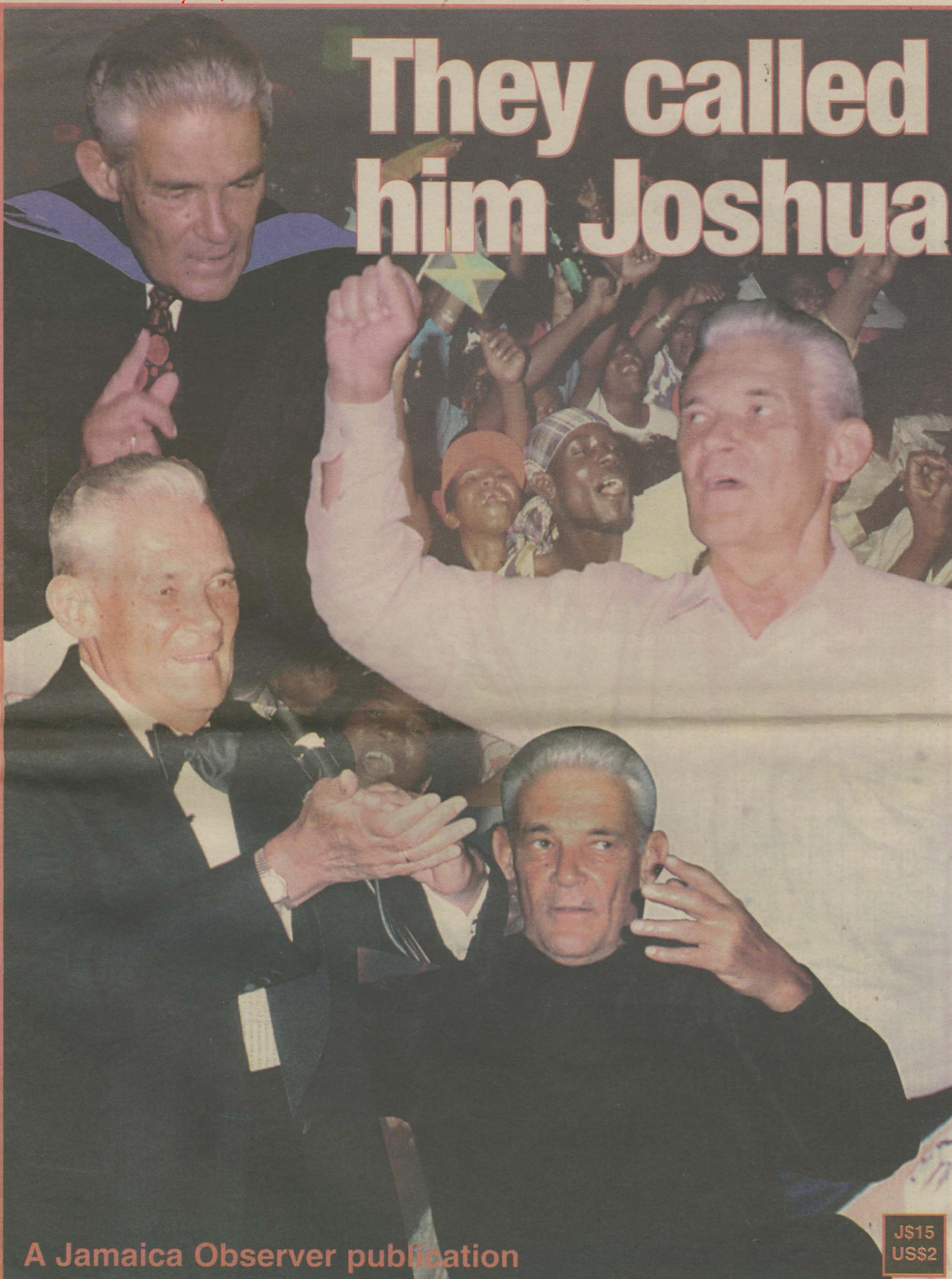


They called him Joshua



A Jamaica Observer publication

J\$15
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A Tribute to Michael Manley

A Giant of our Time

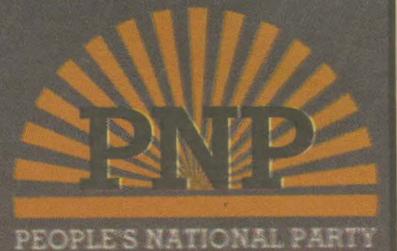
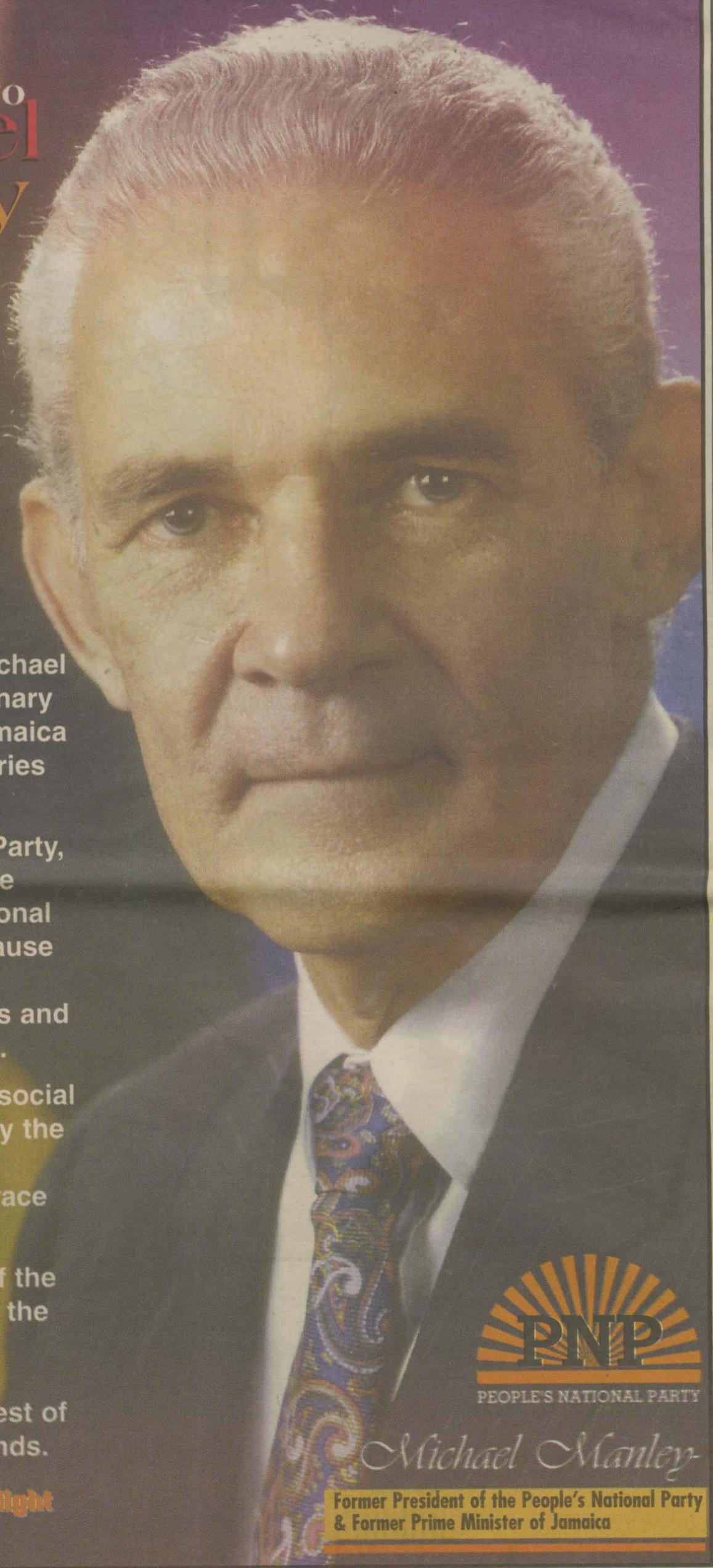
During his lifetime, Rt. Hon. Michael Norman Manley provided visionary inspiration to the people of Jamaica and the underdeveloped countries of the world.

For 23 years, as leader of our Party, this Caribbean colossus, strode over the national and international landscape, championing the cause of the poor and depressed, awakening their consciousness and belief in their own possibilities.

His was a passionate fight for social equity and justice evidenced by the many and far reaching social reforms he piloted. His was a race well run.

The Executive and members of the People's National Party mourn the passing of this extraordinary Jamaican and convey deepest sympathies to his widow, the rest of his family, colleagues and friends.

May his soul rest in peace and light perpetually shine on him.



Michael Manley

Former President of the People's National Party & Former Prime Minister of Jamaica



Michael Manley feature

This man Michael Manley

FEW people evoke as much emotion or have such impact on their countries as did Michael Manley, the former Jamaican prime minister, who died on March 6, aged 72.

Manley was the heir to Jamaica's Camelot. His father, Norman Washington Manley, was not only a schoolboy athlete of renown and a hero of the First World War, but a brilliant lawyer who never lost a murder case. But more critically to Jamaica, he was founder of the People's National Party (PNP), regarded as the leader of the Jamaican nationalist movement and served as the island's premier between 1955 and 1962.

Michael Manley's mother, Edna Manley (nee Swithenbank), his father's cousin, was an internationally-acclaimed sculptor and patron to Jamaica's emerging, indigenous art movement of the colonial period.

It was, therefore, into this family of activism that Michael Manley was born on December 10, 1924 with a profound legacy that must have been a major burden to bear throughout his life. Just as how his politics has been a major issue of debate, especially during his two periods of prime minister (1972-1980 and 1982-1992) when he declared commitment to an ideology of democratic socialism, strode the world stage as a spokesman for the Third World and earned the ire of the United States and confronted deep divisions at home.

During his life-time Manley and his contribution to Jamaica, the Caribbean and the world has been dissected and analysed. Undoubtedly, this will continue long after his death. In this souvenir a number of distinguished Jamaican thinkers, scholars and colleagues begin the new phase of the analysis of Michael Manley.

Fact file:

Michael Norman Manley, OM, PC.

Dec 10, 1924 - March 6, 1997

1935-43: Jamaica College (resigned in 1943 after refusing to take a caning from his headmaster).

1944-1945: Royal Canadian Air Force

1945-1951: London School of Economics (BSc Econ). Came under the influence of Professor Harold Laski. Met many West Indian and African students who later became political colleagues at home and leaders in their own countries.

1951: Returned to Jamaica and joined the *Public Opinion* newspaper writing a column Root of the Matter.

1952: Helped form the National Workers Union (NWU) after expelled members of the People's National Party (PNP) took with them its trade union arm, Trade Union Congress (TUC).

1962: Appointed to the Jamaican Senate

1967: Elected to the House of Representatives

1969: Wins the leadership of the PNP

1972: Wins first term as prime minister

1976: Second term as prime minister

1980: Loses general election

1983: Boycotts general election

1989: Wins third term as prime minister

1992: Resigns as prime minister and leader of the PNP because of ill health.




Michael Manley feature

Assessing the Manley legacy

BY DR RUPERT LEWIS

THE Manley family — Norman, Edna, Douglas and Michael — have been central to Jamaican political and cultural life from the 1930s to the 1990s. In a country made up predominantly of people of African descent, who were poor, that sort of light-skinned professional Caribbean family was expected to make its way into the bourgeoisie making money and enjoying a cosmopolitan lifestyle with little regard for the rest of the population. However, the Manley family chose a different route that was both a product of special historical circumstances arising from a national movement, international decolonisation as well as personal choice. As a result, the family has stimulated Jamaica's national spirit in a way that no other Jamaican family has done in this century.

Norman, as founder of the People's National Party, premier of Jamaica and one of the fathers of Jamaican independence and National Hero, played his part. Edna, as sculptor, literary editor and inspirer to several generations of Jamaican artists and writers, and a powerful figure within the cultural and political establishment, wife and mother of Jamaican leaders, played her role. In the process she redefined herself within the framework of Jamaican nationhood. Douglas, the surviving son combined the academic, consultant and political roles and Michael Manley, on the basis of mandates given him by the Jamaican people, was prime minister of Jamaica on three occasions, as well as being a writer and scholar and international advocate on behalf of Africa and the poor.

The Manley name has therefore been a reference point for Jamaican cultural and political nationalism. In this regard the name has been a counterpoint to British colonial rule while at the same time the Manley family drew on the rich legacy of Britain's democratic heritage in culture, philosophy, economics and law as was the case with the Indian and African political intellectuals who challenged British rule. The Manley family represented the best thrust of the West Indian middle-classes in their efforts to mould a regional union of independent Caribbean nations. The Manley family through two generations challenged the planter-dominated status quo and their intellectual supporters, some of whom were black, and were embraced by the middle-classes and others who aspired to replace the British in political and civil life.

However, nation-building requires more than the

efforts and sacrifices of a single family. Political leaders have to be able to weave diverse ethnic and social forces into a national team. Nation-building is dependent on the ability to bring together the broad mass of people of African descent and people of other racial backgrounds as well as to lead alliances of social classes to effect an agenda of change. It also requires very astute leadership in the international arena, particularly the relationship with the hegemonic power of Washington. In this regard both Norman and Michael benefited from the work of their colleagues in the trade union movement, in business, in the professions, and in religious and community life. Most importantly they benefited and drew on the support and understanding of ordinary Jamaicans here and abroad.

What is most important in the legacy of the Manley family is not only what they did for the nation in terms of governmental programmes, especially in education. As

important as those were, they cannot measure up to their stimulation of the independent and creative abilities of the Jamaican people and their challenge to us to chart new directions. They were a central part of the debates and arguments we had about the future and there were many disagreements with them but we knew we were part of national, regional and international projects that depended on our efforts. In this regard they were stewards of the best in the politics and culture of Jamaica's nearly 160 post-emancipation years.

For the future, the key to post-colonial governance lies in how effective leadership is in combining the twin elements of effective governmental programmes particularly in the sphere of economic development, at the same time that it provides a framework for popular initiatives. In recent years the black middle-class in Jamaica that has emerged since the 1970s and now occupies a wide range of positions in all areas of national life has adopted some

of the most negative aspects of the behaviour of the people they have replaced. The challenges to the black middle-class in the political parties, business, academic spheres is not to continue the tradition of erecting social, economic and administrative garrisons between the people and the state.

The key problem facing Jamaican political leadership is how to reconstruct our economic, social and political order in the twenty-first century. Historically Jamaica's ruling economic groups have had the mentality of wringing the island dry and leaving very little for national development. Unfortunately the emergent black bourgeoisie, some of whom have come into their own as a result of the changes in the 1970s, do not understand their long-term economic and social role and see things only in a short-term way. Unfortunately the mentality of intelligentsia is no better.

Manley's legacy is that he helped to undermine the old order. For that he will never be forgiven by those who prospered from the old order and their noisy acolytes. The problem today is that the "new" order is behaving like the old order. It cannot work. At the end of the twentieth century everybody wants to sit at the table. The Manley family helped to make that consciousness possible. Michael Manley has passed the baton to others who will have to help to ensure that there are seats at the table for all.

Dr Rupert Lewis is head of the department of government at the University of the West Indies, a Garvey scholar and reader in political thought.



Michael Manley (right) with his father, Norman (centre) and brother, Douglas.

Michael Manley feature

I have lost a friend — Castro

CUBAN President, Fidel Castro has said with the death of former Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, he has lost a friend "with whom I had the privilege to share moments of fruitful exchange and nice company".

