Soviet Union} Russia or China or Europe or America^{the United States}. Goodnight.

- 1) Those NASASO Speeches: Publish Them
2) The Politics of Accountability
3) ~~Setting the Stage for the Non-Aligned Conference~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 27, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: From all accounts I have received the highpoint of the news here at home over this past weekend was the frank and honest talking-out of some of our key political problems by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of the Jamaica Labour Party at that banquet in Ochos Rios of the American-based National Association of Jamaican and Supportive Organisations. So far we have only had brief summaries of what was said. But even these suggest that much of what was said went beyond the routine party political postures of which so many of us are so tired. If this is so then it might be a useful public service for either or both of our newspapers or the API to published the full texts of the speeches and the resolutions which were passed. I think most of us would want to read for ourselves and judge for ourselves the relative merits of what was said. There are times when it is important for people to judge/for themselves on the basis of the/contents of/~~the whole~~ matter instead of having that matter ~~filtered~~ sifted and filtered and rearranged for them by someone else who may or may not bring his or her own biases and prejudices to bear on what is presented and/what is left out. From all I heard of what was said at Ochos Rios and in the interest of putting a damper on/some of the more violent political partisans, this might be a good case for unedited publication. And, still talking about the sifting and filtering of things, there is one aspect of the present Constitutional/reform proposals which we need to think a little more about than we now seem to do: and that

is the question: "Does this proposal enlarge or reduce the ultimate power of control of the people over whoever has to carry out this particular thing?" Wherever that power of the people is enlarged democracy is enlarged; wherever it is reduced democracy is reduced. I have already told you that any executive president who is chosen directly by the people is bound to be more sensitive to the wishes of the people than one who is chosen by Parliament or by some electoral college; in the first case he will depend ^{directly} on the people for his power; in the second case it will be more important for him to please or appease some parliament or electoral college. So please be on guard against any proposal which would ^{put} some filtering special group between you and those who are supposed to exercise power on your behalf. I am frankly against the giving of any kind of serious constitutionally entrenched and un-challengeable power to anybody who is not accountable to the Jamaican people by way of the electoral process. I think we do not even want to give Parliament that power, for a day may come when a wicked Parliament may want to perpetuate itself in power. And the people must always have the power to say no to that: Or to say no to any ceremonial or executive President who may want to veto something which may be in the national interest but not to the liking of some powerful special interest group. So please watch ^{out that no} ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ special filtering groups ^{who are not} ~~beingxxxxxx~~ accountable to you, either directly or through your elected representatives, are given sweeping constitutional powers. We are not dealing with personalities and their integrity; we are not even dealing with just what the political parties are agreed on. We are dealing with the guidebook to the continuing freedom, and the enlarging and protecting of the freedom of all the Jamaican people for as far into the future as we can see in our limited and fallible human judgement. Which is the people must have the power to correct any mistake they make.

Goodnight

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- 1) The JPS Dispute: 12 Heroes
 - 2) The Sanctity & Inviolability of Human Life
 - 3) Do Pedestrians & Animals Have Road Rights?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 24, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The only reason why we did not have massive electrical power cuts on Tuesday was because twelve men decided to keep the one unit still in service going at Old Harbour; and the only reason why we did not have massive power cuts or a shutdown on Wednesday or yesterday or earlier today was because these same twelve men had kept that one generator going. And it is because these twelve men have been at the job for up to 36 hours and more, in the face of considerable strains and pressures, that we have so far had the light and power to keep our manufacturing and business activity and home appliances going without too much dislocation. I think it is important for us to pause and think about this fact. We are very good when it comes to finding fault; and we do not hesitate to point the finger of blame or to denounce; some of us especially are/quick to deplore the selfishness and indiscipline of Jamaican workers. Let us now be just as quick to recognise and pay tribute to service which put the public interest first. Without going into the rights and wrongs of an issue in which the laid down conciliation processes had not yet been exhausted, and in which strike action was therefore not yet called for, I think Jamaica should salute the high social responsibility of those twelve workers who kept the Old Harbour power going; I think we should praise them and thank them very warmly. And let us hope the other workers learn from their example.

Next, murder, cold-blooded and brutal murder, for whatever reason,

is always ugly and distressing and deeply damaging to the moral and spiritual health of the society. Any society in which the life of a citizen, ^{any citizen,} can be snuffed out with the premeditated casualness which seems to have been the case ^{in both of} yesterday's ^{killings} needs, I think, to examine itself very critically. It seems to me that every member of this society needs to ask himself or herself: Do I, we we, as a society really believe in the sanctity and in the inviolability of all human life? And if the answer is 'yes', then how do we express that belief? Do we put the same value on the life of some nameless Ghetto youth, or some lumpen unemployable? As we do on the life of some highly respected and socially useful citizen? ^{and dangerous} The really dread/thing is that if the nameless ghetto youth and the lumpen unemployable believe, or are led to believe, that the society places a lower value on their lives ^{it does} than/on the lives of the so-called top rankin, ^{the} then the act of/reducing of the value placed on the lives of the top rankin becomes a tragic assertion of equal humanity. If my life is worthless then all life is worthless. And in that context the taking of life becomes cheap and casual. How we as a society deal with this one is going to require very much more than just tough repressive measures. Somehow we are going to have to rediscover and re-educate ourselves to the sanctity and inviolability of all human life, not just some. And finally a question provoked by what seems a tendency to cast pedestrians and animals in the role of villains. Jamaica is the only place I know where a 'pedestrian collides with a car or truck'; everywhere else cars or trucks knock down pedestrians; or where animals are blamed when speeding motorists hit them. The question is: do pedestrians, especially children and old people, have any rights at all on our roads? And what of the poor animals, the so-called 'dumb things'? Is this part of our present confusion about the sanctity of life? Goodnight.

- 22/8
- 1) Jamaican Politics: Lull before the Storm?
 - 2) A New Factor in the Middle East Power Game
 - 3) The Drawback of Anonymity

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 22, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There is a sudden rather strange and uneasy calm on the Jamaican political scene. It is a little bit like a boxing match in which the challenger has punched himself out without/ ^{knocking out} ~~drapping~~ the champion and is now waiting a little anxiously for the counter-attack. Those who have been doing all the verbal punching and pushing and shoving seem suddenly on the defensive, ready to cry foul, and protesting that fighting is not really a good or patriotic thing after all. It is an interesting spectacle to watch. The question is: Does it mean that the wilder among the more fanatic of our ^{political} partisan/activists have finally come to their senses and are now going to give Jamaica a chance to get on with the hard job of producing for survival? Or is it just a tactical retreat to regroup and get ready for the next round of attack? My own guess, and I would very much like to be proved wrong, is that it is just a tactical retreat. Still using the boxing simile: when a boxer has been throwing his punches with little or no retaliation, there is a tendency to get careless and cocky and to show-off and to drop/ ^{his} ~~your~~ guard. If he is then staggered and almost floored by a couple of jolting left hooks to the stomach he will panic and cover up and retreat and cry low blow. I think we are seeing something like this going on right now. And I think that if this uneasy/ ^{calm} is shattered by a new and intensified round of party political cut-and-thrust then those who are good at licking had better be just as good at taking their licks. The indications are that ~~from~~ here on we are not going to see one side

doing all the licking while the other side does all the taking. And hitting out and then bawling 'foul' when somebody hits back is a rather cheap way of seeking special treatment. And freedom of expression, which includes freedom of political debate, discussion and the exchange of invective, is not the special preserve of any one single group or ^{any one} party or ^{any one} class or medium. We are either all entitled to it or it is ^a ^{fraud.} meaningless. And it is this knowledge that those in the public domain whom we attack have the right to attack back which should ensure that when we do attack it is on solid and responsible grounds. And the freedom to express our views and our opinions is, of course, one of the key ways in which we try, ~~as~~ as individuals, ~~influence~~ or political parties, or special interest groups, to influence the thinking of our fellow citizens. ^{most} And/often who says a thing is almost as important as what is said. If we know a person to be a liar or the twister of facts to suit some special interest then we put a certain weight on anything that person says. If we know a person to be honest and straightforward then we put a certain weight on anything that person says. If we know a person to be especially knowledgeable on a certain matter then we put a certain weight on what that person says ^{on that matter.} But when we do not know who is supposed to be saying something the tendency is to question the point ^{purpose} and ~~purpose~~ of what is being said and to question why that person hides his or her identity. This is the main drawback to the whole business of anonymity and the difficulty with ~~the~~ anonymous brains. And finally ^{-U.S.} and briefly, the Middle East politics of Arab-Israeli/relations has taken a dramatic new twist with the leaders of America's roughly 25-million blacks siding with the Andrew Young position that like the Jews the Palestinians also have a right to exist and to be consulted in the determining of their future. So now the black vote joins oil as a crucial factors in U.S. Middle East politics. Goodnight.

Electoral Reform: Who Elects?
Who Stands for Election?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 20, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Prime Minister Manley yesterday told a political audience that he expects the talks between the Government and the Opposition on Constitutional reform to lead to a national consensus so that when a referendum on the matter is held next year both parties will ask their supporters to vote yes. This is a good thing. The one point of concern is that by the time both of our two major parties have agreed on the reform package and are ready to present it to us for discussion, it may be too late for any important/further changes to be suggested. It seems to me important that we should all do everything we can to avoid this: and one way is for all of us to start from now talking about the changes people at the grassroots want to see in any new constitution. So please use the radio/call-in programmes and the letters-to-the-editor columns to say what you want to have added to or subtracted from the present Constitution or what you want changed. For myself I am not at all happy about those sections of the present Constitution dealing with who is entitled to be an elector, and therefore to be elected to Jamaica's Parliament. The basic requirement right now is that a person must be a citizen of Jamaica resident in Jamaica at the date of registration; or a Commonwealth citizen resident in Jamaica at the date of registration and who has been so resident for at least a year before the date of registration. There are of course the other stipulations like the person must not be insane, a bankrupt and so forth. And I personally see nothing wrong with this as a condition for voting in Jamaican elections. But I do see a great

deal to be questioned in having these ^{basic} same/qualifications for people who want to stand for elections. Under the present set-up it is possible for somebody who holds both Jamaican and British citizenship, or Jamaican and Canadian citizenship or Jamaican and a form of American citizenship, to be elected to our Parliament. And, as you know, anybody who is elected to the Jamaican Parliament can, technically, become Jamaica's Prime Minister. And so it is possible for us to have a Jamaican Prime Minister who is a British citizen or a Canadian citizen or who is a holder of an American Green Card. And such a person, at the very least, is likely to be ambivalent when any really tough choice or issue comes up. In any case, it makes nonsense of our talk of national sovereignty to have as elected representatives people with split nationalities and loyalties, and with one suitcase always ready and packed for a quick getaway if things go wrong. So I, for one, would like to see that those who offer themselves for election to be our national leaders be required to express their commitment to Jamaica and their confidence in Jamaica by not having or by renouncing dual citizenship or dual residence/~~whenever they decide to stand~~ for elective office. This would not take away a single right of the ordinary Jamaican voter; it would simply impose a reasonable responsibility on those who want to exercise political power. And this is the way to begin to put an end to the political the naked power-hungry and /loyalty interests adventurism of those whose first/~~commitment~~ is to/other than the ~~the~~ Jamaican national interest. It is really very simple: if you want to exercise ^{political} power in/and on behalf of Jamaicans, cut-off your other interests; if those interests are more important then do not seek political power in Jamaica. I think this piece of electoral and Constitutional reform ^{is essential because it} goes to the heart of who exercises power and and in whose interest. Goodnight.

92nd Anniversary of Garvey's Birth:
Garvey's People Embattled

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 17, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Today, August 17th, marks an important date - and one which will grow in importance with time - in the history of Jamaica. For this is the date on which Marcus Garvey was born 92 years ago right here in Jamaica. And the mass rally which takes place at the Mico College in less than an hour from now, and at which the Prime Minister is to report on the Commonwealth Conference, is to commemorate the anniversary of the birth of Marcus Garvey and to pay homage to the work of this first of Jamaica's National Heroes. So, looking back over the years between Garvey's birth and Garvey's death, and to the years between, and the years after, we ask the question: How ^{have} ~~has~~ Garvey's people fared? What have they achieved, what have they failed to achieve? On the political front Garvey's people have achieved much. When he began his work more than fifty years ago the only two independent states on the African Continent were Egypt and Ethiopia: and at that time both denied being black nations. There was Liberia, too, which was nominally an independent state; but she was really an economic colony of the Firestone company. ~~Sincerely~~ Today all of Africa, except for its southern tip, is independent and in the political control of the blacks, Garvey's people. And to day Ethiopia~~x~~ and Egypt and Liberia are proud to identify themselves as part of the Orggnisation of African Unity. And at the head of most of these black African states are people who were strongly influenced by the teachings and by the example of struggle and sacrffice of Marcus Garvey. And in the Caribbean too,

the ~~transition~~ from colonial status to political independence is almost complete. And here, too, the Garvey influence played a major part.

~~powerful~~. So, politically Garvey's people have done very well over these past fifty odd years. They have done in a comparatively short historical time span ~~time~~/what it took Europe a century or more to do. Not because they are special or unique but because we are into a ^{historic} period when the processes of change are being accelerated and telescoped. And I think we can expect this telescoping of change to be accelerated even more between now and the year 2000. So the managing and the directing of that speeded-up process of change is going to become even more crucial in the days ahead, because the key issue, this time, is not who will control political power but who will control economic power. Already some major battles in this new economic conflict ^{have} ~~has~~ been engaged. The energy crisis and the OPEC ^{oil price} pressures is one manifestation of this economic power struggle at a crucial global level. And one question behind it is whether one-fifth or one-sixth of the world's population is entitled, as of right, to consume three-quarter's of the world's energy; while four-fifths of mankind must be satisfied with just one quarter. And when you view it at the local level it is the same question of whether all or most of the available goodies whether in energy or foreign exchange ^{serve the interests of} ~~or~~ special concessions should go to a small minority ^{the interests} or/of the wider community. And who makes, and who enforces these decisions, is what the new struggle for economic control is all about. If Garvey's people understand this, they will understand why some of their political leaders are being subjected to the ugly abusive nastiness they now get from certain quarters; and they will understand why people like Dr. Hedley Brown, the Trade Administrator, is being sneered at, maligned, abused and jeered at in hopes of undermining their confidence and driving them from office. They did it to Garvey too. It is all part of Garvey's people's struggle.

Goodnight.

Energy & the Economics of Survival

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 15, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There are those among us who, for reasons of their own, would have us believe that nowhere else in the world are things as bad as they are in Jamaica. These are the ones who are forever selling Jamaica short; who are forever trying to undermine Jamaican self-confidence; who are forever trying to promote the neo-colonialist/^{notion}~~myth~~ that the only way out of our difficulties and the only hope for any sort of decent future is by being somebody else's dependant satellite. But every now and then some piece of hard information pops up which dramatically gives the lie to this brand of propaganda. For instance, it has come out recently that even under our present hardships the quality of life in Jamaica is better than in most other Third World countries and even compares favourably with some metropolitan countries. Some of you may recall Prime Minister Manley in his/^{recent}Budget speech quoting from a World Bank Survey which made precisely this point. And the World Bank, let us remember, is no propaganda arm of either the government of Jamaica or the People's National Party. And the World Bank figures tell us that with all its problems Jamaica is still very much better off than most other Third World countries. To say this, and to know this, is not to make light of our problems or to try and excuse our failures, it is simply to try and see ourselves and our problems in balanced perspective; to see things as they really are rather than as the propagandists of one side or the other try to con us into seeing them. And, you know, when you know how things really are, and when you know that the main reason for things being as they are, is not because of some wickedness

or lack of judgement or inability to choose wisely on your part, it does make a difference: it makes a difference to the way you look at your problems; the way you understand them, and the spirit in which you handle them. And, most important of all, it helps you to get rid of that self-doubt and self-contempt which are the two most crippling enemies of true self-reliance and true independence. And these, right now, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and a true spirit of independence, are the two qualities we need almost more than any foreign loans. I am sure you have heard it said, and it is generally accepted by her friends and foes alike, that Israel is perhaps the most efficient, hard-working and best run of the smaller states in the world. You also know that israel is getting American government aid on a scale no single other country ^{now} gets. And then there is the economic assistance Israel receives from world Jewry. ^{And she is only now in process of giving} ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Sinai oilwells which she ~~xxxxxxx~~ seized from Egypt and which she has been pumping for her own benefit all this time. Well, according to last week's Time Magazine, this same Israel is now in the grips of an 80% inflation rate which they say is likely to go up to over 100% by the end of this year; Israel, they say, has a balance of payments deficit of nearly \$4,000-million, and her total foreign debt now stands at \$13,000-million. And there are many other countries, big and small, with roughly similar economic indicators. The point is ^{that} ~~xxx~~ there is no need for us to make our very real problems more difficult by spreading crippling self-doubt. The tasks ahead are going to be hard enough without that, no matter who governs. And, no matter who governs, the way out of this economic crisis both for us and for the wider world, is going to be long and painful and will transform our world. The real question, the real political issue of the time, is in whose interest that long struggle will be waged and who will be the main ~~beneficiaries~~ of that transformed world. It is at this point that domestic & foreign politics and economics all meet, and all touch our lives. Goodnight.

- 1) Electoral & Constitution Reform:
Systems & People
- 2) School Uniforms
- 3) Notes on International Scene

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
August 13, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: We start the week's comments with a quick look back at one or two of the high points of last week's passage of the Interim Electoral Reform Act by the Jamaican Parliament. First there was the harmonious spirit of the debate and the apparent goodwill from all sides. Suddenly, these people all behaved like Jamaicans who put Jamaica's interests first. ^{above party} And some of these were the same people who ^{not so long ago} had threatened war and confrontation and all sorts of eruptions of the society. Question: Were they being sincere now, in their show of goodwill and harmony, or when they were threatening fire and brimstone? It is almost impossible to answer this sort of question: but it is important to ask it, and to think about it. And then there is the thought that if these leaders can work as peacefully and harmoniously with each other, can crack a joke with each other and take a drink with each other, why should not their followers do the same. You do not hear or read of the leaders mashing each other up or shooting each other up; so why should the followers do it. And when you think of the substance of what they have agreed on it does look like an improvement on the present system. But it is not foolproof because there is nothing devised by man that man cannot manipulate. So I think it would be a mistake for the electorate of this country to ^{think of} be led into thinking that we now have a perfect system, no matter how good, which cannot be corrupted: all systems can be corrupted; and the best way to safeguard against corruption is to devise as good a system as you can and for the people themselves then to act as the guardians

and protectors of that system. I think that the ultimate responsibility for the protecting of the integrity of a good electoral system must ~~also~~ be in the hands of the people. So anyone who has any veto power over critical aspects of the operating of our electoral system must be subject to the will of the Jamaican people. It is not too early to start thinking and talking very seriously about these things ^{the majority of Jamaicans, the wider community,} if ~~we~~ are determined to ensure that 'power for the people' is more than just a political slogan. Next, I see that the Joint Committee for Women's Rights has communicated with the Ministry of Education about the vexed question of school uniforms. ~~for girls~~ I really do not see any reason why we cannot have just one national school uniform for boys and one national school uniform for girls throughout Jamaica. You could have the present khaki for boys and you could have a blouse and skirt for girls. And to distinguish one school from another you can have either a school badge or a school pin or school colours. School colours which can be easily pinned on or removed strike me as the most economic form of school identification. Anyway, let us hope that those concerned with education work out something much less costly than the wide variety of uniforms our schools, especially for girls, now require. And finally some notes on the international scene. Things seem to be hotting ^{up} again in the Middle East with Israel accusing the U.S. of 'tilting' in favour of the Arabs and Egypt calling for Soviet involvement in the peace process. The cold fact is the American have little option but to 'tilt' ^{a little} that way to ensure the continued flow of Arab oil; but I doubt that the Soviet Union will want to pull Egypt's chestnuts out of the fire for her. So Egypt is going to have to make her peace with the other Arab states, if she can, without any Soviet help. And the British Government is now trying to persuade South Africa to endorse the new proposals on Rhodesia. If South Africa refuses there will be a new and deeper crisis situation. Goodnight.

Electoral & Constitutional Reform:
The First Steps; The fundamental Issue

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 10, 1979, 6.10p.m

The Jamaican
Good evening: /Parliament this week passed an Interim Electoral Reform Act which should finally ~~take~~ put an end to the long and wasteful and often shoddy party-political point-scoring wrangle which passed for public debate on electoral reform. This same end, which was achieved this week, could have been arrived at a year or more ago. The trouble was that some of our politicians were much more interested in squeezing every last inch of propaganda mileage out of the issue than they were in arriving at an acceptable solution. Please don't get me wrong. There is nothing wrong with squeezing all the propaganda advantage you can^{get} out of a touchy and sensitive issue. That is what our brand of competitive party politics is all about. But competitive party politics is not the central reason for our system of Parliamentary democracy or even its main justification. And one of the causes for some of^{the} ~~our~~ recent ugliness and nastiness in Jamaican politics has been the seeing, or apparent seeing, or pretend seeing, of competitive party politics as the primary and central point of our democracy. And the result of this has been the extreme political tribalism which would tear down the society itself if that were the only way to come out on top in the competitive party political power game. And so, even though we all agree on electoral reform, or on any other issue for that matter, we squeeze it and squeeze it until we can squeeze it no more, and then, perhaps, we say alright and then go on to the next thing that can be squeezed.

And there will always be something to squeeze, no matter what the circumstances, no matter who is in power. The real danger in ~~all~~ competitive party politics carried to this extreme is that it usually ends up making parliamentary democracy impossible. And parliamentary democracy, let us ^{always remember} ~~never forget~~, is not ~~there~~ primarily to serve the interests of the political parties or the people who lead them. Parliamentary democracy, let us never forget, is there to serve the interests of the people, to ensure that the interests of the people get pride of place; and, above all, ^{parliamentary democracy is there} to ensure that when the people are not satisfied with those whom they have put into power, they can remove them and put others in their place; and when they are satisfied they can confirm them in power. And this power of the people to hire or to fire those who govern on their behalf, this power to elect/~~and~~^{or} reject, must always be at the heart of any exercise on electoral or constitutional reform. So it seems to me that a key thing the Jamaican people must always be on the alert for is whether what is being done in the name of electoral or constitutional reform, adds to the power of control or takes away from their power of control. So look closely for this behind all the complex and fancy formulations. Does it increase your control or reduce your control over those who make decisions on your behalf. And the basis of your control is your power to elect or reject. And if the political parties and the politicians themselves are not sensitive, or become insensitive, to what you want or do not want, have you given them the kind of power to set up structures and institutions which can go against your wishes? For instance, if we are to have a President with executive powers, I would want such a President to be directly accountable to the people; so I would want him to be elected directly by the people. If some group ~~like~~ an electoral college chose him he would always have to think of that group. To put the people first he must be the elect of the people.

- 1) Rhodesia: What Prospects
- 2) M'Bow on Press Freedom

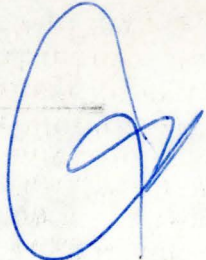
NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 8, 1979, 6.10p.m.

on Rhodesia

Good evening: While the breakthrough/achieved at the just ended Commonwealth Conference must be welcomed, it would be wise for all of us to take careful note of Prime Minister Manley's statement setting out the very real limitations of what the conference has actually accomplished. The Conference achieved a ^{six-point} broad/agreement on how Britain should proceed from here on to try and resolve the Rhodesian problem. Britain is to call a new constitutional conference of all the parties, including the Patriotic Front, the Frontline States and the present Muzorewa administration; and the hope is that out of this conference will come agreement on a new constitution to replace the present Ian Smith face-card thing, new elections, the end to the fighting and the lifting of economic sanctions and the acceptance of a truly free Zimbabwe as a member of the Commonwealth and the world community. This is the broad outline on which the Commonwealth leaders agreed. But it is important to note that neither the Patriotic Front nor the Muzorewa people took any part in arriving at this agreement. Only Britain, as the responsible colonial power for Rhodesia, is committed to this. So what happens if ~~either~~ Muzorewa, egged on by Ian Smith and South Africa, were to decide to defy the British colonial authority? After all, that is what Ian Smith's rebel regime did and got away with for all these years. Will Mrs. Thatcher's Conservatives be any more prepared to impose ~~this~~ solution on Rhodesia than previous British governments, both Labour and Conservative, were? And on the other side of the

coin, what happens if Mugabe and Nkomo, the leaders of the Patriotic Front were to decide not to sit down at such a conference with their enemies? They have fought the war to this point; outright military victory is now much more of a possibility than ever before. So why, after all they had suffered and endured, should they now sit down to negotiate? And if they decided not to, would the Frontline States withdraw their support and drive them out of the sanctuaries from which they fight? And remember, some years back President Nyerere persuaded them to scale down the fighting because there was then hope of a negotiated settlement; that settlement did not come about and it took the Patriotic Front something like two years and heavy losses before the will to continue the fight was fully restored. So the Patriotic Front is not likely, this time around, to quickly lay down arms on anybody's say-so. Then there is Britain's position too. Mrs. Thatcher may have a rougher time getting approval for this plan from her own Tory supporters than she had in the opening days at Lusaka. A fundamental issue is the level of British and American investment and the ^{future} safety of that investment, as well as of the strategically important Rhodesian chrome. All these are seen as safer under the internal structure devised by Ian Smith than they are likely to be under any genuinely black government which might include such radicals as Mugabe and Nkomo. All of which makes the prospects rather unsettled and uncertain. And finally and brief^{ly}, when UNESCO's Director-General Dr. Amadou M'Bow was here in April of this year he pointed out that in all of the developed countries some of the news media was owned or controlled by the government but nobody said there was a lack of press freedom in those countries merely because of the fact of government ownership or control. And he thought it was hypocrisy and an attitude reminiscent of colonialism for the metropolitan press and its agents to criticise Third World countries for such ownership. Goodnight



~~Independence Day~~, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
August 6, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And a happy and peaceful Independence Day. It has been a good weekend this far; the weather had been good; and the children, especially, have been having a marvelous time. And it is this matter of the growing involvement of the children in the celebration of Independence, and the quality of that involvement, which I personally find most heart-warming. In towns and villages all over Jamaica the children now are at the centre of the celebration. To be sure, the children were always part of these celebrations over these past seventeen years. But they were not always at the centre. And they were not always as relaxed and uninhibitedly themselves as they are now. They were not always as sure of themselves as ^{now} they ^{are}. When I watch ^{them} singing their songs and what they call 'doing their thing' I see the beginning of the end of the self-doubt and the sense of inferiority and the latent ^{sense of} self-contempt which are all part of the colonial and racial heritage. And it is a very sweet and rewarding ~~sight~~ experience to be witness to these very important changes of the spirit and of the mind. And seventeen years is not too long a time to wait for this. So it is the children, singing and dancing and showing off their skills at the Festival contests who symbolise the true spirit of independence for me. And you know something if you believe, as I do, that all real and lasting change takes place in the mind and in the spirit in the first instance, then you will agree with me that we have come a long way, baby. Today's children who will be tomorrow's adults, are and will remain a much freer and

more self-assured and more self-~~reliant~~^{respecting} group of men and women
 than ever we were. It is there already; we see it in the way they
 look at us, at each other, at the world. Many of us are unsettled
 and disturbed by this new awareness of our young. They are not afraid
 of ideas, of unsettling questions. And they do not long outward, to
 others in metropolitan centres for either ideological guidance or
 approval or support. Everything, whether from Washington or Moscow
 or London or Peking is examined and judged on merit. And they will
 not allow any so-called pundits to think for them or to tell them
 what to think. That is the mood and spirit of our young ~~on~~^{perhaps} this
 seventeenth anniversary of Independence -/not as sharply focussed or
 clearly stated, but there all the same. And this, I think, is some-
 thing that today's adults, and the founding fathers of our independence
 can take pride in. We must have done ~~some~~ things right to produce
 this breed of child. And it has taken us all of seventeen years to
 come fully to the realisation of just how fragile political indepen-
 dence can be if it is not buttressed by a relatively strong economy.
 We know now that not even the super-powers are really economically
 self-sufficient. America's crippling dependence on OPEC oil and
 Russia's equally heavy dependence on Canadian and American grain are
 just two examples of economic inter-dependence, even at the level
 of the rich First World. ^{economic} The/problems of the Third World are made
 worse by the fact that Third World economies have traditionally been
 client economies, geared/~~mainly~~^{primarily} to serving the interests and the needs
 of the metropolitan economies. That is what colonialism and imperial-
 ism and neo-colonialism are all about. To re-order ^{in the face of fiercer resistance} these Third World
 economies so that they put the interests of the majority of the local
 people first is proving a much more difficult task than was the winning
 of political independence. And this is the challenging task ahead.
 Goodnight.



Of Followers and Leaders

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
August 3, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The start of the long Independence Weekend is a good time for us to look ^{at} the relations between those who lead and those who follow, between the leaders and the followers in the Jamaican community. You know some of the old sayings about this business of the leaders and the led. The sayings 'People get the government they deserve' or 'They are no better than their leader' are rough-and-ready short-hand ways of pointing at some of the complexities of the relationship between those who lead and those who ~~follow~~. ~~For the~~ ~~leader~~ true of all forms of ~~social~~ organisation, whether religious, social, political, cultural or economic: the inter-action between the leaders and the followers is complex, important and often determines ^{attitudes, patterns of reaction, and the} ~~likely outcome~~ of the enterprise on which they may be engaged. For instance, it is extremely difficult, if not downright impossible, for anybody in today's Jamaica to become generally accepted as a ^{national} leader without first being identified with some nationally accepted institution within the society. A would-be church leader must be identified with some nationally accepted church; a would-be labour leader must be identified with some nationally accepted trade union; a would-be political leader must be ^{identified} ~~accepted~~ with some nationally accepted political party. Alternatively, the would-be leader has to undertake the long and painstaking task of creating a new institution and ^{it} keeping/ alive until it becomes nationally accepted. So, one way or another, the would-be national leader has to work his or her passage,

has to be seen to have served his or her apprenticeship, before the followers will accept him or her. And this does tell us something and important interesting/about the leaders and the followers. They sang enthusiastically 'We will follow Bustamante till we die' - and then at a later stage they turned/~~him~~ out of office: the followers were in obvious awe and boundless admiration of the intellectual brilliance and personal integrity of Norman Manley who gave shape and substance to their sense of/nationalist self-worth - and then they turned him out of office, too. But in each case, when they turned out the one giant or the other, they were sure of the alternative and of what the alternative meant for them. So, in the case of Jamaican politics at least, the relations between the followers and the leaders/~~have~~ ~~been~~, generally speaking, been dynamic and open-eyed. These were not, and still are not, blind followers. They relish the scandal inherent in an open party political system. So when dirt came out about one party or the other they enjoyed it doubly, first because of the/sheer fun stuff of muckraking, and second because they knew what was going on inside both parties; and to know is to be in control. So those who shroud the seamy goings-on within their own party/~~in~~ behind a curtain of secrecy while making public the seamy goings-on within the other party, may in fact be hurting their own interests. For Jamaica's followers want to know all about those who would lead them, warts and all. And if you have been watching the evolution of the Jamaican political system and the evolution of the relations between leaders and followers within that system over, say, the last twenty to twenty-five years, you might well find that the followers have changed more/politically, and matured more/politically than have the leaders. This is certainly what I have found. At this moment, and in their intuitive understanding of the/~~contending~~ forces at work both in Jamaica and the wider world, the followers ~~have~~ are ahead of their leaders. And that's no bad thing for the future of our independence. Goodnight.

Commonwealth Conference Opens

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
August 1, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference opened in Lusaka, Zambia earlier today with all the tension and high drama that had been anticipated; and there was one unexpected and dramatic surprise as well. Yesterday, on the eve of the opening of the conference, the government of Nigeria nationalised^{all} the holdings of the giant British Petroleum oil company in that country. And this sent shock waves right through the Western world which had the pound sterling dropping sharply on the world money markets. British Petroleum is one of the so-called Seven Sisters of the world's giant oil companies who still dominate the world oil business, despite OPEC. And since British Petroleum is the fifth largest of these oil giants, and since Nigeria is now the second largest supplier of oil to the United States, the possible consequences of this nationalisation of British Petroleum holdings ^{are bound to} ~~could~~ be worldwide, ^{rather} ~~more~~ than just a Commonwealth matter. So why did Nigeria take this drastic step on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference? Was it to signal a warning to Britain to back off from ^{her efforts} ~~recognising~~ ~~mixing~~ to gain support for the recognition of the Muzorewa puppet regime? I do not think this is likely. After all, Mrs. Thatcher's government had already indicated an acceptance, however reluctantly, of the fact of majority Commonwealth opposition. The Tories (with gentle but firm prodding^{from} ~~by~~ the Cart^{er} Administration as well) have said they will insist on changes in the Rhodesian Constitution which would make it more acceptable to black interests. So Nigeria's earlier quiet diplomatic signals to

Washington and London had already done the job of blocking quick recognition for Muzorewa. But I think there is little doubt that the timing of the takeover was related to the opening of the conference in May of this year. Reports are that a South African oil tanker was permitted by British Petroleum to enter a Nigerian port to take up Nigerian oil for South Africa. This would be a logical and understandable reason for the Nigerian action. But so far the Nigerians have given no official reason for the action; and while a British Government statement rejects the reasons given for the nationalisation, it too does not make public those reasons. For myself, I am inclined to think that the Nigerian action should be seen in terms of the wider Southern African conflict involving Namibia and racist South Africa itself, rather than in the narrower terms of just this Commonwealth Conference and Rhodesia. This heightened Pan-African orientation has been a very noticeable and growing trend in the way Nigeria is using its oil wealth as an instrument of its foreign policy. But then, an earlier generation of Nigerian political leaders were among the pioneers of Pan-Africanism. The rest of the conference events, for this opening day at least, are bound to be a little anti-climatic after the Nigerian fireworks. But already there are clear indications that the spirit of compromise and accommodation on which the British parliamentary system is based is at work. President Nyerere has approved of Mrs. Thatcher opening speech; the Iron Lady has promised reason and consultation; Kaunda has urged no quittings because of differences (after all, he said, the Commonwealth is no longer Britain's property); and so the prospects of the loudly proclaimed 'Showdown in Lusaka' are rather slim. As long as each of the member states has more to gain from membership than they can by going it alone, the Commonwealth will continue. And in a great variety of ways, material and otherwise they all still have more to gain. Goodnight.

- 1) The Commonwealth Conference
- 2) Energy: the moves toward rationing
- 3) Ideology: an after-thought

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
July 30, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It was a peaceful weekend which saw the start of the National Independence Week Celebrations which will reach their climax on Independence Day, Monday August 6th. So Jamaica moves on to its 17th anniversary of Independence, still free, still open, still committed to Parliamentary democracy and freedom of expression and freedom of association and freedom of conscience. Can you remember ^{can you} and/list how often we were told these things were dead or dying between the start of Independence Week last year and today? Our basic institutions have survived for yet another year the death which some among us have wished for them so loudly. And the longer they survive against this type of onslaught, the stronger they become. ^{One} ~~The~~ danger is that the sustained assault on these institutions can undermine confidence in them: we must be on guard against that. Another, and in some ways more worrying, ^{self-serving prophecies of} danger is that because/~~it is~~ doom are /repeated and repeated until people shut them out, people may also dismiss/~~real dangers~~ real dangers. This is a little like the joker who shouts 'fire! fire!' when there is no fire; and when there is a real fire his house burns down because the neighbours do not believe his cry. Still, for this week at least politics will have to take second place to festival here in Jamaica. And that is no bad thing. One ongoing preoccupation both here and abroad will of course be petrol shortages, with the energy crisis. All the indications are that/President Carter and the OPEC pressures have finally shaken the American people into seeing that the energy crisis is real notwithstanding the massive

profits announced by the oil companies. So it looks as though the Congress may yet reverse itself and give Mr. Carter those standby rationing powers and it also looks as though they are taking his long-term energy proposals seriously at last. And when the Americans really put their minds to a technological problem of this kind they usually overcome it. They showed this when they put men on the moon ten years ago. So, whatever Mr. Carter's personal political fate, ten years down the road America will most likely be energy self-sufficient and perhaps an energy exporting country, because of the decisions made by Carter last week. We in Jamaica may also be in a rather different position ten years down the road if we find offshore oil. But between now and then we too are going to have follow the conservation route with some form of rationing. The largely public relations conservation programme we have conducted up to now seems to me to have succeeded as far as it can. People, especially the poor, have cut down drastically on the use of oil-based energy. The new phase now, it seems to me, should be to work out patterns of priority for business consumption of oil-based energy, with efficient foreign exchange earners getting the highest/^{allocations,} ~~priority~~ and the other sectors receiving allocations in a descending order of priority. Inevitably, there will be howls and protests but we are going to have to cut our cloth to suit our purses. In this context, lest we forget, ideas, ideologies, concepts, blueprints,^{only} provide frameworks for action. If the action itself does not follow the ideology is worthless. And finally and briefly, the Commonwealth Conference which opens in Lusaka on Wednesday ^{and which represents the quarter of mankind} is a study in what/~~can~~ ^{can} fairly be described as an almost irreconcilable diversity of races, religions, cultures, political systems. The one thing that makes it all possible is the business of compromise and accommodation on which the British parliamentary system is based: you can't have one without the other.

