

**JAMAICA'S
MICHAEL MANLEY:**

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION (1972-92)

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With a Foreword by Rex Nettleford



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PART I

Joshua's History and Origins: The Historical Context

CHAPTER 1

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Joshua said unto all the people, "your forefathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old times and served other gods."

—Joshua 24: 2.

When Michael Manley became Prime Minister in 1972, he inherited an economy which had been shaped by over three centuries of English colonial rule and domination. The growth of sugar and banana exports had relied on quotas and protective legislation by Britain. This colonial regime had created a structural dependence in Jamaican agriculture on protected markets and reduced incentives for agricultural innovation or efficiency. In addition, the British had actively worked to prevent local production. This action increased the island's dependence on imports and weakened Jamaica's potential for developing a local productive capacity.

Import substitution and the rapid expansion of the mining and tourist sectors contributed to significant economic growth during the 1950's and 1960's. Most of the businesses created under import substitution, as well as the bauxite and tourist sectors, lacked significant linkages, made minimal contributions to employment, continued dependence on imported inputs, and relied extensively on capital for output. In addition, the government had essentially neglected the agricultural sector. This neglect contributed to that sector's rapid decline in efficiency and ability to produce.

Most importantly, successive governments between 1944 and 1972 had established an apparatus of state centralisation and control by creating numerous government organisations and boards, imposing quantitative restrictions on imports, passing legislation to actively intervene in the productive process, and, after independence, placing restrictions on foreign capital. With the growing economic crisis during the 1960's, political pressures (in the form of calls for social redress and employment) increased. Given the centralising state apparatus left by the import-substitution model, it was not only very tempting, but indeed extremely easy, for Manley to respond to these social demands by pushing the state to play an even more active and dominant role in the economy.

EUROPEAN COLONISATION AND THE PLANTATION ECONOMY (1494-1900)

The Plantation System, Sugar Export, and the Slave Trade (1494-1838)

Christopher Columbus' visit to Jamaica in 1494 marked the beginning of an era of Spanish colonisation that officially ended with the capture of the island by the English in 1655. Although almost all impact on Jamaica's economy developed later under British control, the Spanish created the plantation system and started the African slave trade, both of which dominated Jamaican society for centuries. The Spanish first attempted to force the indigenous Tainos Arawak Indians to work on the plantations, but the brutality of this exploitative process led to a substantial reduction in the local Arawak population and eventually resulted in its complete extermination.

Under British rule, the Jamaican sugar trade became so large that by the mid-eighteenth century, Jamaica was the most prized possession of the British Crown, far exceeding in importance and value any of the other British Caribbean or American mainland colonies. British authorities fostered a structural dependence on sugar exports as part of the larger economic relationship England shared with her colonies. England imported raw materials from Jamaica (and other colonies), processed and refined them, and then sold back the final products at inflated prices. The plantation system thus created a structural import bias in Jamaica that reflected the desires of the British to expand their export market by restricting domestic production in the colonies. The sugar plantation's emphasis on large-scale production also created a bias against small-scale agriculture which had long-term detrimental effects upon employment and income distribution in the Jamaican economy.

The Banana Industry and Infrastructure Growth (1838-1900)

The emancipation of slaves in 1838 and the international movement toward free trade in the 1850's led to a fall in sugar input costs and a resultant decline in sugar production. In 1846, Britain passed the Sugar Duties Act which called for a gradual abolition of all preferential duties on sugar. By 1852, Jamaica was competing—without the benefit of protective tariffs—against other British colonies. In addition to these setbacks, the planters also faced stiff competition from sugar beet production as well as a severe capital shortage as most available capital was being sent back to

Britain to finance the rapidly expanding industrial revolution occurring there. Between 1832 and 1910, the value of sugar exports declined from J\$2.6 million to J\$418,400.

In the wake of the sugar industry decline, many planters shifted their efforts from sugar cultivation to banking and the import-export trade. At the same time, most freed slaves migrated from the plantations to small plots of land although some remained on the plantations to work for wages and others migrated to "free villages" set up by missionaries. Those former slaves who took up peasant farming produced primarily for the local economy which led to the development of market towns and to the creation of a dual economy. Distressed planters turned to Chinese and Indian immigrants to fill the demand for labour. Between 1838 and 1917, over 33,000 Indians migrated to Jamaica, while nearly 5000 Chinese arrived between 1860 and 1893. These migrants assimilated well into Jamaican culture and many engaged in merchant trading and distribution and later became crucial actors in the Jamaican economic and social structure.

The development of the banana trade after 1869 helped to rescue the ailing Jamaican economy. By 1912, bananas accounted for 55% of the total value of exports, while sugar and rum combined had fallen to 8%. This trend continued until the 1940's when Panama disease dealt a crippling blow to banana production. For seventy years, between 1870 and 1940, banana export dominated the Jamaican economy. During that period, banana boat voyages also provided many Jamaicans with the opportunity to migrate. Between 1885 and 1935, an average ten thousand Jamaicans left the island each year.

The banana trade instigated the shift from British dominance over the Jamaican economy to the United States as American banana multinationals bought large land plantations previously owned by English sugar planters. A landed plantation elite did not survive, therefore, into twentieth century Jamaica. This differs significantly from many Latin American countries where wealthy aristocratic landowners (*latifundistas*) have played a crucial role in enacting or hindering economic reform. In Latin America, multinationals co-existed with (and, in some cases, co-opted) the landed class, whereas in Jamaica, they displaced the plantation-owning elite.