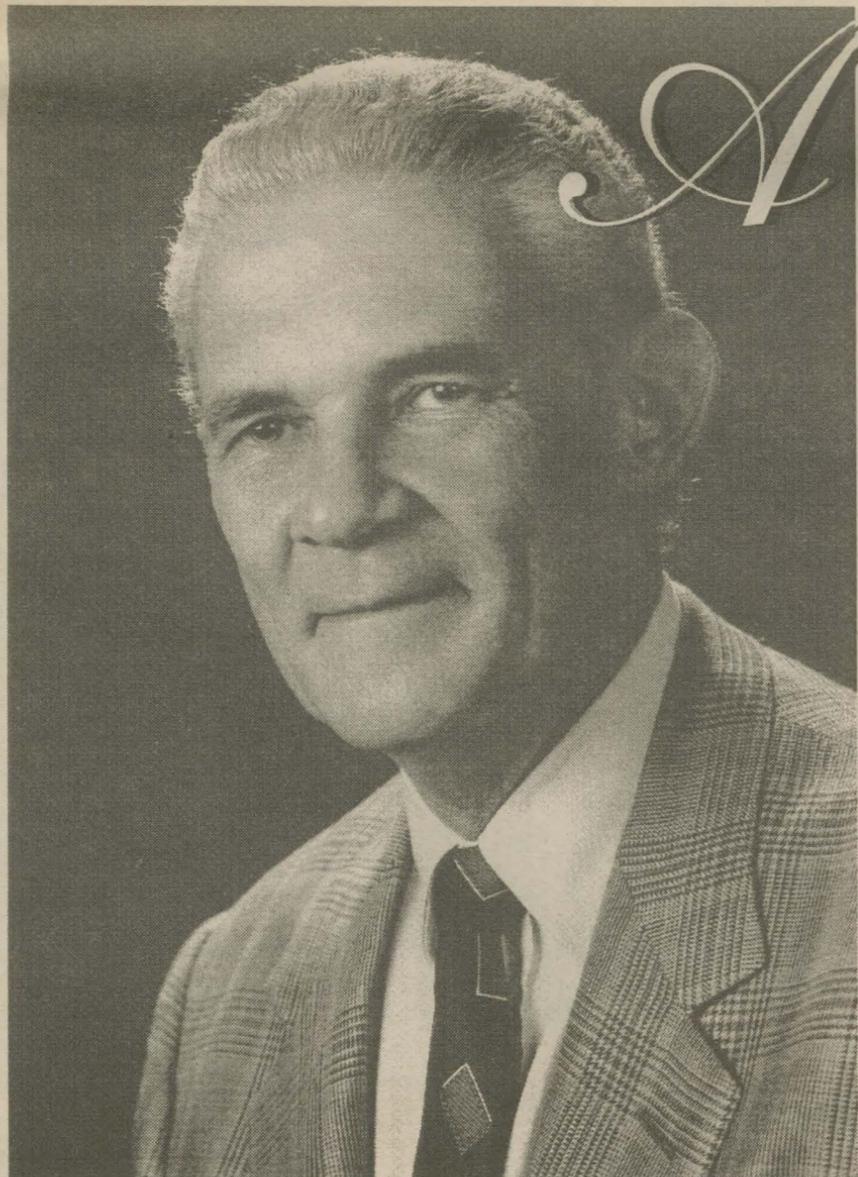
Manley, was a close ally of Castro in the 1970s. Even after he demitted office in 1992. Manley remained supportive of Castro, and had criticised the continued United States embargo against Cuba.

"Lucid thinker, energetic and charming speaker, trade union and political leader, vibrant social organiser. Manley made substantive contribution in ideas and tireless actions to the noble objectives of integration and development in the Caribbean region. He was a determined defender of the insertion of the Caribbean in the world with a voice and character of its own," said the Cuban leader.

He added: "From a coherent position, Manley contributed to the political, economic and social debate at the international level and was, until the end of his life, consistent with the concepts and principles that inspired all his political ideas and life."



Michael Manley (centre), greets Cuban president, Fidel Castro, on his visit to Jamaica in 1977. At right is Beverley Anderson-Manley, his wife then.



A man for all seasons

*If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue
Or walk with kings - nor lose the common touch;
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you;
If all men count with you, but none too much; ...
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And, which is more, you'll be a man my son!*

Rudyard Kipling

*The Rt. Honourable Michael Manley was a son of Jamaica,
A man for all seasons.
His legacy will endure.
May his soul rest in peace.*

*Sincere condolences to the Manley family.
Our thoughts are with you during this time of sorrow.
From Desnoes & Geddes.*



A colossal figure has left us

BY PRIME MINISTER PJ PATTERSON

THE passing of Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, marks the departure of a colossal figure.

His death will be mourned by all Jamaicans, regardless of colour, class or creed. People throughout the Caribbean and the wider world will grieve at the loss of one who has left his indelible mark on the international stage.

His outstanding achievements as a trade union leader, politician, international statesman and distinguished author constitute part of the rich legacy he bequeaths to his native land, to the Caribbean region and the wider world at large.

We will always remember Michael Manley for his passionate fight for social equity and justice and his commitment to the upliftment of the less fortunate in the society.

Speaking for myself, I feel a deep sense of person-

al loss for someone who was my leader, my colleague and my friend. Nor can I forget the wider circle of colleagues, supporters and friends who now grieve.

On behalf of the government and people of Jamaica, I wish to express sincere sympathy to his widow Glynne, his Children, Douglas, his brother and the rest of his family.



Michael and PJ in earlier days.

Manley's dream was for a just and prosperous Jamaica

BY BRUCE GOLDING

President, National Democratic Movement

TODAY is one of those special occasions when members of this honourable house come together to pay tribute to someone whose life has influenced the course of our history and whose endeavours will continue to affect our lives long after we have said farewell and long after his resonant voice has been stilled.

There are some who will seek to villify him, many others will idolise him but none dare ignore him.

Today is, fittingly, a day for tributes but, more importantly, it is a day for reflection and introspection. There is indeed much about the life of Michael Manley, his mission, his struggles, his dreams and his travails, that tell us a great deal about ourselves and point us a direction.

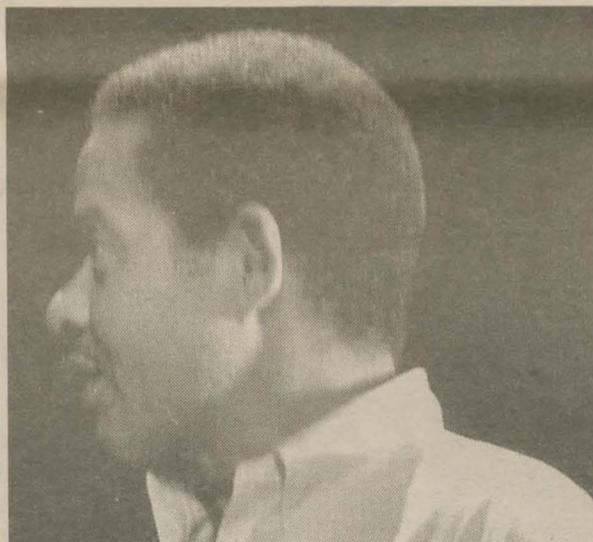
The commentaries that will be made will be varied, such was the controversial character of the man. But controversy is the unavoidable consequence for those who dare to be bold, who dare to challenge an entrenched order and chart a new course driven by hope but fraught with uncertainty and even the danger of failure. We must never be intimidated by controversy because so often it is through controversy that we discover truth.

Michael Manley was inspired by and, in turn, inspired many others with a vision of what the Jamaican people could achieve and ought to achieve. It was a vision founded in the principle of equality and social justice and nurtured by his abiding faith in the capacity of the Jamaican people to achieve greatness.

That vision rested uncomfortably with the economic and social order which he encountered and changing that order was, for him, more than a strategy — it was a compelling imperative. He saw wrongs to be righted, imbalances to be redressed, chains to be broken. Many there were, myself included, who disagreed with his methods but I admired and respected him as a man who refused to accept things as they were, who with defiant and almost rebellious determination, sought to change the system.

That so many of his dreams for Jamaica are yet to be achieved does not constitute the full verdict on his stewardship. There are valuable lessons to be learnt from the Manley experience, some from his triumphs and others from those of his endeavours where, as he has himself acknowledged, success eluded him.

The first of these is that the human spirit which is so vital to national development cannot be energised



GOLDING... His dedication to the people of Jamaica cannot be challenged.

unless the people are at the centre of the concerns which inform development planning. Michael Manley understood that fundamental truth and he demonstrated that in so many of the initiatives which he spearheaded.

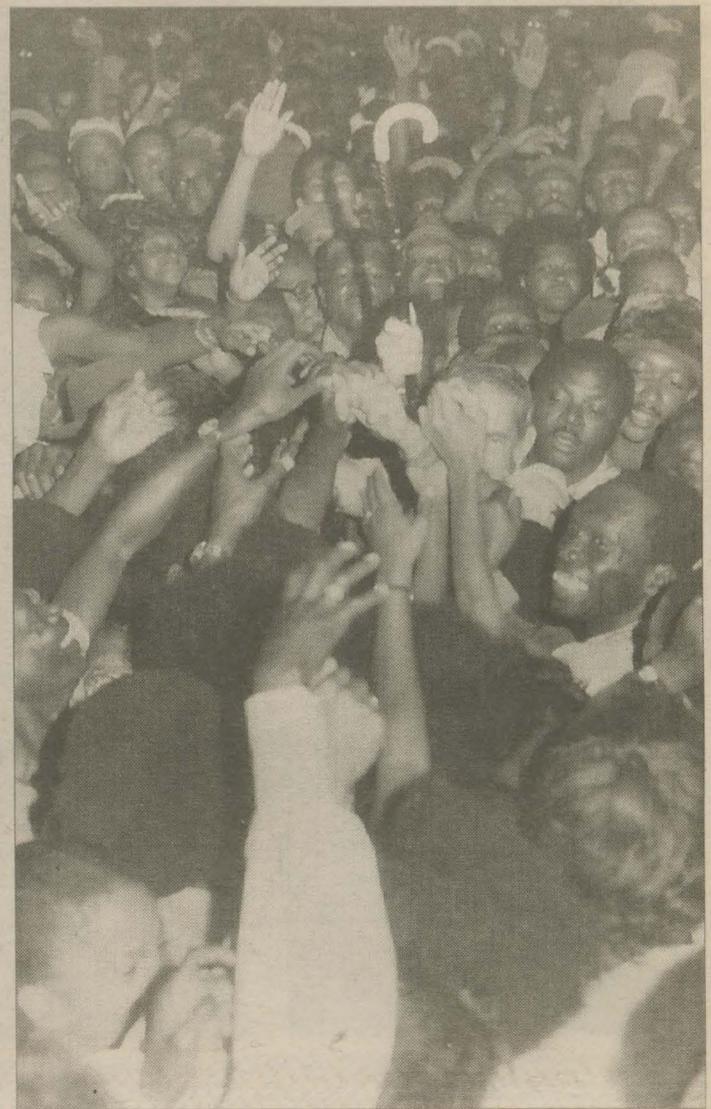
Secondly, the Jamaican people, while willing to respond to leadership, demand and have a right to know where they are going. Michael Manley, notwithstanding his enormous power to inspire and motivate, respected the ability of ordinary Jamaicans to think and to reason and used that power to engage their minds and stimulate their hopes.

But there is a third lesson which we must learn and it is this. In a society in which democracy is fiercely competitive, power is no substitute for consensus and a majority can never be as effective as unity. More than anything else, the legacy of Michael Manley — his achievements but moreso his dreams which remain unfulfilled — confirm in my mind the necessity for us to build the structures which will induce us to work together, not against each other, to find common cause, not to thrive in discord.

His dedication to the people of Jamaica cannot be challenged. The challenge is for us to find the mechanisms to ensure that the just and prosperous society which he so passionately sought after is achieved by us whom he has left behind. That is the real challenge of his legacy.



MANLEY and his PEOPLE



Michael Manley feature

Remembered for his fight against apartheid

BY TONY BLAIR MP
Leader of Opposition Britain

Michael Manley will be long remembered for his efforts to improve the quality of life of the Jamaican people and for his contribution to the struggle against discrimination and apartheid. As an Honorary President of the Socialist International and a committed trade unionist, he played a key role in spreading the message of social justice and economic progress to the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America.

As one of the leading politicians of his time, who struggled against injustice and inequality, and who brought Jamaica to the forefront of the Non-Aligned Movement, he will be sorely missed.

Michael Manley had a long association with Britain and we in the British Labour Party will remember with great affection.

A prime West Indian asset

BY SIR SHRIDATH RAMPHAL

The West Indian political firmament has lost its brightest star. Michael Manley had already left the scene of active politics; but his radiance lingered. There is now no avoiding the dying of the light.

In our West Indian world, among a post-war generation of high quality political leaders. Michael Manley became *primus inter pares* without seeking or asserting it. He was, indeed, a prime West Indian asset - to Jamaica first of all, but to the wider West Indian region in whose identity and integration he passionately believed - and to Latin America with which he bonded the Caribbean so smoothly.

It was a privilege to have been of Michael Manley's generation for his life enriched his times no less than the lives of each of us who shared its passage.

International Leaders Say



Rt Hon Michael Norman Manley

A great political figure

BY LUIS AYALA
Secretary General of the Socialist International

LEADERS and members of the 139 parties and organizations of the Socialist International, the worldwide association of labour, socialist and social democratic parties, are united today in sorrow at the news of the death of Michael Manley.

Michael Manley took a leading role in the work of the Socialist International and thus many of us had the privilege of working closely with a great political figure of our times during the years when he led the People's National Party and served Jamaica as Prime Minister.

He was an Honorary President and previously a long-standing Vice-President of our organisation and founding Chairman of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, which under his active and inspiring chairmanship carried out important work in developing the democratic socialist perspective on the world economy. It played a key role in drawing attention to the desperate poverty of developing countries and the burden of their foreign debt, and in formulating a common demand for a fairer and more responsible international financial system. The Committee published a seminal report. "Global Challenge — From Crisis to Co-operation: Breaking the North-South Stalemate", often known as the Manley Report.

This work continues. Michael Manley made a great and enduring contribution to the democratic socialist movement. He will long be remembered with esteem and gratitude and will be sorely missed by friends and comrades in the Socialist International all over the world.

Our thoughts and our deepest condolences are today with his family, his friends and all his comrades in the PNP.



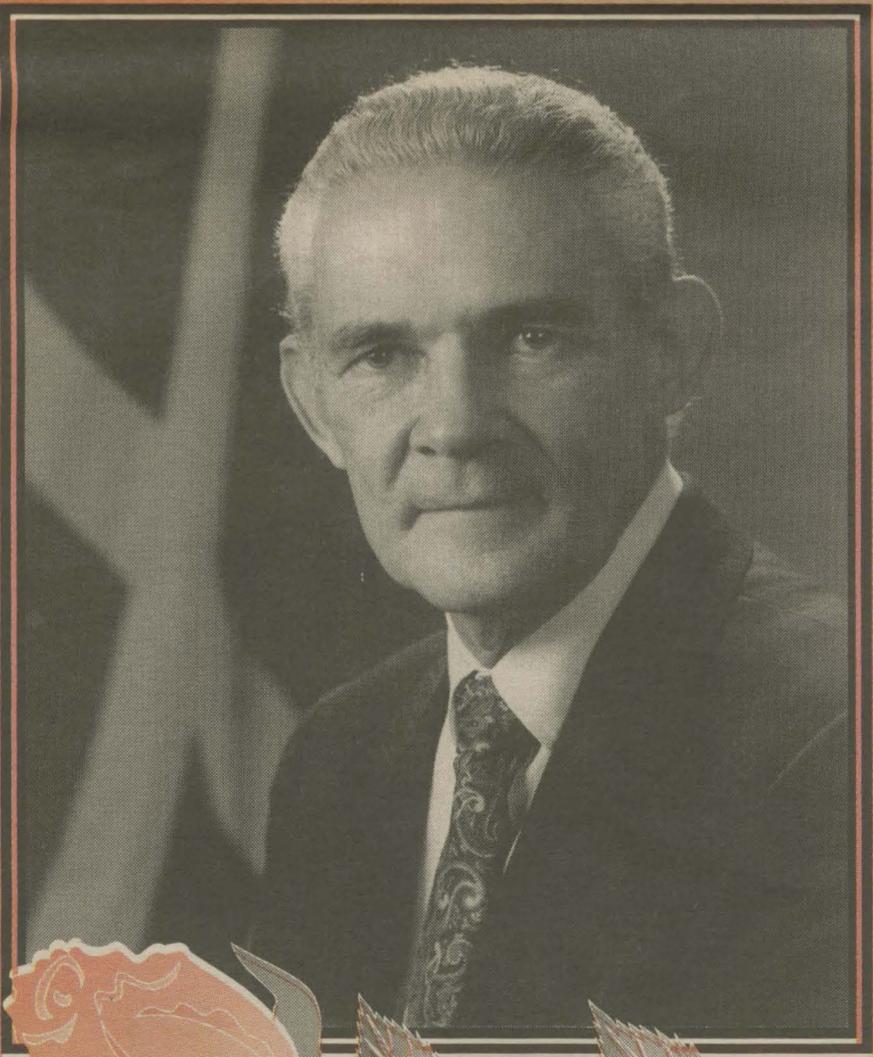
THE JAMAICA CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Salutes

The Rt. Hon. Michael Norman Manley
1924 - 1997

FORMER PRIME MINISTER, PATRIOT,
AUTHOR, ORATOR, UNION DELEGATE,
SPORTS ENTHUSIAST,
FRIEND AND INSPIRER TO MANY...