27/7

- 1) Additional School Places: Allocation for Teachers
- 2) Return J.A.S. to Ministry of Agriculture
- 3) Non-Violence & Southern Africa

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
July 27, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The best news to come out of the very dismal and depressing educational front this week is, firstly, today's publishing of the names of the young people who have gained those restored 3,000 secondary school places; and secondly, yesterday's information from the Jamaica Teachers' Association that there will be no cuts by the Ministry of Education in the amount of money provided specifically for teachers' pay. But we are not quite back to where we were last year because the two-shift system has been scrapped in some seventeen new secondary schools, reported because of poor attendance, and this is a step backward. For myself, I would still like to know why the society has been subjected to these/sudden wild and erratic moves from within the educational bureaucracy. A Usual past complaint against the civil service bureaucracy has been the difficulty politicians found, or claimed they found, in getting the sluggish civil service machine to respond quickly to the changes or innovations they wanted to make. In this instance, and with a comparatively new Minister, the whole thing seems to have been of the kind thrown into an uncharacteristic turmoil of sudden activity/that seems hell-bent on shaking us all up, or else to self-destruct. So what is really going on in that beautiful, spacious air-conditioned edifice? The Jamaican taxpayers have a right to know. And perhaps it would be best for both agriculture and agricultural education in Jamaica for the Jamaica School of Agriculture to be again placed under the Ministry of Agriculture under whose guidance it has served

When a new experiment does not
 this country so well in the past. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 workd
~~good~~ it is wise to fall back on the old tried and tested ways/ in
 good time and before things fall apart; and our Ministry of Education
 and its largely anonymous bureaucrats who make the day-to-day
 decisions, seem not competent to oversee and guide the running of
 this rather special agricultural school.

And on the economy Finance Minister Eric Bell gave a pointer of what
 we are up against when he talked of a 'leakage' of foreign exchange
 earnings from tourism of some \$35-million this year. Mr. Bell was
 reported as saying that his own view was that the 'leakage' figure
 was much higher - somewhere around \$60-million. It does make economic
 recovery that much more difficult when foreign-exchange is plundered
 on this scale. And the record/^{13.4%}inflation which is now hitting the
 United States is bound to have some spin-off effect on us, as indeed
 it must on all America's trading partners, big or small. So the
 sooner we put real teeth into our/^{energy}conservation efforts, and into
 our efforts to produce as much/^{as possible}of the food we eat, the better will
 we be able to stand up to the new inflationary pressures which are
 being let loose all about us. And the West~~e~~ end of the island,
 Jamaica's traditional food basket, is not producing much this year
 thanks to the flooding. We must make up for that or we will hurt.
 And finally, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, a respected black American
 civil rights leader yesterday advised black South Africans to resist
 Apartheid non-violently. If Mr. Jackson had checked it out he would
 have found out that the blacks and the Indians had in fact tried that
 route ^{a long time ago} under the leadership of Manilal Ghandhi - son of the great
 Mahatma. I was there. I saw young whites put on running shoes and
 knuckle-dusters and take bets on who would knock out most passive
 resisters and then line up and do it. We tried non-violence and it
 was a joke to them. Goodnight.

- 1) Ideology, Production, Control
- 2) ~~What Is Excess Profits?~~
- 3) ~~The Politics of Energy~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
July 25, 1979, 6.10p.m



Good evening: The Administrative Staff College, which is the newly created training centre for our senior civil servants, is presently holding a seminar which is designed to expose these civil servants to ideology and its impact/^{on} and its relations to the various sectors of the Jamaican society. And so you have such panel discussions as: Ideology and the Public Service, Ideology and the Private Sector, Ideology and the State and so forth. And since/^{the word} ideology has often been used as a political cuss word in Jamaica, it might be helpful for us to try and demystify it. Now, Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary/^{which is American} gives four definitions of 'ideology'. 1. The study of ideas their nature and their source. 2. The theory that all ideas are derived exclusively through sensation. 3. Thinking, speculating, or theorising, especially when the theory or system of theories is idealistic, abstract, idle, impractical, or far-fetched. 4. The doctrines, opinions, or way of thinking of an individual, class etc. This is the American definition of ideology. The British definition which is a reasonably accurate reflection of the general ~~West~~ European definition of ideology is given in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as: 'the science of ideas'. Ideology, then, is quite simply the study of ideas, of all ideas, not just of one set of ideas. And once you see it in this light the word 'ideology' ceases to have sinister or frightening implications because you see at once that all social systems, all human organisation must be based on ideas and must therefore have some ideological foundation. This is as true of capitalis

of imperialism, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, of racism as it is of communism, of socialism, of social democracy, of liberalism. All are based on ideas, all are ideologies. And, as the fourth definition in Webster makes clear you have ways of thinking of individuals and classes, and it is at this level that ideology can and does become an instrument in the service of power. Racism has been used and is being used, with extreme refinement in places like today's South Africa, but elsewhere too, as the ideological justification for the economic exploitation of one racial group by another. A by-product of/colonialism and racism with which most of us are familiar throughout the Third World is the massive inferiority complex which makes *black* people doubt themselves and doubt their capacities to do things for themselves without some sort of external guidance or approval. This is no accident, no special weakness on our part. This is the result of centuries of ideological indoctrination. It was the sheer power of ideological indoctrination that made it possible as recently as the 1950s for a young British District Commissioner in his middle 20s to almost single-handedly control an African area of several thousand square miles and anywhere from 60,000 to 100,000 or more human beings. The idea of Bwana ~~Kukwa~~ - big lord - had been planted deep. And it needed a deep and brutal internal ~~psychological~~ ^{imposed} revolt to shake free of the hold of that idea, that/ideology of black inferiority. The truth is that ideology is really all about us. We use ideas to promote our own interests or to belittle those who threaten our interests. In this sense even Jamaica's economic problems are indeed ideological. I think we all know that if we all really set our minds to it we could deal much more effectively with some of our key problems. The big stumbling block is: In whose interest is the economy to be revived? Who is to be in control? Who the main beneficiaries? That is the big ideological rub. So think it out and don't be afraid of ideas. Goodnight.

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- 1) JSA Closure
 - 2) President Carter Under Fire
 - 3) The CAU & the Wire Services

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

July 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It has been a comparatively peaceful though wet weekend here in Jamaica. We had the tragic crash of that cargo plane carrying hatching eggs for Jamaica Broilers, in which two people died; and we had the now sadly familiar gun-crimes and gun-killings in reported shoot-outs between the police and criminal elements. The flooding, following the heavy rain brought on by that tropical depression, was not as bad as we had feared, and damage, this time, was limited and lives were spared. So, all in all, a comparatively peaceful Jamaican weekend for this time of year. And one of the more welcome bits of news was the statement from the Ministry of Education that there is no intention to close the Jamaica School of Agriculture. The question is: How did this notion of the closing of the School of Agriculture get started in the first place? Who started it? And why? Is it part of the propaganda of making sure that there is always something for us to worry about, to be anxious and concerned about? Far too many worrying things about education are popping up in quick succession for us not to wonder whether there is some design to it. So please watch this closely. We have enough real problems in education: ~~without~~ we do not need false and artificial ones manufactured to 'erupt' things further. And on the political front there has, on the whole, been less screaming and shouting and cursing and tracing than ^{usual} ~~normally~~. To be sure there has been some printed personal nastiness but this was minimal and most of our politics this weekend had to do with ideas and issues; and this is

good. Perhaps the message is finally getting through that most Jamaicans, of all political/^{persuasions,}~~complexion~~ are more than a little sick and tired of all the nastiness and all the short-changing of Jamaica and Jamaicans which now passes for political debate. Let us hope it has. And, ironically, while the nastiness seem to be easing up a little here, there has been an almost brutal eruption of it against President Carter in the United States. Following on last week's events,^{some key sections of} the American news media and some members of the American Congress have gone as far as to question Mr. Carter's 'mental stability'. They have suggested that the job of President is too big for him and that the pressures of the job have caused him to lose his balance. Some of you may remember the name of John Erlichman who, with H.R. Haldemann, made up the heart of the Nixon conspiracy of suppression which led to the Watergate investigation and the downfall of Richard Nixon. Well, the same Mr. Erlichmann is now a radio commentator and he is one of journalistic/^{rat} pack now trying to rip Mr. Carter apart. Bob Moore, another commentator, describes Mr. Carter as now being 'a lame duck President'. And Geoffrey St. John, a noted conservative Washington columnist, speculates on what could happen to an America led by an "erratic and unbalanced Commander-in-Chief". How Mr. Carter stands up to this kind of hammering is going to determine the fate of his 6-point plan as well as his own political future. But what is for sure, win or lose, is that ~~that~~ the national unity and the self-confidence Mr. Carter urged on the American people is not going to be achieved by the brutal savaging of the American President. And further afield, after last week's Western wire news service reports out of Africa, it seemed as though we were witnessing the collapse of African unity and the disintegration of the OAU. But the news was misleading: for all the differences African unity is real and the OAU lives on. Goodnight.

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- 1) The Coca-Cola Shutdown
 - 2) An End to U.S. Consumerism?
 - 3) Trouble at the OAU
 - 4) Britain Again Rejects Death Penalty

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
July 20, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: In the old days of primitive industrial relations when 'might was right' companies often shutdown rather than accept unionisation. Sometimes the same company would stay shutdown for a few months and then re-open with either an entirely new work force or else with amix of only the most acceptable of the old work force diluted with new blood. Some times companies would shut down and re-open under different names. And where ^{the} a level of worker organisation and trade union militancy made these kindsof moves impossible companies often just shutdown and relocated elsewhere where the work force was not as organised or militant. And all this was of course done in the interest of maximising profits and having as trouble-free an operation as possible. And every now and then, even in today's comparatively sophisticated new industrial relations climate, we are reminded of how it was in the old days. Jamaican workers this week had a bitter reminder that the old days are not completely ended when Coca-Cola decided to pull out its bottling operation in Jamaica and transfer the franchise. ^{All} ~~Some~~ companies are in business to make a profit; and some companies, especially transnational or multinational companies, have very clear and specific ideas on what makes up a reasonable and acceptable level of profit on investment. And usually profit targets are set for each branch of a multi-national company; they do not usually use the high profits of a branch in one country to offset the ^{low profitability or} losses in another country. Each branch must make its own profits or risk being closed or sold

This is how it is, whether we like it or not; and the sooner we really understand this the better will we be able to cope. And there is no way of any group of workers knowing what is going on in any company, ^{unless} ~~xxxxxx~~ there is full disclosure, unless the workers can examine the books for themselves and so see for themselves what is and what is not possible. ^{obviously} It is/not in the workers' interest to make demands which really cannot be met and which would lead to a shutdown. But equally, it is not in their interest to take anybody else's ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{financial} unchecked say-so about the/state of a company. They have been deceived and lied to far too often for that. So let us hope that out of the bitter Coca-Cola business will come a full realisation of the importance of have the long-promised disclosure legislation. Next, a couple of notes of economic interest to our local hard pressed consumers. Among President Carter's Cabinet changes was the transfer of Mr. G. William Miller from the Chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board to being Secretary of the Treasury, which is the rough equivalent of our Finance Minister. And the first thing the new Treasury Secretary called for was a shift by Americans from consumerism to production and expansion. Sounds familiar doesn't it? But how can the world's largest and most wasteful consumer of energy cut back on energy consumption and still increase production? In Israel the price of petrol has gone up to \$2.50 US per gallon, which would make it near on \$4.50 a gallon by our money; and projections are of a doubling of Israel's inflation rate. And in Britain where domestic gas has always been very cheap - I remember heating a flat for an ^{entire} evening, and cooking a meal, and having a hot bath in a very cold winter, all for just one shilling - they have just decided to increase the price of domestic gas by about 35%. It is cold comfort but it is still a fact that the hard times are not only in Jamaica.

Goodnight.

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- 1) Electoral Reform: Some Progress
 - 2) A Cutback in Teachers?
 - 3) The Carter Cabinet Resignations
 - 4) Central America After Somoza

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

July 18, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The report that some progress has been made on the electoral reform discussions between the Government and Opposition, is very welcome. Not so welcome are the ongoing efforts by some political activists to keep the political kettle at boiling point. To say this is not to call for an end to vigorous discussion and debate on the important issues of the day. It is simply to say that most of us are more than a little tired of the personal tracing, and the character ~~assassinations~~ ^{rude and} assassinations, and the downright/vulgar screaming and shouting and cursing which now pass for debate and discussion. And, you know, if you really believe in freedom of association then you do not denounce people/^{just}because of the company they keep; if you really believe in freedom of expression then you do not try to threaten or intimidate or bully journalists/who do not say what you want them to say; and if you really believe in freedom of conscience then you do not try to whip up hatred against people whose views you disapprove of, and you do not try to suppress those views. And, lest we forget, freedom of association, freedom of expression and freedom of conscience are assured to every citizen of Jamaica by the Constitution of Jamaica. Please bear this in mind whenever the screaming and shouting gets to fever pitch. Next, the matter of education and the rights of our children. The Fundamental Rights and Freedoms enshrined in the Jamaican Constitution do not include the right of every children to free education. And that, I think, is one of the major shortcomings of the present Constitution.

But twenty years ago, in 1959, we had the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child. And one of the things that Declaration said, unconditionally and without any kind of strings was: "Every Child has the right to free education". And twenty years later, in this International Year of the Child, we in Jamaica have ^{still} not yet ~~afforded~~ provided every Jamaican child with that basic right. Precise figures are difficult to come by but estimates are that somewhere between 60% and 70% of our school-age population are in school. This means that between 30% and 40% are not. And in this context that reported circular from the Ministry of Education about the 'over-employment' of teachers just does not make any kind of social sense. I sincerely hope that our two teachers organisations will talk some sense into the Ministry of Education and its officials before real damage is done. The one economy Jamaica can afford least of all is to economise at the expense of the education of our children. On the Caribbean wider/~~the~~ scene the fall from power of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza is bound to create a completely new political climate in all of Central America. Until yesterday Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala were all rigid rightwing military dictatorships with democratic facades and strong support from rightwing groups in the United States. They also had a military alliance known as the Council for the Defence of Central America, and it was when the other members of that Council refused - under U.S. prodding - to give him military help that Somoza realised the game was up. And with the game up for Somoza, the other rightwing dictatorships know that it is only a matter of time before the same sort of movements develop against them. And this time around neither the CIA nor the Marines will be able to do much interfering. So who will be next, after Somoza?

Goodnight.

- 1) President Carter's Energy Plan
2) India: Morarji Desai Resigns

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
July 16, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: President Carter's proposals to the American people last night to try and break the OPEC oil stranglehold on the American economy, and the resignation of India's Prime Minister Morarji Desai, were the two dominant topics of the weekend news. For us in Jamaica the American news story must of necessity take pride of place because how the Americans deal with their energy crisis is bound to affect us very directly, for good or ill. So a very brief comment on the Indian development before dealing with the American story. On March 21st, 1977, in a Commentary dealing with the electoral defeat of Indira Gandhi by the Janata coalition of Old Men led by Morarji Desai, I ~~ended~~ and I quote: "Rightly or wrongly the Indian people saw Indira's Congress Party as no longer being their Congress Party and so they repudiated her, ironically at a time of great economic prosperity! And their future? I honestly cannot see the Old Men holding together for much more than the next two years. And then there will be a new beginning for India -different from what has been, difficult and dangerous. But then that is what life is all about." That is how I saw it a little over two years ago and that is how it has unfolded. And whoever becomes Prime Minister now will only represent a pause before that difficult and dangerous new beginning which lies ahead of India. And now to Mr. Carter's energy plan. You have had the outlines of the President's plan so I will not restate them here. Oil imports are to be held at the 1977 level; and domestic energy is to be developed to satisfy all needs above that level. Something of the order of \$85,000-million will be spent over

the next ten years to develop these alternative domestic energy sources. The details of the Six-Point Carter Plan will most likely appear in your newspapers tomorrow, if they do, read them carefully. It is a bold and ambitious plan which, if carried out, can and most likely will break the OPEC hold. So two questions come to mind: First, can the Carter Plan work? And second, will the Americans make it work?. Now, the President only made his speech last night and all the detailed proposals, the legislation that would set up the choosing of agencies and/who is to do what, are still to be formulated and announced, but broadly speaking, I think the plan I listened to last night can be made to work. The Americans have the ability to make it work: they have the technology, the skills and the scientific expertise. And we tend also to forget that ~~xxxx~~ right now the United States is still the world's third largest oil producer, with the Soviet Union being the first and Saudi Arabia the second. Indeed, statistics for 1956 - a mere twenty-three years ago - show the single United States as by far the/largest oil producer in the world, accounting for more than one-third of total world oil production at the time, with Venezuela a very distant second and the Soviet Union an even more distant third. And in those days Mexican oil output was reported as steadily decreasing. The big change was the discovery of dirt cheap Middle East oil. With that cheap bonanza now coming to an increasingly back end the United States must turn/to its own oil and other energy resources. But soft living and huge profits can/~~xxxx~~ become as addictive and corrupting to and determination other addiction-the will/to hard effort and harder choices, as any/~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ forming habit. And this, it seems to me, is the major obstacle to America doing what it must do and what I think it can do about its energy crisis. As long as there are/easy ways out, all people, but especially those for whom life has been easy, will opt for the easy ways and this may be Mr. Carter's biggest problem. Goodnight.

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- 1) Muzorewa's Mission Fails
 - 2) India: Collapse of Janata Coalition
 - 3) U.S. Recession: Jamaica's Survival
 - 4) Tanzania: Underwriting the defeat of Amin

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
July 13, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The week which began on such an unsettled note draws to its close on a much more stable note, relatively speaking. Skylab is down and once again mankind is fortunate that it did not turn out a major and tragic disaster. But with all those thousands of pieces still hurtling out there in space, and with more likely to be sent up, it is only a matter of time before one of these things will drop on some densely populated place - unless mankind makes specific provision to destroy or otherwise control such vehicles before they fall apart and plunge to earth. And it is not beyond the ability of the scientific community to do this. This, I think, is one of the important world issues non-nuclear powers should take up urgently at the United Nations. Anyway, Skylab is down 'safely'; our own electoral reform talks seem to be progressing reasonably; Mr. Carter has completed his week-long series of consultations on energy and how to deal with the national economy; the days of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua seem at last to be coming to their end; the Carter administration has turned down Bishop Muzorewa's appeal to end sanctions; in India Mr. Desai's Janata coalition is falling apart; and Tanzania has appealed to a number of the world's richer nations to help with the financial cost of the war which finally got rid of the brutal dictatorship of Idi Amin in Uganda. The Tanzanians say that war cost them something of the order of \$500-million and they feel that the world community, which had as

great an interest in the removal of Amin as they did, should help out with the cost. And suddenly, governments which had little or no moral scruples about financing the military efforts of Mobutu in Zaire, or of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi in Angola, or the likes of Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire, find themselves a bit touchy about being seen as helping to finance an African war. The view is that the Nyerere claim for this kind of financial help is reasonable and justified and that the money will somehow be forthcoming: the view is that there is no question that the Tanzanians did both Africa and the world a service by getting rid of the Amin dictatorship. But, they go on, it would have been so much easier if President Nyerere had not been so publicly insistent in saying this money was to pay for the cost of the war against Amin. If only he had asked for aid without relating it to the war and the cost of the war, things would have been so much easier. My own guess is that Nyerere did not want to make things easier or to be secretive or to ask for some sort of generalised/~~assistance~~ assistance. He wanted things to be clear, specific and above board. And this puts those to whom he has written, on the spot. The other important African development is the failure of the Muzorewa Mission. The Bishop has been told that the ~~fix~~ pre-condition for lifting sanctions is that the Constitutionally entrenched veto power of Rhodesia's white minority must first be removed. That was the message he got in Washington and which is being endorsed by the Conservatives in London. And the real negotiations from here on will be on how Muzorewa can do this and still hold on to political power. After all, Nigeria is now Britain's largest trading partner in Africa as well as a key supplier of oil to the United States, ^{as the multi-nationals have shown us,} and in a world of economic crisis, economic considerations of self-interest usually take precedence over narrow nationalist interests. Goodnight

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- 1) The Skylab Lesson
 - 2) Carter Decides against De-control
 - 3) Carter Sees Muzorewa: Frontline States warn Britain & U.S.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
July 11, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The best news we have had here at home so far this week is that the Government and the Opposition have agreed to further discussions on electoral reform: they have agreed that the resumed discussions would be confidential and that neither side would issue statements while they are in progress. And so, for the present at least, the ugly and stridently violent screaming and cursing on electoral reform, and the threats and counter-threats, will give place to quiet and sober negotiation. We must all hope that this apparent return to sanity in the conduct of our political affairs will hold and will bear fruit. The trouble, and the danger, is of course that there are ~~so~~ many among our political activists and those who would incite them to feverish partisanship, who do not want any atmosphere of peace and tranquillity and co-operation: they want the whole place to be 'erupted'; they want strife and turbulence; they want fear and confusion. ^{What} ~~xxx~~ we can do, and what we can let them know we are doing, is to watch them, and to take note of their doings; so that when the day of voting comes around, we can use our votes to express our disapproval. So watch them closely, and let them know we are watching and waiting for our turn. That, not guns and bombs and bullets, is the final authority of the people under our system of parliamentary democracy. And what are we, as citizens of the world, to learn from the Skylab affair? Firstly, that the business of science and scientific decision-making can no longer and must no longer be

seen as the special preserve of any one nation and any one group of technologically advanced nations. Last year, in January, the Russian nuclear spacecraft Cosmos 954 fell to earth scattering some of its radio-active matter. Fortunately it fell in the remoter uninhabited region of Canada. It could have fallen on Dehli or Calcutta or Jakarta or Singapore or Tokyo or Lagos or any other heavily populated area of the world: and the damage and the death-toll could have been terrible: it could have come down over us. It was a pure accident that that radio-a falling Cosmos spacecraft fell where it did. And the Russians sent it into space without consulting anybody or with anybody discussing the dangers and possibilities of it falling back to earth. And as with last year's falling Cosmos, so with today's falling Skylab. The Americans consulted nobody. Like the Russians they behaved as though space is their preserve to do with as they please. And yet, as we have seen, the consequences of what they does do ~~can~~ and ~~may~~ can concern all of mankind fatally. They have placed many of these vehicles in space; they have buried dangerous radio-active waste in the oceans and under the earth; they have released chemicals which have polluted rivers and killed forests. And almost four-fifths of mankind have had no say of any kind in the making of the scientific and technological decisions that led to these things. I think the world must insist on at least being consulted by the two super-powers on scientific decisions that could wipe us all out. And at Camp David, today, where he has already decided against the de-control of petroleum prices President Carter met with Rhodesia's Bishop Abel Muzorewa who is lobbying for an end to the sanctions. And at an OAU meeting in faraway Tanzania Africa yesterday a spokesman gave notice that all the frontline states bordering Rhodesia will see any lifting of sanctions as an act of war against all of them by Britain and the United States. And the crisis of racism in Southern Africa continues to deepen. Goodnight.

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- 1) Carter's Search for Solutions
 - 2) Muzorewa & Rhodesian Sanctions
 - 3) Cailton Alexander's Sane Call
 - 4) The Falling Skylab

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

July 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It has been a very unsettled weekend, both here at home and abroad. It is not that anything specific and more/~~unusual~~ than normal took place: it is just that an unsettled mood and atmosphere seemed to pervade the whole wide world. For one thing, people the world over were wondering uneasily just where that monstrous 77-ton spacecraft, Skylab, which is now hurtling to earth, will land. Will it be over some heavily populated area? If it is, it is bound to do damage and kill people. If/^{pieces of}space debris - they tell us there may as many as 500 such pieces - were to hit any single target area the damage and the death toll could be as heavy as in a world-war-two type bombing raid. But we are told that the pieces are likely to be scattered over very wide areas, which would make any damage slight. But the hard truth is that neither we nor the experts of the scientific community know with any certainty just where those lethal pieces of hurtling metal are likely to strike. So all we can do is wait for Wednesday or early Thursday when the pieces of Skylab are expected to hit the earth: all we can do is hope that they fall into some ocean or onto some uninhabited desert. But there is nothing that the experts or anyone else can do about it: we cannot stop its falling and we cannot determine where it falls. So we wait, uneasily, apprehensively for Skylab to fall. And of course here at home there is an uneasiness of another kind. We wait to see what comes out of Tuesday's Parliamentary debate on the electoral reform bill, and the uneasiness is because of the screaming and shouting and threatening which have accompanied the apparent collapse

of the understanding reached between the Government and the Opposition. In this connection I thought Mr. Carlton Alexander's speech of Saturday night/^{struck} a very welcome note of sanity and sober balance which are especially badly need at this time. I think Mr. Alexander is absolutely right when he calls for matters of critical national importance to be debated in Parliament, rather than in the press - electronic or print. That is what Parliament and Parliamentary ^{are} democracy/~~is~~ all about: that is where the elect of the people should conduct the people's business in the first place. When critical national issues are debated in the press, rather than in parliament, the role of parliament, the importance of parliament, the value of parliament, are automaticall belittle. And you cannot belittle the role and the importance and the value of parliament without also belittling the processes of parliamentary democracy. And there is no way that anybody, anywhere, under any circumstances can advance and promote and strengthen parliamentary democracy by belittlingit. I personally do not and I have never seen the role of the press as any sort of alternative to parliament. The press has an important critical watchdog role to perform~~a~~. But nobody elected the press; and a majority of the people do not control the press as they control parliament by way of regular and mandatory elections or rejections. So parliament must be the first and most important forum for conducting the people's business. It is good that Mr. Carlton Alexander reminded us of this. On the wider world scene we all await the outcome of President Carter's intense search for an American answer to America's energy crisis, because what America does, or does not do, is bound to affect us intimately, whether we like it or not. So what comes out of that series of meetings at Camp David, and which is expected to be made public on Wednesday, is something to watch closely. Goodnight.

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- 1) Collapse of Electoral Reform Agreement
 - 2) Hotting Up the Political Scene
 - 3) The West Predicts Recession: What for US?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

July 6, 1979, 6.10.p.m.

Good evening: The agreement between the Government and the Parliamentary Opposition on electoral reform seems to have come to a dramatic and startling end. It seems that the long and painstaking meetings and discussions spanning many months, have been to no real point, a waste of time, a mis-use of human energy. It is part of the problem of the underdeveloped of wasteing and dissipating the meagre resources - human and material - that they have. And so the stage is set for the adding of more fuel to an already dangerously over-heated screaming and shouting match between our ^{main} two parties. The hot words are all about us already. The language is extreme, violent, threatening: abuse and invective and name-calling take the place of argument, reason and debate. So where is this likely to lead us? What is it that is likely to come out of this screaming and shouting and threatening and cursing which now rent the air? Who is likely to benefit from it? And is this really the best way for a parliamentary democracy to go about the conducting of the business of a poor but free people? It would be useful for us to spend some part of this coming weekend trying to think through some of these questions. And for background we might take the economic reality of our time as a point of departure. Out of Paris this morning came a report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (OECD) predicting a recession for the rich Western countries later this year. The OECD is a creation of the rich Western countries, set

up specifically to serve Western economic interests. So when it predicts trouble for the major Western nations we had better take it seriously. This is not the half-wishful propaganda of the enemies of the West. And the thing we had better take/^{careful}note of is that any new recession the West is bound to/^{greatly}hurt those weaker Third World economies which are dependent on the West. If the American economy, which is already battered, were to get a further squeeze later this year, there is no way that Jamaica can escape the pressure. And the best way that families and people and communities and nations stand up under pressure is in unity. A people who are united can survive and pull through where a people who are divided will fail and lose out. So where is this hot divisive party politicking taking us? And, you know, this confidence trick is a double-edged sword. It is as easy for one side to generate doubt and uncertainty and lack of confidence as it is for the other. To be sure investors can be frightened away by shouting communism. But those same investor can also be kept away, in the event of a change of government, by warning them that commitments entered into with them may not be honoured when next there is a change. So it is a game that two can play. And whoever plays it, Jamaica is the long term sufferer. Is this really the way we want to go? And then there is the matter of democracy - government by the freely expressed will of the people - in whose name so much of the screaming and threatening and cursing is/^{carried}going on. The simplest and most stark reality about our brand of democracy in Jamaica is that you need, at the very least,/^{the agreement of}both the PNP and the JLP to make it work. PNP cannot make democracy work alone; JLP cannot make democracy work alone. So if either refuses to co-operate or drops out the system as we now know it,/~~cannot work~~ will mash up. And nature does not allow for vacuums - political or otherwise; she always fills them pretty quickly.

Goodnight.

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- 1) Energy Crisis: A Party Political Football?
 - 2) OPEC & the Big Oil Companies
 - 3) ~~Garter's Windfall Profits Tax~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
July 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The after-shock of the latest OPEC oil price increase continued to dominate the weekend news, both at home and abroad. The increase in the local price of petrol was in itself much more modest than I, for one, had expected. And if you check it out you will see that the government has, in this case, stuck to its own call to keep increases down to 10%. The new price increase on a gallon of petrol is ~~exactly~~ 10%. But of course even this relatively modest increase in the price of petrol is bound to set off pressures for a new round of increases in the costs of all other petrol-based goods and services. And we are going to have to watch this very carefully and very closely if we are to ~~avoid~~ contain our inflation within tolerable limits. Which is why I question whether groups like the petrol retailers are entitled to an almost automatic increase in their margins just because the price of petrol has gone up. There are costs which will ^{have to go up} ~~increase~~ because of the increased price of petrol - but not everywhere and on everything. So watch it, please. And unless we all show a measure of maturity and of social responsibility and of self-restraint there is the distinct danger of our allowing the energy crisis to join anti-communism, the Cubans, the Russians, guilt-by-association, and who was seen in whose company and where, ^{and newest} as the latest/party political issue on which to divide and confuse the nation and so distract it from the hard problems at hand. And that would be a great pity. Urteileise by all means, especially where

the criticism could help to improve things; but playing party politics with what is a very real, and worldwide energy crisis/~~can~~ ^{could only} hurt Jamaica further by diverting attention from national to partisan approaches. So ease it please. And it might be useful to examine some figures to see who gains most from the high oil prices which have plunged the world into this energy crisis. The propaganda from the West is that it is the wicked OPEC oil producers who are squeezing the rest of the world but the figures tell a rather different story. Saudi Arabia, the single largest oil exporter in the world last year earned \$ an estimated \$35.2-thousand-million from its oil. Exxon or Esso, the largest oil company in the world earned an estimated \$60.34-thousand-million. So Esso earned vastly more than Saudi Arabia - not far off twice as much - from last year. Iran, the second largest producer earned roughly \$20.7-thousand-million last year. Royal Dutch/Shell the second largest oil company earned \$44-thousand-million last year - more than twice as much as Iran. Iraq, the third largest exporter, earned \$10.8-thousand-million last year. Mobil the third largest oil company earned \$34.7-thousand-million last year - which is more than three times as much as Iraq earned. Number four, Libya, earned \$9.8-thousand-million to Texaco's \$28.6-thousand-million. Nigeria, number five earned \$9.5-thousand-million to British Petroleum \$27.4-thousand-million. And so you can run right down the list. Everyone of the big multinational oil companies earn vastly more from oil than its comparable opposite number from the oil producing countries. The oil belongs to and comes from the OPEC countries but the lion's share of the profits go to the oil companies. Part of the OPEC pressure is to end this situation which, in the language of/^{Third World} politics, is economic imperialism on a truly grand scale. Goodnight.

Measuring the Dimensions of
The World Energy Crisis

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
June 29, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Beginning on July 1st - which is this coming Sunday - the official price of a barrel of OPEC oil on the world market goes up from \$14.55-US a barrel to \$18 a barrel in the case of Saudi Arabia and one or two of the Persian Gulf emirates, and to between \$20 and \$23.50 a barrel in the cases of the other OPEC members. This was the outcome of that very critical conference in Geneva about which I told you at the beginning of this week. And the second conference I mentioned, you will remember, was the one in Tokyo between the leading Western powers and Japan which was also concerned with oil and the price of oil. The results of the Tokyo conference are not as clearcut and specific as those of the Geneva conference. The hope had been that the United States, Canada, West Europe and Japan would arrive at a unified plan for dealing with the energy crisis; and the idea was that a key part of such a plan would be agreed oil quotas and cutbacks. But the European proposals turned out to be more drastic than the Americans and Japanese were prepared to buy. So a compromise was worked out/~~with~~ each group setting its own and conservation consumption/targets. For the United States, President Carter announced that there would/^{be} an oil import freeze/^{set} at 1977 levels and that this would be held until the year 1985. Now, the special thing about the 1977 levels is that in terms of the amount of oil produced by the OPEC countries since the start of the energy crisis, 1977 was a very good year. It was the year that OPEC production hit a record 29.6-million barrels a day: and the United States, as usual, bought up the lion's share of it. The next year, 1978, OPEC production

dropped to 27.7-million barrels a day, and projections for 1979, this year, are of the order of a little over 28-million barrels a day. So choosing 1977 as the year at which U.S. oil import levels would be frozen ensured the best possible level of oil imports for the U.S.. This point was not missed by the Europeans and it accounted in part for some of the hard things they said about U.S. intentions about energy. And of course key elements in the U.S. news media made it seem that it was the Europeans who wanted 1977 as the base year for any level of freezing - which is known as managing and manipulating the news when it is done by Third World state-own organs and agencies but perfectly normal/ ^{'free' journalism} when done by Western wire services. Anyway, the key point is that the West did arrive at a compromise cut-back agreement in Tokyo. And the consequence of this, according to one American view, is that from here on any economic growth which is dependent on oil-based energy has come to a virtual end. And if this applies to the ^{big and rich} United States how much more must it apply to small, poor Third World countries like Jamaica. It was with this likely outcome in mind that I told you on Monday that those two conferences and what came out of them, would have a more direct bearing on the lives of each of us than any independent decisions we made for ourselves. And still it seems that neither we, nor most of the rest of the world have taken the true measure and meaning for our world of this energy crisis. Some of our leaders, ^{and some of our opinion-makers,} both here and in the wider world, ^{still} play the old ^{much} politics, ~~xxxxxx~~ like Nero fiddled while ancient Rome burned. The real and hard needs of the time is for us to adjust ^{to} the fact that the old consumerist competitive world born of ^{unrestrained imperialism, capitalism,} imperialism and based on cheap oil has gone forever, and that the hard challenge is for us to fashion a new world without cheap and abundant energy in which we can still feed and clothe and house most, if not all, of God's children. And there are no quick or slick or cheap or easy answers.

Peace and love. Goodnight.

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- 1) Budget Debate as Media Event
 - 2) Bata Affair: Dangers of in Labour Terrorism
 - 3) Discord in Tokyo

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 27, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: With yesterday's broadcast and televised contribution by the Leader of the Opposition, and with today's broadcast and televised contribution by the Prime Minister, the headline-grabbing, 'media-event' aspect of the 1979/80 Budget Debate is coming to its close. After Mr. Eric Bell's reply tomorrow the rest of the Budget debate will revert to being a straight Parliamentary affair with each speaker earning the level of media coverage he or she gets by the quality of the contribution. For myself, I have very mixed feelings of these very indeed about the total, unedited presentation of some/~~pretty~~ long and tedious speeches. Still, most people treat them as a sort of word variation of 'dip and fall back' - listening a little then going away then coming back. But it does happen only once a year. A Matter of vastly more serious concern is the lay-off of some 450 workers at the Bata Spanish Town Road plant, and the main reason given for that action. This is obviously a matter of some complexity and I hesitate to comment on the rights and wrongs of the issues under dispute. But what I do think we all need to be very clear about is the profound danger to the whole industrial relations process if violence and intimidation, if the beating up of people, be they workers of management, is brought into play as part of the way of resolving disputes. Like it or not, when anybody punches down somebody else in hopes of intimidating that person into compliance, the puncher-down is using terror tactics. When a group of workers beat up some manager or make him sign something on threat of being beaten up if he does not, that

is using terror tactics. And given the industrial relations situation in Jamaica today, and given the power and authority of the trade union movement in Jamaica today, and given the fact of a government in strong sympathy with the labour movement and a Labour Minister who is as protective of the rights and interests of workers as any union leader, the use of terror tactics to force any issue is highly irresponsible and downright dangerous to the interests of the workers themselves. It seems to me that it is important for the trade union movement itself to take a strong stand against this dangerous and destructive tendency. There was indeed a time when workers had to fight with fists and sticks and stones for the right to organise and protect their own interests. But those days are long gone ^{today} and the workers have won and enjoy the rights for which an earlier generation of workers often had to resort to physical force. So cool it, please; and use your ~~heads~~ heads instead of your fists. ~~For the sake of the workers and the world~~

On the two conferences in Geneva and Tokyo, the one on the price of OPEC oil and the other on the Western response, there is very little comes out of this ~~is~~ a deal more to say. OPEC/~~will be more united than the Western Powers~~ united than the Western Powers. There is bitter discord between the United States and her European allies and no amount of diplomatic white-washing can alter the truth of the harsh criticism levelled against the United States by the French President whose views reflect the thinking of most if not all EEC members. So there will be no Western united front against OPEC's new prices. The Americans are still not yet ready to, as they say, 'bite the bullet'. But sooner or later they will have to: the days when imperial powers could occupy other people's oilfields or other strategic raw materials are over and done with. But America, and those of us who are tied to her, may have to go through some very turbulent times before that lesson is taken in. One shock statistic tells it. In 1973 29.5-million barrels of oil a day earned OPEC \$23.1-billion this year 28.5-m barrels a day earned \$160-billion.



- NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
June 25, 1979, 6.10p.m.

[illegible]

of the United States, Canada, ~~and~~ Japan and Western Europe - the world's major oil consuming countries, is scheduled to open on Thursday. And what comes out of these two conferences is going to have a more direct bearing on the lives of each and everyone of us here in Jamaica than almost any decisions we make for ourselves independently. So both national and individual self-interest ^{dictate} that we follow both these conferences very carefully. The OPEC meeting will be concerned with the setting of new oil prices and whether oil production should be cutback further to try and force the world's big consumers, primarily the United States, to consume less. Also, Iran's oil spokesman, Hassan Nazih, is reported as taking a proposal to the meeting to sell oil at one price to the rich Western countries and at another, lower price, to Third World countries. If this Iranian proposal is accepted the expected new oil prices increases will bear down less heavily on countries like Jamaica than on, say, the United States: and this would be a small move in the direction of the new economic order. But there are formidable problems to be overcome to bring about this kind of two-^{tiered} ~~tiered~~ pricing system. And, in any case, this is not the sort of thing that can come about overnight, so even if they agree to it, we are going to have to pay ^{any} ~~the~~ higher prices decided on until the system is put into effect. One of the key concerns of the Tokyo meeting is likely to be an American effort to get all the Western powers and Japan to agree to a common policy towards OPEC. One idea is that if the West jointly agreed to refuse to pay more than a certain price for oil, and if it were to jointly use its own economic and diplomatic and ^{military} ~~military~~ and political 'muscle' it could force the OPEC countries to hold the line on prices. One difficulty is that the Europeans in particular are not ^{prepared} to make big sacrifices to support America's wasteful fuel habits; and ~~the~~ Japan's economy is so totally dependent on OPEC oil that they dare not offend OPEC. It's all a matter of who holds the handle and who the blade. Goodnight

Common Entrance, 'Free Places' & the
Purpose of Education in Jamaica

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

June 22, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The results of the Common Entrance Examinations under which some 6,009 young Jamaicans will be awarded 'free places' to secondary high schools, were made public today. For the 6,600-plus youngsters who have earned these awards, and for their parents and guardians, this will be a great of joy and celebration and with high hopes for the future. But for the roughly 29,000 other youngster who also sat the Common Entrance Examination but who did not 'win' free places it will be a day of gloom and misery and grief. And so we end up with 6,000/youngsters who ~~see themselves~~ see themselves, and who are seen by those around them as 'high achievers'; and we end up with 29,000 other youngsters who see themselves, and who are seen by those around them, as failures and 'losers'. And I think we might begin by asking ourselves seriously whether this is the kind of equity or social justice or egalitarianism about which there is so much big chat. You know, and I know, that children from a certain social and economic background will always come out on top in open competitions of the Common Entrance type against children who come from a less privileged background. The child who is well nourished and lives in a stable family and with electricity and running water and access to books and magazines will always have the edge over the under-fed and poorly cared-for child from the ghetto with few or none of the amenities. This has nothing to do with intelligence; this has to do with social and economic and health circumstances. The poorer children start out with massive handicaps, which is why the 'free place' system had the 70-30 built-in bias in favour for the primary schools from which the

poorer youngsters in the society came. And when you have an across-the-board cut^{of 30%} in such a free place system the poorer children are bound to suffer most of the cut and feel the burden most. And all this in the name of socialism! And, you know, when you look a little closer at the statement from the Ministry of Education that there is no cutback in the size of the high school population compared with last year, that we will have the same 48,093 high school places this year as last year, you can begin to measure how far we are moving backward. The Demographic Statistics for 1978 laid in Parliament at the opening of the Budget debate shows that after allowing for deaths and migration the Jamaican population increased by 28,100 in 1978. In the same period the population in our primary school system increased by a little over 5,000, and the population in our secondary high school system by just under 1,000. So our population is growing at a dramatically faster rate than our school places. And this, with slight variations, is how it has been every year since 1970 and earlier. So figures showing the same number of secondary high school places for this year as last year are really telling us that we are slipping back, not that we are holding our position. And my understanding is that when the shift system was introduced, which made possible the increase of the free places to 9,000 under the Common Entrance Examination, the intention was to make the shift system permanent, and based on that the 9,000-odd free places would become the norm, not a kind of one shot 'bonanza'. The big school population increase in 1978 as compared with 1977 took place in what is described as the New Secondary or High school system which carried the very welcome shift system. It was in this stream that enrolment shot up from 36,446 in 1977 to the 48,093 to which the Minister referred. But it cannot and ^{we} must not ^{allow it to} stop there. Goodnight.

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- 1) Trade Union Unity: A 3rd Force in Politics
 - 2) The 'Free School Place Debate
 - 3) What Non-Aligned Foreign Policy?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 20, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday it was the turn of the Opposition to make its opening statement in/~~the 1979/80 Budget debate~~ ^{reply to the Revenue proposals} which were presented to Parliament by Finance Minister Eric Bell last Thursday. And Mr. Hugh Shearer who opened for the Opposition mounted a slashing attack on what, borrowing Senator Richard Fletcher's phrase, he described as "a bloody awful budget". But since the Shearer speech, like the Bell speech, was broadcast in its totality on both radio and television, there is no need to recap on the high points here. You heard it for yourself and you can make your own judgement on both of these speeches as well as on the speeches still to come from the Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister, in that order. What/~~is~~ ^{might be} of great interest to us here is to ~~try~~ and read the signs behind what Mr. Shearer said, and how he said it, yesterday. I, for instance, had the sharp and distinct impression of being witness to something strikingly new in the Jamaican power political balance of forces. When he spoke for the trade unions and announced the contributions of each to the National Relief Fund, and when he then announced Lady Bustamante's contribution of \$500 and his own of \$1,000 - the same figure as that of the Prime Minister and of the Leader of the Opposition - it was, in effect, the very casual and low-key announcing to the nation of a united trade union movement as a potent third force in national politics, and a force that had the blessing of the widow of the ~~Great~~ Bustamante, and, what is more, a force that saw itself as equal in stature with out two major

political parties. If I am right in this, and I think I am, then Jamaican party politics is likely to undergo some very interesting changes over the next couple of years. For make no mistake about it, a united trade union movement which sees its role as more than just making the best labour contracts possible for its members, and more than just being an affiliate of this or that political party, is bound almost by definition to bring into being a whole new set of socio-political conditions. And I rather suspect that both our main political parties as well as the sundry ideologists of the far right and the far left and the more backward sections of the employer groups, may end up regretting the passing of the old-style party-trade-union line up. Of course there are some hard problems ahead. In the early days especially, the leadership of someone with the stature and authority within the labour movement of a Hugh Shearer is almost indispensable. But while a Shearer in opposition is the ideal leader and spokesman for a united labour movement, what happens with a Shearer in power? There are many other equally hard ones: but these are early days yet and I am sure they will come out in the wash. What seems for sure is that the old-style politics is going out of fashion faster than we think. And this, I think, is why it is important for our parliament to have a proper debate on foreign policy. Non-Alignment viewed from a capitalist perspective is bound to be different from non-alignment viewed from a social democratic perspective; and both are bound to be different from non-alignment viewed from a communist perspective or from a fascist perspective. It would be useful for the Jamaican

Parliament to debate a resolution setting out clearly what we mean by non-alignment and the Jamaican perspective on non-alignment is. If we don't do this the concept of non-alignment, a noble Third World concept, may be turned into another Jamaican party political football.

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- 1) Significance of S.A.L.T. II
 - 2) War Over Oil?
 - 3) ~~Ghana - An Unhappy Precedent~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
June 18, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: After the turmoil and the turbulence of last week and the weekend before it, this past weekend was dry and sunny and peaceful. Even our partisan political shouting and screaming was muted, as though awed by the terrible events of last week; and so there was a welcome pause, over this past weekend, in the ranting and raving and abusing which passes for political debate. The really big and important political news of the weekend took place in faraway Vienna, the capital of Austria, a relatively small/mountainous country in Central Europe with a population of seven and a half million people. For it was there that the leaders of the world's two super nuclear powers met/^{over} ~~at~~ this weekend to sign a treaty which has been nearly seven years in the making and which could have a direct bearing on the lives of all the people now alive on earth. The document which President Carter and President Brezhnev finally signed earlier today after their weekend of talks is known as the/^{second} ~~Strategic~~ Arms Limitation Treaty - SALT/²for short. And its main purpose is to set a mutually agreed upper limit on the numbers and types of nuclear weapons which each of the two sides can have during the life of the treaty. It is called SALT 2 because it is a successor treaty to a similar one which was signed in 1972 and which was known as SALT 1. And the hope is that after SALT 2, which is scheduled to last till 1985, there will be other similar treaties, SALT 3 and 4 and 5 and 6 and so on as far into the future as possible. And the basic thinking behind all this is that if the two super nuclear powers can agree between themselves

to have roughly the same number of nuclear weapons, and if they can~~xxx~~ set up systems by which each can check to make sure that the other one is not cheating and building more than the agreed number of nuclear weapons, each side will know exactly and precisely just how much death and destruction they can let loose on each other and the world. And knowing that they can wipe each other out, and most of the rest of us in the process, each will be less inclined to 'take a chance' with a sneak attack on the other. This is what is described as the mutual balance of terror, a situation in which, no matter who starts it, both sides would be wiped out in a nuclear war. And knowing this, both sides will hold back from a nuclear war. That is the basic thinking behind the SALT treaties. And the one certain thing about the SALT treaties is that if they are ratified and if both sides observe them strictly, they will slow down the nuclear arms race. But that is the only certainty. Some critics say that the only way to prevent nuclear war is to destroy all nuclear weapons, anything else, they say, just postpones the day of nuclear holocaust. Others, America's cold warriors foremost among them, do not believe in any sort of mutual deterrence. They want the U.S. to outbuild the Soviets in bigger and better/^{nuclear} weapons: but a not much publicised opinion poll, according to one American radio station/^{this morning} found that Americans favoured the latest SALT treaty by more than two to one. How the Congress will deal with that one in the coming debate will be most revealing. Then there is the fact that even without nuclear weapons, the Americans and ^{already} the Soviets/^{have} enough so-called conventional weapons to destroy most of the world and kill most of its people. Add to this the ugly talk from some Western quarters ^{dwindling} that in ten years' time or so nations may go to war over/petroleum and oilfields, and the prospects for peace do not look so good. But the thing which has carried mankind to this point of its history has been the will to overcome and survive which is what Carter & Brezhnev were all about in Vienna this past weekend. Goodnight.

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- 1) After the Flood
 - 2) 1979/80 Budget Debate Opens
 - 3) Carter, Brezhev in Vienna for Salt 2.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 15, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: This week has turned out to be one of the most disastrously tragic in the life of independent Jamaica. And what gives this week's tragedy its especially painful twist is the extreme youth of so many of those who perished in the flooding. When people who have already lived most of their allotted three-score years and ten die tragically, it is bad enough and painful enough, especially for close relatives and intimate friends. But when young children ranging in age from three to fifteen die in this way the sense of loss takes on an extra dimension. These youngsters were just beginning the bitter-sweet business of living; were just reaching toward awareness of the magic and the mystery of being alive on this earth; and some were just beginning to ask the big questions which make of the human mind/~~that~~ ^{and the human brain a} miraculous box of curiosity and wonder and daring and wide-ranging imagination and compassion and love and/judgement such as not even the/^{largest and} most complex and sophisticated computer can begin to match. And when all this potential flowering is suddenly cut off before it has ~~begun~~ properly begun the tragedy is particularly acute. It is this awareness of the loss of unknown and immeasurable human/^{potential} ~~possibilities~~ that makes the death of the very young so hard to bear. Who is to say what great artistic talent or what great moral or religious or political wisdom were not lost to our world when those children died? If Garvey had died as a baby, in some accident or disaster, we would not have known of our loss because we would not have had the record of Garvey's life as a challenge and an inspiration. But we did have Garvey and

knowing what he has contributed to the psychological liberation of black people everywhere, but particularly in Africa, we can use our imagination and speculate on what we would have lost if Garvey had died ~~xxxxxx~~ in some disaster at age three or six or twelve as did those very young children in Western Jamaica this week. The dimension of our loss in the death of these young children is as immeasurable as that. Think about it: If Shakespeare's life had been snuffed out before he could write those great plays. If Ghandi or Churchill or De Gaulle or, nearer home, if Bustamante/^{or}~~xxx~~ Norman Manley had not lived long enough to grow up we would never have known what they had to give to their world. The question is: Would their world, would our world, have been the same without what they gave? Imagine for a moment that ~~xx~~ Jamaica had only Bustamante or only Norman Manley from 1938 onward until independence: would Jamaica be what it is today? How can we measure, in terms of human potential, what we lost when we lost those children this week? Of course, if they had lived, they may have grown up into just ordinary average or even below average citizens; but we can never be sure that one or two of them may not have had that touch of ^{genius}~~genius~~ which can transform the world and which can flourish in the most unlikely of places. This is why we have an especial duty to cherish ^{all} our young. I hope that as Jamaica tackles the massive tasks of relief and reconstruction which now lie ahead we will all remember to build for the children, first and foremost. Building for them means doing a very much better job this time around ^a than we have done in the past; and it means careful forward planning. All the rest of the news, including yesterday's opening of the 1979/1980 Budget debate, and the arrival in Vienna, Austria, of Presidents Carter of the U.S. and Brezhnev of the USSR, ^{to sign a new Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement,} tended to be overshadowed by the tragic events in Western Jamaica. Goodnight.

- 1) A Long-term Flood Control Policy
- 2) Cutback in Free School Places?
- 3) ~~New British Budget~~
- 4) ~~Carter on Eve of Salt 2.~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 13, 1979, 6.10p.m

the massive loss and
Good evening: The one thing the rain and the flooding and/damage of
once again
this past week has underscored/is our very urgent and desperate need
for a very carefully thought-out long-term flood control policy which
is truly national. Jamaica just cannot go on enduring the kind of
losses we have experienced over the past ten days and still do all
the important productive and developmental things which need to be
done. As it is, the government is going to have to divert large sums
of money which was, or which could and should have been put to other
uses, into repairing the present flood damage and giving some relief
to the victims. And this is how it has been ~~since~~ almost every year
since independence and even before. Every year we spend huge sums of
money cleaning up after the floods; and then we wait for it to happen
again in order to spend more huge sums of money on the same cleaning
up. And this, when you come to think of it, is a kind of madness. We
are wasting, in one sense, large slices of the national patrimony
patching up the same thing and then waiting for it to get knocked
down and then patching it up all over again. And ^{instead of forward} ~~for~~ planning, we
^{after} have teams ready to go into action ~~as soon as~~ the damage is done.
And this, with respect, is just not good enough. If there had been
real and serious forward planning from the very beginning of this
nation's independence then our national flood control policy would
have been in its 17th year now. And if we had spent as little as
\$5 million a year on permanent flood control work based on a clear
and thought-out national plan we would, by now, have something like

\$85-million worth of real protection against flood damage. Instead we have, under both PNP and JLP administrations, spent that amount ^{after-the-floods} and much more on the kind of ~~xxxxxxx~~ patchwork which is a reaction to disaster rather than an anticipating and preventing of it. It is this kind of folly which is ^a ~~the~~ true measure of that mental ^{state} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~development~~ which makes for under-development. Under-developed countries and peoples tend to waste more of the little they have than do developed countries. And so the highly developed Scandinavian countries with their very much more savage weather have long ago built flood control systems to prevent the yearly havoc we now endure. And as with the weather, so with other things. We waste so much of our substance on things that we should produce for ourselves. And instead of our leaders sitting down together ^{or separately and thinking out our problems} and planning what is best for the nation they dissipate their energies and try to confuse us with their divisive screaming and shouting. This is one of the harder problems of being under-developed because it is a problem of states of mind and of our attitudes to ^{that complex} ~~the~~ corporate concept of the nation and the interests of the nation: which is why some Third World leaders and intellectuals almost routinely defame and short-change their own countries and people ^{for short-term sectional interests.} ~~for short-term sectional interests.~~ And the need to think this one through is quite as urgent as the need for a long-term flood control policy. And while we are about it, let us urge whoever it was ^{with the idea} ~~who~~ came up ^{secondary} of a cut-back of one-third of the free/school places to go back and think again. Of all the things Jamaica cannot afford this must be at the top of the list. Cut the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Education by one-third if you must, but do not cut the free places for our children by one. Education is the most critical of all the elements for freeing ourselves from the mentality of under-development and no Third World Government with any pretense at social justice dare cut back on it, no matter what. Goodnight.

The Weekend Rain:
Dangers of Portmore Epidemic

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
June 11, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It has been a very wet weekend here in Jamaica; damp everywhere, and flooding in low-lying places. And for those Jamaicans who live in the low-lying places it has been acutely uncomfortable. Their homes and possessions have been damaged; some have been flooded out; and most, especially those with small children, face very serious health risks. Whenever you hear or read of roadways and homes being flood^{ed} and of sewage systems being blocked and of toilets backing up the first concern is usually for the actual damage done which can be measured in dollars and cents: the cost of a house, the cost of a carpet or another piece of furniture, or the cost of patching a wall or a leaking roof. But there is another and much more sinister reality to the flooded roadways and the blocked and overflowing sewage system and to the toilets which back up the waste matter which you try to flush away. And that is the grave danger of the dirt and muck getting into the drinking water system, and some of it settling and drying out in dark corners, and breeding the diseases which kill. And the first, and for the very young, the most dangerous of these diseases that can come of this kind of weather is enteritis - or running belly - which is so deadly to little children who are not very well fed. Polluted water is the great enemy here. And flat and sprawling Portmore with its relatively young population of anywhere between 60,000 and 70,000 souls is, right now, an almost classic ~~area~~ breeding ground for the diseases that are spawned by water pollution. and fathers
So will the mothers/of Portmore in particular, as well as all those

who live in other flooded low-lying areas, please be on guard. Even though the water authorities will do everything in their power to ensure that drinking water is treated, there is no way that they ~~they~~ can guarantee that no pollution will seep into the system at some joint or at some outlet. And one of the easiest and safest ways of guarding against water pollution is to boil all your drinking water and all the water in which you are going to mix any baby feed. So please boil your water and be as clean as possible and at the very first sign of running belly in little children take them to a clinic or health centre. And then, when all this is over, when the rain has gone and the flooding has subsided and your homes are dried out and your children are safe ^{and insist} demand/that those who provided you with these conditions make amends. Unless you insist they will do nothing. And what a great pity that so many of our political leaders are ^{or seem to be,} more concerned with their own special party political power games than with the hard problems of places like Portmore and those who live there. If half the energy and drive which are put into this point-scoring party power game had gone into coping with the problems of Portmore things there would have been much better today. Anyway, please keep your water pure and clean and so keep the children safe. And then demand a better deal. Next, a small but important point of correction ~~on~~ my comments of Friday on President Carter's decision ^{the} not to lift/sanctions against Rhodesia. The Nigerian Government, whose very strong pressure was mainly responsible for this, supplies the United States with one million barrels of oil a day - not one billion - and for this the United States pays Nigeria roughly five billion or \$5,000-million a year. So it is one million barrels of oil a day for \$5,000-million a year. Keep dry and goodnight.

Rhodesia: Carter Refuses to Lift Sanctions -
A Triumph for Nigerian 'Diplomatic' Pressure.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
June 8, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: President Carter last night announced that the United States will not lift its U.N. ordered economic sanctions against Rhodesia, even though there is now a supposedly black majority government in control. By this decision the Carter Administration has confirmed the general Third World judgement that last April's elections in Rhodesia under Ian Smith's so-called 'internal settlement' was a fraudulent face-card. Indeed, in his statement to reporters last night Mr. Carter made a point of spelling out just how much real power ^{Ian Smiths} ~~the~~ still white minority will/exercise behind Bishop Muzorewa's black face. And so, Mr. Carter said, the lifting of sanctions 'would not be in American interests in Africa and elsewhere in the world'. So it was American self-interest which ^{Dictated} ~~dictated~~ the Carter decision. And to get some sort of idea of the nature of that self-interest in this particular case we need to remember a few basic facts. And first, and most important right now, is the over-riding American need for oil. American oil supplies for this year are estimated to be short of requirement by anywhere between 5% and 15%; and so every barrel of oil that America can get is important. Nigeria alone supplies America with 1,000-million barrels of oil a day - which is about 15% of total American oil imports. And for this massive supply of oil Nigeria is paid around \$5,000-million a year by the United States. When Nigeria first sent its strong diplomatic signals to the Carter Administration toward the end of April and early in May that it would ~~not~~ withhold its oil from anybody who recognised the Rhodesian puppet regime the very

strong rightwing group of U.S. Senators and ^{other} Congressmen, led by former CIA director Senator Jesse Helms, and backed by powerful businessmen with huge investments in Southern Africa, insisted that Nigeria could not afford to lose that \$5,000-million a year she was getting from the U.S. for her oil. And so, gambling on the proposition that Nigeria needed their dollars more than they needed her oil, they pushed through that Senate vote on May 15 calling on the President to lift sanctions again Rhodesia. That was a great moment of victory for the racists of Southern Africa and their powerful rightwing allies in the Western world. And South Africa celebrated it by defying the U.N. in Namibia and setting up its own puppet regime there, and launching what it called a 'Southern Africa Solidarity Bloc' on whose behalf it then suggested that world war three should be fought in Southern Africa to stop communism. Nigeria responded by tightening her economic sanctions against South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel, and sent out even stronger diplomatic signals, which this time included the excluding of British firms from bidding for a hug project on tender. Washington got the message, and so did London. Just as the United States cannot afford to lose Nigerian oil so Britain cannot afford to lose Nigerian contracts and market. And so we had Mr. Carter's statement last night. And the new British Foreign Secretary has sent out signals that there will be no lifting of sanctions on Rhodesia for now, and the matter is not likely to be discussed in the British Parliament before somewhere around November. And hope in both London and Washington is that by that time things would have changed sufficiently for a more acceptable deal to be tried. But for ~~right~~ now Nigeria has, almost single-handed, stopped the mounting Western pressure play for the quick ending of sanctions against Rhodesia, and her early recognition. And this is a major triumph for the ^{Third World and} whole non-aligned movement. Goodnight

- 9/6/66

For broadcast on Wednesday
June 6, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The sick-out or work-to-rule or sit-in form of industrial action is, by definition, a rather sneaky form of activity. Those who take part in it are really indulging in some form of limited strike action without calling it by that name. If it is work-to-rule it means you show up at work but do little or no work and only make some pretense at working: if it is a sit-in you do not even pretend - you go to work and do nothing; and if it is a sick-out you stay away from work. And in each case you claim not to be ~~on strike~~ and you expect to be paid as though you are giving a full day's work. And this, whatever the justification and whatever the excuse - and there were times in the past when there was great justification - this is sneaky and dishonest. In today's Jamaica workers do not lose their jobs for being members of trade unions; they are not dismissed by backward managements because they are trade union militants; even those in the so-called essential services have struck without losing their livelihoods. So why this kind of sneaky action at this time? Please don't get me wrong. I think our teachers have had a run-around and I think they have reason to be good and mad. But why not express their anger and their protest in ways that are straightforward and upright so that the children they teach and the community at large, and even those who disagree with them, will be able to look up to them with respect? And surely, it is not beyond their wit and imaginations to devise forms of protest which will hit hardest at their employers, in the forms of the Ministries of Education and the

Public Service, rather than at our children? As it is, our children are not, generally speaking, getting the kind and quality of education they deserve. Penalising ^{our children} ~~them~~ further because we are angry with the government may be good pressure play. It is not good for our children. And then there is the important matter of example. So please think again. Next, the one thing that I think should be of constant concern to our politicians of all parties when they drag other nations and countries into our local partisan power plays is the matter of consequences. For instance, if there were to be a change of government after the next elections, whenever they are held, would the Cubans want to continue the very real help they have given Jamaica in the fields of health and construction after all the nastiness which has been directed at them by those who would lead such a government? You ask the people of Westmoreland what would happen to them if the Cuban doctors were withdrawn. And no matter who forms any future government of Jamaica, ^{and no matter what its ideological posture,} diversification of trade and commerce is going to be the name of the survival game for Jamaica. To survive we are going to have to ^{business} do with all kinds of people and all kinds of political systems - provided always that it is in Jamaica's best interest to do so. So if we must have witch-hunts let us hunt domestic witches. And will the witch-hunters please remember that the Jamaica Constitution itself guarantees to all Jamaicans, without exception, freedom of association and freedom of expression. So witch-hunting is itself contrary to the spirit of the Jamaican Constitution. And remember, ^{and nobody can stop you believing what you want to believe,} nobody can make you believe what you don't want to believe, ^{blinding} so there is no real need for the terrible ^{all} fear which is the breeding ground for witches and those who would hunt them. It is ^{all} really a question of whether we have enough confidence in ourselves to deal with the whole wide world on our own terms and in our own interest. That is what national sovereignty is really all about. Goodnight.

The Spy Business & the Numbers Game:
How Many KGB, DGI, CIA, MI5 etc, etc..?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

June 4, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The latest round of the artificial ^{ic}hoisting up of the party on local/political scene is taking/a rather James Bond-type form. We are told that KGB (Soviet) and DGI (Cuban) agents or spies, are crawling all over Jamaica. The Leader of the Opposition on Saturday night told a party banquet that, and now I quote: "...our own reports tell us that there is something of the order of 5,000 Cubans operating in and out of Jamaica now". He did not tell ~~xx~~ his audience the number of KGB spies who were operating here but he did name two Russians who are in Jamaica with the Soviet Embassy and whom he described as 'highly rated intelligence officers' whose presence here underscored 'the importance which Russia places on Jamaica'. Now, I am not too clear as to just what is meant by the statement that 5,000 Cubans are operating 'in and out of Jamaica'. Does it mean that some of the 5,000 are operating in Jamaica, and some outside Jamaica? And if so, what are the numbers who are alleged to be operating inside Jamaica? And what the numbers outside? And why are we intrested in what the Cubans are alleged to be doing outside Jamaica? Or, does the 'in and out of Jamaica' mean that the alleged 5,000 are really based here elsewhere and carry on their activities/from a Jamaican base? And if this latter is the case then we have the question: Why would they do such a damnfool thing? Anybody who tries to carry out any kind of secret operation out of Jamaica must have huge holes in their heads. We are renown for not being able to keep anything secret. Not even what goes on in the Cabinet. So no self-respecting spy organisation is likely

to use Jamaica as a base from which to operate 'out of Jamaica'. Indeed, the CIA which ran a very tiny 'shop' here during those rough and tough days when Mr. Henry Kissinger's people 'leaned' on us, and local newspaper the/headlines screamed: 'Kingston Burns' - that tiny CIA shop had ^{dozen or so} the names of all its/operatives pamphleteered up and down the country. And you know, and I know, how well informed and even over-informed Jamaicans in such faraway places as Miami and Toronto and Washington and New York are about secret goings-on here in Jamaica even before these things happen. So Jamaica as a sort of big spy base would be out in my judgement. But I could be wrong and we may indeed have this kind of big spy base here. But in that case you can be very sure of one thing. ^{And that is:} The other spy organisations in the great big world are going to follow suit and set up their own spy bases here. And so the CIA and MI5 will enlarge whatever shops they have here now: and the Royal Canadian Mounties, and the French Deuxieme Bureau, and the West Germany and the East German and the Israeli spy organisations will not want to be outdone and will all try to match that alleged 5,000 operating in and out of Jamaica. Just think of it: a total of roughly 40,000 spies of ~~xxx~~ all the spying nationalities in the world operating 'in and out of Jamaica'. It could be very good business for Jamaica, especially if these people live in the style and on the scale we have been led to believe they do by the James Bond and the Saint and other such stories. But then the question arises: Why? Why would all these spies want to go crawling all over Jamaica while the whole world looks on and the simplest Jamaican can identify each and everyone of them: the non-English speaking by their broken English and accented speech; and the English-speaking by their different and distinctive accents? ^{On earth} With the latest date for Armageddon Day just six months away, what ^{vast numbers of} would all these spies want from Jamaica? Goodnight! Incidentally, the Cuban Embassy says there are only ^{some} 1400 Cubans here

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- 1) Wages & Prices & Holding Strain
 - 2) Escalating Politics of Oil
 - 3) Media Debate: the control of ideas

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

June 1, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Telephone rates go up 10% as from today; on Wednesday of this week the price of most of our soap - both toilet and laundry - was increased; on last Sunday's 'Exposure' programme on this station in which both the Minister of Public Utilities and the Chairman of the Jamaica Public Service Company took part, it came out that electricity rates are almost certain to go up. And the people who do the daily or weekly household family shopping will tell you that except for the handful of tightly controlled ^{food} items, the prices of almost everything else keep going up. The prices of patent medicines and drugs seem to go up capriciously on a sort of week-by-week basis and some people now go from pharmacy to pharmacy because the same ^{may} item/be found for a few cents less in one place than another. And the same thing applies to clothing and footwear and household utensils. And nobody seems to care or be seriously concerned about these erratic price movements. And, of course, where things are short, as with car parts and the like, the prices are what the racket can stand. And the standard excuses and justifications are inflation and devaluation, even where these do not really apply. And so we have, with rare exceptions, this open season on prices. And the thing that the government has to face, the thing that has brought organised labour together to confront the government and the private sector, is the brute fact that in a situation where you have 'open season' on prices and profits, you cannot have a closed season on wages alone, I.M.F. or no I.M.F. If there are only token restraints on prices then

there must be the same token restraints on wages: if the commitment to restraint is ^{to be} ~~voluntary~~ and a promise to 'try' on the part of employers, including the government as an employer, then you cannot ask for more from the workers. Already, the workers and the poor generally, have carried the main burden of the massive economic hardships of the past few years. You cannot, in conscience, expect them to go being the main bearers of this burden. ^{And they will not, in any case go on doing it.} So if there is to be a holding strain on wages then there must be an equal and an equally measurable holding strain on prices. Unless this government, and this society, faces up to this central fact of equity, ^{in both sacrifice & reward} then, I think, we are in for further grief as the worldwide escalation of the politics of oil continues. Already, the 'most powerful nation on earth' is besieged and rendered almost impotent of decisive action by its desperate need for oil. And in this ^{desperate} situation a full 64% of its people, according to a Lou Harris Poll made public this morning, still do not believe that there is a real oil crisis; they believe the oil companies are trying to rip them off. And any society which has this kind of deep distrust and suspicions and ^{wide} areas of ignorance must find it immeasurably harder to deal with its problems than a society which trusts itself and its leaders ^{and its news media} and accepts the facts because it is usually told the truth. And this, incidentally, also tells us something very important about the ^{American} news media. ^{Very many} ~~most~~ ordinary Americans are almost as suspicious of what they are told by their news media as they are of Big Labour, Big Government, Big Business, Big Oil, and the like. And so they don't believe the truth of an oil crisis which is all too real because they do not trust those who tell them this truth. I do not think Jamaica wants to go that route, even on the advice of Freedom House. To survive this worldwide crisis Jamaicans, all Jamaicans, not just some, and not just the politically partisan, need to trust each other; and we will only trust each other and pull together when we share both rewards and sacrifices equally.

Goodnight.

- 1) The Pros & Cons of the Hanging Debate
2) Rhodesia's New Cabinet
3) South Africa on World War Three

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 30, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The question of capital punishment - to hang or not to hang those convicted of murder - is the topic of the moment here in Jamaica. And it has resulted in a vast outpouring of sound and fury and passion which has done little to make the issues/^{involved} any clearer than they were before this latest outbreak. Those who are in favour of hanging are denounced by those who are against/^{it,} as 'the blood-thirsty majority', as though blood-thirstiness and majorities go together: and those who are against hanging are denounced by those who are in ^{minority} favour of it as/leftists or communists or bleeding hearts or radicals. And so you end up in the one case with a sneering, whether intended or not, at the majority for holding a certain view; and you end up in the other case with a condemning of the minority view by ^{implicitly} labelling it subversive. And whatever else this kind of confrontationist posturing does, it does not help us to think our way through what is really a very complex and difficult problem. You do not educate or persuade or convert anybody by abusing ^{or demeaning} them. And it seems to me that those who are against hanging have a massive education job ahead of them if they are to persuade the rest of the society to at least examine their side of the matter with reason and tolerance. And in the democratic process the views of majorities, however misguided, do matter and have to be taken into account. But this is not the same thing as saying that governments must slavishly reflect the narrowest of majority views and prejudices. The challenge of leadership ~~is to~~

at its very best is that it/^{is} always a step ahead of ~~the people~~, of
 those it leads, stimulating and challenging/^{and educating} them to greater effort, to
 greater understanding and/^{to clearer} the/~~grrrrrr~~ perception of important social
 issues on which all progress and change must be based. This, rather
 than the/^{present} pro and con cussing and shouting on hanging,/^{is} what is needed
 at this time. And this, let us note, allows for a healthy and creative
 and dynamic relationship ~~between~~ the minority with one view and the
 majority with another. The issue, it seems to me, is not who is right
 or who will win over this question of to hang or not to hang. The
 real issue, it seems to me, is the kind of society we want to create
 and the kind of people we want Jamaicans to be and to become in their
 dealings with each other. I thought the comments by the lady named
 Hazel Brown which appeared on the frontpage of this morning's Daily
 News touched on some very key issues. And so did the points raised
 by Bobby Fray here last night and Barbara Gloudon's Stella column
 this morning. And you know, laws, and the concept of the rule of law,
 and of social justice are all as dynamic, as changing and evolving as
 life itself. ^{And so with attitudes to crime & punishment} And for myself I would, like Hazel Brown,/^{want} to strive for
 a society in which hanging is eliminated except in very extreme and
 special cases. ^{The question is: How to get there. That, rather} ~~And so with attitudes to crime & punishment~~ than
 all the quarreling and cussing that is now going on, is what I would
 like to see discussed and debated and reasoned about. And finally and
 very briefly. Bish Muzerewa today announced his new Cabinet for
 Rhodesia and it consist of only his faction and Ian' Smith's. Smith
 becomes Minister without Portfolio - the real white power behind the
 black mask. And in welcoming the new setup this morning the South
 African Prime Minister in effect invited the Western World to fight
 world war three over Southern Africa if the Cubans and Russians were
 to step up their help to the freedom fighters. Goodnight.