...In this time of sorrow
let us not mourn his death
but be thankful for his life
and the contribution he made
to our lives.



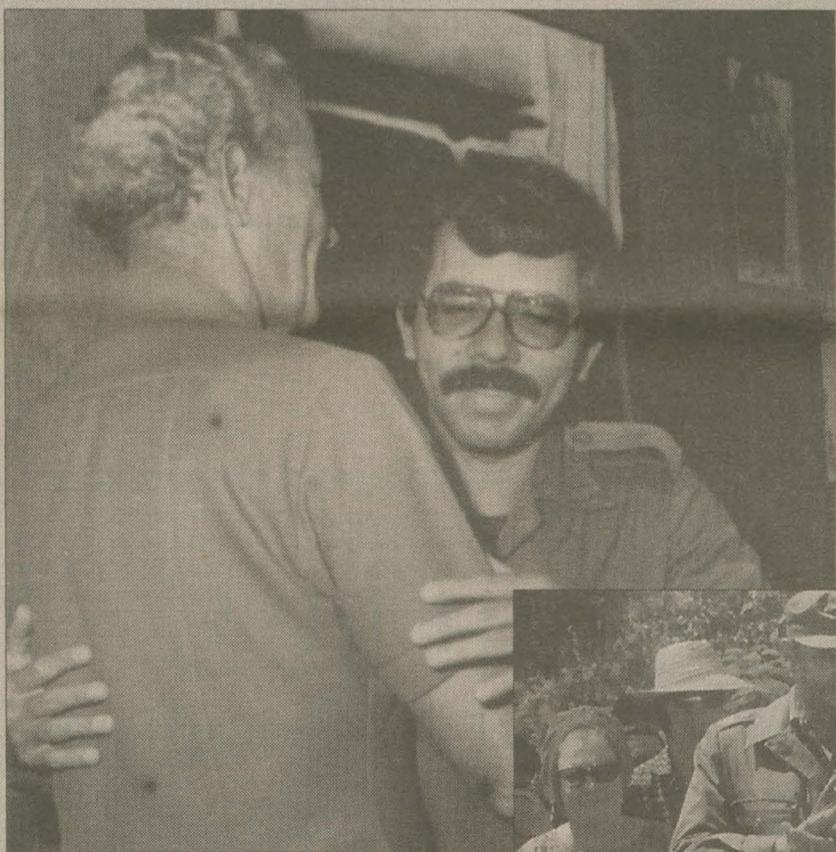
Michael Manley feature



Meeting leaders at home

Left: Manley, accompanied by P J Patterson (right) greet Oliver Tambo of South Africa

Below: American civil rights activist Jesse Jackson shares a thought with Manley.



With Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua



& abroad

Right: Manley thanks this young Cuban girl who had just presented him with a gift on his visit to Cuba, while Cuban president, Fidel Castro applauds.



Michael Manley feature



Architect of the politics of meaning

BY MAXINE HENRY-WILSON

*"Those were the days my friend
We thought they'd never end
We'd sing & dance for every & a day
We'd live the life we choose
We'd fight and never lose
Those were the days,
O yes those were the days".*

This once popular song perhaps most aptly embodies the mood, the feeling of the generation of the 70s; that is, those who came to adulthood during the "Manley years". Their political awakening occurred within a local and international context which was characterised by and which encouraged challenging the **status quo**.

The context is important because it instilled in many of the young a sense of power to prevail against even the most mighty.

Enter Michael Manley on the political stage in Jamaica! Result — a translation of the global and international trends into the potential and programmes for local action. He, more than anyone else (although not alone), was able to create a **Politics of meaning** for the majority of the generation of the 70s.

There are three critical tributaries which converged to create this "**Politics of meaning**":

- a) The articulation of an ideology
- b) the re-institutionalisation of the party (PNP) *qua* party
- c) the motivation, energizing and involvement of young talent and commitment.

Let us deal with each in turn.

- a) **The articulation of an ideology**

The PNP's 1972 election manifesto, taken as a whole, did represent a platform for change. However, it was by no means a coherent or cohesive body of ideas.

Early in the life of the regime, however — about 1973 — it was recognised that there needed to be an integrating idea, a body of beliefs which could provide a point of reference. The party had never "with-drawn" from its stated commitment to socialism — a commitment made from as far back as 1940 by the party's founder, Norman Manley. Since this declaration, there had been an ebb and flow in the party's adherence to this ideology. The platform of the PNP of the early 1970s seemed to be consistent with the party's history of socialism.

However, there was need for a **re-definition**. Manley, together with a core group from the party

(not everyone was involved), attempted to do this. Indeed, the main document was written in an all-night sitting of about 5-6 people. The draft document which was prepared was to become the subject of discussion and debate within, and, unintentionally, without the party.

The process was a curious mix of top-down and bottom-up convergence. For the majority of the party, their resonance with "democratic socialism" did not result from deep ideology analysis. It was the "works" — free education, land lease, community health aides, sites and service lots — which convinced them of the virtue and of the acceptability of democratic socialism.

The generation of the 70s energetically purveyed this ideology. They thought it had no end, no bounds, no limits.

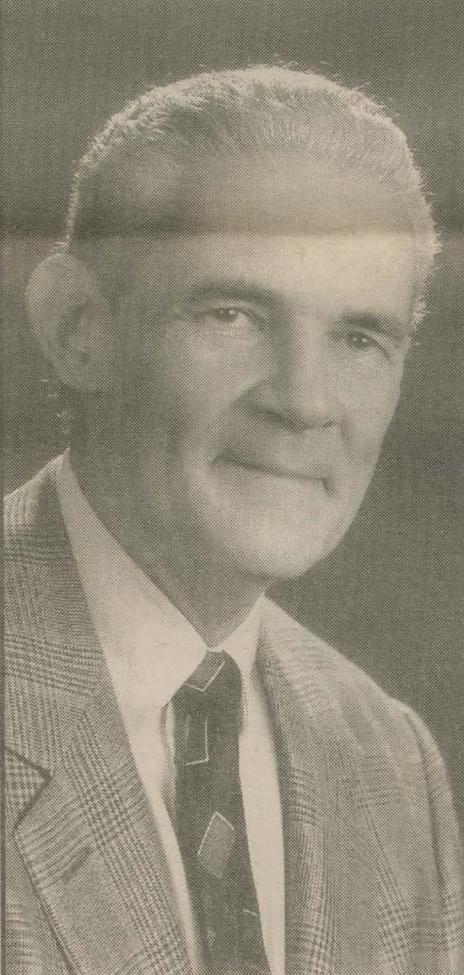
Continues on Page 10



Manley and Castro in Cuba



We Salute You



Michael Manley's foresight in the establishment of the National Housing Trust is one of his many legacies to Jamaica.

The NHT was another of his brainchild in 1976, geared at helping to fulfill the dream of improving the lot of the less fortunate in the society and making housing more affordable to Jamaicans on a whole.

He commissioned the establishment of a national institution which would harness labour, management and private sector support to mobilise the type of resources necessary to begin to tackle the onerous housing needs of Jamaica.

Today, 21 years later, by way of its innovative portfolio of solutions, the NHT has provided and will continue to provide homes for hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans.

The NHT salutes the late Rt. Hon. Michael Norman Manley for his vision, leadership and love for his fellowmen.



Michael Manley



National Housing Trust
...the key to your home



Manley almost hidden by a throng of supporters

Michael Manley feature

Architect of the politics of meaning



Manley being embraced by a comrade at a party conference

Continued from Page 9

b) Reinstitutionalisation of the party

The definition of an ideology in and of itself gave energy and legitimacy to the People's National Party as an institution. It became the forerunner, proclaiming and heralding that which was to come.

The party became an agent. New structures were created. Others were revitalised. Again, Manley was not necessarily the architect; but he was the facilitator. Without him it could not have happened.

Manley's consensual decision-making style made the party a necessity. By 1974, he recognised the reality of emerging ideological tendencies within the party. He had to straddle all tendencies if he were to remain the leader. So he consulted with the authoritative figures within each tendency — prior to making any decision and prior to bringing ideas to the full party fora. This was the curious role of Michael Manley as the leader of ideas while simultaneously being the bargainer and reconciler of disparate views.

In this way, the party as an institution was buttressed. The public perception that the government was an extension of the party was born out of this consultative approach by Manley. In addition, the party as the immediate point-of-contact with the people felt it was a legitimate channel for the concerns and aspirations of the Jamaican people. To a significant extent, the Jamaican people concurred with this view.

c) The motivation, energising & involvement of young talent & commitment

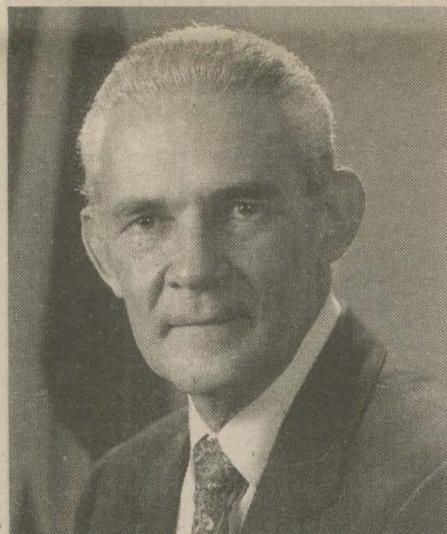
The man, the message and the mood pulled thousands of talented young people into the movement. A movement it was, because it went beyond the PNP as an organisation to student councils, community councils, workers organisations, just to name a few. They had all signed on to what they conceived as a national project for societal transformation.

They had ideals. They believed that the process had no bounds; that change could be wrought through commitment. The majority of those who followed were inexperienced in matters relating to management of the state. They were oblivious of societal processes and their limits. They thought "they'd sing for ever and a day ... and could not lose".

The reality was otherwise and soon — like the lyrics of the final verse of the song quoted above the generation of the 70s became "older and wiser". The day-to-day challenges, the conflict, the tug-of-war, the treachery, in some instances, led to poignant questions.

The passing of Michael Manley has posed some of these questions, once again perhaps the most poignant relates to the unfinished agenda.

Given the new global and local circumstances how do we pursue the agenda positively? The prescriptive approach is definitely not an option. The search for solutions which are unequivocally on the side of the people continues.



**To have served you
was our privilege.
We extend our condolences
to Mrs Glynne Manley
& The Family**

**From
The Management & Staff of Ace Pest
Control & Fumigating Services Ltd**



Manley (seated second right) and Dudley Thompson (right) at one of their many meetings.



'Manley the people's champion'

Reflections on the political thought of Manley

BY TONY BOGUES

EQUALITY was the core political value in Michael Manley's political thought. When Michael Manley was born in 1924 the world was dominated by colonial empires. In 1885 Africa had been partitioned by the colonial powers and the Caribbean was already 200 years under colonial rule.

Colonialism was a system of complete domination. It subordinated nations, politically, economically and socially. Human inequality was both its ideological assumption and social foundation. By the time Michael Manley came of age in the 1940s the forces of decolonisation were rolling. Decolonisation was a hinge of 20th century history. Its advocates demanded political equality and freedom for the colonial people.

Michael Manley became active in public life in the early 1950s. Although by that time in Jamaica the anti-colonial movement was making strides, the social structure of the society was dominated by a local and foreign plantocracy and gross inequalities, social and economic, between the different classes was the order of the day. In particular, the black majority was excluded from all spheres of economic and public life.

Manley's involvement in trade unionism was the expression of the passion for equality. He writes that in Jamaica, in the 1950s, "there was no subtlety, and little mobility, because a man's class was stamped on his skin as much as on his clothes. To middle class eyes, the working classes were an opaque mass — without individuality and without rights — because they were without humanity". The essence of his trade union activity was to give to working class Jamaicans the possibilities of achieving better wages and working conditions as well as their self respect as human beings. This meant that his union activity had to break down the old 'buckie massa' relations between employer and workers. To do that, the unions had to struggle for equality between worker and employer, which had, as its foundation, mutual human respect.

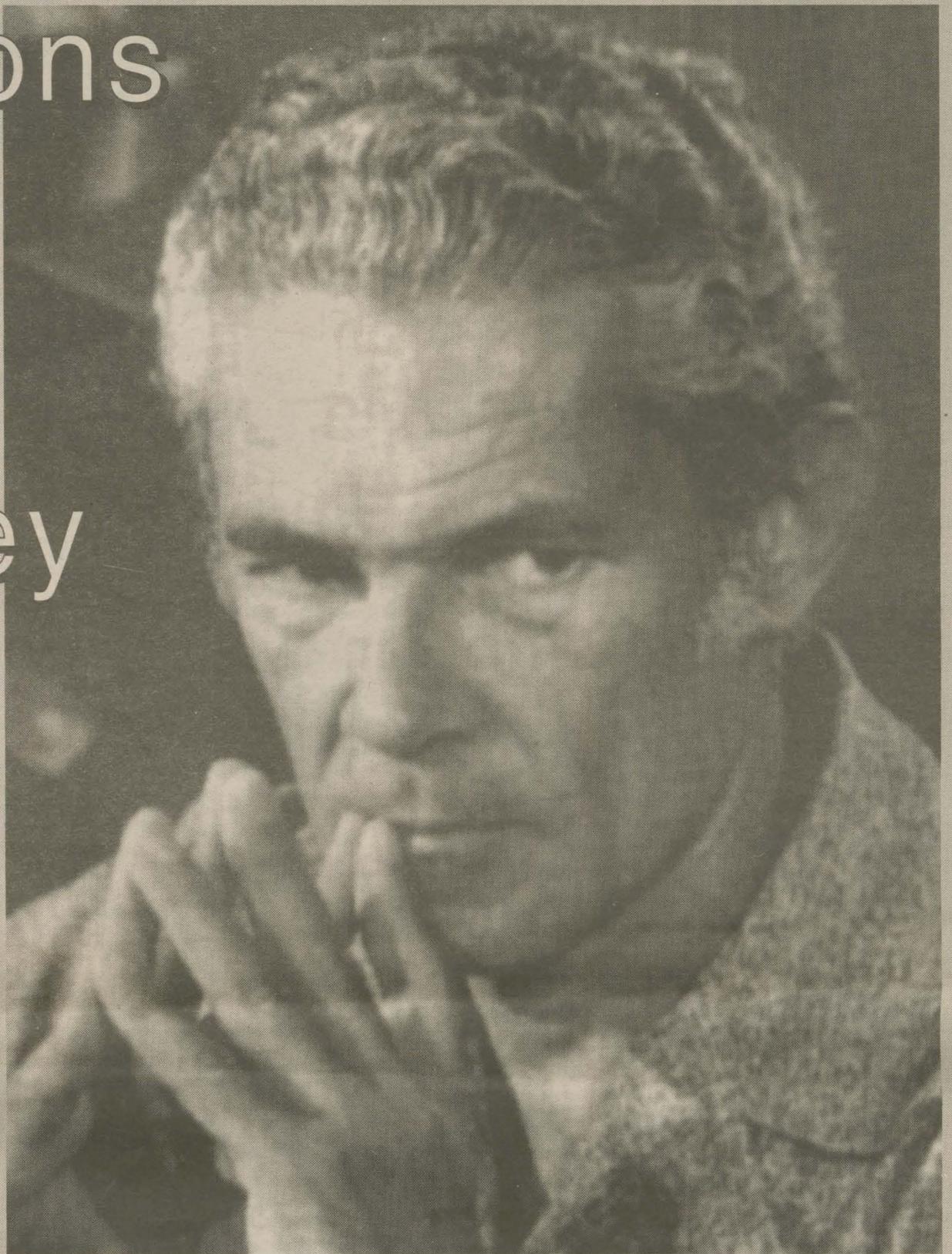
Moving from trade unionism to politics, Manley practiced the *politics of equality*. There is no other framework for understanding the massive social legislation programme of the '70s, the social reforms affecting education, housing, children, women and workers. They were reforms to create the conditions of equality for those who were previously subordinate in the Jamaican social system. So too, was the struggle for the New International Economic Order.

The NIEO was about equal trading relations, fairer commodity prices for those countries who were previously colonies. It demanded a reorganisation of the international economic system so that Third World countries could get a better deal for the commodities they produced. Colonial domination had created a system of economic dependency for many countries. Manley's attempt to develop the NIEO was both an endeavour to break the cycle of dependency and allow Third World countries to take their equal place in the world economic system. So, too, was Manley's policy of international relations. His notion of sovereignty was based on two things.

First, the right of a small country to determine for itself with whom and under what conditions it would engage in foreign affairs, and secondly, a notion of sovereignty which was in sync with a conception that all countries, whether big, small or middle sized were equal in the world nation state system.

Manley's advocacy for political freedom in South African and the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia was part of his belief in equality.

What has all of this to do with socialism? Because Manley,



Manley in a pensive mood

until his death, was a socialist. The doctrine of socialism is one with many streams. Manley did not belong to the stream which advocated class conflict as a means of revolutionary social change, but was wedded to conceptions of individual freedom and reform which has had gained at the London School of Economics while studying under Harold Laski.

As a political intellectual, Manley attempted to frame his *politics of equality* within the ideology of socialism. The socialism of Manley should be seen within the context of the tradition of socialism within the People's National Party. When socialism was declared in 1940, the party defined it primarily as a way "to give everyone equal opportunities to live a decent and full life". There were three other things about PNP socialism. First, it eschewed the idea of class struggle. Secondly, it advocated the selected state ownership of sections of the economy and believed in the political framework of liberal parliamentary democracy.

In the 1970s, Michael Manley well within this tradition, emphasised in his *politics of equality* that fundamental reforms in the economic and social system had to occur. In advocating these changes he tried to develop a class alliance and attempted to persuade the then local oligarchy that the society needed to change. They were not persuaded and fought tenaciously to maintain their social and economic power in the society.

For Manley equality also meant that a political party had to have an ideology of change both to guide it and educate its members as part of the political process. In the struggle for equality, politics, as a participatory activity was essential. Otherwise, the political party would be reduced to distributing the spoils of office, becoming an "ethical wasteland".

Certainly, the present state of the Jamaican political process

vindicates this dimension of Manley's political thought. Between 1989 and 1996, Manley's political thinking was preoccupied with two issues. First, how to create a society of equality within the context of what he considered was the apparent failure of statist economic development in the Third World.

Secondly, how to develop different methods of worker participation based on his conception of human equality. He did not give definitive answers to any of these issues, but in 1993 attempted to put together a small working group to study them.

The legacy of Manley is a *politics of equality*. This politics makes Manley, along with Julius Nyerere (someone with whom he shared many moments of struggle) the inheritors of a political tradition established in the global anti-colonial movement of the late 1940s.

Manley's political thoughts has to be seen within the trajectory of the attempt by the Third World in the latter half of the 20th century to stamp its presence on the global political community and to change it. It was also shaped by the historical struggles of ordinary Jamaicans for dignity and equality.

In our local political system wracked by tribalism and lack of vision; in an economic system of gross inequalities; the *politics of equality* means the continual search for a framework of equality and justice for the ordinary Jamaican.

Dr Tony Bogues is a lecturer at the University of the West Indies, presently a research fellow at Howard University. Between 1989-1992 he was special assistant to prime minister Michael Manley and between 1982-1992 was the political education secretary for the People's National Party.

My Michael

BY GLYNNE MANLEY

WHEN I was first approached to write this remembrance, being an extremely private person, my initial reaction was to recoil. Then I recalled that Michael had always been so encouraging over my attempts at writing and always made sure that I never side stepped a challenge.

So many people love and understand the public Michael, and are filled with admiration and respect for all that he accomplished and stood for, that I thought perhaps those same people might enjoy hearing something of the other, private, wonderful Michael.

Few ever understood or even believed how terribly shy he was. The agony he went through prior to making a major speech was painful to watch. He could not eat on the day. He suffered from nervous stomach and paced the house hours before 'performance time'. Then, as so many have witnessed all over the world, he mustered his enormous communication skills and his tremendous will, and always, and here I repeat, always, demanded that his listeners 'think'. He challenged his audience to look to a future which he always depicted optimistically and one that could be so full of possibilities for 'betterment' — betterment for oneself, for one's community and for one's country.

There is no doubt Michael Manley was an extraordinary man. Yet, home he was singularly more 'ordinary'. He loved his food, and perhaps, for most of his life, could be accused of overeating. His favourite meal was any of the traditional Jamaican breakfasts and of those breakfasts, his favourite was salt fish fritters until I got on his case about cutting down on his fat intake. His many loves included a great restaurant, completing a crossword puzzle together, slapstick comedy, those terrible 'action'

movies, bittersweet chocolate and penny dreadful novels.

He was filled with passion over the activities of life, whether watching his beloved sports or planting a new bed in our garden at Nyumbani. He could discuss, with ease, subjects ranging from international relations and politics to the art collection at the National Gallery, to the latest in women's fashions. One of my greatest joys was having Michael accompany me on a clothes shopping expedition. First of all, he had excellent, elegant taste in women's clothes. He would give considered advice as I tried on outfit after outfit, and, after selection, he would insist that we purchase the right scarf, the correct handbag and shoes and would not end the spree without buying the 'right' jewelry.

It always amazed people who learned of this side of him that one so obviously 'manly' could find such enjoyment in "women's things". But there was no task he undertook that did not get his full enthusiasm and attention whether it was discussing with his grandson, Drum, his work at university or playing bridge with his friends. He was a good bridge player and thoroughly enjoyed the sessions we arranged with our close friends, each of whom refused to take the game too seriously and came more for the wine and laughter than for the result of the game. In fact, up to a few days before he died, Michael was reveling in the fun that accompanied those sessions.

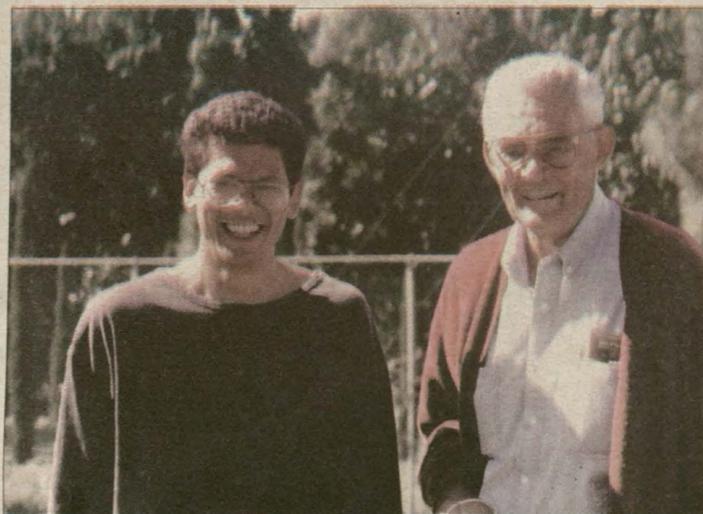
He coped with a difficult life style and set of personal circumstances during his working years. His commitment to the work which was required to deal with the pressing issues of the times and the things he believed in so passionately resulted in his family life suffering. But in the years after his retirement he found it not only possible but so very rewarding to, as it were, re-discover his children. The getting to know them and the discovery that they were fine, interesting adults, gave him enormous pleasure and pride.

He loved to plan things: trips, events, shopping, and especially music programmes for those occasions we invited close friends to 'a concert' in his beloved hills. He would wallow in the enjoyment and appreciation of others of the music provided on the ridiculously expensive, high quality stereo equipment that he could ill afford.

We used to arrange "Family Fun Days" up at Nyumbani and I think I can honestly say that for myself, the children and the grandchildren, these days will provide the best of happy memories. Michael, a great sports lover and terrific coach, although not much of a player himself, would laugh at the standard of basketball being attempted by his family, (with the exception of David, of course) and referee all games and matches in his usual, diplomatic and fair manner. He could 'mouth' a good game of tennis, dominoes and Kalookie and neither loved nor hated winning or losing, but more the enjoyment of participation and fun. He once tried his hand at barbecuing which produced limited success and a lot of smoke.

It would be after we'd bundled everyone off down the hill that we would sit quietly and pick over the incidents of the day, glad that some family member had finally made up with another family member. Inevitably, we'd ask Brahms, or Tchaikovsky to fill our mountains while the sunset displayed its varied, often startling 'goodnight'. At those precious moments, all seemed well with the world.

I am fortunate to have some 20, recorded, personal interviews with Michael done over the past three years or so. I'm not sure yet what to do with them, but I know he will guide me at the appropriate time. He always guided me. I see no reason for him to stop now.



Michael and son, ss Joseph



Michael and Glynne



A rest from his gardening



During his illness Glynne and Michael



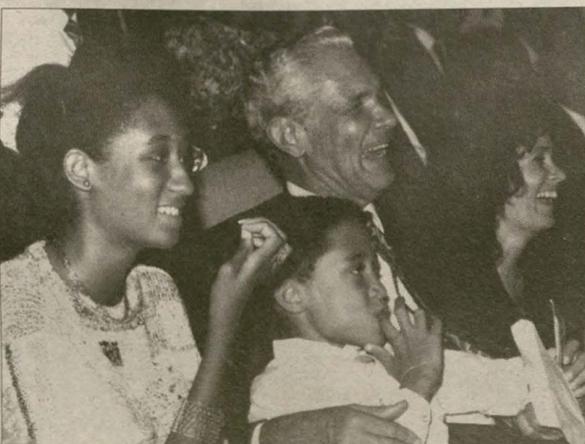
MICHAEL — Sunset at Nyumbani



Michael at a family fun day at Nyumbani



Michael Dancing in healthier times



From left Natasha, David, Michael and Rachel enjoying the Pantomime



Michael in the hills



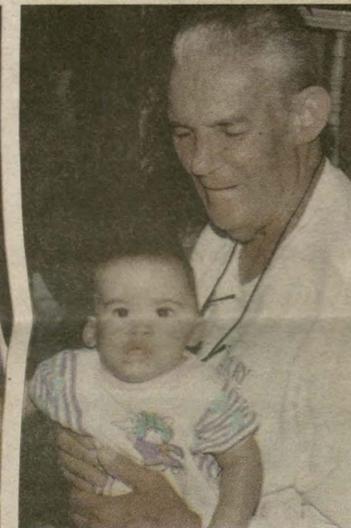
David, Glynne and Michael at a celebration



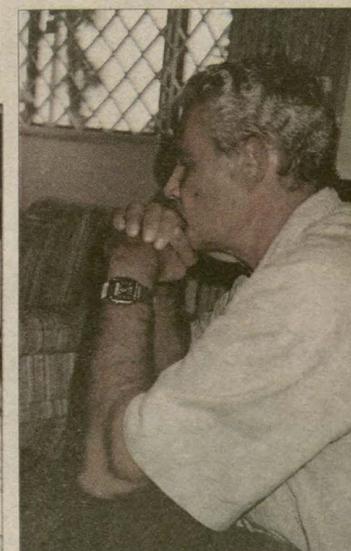
During the last weeks Michael and Glynne



Glynne and Michael at Rachel's book launch in Canada



Michael and a grandchild



Michael listens to music in Nyumbani

Michael Manley feature

Manley — champion of national development

BY DELANO FRANKLYN

Whatever might be said, it was the "politics" of the man which drove many to show spontaneously their physical hurt at his passing, the "politics" of love, warmth, affection and steel credibility. The work of Michael Manley cannot be separated from the political personality he portrayed and neither can his "politics" be separated from the vehicle known as the People's National party which he used to give life, vitality and practicality to his thinking and passion.

For the eleven years for which Manley held the position of prime minister of Jamaica, the twenty three years which he led the People's National Party and for the forty three years he was in public life, Manley realised that politics was about people. He used his skills of advocacy, organisation, intellect and the alarming capacity for hard work to hammer home to every Jamaican that the solution to the country's problem lies with us and that we have the capacity and the fortitude as a people to shape our own form of national development.

This he believed could be achieved through consensus, but he was also firm in his view that the party of which he was a member had to play a key role, if not the leading role. His father, Norman Manley, also had similar sentiments. At the launching of the PNP on September 18, 1938, he said:

"This party exists because it believes in the possibility of the development of a national spirit in this country and in the raising of the status of the common people of Jamaica to a new level."

Michael Manley latched on to the phrase, "the raising of the status of the common man." He made this his personal theme and the masses rallied to his cry because they had an interest in having their status raised.

To the people, Michael Manley championed progressive ideas. Progressive, because his ideas addressed their condition. Progressive, because his ideas went to the root of what they regarded as their rights and welfare.

When Michael Manley and the PNP came to power in 1972, hardly any banks and major corporations had any black people on their managerial team. The army were admitting only men, no women. Ordinary black people hardly knew what it meant to own businesses. Many people lacked confidence in themselves. There was a feeling that Jamaica belonged to others, not us. There were times in our history, prior to 1972 when more emphasis had been placed on "saltfish" than education. The social consciousness of our people were at an all-time low and it was felt that Caribbean integration and regional collectivity of effort were a thing of the past.

Michael Manley — bold, new ideas

Manley and the PNP sought to change all of that by raising and implementing "bold new ideas", a historical characteristic by that party as outlined by the current prime minister and head of the PNP:

"The party has always been at the cutting edge of progressive changes. It has always been the party of bold new ideas, a party committed to social transformation. We were the first to call for universal adult suffrage...we were the first to call for self-government...we were the first to call for independence."

It was in keeping with this trend that Michael Manley, as head of the People's National Party, called for the heightened social consciousness of the people and for us to chart a course directed at reducing social inequality and ridding the society of the subordination of the creativity of our people. "Focus must be placed on national development," he thundered at a mass meeting in St Mary, just prior to the 1972 elections.

He later defined "development" as, "the capacity of a society to define worthwhile objectives for itself and then to demonstrate a capacity to realise these objectives." He con-

tinued, "this has political implications because if you do not have a political process that is articulated and coherent, then the society cannot agree on what it wants to do with itself."

Manley was adamant that the realisation of these objectives and the articulation of the relevant political process required had to be underpinned by education. The people, he believed, had to be given the opportunity to access education in order to be able to "distinguish transformation from what is loosely called a desire for more". Access to formal education had to be supplemented by "political education" for those who are actively involved in the process.

Political tribalism

"By political education," he argued, "we begin to create a process that has a mature understanding of an attachment to the process to which we are committed." In this context, he was deeply troubled by the "tribal" nature of political activism. To him and no doubt to those who follow in his footsteps, the tribalisation of our politics complicates the process of transformation in our society.

At a public meeting in Kingston in 1984, he



Manley implemented the Labour Day project

declared: "In Jamaica there is a political environment in which pluralism is often entrenched to the point of a kind of tribalism, indeed, in which 'tribal' division is endemic to the system." He went on to describe what he called the "savage tribalisation" of the society.