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- 1) End of All Hope For Social Contract?
 - 2) Energy Crisis & Gloomy Economic Forecasts
 - 3) Nigeria Tightens Its Oil Boycott

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
May 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. Hugh Shearer's statement at the annual general assembly of the BITU this past weekend that the book is now closed as far as the proposed social contract is concerned would seem to end any hope of that idea now getting off the ground. For although he was speaking to a BITU gathering, Mr. Shearer was also expressing the views of at least four other trade unions - if not those of the entire trade union movement on the social contract. In the negotiations between the unions, the government and the employer groups, Mr. Shearer was the spokesman for the BITU, the NWU, JALGO, the TUC and JUPOPE. And it is reasonable to assume that the views he expressed on Saturday was a fair representation of the views of all five unions. And if these unions reject the social contract in its present form then there is no way that that contract could work, no matter who else may support it. The agreement of organised labour is the one essential ingredient in this case. The government and organised labour, by themselves, could work a social contract of sorts, even if the entire business community and the political opposition were opposed to it; on the other hand, the government and the business community and the political opposition combined, could not work any kind of social contract if organised labour were opposed to it. This is just a fact of current Jamaican life, whether we like it or not, whether we approve of it or not. And, you know, the basic things the unions asked for were not unreasonable. They wanted some kind of an anti-layoff law and they wanted more than just a verbal promise

to 'try' to keep prices^{increases} down to the same level as wage increases, and they wanted a firm commitment that more jobs would be created. There^{were}/other issues that they also pressed for but these were the key ones the unions wanted as a condition for endorsing the social contract. The unions got no clear commitment on any of these points which is why Mr. Shearer called the book closed on Saturday. Like it or not, the unions and their members are not prepared to accept being the only ones called on to make sacrifices for the^{proposed}/social contract. So where do we go from here? The next move now is up to the government and the private sector groups. And whatever move they decide on, jointly or separately, will not be made any easier by this morning's gloomy economic forecasts out of the United States. America's inflation rate, which had seemed to be easing off a little, has been forced up again by the latest round of oil price increases; and at the same time there is a slowing down in economic activity, a noticeable decline in output, and the first signs of^a/growing unemployment, especially among the blacks and the young. And apart from California's odd-even petrol rationing system there is as yet no coherent energy policy taking shape in the United States. All of which means that things could become very uncomfortable and very ugly for Americans over the next ~~twelve months or more~~ twelve months or more. And since our economy is so dependent on the American economy we cannot avoid catching cold whenever they sneeze, which is the strongest argument for economic diversification. What compounds America's troubles even more is that Saudi Arabia is no longer her closest friend and defender in OPEC; and Nigeria, which is now America's second largest supplier of oil, has decided to tighten her economic boycott against Rhodesia, South Africa and Israel. And of course Nigeria's main economic weapon is her oil which she may withhold from anyone who trades with or supplies Rhodesia, South Africa and Israel. Some hard ones for President Carter. Good

The Jamaican Political Scene:
Elections & Electoral Alliances

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
May 25, 1979, 6.10p.m

[Handwritten signature]
25/5

Good evening: Here on the domestic Jamaican political scene the most interesting recent developments which need very close study and carefully thinking about are, firstly, the stepping up of the campaign to try and force the government into calling early general elections; and, secondly, the insistence of the Workers Party of Jamaica that it is entering into an electoral alliance with the PNP even though both Prime Minister Manley and the executive committee/have rejected out of hand the idea of any such alliance. To begin with the pressure play to try and for early elections: this is, of course, nothing new as Jamaican party politics in recent years has tended to be ^{an} almost unending/imitation of an election campaign. And this endless campaigning and this endless pressuring for new elections has contributed almost as much as anything else to the disturbed and unsettled mood in the country, which is then used as a further argument for stepped-up calls for new elections. This time around the campaign is around a target date of October; and the talk is that elections must be held by October. And this time around one of the scarifying pressure points is the rumour that it is the IMF which is insisting on new elections. So please watch this one very carefully. Ask yourself: Is it business of the IMF which is an international money-lender who is here at the request of the Jamaican Government, to tell any government of Jamaica when to hold national elections? And, more important, will any government of Jamaica, be it PNP or JLP, submit to such an instruction if it were given. Think about it and decide for yourself how feasible this *notion* really is. *the more I think about it the more it stinks.*

Next, ask yourself just how feasible the rumoured October target date for elections really is. The JLP has said that it does not want to fight new elections under the old electoral system. So the question is can a new electoral system be worked out, be debated and agreed on by all the parties and then be put in place in time for October elections?/ So the real question is: What is/what would be the point of such a stepped up campaign for the calling of elections between now and the October? Is it to 'erupt' a country ~~and~~ little more and so distract us from trying to cope with the hard and harsh economic problems?

Next, the WPJ's electoral alliance. Now, the central fact about any alliance - electoral, personal, national, what you will - is that it takes more than one side to make it. If only one side wants an alliance and the other or others do not, then there is no alliance and there can be no alliance. So why the WPJ insistence? It seems to me that once the WPJ had decided to/field its own candidates to fight the next elections there were only two options open to it: first, to fight the two electoral giants on its own as a third party and risk the oblivion which has befallen all previous third parties which have rushed into Jamaican electoral politics, or/~~else~~ second, if successfully to try to force an alliance which,/~~xxxxxxx~~ pulled off, could mean one or two seats in Parliament, or at the very least, could mean the survival of the party/^{even} after an electoral defeat. The catch here, the flaw in this WPJ strategy from the point of view of the PNP, is that in either case the PNP would ~~be~~ stand to lose: if the WPJ won any seat it would most/~~y~~ likely be at the expense of the PNP, not the JLP; similarly if any alliance with it went down to defeat, the survival of the WPJ would in fact be at the expense of the PNP. So in terms of the straight cold-blooded/^{hard} facts of Jamaican electoral politics/^{such an alliance} can, in the short run, only benefit the WPJ and the JLP, not the PNP. And Jamaican electoral politics is by definition short-run politics. Goodnight.

It is subject to review every five years.

- 1) Labour Day, 1979
- 2) U.N. Anti-Apartheid Session
- 3) Honouring Our Own

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Labour Day, 1979, this Labour Day, may well be remembered in the larger history of the world not because it is a Jamaican occasion but because on this Jamaican occasion a special session of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid met here in Jamaica to do honour to six outstanding West Indian leaders and to plan the final attack on the citidal of racism in today's world. So on this Labour Day of 1979 you can, if you want to, see and make a clear connection between past, present and future; between Jamaica and the Caribbean; between Jamaica, the Caribbean and Africa - and so, between you and I and the whole wide world. Apartheid which is just the latest and ugliest of a series of ugly names for racism is under attack by the United Nations and because of the part it has played in the fight against racism Jamaica has been chosen to be the seat of this session of the Special United Nations Committee. When the record of this fight against Apartheid is finally compiled Jamaica's place in that record will be a proud and honourable one - with yesterday's honouring here of Marcus Garvey and Jose Marti and Dantes Bellegarde and George Padmore and Sylvester Williams and Franz Fanon being a very high point. All these men were West Indians. And yesterday's honouring was essential of West Indian fighters against racism - which is why other illustrious names in the struggle names like that of W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah and Wallace Johnson and Martin Luther King and ~~Albert Luthuli~~ and Clement Kadali and a host of others - were not called. Clement Kadali, for instance

pioneered trade unionism for blacks in South Africa in the early 1920s, at a time when blacks had been so brutalised psychologically that even they doubted their common humanity. And some of you may recall that it was ^{the great black American scholar} W.E.B. Dubois, once the enemy of Marcus Garvey but a great Pan-African and Garveyite later in life - it was DuBois who at the very start of this century, in 1900 or 1902, made the prophetic declaration that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line, the problem of the relations between the darker and the lighter faces of men in Asia, in Africa, in America and in the islands of the sea. And this century of ours, as no other in recorded history, has been bedevilled by the problem of racism. And as men grappled with this problem it has become increasingly ^{over the years} clear that behind the face of racism was the reality of the will to economic and political control: the control of resources, the control of energy, the control of technology, the control of ideas. And the thing that runs like a strong connecting thread through the lives and work of the six Caribbean leaders who were honoured yesterday is the steady fight of each to rip away the mask of racism and so reveal the naked will to power behind it. Race and racism were the tools and ^{clearly} once this was recognised the real struggle for economic and political control could be engaged. It has taken a very long time, nearly all of this century, but we are getting there at last. The peoples of Asia and of Africa and of America and of the islands of the sea have begun to recognise the reality of economic and political control. And everywhere you see, willy-nilly, willingly or unwillingly, gracefully or gracelessly, the transfer of economic and, therefore, real power, to the dark-skinned natives in their own lands. The process has only just started, and Southern Africa is now the focal point of resistance; hence the Special UN Committee meeting here. And by honouring our own we assert clearly that the problem of the 21st century will have nothing to do with racism; we are settling that one in the closing days of this century. Goodnight.

21/5

- 1) The Iraqi Mission
- ~~2) 5 Unions Reject Proposed Wage Ceiling~~
- 3) Cyrus Vance in Britain
- 4) The Continuing Energy Crisis

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

May 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The presence in Jamaica, and in the wider Caribbean, of a large ^{Iraqi} ~~Iraqi~~ Mission, headed by no less a person than the Vice-President of Iraq, and the manner in which that Mission has been received in both Brazil and Guyana and now, here, and in which it is certain to be received in Cuba, is a pretty accurate pointer to some of the very critical changes which have taken place in our world, and which are still taking place in our world. Ten years ago no delegation from Iraq, no matter who headed it, would have made this kind of impact in this part of the world. And I think it is a fair guess that if this present Mission were to just suggest that it might be interested in visiting Washington everybody would fall over themselves to make such a visit possible. And that is a measure of the power of oil. Iraq/~~is~~ ^{was} the third largest exporter of oil before the Iranian revolution. At that time Saudi Arabia exported just about three and a half times as much oil as Iraq, and Iran exported slight less than twice as much. Iran has/~~has~~ ^{since} cut back her oil exports drastically so although Iraq is still third, it is a very much more significant third than it was before the revolution in Iran. Oil is power; and in today's energy hungry world who has oil has the power that commands the attention of the world. And if you have watched recent developments closely you might just have seen the very first hints that at least some of the oil-rich countries are beginning to use their power to serve certain basic Third World

ends. One example was that very quiet diplomatic warning from Nigeria to the Carter Administration that any swift recognition of the puppet black regime in Rhodesia could jeopardise Nigerian oil supplies to the U.S. Another was that renewed Venezuelan move, under a new President, for the setting up by OPEC of that 800-million dollar fund to help poor Third World countries deal with their energy problems. Yet another is the apparent understanding arrived at last week between Cuba's Fidel Castro and the new Mexican President that Mexico will use the new influence gained ~~for~~ by her possession of oil to further the drive for a new international economic order. And yesterday Iraq's Minister of Information told the Jamaica press here in Kingston that his government had offered to assist Jamaica, if oil was found, in its offshore oil explorations and stood ready to train Jamaicans in the various aspects of the operation of the oil industry. And then the Minister said, and now I quote: "The purpose behind our readiness to assist in this way is to free Jamaica from any pressures or conditions that foreign companies may attempt to impose. Our aim is to help Jamaica take control of this resource, if it exists". All these are small straws blowing in the ^{wind,} ~~wind~~ but blowing clearly in the direction of a new order. And like all really basic changes this one is going to take time. It is against this background that we need follow that meeting in Paris of the 20 major oil consuming countries, as well as U.S. Foreign Secretary Cyrus Vance's meeting with Mrs. Thatcher's people in London on Rhodesia and related matters. Oil and who has it and how it is disposed of and on what political and economic terms will go on being the name of the main game ^{for} ~~as~~ long as ^{the} ~~the~~ Americans who are just now beginning to feel the first shocks of ~~the~~ pinch, cannot or will not control their wasteful consumption habits. And

finally

Goodnight.

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- 1) A First Look at 1979/80 Budget
 - 2) A Covenant between Landlords & Tenants
 - 3) The Year of the Child: Freedom from Hunger

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
May 18, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A first look at the 1979/80 spending Estimates of the Budget shows that the Government plans to spend less money in this new Financial Year than it did last year. This is part of the continuing and painful effort to cut our cloth to suit our purse, part of striving to live within our means. This morning's papers carry what appears to be conflicting figures of the amount of the cutback in Government spending. The reason is that in one case they are looking at ^{yesterday's} ~~the~~ figures against last year's approved estimates, and in the other case they are looking at yesterday's figures against last year's revised estimates. Against last year's approved estimates Government spending for this year has been cutback by \$64½-million; against last year's revised estimates the cutback is some \$56-million. It is all a question of which set of figures you prefer to use: both are correct; no need for confusion. For me, at first glance, the overall good thing about the spending estimates is that just a little under one-third of the total amount is earmarked for capital or developmental spending, with the rest going into national housekeeping. I would have preferred to see a greater amount spent to enlarge the national wealth; but at least a reasonable amount is being earmarked for this. And it is important to make sure that this amount is in fact spent on enlarging the assets of the nation and is not wasted away on patching up old capital projects which were badly done. And the most disappointing and depressing ~~thing~~ about ~~these~~ spending estimates at first glance is the large amount of money that will go

into the servicing and repayment of the Public Debt. The varying amounts add up to something of the order of \$397-million. The fact that we have to borrow does not make this kind of debt servicing and repayment any more palatable. The important thing is to make sure that every penny of it is used productively and prudently and efficiently. And, above all, that it is used to help increase food production to the point where prices can be reduced and all our children, especially the younger ones in those early critical years, can be adequately and properly fed. I get ^{the} ~~that~~ impression every now and then, in this Year of the Child, that we tend to get carried away by the big and dramatic and glamorous events of the Year to the point of glossing over what strikes me as the single most important ^{need} the single most basic ^{need} and, therefore, the single most important right that we can give our children in preparing them for life. And that is the right of every single Jamaican child to freedom from hunger. A child who does not enjoy this right while growing up is forever handicapped as against the child who grows up properly fed, Neither the body nor ^{and undernourished} the brain of the hungry/child grows properly: both ^{grow} brain and body/ ~~are~~ stunted and they do not learn as well, and in ^{for jobs or anything else} manhood or womanhood they cannot compete/ on a basis of equality with those who grew up well feed and better schooled. In this sense, under nourishment in childhood, often decides a person's future for the rest of his or her life. So equal opportunity, if it is to be more than a nice slogan, must begin, I think, with seeing all our children adequately fed. That would be my first priority for the Year of the Child. And I am glad to see that Housing Minister Anthony Spaulding's very controversial amendments to the Rent Restriction Act which is now before the House will stop the business of refusing to rent to families with children. But more on the proposed amendments another time. Goodnight.

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- 1) Workers Week, 1979
 - 2) Rhodesia - Carter's Dilemma
 - 3) Southern African Solidarity Bloc
 - 4) After-shock of Archie Singham

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 16, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: That political bombshell dropped by Archie Singham at the now-adjourned Smith Commission last Friday continues to rumble ~~ripples~~ through Jamaica political circles like a sort of after-shock. There is a kind of bemused, shell-shocked reaction in some quarters; in others it is as though something we should not really talk about has suddenly been brought out into the open - rather like the time when some of us said 'CIA? What CIA?' And then, of course, there is the ancient/^{and} primitive response to the bringer of bad tidings: ^{call him a liar,} denounce him, curse him, stone him with words if not with stones. But sooner or later, like it or not, we will have to really look at what Archie Singham said, and weigh it and examine it and think and talk about how we are going ~~to~~ ~~xxxx~~ to deal with this problem which we all really knew about all along but/^{which we} pretended ~~we~~ did exist ~~not~~/because it suited our special interests and our partisan power games. So let us see how long it takes before we stop screaming and cursing at Archie Singham and start thinking and reasoning among ourselves. What is for sure is we cannot shove this thing back into a dark closet and pretend it never came out. And the days when they destroyed the ^ringer of bad news are lost in the mists of antiquity, as are those of the hunting and burning of witches. Next, and turning to the international scene, yesterday's vote in the United States Senate calling on President Carter to end the U.N. decreed economic sanctions on Rhodesia puts Mr. Carter and his administration on the horns of an interesting and delicate political dilemma. In the

voting - and the whole thing was led and managed by Senator Jesse Helms, a hardline rightwinger who once headed the CIA - 75 Senators, which is three-quarters of the entire Senate, supported the call. So though it is not legally binding on the President, it is impossible for him to just ignore it. Against this set the fact that Nigeria has made it very clear to the Carter Administration that she will cut off oil supplies to the United States if sanctions against Rhodesia are lifted in present circumstances. And the United States, right now, needs Nigerian oil almost more desperately than she needs anything else. Already there are some reports of an oil shortfall of some 200,000 barrels a day in terms of covering all her ~~xxxxx~~ requirements. Which is why they have rationing in California and the prospects of shortages and dislocation nationwide/this summer and worse for the coming winter. To lose Nigerian oil in this context would be to invite all kinds of disasters. This is the dangerous energy-related political minefield Mr. Carter has to deal with in the weeks ahead. Lifting sanctions is no simple matter. But the very fact of the Senate vote, as indeed of the British election result, is a great boost for the racists in Southern Africa and they are now talking of something called a 'Southern African Solidarity Bloc' consisting of South Africa, a black-puppet-ruled Rhodesia, a puppet administered Namibia, and Malawi. Their primary aim is to get recognition and support from the West. How the West responds may well determine what kind of role and what kind of relations the West has with Black Africa for the foreseeable future. ^{my} What/~~xxxxx~~ is ^{is} ~~is~~ certain is that the struggle/against racism, which is the first ene^{my} in Southern Africa will intensify. And those who fight are going to make friends and associations and commitments on the basis of what serves/promotes their own interests best. And finally a thought on Workers Week¹⁹⁷⁹, which runs until Labour Day. Roughly one out of every four workers is without a job right now. What is the labour movement doing about this? Goodnight.

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- 1) Archie Singham Drops a Bomb
 - 2) Energy Crisis Continues
 - 3) Britain & Southern Africa
 - 4) Central African Empire - A New Tyranny

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
May 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A main talking point in political circles here in Jamaica over this past weekend was the evidence given to the Smith Commission on Corruption by Professor Archie Singham last Friday. Indeed I think it is fair to say that Archie Singham^{has}/dropped something of a bombshell which has many people and institutions all 'shook-up'. What he said, the ideas he put forward, had a jarring and jerking shock effect on an enquiry which had largely settled into the familiar petty party political point-scoring power play. Just consider a few of the things Archie Singham said: Ideology is a general framework which allows people to know where they are going: it is a moral corrective which is important for political survival. He said the opposite to ideology is moral opportunism: if a party has no ideology it is very hard to judge. He said in societies like ours the government is the only agency where the majority of the people have some financial control over the goals and objectives. He said it is imperative that the government involve itself in political education. ~~He said in a society where the private sector dominates the bulk of the political education comes from the private sector and they represent their own interests.~~ He said The government has to take a section of the budget ~~and devote it to education and information~~ and devote it to education and information for nobody else is going to do it for them. And when the Commissioner asked him: "How does one convince anybody that it is not spending taxpayers money to advance the cause of one political party as

distinct from educating the populace?" Archie Singham replied:

"No matter what you do, by being a political being you are going to get mileage. One has to judge very carefully. One tends to believe that a technical solution is political and a political statement is partisan. That thin line of doing things for the national interest is a line that one must be constantly vigilant about." So there you have it. Just a few of the statements made by Professor Archie Singham to the Smith Commission which is now looking at allegations of corruption made against the Ministry of Mobilisation. I suggest you carefully read the full text of Archie Singham's prepared statement as well as the first phase of his being question on it. Not surprisingly, the JLP attorneys needed time to study what Singham said and to prepare to cross-examine him. You do not just rush in to deal with the kind of political bombshell Archie Singham had just dropped. ^{And} ~~most of us, I think,~~ suddenly, for ~~some reason~~, the goings-on at the Smith Commission have been invested with an important new Third World dimension which transcends our local party power game. Another matter of importance to us is what the Throne Speech at tomorrow's opening of the new British Parliament will say about Southern Africa in particular. It is no accident that the South African Government has chosen this time to ~~just~~ announced its decision to set up a puppet government in Namibia ^{the efforts of} thus ignoring the U.N. as well as ^{the} five Western Powers. Mrs. Thatcher had given them the go-ahead by declaring that a government led by her would veto any U.N. move to apply sanctions against South Africa. Will the the Throne Speech mention this, and Rhodesia? And in the Central African Empire the police and military of Emperor Bokassa is reported to have brutally murdered some 100 school children for refusing to wear uniforms. Idi Amin was not the only black tyrant in Africa. And tyranny, lest we forget, ^{can} come in all shades and colour political and otherwise. Goodnight. ^h

- 1) U.S. Energy Crisis: A Setback for Carter
2) The Politics of the Social Contract

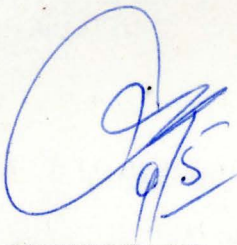
NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

May 11, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: President Carter's Standby Gas Rationing Plan, which was approved by the U.S. Senate earlier this week was last night decisively defeated in the U.S. House of Representatives. And this is a serious setback for the President's efforts to get the United States prepared against the shocks and dislocations which lie ahead as the energy crisis deepens. It seems that most of the Representatives, the vote was almost two to one against the Plan, were still not prepared to face the harsh prospects that lie ahead. And this led one of their fellow Congressmen to describe the decision as coming from "the most gutless Congress he had ever seen". So they will carry on as usual till disaster strikes. In the meantime the Californians seem to be adjusting painfully to the ^{petrol} rationing which was forced on them after last weekend's dislocation. Indications are that a really bitter political row is in the making as Californians begin to ask why their State seems to have less petrol than the other States of the Union. So energy and petrol rationing may yet become a hot and divisive political issue in the U.S. - which is not really going to help things very much. Here at home, our simmering political power game seems to be on the verge of becoming heated up again; and you do not have to be told how easily it can get overheated, once the process starts up again. And the issue, this time, is the Social Contract. If the report in yesterday's Daily News is correct then one of the conditions made by the Jamaica Labour Party for its support of the social contract was that the Government should

call new general elections in six months time. The report says the Government side rejected this demand and so the talks between the two sides which took place at Gordon House on Tuesday broke up within five minutes. Its the same old power game which has become so sadly familiar over the past few years: it has been played with electoral reform, with scarce benefits and job distribution, with victimisation, with spies, with corruption. The one side makes charges or demands or accusations; the other side replies or rejects or denies: and a massive amount of ^{time,} energy and ingenuity is diverted to the cut and thrust and push and shove which then takes pride of place. Inevitably the hard problems and the real needs of the nation ^{take second or third or fourth place and suffer.} ~~suffer~~. And this is a prescription for ultimate disaster, no matter which party is in power. And, you know, there is what strikes me as a rather simplistic assumption that there are only two alternatives ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ this dangerous game and that these are straightforward and understandable and predictable. But in the very process of grappling with each other and with the problems of surviving ^{or} ~~and~~ being pulled down, as well as with the wider problems of a changing world, the parties themselves have undergone and are undergoing serious and important changes; and so has the society. ~~And this is the~~ ^{mid} ~~assumption~~ Indeed, one of these changes is seen in the very nature of the type of politics we now conduct. So the assumption that if you pull down this ^{or that} one, by hook or by crook, you will automatically replace it - this assumption may turn out to be the most monumental misconception of our time. Those who are hell-bent on a demolition job had better think this one out carefully. Pulling down is comparatively easy; inheriting the ^{carcass or} rubble ~~and~~ the skeleton not so easy, especially if there are many scavengers as well as other and persuasive claimants ^{Rebuilding, is hardest.} about. And then, too, there is the judgement of the people to consider: will they entrust any building job to any demolition crew? Goodnight. re-



- 1) Petrol Ration in U.S.
- 2) Putting Jamaica First

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
May 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday the President of the United States was reported as telling the American Congress, and therefore the American people, that the United States had little more than two week's supply of crude oil stocks. And also yesterday, the state of California began rationing petrol in those parts of it where supplies ^{are} ~~xxx~~ very short. And also yesterday President Carter's Standby Gasolene Rationing Plan was approved by the Congress. This means that if the situation gets any worse the American President will have the authority to quickly and immediately institute petrol rationing throughout the country. The present California rationing system does not, on the face of it, seem either tight or foolproof at the moment. But after the massive dislocation of the past weekend when cars were abandoned at petrol stations, anything is better than nothing. This system will at least bring some sort of order while the Californians try to think through their very special problems. For this is a part of the United States where people up to now thought nothing of driving one or two hundred miles to work and fifty miles or more to go to a supermarket or a show or to have a haircut: it is a land of sprawl and having a powerful car with a tank full of petrol was as essential as having a home and food to eat. Up to now Californians could not imagine how life could go on without that car and the tankful of petrol. Then came last weekend. Now they are restricting the sale of petrol after midnight. And on odd numbered days petrol will be sold only to people whose cars have

odd number plates: on even numbered days it will be the turn of people whose cars have even number plates. And nobody will be allowed to buy more than 20 gallons at a time. And if you think that some smart motorist will go from gas station to gas station till he has all he wants, just bear in mind that the distances are such that it may take more than 20 gallons to go from one gas station to the next and back. Anyway, this is the outline of the first quick Californian response to the petrol shortage which suddenly hit them last weekend. But is not rationing supposed to be something communist? Can you imagine what a political field day we would have had here if it was in Jamaica rather than California that petrol rationing was introduced! I can almost see the scary headlines about communism taking over and rationing being the first step on the road to it. And what a flood we would have had of what the current issue of Time Magazine describes as "that curse of the 1960s, opinionated advocacy journalism". And coming just about a decade later than in the United States it would have been in perfect character. But it happened in California, not Jamaica. So nobody thought the communists had taken over, or that the U.S. was going communist or that the Governor of California or the President of the United States were to blame and had to resign or be driven out of office. Instead, everybody there seems to be trying to get on with the job of coping with this problem as best they can. To be sure, each group is trying to protect ^{and promote} its own special interests: but if you look closely you will see that each group sees its own special interests as tied up with the overall national American interest. And so, from far right to far left, they tend to put America first. When will we, all of us, of whatever grouping put Jamaica first?

Goodnight.



The Weekend:

- a) Still Power cuts
- b) Rights & Responsibilities
- c) US Petrol Shortage
- d) Anti-nuclear Rallies
- e) Namibia - Aggressive Racism

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
May 7, 1979, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: It was, generally speaking, a peaceful ~~and~~ and quiet weekend here at home, though the ^{inconveniences of} power cuts were still with us, thanks largely to those 47 irresponsible gentlemen at Hunts Bay. And most people are quietly disgusted with the kid-glove treatment these men have received from those whose duty it is to protect the public interest. Rightly or wrongly - and I think rightly in this case - there is a widely held view that these people got away unpunished because of their trade union connection. And this is not equality before the law. If you or I, or 47 ordinary individual citizens ^{scattered} ~~scattered~~ all over Jamaica had been responsible for a similar amount of economic loss, disruption and dislocation we would have felt the full weight of the law. Indeed, many citizens have been imprisoned or severely fined for doing a fraction of the harm. So why have these people been treated so differently? In setting out to the right/~~of~~ freedom of assembly and association of any citizen or group of citizens the Jamaican Constitution ^{the exercise of} specifically says that/ ^{should} such rights/~~must~~ not be at the expense of the rights or freedoms of other persons. And the law is there to enforce this view: but only if those in authority are prepared to invoke the law. By not invoking the law they are in fact discriminating against one group of citizens as against another, against those who are not organised in favour of those who are organised, against the weak in favour of the strong.

And it is this that makes the Hnts Bay affair a really bad business for us all. It is important for all Jamaicans to at all times insist that you do not, in persuit of your own rights and freedoms, violate the rights and freedoms of others. And this applies just as strongly to freedom of conscience and to freedom of expression. The Jamaican Constitution does not say that ^{depending on ideology or whatever,} some Jamaicans/have greater or more or less rights and freedoms than others. And it is up to us to insist that the elect of the people protect these Constitutional rights/by invokin ^{of all the people} the law when the need arises. Next, it is at last beginning to look as though the Americans have begun to take the energy crisis seriously. Over this past weekend long lines of motorcars were parked at ^{all over California} petrol stations/waiting for this morning's opening of the stations. Because no petrol was available the stations had all closed for the weekend and Americans had the extraordinary experience, for them, of being up against something that money could not buy. I think it is important that we take note of this straw in the wind. We consume only a tiny fraction of the amount of oil and gas the Americans do, but if things became really tight we may get into a position where even that fraction that we consume might become more than they are prepared to let us have. So we had better plan seriously for the day when we may not be able to get oil even if we have the money. And, also in America this weekend, there were rallies and demonstrations again nuclear energy plants, following on the accident at Three Miles some weeks back. And yet, with oil reserves declining, the world, not just America, is going to have to depend more and more nculear power as one of its key energy sources. So the anti-nuclear things is abit like the British Luddites who thought they could stop the Industrial Revolution by destroying the machines. But it wont work, any more than South Africa's new aggressive racism in Namibia, after Thatcher's win, can stop the coming changes. Goo

The British Elections:
Some Likely Consequences

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
May 4, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party has won decisively in yesterday's British General Elections and it might be instructive for us to examine some of the likely consequences of that victory. First, and going by its election manifesto, the Thatcher Conservative Party which will now form the new British Government, is the most rightwing Tory party since at least world war two. In terms of British party politics the Tory party is by definition a rightwing party and always has been: but within it there has always been ^{a wide range of opinion including} a far rightist element which has always exerted considerable influence on policy but which, until now, has not captured complete control of the party. Now, under Mrs. Thatcher, that element has complete control of the party organisation, having captured it from the more moderate Conservatives' elements as represented by Mr. Edward Heath. And so the new British Government ^{Conservative} is likely to be the most rightwing/ever to rule ~~the~~ post-war Britain. And don't forget that a majority of the British electorate have freely made this choice; which means that Britain itself has swung to the right. But please also note that the racist fascists of the National Front were rejected decisively at the polls: so swing^{ing} to the right in this case is not necessarily going fascist. One very interesting speculation is that this swing to the right by the British electorate was out of disgust and anger with ^{powerful} a/trade union movement which had severely ^a disrupted their lives. There should be a moral in this for local trade unionists. In any case, if Mrs. Thatcher does

try to get tough with the trade unions, as she has said she would, then we are likely to witness a really epic struggle. But I think this is at least a year or so down the road. And if income tax is cut indirect taxation - which is hardest on the poorest - will have to make up for lost revenue or else there will have to be massive cutbacks in government spending on all the social services. All of which is likely to make/very much rougher on the very young, the very old, the poor and the black/minorities from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. What we can be sure of is that/~~many~~ ^{things} ^{and brown} ^{none of the defeated parties} is going to call for new elections in Britain next year or the year after: campaigning as for a new election will not start up in six months' time: you will not have polls every few months asking who is most popular or what would happen if elections were held today or tomorrow or next week. In short, the new government/^{with its comfortable majority} will be allowed to get on with the job until its five-year mandate runs out or it itself goes to the country earlier. There will be no sustained campaign to bring it down by hook or crook. And from a Third World perspective/^{the Thatcher-Conservative winis} one of the most serious setbacks for the freedom struggle in Southern Africa, which is why the South African government and Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia have welcomed it so warmly. The Thatcher government ~~what it takes~~ ~~there~~ will veto any U.N. proposal to impose sanctions on South Africa for whatever reason. And even if it does not immediately recognise the new Rhodesian regime based on those highly questionable 'elections of last month, it will co-operate hard with the U.S. conservative lobby which is now trying to force President Carter to lift the sanctions on Rhodesia and so open the way for general Western recognition. One certain consequence of this new direction will be to force those fighting for their freedom to turn even more to Cuba and the Soviet Union for help: in short it will lead to a further radicalisation of the Southern African struggle. Goodnight

1) The Latest JPS Stoppage
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
37 Britain goes to the polls

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
May 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: 47 workers of the Jamaica Public Service Company have once again played havoc with the electricity supply of the nation. And if ever there was a work stoppage which showed almost frivolous contempt for the public good and the public interest, this one is it. 47 men want to switch from one union to another; and they do not want to go through the laid down procedure. They want to do it here and now and on their terms. And that is what this latest stoppage is all about. It is a frank and open pressure play by 47 men who want to by-pass all the carefully worked-out and agreed-to rules and regulations governing union representation and governing the settling of disputes, and slam through what they want, regardless of the cost to others or to the society. And you know, and I know the terrible damage this stoppage, as well as the earlier one, by these same men, has already caused. Home and industrial appliances have been damaged or wrecked; food has spoiled. Water supplies have been disrupted. In short, 47 workers have effectively held a nation of over two million people to ransom. So the question is: Why are they allowed to do this? Why have they been allowed to do this? And it is not just anger that prompts these questions. To be sure people are both angry and fed-up with this whole shoddy business. But behind the anger and disgust are very serious questions about what we are doing to the institutionalised processes on which our whole concept of the rule of law is based. And the rule of law is really very clearcut. For the goof of the

society, which means for the good of all its people be they rich or poor, high or low, powerful or weak, we are all required to submit to a body of rules and regulations codified into the laws of the land over a period of time. And if you or I or our neighbour break the law and are caught at it, we pay the penalty. And so, partly because it is a civilised way which is protective of us, and partly because we want to avoid the punishment, we abide by the law: when we don't, we ^{have to} take the punishment. So we come back to the question: Does not this same process of the rule of law also apply to those 47 JPS workers? The Industrial Disputes Tribunal had ordered them back to work once before when they first struck at the end of March. They defied that order for several days before finally going back; and they suffered no penalty. And once anybody gets away with openly breaking the law it is almost an incentive to do it again. So, did the Industrial Disputes Tribunal refer that first defiance of its order to the Director of Public Prosecutions? And is not this second stoppage a new flouting of that same order? If the Industrial Disputes Tribunal has done nothing about the first and now the second flouting of its order then it is guilty of condoning a flouting of the rule of law. We know, of course, that the trade union movement is such an important and powerful ^{and, normally, positive} force within the society that no Jamaican government since independence has been ^{either inclined or} prepared to meet it in a head-on collision. This, all things considered, is an understandable position. But is not this, when manifested in the do-nothing response to the gross social irresponsibility of the 47 JPS workers a sort of condoning of the tactics of might-is-right which goes totally against the concept of legality and the rule of law? If we are not prepared to enforce them then it is better not to have industrial relations or any other kinds of laws. Toothless laws, held in contempt are the doors to the rule of the jungle. Goodnight

30/4

- 1) A Weekend of Drying Out
- 2) Adams on 'Cuban Presence in Caricom'
- 3) ~~Rhodesia & South Africa~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 30, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Here at home most Jamaicans have spent the last weekend of April 1979 in drying out following last Wednesday's devastating flood rain. Incidentally, one of our leading builders called me to say that my comments of last Friday about flooded homes were not balanced because I singled out only private developers for criticism. He said that Cooreville and Garveymeade, which are public housing developments were just as flooded. I took and still take his point. But, you know, until quite recently, middle-income housing, which was what I was commenting about, has been mainly in the hands of private developers; and the people, ambitious young middle-income people, who have suffered most from disappearing and defaulting developers, from escalating costs and from very poor social services have been involved with private housing developments. This is how it has been. ~~xxxxxx~~ There always have been and still are upright and honourable people in private housing development, and they are the ones who have remained and who tend to suffer for the sins of those who have defaulted and run. But this does not alter the hard facts of what has happened. The real point is that we seem to need a whole new set of guidelines for housing development, whether done privately or publicly, if we are to avoid/~~the~~ ^{the} cruel hardship of waterlogged homes every time we have flood rain. And while we are about it could we also put a stop to the enforced carpeting ^{stuck} on rough-cast floors - which avoids doing a proper flooring job; ~~as well~~

when these carpets get waterlogged the grief and misery and cost to the victims are compounded. And then there is the business of the (and office buildings for that matter) housing units/being so built that air-conditioning becomes a necessity if people are not to suffocate. Jamaica could not really even afford this/in the days of cheap energy: this was one of the non-essential luxuries in the business of/our living beyond our means. Today energy-cost of the the/airconditioner in every bedroom and every office building is bleeding both the individual and the national economy. And let us also remember that the finest guidelines in the world are useless unless they are strictly enforced and monitored. Next, and at the regional level, the question of possible Cuban military assistance to the new Grenada government in the event of Eric Gairy trying a/rightwing counter-coup with external mercenary assistance, is the current talking-point in the Eastern Caribbean. In a newspaper interview yesterday the Barbados Prime Minister is reported as saying that a Cuban military presence in any Caricom state is not to be condoned. And the same newspaper, the Trinidad Express, then called editorially for a meeting of Trinidad, Guyana, Barbados and Jamaica to deal with the matter. Obviously, if the four leading Caricom countries were to agree to guarantee Grenada's integrity from attacks from outside force they would be in a very strong position to advise Mr. Bishop not to seek help outside Caricom, and to advise the Cubans that there was no need for their assistance. But this, as both the Adams interview and the editorial indicated, is not likely. So now it is up to Britain, Canada and the United States, whom Grenada is also reported to have ask^{ed} for help, to come forward if only to keep out the Cuban presence. If they don't, then, like it or not, Grenada will take help from wherever she can get it. All this is, of course on the assumption that Eric Gairy will try a thing - with mercenary help. Goodnight.