"Workers", he outlined, "with identical problems and interests support opposite parties with a tribal savagery that completely transcends the commonality of their problems and their interest. It is utterly irrational but utterly real. It is ignored at our peril."

In his quest to Jamaicanise our form of national development, Manley was dogged by the tribalised nature of our political culture. This feature of our political landscape requires constant study and the deep resolve of all those involved in the process to find ways and means to rid the society of this scourge.

Michael Manley — champion of education

Manley never spared any effort to point out constantly that in order to address the issue of social inequality and injustice of the "common man", every effort must be made to ensure that education in its broadest sense becomes accessible and that people must be made to understand that the country will develop only through the process of collective effort.

In this regard he stated, "Education is the means to ensure the success of participatory democracy...education must provide, firstly, the skills that are needed in a modern economy; secondly, the sense of patriotism to ensure that each individual understands that personal success is best pursued in a manner that contributes to the success of the whole society; and thirdly, the caring outlook which we call social responsibility and which leads each of

us to feel that we are our brothers' and sisters' keepers."

With this as his philosophical compass, Manley, through the PNP, embarked upon a drive to create programmes and built institutions which catered for more Jamaicans to broaden their knowledge base.

Manley and the PNP initiated and implemented the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL). Over a quarter of a million Jamaican adults have since attained literacy through JAMAL classes, and the national literacy rate was reduced from an estimated 40-50% in 1970 to 18% by 1987.

JAMAL has not only copped a series of prestigious international awards, but continues to serve as a model and a resource for literacy programmes in many other countries.

Manley and the PNP introduced a free education programme in 1974. Enrolment in secondary schools doubled. I remember as a student at Norman Gardens Primary School being, along with my other classmates, the beneficiary of meals and exercise books distributed by government, without which many of us would not have been able to perform and be where we are today.

The expansion and creation of these institutions allowed for thousands of children of the "common man" to be able to acquire tertiary education. Many of the beneficiaries of this "drive to educate the nation" by Manley, are today occupying positions of prominence in various sectors of the society.

Democratisation of education

In 1975 Manley and the PNP, in keeping with the thrust of participatory democracy, set about democratising the process of education. All secondary and tertiary institutions were mandated to have on their school boards representatives from all categories of people, including students. All secondary and tertiary institutions were mandated to create and recognise students' councils. This introduction to participatory democracy at the ground level in the schools gave birth to national

organisations such as the Jamaica Union of Tertiary Students (JUTS) and the National Secondary Students' Council (NSSC).

Manley's participatory democracy exposed many of us to the cut and thrust of debate, gave us confidence in ourselves and exposed us to the strength of collectivity rather than the divisiveness of individualism. Many of those who benefited from the early exposure to participatory democracy are now making vital contributions in the public and private sectors. Manley figured that young people should be pioneers, that each individual should understand that personal success is best pursued in a manner that contributes to the success of the whole society.

Manley was quite preoccupied with this notion of social responsibility of the youth in his deliberations prior to the 1972 elections.

National youth service

It therefore came as no surprise when, at his first press conference on March 3, 1972 after becoming prime minister, he announced that his government would be launching a national youth service (NYS) which by the following year was implemented. Graduates of secondary schools were required to give two years of national service, particularly in institutions geared at delivering services to the public. Those who were exposed to the programme then are today giving service in various areas, particularly teaching.

Unfortunately, that programme was later discontinued in the 1980s but reintroduced, albeit in a different form, by the current prime minister in 1995.

For Manley and the party which he headed

it was not an easy task. He attempted social transformation within the context of a fragile and an almost intractable economy. An economy beset with sometimes uncompromising and obstinate stakeholders. His enunciation of his ideas within the context of democratic socialism drove the main players in the capital market on the defensive.

He also had to deal with those within and outside of the PNP who were impatient with the process and wanted to realise greater movement in social transformation. In striving for the applicable political process to underpin his notion of national development, Manley recognised the necessity of a social partnership.

Regional integration

He was also aware of the external dimension. Manley constantly articulated that Jamaica could not attempt any form of serious change to its conventional politics, without serious regional and hemispheric integration. He made it clear that there was "no hope for a self-reliant, just and viable national society, if we proceed in isolation... The reversal of this (social inequality) is profoundly bound up with regional economic integration".

He was to admit that in his determination to continue the process of social transformation mistakes were made. In 1985 he said, "It is now history that in the face of many pressures, and also errors, the PNP lost the support of the electorate and lost the elections of 1980." Many people criticised Manley for heading a government that was too statist in its orientation. They were of the view that an active state machinery nullified individual efforts and initiatives. They felt that more effort had to be given to market forces in determining the growth and development of the country.

Manley, in analysing the role of the PNP in this new dispensation and no doubt taking into consideration the concern expressed by many, expressed his new thinking on the role of the state by arguing, "The state must always be the servant of the people, never the master. It must be the enabler, or facilitator. The state is to be used to achieve certain objectives but it is understood that the methods might change from time to time."

Changed situation — changed man

In this context, and leading up to the 1989 elections, Manley in acknowledging the change in the international political dynamics, recognised that what was required was a shift from a strong state oriented approach of government to that of a more managerialist, practical, technocratic and facilitatory approach with the state intervening when necessary. This brought new challenges.

"The decade of the 1990s," he wrote, "represents a difficult and challenging time for the PNP. It is a difficult time because there has been a shift in some of the party's concepts regarding what needs to be done to salvage the economy... There is need to establish a common understanding of world developments and their effects, as well as the new thinking that is required for Jamaica's future."

This new adaptation and shift in keeping with the practicality of global and regional politics by Manley and the PNP represents the core of party activism. Political parties and leaders who are unable to adapt and shift emphasis while maintaining their philosophical objectives are bound to end up in the dustbin of history.

Manley's ability to articulate this shift by the PNP resonated favourably with the majority of the electorate and he was returned to power and the seat of prime minister in 1989 until, under the strain of illness, he handed over leadership to PJ Patterson in 1992.

Manley will be buried on March 16, 1997 but his sterling contribution will not be forgotten. Many of his ideas, his achievements and what he stood for will forever be central to the thinking of many of us, particularly those of us who were fortunate to be the beneficiaries of the many programmes and policies which he championed.

Michael Manley feature

PNP stalwarts praise Joshua

STALWARTS of the People's National Party (PNP) thronged its Old Hope Road headquarters all of this week to mourn the loss of their beloved party leader, former Prime Minister Michael Manley.

They called it a week of vigil but the ambience at party headquarters was not all sombre as members, admirers, well-wishers of all ages and walks of life joined the band of stalwarts to celebrate the life of Michael Manley, creating an atmosphere of unity, solidarity and oneness.

The "ordinary" man mingled with party big wigs, members of Parliament and others blessed with political or public "status" but nobody appeared to notice. The passing of the former comrade leader, stalwarts noted, drew to party headquarters some long-time comrades who had become withdrawn, among them D K Duncan and Dickie Crawford.

The vigil on Tuesday took the form of a "Youth Tribute" featuring the likes of Luis Castriotta, Leroy Cooke, Dawn Lindo-Williams and Paul Burke among others members of the PNPYO during the Manley administration of the 1970s.

It was, on Wednesday, a reggae concert with, inter alia, entertainers such as Ken Boothe, Fab Five and Lovindeer. Then there was, on Wednesday, a gospel concert featuring some of Jamaica's best gospel artistes including Sons and Daughter and the talented Robert Bailey on Thursday.

Inside, the offices were constantly buzzing with activity as the curious and the dedicated examined mementos relating to the life and work of Manley on display, and many people seemed eager to take those which were being given away.

A particularly striking set of items on display were an assortment of plants, breathtaking in their beauty, that Manley the horticulturist cultivated, among them a beautiful bouquet of rare lavender or purple roses. The rose which Manley cultivated at his upper St Andrew home, Nyumbani, in the Mavis Bank area, is said to have attracted the admiration of one of Jamaica's noted florists, Jeffery Shields, who now sells them.

People joked, cheered and reminisced. Yet the tears were always close to the surface.

For Miss Irma, a PNP die-hard who became attached to the party at its formation, Manley was the man who led in the struggle for poor people. Her experiences, she said, were too much to single one out for reference.

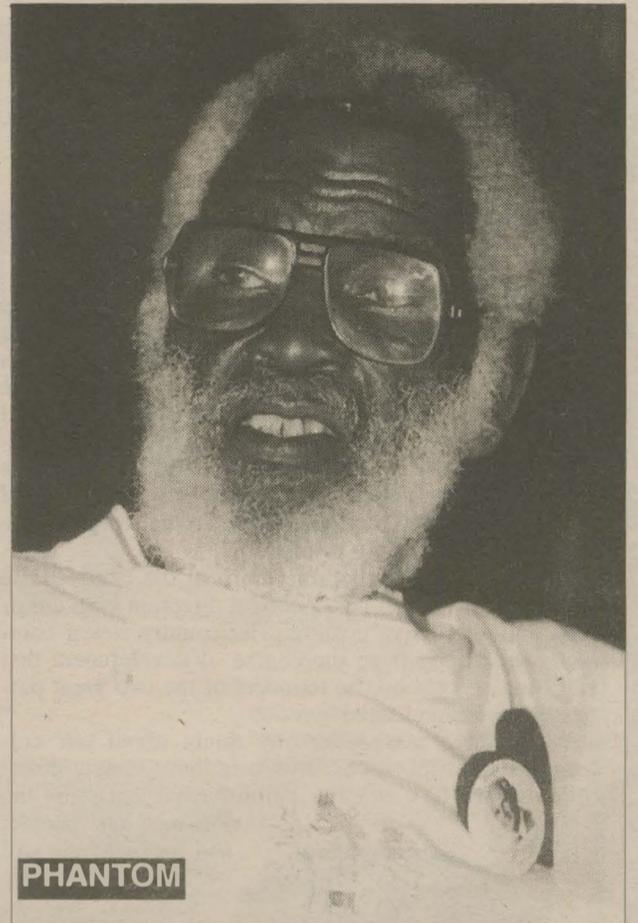
"He was the best prime minister me ever see," declared Miss Irma, struggling to hold back tears. "Now that he is dead I hope that God will grant him the resting place he deserves."

The words of a refrain which the party die-hards have been singing every night since March 6 when their leader died and which nevertheless continuously evoked a flood of emotion nightly, ran like this:

"What more, what more could Joshua do?
He has laid the foundation and opened up the door
What more, what more could Joshua do?"

Long-time party headquarters administrator Heather Robinson, who has, except for Wednesday, been present at the nightly vigils, described week as: "retrospective, yet looking to the future with hope".

The man known by all and sundry at party headquarters as "Phantom" had a vivid recollection of PNP in its formative years, from as far back as 1944.



PHANTOM



MISS IRMA



DORRET AARONS



MARJORIE TAYLOR

"When we started out Michael was not even a leader but when he took over he became the best," Phantom declared. He could see things before it happened that is why some people call him Joshua."

Added Phantom: "But he was more than a Joshua; he was a man who stood up for the poor people in this country." Nobody, according to Phantom, could push anything down his leader's throat or ask him to do something he thought would not benefit mankind.

And, for Dorret Aarons who contested the north east St Catherine seat for the PNP in 1976, Manley was her mentor and teacher. "We never realised how great a person he was until he bowed out of politics," she added, saying like Marjorie Taylor she could say he lifted "a girl like me".

'I have always respected him as a political adversary'

Opposition Leader, Edward Seaga's tribute to Michael Manley on the occasion of Manley's retirement from active politics in 1992.

MICHAEL Manley's rise to prominence after his entry into effective politics in 1967, was nothing less than dramatic. Within five years he assumed leadership of the People National Party and led it to a decisive victory in the 1972 general elections. It has been an eventful quarter of a century, during which time he served as a member of both houses of Parliament, party leader, leader of the opposition and prime minister.

Personifying the rebellious spirit of the late '60s, he expressed in 1974, a new political direction with a militant and aggressive posture. The country saw a complete turnaround from the course of development that had been charted by the founders of the two great parties that are represented here.

While there was never any doubt about our colleague's good intentions, it is true that the new directions of the '70s were a painful experience for the majority of our people, and for many are still a painful memory. However, one of the effects of the new direction was to heighten political consciousness of the middle class that had for years held itself aloof from public affairs, in the belief that politics was the diversion of the under-class. Although the consciousness of the middle class was

mostly about endangered self-interest, their participation in politics, once engaged, could thereafter be counted on.

It is undeniably a part of Michael Manley's record that he brought the middle class rushing into active involvement in the political system and there they have remained.

The radicalism of the '70s passed and was replaced by a return to sobriety in the '80s. It is not easy for men to reconsider their beliefs. When men are persuaded to one course of action, they often remain committed in the face of all contrary evidence and without regard to consequences. It takes wisdom and exceptional courage to admit that the means once employed, will never attain the desired end and to turn to a path once rejected. And it takes a mastery of the art of leadership to turn on their heels — those who follow as well. When the history of our times is written, one of the best things that will be said about our colleague, is that his reversal of ideology to accept the primacy of market principles in the pursuit of economic development, was a turning point in restoring the country to its earlier tried and tested pathways.

One again, as in earlier times, we could reach consensus about principles of economic development, still leaving room for disagreement about implementation and style.

There are blots in the copybook of politics, often for the sake of trying too hard to please. Social programmes are delicate instruments which by their implementation, bring great satisfaction, but often by their scope cast the economy on the rocks. The deep concern of Michael Manley for social justice and the enhancement of social consciousness in large part faced this anomaly of conflicting social and economic goals. Now seemingly, we are all agreed that the economy must stand strong before it can effectively shoulder the over-burden of improving social well-being and the quality of life.

The prime minister has distinguished himself in international affairs. It has always been a pleasure to discuss with him the affairs of the world and appreciate his view of international issues. He carried his position in the international arena as a leader, with status and stature.

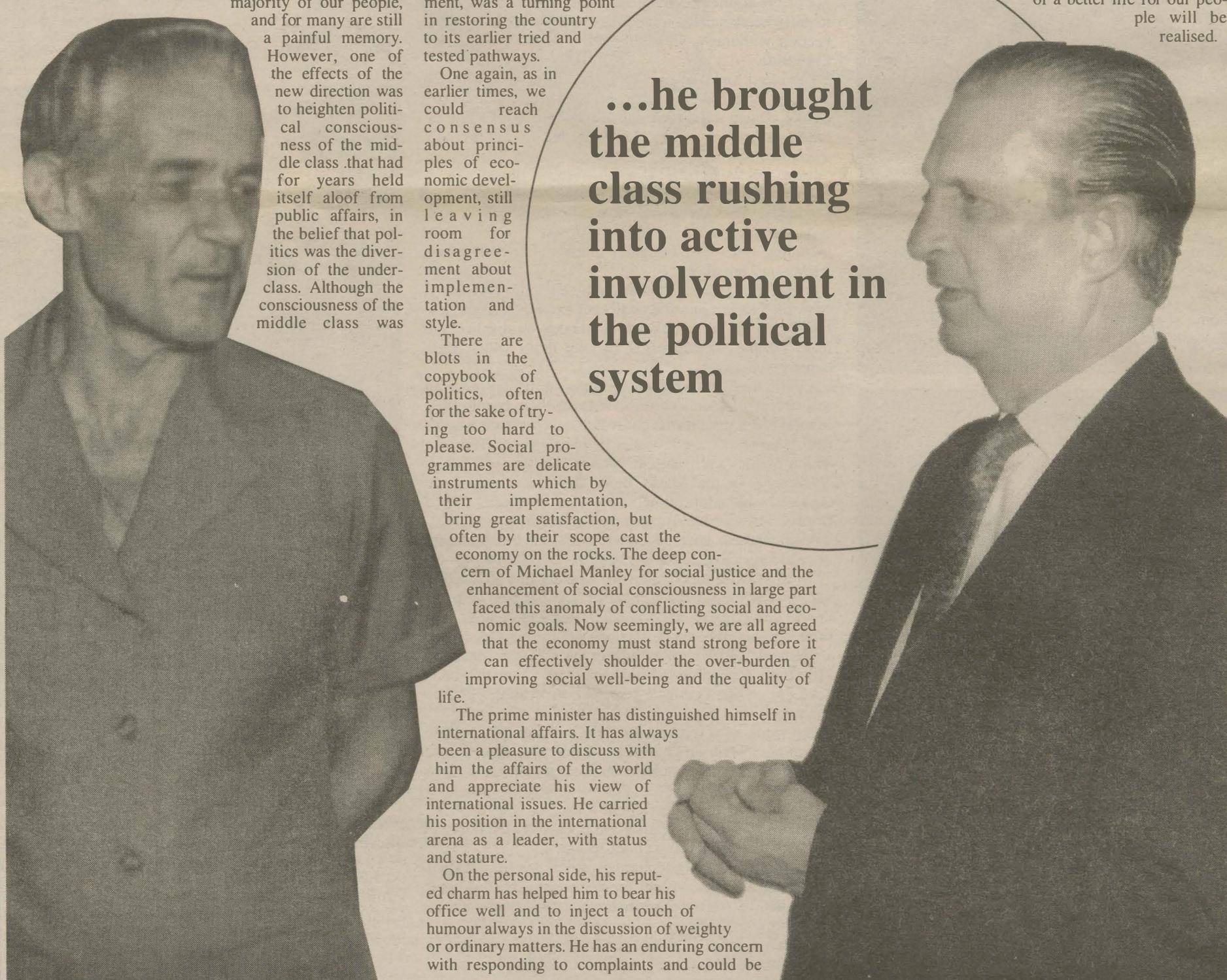
On the personal side, his reputed charm has helped him to bear his office well and to inject a touch of humour always in the discussion of weighty or ordinary matters. He has an enduring concern with responding to complaints and could be

relied on to seek justice.

He leaves us now to go into an honourable retirement where his skill as an author may come to flower, as he reflects on experience far from the distractions of political office.

Michael Manley, in his political career, has been the exemplar of the youthful missionary zealously pursuing his convictions and the elder of later years holding fast to prudent ways. He will not remain in office to evaluate the final results of policies of these phases of his life which he initiated or continued. On behalf of the Opposition therefore, I say farewell to one whose presence has been part of the very life of this House for nearly 20 years, and who will be greatly missed by members of Parliament, by the people that he served as a member of Parliament, prime minister and party leader.

Although divided by our political views, I have always respected him as a worthy political adversary. I wish him a comfortable retirement, good health and pleasant days. I am sure that his hopes of a better life for our people will be realised.



...he brought the middle class rushing into active involvement in the political system

Michael Manley's farewell speech to Parliament at the special sitting held to acknowledge his retirement from active politics in 1992.

As I go, I ask that we reflect for a moment on our political system. One of the things, Mr Speaker, that I am proudest of, is to have taken part in the process of the electoral reform. I believe our democracy if it is to be viable, it must guard its transparency, it must guard its integrity and if it does that, it will guarantee its credibility and I say that and hope that we will always be guided by that.

And I think also, that as we grow more mature, one is happy to see the signs of it. A greater ability to distinguish between the dictates of partisanship and it will make them yield to patriotism. That is fundamental, and I must say that there have been striking examples said of our country in that regard by the trade union movement.

And equally, if we cannot stop the worst tribalism, you will never get effective community action and I hope that never, ever again, we will be speaking to political violence.

As I speak now, sir, I am very conscious that our calling is under tremendous attack, as mostly politicians have never been more cruelly the target of every kind of criticism, obviously some founded, a lot totally unfounded. And I would suggest two things: One I think you would do well always to listen to and be receptive to criticism. I would hate to see our calling descend into a kind of angry bunker mentality where, because a lot of the attack is unwarranted and strident and frankly sometimes just boring, that nonetheless gets us into a defensive mode because we have to learn, we have to improve, we are not perfect. And many criticisms are well founded; but at the same time I would urge you, don't allow the attacks to make you lose confidence in yourself, particularly the younger ones.

If you hold on to the simple guiding truth that you have one mission in the end, and that is service, no other mission. He who wants power for itself, does not deserve it!

And funnily enough, he who dedicates his life to service through power, probably will depart with some honour.

I would like, sir, to be indulged one last time as I depart, I have wanted to give just a few very special bits of recognition to some people, not because I think they are the only ones that deserve things, but I think they have made contributions that meant a lot to me personally, in terms of Jamaica. Therefore, I asked both the Cabinet and the Governor-General, if they would allow me the indulgence of just a few honours taken out of the normal time and given at this time and I hope you will not think it a vanity, it is not meant in that way.

One of them is a person who has really brought extraordinary distinction to our educational work, who is of the highest repute internationally, who is now making a tremen-

'Don't lose confidence in yourself'

dous impact on the reorganisation of our university. He is of course not a Jamaican, it would be an honorary award, and frankly his contribution has been really almost more international than purely Jamaican, and so the Cabinet has agreed to allow me to give an honorary award and Honorary Order of Merit to Sir Alister McIntyre.

The second is one that I know my friend on my opposite which I think feel identical yoke, and that is a person whom I think has become the most extraordinary industrial relations conciliator in the history of this country. He has probably saved this country untold millions of lost production, by patience, by the extraordinary confidence he commands among the workers of this country, the trade unions of this country and the employers of this country and therefore I have decided to award the Order of Jamaica to Mr William Isaacs.

The third one is a lady who has made a tremendous contribution to the theatre, as an administrator, as a writer, as an artist, a sterling contribution in journalism and has always had a quality of shining and unblemished patriotism and that is Mrs Barbara Gloudon. And the Order of Jamaica for her.

Again, I turn fourthly — it's five in all — fourthly to a leader of the church who has over the years contributed profoundly to the ecumenical process in Jamaica and who has more become a major and passionate and convinced social activist. He is a person that I regard as being in a profound sense, the hero to the great tradition of church social activism, typified by Pope John the Twenty-third, and I therefore wish that he should receive the Order of Jamaica, Archbishop Samuel Carter.

And finally, within this chamber, one who like me comes to the end of a career, but in his case a very distinguished career, a career that began as a political activist under that great figure Wills Isaac of blessed memory. He became a federal member of Parliament, has been one of the finest mayors we have ever known and one of the finest ministers of local government we have ever known, the Order of Jamaica to my great friend, Ralph Brown.

Mr Speaker, I thank you for the indulgence, I thank the Opposition for its good natured patience, I thank all my colleagues who have been my friend for so many years, I thank you for allowing me the privilege of leading persons. I say good-bye to this chamber with the total confidence in Jamaica's future, for a great country, a remarkable country, we have known what it is to deal with hardships and we are going to overcome as a country.

I wish God's blessings on this House and all the members on both sides. I specially wish God's blessings on my successor and I wish God's blessings on the country and its people. Thank you, very much.



Glynne Manley (left foreground) and Douglas Manley (right) and other members of the Manley family arrive at Gordon House for a special sitting of Parliament to commemorate the life of former prime minister, Michael Manley.



Michael Manley feature

Look, look, to the rainbow

BY JOHN MAXWELL

MICHAEL Manley is dead, almost exactly a quarter of a century after he first became Prime Minister of Jamaica. He died on the same day as Cheddi Jagan, President of Guyana. Their deaths on the same day reflects an historic parallel: Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, architects of the American revolution, died on the same day, July 4, 1826.

Manley and Jagan were, both, champions of the poor, of the oppressed and disinherited. They were both Caribbean men, leaders and emancipators of their countries, prophets of a new dispensation, of a new freedom, of a new dignity for their peoples.

Although Cheddi was only six years older than Michael, his political career began five years earlier than Michael's, in 1948. Cheddi had just returned, newly qualified as a dentist, to British Guiana, a huge, sleepy plantation controlled by the British company, Booker Brothers, McConnell. Almost immediately he became involved in the trade union struggle against Bookers and almost immediately realised that the struggle was not a trade union struggle but a political one. Freedom for Guyanese meant the destruction of the hegemony of sugar, Bookers and the British.

Cheddi understood that national unity had to come before freedom. The British had ruled by setting the imported Indian population against the blacks. The Indian power structure was concretised in an organisation which exerted spiritual and temporal authority over the Indians and organised them against the blacks. Cheddi, himself an Indian, set out to destroy this structure. Having accomplished that, he set up the multi-racial Peoples Progressive Party, modelled on Jamaica's PNP, to fight for independence.

Gunboats and Communists

Within five years Jagan's multiracial PPP had won the first adult suffrage election in British Guiana. But this was 1953, British Guiana was still a Crown Colony, the British Navy still had gunboats and the British Labour government was even more hostile to Communists than the Tories. Jagan was deposed and jailed. The British feared, they said, a Communist takeover.

Nevertheless, Jagan won the next election in 1957 and the next, in 1961 although British and American money and subversion had managed to split the PPP along racial lines. In 1964 the British got their machinations right, a fraudulent proportional representational system enabled the British puppet, Burnham, to gain power.

The Baltimore Sun said (before the 1961 elections in Guiana) that "no one knows whether Jagan is either a Communist or whether he is a genuinely neutral anti-colonialist." Sir Alexander Bustamante did not seem so uncertain. In a cable to Dr. Jagan after the 1961 elections Sir Alexander said: "Congratulations on your victory. I know you are interested in your country and the Common Man who has never had a square deal in the Caribbean inclusive of my country, Jamaica. Very often when one takes interest in the common people he is called a Communist".

Cheddi Jagan, who worked for unity and freedom for his people, deserves to be called, as the Guyanese call him, the Father of the Nation.

Father of the Nation

The Father of the Nation in Jamaica was undoubtedly Norman Manley, detained in Ellis Island, New York, in 1953 as a Communist, although his party had just recently purged itself of a left-wing group bent on taking power from Manley and his democratic socialists. Manley had suffered in Jamaica from accusations of 'Communism' - a PNP government, according to Bustamante, would take away the small man's land, and cut his goats and cows in half, to distribute them to 'wutliss nayga'. When Jagan came to Jamaica for support, in 1953, the PNP kept its distance, afraid of contamination.

Manley immediately on accession to office, began the process, aborted in 1944, to move Jamaica to internal self-government and independence within a West Indian federation. But lies, misrepresentation and the incompetence of the federal government under Grantley Adams doomed federation and ultimately, Manley's government. When independence was achieved, as in Guyana, the Father of the Nation was on the sidelines. In retrospect it is clear that by remaining in Jamaica, he doomed federation and with it, his chance to lead the entire West Indies into independence.

Emancipation had been aborted in 1838, in 1865 and 1944. In 1962, independence, so long in gestation, was the victim of attempted infanticide. Marches were banned, journalists were persecuted and gagged, sermons and popular music were censored, academics were deported, books were proscribed and

elections were rigged. By the end of the decade of the sixties, even as right-wing a commentator as Carl Stone judged that the oppressive regime had pressured Jamaica almost to the point of explosive rebellion.

Michael Manley came into office to be greeted by public euphoria. For a few months after the general elections of February 1972, motorists began to pick up people at bus stops and the crime rate dropped. Manley rejected a regime of economic stringency - an austerity programme - the people, he said, had suffered enough at the hands of the JLP. As he promised in his inaugural news conference, he lowered the voting age to 18, enfranchising hundreds of thousands who, together with the hundreds of thousands kept off the lists by the JLP, increased the electorate enormously and laid the foundations for the charge, five years later, that the PNP had stuffed the lists.



JAGAN AND MANLEY...champions of the poor

Manley's government's accomplishments in the first five years were many and far-reaching. That government built more houses than any government before it, produced a national minimum wage and liberated thousands of women from domestic slavery, gave the lowest of the low, women sugar workers the right to maternity leave, abolished the stigma of bastardy and began the real emancipation of Jamaicans. The second government built even more houses, conferred even more rights on the ordinary, downtrodden Jamaican and entrenched workers' rights in their jobs.

MR Seaga says that Michael was more a motivator than a doer. No doubt, Mr Seaga wanted him to do even more than he did, which may explain but not excuse Seaga's violent hostility to everything Manley did. He accused Manley of leading Jamaica towards Communism, of selling out to Castro, and when his tactics finally made him Prime Minister, was forced to tell the Americans that he had lied. The PNP were not Communists, he told them, five years late.

Opposition to Manley took more extreme forms. Between 1974 and 1976 the murder rate almost doubled, from 195 to 367 from four a week to one a day. That it rose no higher was probably due to the State of Emergency, called by Manley with the support of the great majority of the population. It was probably impossible and certainly politically unwise to declare another state of emergency when the murder rate more than quadrupled between 1978 and 1980. From four murders a week in 1978 the rate had accelerated to 17 murders a week in 1980.

Managing a government during a state of civil war is not in most Prime Minister's job descriptions. Manley managed it. He made mistakes, of course. He would have been superhuman if he hadn't. But, beset by external economic factors over which Jamaica had no control, he managed to repatriate to Jamaica, ownership of the country's mineral resources. Beggared by inflation imported from abroad and falling primary commodity prices he introduced a state trading corporation which reduced

the price of staple imports such as corned beef and tried to regulate retail price gouging through regulation and price inspectors.

Trying to make Jamaica more self-reliant in food he introduced Land Lease and reworked the Agricultural Marketing Corporation to distribute farmers' produce at fair prices both to farmers and to consumers. His friendship with Castro and his support for Castro's intervention in Angola brought down on his head the wrath of the Americans who were not amused by his militant work to help liberate the enslaved peoples of Southern Africa - Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

His government was engaged on all fronts, domestic and foreign, social, economic and political. His enemies abroad, unable to contain his enthusiasms and his action, found the chink in his armour through the IMF. Jamaica was technically entitled to rely on the IMF for help in maintaining a stable currency and maintaining social peace. Instead, the IMF became the First World's enforcer, a Shylock unable to extract its pound of flesh without drawing blood. And the blood flowed.

Despite the predatory parasitism of his enemies, Manley and his government survived until 1980 when the electorate, drenched in its own blood, voted for peace.

THE tide of gore ebbed, the murder rate dropped by half and remained down until a year after Manley returned in 1989, triumphant but chastened, having decided that certain elements of PNP socialism were not appropriate and attempting to manage a market economy in the interest of the people. It was impossible, as I believe he suspected all along, but Michael Manley believed in trying whatever promised to work for his beloved people. The contradictions were too many, the effort too onerous and in 1973 sapped by cancer, he retired, having done his best, having done his duty to his country.

Michael Manley had glaring faults. Like most of us, his judgment was not impeccable and in his position, his misjudgments appeared more glaring than they would have in anyone of more modest profile. While he aimed for the highest, he was not always humble enough to accept that he may not have achieved excellence in every thing. He was a good friend, but his friendship sometimes had an element of the fickle, because he was prone, as most of us are, to pay too much attention to flatterer. To compound that fault, he was sometimes. Impatient with those who disagreed with him.

But it is idiotic to dissect a man to try to value him by his separate elements. To pick out one fault to damn the man, that fault must be grievous, affecting all and ruining his whole achievement. I had my differences with Michael Manley and I have quarrelled with him, something most people were apparently too afraid to do. If Michael had had more friends who dared to engage in hot dispute with him it is possible that he may have avoided some of his more egregious errors - the IMF, for example. Unfortunately, many who had differences with him lost their audience because they underestimated the man, tried to shout him down or tried to make a fool of him. Whatever he was, he was not a fool.

Over the years Manley came to represent to me much of what was best in Jamaica. He had a genuine care and concern for other people, particularly those without privilege. He had real courage and a willingness to confront mighty foes, in defence of principle. He had a real inability to bear serious grudges. His genuine shyness and reserve and his impeccable manners contributed to his charm.

For most of us, Michael was the Singer-man, the one who collected the stories, the agonies, the disappointments, the hopes and the aspirations and proclaimed them to the world. He not only did that, he tried to heal the hurts, allay the disappointments and raise up the poor. Like his father, a national hero, Michael Manley dreamed dreams of a better Jamaica in which every man, woman and child, would have the chance to contribute fully and to share equitably in a truly civilised world in which, finally, we are all our brother's keepers.