Wednesday's Flood Rain:
The State of Our Utilities
The State of Our Building

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
April 27, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Wednesday's flood rain has caused terrible damage which will turn this coming weekend into a massive clean-up time for very large numbers of Jamaicans all over the country. The government has set up machinery to give help to people who have suffered serious loss, and this is welcome. But, inevitably, there are going to be some losses for which no amount of help can make up. The nation as a whole, -that corporate concept which is at once each and everyone of us and more than just that, because it reaches back into the past and forward into the future - is probably the greatest/longterm loser. For the millions of dollars worth of damage to road and to the utilities add up to a two-fold loss: it is a loss of resources already spent and also the loss which is inherent in spending money twice over on the same job. It is like paying to surface a road and then digging it up and then paying again for resurfacing that same road. And this always means that ~~the~~ national resources which should go into the ~~of the nation~~ ~~byxxxxxxfixitxxxxxx~~ enlarging of the ~~national~~ wealth/so that future ~~generations~~ ^{are} of Jamaica may enjoy better social services, ~~the~~ being wasted. And this kind of waste is part of what contributes to our continuing in a state of underdevelopment. The fact is that it is possible for our roads to be built so that they will stand up to Wednesday's kind of heavy flooding. There are roads in many parts of the world that have to and that do stand up to this kind of heavy flooding. Crop losses are much more difficult to provide against and to prevent. But even here proper

land use methods - proper contouring, proper terracing, proper watershed protection (an area in which the late Harold Cahusac worked so hard and long) - could greatly reduce the level of damage. It is in this sense a man's land should not be seen as exclusively his to do with exactly as he pleases, to abuse and burn if he wants to. There is the great social responsibility of leaving the land in reasonably good condition for future generations of Jamaicans. In this respect one of the best things ^{handed down} ~~bequeathed~~ to this present generation of Jamaicans by the generation of Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley, and this applies especially to the citizens of the Corporate Area, who are now something like a quarter of the total population, ^{is our present} ~~xxxxxxx~~ massive drainage gully and ~~xxxxxxx~~ scheme. Just think for a moment what Wednesday's damage would have been like in the Corporate Area if we were without this system. But perhaps the ugliest and most depressing thing about the aftermath of Wednesday flooding was the revelation of just how very, very badly large numbers of Jamaican house-buyers have been served by some of our private housing developers. Those ^{television} ~~pictures~~ of homes in one and two and three feet of water, with people's belongings damaged, was just about the bitterest criticism possible of private housing development in Jamaica. If this is how it comes out when you leave it to the private sector then that sector is digging a very deep hole for itself. The people who are the 'sufferers' in this instance are proud, hard-working people who have in most cases invested years of joint-savings in order to own a home of their own, and who have accepted the beautiful promises of the developers in good faith. Since then they have had to cope with disappearing developers, with escalating costs, and, very often, with very poor social services. It is here, it seems to me, at the level of large-scale middle income housing that the aspiring ^{younger} ~~members~~ of the Jamaican community have been most poorly served. Wednesday's floods underling

- 1) Electoral Reform: A Welcome Breakthrough
2) Scarce Jobs: Scarce Benefits

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 25, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Last night's final sitting of the 1978/79 session of Jamaica's Parliament was made memorable by the unanimous agreement reached on electoral reform. And I, for one, would like to very warmly congratulate all the members of the Special Joint Select Committee of Parliament who have worked hard and long to achieve this welcome breakthrough. Now there is one less important bone of contention on which to divide the nation; one more important issue on which the nation can ^{be} united. I know there are people who will say that this sort of agreement on electoral reform could have been arrived at a long time ago and without all the party political fuss and hot air that that we have had to endure. And they are right. But it is in the nature of our brand of party politics for everybody involved to make as much noise as possible and to squeeze out of it every ounce of political mileage before settling down to really dealing with a problem. And this is all that has really happened with electoral reform. And this is of course one of the things which makes of our political system a creature of such great delicateness which demands very great care and very mature and balanced judgement if it is to survive. Dictatorships, efficiency regimes, one party states of the far left or the far right, all are much easier to operate than is our kind of multi-party representative democracy. And this is particularly true of poor Third World countries with very limited resources. And so the people ^{and parties} who would operate our kind of

system, especially in the Third World, have their work cut out for them. They must know just ^{how} ^{and} ~~hard~~ ~~far~~ they can safely push the system without mashing it up. And let me confess frankly that there have been times of late when it had seemed ^{some of} ~~that~~ ^{some of} ~~our~~ ~~politicians~~, and ~~their~~ over-zealous supporters, of both sides, were prepared to push our system beyond its point of tolerance, beyond what it can stand without collapsing. And electoral reform - a matter for which both of our major political parties have campaigned when in opposition - was one of the issues which provoked this ^{potentially} ~~dangerous~~ situation. I think myself that it was largely the stubborn level-headedness of the ordinary Jamaican people which kept this issue from boiling over into destructiveness. So now, thanks to their sobriety which was upheld and endorsed by their Parliament yesterday, electoral reform has ceased to be a party political issue. If all the other issues concerning Constitutional reform can be resolved in this way then Parliamentary democracy in Jamaica will itself be the principal beneficiary. But lurking out there as threatening shadows we have the very much more vexed twin problems of scarce jobs and scarce benefits. I remember the time when Bustamante and Manley senior worked out a formula for KSAC jobs ^{contracts} as 40:40:20. 40% of the contracts went to each party and 20% to non-party people. In party terms this seemed pretty equitable except that the majority were non-party and they were penalised. And the real trouble was that there were very many who got nothing at all under this formula because there were just not enough jobs or enough scarce benefits to go around. And this, today, is even more at the heart of the problems ^{to} than it was in those days. If the parties only agree on how ~~the~~ ^{to} share the jobs and houses and services now available among their own supporters the real problem would still remain. For Jamaica belongs to all Jamaicans: not just to PNP and JLP Jamaicans. And what is available must be for all Jamaicans.

Goodnight.

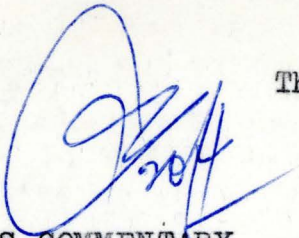
Elections, Electioneering &
Making Democracy Work

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Elections and electioneering is very much in the air right now. Here in Jamaica Mr. Douglas Vaz of the JLP has predicted early general elections. In Rhodesia, over the past weekend voting was completed in a strange general election which was managed and supervised by a white-controlled army and police force under a white-dominated government in a country which is overwhelmingly black AND IN WHICH THE BLACK FREEDOM fighters are steadily winning the war. The joint leaders of the Patriotic Front, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, yesterday flatly repudiated these elections and vowed to continue the fight. And election returns of more than 100% voter turn-outs in some areas have prompted further questions about the value or validity of the whole exercise as a true measure of what black Rhodesians really think. Elections under ^{dicatorships} ~~coercive~~ or coercive regimes of one kind or another are known to have shown some dramatic voter turn-outs, like 99.95%. So what value are we to place on this highly regimented Rhodesian voter-turn-out? Personally, I do not place much value on it. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ On the other hand, Mr. Ian Smith, his supporters and collaborators and much of the Western press, especially the wire services, are treating this as a great victory for the so-called internal settlement and ^{are} ~~are~~ calling on the United Nations to lift the sanctions against Rhodesia. Then there are the British elections which are now approaching the last week of campaigning. British voters go to the polls on May

3rd in what is said to be the most crucial election Britain has had in a very long. Certainly, if the Conservatives win it will make a dramatic impact on events in Southern Africa as well as on Britain's coloured migrant minorities. So this one, like the American Presidential elections, is almost as important to us as it is to the British people. And so to Mr. Vaz's prediction of early general elections here. When you stop to think about, it seems as though we in Jamaica have been caught up in one long, unending election campaign. Cast your mind back over the last five years or so. Does it not seem as though our lives have been dominated by a sort ^{of} endless electioneering. Think back to 1974, and 1975. Then, after the 1976 elections, how long was it before we were off campaigning again? It seems as though calling for elections, then and campaigning as though elections were just around the corner, has become the dominant political activity in Jamaica. So the question is: where do we go from here? When do we stop the hard campaigning and hard running and settle down to dealing with the nation's hard problems? Do we keep it up until this government is defeated and another takes its place? And what if ^{this} ~~the~~ government wins again at ~~the~~ next elections? Do we just continue the campaigning as though nothing has happened? But let us assume ^{that this} ~~the~~ government is defeated. ~~and what if it decides~~ ^{What do we do if it decides} ~~that as the~~ new opposition it is going to play the same game, and begins electioneering straightaway? Are we going to say that what is sauce for the goose must not also be sauce for the gander? It seems to me that we have got ourselves into a very tricky and dangerous box of bricks where, unless we are very careful indeed, we may end up using elections and electioneering to make it impossible for any government to succeed: used thus elections and electioneering would destroy electoral democracy. Goodnight.



The Shaping of the Social Contract

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
April 20, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association, as well as the Jamaica Labour Party, have all now given their initial responses to the Prime Minister's call for a Social Contract to achieve maximum production in a context of economic stability and industrial peace. And ⁱⁿ each case the reply, to some extent or other, reflected the main area of concern of the particular organisation. A key Chamber of Commerce concern, for instance, was the man-hours lost because of continuous strikes and other industrial action; for the JMA it was ^{more} import licences, ^{more} foreign exchange, better credit facilities, reduction in taxes, ^{stopping} ~~removing~~ all radical and communist ideas from being promoted on government-controlled media, ^{stopping} the ^{and criticising of} ~~condemning~~ capitalism, imperialism and the IMF. And the key ^{response} ~~response~~ of the JLP is that there be a political contract to deal with human rights and victimisation before there can be any social contract. We have not yet had this kind of public response from the trade unions as a group or from the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica. And what these two groups say, and how they react to the call for a social contract, especially how the trade unions react, will be critical to the success or failure of any social contract. What it seems to me we need to be quite clear about from as early on as possible is just what it takes to make a social contract work. So, what are the minimum requirements for any workable Social Contract? First, there has to be a simple and straightforward common objective. A classic example is a war situation when all the energies of a

society are harnessed and focussed on one single task, which is the waging and winning of the war. The political and ideological and social and economic differences do not suddenly disappear from that society; and it is not suddenly demanded of any section of that society that ^{it} ~~they~~ gives up whatever it stands for ^{or} believes in. All that is required of every section of that society is that ~~xx~~ they all temporarily subordinate their sectional interests to this one common objective. And the second minimum requirement must of course be a clearly defined time-frame within which the Social Contract is to operate. And when that time is over and the particular crisis has been overcome the society and all its component parts can return to business as usual. And the third, and perhaps the single most important minimum requirement of any workable Social Contract is the acceptance by all those who enter into it of the principle of equality of relative ~~xxxx~~ sacrifice in order to achieve the common objective. And for this the common objective must be clearly stated and clearly understood by every section: and the sacrifices required from each section must be equally clearly stated and understood and accepted. Any contract which requires only the government, or only the employers or only the workers to make ^{all or most of} the necessary sacrifices just will not work. Indeed it is very unlikely that any Social Contract can work which does not bring in the principle of equity in both sacrifice and reward. And the question is not whether Jamaica and Jamaicans can ~~xxxx~~ meet those three minimum requirements to make a Social Contract work. The real question is whether we want to. The real question is whether this effort to forge a Social Contract will be turned into yet another pawn in our bitter political power game. So watch the moves closely and carefully. They will tell you who cares about the recovery of Jamaica and ~~who~~ things. Goodnight. ~~who~~ who cares about other

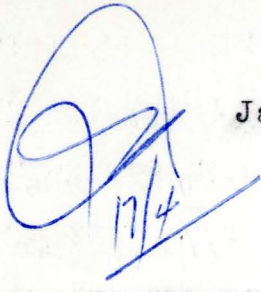
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- 1) Trade With Russia
 - 2) Making Our own Cheese
 - 3) ~~Some ingredients for the Social Contract~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 18, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The sale of 200,000 tons of alumina/^{a year}to the Soviet Union and Hungary over the next four years will bring in for Jamaica \$40-m U.S. a year over that period. And this alone removes the Prime Minister's trip to the Soviet Union from the arena of duppy politics and makes of it an important and very successful trade mission of which all Jamaicans can justifiably be proud. You do not have to be either partisan or political about what is an obviously good piece of business for Jamaica. And the business of opening this kind of new market for what Jamaica has to sell would be a good thing, no matter who did it. So let us ease off the negative/^{party}politics around this business. The fact is that no government of Jamaica, from here on, and no matter under what/^{party}label it goes, is going to want to shut offthis trade opening to a vast new market that is obviously going to be profitable to Jamaica. For if we do our part, if we ~~xxx~~ deliver the 200,000 tons of alumina for next year, and another 200,000 tons for 1981, and the same for 1982 and 1983, the earnings from this would^{help it} make it possible for us to build that long-deferred South Manchester plant in good time to honour the^{long term}commitment to start delivering a total of 550,000 tons of alumina/^{a year}to Algeria, Hungary and the Soviet Union from 1984 onwards. And all this, let us remember, does not in any way interfere with our present bauxite and alumina commitments and arrangements with the United States and Canada. The/^{trade}opening to the East is an additional

and new market. The name of the game is diversification: doing business with both East and West, with both North and South: and with the main consideration being what is in Jamaica's own best national self-interest. The important thing is for us to honour these agreements by producing and delivering what we have promised to. And if we are really serious about ^{export agriculture,} ~~xxxxxx~~, and if we produce seriously and package properly and deliver when we say we will, then there ~~xxx~~ is a new market of well over 250-million which can take almost all the tropical agricultural produce we have to offer. It is really all up to us now. ^{A new} ~~The~~ market has been opened: it is up to us to take advantage of the ^{opening} ~~topening~~. And still on production, but at a local level and for internal consumption, the shortage of cheese over the Easter weekend struck me as an unnecessary hardship. Some hardships we cannot help; this one we can do something about. All cheese is made from milk: milk is the basic raw material of cheese. ~~It~~ is cheaper to import milk powder than it is to import ^{imported} cheddar cheese. And we now use ^{imported} cheddar cheese as the raw material for the making of our very popular processed cheese. And in order to give the processed cheese that reddish colour we import a colouring substance called Bixin which is made from annatto. All of which is just about the most costly way of doing things. We can use the ^{and use annatto for the colouring.} reconstituted milk ~~powder~~ to make our own cheese. The Cubans do it and the Cubans have the technology. They make something like 17 different kinds of cheeses ranging from cheddar to processed which are very good. I have tasted a number of them and I know. So why don't we ask the Cubans, or the Hungarians for that matter, to provide us with the technology to make our own cheeses from reconstituted milk? I do not think that either the Cubans or the Hungarians would refuse us the technology or demand a fat royalty for it. So let us ask them ,nuh! No need for a cheese shortage. Goodnight.



Jamaica in the World Context
of Easter, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
April 16, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: And I hope that the remaining hours of the long Easter weekend are as peaceful as the entire weekend has been for most of us here in Jamaica. Up in our part of the hills it was so peaceful and quiet that the word 'tranquil' comes to mind. And tranquility is something that is very rare almost anywhere in today's world. So those of us who experience ^{tranquility,} ~~it~~, and it is ~~not~~ experienced at some time or another by nearly all Jamaicans who live away from the cities with their overcrowding and noise and screaming and shouting, have reason to count our blessings. It is important to remember this if we are not to be totally overwhelmed by the headlines and the news reports which only tell us what is wrong with Jamaica. To be sure there is much that is wrong with Jamaica; but there is also much that is right with Jamaica. The trouble is that what is wrong is news and what is ^{and lawlessness} right is not. So the violence/of the minority is news, and the peacefulness of the law-abiding majority is not; the few who kill and rob and lie make the headlines, while the many who are honest and helpful ^{are not news.} and co-operative/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Failures and setbacks and played up and dramatised, while achievements and successes are either ignored or else damned with faint praise. If you try to always bear this in mind it will give you an interesting perspective on what is going on in Jamaica and in the wider world. For instance, we know that we have very serious economic ^{political & social} problems and that there is a serious crisis of confidence in the society. And because of this many Jamaicans who

could afford to and who wanted to escape/^{these}~~the~~ problems, left. Some went to the United States, some to Canada, some to Britain, a few to some other countries. And almost without exception these people have discovered that the problems they were trying to escape, or variations of those problems, existed in the places to which they went. They discovered, in short, that the whole world, not only Jamaica, is caught up in very serious economic, political and social problems. And those who thought they were running from chaos found themselves running into chaos/^{but a long way from home.} The result has been some very unhappy personal tragedies of people who have uprooted themselves, sold off a lifetime's effort and possessions, discovered that they could not make it and were less happy where they had gone, but found that they could not make it home again. The lucky ones were those who could come home again. It seems to me that one of ^{our}~~our~~ great failures as a society is that we were so ill-prepared for the devastating and traumatic changes which have hit the world since the energy crisis of 1973. And to compound this we have dissipated/^{most}~~most~~ our energies and much of our substance in playing/^{partisan} politics with this crisis,~~and~~ thus misleading the Jamaican people as to its true/^{nature and} meaning. The essential point about this crisis is that our world has changed radically, and it will never again be as it was before 1973: not for us; not for the United States; not for Canada; not for Britain; not for any country. Change your government as many times as you like and this central fact remains. We are entering an age ~~of~~ that is totally different from anything we have known and we, the people as well as their leaders, have not yet adjusted ourselves to this new reality. Until we do we will have this crisis of confidence. And again this is so for the entire world, which is why Trinidad with all its oil and wealth faces great^{er} problems than we do. The fact is that Jamaicans are riding this crisis with more balance and wisdom than most: and I am talking of the ordinary people who are far ahead of their leaders. Goodnight

African Perspective:

- 1) The Fall of Kampala
- 2) Rhodesian Elections
- 3) Tories & Southern Africa

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 11, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The fall of Kampala, Uganda; this week and next week's Rhodesian elections based on Ian Smith's 'internal settlement'; and British Conservative Party policy ^{on Southern Africa} as spelled out in their just published election manifesto - all these indicate that it is time for us to try and update our African perspective. The news of the fall of Kampala broke in the ^{very} early hours of this morning; and this was followed, a little after eight o'clock, by an announcement over the state-owned Radio Uganda that Idi Amin was no longer in control of Uganda. And so, eight years after he seized power and became the most brutal despot in post-colonial black Africa, Idi Amin seems to be on the way out. And for this, as for so much of the liberation struggles in East, Central and Southern Africa, great credit must go to Julius Nyerere and his people who have sacrificed much of the very little they have to give aid and comfort and support to other Africans struggling to be free. In the particular case of Uganda giving support to those who opposed Idi Amin was a complex and difficult business. The Charter of the Organisation of African ^{Unity} ~~States~~ ^{on the point} is clear and specific that no member state should interfere in the internal affairs of any other member state. So until Amin attacked ^{itself} Tanzania last October Tanzania could only give asylum to the Ugandan refugees. But after that attack (and especially since the OAU did nothing about it) Tanzania retaliated in the face of clear and established aggression. And the Uganda exiles and refugees seized the opportunity and launched their own attacks on Amin. And today's fall

fall of Kampala is the result of that combined operation. But as long as Amin is still at large inside the country and as long as he has men to fight for him the shadow of his dictatorship will be a threat over the country. So he must either be captured and brought to trial or driven out of the country before any provisional government can begin to deal with the hard problems of Uganda. And perhaps the hardest of all Uganda's many problems is the changing of the attitudes and the psychological and physical conditions which made it possible for Idi Amin to establish his brutal dictatorship in the first instance. The challenge here, it seems to me, is to a new kind of leadership of which there is so far no sign in the present Uganda Liberation Front. But these are early days and the complete defeat of Amin must come first. Further south in Rhodesia, round one of Ian Smith's staged elections saw the filling of the 28 seats reserved 200,000-odd for the whites of Rhodesia. Next Tuesday the ~~six~~ 72 seats reserved for the six million blacks will be voted for. This means that the whites who make up roughly 3.5% of the population will have 28% of the seats in Parliament, will have all sorts of veto powers and will also have control of the security forces. And they describe these as one-man-one-vote elections leading to majority rule. And without ^{so} saying/explicitly, the election manifesto of the British Conservative party makes it clear that the Tories will support this Ian Smith arrangement if they are returned to power in Britain next month, which the British opinion polls say is likely. And the Tories make it very clear, and in very explicit terms, that if they form the government of Britain they will resist all attempts to impose economic sanctions of any kind on racist South Africa. All of which is going to give great comfort to the racists in Rhodesia, in South Africa and in Namibia. They will dig in their heels. The blacks will fight more bitterly, find help wherever they can, no matter what the label.

Goodnight

- 1) Manley In Moscow
- 2) Passing the IMF Test
- 3) Petroleum Prices: Drop the Politics
- 4) ~~African Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
April 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Prime Minister Michael Manley today begins his official visit to the Soviet Union, and on the BBC this morning in the programme Twenty-Four Hours which follows the 8 o'clock news, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, international affairs expert of the London Economist was questioned on the implications of the Manley Mission to Moscow. What, he was asked, was the purpose of the Manley trip. O'Shaughnessy said it was a cold-blooded search for new markets for the kind of tropical products produced in Jamaica. It was an effort to diversify trading relations for Jamaica as well as for the other producers of tropical products who have had something of a raw deal from the West. The Soviet Union has not, up to now, bought much of the produce of these countries and if this mission could open that market the Third World would benefit. O'Shaughnessy was also asked whether the visit meant that Jamaica was seeking closer political connections with the Soviet Union. His answer was a flat 'no'; he said Manley was not interested in the Soviet system but only in the ^{furthering} ~~the~~ ~~furthering~~ of the Jamaican national self-interest. I thought you might be interested in this very brief summary of the views of an expert on a matter which seems to have generated a great deal of useless hot air/ here at home. People and officials and experts in other countries, including Britain and the United States, see nothing either sinister or dangerous in a Jamaican Prime Minister visiting Moscow. The really important thing, it seems to me, is what the Jamaican Prime Minister comes back with: and I am thinking of trade rather than aid.

And is it not a pity that we do not seem able to ^{even} discuss our very serious energy problems without somehow injecting point-scoring partisan politics into it. Surely it should not be all that difficult for any government official or any Member of our Parliament to find out from the Trinidad High Commission in Jamaica whether that country would be willing to export refined petroleum to Jamaica: at what price it would be willing to do so: what quantities it can make available: and for how long it can do so. For instance, some figures I have seen on Trinidad's oil reserves and oil production suggest that at her present rate of extraction Trinidad's reserves of oil at December 1977 would only last for 7 years. Obviously, if you increase the rate of extraction the length of time the reserves will last will be reduced correspondingly. Seven years from 1977 takes us to 1984; but if you ^{, say,} double the rate of extraction/^{Trinidad's} ~~the~~ reserves might well run out ~~by~~ 1982, which is just around the corner. And then what do we do, especially if we have scrapped our own refinery? So let us please cool the politics over our energy crisis, and let our experts provide us with the fullest information and the most balanced advice on which to arrive at sober decisions/^{which are truly} in the national interest. And finally, we have passed the March IMF test because, as Mr. Eric Bell told us realistically, we have learnt how to pass these tests. The important thing now, it seems to me, is for us to learn the lessons of the harsh disciplines imposed on us by the whole business of dealing with the IMF. And perhaps the single most important lesson that we still need to take in and digest properly is that of living within our means, of producing the bulk of the food we eat and earning the money to pay for what we import. And on this last the kind of world in which we live and do business with is quite as important as our own efforts: hence the search for a new economic ^{order: hence the} ~~or~~ Missions to Moscow

Manley's Social Contract Proposals:
How Do we Strike the Balance?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
April 6, 1979, 6.10p.m

the opening of
Good evening: In a speech ~~at~~ the Jamaica Exporters Association's National Export Week the Prime Minister said that all the experts, both local and from the IMF, are agreed that Jamaican exports are now in a satisfactory competitive position on the world markets. And I think we are all of us rather painfully aware of just how we got to the point where most of the things we produce and sell abroad can now compete successfully out there. The price we paid was the bitter medicine the IMF made us swallow by way of the massive devaluation followed by those debilitating mini-devaluations known as the crawling-peg which month-by-month made our Jamaican dollar buy fewer and fewer of the basic things we need. And we none of us liked this medicine. And so it was something of a ^{small} relief to be told that it has not been to no point. Jamaican exports are now, as far as prices and cost of production are concerned, in a satisfactory competitive position. And in order to keep this satisfactory competitive position ~~in~~ for our exports while at the same time trying to ease the terrible pressure of the crawling-peg the Prime Minister proposed the idea of a kind of 'social contract' between the trades movement, Unions, the business community and the government. Under such a 'contract' all three elements, labour, management and the government would ~~work~~ come together to work out agreed policies on wages, prices and plans for expansion and increased production so that more people could be put to work. And one of the attractive things about the —
SO CALL 'social contract' idea is that it has been tried in some of the more developed countries, notably in Western Europe, when they faced the

kind of serious production-for-export problems which we now have. And, generally speaking, it has worked for at least a limited period which has helped to get those countries over the worst of their troubles. You may remember that Britain entered into such a 'social contract' between labour, ~~management~~ and the government after she had to go to the IMF for a \$4,000-million loan accompanied by the kind of bitter medicine we now know. So it can work for a time, given the will. And perhaps the most telling argument the Prime Minister made in favour of the 'social contract' for us, at least as far as I am concerned, was when he posed the two alternative scenarios on the wage guidelines. According to this argument any new IMF agreement will insist that we maintain the satisfactory competitive position we now have; so if we insist on holding on to our present 15% wage guideline they may agree to it but insist in exchange that we undertake another 6% devaluation to maintain our competitive position. On the other hands, if we agree to a 10% ceiling on wages the satisfactory competitive position could be maintained without any further devaluation and without the crawling-peg. Now, if the numbers in these alternative scenarios are correct, and I have no way of checking them, then the one without the 6% devaluation is obviously going to benefit most Jamaicans; especially if it is associated with a strict holding operation on prices and mark-ups. A 6% devaluation would lick each and every one of us, the unemployed most of all, whereas a higher wage ceiling would benefit only or mainly the 300,000-odd unionised and well represented workers. In this sense the choice boils down to whether it is only the strong and organised minority whose interests are ^{to be} protected; whether the interests of the whole Jamaican community, especially its weakest members are also ^{to be} protected. And how do we strike the balance? Goodnight.

The JPS, Railway Strikes:
A Question of Values

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
April 4, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Most Jamaicans are ^{bitterly} ~~xx~~ angry about the grievous damage and its economy and harm done to almost the entire Jamaican community/by the strike of some 140 Railway Corporation workers and the strike of some 50 Jamaica Public Service Company workers. And rightly so. The damage and the loss have been widespread. There has been damage to electric pumping equipment in our water supply system; there has been damage to household and business electrical equipment; production has been severely undermined and in some instances completely halted; people's food has spoiled; there have been lay-offs; and we have not begun to list the long-term after effects of these two strikes. Take for instance as straightforward a matter as the making of shoes: it takes a set period of heat and pressure to fix firmly and properly the soles of a pair of shoes. Since the JPS strike that set period ^{of heat & pressure} has been interrupted and the chances are that the shoes made during this period may look good but the soles may come away after a short time of wearing. This is the sort of after-effect that we cannot even begin to calculate. And for a country in our kind of economic trouble these kinds of damaging strikes, even where they are justified, are not to be undertaken without very serious examination of all their possible implications. And there is one very profound implication behind the current strikes which the entire labour movement, as well as the entire Jamaican community needs to think out very carefully and come to an understanding about. Consider the numbers of this matter. 140 railway workers and 50 JPS workers: a total of less than 200 striking workers. And the issue over which

they are striking is essentially a representational one, which makes it a kind of power struggle within the labour movement. You have this group of less than 200 workers who are not satisfied with the unions which now represent them and bargain on their behalf, and they want to change to two other unions. That is the basic issue. Set against this the fact that you have over two million Jamaicans who have^{had} nothing to do with this particular fight, who are not involved in it, and yet who have been^{brutally} punished and whose interests^{jobs} and security and safety, even to the point of risk of life, have been jeopardised. And, ask yourself, is it right for any group of^{in this society} 190 people to do this to more than two million of their fellow citizens. Is it morally right? Is it politically right? Is it socially right? Is it economically right? Is there any point of principle, any point of value which can justify this massive trampling on the rights of two million people by less than 200 others? Let us say that these people have right on their side. Does this justify their trampling on the rights of others? Are there no other ways for them to pursue the ends they seek? If their answer is that they have the might to cripple our lives and this gives them the right, then they are invoking the law of the jungle; and they should be warned that under the law of the jungle minorities of all kinds are systematically wiped out by majorities. And there is no way, under jungle rules, that any 190 can win against an aroused and angry two million. Most Jamaicans have made it clear, again and again, that they do not want to live by the rules of the jungle. This is why we have the elaborate structure of the rule of law with its many checks and balances and its many tolerances which some people mistake for weakness. Undermine this at any level, political, economic or in labour relations, and you open up a whole new ball game. It is a question of the values by which we choose to live as a society. Goodnight.

- 1) Oil & The Economics of Survival
- 2) The Industrial Scene
- 3) Some International Notes

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

April 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The latest oil price increases, our own local increases in the price of petrol and petroleum products, industrial problems, and our continuing and rather negative and destructive political screaming and shouting, these dominated weekend thought and discussion here at home. On the world scene the one news story which dominated almost every other, was that nuclear accident on a small river island ten miles from Harrisburg, U.S.A. Last week Wednesday the cooling system of that particular nuclear reactor failed. This resulted in a dangerous build-up of radiation which then damaged the reactor itself and radioactive fumes escaped into the atmosphere. The thing about these radio-active fumes is that there is nothing that people can see or feel or touch or smell: it is an invisible and intangible poison which can maim or cripple or kill. The experts say that the radiation which escaped from that nuclear plant near Harrisburg was too small to cause any serious harm. The greater problem, they say, is to try and keep the nuclear fuel within the damaged reactor cool enough to prevent it from reaching temperatures which would set off what they describe as a 'meltdown' chain-reaction which would release dangerous and killing levels of radiation into the atmosphere and the land and the water. And what is complicating this business of keeping the damaged reactor cooled-down is the fact that there is a bubble of hydrogen and other gases inside the sealed reactor which is preventing the full flow of the cooling stuff from reaching the nuclear fuel. Until this bubble of gas is removed the reactor cannot

be cooled down sufficiently for the nuclear plant to be shutdown completely and so be made safe. And this is the problem that American nuclear scientists have been grappling with all through this weekend while an anxious industrialised world watched. Many Western countries are now using nuclear energy to supplement, and, they hoped, to one day replace, oil as their main source of energy. In Britain, for instance, there are 11 nuclear power stations which are controlled by the electricity authorities and another 5 such stations which are controlled by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority. And in 1976 nuclear energy provided some 13% of the total British electricity public supply. So you can see why the British, ~~as well~~ as other nuclear energy producers, will be watching what is going on near Harri^sburg, and its outcome, with very great concern. The outcome of this accident may well ^e determine world action on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for a very long time to come. Already, a strong wave of anti-nuclear energy is building up in the United States. If the accident results in disaster that wave may become world-wide. And yet Britain has been using nuclear power safely since the mid-1950s, so it may well be as safe as the care people take or as dangerous as their carelessness. Anyway, for the world, as for us, the economics of survival dictate both massive conservation as well as an ongoing search for alternatives. And no amount of pulling down or tearing downⁿ is going to help that. We, here and in the world, are all going to have to abandon the cheap and easy luxury of pulling and crying everything down in pursuit of this or that special interest, and get on to the very much harder and more painstaking business of building up. There is no other way ahead - for us or for anybody else in today's world. So keep your cool and think about it, please. Goodnight.

9/30/3

- 1) Energy: New Prices Coming
- 2) Labour Front unsettled
- 3) Wages, Prices, ~~profits~~ Mark ups.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 30, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A number of very difficult and complex matters appear to be coming to a head as we come to the end of March and the first quarter of what looks like being perhaps the most trying year in the economic history of independent Jamaica. Some time tomorrow evening we should be told the new price that we are going to have to pay for petrol and for petroleum products. And this is one price increase over which we have literally no control. OPEC - the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries - has upped its price, and that is that: you take it or leave it, you like it or lump it: OPEC is not going to hold down or scale down its prices to give any sort of ease to poor developing countries of the Third World. That is a hard one to swallow because most OPEC countries are themselves of the Third World, ^{The rub is that} ~~and~~ the majority of the people in most of the OPEC countries are themselves poor, under-nourished, badly housed and generally as distressed as ^{are} the poor in the non-oil producing Third World countries. So it is rather unrealistic to expect the present rulers of the OPEC countries to be more caring and more compassionate about the poor of other lands than they are about their own poor. In this sense the external policies of the OPEC countries are a pretty accurate reflection of their domestic policies. It is a fair conclusion that we will only see changes in OPEC policy toward the rest of the Third World when we see changes in the domestic policies of OPEC member states. So for now hopes for a sort of 'special' ~~price~~ poor man's price for oil seems unlikely, and we are going to

have to bear the full brunt of the OPEC increases. And it seems to me important that the government spell out as clearly and as fully as possible all the details of the coming increases. Let there be no kite-flying or speculative testing of the wind this time: and please justify every last cent of any proposed increase and explain why it cannot be absorbed into the ^{existing} ~~xxxxxx~~ high petroleum tax. What is for sure is that oil prices are going up and will keep on going up and that supplies are shrinking and will go on shrinking. And the sooner we really adjust to this the better our chances of coping with this harsh new reality. The 10% cut in energy use that we are now being asked to make is really just a small ^{token} beginning. We are going to have to do at least two or three time better than that to really start to cope when the prices climb higher and the supplies become even shorter. Things like airconditioning and structures lit by electricity all day long will have to end. We will have to knock holes in walls, put in windows and let in God's sunlight and fresh air. But it is not only on energy that we are going to need new and frsh ^{new thinking} thinking in order to ^{cope} ~~deal~~ wit our problems. We are going to need ^{come of} (on the labour front as well. Mr. Bell this week spelled out (the bleak alternatives to public sector workers. But how can it be just or equitable to put this kind of rein on workers and their wages without doing the same for prices and ^{mark ups} ~~profits~~? Remember that list of price mark-ups on basic foods I gave you on February 21st? And the huge percentage ^{gap} ~~xxxxxx~~ between the landed price ^{of an item} and what the ^{for it} worker had to pay? Remember? 25% and 30% and 40% and 50%? If workers wages are to be regulated and scaled down then, IMF or no, there must be a corresponding and matching scaling down on ^{local} prices and mark-ups. ~~xxxxxx~~ The alternative is a deepening of the present unsettled state on the labour front. ^{you cannot demand that} only the workers carry the burden. Goodnight.