While we looked, with him to the rainbow, as we followed the "fellow who followed the dream", we knew, better than ever before, that no one could measure our capacity, no meter could register our potential, no one could put us in our place.

They gave us back our dignity.

Our dreams are infinite as are our capacities and our potential. Michael Manley and his brother in arms, Cheddi Jagan, knew that. When we "were in our own sight as grasshoppers" and grasshoppers in the sight of the mighty, Michael and Cheddi knew who their soldiers were and what they could accomplish. And we too, knew.

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Michael Manley feature

He wrote about cricket

Michael Manley analyses the West Indies' loss to India in the 1983 World Cup at Lords and makes suggestions for the future of the team.

AS Richards drove and hooked with imperious disdain, the West Indian contingent at Lords was ecstatic. I was visited by intimations of disaster.

One hundred and eighty-three runs in 60 overs seemed a task somewhat less than worthy of the talents of Richards, Lloyd, Greenidge, Haynes, Bacchus, Dujon, Gomes, Marshall and, even Roberts the hero of that dramatic last wicket win over Pakistan in an earlier series. On the other hand, I remembered watching Sandu move the ball about at Sabina Park on a sparkling summer's day. The sky at Lords was overcast and Greenidge had already been surprised by one that must have moved a foot.

There are combinations of wicket, weather and occasion when Kappel Dev, Madan Lal and Sandu can undoubtedly be treated with disdain. There are times when Richards can probably make the 183 off his own bat alone in the 60 overs that were available. This was not one of those times.

The master had shown the greatest maturity and restraint making 119, 95 not out and 80 not out in successive innings. Among other things, these performances had underlined his importance to a side otherwise brittle in its batting. Greenidge, Haynes, Gomes and Bacchus are not Hunte, Kanhai, Butcher and Nurse. The burden, therefore, tends very pointedly to be on Richards and Lloyd.

I am the first to admit that no headlines could have been too bold, no praise too lavish had Richards sustained his assault for even another 30 runs. The fact is that I was visited by intimations of disaster and that there was a basis in logic and the circumstances for my concern. In due course, the great man, as he undoubtedly is, got a top edge and Dev

did the rest.

Had Lloyd's groin injury stood up and he made 30 runs, the result might have been different. As it turned, he tried to drive without benefit of footwork, being obviously in acute distress. He was not to the pitch of the ball and, indeed, could not have been with his injury. The ensuing catch was really the end of the game.

As we watched in mounting horror and disbelief, it was soon clear that the loss of the two giant pillars of the side at bat created a paralysing panic in the rest. Gomes and Bacchus seemed barely to know where they were, a knowledge which clearly did not extend to the location of the ball.

Dujon and Marshall were brave, undoubtedly earnest but burdened. They were both too tense to last. Holding, born fighter that he is, put his head down and stood gallantly in the last ditch. If it were left to will alone, the match would have been ours off his blade. Alas, his technique was not quite the equal of his will and so the match came to its conclusion, both sad and preordained with the fall of Richards and Lloyd.

We had looked every inch the masters while India were at bat. When our turn came, the performance was a curious mixture of over-confidence quickly supplanted by panic. For one terrible part of an afternoon, the team which had grown so professional through the "Packer years" and under Lloyd's superb and mature leadership, suddenly suffered a regression. They seemed to revert to an earlier time when we were "calypso entertainers" as likely to make a ton as a duck depending on mood and circumstance.

I suppose when one has been at the top for so long, the psychological pressures mount imperceptibly with the passing years. Even a long invincible Bjorn Borg cracks in the end — the crack precipitated by a combination of McEnroe and the passage of time.

Like everyone else, I am sad that we lost. Like everyone else, I could talk a "book" about why. But as the pain of defeat subsides, I find myself increasingly less concerned with this bitter moment as with two more relevant reactions. On the one hand, there is the immense pride in knowing that they have ruled it all with power and style for eight years. They have been a classy side under a classy leader and they made us all walk that little bit taller by their deeds. Just as one swallow does not make a summer, so does one albatross not a winter make.

My other reaction is to look to the future. Lloyd says he is gone so we must prepare for his successor. It is a wise move to send Clive as manager at first, where he can continue to wield his fatherly influence and can be trusted not to inhibit his successors. If Richards is to be that successor, he must approach the task in the spirit of the last three innings before Lords and not that of Lords itself.

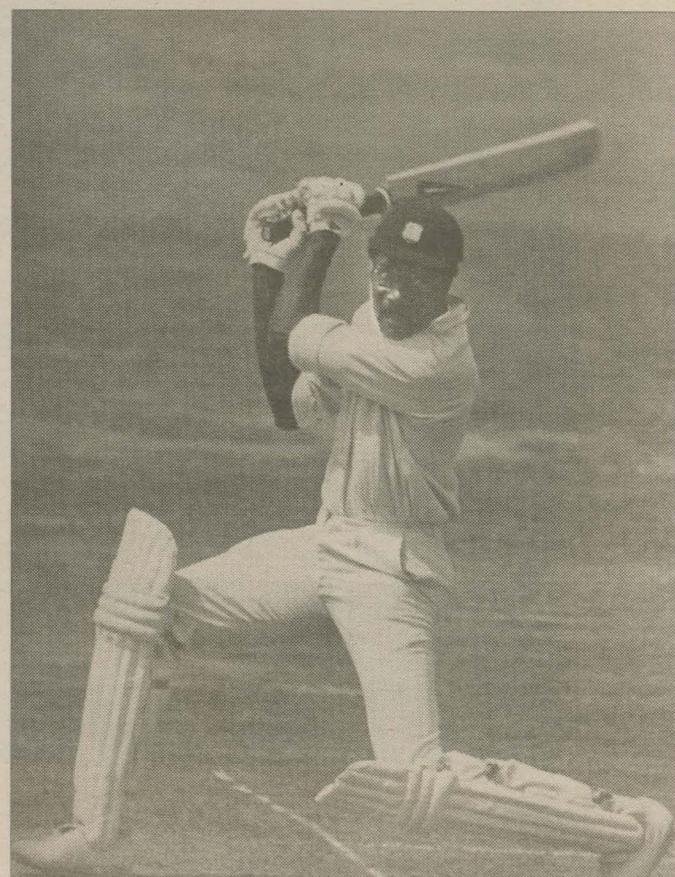


Richards treated Indian bowlers with disdain

Surely, the investment in Bacchus has gone too long without return. The bleeding process must quickly see the youngsters like Richardson with their chance alongside of Logie.

We may have to turn our eyes to spin once more because the four fast bowlers work as a strategy when all four are superb exemplars of the craft. Marshall is magnificent at the moment but, like Garner and Holding, will soon feel the pressure of year-round performance at that pace. A way must be found to preserve some of the sap in the limbs of these brilliant young men whose pace has kept us at the top for so long.

Most of all, the menace of South Africa must be kept at bay. And that is a challenge for all of us.



Lloyd had groin injury

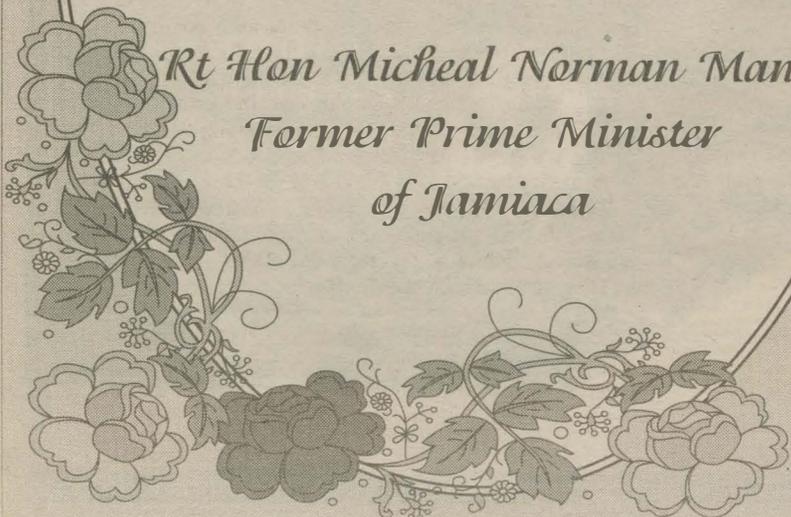


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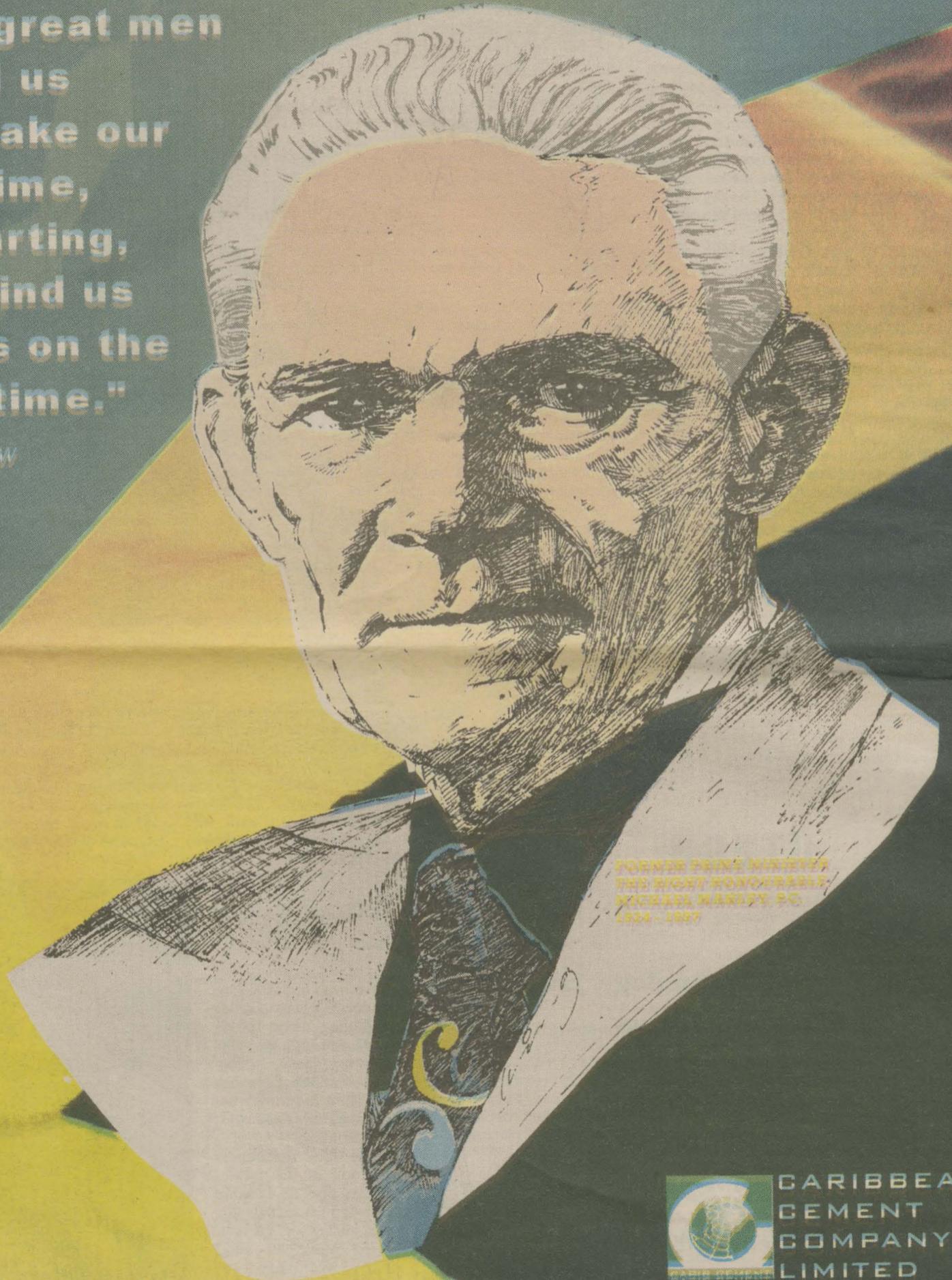
**The Univeristy of Technology, Jamaica
wishes to express
sincere condolences
to the family of the late**

*Rt Hon Micheal Norman Manley,
Former Prime Minister
of Jamiaca*

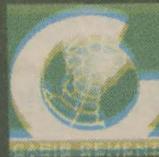


**"Lives of great men
all remind us
We can make our
lives sublime,
And, departing,
leave behind us
Footprints on the
sands of time."**

*- H. W. Longfellow
(1807 - 1882)*



**FORMER PRIME MINISTER
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MICHAEL MANLEY, P.C.
1924 - 1997**



**CARIBBEAN
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Michael Manley feature



Always the ladies' man, a young and dapper-looking Michael Manley is flanked by a number of beautiful women while he gets the attention of this lady. The meal must have been tasty, as the ladies seem to be concentrating on their plates.

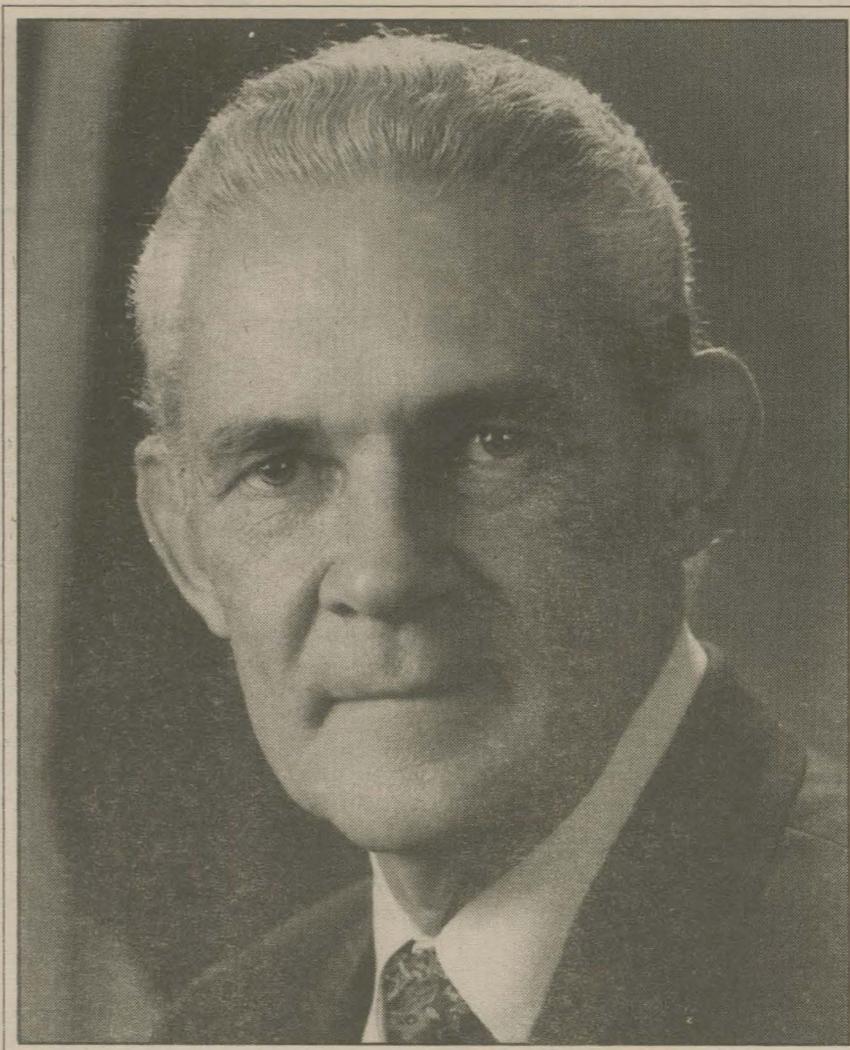


Vision is the forerunner of achievement!