- 1) The Civil Service Sick-Out
- 2) The OPEC Increase & Conservation
- 3) Ideology & Economic Instability

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
March 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The sick-out by civil servants seems to have brought some very important sections of this nation's business to a halt. The strike by elements of Railway Corporation workers threatens to ^{the operations} shutdown/of at least one of our major bauxite companies, which could lead to large-scale lay-offs of bauxite workers. And if this were to happen at Alcan it would be only a matter of time before Alcoa is also hit. And on top of all this we face the prospect of a new round of price increases on petroleum products next week. You would have thought that in face of all these very hard and very challenging economic problems facing this nation, most, if not all of our energie would be devoted to grappling with these hard problems. Instead, it looks as though it is ^{the party political and} the ideological warfare which is receiving most time and most attention, and on which most ^{of the} energy of this nation's leadership at almost every level is being spent. As Chief Justice Kenneth Smith summed it up, ^{on Monday} and I quote: "Not a soul believes that anything can be done without politics, which is messing up the country". And so, while our public administration and our economic activity are drastically slowed down political and ideological warfare are escalated. And one of the very real dangers ^{going on} of/conducting our affairs in this way, it seems to me, is that given what is happen ing on the energy front, we could easily slip into a much deeper economic instability than we have experienced up to now. And economic instability, when it reaches a certain point, provides the ideal conditions for political take-overs by totalitarians of either the

extreme right or the extreme left. ~~So~~ And Jamaica, right now,
 is moving in the ~~dangerous~~ direction of that danger-point level
 of economic instability. So if we are really serious about democracy
 and the protection of the democratic process then we will stop
~~playing politics with the Jamaican~~
 instead
 economy and devote all our energies/to halting the economic drift.
 , if we do not halt the economic drift,
 If we do not do this/then no matter how much we strut and posture
 our ideological positions, no matter how much we scream our ~~anti~~
 anti-communism or our anti-fascism or our anti-anything-else-ism,
 we will in fact be helping to lay the groundwork for what we all
 claim to oppose. One of the hardest things about democracy, about
 parliamentary democracy of the multi-party variety, is that it
 requires at least two sides to make it work. The party/in power and
 the party or parties in opposition must both agree to make the system
 work and must both agree to abide by the ground rules of that system.
 But if one side, any one side - the side in power or the side in
 opposition - decides not to make the system work, then it cannot and
 will not work. So it takes two sides to make parliamentary democracy
 work, but it takes only one side to mash it up. By the same token,
 if the two sides want to make this parliamentary democracy of ours
 to go on working then they are/going to have at least agree to stop
 playing politics with the economy and thus halt the drift to deeper
 economic instability and ultimate economic chaos leading to
 totalitarianism. That, more than any postures or slogans or position^{al}
 cries is what the Jamaican economy and Jamaican democracy need for
 survival right now. ^{In today's difficult world} Neither the British, nor the Russians, nor the
 Americans, nor the Chinese, nor the Canadians, nor anybody else ^{is inclined to} ~~can~~
 enslave ^{us}. ^{for us} either ~~save~~ us, or solve our problems. Only we can do either: and
 we will reap what we sow. Goodnight.

26/3

- 1) The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty
- 2) OPEC Tries to Re-assert Control

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Two events which dominated the weekend news, and one of which reached its highpoint earlier today, took place far away from Jamaica. ^{these events} But may well influence our lives more profoundly than anything which happened here in Jamaica, or anywhere in the Caribbean over this past weekend. The first is the process which led up to today's signing of an Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty in Washington. The second is the current meeting of OPEC Oil Ministers in Geneva where the oil producing countries are trying to re-establish some sort of control over oil prices which have run amok. These two events are ^{very closely} ~~extremely~~ inter-related, and the ultimate outcome of either one, or of both, can and will influence the shape of things to come for all the world, and therefore, for all of us here in Jamaica. We look first at some of the key implications of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty and the single most important thing about it is that with Egypt out of any military line-up of the Arab states, the kind of war we have seen in the Middle East since 1948, now becomes almost impossible. Egypt was, and still is, the strongest and best armed of the Arab states which fought against Israel: without Egypt the other Arab states will not be able to make effective ^{conventional} /war ~~with~~ against Israel with the slightest hope of winning. This is one reason among many why the rest of the Arab world is so bitter against Sadat and this Peace Treaty. One obvious danger is that people who know that they cannot fight a conventional war and win may step up unconventional ways of warfare: they may resort to more terrorist attacks, more assassinations, more hijacking

- in short, the world could see a dramatic escalation of terrorism and counter-terrorism in place of the prospects of an Arab-Israeli war that might suck in the great powers. So it would appear that today's Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel reduces the chances of world war three starting in the Middle East; but it would also appear that we ~~would~~ see a greater localised instability and violence. And if this were to follow the pattern set by Iran then places like Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the smaller but oil-rich Gulf States may also embrace the kind of non-aligned radical Islam chosen by Iran and which it is almost impossible to put down from outside. President Carter's great gamble is that this would not happen; that instead the other Arabs would see the benefits of peace and be led to join the process started by Egypt and Israel. To that end the American government, with the apparent support of both Republicans and Democrats in the Congress, has committed itself to finance the Israeli-Egyptian Peace to the tune of roughly \$5,000-million over the next 3 years, with Israel getting the lions share but Egypt also getting a sizeable amount. So the price of this peace treaty comes very high indeed for the American taxpayer. And what help to may/undo this high-priced deal is the decision to put off until 1985 any serious decision on a Palestinian state: the Palestinians are not going to wait quietly for the next six years. And some of them are pressuring those OPEC Oil Ministers now meeting in Geneva to once again use 'the oil weapon' to punish the United States and Egypt for making this peace. First indications are that the oil Ministers are more concerned right now with bringing some sort of order to world oil prices. The hope is to stabilise prices at between \$18 and \$19 a barrel by next month, otherwise the sky's the limit. Either way spells grief - with or without the "punishing" of the Americans and Egyptians. Goodnight.

Wages & Prices: Storm Warnings from
Civil Servants, Nurses & Teachers

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If you were to go into a supermarket this evening to ~~and~~ buy just four essential items of food for part of this weekend you might, if you were a civil servant in the middle clerical grades, or if you were a teacher, or if you were a trainee nursing, decide to buy one three-pound chicken, one large loaf of bread, a two-pound pack of rice and two cartons of milk, all items whose ^{steadily rising} prices are controlled. The chicken would cost you \$3.96, the bread would cost \$1.12, the rice would cost \$1, the milk would cost \$1.50: and without any vegetables or anything else, you would spend on just these four items \$7.58. And this is 58c more than the \$7 a week the government has offered our civil servants as a wage increase; and it is 8c more than the \$7.50 a week which was offered to the teachers and which ^{now receive.} ~~the trainee nurses.~~ And one chicken, one loaf of bread, two pounds of rice and two cartons of milk might just about serve one couple for tomorrow and Sunday, provided they did not waste anything and provided they did not have anybody else to feed. If they had two or ^{growing} three/children that food would not last more than one day without doing grievous harm to the basic nutritional needs of growing youngsters. This is the hard bread-and-butter reality behind the latest wage offer made by the government and which has now been rejected by the Civil Service Association, the Teachers' Association and the National Union of Democratic Teachers. At today's prices and in face of the continuing inflation, ^a \$7 ^{or} ~~and~~ \$7.50 a week ^{offer} ~~is~~ really no more than tokenism; and one can understand the anger with which these

groups rejected these offers. Things are hard for all but a handful of the really rich among us. But they are hardest on the people at the lower levels of earnings. And if you bear in mind that/less than 10% of the entire employed labour force earns over \$100 a week or/\$5,200 a year you will realise how widespread those lower levels of earning really are. And these are the ones who feel the high prices and the roaring inflation most, the ones who have been hurt most by the almost 50% drop in the standard of living. But behind these, and suffering even more grievously are those at the lowest levels of earning and the unemployed: and they have no associations and unions to speak up for their interests. So where do we go from here? The government says it has no money to pay the civil servants and the teachers more/without imposing more taxes. But it is also allowing the high prices to bear down heavily on these people and, by definition, heaviest of all on those who have less or nothing at all. If civil servants and teachers find it hard to live on their earnings, what must it be like for the casual labourer and the Impact worker and the unemployed? There are no easy answers to these hard questions but answers have to be found, and governments are elected to find and to implement the answers. And if, in the face of the kind of inflation we are now experiencing, the government says it must put a rein on wages then/it must also put a matching rein on prices; and, indeed, wherever possible it must roll back prices. And one way it can put a little more money into the hands of its own workers is by easing up on taxes. One of the catches here is that any taxes it cuts, or cuts down on, may in fact mean a cutting back on the bureaucracy and that could mean lay-offs and cutbacks in the civil service itself. This is the kind of dilemma we face now and will go on facing until we strike a new kind of balance between what we produce and earn and what we want in a harsh new world.

Goodnight

Day of Prayer & Repentance:
"Justice, Truth & Love".

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Wednesday
March 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Jamaica Council of Churches and the Seventh Day Adventists have called on the nation to observe today as a Day of Prayer and Repentance. And for reflection on this day the churches have suggested a Bible reading from the Second Book of Chronicles in the Old Testament, as well as the following prayer: "O God the Father of all mankind - We pray that you will inspire the people of this land with the spirit of honesty and integrity that in all our dealings one with another we may show forth justice, truth and love. Bless Jamaica. Guide our leaders. Guard our people. And give us hope - For Christ's sake. Amen". That's the prayer for the day: a prayer for justice, truth and love and for Jamaica to be blessed and to be given hope. And you know, if we were all to take this prayer to heart and to try to live it out, what a change there would be in Jamaica. Just think about it for a while. Think about the screaming and shouting and the personal abuse which pass for political discussion and controversy these days. Then think how it would be cursing and the if the/name-calling and the tracing - even to a person's height and size and weight and personal mannerisms- were to be toned down; and the issues, rather than the personalities, were to be discussed quietly and soberly and with reason and balance. Think how it would be if all our politicians, and all our journalists, and all our churchmen, and all our business people, really tried to quiet things down by being quiet themselves. For, do not be misled: it is possible to feel ^{& disagree} strongly and to express strong views and strong

feelings without screaming and shouting and cursing and slandering those with whom you disagree. All it needs is the kind of self-respect which respects the other person's right to disagree. There can be no real respect or self-respect, no real love of truth and justice/ⁱⁿ ~~by~~ people who tell lies against other people simply because or wish to win a political point, they disagree with them/^{or wish to win a political point,} who twist the truth and assassinate character as means of expressing disagreement and opposition: and people who really believe in honesty and integrity will not abuse or suppress either the truth or those who express views that they are opposed to. It is one of our criticisms of communism that it tries to manage/^{and control} and manipulate popular opinion: if we looked in the mirror honestly we would be surprised at how/^{open} ~~much~~ to the same criticism we are today. Honesty and integrity are not just qualities we must demand of others: we, too, must have and must show honesty and integrity in/^{all} our dealings. That is what the parable of the Mote and the Beam is all about, lest we forget. So if the screaming and the shouting and the cursing/^{and abusing} and the lying and the manipulating ~~xxx~~ from what is really a very vocal and articulate minority of us were to quieten down, the people of this land can and will be inspired to grapple with today's problems and hardships, as they have done with past problems and hardships throughout their history, and as future generations of Jamaicans ~~they~~/will have to do in the future because there is no end to the problems of being human on this earth. And to grapple successfully with its problems each/^{passing} generation, everywhere on God's earth, needs love and hope. And love and hope are not built by sneering and jeering or by tearing down everything. And there is much that is of great value in this land; I think more than in most others. So, bless Jamaica; guide our leaders; guard our people; give us hope.

Goodnight.

- 1) Grenada: A Matter of Recognition
- 2) The Energy Crisis: Some U.S. Moves
- 3) Cater's Middle East Peace Plan

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Last week Tuesday's events in Grenada continued to dominate news and discussion/ throughout the region over this past weekend. And at the heart of the discussion was the matter of recognising or not recognising the government established by Mr. Maurice Bishop and his broad-based People's Alliance. Understandably, it is the leaders of the /islands of the East Caribbean/ who are most ambivalent about recognising the new regime in Grenada. As far as these leaders are concerned to give recognition, and quick recognition at that, to the Bishop regime, would be like endorsing violent revolution as a way of changing their own governments. And so the natural impulse is to stall and do nothing while saying 'hands off'. If some of these East Caribbean leaders/ could have their way they would want to put Grenada into a kind of quarantine - a kind of isolated political limbo - until new elections are held and a ~~new~~ duly elected government is installed with which they could safely do business. That, unfortunately for them, is not possible so, tomorrow, they are going to have to make the hard decision of how to live with and deal with the Bishop regime in Grenada. Just how the islands like St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Antigua will handle this hard problem may well determine how things develop in that part of the world for the next ten to twenty years. I think it is a ^{reasonable} ~~reasonable~~ assumption that Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica will recognise the Bishop government after tomorrow's meeting in Antigua. My information is that these governments have delayed recognition primarily because they are all

partners in CARICOM and they all wanted those CARICOM members in the Associated States to sort out their own problems and concerns without the pressures of prior/^{public} announcements. And in any case, prudent and responsible governments do not normally rush to accord recognition without first weighing all the complex implications, given the uniqueness of what happened in Grenada. On the other hand, to delay recognition unduly, once it has been decided on, would in fact ~~help~~ contribute to an atmosphere of instability. And a week seems a reasonable time-span in which to weigh up things and arrive at sober judgements. And since it is clear in Grenada by now that the Bishop regime is in control/we can, I think, expect recognition for it by Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica tomorrow night. Trinidad's behaviour up to now suggests that even if she does not formally announce recognition, she will be willing to work with the new government in CARICOM. Next, energy and America's deepening preoccupation with the politics of oil was the main topic on the international scene. Exxon (formerly Esso), America and the world's biggest oil company, says it will stop its sales to 'third party' customers worldwide: hitherto it has been selling about 10% of its oil supplies in this way. Now the Americans want all that oil for themselves. This, I suggest, is the kind of pointer to the future which should make us in Jamaica plan hard and fast for alternative ways of powering our electrical generators/^{at Hunts Bay and elsewhere} if we do not want the JPS lights to suddenly go out four or five years from now. Let us hope ^{an oil organ} ~~for~~ a break off the Pedro Banks, by all means; but let us also plan ^{small} in case it does not happen. The sugar industry provides one/model for alternative ways to power our electrical generators: let us study and improve on it. And finally, everybody has been very guarded about President Carter's apparent breakthrough in the Middle East: They still remember Camp David. Goodnight.



Grenada:

- 1) U.K-U.S-Canadian Hands-off
- 2) The Question of Recognition
- 3) Implications for the 'Westminster Model'

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
March 16, 1979, 6.10p.m.

Good evening: Tuesday's political coup in Grenada continues to dominate the news in the English-speaking Caribbean: and two of the most significant developments this far are, firstly the quiet but very apparent decision by the governments of the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States not to respond to Eric Gairy's appeal to them to provide him with arms and manpower to stage a counter-coup. Of course these great powers will have taken note, and may even have consulted with some of the governments in the region, ~~but~~ for their reaction, but all the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ evidence suggests that nobody had to press or pressure them into adopting a hands-off policy. So a fair conclusion is that Britain, Canada and the United States are satisfied that what happened in Grenada on Tuesday was a purely internal matter and they would not therefore interfere. And in the world of diplomacy and of the manipulation of power this British-Canadian-American posture will be seen as an object lesson and a warning to others to do likewise and desist from interfering. So the chances of Sir Eric Gairy getting any sort of military help from any other country to stage a counter-coup is out. And even if some rightwing dictatorship such as that in Chile wanted to give secret help to Gairy, the fear of being found out, of being exposed and denounced by these three Western powers, would inhibit. Which leaves Gairy with only the possibility of raising a force of mercenaries. But mercenaries come at very high prices and it is doubtful

that Eric Gairy could find the kind of money to finance even a small mercenary invading force, or that the three Western powers involved and the countries of the region, would allow it. So, unless the people of Grenada want him back, Eric Gairy would seem to have no way back. The second significant development is the fact that the Ministers from the region who met in Barbados to review the events in Grenada called for non-interference and for a return to constitutionality as soon as possible but seemed to have arrived at no common position on recognising the new administration in Grenada. This matter of recognition is clearly a tricky and dangerous one, especially for the leaders of the smaller islands. To appear to sanction what happened in Grenada on Tuesday may, as they see it, be to dig a hole for themselves tomorrow. But the hard fact is that what happened in Grenada on Tuesday did happen; and there is no way that we can make it un-happen or shut our eyes to it. Like it or not, approve of it or not, this week's events in Grenada have finally exploded the notion that the 'Westminister model' all by itself, is enough ^{always} to ensure that we will/be free of political coups and that we will always change our governments in one way only. I happen to be one of those who believes that the 'Westminister model' provides the best and most orderly and most democratic way in which a people can choose, and change their government: it provides for stability and it provides for continuity. But it also demands a very high degree of political sophistication and flexibility and sense of community from those who would operate it successfully: and above all, it demands a sufficiently deep regard and respect for the electorate to bow to their wishes, rather than to subvert or distort or manipulate those wishes. And the 'Westminister model' is doomed to fail unless all the parties make it work. Gairy wanted to use and manipulate it, so it failed in Grenada. Will we learn the lesson? Goodnight

The Coup in Grenada:
The Problem with Coups

14/3
NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
March 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Yesterday's forcible overthrow of the Gairy government in Grenada - for that is a what a coup is - has provoked a series of predictable reactions. It is a leftwing coup so the ^{political} people on the/left and those who support them have welcomed it; and the people on the political Right and those who support them have either condemned or deplored it. This has been the broad general reaction in Jamaica, in the Caribbean and in the world generally. If it had been a rightwing coup the positions would, of course, have been reversed. The political Right would have supported a rightwing coup and the political left would have opposed it. That is one facet of the matter. Another facet is the question of what effect this leftwing coup in Grenada is likely to have on/^{the politics of} that arc of English-speaking islands known as the Windwards and Leewards. Will other unpopular regimes in these small islands ~~xxx~~ be subject to change by coup, now that the first one has taken place? I suspect that this question must have been/^{and must be} uppermost in the minds of some of the Ministers who met in Barbados/^{earlier} today to review yesterday's events in Grenada. There are those who will say that no other island in the Eastern Caribbean is quite like Grenada was under Eric Gairy, ^{what} with its goon squads,^{its} physical intimidation, ~~xxxits~~ dictatorial politics and its open association with and support from extreme rightwing regimes such as that of Pinochet in Chile. True enough, ^{he} Gairy was a particularly unpleasant political type, but/~~it~~ was not the first or even the only and he is not likely to be the last. What

one wonders, would have happened if the people of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla had yesterday's precedent before them during their troubles with the late Mr. Robert Bradshaw. The brute fact is that there are enough explosive problems, and these are likely to increase ^{there are} and/enough discontent^s to lead to any number of coups, once that particular door is open^{ed}. It is for this reason that how Mr. Maurice Bishop and his supporters handle the situation from here on becomes so very important. Mr. Bishop has a good record as a real champion of human rights: on the record so far he has not tried to manipulate the human rights issue for party political gain. Now he will have, as quickly as possible, to put that record on the line by demonstrating/that he has the genuine support of the overwhelming majority of Grenada's people. This, I think, is ultimately the only way to gain any sort of legitimacy for a government that did not achieve power by way of the ballot box. In terms of the specific case of Grenada, one question puzzles. And the answer to that puzzling question may also provide a possible reason for the staging of yesterday's coup. All the evidence out of Grenada in recent years has shown the steady erosion of Eric Gairy's power. In 1972, for instance, he had won 14 out of the 15 parliamentary seats; in the years between his power over the electorate had dwindled to the point where in the last elections in 1976, he could only hold on to power by winning 8 seats to the Opposition's 7; and this amid charges of massive electoral fraud. So why then have a coup when it seemed pretty clear that Gairy would be swept from power at the next elections? Those of us who listened to Maurice Bishop when he was here and who have read what he said elsewhere, will recall his often-expressed fears that there may not be any next elections if Eric Gairy had his way. And recently Eric Gairy has been hunting for arms to put down a communist plot. So the question is: Was this a leftwing coup to forestall a rightwing coup?

Goodnight.

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- 1) Carter in the Middle East
 - 2) The Commonwealth in a Changing World
 - 3) White Adventurism in Southern Africa

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
March 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Apart from the current waterfront strike things were comparatively quiet on the industrial scene over this past weekend: the Nova Scotia workers are back at work, and the parties are talking ^{the} in/other sensitive labour areas. But it is all very delicate and needs careful watching. And it seems to me that Jamaica is very fortunate right now in the man who is our very dedicated and very hard-working Minister of Labour who does not even seem to have a free weekend to himself these days. And party political activity was also muted over this weekend, with emphasis being on yesterday's International Women's Day rally and the promise that the Maternity Leave Law will be on the Jamaican Statute books by July of this year. Then, too, there was the usual spate of accidents and crime; but all on a lesser scale than in other times. The high prices, the unemployment, the low productivity and the shortages - especially for the poor - were with us as always; but in the main the land was quiet, in the main the people were peaceful, in the main we were physically comfortable and free. On the international scene the weekend was vastly more unsettled with Mr President Carter's trip to the Middle East being the single most important news development. Present indications are that the Carter visit has not achieved the dramatic breakthrough the American President had gambled on. By personally going first to Egypt and then to Israel to try and resolve the remaining differences which stood between an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Mr. Carter

was in fact gambling with his own political future. And if that gamble were to fail the implications could be very serious for very many other countries beside the United States. Consider a few of these implications. First, if this Carter initiative were to fail and the peace process were to collapse completely in the Middle East the Islamic radicalism which is now sweeping the area is bound to be stepped up and countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf states will be unable to resist it: and Islamic radicalism, as events in Iran have shown, is as anti-Western as it is anti-communist. And the oil of the Middle East, under Islamic radicalism, will come very high indeed, and without any ideological commitment to either side. And in such a context the Russians, who are less dependent on Middle East oil than is the West, will emerge the more self-sufficient in energy needs and therefore the stronger of the two power blocs. And Islamic radicalism will want to go to war against Israel. And these are the ingredients for the kind of conflict that could have worldwide repercussions. Second, the failure of this Carter initiative is bound to further seriously damage the President's chances for re-election, and all we have to do is to look back to U.S. policy towards Jamaica and the Caribbean as a whole during the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger period to realise just how very different things could be for us, and indeed for the entire Third World, if Mr. Carter were defeated by some conservative Republican like, say, Mr. Ronald Reagan, in the next Presidential elections. One of the criticisms of Mr. Carter in the United States is that he has not been tough enough in foreign policy. And those who say this are the people who support the white racist adventurism of Ian Smith in Rhodesia and Vorster & Co. in South Africa and Namibia, which wants to internationalise the conflict there. So, like it or not, the success or failure, the victory or defeat of Jimmy Carter has important implications for all of us.

- 1) A New Petrol Price Increase? How Much?
2) Limits to reducing Living Standards
3) Waste & Hard Times

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

March 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The price of petrol for the Jamaican motorist went up by 20c a gallon almost exactly three months ago. That increase was based on the fact that the OPEC countries were going to increase their selling price ^{for} crude oil by 14½% - spaced out as small quarterly increases over 1979. By that formula the 14½% total increase was expected to come into force by the last quarter of this year. But instead of the price of our petrol to the motorist being stepped up in these quarterly instalments, we had it in one lick. ^{as motorists,} So we have been paying something over the 14½% increase since January of this year. And this means that the Jamaican motorist has in fact been paying a little more than was dictated by the straight arithmetic of the OPEC increase of 14½%. But events of the last couple of weeks seem to be overtaking that step-by-step OPEC formula and we hear and read of prices going up by more than the OPEC formula. And everybody blames it on the events in Iran. In some cases producer countries have slapped on from between 2% to 7% more than the OPEC-agreed formula on first or second quarter prices. ~~Iran, however, is not now and was not an OPEC member.~~ ^{OPEC} Iran under the Shah, was the wild joker in the pack, the odd man out, playing an individualist game geared to very special interests: but whatever that game, the crisis of supplies set in motion by events in Iran is very real. And shortages and high prices go hand in hand wherever they take place. And so now there is the beginning of talk here in Jamaica that the price of our gallon petrol is going to go

up again by next month. Now, the thing it seems to me that we, as in particular, and consumers in general motorists, want to watch very carefully is that we are not made to pay more than the actual increase above the OPEC 14½% which we are already paying. For instance, if the current increases were to push up the price of our oil by ten or twelve or even fourteen percent within the next three or four months, as long as the increase is below the OPEC 14½% we ~~will~~, as consumers, will already be paying that increased price, so any additional increases to us would have to be explained and justified in very great careful detail. Today's Jamaican consumer is in no mood to just be told 'world prices are going up so the price to you must therefore be increased by this or that figure'. We want to know that the increase is not a hidden new tax, or the kind of add-on which says that if any price goes up by, say, one cent, it is fair game to add-on two or three more as a kind of cream off. Obviously, any price increase over and above OPEC's 14½% will have to be passed on. But let us make sure that it is that, and that alone, ^{that} ~~which~~ is passed on. So be on watch and insist that all the figures are explained and justified. And I sincerely hope that our politicians of all parties understand that when hard times hit, people, all people, become bitterly and harshly intolerant of ways and behaviour that they see as contributing to their troubles. And a near fifty percent cut in living standards ^{to no apparent purpose} ~~is~~ ^{and growing} trouble enough to generate a vast impatience and intolerance of public sector wastefulness and private sector high prices; and of the kind of partisan politics which puts the interest of ^{each political} party as synonymous with the national interest. And so, in many corners of the land the political process is dismissed as a contest between black dog and monkey. And this, whatever else it is, is not a mood in which a people overcome their problems. So what are we to do? Goodnight.

9/7/79

The Energy Crisis: A Global Perspective

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

March 7, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The world's major oil companies - all of them either North American or Western European - have started cutting back on the amount of oil they supply to their customers. And this cutback in supplies is hitting everybody, the big rich nations as well as the poor Third World countries. And one of the inevitable by-product of this cutback is the outbreak of panic buying which always comes with shortage or the threat of shortage. And so a barrel of crude oil which should be selling at just a little over \$13-US, is today fetching anything from \$20 to \$25-US on the so-called open market. So all the indications are that we can expect two things to happen in the months and weeks ahead - and I am not just thinking of Jamaica: these two things are likely to happen all over the world and in all countries which do not produce their own oil. The first is that there will be less and less oil, and therefore, less and less oil-based energy, available to the people of these countries. And the second is that the mad scramble for what oil is available is going to send prices shooting through the ceiling. Already the OPEC pricing formula ^{seems} ~~is~~ ^{dollar} in a shambles, with rich countries like Japan, and gold rich countries like South Africa paying huge prices to corner the available oil on the so-called open market. And as access to oil from the Middle East becomes restricted to them as the oil-producers either cut them out or by-pass them, the Western oil companies are bound to go after the best profit margins possible from their dwindling oil resources. And they are of course

going to try and make this profit bonanza last for as long as possible. So they will themselves buy up whatever oil they can, stockpile it, and release it in carefully controlled quantities to their most favoured customers. And in any such arrangement it is the poor and the weak of the earth, the non-oil-producing Third World, who are going to feel the double pinch of shortage and high prices most. And when the point is reached when there just is not enough oil to go around, the ^{non-oil-producing} Third World will be the first to have its supplies cut off by the Western oil companies. Will the Third World oil producers then come to the aid of their Third World brothers? The evidence of OPEC's performance this far does not encourage any such hope. So where do we go from here? Without a sense of history, without an awareness of the connecting link of past present and future, it is easy to give in ^{to} to despair and to panic reaction. So let us remember that as recently as fifty years ago our world was not dependent on petroleum oil, and still it survived and flourish^{ed}. People the world over travelled vast ^{land} distances by trains using coal and other fossil fuels; they crossed oceans by ship; to be sure, it was much slower than our present jet-age pace; but people did get around. And factories and foundries and furnaces were supplied with energy by coal and other fossil fuels. Indeed, the great industrial revolution was not fuelled by oil -and it needed massive energy. And some of us who are alive today can still remember a time before air-conditioning and electric lights; but there was light. Homes and offices were build to be ^{lighted up and} cooled by sunshine and fr^{esh} air. So the drying up, and indeed, the end of the flow of petroleum oil, does not and need not mean a return to some sort of new dark ages, as some people fear. ^{The energy of the sun,} Science and technology ^{ry} put to the service of man can, and will see to that. Our sugar indust^y for instance, is energy self-sufficient without oil. The hardest thing will be to make the transition from oil. ~~and that is always~~ Goodnight

- 1) BITU Rejects Guideline Proposals
- 2) China Withdraws from Vietnam
- 3) Energy: The Crisis Deepens

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
March 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The highpoint of the weekend news here at home was yesterday's very important all-island BITU delegate meeting which rejected the government's proposed amendments to the wage guidelines. This decision, coming hard on the meeting last week between the Prime Minister and the leaders of our twelve major trade unions, is bound to create some very tricky problems for the government in its dealings with the IMF later this month, as well as for those unions which traditionally support/ or co-operate with the PNP. The hard fact is that the government could only work these wage guidelines for as long as the unions were prepared to tolerate them: for make no mistake about it, none of the unions - neither the pro-PNP, the pro-JLP nor the pro-anything-else - ever really approved of these guidelines. The most they were prepared to do in the face of an acute economic crisis was to stand back, reserve their positions, declare their reservation and see how the guidelines worked. Now, after yesterday's BITU meeting, one of our major unions would seem to have given clear notice that this position can no longer hold. And I thought myself that Mr. Shearer made very clear the rigidity and inflexibility with which the interests of the unionised workers were made subordinate to all other interests by the terms of the ^{se} guidelines. And if it is true that it is the IMF which insists on these very stern and rigid guidelines, and if it is true that one of the IMF conditions for abandoning the 'crawling peg' mini-devaluations is to continue with these rigid wage guidelines only slightly modified, then, in

light of yesterday's BITU decision the government is going to find itself caught between the devil and the deep. For to either abandon or else really drastically change the guidelines could result in the IMF walking away; and to stick by these slightly modified guidelines would lead to an almost inevitable escalation of industrial strife from which the other unions will not be able to stand aloof, without massive desertions from their rank-and-file. So, one way or another, the government is going to have to do a great deal more about the wage guidelines than it has so far indicated. And you' guess is as good as anybody else's about what this is likely to do to our dealings with the IMF and to an economy in crisis. What is for certain is that there are no easy answers, and the days ahead look like being rough, especially for those at the lower levels of the economic ladder - the unemployed, those who subsist on the minimum wage and for the young people joining the labour force. And turning to an equally bleak international scene, reports out of South East Asia are that the Chinese are getting ready to pull out of Vietnam, having administered their so-called 'lesson' by taking ^{nearly} three weeks and thousands of many/Chinese dead to advance 25 miles into Vietnam. In Africa Idi Amin still holds on, and Ian Smith is doing everything he can to internationalise his local war in hopes of bringing in the British and Americans. In the Middle East the chances of peace between Israel and Egypt have receded; even the conservative Arab states have denounced the talk of a U.S. military presence to protect American oil interests. The multinational Western consortium which controlled ^{all} the sale of/Iranian oil has been expelled and the Iranians have themselves sold their first shipment of oil under the new regime to Japan at some 50% above the current OPEC prices. And Americans seem to be just beginning to realise the energy crisis is real and are talking of rationing. The times are hard and unsettled. Goodnight.



- 1) IMF: What Price the Seal of Approval
- 2) Unemployment and Overtime
- 3) Basic Food Prices: Too Long a Chain
- ~~4) Editorial: Trade Unions and the Economy~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

March 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The price of bread is up, which is bad news for the Jamaican consumer; and the price of Kaiser Corporation's primary aluminium on the world market is also up, which is good news for Jamaica's foreign exchange earning prospects. Also welcome was the news that Alumina Partners of Jamaica, Alpart, is considering relocating and expanding its mining operations at a cost of some \$100 million. Alpart's old mines are being exhausted and will run out in another five to six years, so the company either has to find other mines or else pull out of Jamaica. The company has decided to stay here and to find other mines, and this is welcome. Another welcome matter is the apparent meeting of minds which has taken place in those discussions between the Prime Minister and the leaders of our twelve major trade unions. Without this sort of understanding, and in face of the very heavy strains and pressures the working people have to endure at this time, Jamaica might well ^{be} ~~xxxxxxx~~ hit by industrial chaos. Indeed, unless great care is exercised in our industrial relations in the months ahead, we may yet end up in the kind of crippling labour situation which hit Britain last month. And the Jamaican economy is immeasurably less able to withstand that ^{kind} ~~can~~ of shock than is the British economy. So it is good to note that there was apparently no hint of confrontation in the meetings between the Prime Minister and the union leaders. To say this is not to suggest that there was agreement on everything. I know, for

instance, that the unions would have preferred to see the 15% ceiling on the wage guidelines scrapped altogether; but to this the government could not agree, given the IMF agreement. But the discussions did result in some significant concessions to the workers, one of the most important being that wage negotiations for workers in the public sector will be changed from the present three-year cycle to a two-year cycle, while still maintaining the present incremental increases. And the IMF and its effects ~~in~~ and the crawling peg were discussed and are to be discussed further at a later meeting. While it is understandable that the primary concern of the unions must be with ^{the interests of} their members, the labour movement cannot, particularly at this time, ignore the hard problems faced by those who have lost their jobs, and the 20,000 odd young people who come onto the labour market each year, most of them to join the ranks of the unemployed. So I sincerely hope that at one of these meetings the unions and the Prime Minister will knock heads on this matter. I repeat, for instance, the suggestion that there be a halt to overtime so as to create new job openings for those who now have none. There are many other things that can be done to ease matter, once there is the will. It is not much use condemning the rich world for how it treats the poor world, when we do precisely the same thing among ourselves. They say charity, to be real and meaningful, should begin at home. And ~~the~~ the IMF seal of approval notwithstanding, we did not get in all the foreign exchange we had hope for. In that sense the IMF route and the shock therapy that came with it, has not succeeded. Any more shock therapy might well kill the patient and I think the IMF should be warned of this. And finally, what about those fantastic mark-ups on the landed price of basic foods to which I referred last ^{week} Wednesday? Will Mr. Danny Williams do anything about this? Goodnight.

[Handwritten signature]
28/2

Ash Wednesday, 1979:
The Anatomy of Sacrifice

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday

February 28, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If this morning's Roadbeat programme is anything to go by, and I think it is, then most Jamaicans are not going to give up anything for Lent this year. One key reason put forward was: I don't understand this Lent business so I am not going to give up anything. And if you set this in the context of a Lenten season starting with our postal services shut down, and strikes at the flour mill, the Telephone company, one of our two newspapers, one of our bottling companies and our main tannery; and with the threat of similar strikes action hanging over our civil service, you will get a pretty fair idea of the mood that exists in the land. Things are rough and each one of us, each group, each organisation is out for self-protection and for furthering the self-interest. We are none of us in any mood to give up anything or to make any sacrifices. Things are bad enough already without our being called on to make further sacrifices or to give up anything. ~~Instead, we, This is the~~ or most of us, try to grab as much as we ~~can while putting in as~~ little as we can get away with. We want, and fight until we get, the highest pay for the lowest output: we want all the fringe benefits possible and more and we do not give a damn how the money is found as long as we don't have to pay any more taxes. We want prices rolled back; wages and salaries increased; taxes reduced and more food ^{& some luxuries} imported. We are not really very worried about the ^{try to} hundreds of thousands who have to live on the current national minimum wage; and if we ^{do} think about the over one quarter of a million

of our fellow citizens who are unemployed, the way we behave does not show it. And this mood, for today's Jamaica and for the needs of today's Jamaica, is just about as counter-productive as anything can be. Now, ^{depending} on your ~~economic~~ economic position and your political point of view and your social outlook you will blame this or that force, or group or person in the society for this mood. But it seems to me that one of the really important issues that we need to think through if we are to cope with this mood has to do with purpose and objective^{which goes beyond ideological labels of the Right or the Left.} It does not matter where they are, who they are, what their origins and background, people just do not make sacrifices to no purpose. If they have to make sacrifices they want those sacrifices to be to some point, to some purpose. If there is no point then why sacrifice? Why hold strain? Why endure? If there is no point, if it is all a free-for-all with the devil taking the hindmost then each man must be out for himself and grab as much as he can get away with. And this, it seems to me, is one of ^{of} four hard problems/~~at~~ the moment. Our national leadership, at almost every level, offer no worthwhile and ennobling reason/^{and example} why people should endure their present hardships and respond to the calls to sacrifice. Sacrifice for what? To what end? To achieve what? I remember a day in June 1946 in England. It was D-Day the day the British and their allies invaded Hitler's Europe. Many hundreds of thousands of young Englishmen went to their death that day and one reason why they went willingly was because big, bluff workingclass Ernest Bevin, trade union leader turned government minister promised ^{for their children} them an end/^{to} the slums they had known, and the massive unemployment and the dole and the social neglect of generations: promised them the welfare state and that, in part at least, was the reason for their sacrifice. To survive and prosper in today's hard world Jamaica will have to sacrifice. But to what purpose? To what end? Goodnight.

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- 1) An Unsettled World:
 - a) China-Vietnam
 - b) Uganda-Tanzania
 - c) North-v-South Yeman
 - 2) Energy Crunch starts hurting

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

February 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening; It has been a violently unsettled weekend in many parts of the world. The bitter warfare continues in Vietnam with the Chinese throwing in more and more of their manpower and trying to swamp the Vietnamese by the sheer weight of their numbers. Already accounts of the numbers killed take on a nightmarish quality. At a rate of killing of between 16,000 and 20,000 a week, how many human lives will have been wiped out in one or two or three months? And the irony of it all is that these are two communist countries, two Asian countries, whose people have more in common than not, and two countries who not so long ago were allies in the fight against the Americans in Indo-China. But Vietnam is ^{only} one place where there was bloodletting this weekend. There was bloodletting in Africa too between the people of Uganda and Tanzania. And here the indications are that the enemies of Idi Amin are beginning to shake free of the paralysis into which he had scared them. Perhaps, now, people in Africa and elsewhere can begin to think of what is to happen to that unhappy country after Idi Amin. But first Amin will have to be removed and it is not unlikely that some group inside his own army may do that job and seize power. If that happened it could be the replacement of one brutal military tyranny by another. And further south on the African continent Ian Smith's Rhodesian Air Force has been bombing what they claim are bases of freedom fighters inside Zambia and

Mozambique, but which Joshua Nkomo's people say are refugee camps. You take your pick and you decide which account you want to believe. And still the freedom fighters press closer and closer to the heart of white Rhodesia. The question now is: which comes first the token hand over of power by Ian Smith or the collapse of white rule under the pressure of the freedom fighters. And in the Middle East, the key point of the so-called crescent of crisis, there are indications of increased instability and perhaps a new flare-up of fighting between North and South Yemen. So the bloodletting and the instability are widespread and can, at almost any point, trigger some sort of great power confrontation. And over this weekend two key Cabinet Defence Secretary Brown & Energy Secretary Shlessig officers of President Carter's Administration have flown a kite about the possibility of an American military presence in the Middle East. Mr. Brown had just come back from a tour of the area and a fair assumption is that the Saudis must have told him that if the Americans want a continuing steady flow of oil from them then it must help positively against ~~the likelihood~~ of what happened in Iran, or else. But of course, somebody is going to have to invite the Americans to send in military forces and that is going to be tricky. And while we are preoccupied with such basic issues as a rollback in food prices and wages and unemployment, the Israelis heard at midnight last night that the price of their gallon of petrol had gone up to something like \$4 a gallon. And in the United States Trans-World Airlines cancelled seven of their scheduled flights because of a shortage of jet fuel and said that five more flights might be cancelled today. So the energy crunch is really beginning to hurt. And still people seem to think it is just a matter of money: and so they do not begin to prepare for the dread day when not even money will buy energy. When will we all learn that the days of abundant and cheap energy and food really are over? The sooner we do, ~~the better for us.~~ Goodnight

the sooner we will change our wasteful & costly ways.

The China-Vietnam War

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

February 23, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: While we have been preoccupied with our very serious economic problems, and our rather negative and destructive partisan politics, much that is of major importance to all mankind has been taking place elsewhere in the world. And perhaps the single most important as well as the single most dangerous new development is the bitter war that is now raging between China and Vietnam. In the early hours of last Saturday morning soldiers of the People's Republic of China launched a massive invasion of Vietnam across the common border between the two countries. Since then the fighting has been fierce, bitter and bloody, with reports of very heavy losses on both sides. Even if we make allowances for over-statement, all the indications are that much more than 10,000 soldiers from both sides must have been killed in the first three or four days of heavy fighting. The Chinese are now reported to have captured one Provincial capital in the north of Vietnam and to have advanced up to 17 miles~~es~~ across the border at one point. The Chinese are said to have thrown 100,000 soldiers into the first attack and to be bringing up another 100,000 reinforcements. 60,000 Vietnamese soldiers are meeting this assault and another 30,000 reinforcements are being moved in. Elements of the Far Eastern Soviet Fleet are cruising off the coast of Vietnam in the South China Sea and Soviet military supplies are being delivered by sea to the port of Haiphong as well as by air. The Chinese are said to be bombing the supply routes and the supply dumps to try and destroy the Soviet-supplied arms before they can reach the battlefield. That is the broad military picture

and at least one of its most dangerous implications is obvious. If the Chinese, in the course of trying to stop the Soviet arms getting to the battlefield, were to shoot down a Russian plane or sink a Soviet ship, the war could immediately be widened and escalated. And if the Soviets were to then go to war against China, what would the United States and her NATO allies do? This is one reason why the U.N. Security Council, which has been urgently called to meet today, is so anxious to defuse the situation. Any accident, any miscalculation, any piece of over-reaction from any quarter, could widen and escalate the fighting and bring World War Three that much nearer. And neither the Americans nor the Russians want World War Three. And perhaps it is her clear perception of this central fact which has emboldened China to launch her attack against Vietnam. If she is satisfied that the two nuclear giants are unwilling to ^{nuclear} risk/war over some local incident in Vietnam then she is free to 'punish' Vietnam for helping overthrow the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. And that is what this attack is really all about. By punishing Vietnam China makes it clear to all Asia, and indeed the world, that she is the dominant power in South East Asia: not the Russians, not the Americans. And if she can do her 'punishing' quickly and then pull back, the point will have been made. But what if the Vietnamese pin down her forces so that China cannot disengage on her own terms? Don't forget the Vietnamese have a battle-hardened army of some 600,000 who helped to break the back of the American forces in South East Asia, while the Chinese have not had any real battle experience since the Korean war of the early 1950s. And then, too, there is the massive 5,000-mile-long border between Russia and China; and if there were any need to ease the pressure on Vietnam, Soviet forces could cross the border anywhere along that front. So it may just be that Vietnam will teach China a lesson, especially if Mr Teng is right about America's indecision and lack of political will. Goodnight.

The New Price Increases:

- a) Imported Inflation
- b) Local Inflation

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 21, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Minister of Industry and Commerce, Mr. Danny Williams, over the past weekend began to answer some of the many questions which have been asked since he announced those massive new food price increases some ten days ago. And while the Minister's first statement did shed some light, the very statistical figures he offered us raised more questions and demanded more detail and more answers. Take, for example, the matter of the price of rice. In 1977, according to the Minister's own figures, we paid 29c for a pound of rice, which then carried no subsidy. Under the latest increases rice has gone up to 50c a pound, and but for a small subsidy it would have gone up to 52c a pound. But if you go a little closer into the figures you will see that the landed price at which we import a 100 lb bag of rice is \$33.93c, which would work out at 33.9c a pound ^{after} the rice is grown and shipped to Jamaica, and after the cost of the foreign inflation and the devaluation are added on, the rice arrives in Jamaica at \$33.93c a 100 lb bag or 33.9c a pound. And the gap between this figure and the 50c a pound we have to pay is 17.7c a pound or \$17.70c on 100 lbs of rice. It is this 17.7c a pound which Mr. Williams' statement describes as the 'cost of warehousing and distribution' and which includes a profit of 1.45c on every pound of rice. And so we end up with ^{a bag} ~~xxxxxx~~ of rice for which the people who grow it, reap and process it, and bag it get \$33.93; and between the Jamaican wharf and the Jamaican consumer it goes up to \$51.63. And this adds up to

a local increase that is more than 30%. And this 30%^{increase}-plus /is our own internal inflation, not anything we can blame on the crawling peg or the worldwide devaluation because that has already been taken into account in the landed cost. So why this massive local increase? It seems to me that it is at this point that Mr. Danny Williams and the government need to ^{look} ~~think~~ carefully to cut back on the brutal local inflation implicit in these figures. An increase of 17.7c cents on the landed price of every one pound of rice is really gross and it should be possible to achieve a roll-back here. And what applies to rice applies even more sharply to counter flour. The landed cost of a pound of counter flour works out at 21.2c; local costs on each pound of flour works out at a staggering 16.4c which is an increase of nearly 50% and only a subsidy of 5.6c makes it possible for us to ~~buy~~ counter flour at 26c a pound. But again there is the question: why add nearly 50% on to the ^{landed} /price of every pound of flour? What happens to that \$10.40c which is added to the landed price of every bag of counter flour? In the case of chicken ~~necks~~ and backs - the protein of the poorest of the poor - the landed cost works out at 33.2c a pound but then local costs of nearly 20c are added on to the cost of each pound and only a small subsidy brings the retail price back to 47c a pound. To be sure there is the problem of refrigeration here; but even so a local increase of nearly two-thirds of the ^{of chicken necks and back} landed cost /is severe. And then you have sardines where handling and risk are almost non-existent. So why is the landed cost of ^{38.3c ~~ex~~ for} each tin of sardines increased by 10.7c of local costs? This is a roughly 25% increase on the landed cost of each tin of sardines and that is outrageous. So really justify ^{and head the calls to} ~~or~~ rollback, please. Goodnight.

Now National Strike: Where do We
Go From Here?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
February 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

The Jamaica National Strike
Good evening: It is now clear, ^{and reported threats against some businesses confirms this} that the 'National Strike' called for today by the Jamaica Labour Party has not come off. ^{to me at least} To be sure there were some stoppages: ^{closures} but they were nowhere near being 'national'. And there was ~~some~~ ^{as} disruption; but nothing that was a fraction as damaging or/crippling as were those three days in the second week of January. So today's planned 'national strike' can fairly be said to have failed. In this sense, and in terms of the narrow party political interests/~~with~~ ⁱⁿ which such events are usually assessed, the JLP/~~has suffered~~ ^{and its affiliates} and supporters have suffered a ~~serious~~ political setback. Consider the background to their 'national strike' call. We have just had a ~~new~~ ^{were} round of massive price increases which/~~was~~ presented to us in just about as clumsy and inept a manner as possible. For a whole week the government made no serious effort to explain and justify the increases to the people. And all this came on top of last year's 40% inflation rate, the scandalous Dexter Rose business, the questionable killing of a ghetto political personality, and shortages, lay-offs and unemployment. Fertile ground, you would think, for the calling of a popular mass-stay-at-home-protest, especially if those with jobs were also assured that they would be paid for staying away. It looked like something on which/~~you~~ ^{they} could not lose. Not even the PNP denied that there was a mood of frustration and disenchantment abroad in the land. So why did they ^{not pull it off completely?} ~~lose~~? Why did this national

~~strike, this national day of protest, fail to come off?~~ Clearly,
 this time around it ^{can} ~~could~~ not be said that it was because the BITU
^{did} ~~was~~ not giving the JLP its support. This time around Mr. Shearer
 himself is reported to have expressed the union's support for the
 strike call. Indeed, in an article in today's Daily News, Terry
 Smith deals most interestingly with the likely consequences for Mr.
 Shearer, ^{for} the BITU and for the Jamaican trade union movement in
 general, of the BITU's support for this national strike call. If
 you have not done so, please read that article and then think of
 some of the key points Terry Smith raises. Is Mr. Shearer really
 the principal loser because of the failure of this national strike?
 And is the BITU stand as serious a setback to trade union unity as
 Terry Smith suggests? These are some of the deeper and longer-term
 implications of this 'national strike' which failed. But why did it
 fail? I suggest it failed because at bedrock a majority of Jamaicans
 are totally and utterly fed-up with the politics of tear down and
 pull down and destroy. Against the death-wish of which Mrs. Avis
 Henriques spoke toward the end of last week there is also a deep-root
^{majority} ed will to survive and to overcome the hard problems we face and to
 create the kind of society in which most Jamaicans would wish to
 live. And those who planned and proposed this 'national strike'
^{concretely} offered nothing/positive to those with this deeprooted will to
 survive and overcome and created a decent society of peace and love.
 To be sure the rage was and is still there, and it will go on being
 there until we get a leadership which responds to this deeprooted
 will to survive and build. So I think the PNP would be tragically
 mistaken if it sees ^{strike's} this/failure as some sort of victory or vote of
 confidence in it. All ^{Kax} a majority have said is 'Not this way'. But
 they are still waiting for ^{an alternative} the way ahead and those who would lead it.
 If the PNP and JLP can't others will be found. Goodnight.

- 1) Avis Henriques on Jamaican Death Wish
- 2) Wages, Prices, Protests, Demonstrations
- 3) The Labour Scene: the Plight of the Unemployed

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

February 16, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: There is great confusion in Jamaica right now, and unless this confusion is dispelled, and dispelled quickly, we may be in for even more unsettled times than we have known up to now for this year. And the only voice of balance and reason which I, for one, have heard so far this week has been that of Mrs. Avis Henriques who last night wondered aloud to the Portmore Kiwanis whether some among us did not have a kind of death-wish for Jamaica. The brutal fact is that we can all demonstrate until we are purple in the face; we can all call for national or international strikes until the cows come home; we can picket and bawl until we are breathless - and the inflation and the high prices will still be with us. Change the government and these things will still be with us. And perhaps the most awful part of the whole thing is that even if we had done all the things that we should have done since 1973 the inflation and the high prices and the shortages would still have been with us. The only real difference is that if we had ^{and developed other attitudes:} followed other policies/ if the government had been more tight-^{all} fisted in its spending policies, if we had/been more serious about import substitution, if the private sector had made a greater ^{and more serious} effort to produce at its maximum capacity, if there had been fewer large-scale rip-offs of the national economy by operators in both ^{and if the labour movement had been} the public and private sectors, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{the interests} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ seriously concerned about production and about all those who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their labour, - if all

or most of these things had happened we would^{by now}/have been better
 able to handle the strains and pressures of today's inflation and
 today's high prices. But we did not do these things and so there is
 confusion and some of us are still being fooled into thinking that
 it is somehow possible to manoeuvre or ~~manipulate~~ or finesse or
 politic or borrow or gamble our troubles away. And so each one or
 each group ^{and seeks only to further} sees only/its own interests. So the unionised workers
 and their unions are only concerned about the very serious decline
 in the ^Wbuying power if their wage increases are held at 15% in the
 context of a 40% inflation rate. And within the limits of their
 narrow self-interest they are right. But the unions speak for only
 an elitist minority of the work force - perhaps for less than one-
 third of the labour force of over 900,000. Who cares about the
 other two-thirds who make up the non-unionised work force? And
 even more important, who gives a damn about the roughly 300,000
 who are unemployed, who are mostly young, and whose numbers are
 swelled by some 20,000 every year? If any of our unions and their
 leaders care, they have not shown it. And a private sector which
 at this time agitates to keep some of its foreign earnings abroad
 is no more serious than a government which ^{five days}~~after~~ after it has
 hit us with massive new price increases has not yet explained and
 justified these increases to a confused, disturbed and angry nation.
 In the words of Mr. Richard Fletcher: 'Bloody awful government;
 bloody awful private sector' and, I think we can fairly add, bloody
 awful labour movement. But when we have said all that the problems
 are still with us and the solutions are still to be ^{tackled}~~found~~. And for
 this we need to be as calm as possible; to think out things for
 ourselves; to depend on ourselves and not to be stampeded into
 self-destruction or the giving away of our basic freedoms. And key
 to the solution is that we must all work for what we want. Godnight

The Latest Price Increases:
Can they be justified?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 14, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: A number of questions need to be asked, and answered, about the latest increases in the prices of some twenty items - mainly food - which are in common daily use here in Jamaica. It is not good enough for us to be told that these increases are due to higher prices overseas as well as to our crawling peg devaluations. To be sure, this is the basic reason. But how do we know that these are the only increases being passed on to the hard-pressed Jamaican consumer? How do we know that higher mark-ups, higher margins of profit, are not also being passed on? How do we know that we are not also being made to pay extra for local inefficiencies and local rip-offs? It just is no use anybody putting their hand on their heart and swearing that this is not so. Rightly or wrongly, the Jamaican consumer is in no mood to take anybody's word for anything when it comes to new price increases. And if you remember that but ^mand demonstration for that outcry/over the price of petrol the increase might have been higher than the 20c extra we now pay, you will understand the skeptical mood of the Jamaican community. To say this is not to question Senator Danny Williams' general explanation for the increases. We know that world market prices are going up all the time; we know that there is worldwide inflation and that the American dollar, to which the Jamaican dollar is tied, is taking a battering on the world money markets. What we do want to know, and what we have a right to know, is that the increases which are being passed on to

the Jamaican consumer are not a penny more than the cost of that worldwide inflation. And the only way we can begin to know that is for Mr. Danny Williams - and indeed the entire government - to take us fully into their confidence and show us, in a detailed step-by-step process just how they justify each new price they ask us to pay. It is self-serving^{and propagandist}/nonsense for anybody to pretend that we in Jamaica can somehow avoid the high prices and the inflation which is hitting all the rest of the world. Some of you may recall that on Monday January 15th, I gave you a short list of prices published in the issue of Time Magazine of that date to show just how much prices had gone up even in rich America. So the argument is not against price increases which can be justified. The argument is that the latest increases which were slapped on us this week have not been justified. Was it really necessary, for instance, for the price of a pound of rice to go up by nine cents, from 41c to 50c? And how was that figure of 50c arrived at? I think we have a right to have this, and all the other increases, broken down and justified, item by item. And how do we know that the increases in the price of sugar are not to cover inefficiency and bad operating practices in the Sugar Industry Authority? Here again a spelling out of the figures is needed to reassure us. And what of the oils and fats items which are processed here: can we have the price movements of soya bean on the world market which would justify the increase of the price of a gallon of soya bean Gourmet oil from \$4.90 in April of 1978 to ^{the} \$9.65c just announced? Without such explanations, complete with facts and figures, for each and everyone of the items whose prices have been increased, we can never be sure that these increases, and at these levels, are justified. So give us the facts to justify the increases: that is the way of openness^{accountability} and of participatory democracy. Goodnight.

Iran: A Geopolitical Balance Sheet

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
February 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Developments in Iran ^{have} ~~has~~ dominated the news in almost every corner of the world over this past weekend; and rightly so. For the final collapse of the ^{caretaker} regime set up by the Shah just before he left the country five weeks ago, is a major turning point in world power politics. Until the events of this weekend ^{caretaker} there was always the possibility that the regime left behind by the Shah, and having the full support of the commanders of the Iranian army as well as the Americans and their N.A.T.O. allies, could ride out the demonstrations, hold on to power and, perhaps by way of a military coup, restore the Shah to power at a later date. That was indeed the grand design. After all, a roughly similar power play had worked very successfully way back in 1953 when the government of Mohammed Mosedeogh was overthrown in a CIA-managed coup because it had nationalised Iran's oil industry and was therefore regarded as hostile to American interests. The Americans then restored the Shah to power and over the next twenty-five years Iran, under the Shah, became a key factor in the N.A.T.O. policy of 'containment' of the Soviet Union. Some of America's most advanced and sophisticated weapons, planes and intelligence equipment was stationed in Iran. And the Shah's army was provided with the best arms available. American support for, and confidence in the Shah, was total. In return the Shah's commitment to Western ^{economic,} strategic and military interests was equally total. Now all that has been shattered and the total collapse of the Shah means at once the equally dramatic

collapse of Western interests in that part of the world. And all this has come about with-out the Russians, who were supposed to be 'contained', doing one striking thing/^{for}~~which~~ which they could be denounced as interfering in Iran's internal affairs, or for fomenting revolution. Indeed, the one thing most observers seem agreed on is that the Russians had/^{little or}nothing to do with the events that led to the/^{final}collapse of the Shah, and the West, in Iran this weekend.

So where does the trouble lie? I suggest that it lies in the very notion of 'containment' and all that that implies. The Americans and their allies want to contain the spread of communism; and for them that means confronting and 'facing down' the Soviet Union and its allies anywhere and everywhere in the world. It means anybody who is anti-Soviet is an ally; anybody who is pro-Soviet is an enemy. And so, because China is now anti-Soviet diplomatic and trade relations can be established. But because Cuba (which is in the American sphere of influence) is both communist and pro-Soviet, she is threatened and bullied. And this means that the Americans cannot/^{or}~~will~~ not see peoples and societies in terms other than/^{those of}being pawns of one side or the other in their own particular power game. And so they totally misread Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam and paid dearly for it. And they are going to pay/^{just as}dearly for misreading just as totally the forces that broke their hold on Iran and which are at work in different forms in Africa and Asia and Latin America. For instance, the American view and the African view on the Cuban presence in Africa is just about as far apart as the North Pole is from the South Pole. But the Americans take no account of that African view and so, as far as they are concerned, there is only one view. And in pursuit of that one view, the West marches, with customary arrogance to collapse and disaster in the mid-East, Namibia, Rhodesia, and elsewhere. Goodnight.

The Economics of Survival 3:

- 1) The Global Context
- 2) Who Controls? In Whose Interest?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
February 9, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The information now coming out of the second report by the Auditor General on the Jamaica Development Bank underscores yet again just how un-businesslike, and therefore just how open to corrupt practises, the conducting of government enterprises has been. And so you have the argument that the government should get out of operations like the JDB and the STC and leave them to private enterprise which is so much more capable of running them. And yet, the head of the JDB under whom all these things happened, came from the private sector and had all his banking training and experience in the private sector. And one of the problems is that because of his private sector know-how and reputation, he seemed to have been left alone to run the ~~JDB~~ pretty much as though it were his own private little kingdom. And just for the record, let us note that as far ^{as} ~~far~~ 'Pay and Perquisites' are concerned, it is standard practice in the private sector for firms to give their senior employees a basic salary, plus the free use of a motor car (including fuel and upkeep), plus either a free house or rental allowance, plus entertainment allowance, plus free telephone. So a person's basic ^{pay} ~~earnings~~ may be one thing, one figure, while his true earnings when all the 'perks' are quantified, may be something else again, perhaps more than double his basic pay. The question is: Is it all right for this sort of thing to be done in the private sector and corrupt when done in the public sector? And if a person is transferred from

a sector where this sort of thing is the norm, would you not expect that person to carry that norm over to the new sector, ^{especially if} ~~where~~ he has the power? My point is quite simply that this kind of practise is pervasive and if we are not to operate all sorts of double and triple standards ^{we} then/will not see only one kind of corruption and ^{eyes to} shut our/all the other kinds. As long as the 'big thief' whether in the public or private sector, can get away like Rose and Pyne, or ^{or the illegal currency exporters,} the defaulting developers, /or that gentleman who 'lost' us more than 20 schools, corruption/in high ^{and wrongdoing} places will flourish and sorely needed resources will be lost. To survive we must stop these 'big thieves' whoever they are, wherever they are. And this is why the business of worker involvement in the affairs of both public and private sector managements is so critical. If workers have access to company or statutory body books and financial details, dubious transactions and payments will soon be brought to light and be questioned. There is understandable resistance to this because it goes to the heart of the question of who controls and in whose interest. But control and the stamping out of corrupt practices in high places and low is only one facet of our problem. Getting to really understand what is going on in today's world is important too. Without that understanding we will not be able to withstand the shocks and pressures and strains that are bound to hit us; and without that understanding we will go on ~~banking~~ after a world and after economic conditions that are gone forever; and without that understanding we will either allow governments and politicians ^{and political operative} to put more burdens on us than are really necessary, or else con us into giving up our basic freedoms in exchange for promises they cannot fulfil. The economics of survival dictate that Jamaicans ^{scrap those that are no longer valid} take a cold and hard and critical look at all our old assumptions, and then ask ourselves what we want and set about working for it.

The Economics of Survival 2:

- 1) Energy: scramble for a dwindling resource
- 2) Government as a Serious Business enterprise

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
February 7, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: On Sunday Mr. O.D. Ramtallie told a gathering of the Gasolene Retailers' Association that at current exchange rates by the year 1982 Jamaica could be paying \$607-million a year for its petroleum imports, as against the \$225-million it now pays. This of course assumes two things: first, that we will be importing the same volume of petroleum; and second, that the stuff will be available for us to buy. The big question is: What if these two assumptions are wrong? What if we cannot import the same volume? Or, even more likely, what, if in four years' time the stuff is so scarce that small countries like Jamaica with little or no international muscle are denied the stuff? For, make no mistake about it, a time will come when the world's petroleum supplies and reserves are so low that it will take more than just money to get any. Already there are hints of this possibility. There is, right now, a frantic scramble on for oil. The rich Western countries who consume the bulk of the world's oil output are buying up and stockpiling all the oil they can get; South Africa is offering to barter gold for oil; Israel is having second thoughts about giving up the captured Egyptian oilfields in the Sinai desert. And as the scramble for oil gets more urgent and more desperate the small and the weak are going to be squeezed out of even the small supplies they now get. And a sense of realism should tell us that if the American companies ever had on whom we depend/~~xxxx~~ to choose between us and their American consumers we would be the ones to lose out. So it is not just a

question of what petroleum will cost by the year 1982 - which is only four years away - but the much more important question of what petroleum, if any, will be available to us. Against this background/~~our efforts at conservation~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ are not anywhere near as serious as the economics of survival would dictate. We seem still to be riding the gambler's hope that the next throw of the dice, the next card we turn up, will change our luck. And so we hope to find off-shore oil or gas or both: if we do, it would/indeed change the whole picture for us. But what if we don't? Good government, good management, good business practice, ~~however~~ you want to call it, always makes provision for that 'what if we don't'. And it seems to me that one of our really hard problems in the struggle to survive is to redefine the purpose of our politics. Mr. Ronald Sasso of the Royal Bank of Jamaica touched on it when he spoke to his shareholders yesterday. I think he is right when he said that politics and political rivalry are strangling the country. And yet, politics and political rivalry are really supposed to provide us with the best government possible. And the best government possible, let us remind ourselves, would be the one which would define and articulate the social and economic directions of the society, and which would, above all, conduct the business of the nation in a serious and businesslike manner. It should basically be similar to any other serious business enterprise, only bigger, because its business is the nation's business. And you know, and I know, that no Jamaican government since adult suffrage has ever functioned as a serious, ^{and successful} consumerist business enterprise. In the comparatively easy/world of cheap and abundant energy, raw materials and food, Jamaican governments of both parties could ^{and did} get away with massive waste and sloppiness. ^{permitted gross fraud.} And old habits die hard, so they keep on playing negative partisan politics when ~~we need~~ government as a serious business enterprise.

government as a serious head-headed
business enterprise. Goodnight.

The Economics of Survival:

- 1) Eric Bell on Paying our Way
- 2) Ramtallie on Energy Costs
- 3) Managing our Resources

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday

February 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Mr. Eric Bell, the Finance Minister, and Mr. O.D. Ramtallie, the Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Mining and Natural Resources, both talked yesterday about what can be described as the economics of survival. ^{this evening we deal with Mr. Bell's speech.} In a nationwide broadcast last night Mr. Bell laid out the brute facts of our present economic situation and explained why prices are bound to go on rising this year, though not to the same extent as last year. In 1978, he said, our consumer price index had, by the end of November, risen 39%. which should work out at roughly the 40% inflation for the year which had been forecast. For this year, 1979, the forecast was for a lower rate of inflation, an inflation rate of 25%, provided we did not upset the government's incomes policy, provided we increased our production for exports, and provided we maintain our budgetary balance. And just living up to these provisos is going to be no easy thing. And do not forget that this 'reduced' 25% inflation rate forecast for this year will, if it is successfully maintained, be on top of last year's 40% inflation. So the very best prospects that Mr. Bell could offer us for 1979 is to slow down the rate of inflation while we try to earn the foreign exchange necessary for us to pay our way in the world. And to realise just what an uphill task we have on our hands just consider one stark fact: right now roughly one-third of all the foreign exchange that we earn or borrow must be paid out again to repay and service old debts: one dollar out of every three dollars of foreign exchange that we earn or borrow.

goes out in this way. We borrow three and we have to pay interest on that three, but we receive only two. This is the debt trap we are in and the more we borrow the deeper into that trap we sink. There are other countries in the world who are deeper in the debt trap than we are. Some have to pay out forty percent, some 50% and some as much as 60% of all their foreign exchange earnings and borrowings to service their debts. If we are not to sink to the level of indebtedness of some of these others then we must stop seeing some sort of virtue in our credit-worthiness. All that can do for us is to mortgage the future of generations of Jamaicans yet unborn because there is no way that we can borrow our troubles away. And as money becomes dearer and therefore scarcer those who will be prepared to lend us any will not only demand increased interest and increased security they will also insist that we put up our national manhood as collateral. The sooner we all understand this clearly, the sooner will all of us, not just some of us, get down to the hard business of earning our keep and paying our way in a tough world which does not owe us a living. And the kind of mismanagement of our resources which allows for the kind of plundering shown up by the latest STC affair will ^{demoralise the community} ~~shatter public confidence~~ to the point of making our task that much more difficult. For this reason alone it is important that the government does everything in its power, using ^{international} all the/goodwill and influence it can command, to bring back Dexter Rose and Sedley Pyne to answer the charges made against them. Only thus do you warn off other would-be plunderers. If they see these men brought to book they will think ~~again~~ before taking a chance; if not, it will be a clear signal to plunder and run. So bring them back and build public ^{morale} ~~confidence~~ for the tasks ahead. Goodnight.

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- 1) The STC: Full Disclosure Wanted
 - 2) ~~Leslie Birch on Price Increases~~
 - 3) ~~The Problem of Checks & Balances~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday

February 2, 1979, 6.10p.m

we received

Good evening: It was on Monday evening that/the shock news of the firing of Mr. Dexter Rose from the post of Managing Director of the State Trading Corporation. In that announcement of the dismissal of Mr. Rose and Mr. Sedley Pine, Commerce Minister were Danny Williams said that there/allegations of 'certain irregularities in the operation of Jamaica Nutrition Holding Ltd.' Mr. Williams' statement went on to say: "I will not at this stage disclose the details but investigations so far have raised questions relating to the Exchange Control Law"; and a little further it adds: "The relevant documents in support of the allegations have been brought to Jamaica and are being examined by the proper authorities". That was all on Monday evening. And it was a shock; the State Trading Corporation had been recognised, and rightly so, as the outstanding example of a highly successful public enterprise. There could be no arguing with the solid successes of the STC in finding all over the world basic foods and raw materials/at the best possible prices and buying cheaply thought wisely/at the best moments. And you would have/that being aware of the shock impact of this business, and having in its possession 'the relevant documents in support of the allegations', the government would let Jamaicans know as soon as possible all the available facts behind this disturbing business. Instead, after that first statement, ^{we have had for days of until this afternoon} ~~there has been~~ the kind of silence which is the best breeding ground for wild rumour and wilder speculation, and for the kind of smearing ^{& decent men} by hint, suggestion ~~innuendo~~ and innuendo that has already

begun. And I place the blame for this squarely on the government. Once again it has failed to live up to its declared intention of being a government of openness, a government which trusts the people enough to tell them the truth, even if that truth is unpleasant. And so it has again put itself in the position of ^{appearing to have} ~~maxing~~ important information forced out of it by ^{the media} its critics and its political enemies. In this sense this government is often its own worst enemy. For instance, why could not the government tell us on Monday or Tuesday the key details that led to the dismissals. First, that the irregularities so far documented were for the years 1975 and 1976, which was before the setting up of the State Trading Corporation, and involved Jamaica Nutrion Holdings Ltd. Why could we not be told of the ^{-Rose} bank account in New York? ~~which xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ reportedly registered ~~xxxxxxx~~ in Liberia in the name of Rose and his wife? And of the dealings between this Liberian-registered company and JNH? If we had been told ~~xxx~~ these things on Tuesday it would have made no difference to any on-going investigation and the community would have had a sense of its government levelling with it. Instead the whole sorry story is being allowed to unfold in this unnecessarily clumsy way which can only do damage to the good name of a very ^{important} ~~fine~~ Jamaican state organisation and the people who work for it. There is ^{sure} no way that we can guarantee the honesty and integrity of any individual in a position of trust in any institution, be it public or private. And ^{in spite of controls} every now and then a company or a community will be plundered by some greedy person who sees an opportunity and seizes it. When that happens, especially in the case of a country or a community, then early and full ^{public} disclosure and punishment of the plunderer are the best ways to serve the public interest. So why was Rose allowed to leave Jamaica? Was it another case of the community's interests being sacrificed to one man's human right to freedom of movement after plunder? Goodnight

- 1) JLP Leadership Crisis: Winding Down?
2) The Politics of Compromise
3) Party Politics in Perspective

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 31, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: All the indications are that the JLP leadership to crisis has begun to quieten down and/wind down. The dramatic revelations we were promised from some quarters last weekend just will not materialise: there will be no thunder and lightning accompanying some master political coup, no Jamaican political equivalent of some stiff-legged showdown at sunset between the 'good guy' and the 'bad guy'. Instead, the leadership of the JLP will set about what it should have done in the first place, which is to quietly and without fanfare try to discuss and settle such points of complaint as it has with the BITU and Mr. Shearer. This essential task will now be ~~xxxx~~ a little more difficult than it need have been, thanks to all that nasty and wholly unnecessary personal abuse and invective which was levelled against Mr. Shearer, as leader of the union. And if you read Monday's evening's statement from the Managing Executive Committee of the BITU, especially the third paragraph, it becomes clear that the Committee itself sees these attacks as ~~orchestrated~~ and 'with ulterior motives'. And this will not help in the delicate and often complex business of arriving at acceptable compromises and accommodations. ~~xxx~~ All those of us who believe in the importance of the two-party parliamentary system and who want to see it continue in Jamaica must support all serious efforts at accommodation. But accommodation is not the same thing as either capitulation or passive submission to pressures and manipulation. The union statement makes this point very clear

and I think wisdom would dictate that the party leadership takes it very seriously. One disturbing development is the latest ^{suggestion,} ~~hint,~~ only ^{hinted} ~~suggested~~ at so far, that the real trouble was with Mr. Frank Phipps and that with his resignation everything is in order once more and Mr. Seaga can withdraw his conditional resignation. If this is the face-card that the party wants to present to the country will fair enough; because any face-card/~~xxxxx~~ do, once real accommodation has been achieved. But if no real accommodation has been achieved then the use of Mr. Phipps' resignation as the face-card becomes another bit of self-deception which will only cover up the problems of the party: and that would mean that those problems would remain ready / to surface again at another critical moment. So the search for accommodation has to be real; and the terms on which it is based has to be realistic, taking into account the different roles of party and union, the relative strength and weakness of each, and the needs of the present Jamaican situation. And this makes it very much more than a sort of personality game of who wins and who loses, who captures what or who out-maneuvres whom and who gets squeezed. It is basically a question of the creation & management of our key institutions. To be sure, the personality game is what makes for the drama. But in the affairs of nations in the real business of power/the personalities come and go, play their little part for a time and then, willingly or unwillingly, they are shoved off the stage. No one is indispensable; no one is so important that he cannot be replaced. They deceive who try to pretend that the fate and the future of a country depend on any one man. They rejected and ignore^d Garvey and Jamaica survived; Norman Manley and Bustamante ~~xxxx~~ the founding fathers of modern Jamaica - died and Jamaica survived. And so it will be with today's leaders and with today's parties. The survival of either or any of them is not a condition for the survival of Jamaica. It is important that we see our partisan politics in this wider perspective. Goodnight.

- 1) JLP Leadership Trouble
- 2) Teng Hsiao-Ping in Washington
- 3) Iran: More Bloodshed
- 4) White Rhodesian Vote Tomorrow

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 29, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Once again it has been a comparatively quiet and peaceful weekend here at home when you look at the goings-on in most of the rest of the world. One of the highpoints of public discussion here was, of course, the matter of the conditional resignation of Mr. Seaga from the leadership of the JLP, and the concerted and orchestrated attacks on Mr. Hugh Shearer by the political operatives of Jamaican journalism. If the intention is really to try and persuade Mr. Shearer to play a more positive and leading part in the affairs of the party; if the real desire is to mobilise his support and co-operation and solidarity, then, surely, this public savaging of the man is hardly the best way to go about it. So, unless the grand design is something else again, this public savaging of Mr. Shearer may turn out to be a serious tactical blunder which could further widen, rather than narrow, the gap between party and union. And then, too, there is the matter of the political vacuum which has been created. It is the party, not the union, which is now conditionally without a leader. How long can it go on being conditionally leaderless? The assumption seems to be that the next move is now up to Mr. Shearer and the union. But what happens if Mr. Shearer and the union do nothing? Please watch this very interesting power play closely, and please think carefully about it.

Next, and on the world scene, the senior Vice Premier of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-Ping, today began an official visit

to the United States with all the pomp and ceremony usually reserved for a Head of State. Officially Mr. Teng is not China's Head of State, he is only the number two man. But in fact he is the most powerful man in China today and America's red-carpet treatment of him is a simple recognition of that fact. In something over a year Mr. Teng has transformed the rigidities of ^{Maoist} communism in China into something with all the appearances of the flexibilities and openness which flourished so briefly in Czechoslovakia under Alexander Dubcek in the 1960s. And in part at least, it is this ^{apparent} new openness which seems to fascinate the Americans. There seems to be ^{an almost desperate} ~~an almost desperate~~ hope ^{permanent} ~~that~~ Communist China would become the kind of special American friend who can be relied on in any showdown with Russia. And all this hope is based on the changes brought about by Mr. Teng in a very short time. There are several catches ^{to} ~~in~~ all this. As in Czechoslovakia the openness can be shut off any time and rigid conformity reimposed. Mr. Teng is 74 years old which is very late in the lifespan of any man and there are many waiting for his death who will want to restore either Maoism or good relations with the Soviet Union or both. The risk here is, that as in Iran, America may supply China with a very high level of sophisticated technology which may, in two or three decades, be used against American interests. This is the dilemma inherent in the geopolitical power game. And it also shows up the American ~~moral~~ posturing over Cuba. In the Middle East there has been a new round of bloodletting in the streets of Iran; and in Rhodesia the 95,000-odd white voters will tomorrow vote for ~~no~~ against black majority rule. A year ago this referendum might have had some meaning for the 6 million Rhodesians. Tomorrow it will be a ^{pointless and} ~~a~~ futile gesture from a white minority which was too greedy to recognise its own best self-interest in time. Goodnight.