Today we, all the members of the Mechala family of companies, pay homage to a man who dared to achieve his vision for Jamaica and for every man, woman and child in this country.

At Mechala, we too have a vibrant vision for the future, and each day rededicate ourselves to the mission of building a better life for our people.

May all those of us who now carry forward the charge to realize Michael Manley's dream of greatness for Jamaica, do so with even a fraction of the brilliance, wit, dedication and will, that characterized this great son of our island.



He wrote about music and religion

Michael Manley, in this column for the *Trinidad Express* and *Barbados Nation*, examines Rastafarianism and its links to reggae.

LAST week we looked at Bob Marley, the revolutionary artist, and claimed for him a unique position among the musicians who have emerged from the diaspora. This week we ask the question: How did Bob Marley successfully undertake this journey into his past which released him to a belief in his people's future? The answer is: Rastafarianism. I enter into no controversy about people and their faith. To each his own. But it is inextricably a part of the psychodrama in which the black of the diaspora are enmeshed that their traditional, christian faith is visualised in white terms.

Inevitably and obviously, a religion that was spawned at the very centre of white civilisation expresses its faith through familiar symbols. If the servants and children of God are white, they will think of both God and Christ in terms of self-image. Therefore, the God that emerges will be imagined to be white. Every church has its sculpture and its painting expressed in white terms. So the children of the slaves begin with a visual contradiction. To compound the problem, the particular expression of Christianity was first the creature of the oppressor. Yet, the children of the slaves need faith and have faith. They are sure there is a God and they are sure that somewhere that God is their God rooted in the land of the past and visualised in terms of their self-image.

Rastafarianism is a true faith in the sense that its believers have taken that step beyond mere rationality into the acceptance of a view of the unknown, unknowable and unprovable which is faith. To them Haile Selassie is the symbol of God on Earth and God himself is as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. The true Rastafarian, therefore, has traced his identity beyond mere history and geography to the ultimate source of all

things, for the believer, the Creator himself. But he has arrived at his Creator through the images and the soil of Africa. By that act he has rediscovered the self that was mislaid in the middle passage.

Robert Nesta Marley, Order of Merit (OM) superstar, father and definitive exponent of reggae was a Rastafarian. He had taken that journey. By that act he had solved his identity crisis. He had become a complete human being. In his completeness he could sing songs of compassion: **No Woman, Nuh Cry**, he could split revolutionary defiance: **War**; he could embrace proletarian internationalism: **Zimbabwe**. And he would do it all with an unselfconscious conviction that made him a kind of spontaneous, uncompromising revolutionary, untouched by wealth, unfailingly generous, eternally unspoiled.

I first knew Bob Marley in 1971, in the days of **Trench Town Rock**. At this stage his music was still like the wings of a relatively uncomplicated, commentary on the ghetto.



Manley talks music with reggae superstar, Bob Marley.

Throughout that year, he used to perform as part of a group of artists who travelled all over Jamaica with me as the party which I led prepared for the general elections of 1972. Until that time my own political perceptions had reflected a mutually reinforcing "marriage". On the one hand, there was the political theory which I had absorbed from my father as a youth and had developed into explicit socialist doctrine as a student in University. On the other hand, was some 20 years as an organiser and negotiator with the Jamaican trade union movement. To this was now added a vital and new ingredient. I could never pretend that the lyrics of the protest music, which were the driving motivation of reggae, taught me things that I did not know. From an intellectual point of view, they were confirmatory of all that I believed as a socialist, and have struggled against as a trade unionist. But I had not myself been born in the ghetto and was not personally a part of that experience. Reggae music influenced me profoundly by deepening the element of emotional comprehension.

I suppose a rough equivalent might be sought by a consideration of the influence of a writer

like Dickens upon the sensibilities of English readers in the 19th century. In highly literate societies, the pen is a mighty instrument. It cannot change the structure of classes, nor the relations between classes because it cannot, of itself, change the nature and organisation of production. But it can pry loose from traditional class attitudes those extraordinary individuals who become a part of the processes of political change in a society. Jamaica had produced a handful of great writers like George Campbell, Roger Mais and Vic Reid who had spoken to the issues of suffering and oppression. Their works helped create an awareness of the imperatives of change. But how many people read them? Everybody listened to Marley and his school of reggae protestors. Certainly, I listened and was reinforced in the conviction that we had to struggle for change.

The invention of the gramophone, the radio and television have created a mass market for contemporary music. Where the symphony orchestra became the principal instrument for the dissemination of the great music of the classical European tradition, simpler forms of music would now have international currency. Technology brought into the market the broad masses of the people virtually everywhere on the globe. So there is no mystery about the means by which Bob Marley's music and reggae along with it, have become familiar to the peoples of Europe, Africa and the Americas.

In the second question which we distinguished at the start of these comments, the real issue to be examined is why has reggae established an audience for itself among the myriad of competing musical forms which jostle for space in the communication apparatus? Pride of place is held by synthetic, escape music. The bromides and anodynes of everything from the Bee-Gees to the Jackson Five are there to pour balm on the souls that are either damaged by the failure to beat the economic system or bored because they have.

At the other end of the spectrum is the biting but parochial satire of the calypso which makes less impression on the international system.

Blues hold a significant place because sadness is a recognisable part of the human condition. In any case, America has produced most of the greatest technical virtuoso who have come out of the non-classical tradition. Clearly, reggae cannot, and is not going to compete with the escape music; but it has already carved a significant niche for itself. I can only hazard a guess that this owes much to two factors. Firstly, there is Marley himself: an authentic innovator, a genuine original in the sense that is true, say, of a Stevie Wonder. Reggae has gone international, therefore, partly on the back of Marley's gift. But it must also be true that the protest of reggae; the positive assertion of moral categories goes beyond parochial boundaries. Among other things, reggae is the spontaneous sound of a local revolutionary impulse. But revolution itself is a universal category. It is this, possibly, which sets it apart even to the international ear.

THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS



Tribute to The Hon Michael Norman Manley

Many of us are fortunate to have been attached to the Bureau of Standards during the 1970's, and can recall those early years when the ground work was laid for what is now a mature and well established National Standards Institution.

This Organization was being structured to meet the challenges of the New Era which was emerging under the leadership of the Right Hon. Michael Norman Manley, then Prime Minister. It was during this time that the Bureau of Standards became a member of the prestigious International Standards Organization, and a corresponding member of the International Organization for Legal Metrology, thus opening the door to greater awareness and appreciation for Standards in economic and social development.

Michael Manley's vision for national development enabled certain key institutions to realize their role to be pillars of support in attaining this goal. One such institution was the Bureau of Standards which quickly caught the vision and emerged as an instrument of change in industrial development and consumer awareness.

This young organization then spearheaded the change from the Imperial system of measurement to the Metric system, but unfortunately, it's full implementation was delayed for some time only to regain momentum more than a decade later.

Michael Manley's leadership in the Caribbean Integration Movement, signaled the Bureau of Standards to initiate the establishment of the CARICOM Standards Council, which is now a strong cohesive force among the countries of the region, perhaps second only to West Indian Cricket, another of his fervent interest.

The Bureau of Standards wishes to join the many others in paying tribute to the Right Hon. Michael Norman Manley, whose indelible impact on national life will continue to be an inspiration to generations to come.

Arnel S. Henry
Arnel S. Henry Ph.D.



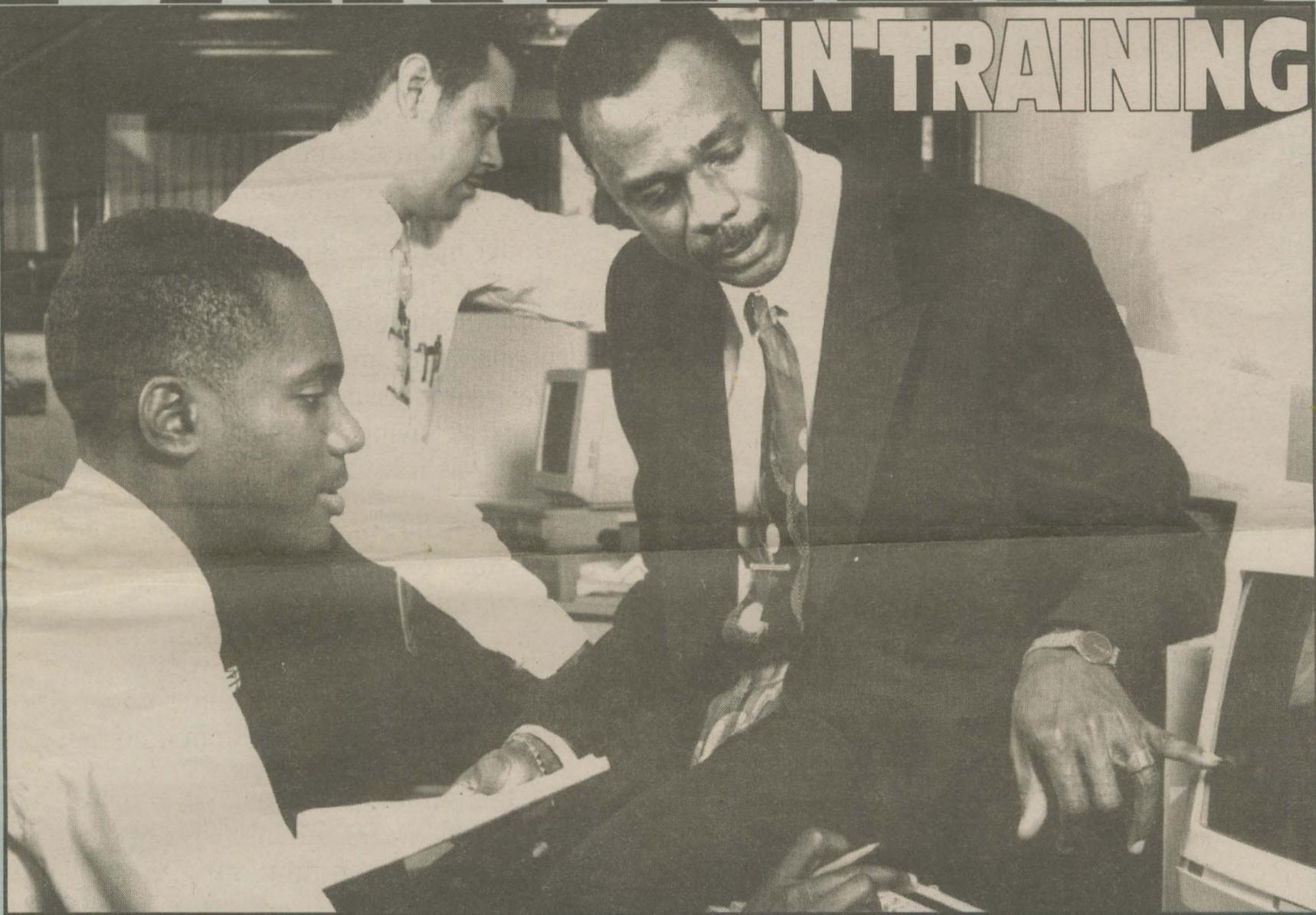
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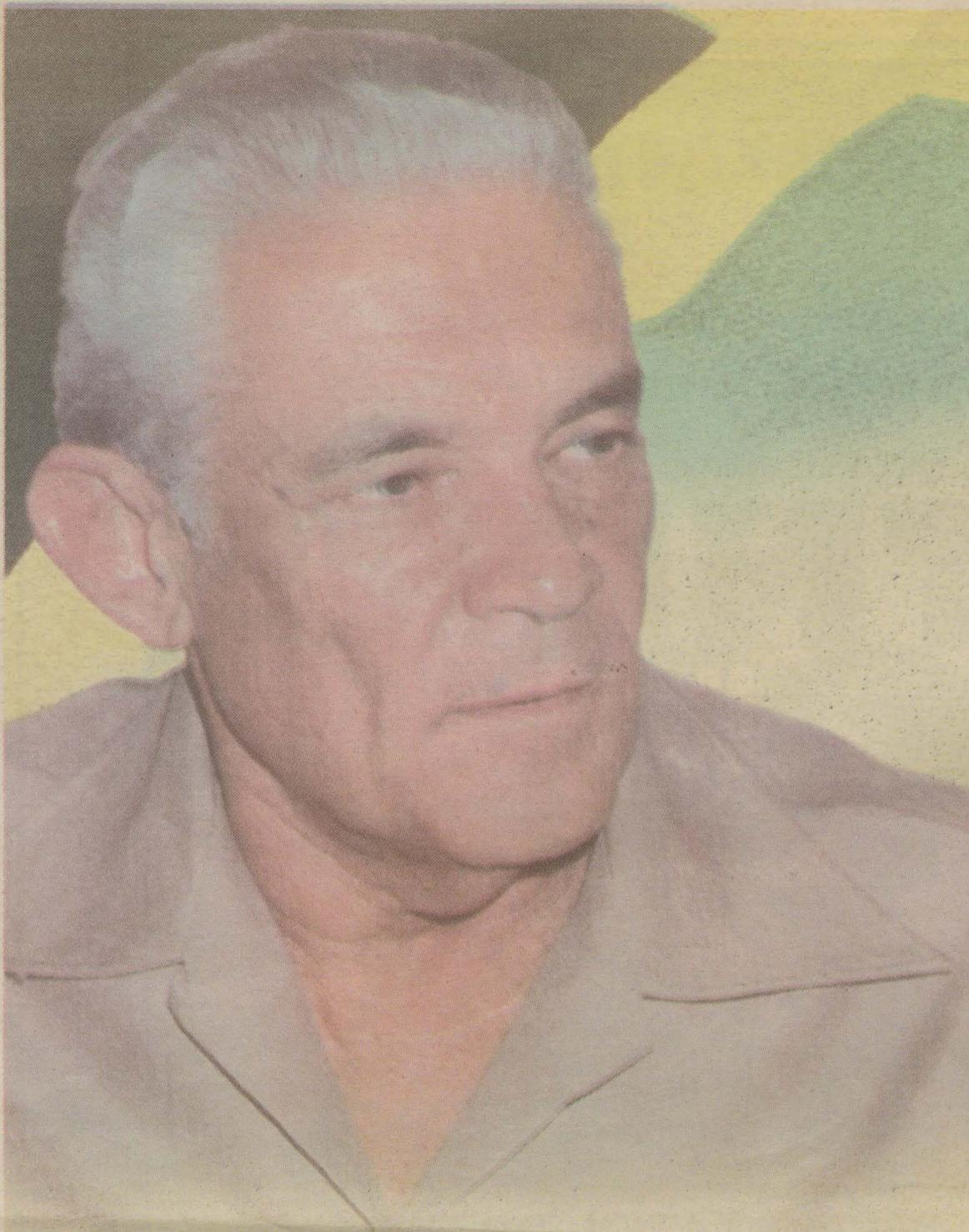
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A Tribute to
The Rt. Hon. Michael Manley, O.M., P.C.
(1924-1997)

He was an outstanding leader of international stature.
A great son of Jamaica,
A champion for the cause of social and economic reform.

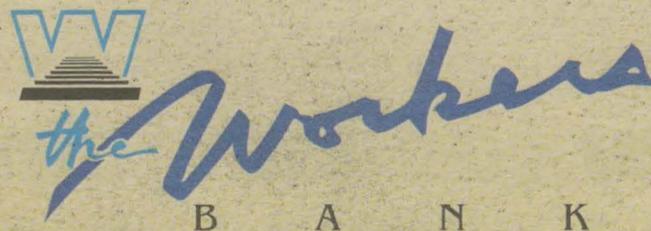
Under his leadership in the seventies, the Government Savings Bank, through share offerings to trade unions, cooperatives and workers, was reorganised and became the Workers Savings and Loan Bank. That was in 1973.

Through this means he opened the door of opportunity to many Jamaicans.

His vision then, was to provide financial services to persons who prior to that time, had limited access.

As the author of our mission today, we at the Workers Bank, wish to recognise his contribution in this regard, as we strive to keep his dream alive.

We mourn his passing.



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