The Seaga Resignation:
The JLP & the BITU

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Friday
January 26, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It is fast becoming clear that Mr. Seaga's 'conditional' resignation - as the Women's Freedom Movement described it - as leader of the Jamaica Labour Party is designed, primarily, to try and forced Mr. Hugh Shearer and the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union into giving greater/active support for the policies and tactics pursued by the present JLP leadership. When, according Party Secretary Bruce Golding, Mr. Seaga was asked to withdraw his resignation, Mr. Seaga "put forward certain proposals and stipulations, which if met, will persuade him to change his mind." And because these proposals and stipulations have not been made public we can only guess at them. And the one guess on which most/~~many~~ informed observers seem agreed is that the role of Mr. Shearer and the BITU are at the heart of the matter. I think myself that we can easily get ourselves into all sorts of states of confusion if we look at this thing solely in terms of personalities. Of course the personalities are important, but they are only one aspect of the matter, and not the most critical. And it seems to me that in order to understand the most critical aspect of this matter, we need to go beyond the personalities and look at the nature of the relationship between union and party. And in Jamaican politics, like it or not, approve of it or not, the relationship between union and party is critical. We have the BITU and we have the JLP; and we have the PNP and we have the NWU. In each case the union represents the broadest base of working-class support for the particular party to which it is affiliated. And it ^{is and} has been a relationship of affiliation, not of membership,

and not of one being subordinate^{to}/or taking orders from the other, be it union or party. The union could not make policy for the party; the party could not make policy for the union. The role of the party when in power was and is different from the role of the same party when it is in opposition. The role of the union, on the other hand, is fundamentally the same whether the party to which it is affiliated is in or out of power. And all this makes for a complex and delicate and subtle relationship between party and its affiliate union. And what has made this complex relationship seem ordinary and straightforward in the past is that with very rare exceptions all our national political leaders have either come up through the ranks of the unions or else had close association with the labour movement. The two giants of modern Jamaica, Bustamante and Manley senior are classic examples. Donald Sangster did work for the union. Shearer and Michael Manley went from being union officers to become Prime Ministers of Jamaica. And what applies to those who became Prime Minister applies also to others who stood out in politics, like Nethersole and Glasspole and Newland and Wills Isaacs, and others. The point is that ^{because} ^{out of their} these men/~~was~~ intimate relations with ^{the labour movement} ~~it~~ understood the complex and delicate nature of the connection between party and union, they did not try to push the relationship beyond its point of tolerance. So the BITU could ^{act independantly and} take strike action against a government department when the JLP formed that government; and the NWU could do the same when the PNP formed the government. Of course there was closer co-operation between party and union on straight ^{Partisan} ~~party~~ political issues when ^{national} ~~labour~~ matters did not arise or ^{in tourism} were only marginal. But how could a BITU worker help cripple the tourist trade ^{on which his daily bread depends, whatever the politics?} And can the BITU survive ^{as a viable trade union} giving the JLP full and unconditional support? These are some of the hard ^{ones} ~~ones~~ behind this JLP crisis. Goodnight.

I think not.

issues

leadership

- 1) Tourism: Good News
- 2) Government & Gambling ~~State of the Union~~
- 3) Uganda - Amin after 8 Years
- 4) ~~The Middle East~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 24, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: We tend, in Jamaica, these days, to bury the good news and to play up the bad. So let us for a change highlight one important piece of good news. A news release from the Jamaica Tourist Board says that the American magazine 'Money', which is published by the same company which publishes Time Magazine, has in its year-end survey of business and consumer trends, named Jamaica as the winner in foreign travel for 1978. In 1978, thanks to the efforts of the Tourist Board, 30% more Americans visited Jamaica than did so in 1977. And this is good news in any man's language. So just remind yourself that there are good things happening too - like the growth in domestic food production: it is not all gloom and doom. And the one and only way to increasing the number of good things that are happening is sustained and systematic work and hard/effort. And this is why I agree with those who feel that the government must stop being ambivalent in its attitude to gambling. It cannot, at one and the same time, encourage us to seek our salvation/through hard work/and also appear to encourage, however indirectly, the notion that some of us, ~~xxxxxxx~~ at least, can win our troubles away. It must, I think, be consistent in keeping a clear distance between itself and gambling. And a little further afield, byt still in the Caribbean, I was intrigued by the news 300-odd report in today's Gleaner that the/locked-out workers of the Trinidad Guardian newspapers have, this past weekend, published their own

Workers' Guardian. A one-shot publication does not, of course, make an newspaper. But it is ^{an} interesting response to a situation in which the normal tendency ^{is} for workers ^{and demonstrations} to mount protests ~~and~~ to then picket or /wait it out or else find other jobs. This is basically what has happened here in Jamaica since the large-scale lay-off of media workers which began ^{in 1977} ~~xxxxxxx~~, and which still does not look like being at an end. (The Special 35th Anniversary issue of PAJ News, just off the press, gives some vital information on the state of the Jamaican media). The interesting question is: Do we ^{of the media} in Jamaica have anything to learn from the ^{locked-out} ~~xxxxxxx~~ Trinidad Guardian workers? I hope we do. Next, and on the African scene, tomorrow will mark the eighth anniversary of the seizing of power by Idi Amin in Uganda. For all of these eight years, until earlier today, Milton Obote, the man Amin overthrew had lived in silence in Tanzania: it had been a condition of his stay in Tanzania that he should make no public political statements. After all, at the time that Nyerere gave Obote Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya political asylum ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ were members of an East African Common Market which still ^{co-operated} ~~xxxxxx~~ effectively in the areas of trade and development and shared certain common services. But that unity has now all but collapsed, and Uganda under Amin has become an international embarrassment for most Africans. And so, ^{earlier today,} ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~, and speaking ^{over radio} from the capital of Tanzania, Milton Obote called on the people and the army of Uganda to rise up and overthrow the tyranny of Idi Amin. And he clearly could not have made such a broadcast from Tanzania without the approval of the government of that ^{still} country. And Tanzania, let us remember, is in fact ^{occupation} in a state of border war with Uganda over last year's ~~xxxxxxx~~ by Amin's forces of some of its territory. Is this then the beginning of the end of Idi Amin? What happens tomorrow should be a pointer. Goodnight.

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- 1) Jamaica: A Maturing debate?
 - 2) Militant Islam on the Move
 - 3) The Problem of Timing & Miscalculation
in the Geopolitical process

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 22, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Compared with the goings-on in the rest of the world, we have had a relatively quiet and peaceful and comfortable weekend here in Jamaica. And one of the more welcome signs in this nation's understandable and justified preoccupation with its own economic and political problems is the general ^{rejecting} ~~rejecting~~ of the rather simplistic terms in which some political partisans have tried to pose those problems. Increasingly, public discussion seem to be going a little deeper than the PNP-LLP postures; ^{seem to be} a little more concerned with the questions of options and of principle and of direction than with the rather juvenile cult of heroes and villains, of good guys and bad guys. One of the ^{past} ~~past~~ tragedies of Haiti was that ^{most of} its brightest and best and brainiest intellectuals got trapped into being ^{either} ~~either~~ and totally committed to one leader-figure or else passionately and totally opposed to him. The commitment was not to principle nor to cause but to personality: the person ^{was} ~~the~~ the cause. His victory or his defeat ^{was} ~~the~~ the victory or the defeat of the cause. And this, I suggest, has a great deal to do with why Haiti is what it is today. We have had ^{efforts} ~~similar efforts~~ here over the recent past at making the man the cause, in ~~political~~ political discussions from certain quarters: you had either the god-leader or the devil-leader, depending on which one you wanted to promote. Fortunately for us, and fortunately for Jamaica's future, a majority of Jamaicans seem absolutely clear that that is not the way they want to go. And I, for one, find that

cause for hope and confidence. The Jamaican people - not some
 god-leader or some devil-leader or those/who promote/would/either - will decide
 ,like it or not,
 the Jamaican future: and that/is what democracy is really all about.

Elsewhere in the world millions of people experienced greater dis-
 comfort, greater dislocation, greater violence and greater uncertain-
 ty than most of us here/ this past weekend. In parts of the United States hundreds of
 marooned and
 families were/cut off from getting food and heating by bitter
 cold and snow and flooding. Many died and still the discomfort of
 a harsh and bitter winter continues. In Europe the British economy
 is almost at a standstill because of conflict between a socialist
~~and~~ government and the powerful British trade union movement which
 normally is its natural ally. The conflict is over wage guidelines
 the strikes and stoppages have
 and reports are that/~~ixxxxx~~ already caused over one million workers
 to be made unemployed; and unless a settlement is reached quickly
 more workers will lose their jobs. Already the British people are
 reported hit by food shortages, transport hold-ups and diminish^{ing}
 heat and light at a time when temperatures are at or below freez^{ing}.
 And on the political front the simmering crisis in Iran continues,
 further
 with all its implications for/disturbing of the already unsettled
 Middle East. And here the new factor to watch is the emergence of
 Islam as a militant and aggressive anti-Western as well as anti-
 Communist force. Belatedly, the Israelis seem to realise that it
 is in their interest to try and hurry up their settlement with
 and so strengthen the ~~xxx~~ so-called Arab moderates
 Egypt/before this new militant Islam gets in stride and makes the
 Egyptian-Israeli efforts as irrelevant as Ian Smith's stallings
 and miscalculations have made the Anglo-American ~~xxx~~ peace moves
 in Rhodesia. Because Ian Smith thought he could do better by
 stalling and holding out he is going to lose^{se} everything in Rhodesia.
 The stakes are even higher for the Israelis. Goodnight.

The geopolitics of Oil:

- 1) Iran - After the Shah?
- 2) Middle East Political Moves & Oil
- 3) African Developments & Oil

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
January 19, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Because of the strategic importance of oil, what happens in the Middle East is as important for Jamaicans as anything that happens inside Jamaica. Last week's disruptions were a dramatic illustration of this truth. And what is true for us in Jamaica is, in today's world, true for almost every other country on this earth. Consider the question of war and peace. If war were to break out between the super-powers the power or group of powers who control most of the energy resources - the fuel to launch their rockets and planes and submarines and tanks, and to keep these moving longest - is most likely to last out and win. For it is no use have the most sophisticated weapons in the world if you do not have the energy to propel those weapons. And this is why the Americans and their North Atlantic Treaty Organisation partners are so desperately worried about what is going on in the Middle East right now. The forced departure of the Shah from Iran is, for the Western powers, very much more than the political defeat of one despotic tyrant. If that were all it was, you would not have the agonising that is now going on in Washington and Bonn and Paris and London and Rome. The agonising is not over the man but over all that important strategic energy that the West does not want to lose control of. Already we have heard that South Africa and Israel are going to be denied any further supplies of Iranian oil. When the West, through the Shah, was in control of the Iranian oil supplies to

South Africa were assured, no matter how loudly some Western leaders denounced Apartheid and racism. And when South Africa received Iranian oil racist Rhodesia could be supplied and the United Nations embargo was a sick joke made worse by what has recently emerged as British Government ~~commivance~~. With Iranian oil supplies to South Africa cut off, the white racists there are going to want to conserve the oil stocks they have^{built up}, and so they are going to stop supplying Rhodesia. And if the Israelis are starved for oil, and if they cannot find other sources to fuel their military machine then it will be only a matter of time before that machine ~~thaxixxxxxxxx~~ grinds to a standstill. And how will the Israelis fare against the Palestinians and the other rejectionist Arabs if they are not able to fuel that sophisticated military machine? And what of oil-rich ~~hxx~~ Saudi Arabia whos rulers are, if anything, even more politically backward and bankrupt than was the Shah of Iran? Like the Shah, the Saudi rulers are^{backed by} ~~xxxxxxx~~ the United States and the West Europeans. If the Saudi people rise against these rulers as they have done against the Shah of Iran, would the Western powers lose their present relative control of the flow of oil? And how will the great Western powers react th this kind of development? And what impact will these developments have on the day-to-day lives of ordinary people everywhere in the world? What is for sure is that even the freedom struggle in Southern Africa is going to be as powerfully influenced as is ours^{standard of living}, and the world's standard of living. So this business of oil is strategic and military; it is economic and it is political. To see it simply in terms of running cars and buses and in generating electricity is to completely misunderstand the world in which we live. Who controls oil may well lead to war as oil grows scarcer. So watch the developments over oil. Goodnight*

- 1) Bell on Prospects for 1979
- 2) Iran: After the Shah - What?
- 3) African Developments

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 17, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The Minister of Finance, Mr. Eric Bell, yesterday spoke in Parliament about the economic prospects for Jamaica in 1979. And the picture he painted was a bleak and sombre one in which we face only difficult choices. If you have not heard or read Mr. Bell's statement to Parliament, please do so. It is important that we should all know just what it is that we are up against, because until ~~we know~~ and understand ~~the true nature and the full extent of the economic problems we face, we will go on thinking that we can somehow manoeuvre, or trick, or finesse, or politic our way out of our present troubles. And the brutal fact is that there is no way we can do this. Remove the PNP and bring in the JLP and the problems will still be there; then reverse the thing again and the problems will still be there. Juggle it anyway you like. Bring back the fullscale capitalist free enterprise and free market system of the 1950s and the 1960s and the problems will still be there. Because there is no way in which all the rest of the world can be caught in the grips of an inflation and we can somehow escape it. Whether we like it or not, and no matter what political system we have, as long as we have to import the bulk of our food and the raw materials and fertilisers and machinery we need for our own productive effort, for so long will we be at the mercy of that worldwide inflation. When prices go up in the United States~~ ^{on the things we import from them,} ~~they will go up here by more than they go up there because we will also pay for/transport and duty and profit~~ ^{the} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{Price} margins that are added on. So if the ~~cost~~

of an item goes up by, say, four or five cents in the United States, we may be asked to pay eight or ten cents more for that same item. That is something over which we have little or no control. But what has often happened is that Third World peoples have been made to bear more than just the cost of this inflation. Often, those who produce or process or move these items from point to point have used the inflation to make a killing and gouge the consumer. ^{For instance} a number of major American oil companies are now being charged with doing just that to the tune of over a thousand million dollar since 1973. You can be sure that those oil companies would not do this to only the American consumers. If it were done it would be done more harshly the people of ^{own} the Third World than on their 'kith and kin'. And ^{of course} many of our own local people, from the big merchant to the hustling higgler, see nothing wrong with profiteering and gougeing. This is how it is and this is how it is most likely to be for the rest of this year, no matter what brand of politics we play. What we can do is to face this reality of inflation and to try and use all our skills and all our intelligence to manage ^{and minimise} it and keep it to the lowest level possible, while we try to produce and work our troubles away. But instead of doing this we are all dissipating our energies in political power games. And so there is little or no economic growth. And this, I suggest, is the great failure of national leadership in Jamaica today. The fact that Mr. Bell mentioned this point in his speech yesterday is a small hopeful sign. What we need most ^{right now is to find ways} of all ~~is~~ to mobilise and unleash the will and the productive energy of the Jamaican people. ^{And} ~~but~~ you can only do this with a people who are fully informed of all the facts and who have confidence in the honesty and integrity of those who call ^{on them} for sacrifices. Let us have no more of that dubious way in which the petrol price increase was handled. Trust the people; tell them all the truth; and we may hold together through this hard year. Goodnight.

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- 1) Postmortem on a Turbulent Week
- 2) The Nature of Inflation
- 3) ~~International Political Notes~~

NEWS COMMENTARY
For broadcast on Monday
January 15, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: Much of this past weekend here in Jamaica has been spent of what can fairly be described as a kind of postmortem-type examination of last week's events. And postmortems, by their very nature, can tell us what a creature or an institution died of: they cannot bring back that creature or that institution. So the real value of any successful postmortem is what we learn from it to guide us in the future. And by this yardstick, and by what we heard on ^{what we} radio and/read in the newspapers over this past weekend, we, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{or at} least those ~~xxxxxxx~~ who would lead and instruct us, seem to have learnt very little from the events of last week. If you listened to the party political broadcasts/^{yesterday} you will know how violent and aggressive and party political the language was from both sides. And if the ^{and aggression} violence/of some of the printed language ^{in our newspapers} were translated into action ^{more} an awful lot of/innocent blood would have been shed all over again. And this is very depressing for those of us who/~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{think that this} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{legal} country can and must cope with its problems in a peaceful and orderly manner. And even more depressing is the thought that unless our politicians can shake themselves free of the narrow tunnel-vision which ~~xxx~~ equates the interests of party with those of country, more disruptions are in store for us. It is no use the PNP glossing over the very real discontents in the society and putting it all down to a fascist plot: the way to deal with plots of any kind is ^{are hatched} to work to remove the discontents on which they feed. And it is no

use the JLP glossing over the very real and hard inflation which has hit all the world, not just Jamaica, and pretending that it would all change once this government is removed. The proper and constructive ^{and legitimate} road to power would be for the JLP to tell this nation in specific terms what it would do ^{to educate and} about the ~~mix~~ petrol prices and about prices of ^{we all know} ~~life~~ ^{selected} that list of other items/~~xx xxxx~~ will go up. It is as easy to play prophet of doom and gloom as it is to disrupt and dislocate. But those who want power have a duty ^{to educate and} to show us how they would solve the hard problems, how they would use the power, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxing~~ if we entrust it to them. ~~xxxxxxx~~ How will they deal with our crippling inflation? The current issue of Time Magazine has an interesting list of price increases ^{ES} in the United States between 1967 and 1978. They use figures for Atlanta, Georgia which they say reflect the national American average. And in that period the price of a pound of mince beef has risen from 59c US. to \$1.49, an increase of 153%; and they raise that beef. A loaf of bread has gone from 35c to 78c ^{a 109% increase} and they grow the wheat. A packet of cigarettes has gone from 32c to 54c ^{a 68% increase} and they grow the tobacco. And a gold wedding ring has gone from \$35 to \$170, a 386% increase; and they have all that gold in Fort Knox. The list is long so check ^{it} ~~xxx~~ and the story that goes with. The point is to just denounce high prices without ^{explaining} ~~understanding~~ what is everywhere in the world without offering a going on/ and ~~xxxxxx~~ to try and erupt the country/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxing~~ clear to deal with its problems. ~~xx~~ alternative ways/is doing no service to Jamaica. So it seems to me both parties still have to learn and understand the deeper lessons of these unlearned of last week. And perhaps one of the first/lessons is that they continue to play ^{this very} narrow party politics at their own peril, and at the peril of democracy in Jamaica. And history will not absolve them if they fail to learn this one. And ^{last week's} in the face of ~~all that~~ lawlessness will there be ^{some} prosecutions? That ^{the} way of the rule of law. Goodnight.

The Week's Disruptions:
What Are the Lessons to Learn?

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
January 12, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: What are the lessons to be learnt from the tragic and disruptive events of this week? I think the very first lesson must be for us to ^{yet}note/once again just how easy it is for this kind of political activity which deliberately challenges the rule of law to get out of hand and to end up with the killing of people. When any group decides to break the law on the scale ^{and in the manner} we saw this week, the possibility of violence and of death are always present. You can say you are being peaceful/^{and non-violent}until you are blue in the face and still the events you set in motion can end up causing the kind of deaths we had here in Jamaica this week. The slogans of 'non-violence' and passive resistance are not, and cannot be used as, trick party political tactics. To be effective non-violence and passive resistance, the great moral weapons used by Mahatma Gandhi and by Martin Luther King, must be invested with great moral purpose and great moral authority. And those who use these great moral weapons, and those who follow them, must themselves be morally clean. And we had neither moral purpose, authority nor cleanliness in what happened this week. Indeed, even though most Jamaicans were very angry with the government and the way it handled this ~~gas~~ petrol price business, ^{even though they}and initially welcomed what seemed spontaneous protests, they were soon turned-off by the naked and at times brutal power political ~~play~~ manipulation that soon became evident. So the the first lesson, which really is as old as the story of man, is that you do not bring justice and peace by using lawlessness and violence. And the second lesson, and

I think this is a particularly important one for our ^{political leaders} ~~politicians~~ and would-be political leaders to note, is that today's Jamaicans are not prepared to tolerate any political con job, even when they are most angry. And make no mistake about it: they were very angry with what they saw as a government 'flyer' to increase petrol prices by more than just the OPEC increase; and very many, if not most of them, are convinced that but for Monday's demonstrations we would now be paying 50c instead of 20c a gallon more. And they are asking: why did we not get that careful and detailed explanation from the Prime Minister before the disruption and dislocation? But having said that they are also saying that they are not going to allow anybody to stampede them into swapping black dog for monkey - or worse. And this is why, in spite of all their anger, they ~~rejected~~ rejected that extreme and reckless call to political violence implied in that wild comparison with Iran. Jamaica is not like Iran, and you misread Jamaicans and you insult their political intelligence and political sophistication if you think you can con them into thinking it is. And so we come to the third lesson of the events of this week. If we are to avoid this kind anger and disruption when hard decisions have to be taken in the future, ^{whoever is in power} and they will have to be taken, then the government will have to level honestly with the people before, not after the event. And we will really have to be convinced that the increase is the smallest possible. For instance, how much are we paying for brand names, packaging and labelling in the latest oils and fats increases? Better spell that one out before it blows up. And if the Opposition cannot do better than trading on the people's frustration and anger then all it will be able to do is the kind of wrecking activity we saw this week. And is this ^{really} what it hopes to inherit if it ever came to power? Think it out carefully, please.

Goodnight

The Week's Disruptions:
A Time to Think

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 10, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: It is time for us to pause and take stock of what has happened here in Jamaica since Monday. On Monday morning key streets in Kingston and St. Andrew were blocked with the skeletons of old cars, huge cement blocks, massive tree trunks/^{huge boulders,} and all manner of hard-to-move rubbish. At first it seemed that this was a spontaneous mass protest against the impending increase in the price of petrol. There had been rumours and speculation of increases ranging anywhere from 50c to a dollar a gallon. And to the extent that this was a demonstration to try and warn the government against any such outrageous level of increase, it made a great deal of sense and engaged the sympathies of even the people who were being inconvenienced and dislocated by it. And the dislocation was massive. Public transport was brought to a complete standstill, and other business and productive activity soon ground to a halt. But those who were out on the streets, and those who moved from roadblock to roadblock, will tell you that in its early stages the whole thing seemed amiable and friendly. And this was why the comparatively small number of people involved in the actual blocking of the roads could do what they did. And it soon began to emerge that what they were doing was no casual and random blocking off of roads. This was no spontaneous thing. A great deal of thought and ^{and organisation} planning/had obviously gone into it to make sure of achieving maximum dislocation and maximum disruption. And you know, and I know, that they achieved just that on Monday. And so the Minister of Finance announced to

the nation late on Monday night that the price of a gallon of petrol would be increased by 20c as from this morning. Not 50c; not 75c; not a dollar; not even the 40c which was mooted late on Monday afternoon. Just 20c. And those of you who listened to my commentary of last Wednesday will know that a 20c a gallon increase is just 5c more than the figure I arrived at after a careful examination of all facts and figures the/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~available to me. So I, for one, cannot seriously quarrel/unavoidable. with a 20c increase. I don't like it; but it is/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The important point is that it is not the unreasonable increase we
And with this matter dealt with, the disruption and the
feared. / ~~There is no doubt that after the disruption of this comparative~~
dislocation which stemmed from it ~~that~~ should logically have ended
~~by the time that the disruption of the comparative~~

or been scaled down - that is, if the real concern of those who mounted the roadblockings was in fact the price of petrol. So why the latest talk of escalating things? And escalate what? More disruption? More dislocation? And to what point? The reference to Iran is, I think, a very significant pointer here. Is Jamaica really like Iran? Or turn the question around : who elected the Shah of Iran? And when and for how long? Please do not be misled ^{by this non-sense} into forgetting that we here in Jamaica can change our governments, of whichever party, legally and peacefully and by way of the ballot box. It is important to remember this even when we are most angry. And I think people had good reason to be angry with the inept and insensitive way in which this petrol price thing was handled until it blew up in the government's face. But I also think that we need to be very clear in our own minds about one basic thing: and that is that once we go outside the Jamaican Constitution and ^{outside} the rule of law in order to try and bring down ^{any} ~~the~~ elected government of Jamaica, no matter of which party, we are mashing up democracy itself. And this is not what most Jamaicans want to do, even when they are most angry. So be on guard please. Goodnight

- 1) Cambodia: Power Shifts in Indo-China
2) U.S. drops the Shah

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 8, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: *Until this morning's roadblocks* [It has been a comparatively ~~xxxxx~~ quiet and peaceful weekend here at home; but a turbulent and at times brutally violent one in most of the rest of the world. While our main concern was what the government was likely to do about the price of petrol, the people of Europe and North America were in the grips of a savage and ~~bur~~tally cold as well as winter, transport strikes, ~~xxx~~/the same mounting prices and rising unemployment that we face. In communist Hungary they announced a series of really steep price increases on a wide range of consumer items over the weekend. Britain is in the grips of a ^{crippling} lorry driver's strike; the major American oil companies have been charged by the United States Government with largescale profiteering by overcharging on their oil sales to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars. But it is on the global power political/^{scene} ~~xxxxxx~~ that the past weekend has been in most turmoil, all the way from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Siam and the South China Sea. The brutal tyranny which took over in Cambodia after the collapse of the Americans in the Vietnam war, was yesterday overthrown by a Vietnam-backed Cambodian guerrilla force. This force calls itself the National United Front for National Salvation and its proclaimed aim is to set/^{up} a government which is 'humane' in place of the 'inhumane' government of Qu Sam Pan and Pol Pot. If you remember that/^{about} this time last month no nation on earth, with the sole and solitary exception of the People's Republic of China, had anything good to say about the Que Sam Pan-Pol Pot government in Cambodia, it may come as a bit of a surprise that its

overthrow should provoke the storm of reaction we are now witnessing. This, after all, was the government which drove untold numbers of its own people, the old and the sick among them, out of the capital Phnom Penh, to perish in the Cambodian jungle. And this was the same government which a group of United States Senators accused of genocide and urged the United Nations to act against. So why the sudden concern about the overthrow of this brutal tyranny? The short answer is that basically the considerations which have been brought into play here have nothing to do with either concern for territorial integrity, or human rights or ideology. In terms of ideology the people who have taken over are as communist as those they have overthrown. To be sure, their version will be more like that of Vietnam and so less brutal than the savage thing they have overthrown: but it will be the same basic ideology for all that. In terms of human rights it is almost certain to be a vast improvement on what it replaces. And even Mr. Andrew Young had to remind his fellow Americans that after their own record in Indo-China any talk about territorial integrity coming from them would ring very hollow. The real reason for the sudden concern over the Cambodian take-over is that the new men there are seen as aligned with Vietnam and ^{therefore,} the Soviet Union, while the men they replaced were aligned with China. And this means that there has been an important new power shift on the Indo-China Peninsula. Soviet influence has been strengthened; Chinese influence has been weakened. And since the Chinese are now seen, by the Americans at least, as a key ally in the business of containing Soviet influence this setback for the Chinese in Cambodia is also a setback for the West. If the people who took over in Cambodia over the weekend had been a pro-Chinese ^{force} ~~group~~ the whole thing would have passed off with hardly a ripple. ~~there is very little mortality~~ ~~in the hard power game~~ which is why the U.S. is quietly dropping its support of the Shah.

- 1) Petrol: Why More than 14½%?
2) Political Summit at Gaadeloupe
3) China & the U.S.

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Friday
January 5, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: If there is a rational and equitable case that would justify the increasing of the price of a gallon of petrol to the Jamaican motorist by more than OPEC's 14½% then that case is still to be made. Mr. Horace Clarke's statement of last Wednesday does not make that case. All it strikes me as doing is rationalising what seems to be an already-taken-decision to hit the Jamaican motorist for more than the 14½% OPEC increase. Please don't get me wrong. I am no expert on the oil business and there may in fact be a strong case to be made to explain why a gallon of crude oil which costs 60c and which when refined into petrol, (with all the costs of refining, wages, profits, transport, margins for dealers and retailers) ^{included} works out at \$1.10c a gallon before tax ^{why this} -/should be increased by more than the OPEC increase. If there is such a case then spell it out for us because it has not yet been made. And fancy verbal footwork does not make a case. To be sure the government has the power to impose ~~the~~ whatever increase it decides on. But would not this be behaving like the profiteering merchant whom we ^{all} condemn so virtuously? Prices of all sorts of things are bound to go up this year. ^{And} ~~not~~ how we handle these increases, and how we respond to them is going to depend very much on the public perception of how fair, how just and how equitable the sharing of these burdens ^{itself} ~~they~~ are. And I think that the government ^{by} is going to have to set a very much better example, ~~not~~ deeds and not just words, this year than it did last year and the year before, in the sharing of the sacrifices it demands from the rest of us. So let us have either

that straight 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ % OPEC increase on crude or else a very clear, ^{factual} fair/and rational justification for anything more.

And oil is also bound to be a key issue at that meeting of the leaders of Britain, France, West Germany and the United States which began down in Guadeloupe earlier today. To be sure the four Western leaders will be concerned primarily with arriving at some common over-view of the world political picture: and oil and who controls it, and who influences those who control it, are key political matters in today's world. So it is most likely that developments in the Middle East and how to influence those developments, especially if the Shah is removed, will take up much time. This is the area where the West has lost most ground and where the Soviet Union has gained most ground over the last twelve to eighteen months. Then there is likely to be the French President's pet new project of seeing Africa as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's frontline of defence. The thinking behind this is to try and counter the Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa. One catch here is that wherever you find the Cubans and the Russians in Africa, they are there by invitation. And it is going to be exceedingly difficult for the Western powers to arrange similar invitations, except from a small minority of black French-speaking states who are little more than economic satellites of France. And these are far from the hot action centres in Central and Southern Africa. So NATO will have problems about going in there as a friend of anybody except the white racists. How the Western leaders deal with this one will be most interesting and revealing. And then, of course, ^{they} ~~there~~ ^{discuss} will ~~be~~ the really big coup: last Monday's formal establishment of diplomatic relations between the Peoples Republic of China and the U.S. This is the ^{event} one/most likely to transform the geopolitical picture in 1979.

Goodnight.

- 1) Petrol: How Big an Increase?
2) ~~Iran: Shah to Step Down~~
3) ~~U.S.-China: Another Illusion in the making?~~

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Wednesday
January 3, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: The price of petrol, and of all petroleum products will be increased within the next few days. We have known about this coming blow since the middle of December. The only thing we have not known was the weight of the blow and when we would feel it. And this we will now soon know; perhaps by this weekend. So what is the size of the increase likely to be? How is it likely to be arrived at? And what should be a fair and reasonable increase. We have already had speculative news stories suggesting that we might have a 50c a gallon increase, a 75c a gallon increase and \$1 a gallon increase. Now, if you remember that the oil price increase announced by OPEC was a spaced-out $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ then some of these speculations are outrageously high. For the increase to be as high as ^{50c} 50¢ on the gallon, it would mean that as well as passing on the OPEC $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase the government is also increasing its own tax take from the motorist by more than $14\frac{1}{2}\%$. Because if you just slap a $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase on the \$3 a gallon we now pay the increase would work out at 44c and the new price would rise to \$3.44c. But in that \$3 a gallon which we now pay there is already whopping tax take by the government of \$1.90c. So it will not only be the petrol which will go up by OPEC's $14\frac{1}{2}\%$: it will be the government's tax take too. And I frankly see no reason or justification for that kind of new tax increase to the motorist at this time. What I think would be much more reasonable and fair ^{would} ~~which~~ be to apply the $14\frac{1}{2}\%$

OPEC increase to the price of petrol before the government's tax take is added to it. So let us examine some of the figures in terms of a $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase which does not include additional hidden taxation. Now, the OPEC increase is on the basic raw material which is the crude oil, and on nothing else, and that crude costs us 60c. And $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ of 60c is less than $8\frac{3}{4}$ c. So if the increase were only on the crude oil the increase to the motorist here would raise the cost of a gallon of petrol to not more than $\$3.10$ c. Anything else would mean that we are also giving the refinery operations, the refinery profit take, the charge for Round the Island movement, the marketing companies and everybody else involved, an increase of $14\frac{1}{2}\%$. For instance, if we add in all these other charges the cost to the Jamaican motorist of a gallon of refined petrol, before tax and before the new OPEC increase, add up to ~~the~~ $\$1.10$ c a gallon. If you add to this only the $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase on the price of crude it brings it up to a little less than $\$1.20$. And if you then add the government's tax of $\$1.90$ you come up with a maximum new price of $\$3.10$ c a gallon. And if you want to offset that last 4.95 c a gallon increase which was given to the retail petrol dealers, then you add another 5 c to the price which would bring the new price of a gallon of petrol up to a maximum of $\$3.15$. And at $\$3.15$ c a gallon, please remember, we would be paying the $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase from the very beginning instead of spacing it over the 12-month period as the OPEC increase would be.

Based on the $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ OPEC increase on crude oil,

I frankly can see no justification for any bigger increase than a maximum of 15 c on the price of a gallon petrol: and that is being extremely generous. Goodnight

New Year's Day, 1979

NEWS COMMENTARY

For broadcast on Monday
January 1, 1979, 6.10p.m

Good evening: ~~xxx~~ And may 1979 be as happy and productive a year for all of us as we want it to be. 1978 was a hard year for most Jamaicans; ~~but~~ we survived it, even though there were times when the doomsayers swore that we would not ^{when they} and/even ^{one} announced/~~the~~ date after another when we were supposed to crash. We did not crash in 1978. 1979 looks like being another hard year/^{for us and the rest of the world} and I have no doubt in my own mind that we will survive this one too. So the important decision for us to make on this first day of a brand new year is ~~whether we will survive or not~~ ^{whether we will survive or not} - we know we will survive - the important decision is at what level we will survive, what quality we want that survival to have. I remember a couple of years back when the young people, especially from the poorer areas of Kingston and St. Andrew, talked almost as a sort of everyday thing about the desire and the will for us all to, as they put it, 'live loving'; for Jamaicans to live in peace with themselves and among themselves. And if you look around yourself, as I tried to do over this past holiday season, you may be surprised at just how much peace and harmony and goodwill there is within this society. There have been times when it has seemed as though there was nothing but ugliness left in Jamaica: ^{had} we have/a daily diet of the ugly in our news and in our headlines to the point where it seemed that that was all there was. ^{of course} There were the killings the rapes, the robberies, the sundry violence and lawlessness. But

there were also very, very many more acts of compassion: vastly more Jamaicans helped each other than harmed each other; the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans were and are peaceful and law-abiding and thoughtful and helpful to each other. You know and I know that this is how it really is. So why this ugly self-image of what is a mainly peaceful and thoughtful/^{and basically decent} society and people? It seems to me that one answer is to be found in the present/^{ugly} nature of/^{much of} our partisan politics, and one of the ways in which we can improve the quality of our living in 1979 is to try to remove some of the plain nastiness from our party politics. And I think that if the Jamaican voters - that overwhelmingly decent majority - were to take careful ^{conduct} not of how those concerned with politics/themselves in word and deed and if you let them know that you are doing so and that this will decide how you vote, I am sure it would help to remove much of the ugliness and nastiness from our politics. But this does not answer all of the question of why we have this ugly self-image of what is ^{most of whose people,} basically a decent society/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ perhaps 99.9%, are law-abiding and honourable. ^{please} So/~~xxxxxx~~ think about this, and ask some searching questions about it. Why this ugly self-image? And who is creating it? And to what end? 1979 is going to be hard and ^{extra and} difficult enough for us. We do not need/crippling psychological burdens of self-doubt and self-contempt to make a hard and difficult year more so. ^{We need Self-confidence & determination to cope.} So let us shed these burdens and make the load a little easier. Not everything in Jamaica is bad and ugly. There ^{many good & beautiful} are many good and beautiful things and people too. And there is a spirit that is uniquely Jamaican and which embraces the whole nation and which cuts across the petty and narrow partisan division of a particular time and place. So please don't ^{let any body} sell Jamaica short in 1979. Peace and love and a Happy New Year. Goodnight.