With the decline of British planters, local ownership in the banana industry also increased. Unlike the harvesting of sugar, banana cultivation increased small farmer involvement in agriculture because banana estate workers also engaged in independent hill-side

production and sold their produce for cash. This activity increased the flow of money in small-scale farming and contributed to its subsequent growth. In 1929, six thousand small holders banded together to found the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association which aimed to sell and market their fruit in the United States and Europe. This action represented the first major organisational effort of local economic actors and foreshadowed the emergence of an active and well-organised economic interest group community that would come to play a crucial role in later development.

As the fortunes of the local plantation elite declined, the British government began to take a more active role in Jamaica's governance. As such, the colonial authorities embarked on a major infrastructure development scheme during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which was concentrated in the capital city of Kingston. Between 1871 and 1943, the population in the island increased by 44%, while Kingston grew by 120.9% and St. Andrew grew by 204.5%. Many new jobs were created in infrastructure construction, secondary industries, and the civil service. This led to a sharp increase in rural to urban migration (as the number of urban-based jobs increased) and reflected the relative decline in agriculture (table 1.1). Although infrastructure expansion benefited primarily the (largely white) expatriate community in Kingston, the rural areas—where most of the poor black population lived—remained neglected.

Table 1.1 Labour Force Participation by Industry (%) (1844-1921)

Industry	1844	1861	1881	1911	1921
Agriculture	71.5	69.6	67.5	58.5	55.3
Industry & Construction	11.4	16.9	16.8	18.1	17.6
Commerce	3.0	2.2	3.0	5.9	5.9
Profession	1.3	1.3	1.9	2.7	3.3
Domestic	12.8	10.0	10.8	14.8	17.9

Source: Eisner, *Jamaica 1830-1930*, 163.

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE BEGINNING OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH (1900-1952)

Economic Instability and Social Unrest (1900-38)

In the early twentieth century, Jamaica began to face a severe economic crisis. Although urban growth expanded throughout this period, the decline of agriculture and the dislocation of World War I

had serious negative impacts on the economy. Initially, World War I created a rise in the international price of sugar, which provided hope for sugar planters, but by 1920, the prices fell rapidly, and once again, the sugar industry fell into massive decline. Only the restitution of quotas by Britain in 1934 saved the sugar industry from complete collapse. In addition, while the population expanded in this period, the safety valve of migration closed with the onset of the great depression during the early 1930's. Indeed, major recipient countries of Jamaican migrants all closed their borders during this period in response to the international economic recession.

Between 1929 and 1934, the rapid decline in Jamaican exports resulted in a significant drop in real per capita income, despite efforts at stimulating domestic production. At the same time, unemployment and underemployment, which had been adversely affected by the decline in migration, only grew worse. Estimates of employment figures for urban workers (wage earners in the non-agricultural sector) range from 25% to 33% during the late 1930's. By 1937-38, there was wide-spread malnutrition, inadequate housing, few educational opportunities for the average Jamaican, widespread poverty and unemployment, as well as spreading resentment, discontentment, and agitation among the Jamaican working classes.

These conditions served as the primary causes for the various disturbances and riots which broke out across the island between 1935 and 1938. Resistance to stagnant economic conditions spread throughout the island and, in 1938, the colonial authorities called out troops to quell the uprisings. In response to these disturbances, the colonial office commissioned an Englishman (Lord Moyne) to investigate the reasons for the riots, which resulted in the Moyne Report, published at the end of the Second World War.

The Moyne Commission report was important for several reasons. First, the Commission recognised for the first time the failures of the colonial office in adequately dealing with economic conditions on the island. Citing low income earnings and increased unemployment as the two reasons for social unrest, the report recommended the implementation of various social welfare measures to provide long overdue social services, but it fell short of calling for significant structural economic transformations.

In addition, although it made references to the importance of small, local industry, the overall tone of the report was unenthusiastic about the development of domestic industry. This

bias against industrialisation in the colonies stemmed from the early days of British control when colonial authorities had discouraged industrialisation fearing that it would damage the interests of British exporters. Moreover, the commission reaffirmed the historical British attitude against government intervention in the local economy. For example, the report rejected the submission that the government should establish a cement factory and instead recommended that a British firm should be invited to perform that task.

The Birth of Nationalism and the Seeds of Industrial Growth (1938-51)

Despite the bias against government involvement and local industry development, the advent of universal suffrage and other political changes instigated a shift in these directions between 1938-51. In 1944, local political parties led by Jamaicans competed for and assumed leadership in the island's first election under universal adult suffrage. This election initiated the process toward national independence which occurred in 1962. Although government decisions remained under the auspices of colonial control, nationalist impulses among the new local leadership created a critical shift in economic direction. Recognising the vast opportunities for British private investment with the industrialisation of the island, the colonial authorities eventually decided to pursue an industrial path of development.

In 1945, the government passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, the extension of a 1940 act of the same name. The new act provided capital for roads, housing, water systems, and schools, all of which formed the infrastructure development for later industrial growth. In addition, two government committees, the Economic Policy Committee and the Agricultural Policy Committee, tabled reports for long-term economic growth in 1945. Two years later, the government passed the first Ten Year Development Plan. Both the policy committees and the Ten-Year Plan emphasised agricultural growth as the primary government objective, placing industrial investment as a secondary priority.

The Ten Year plan did make reference, however, to measures which the government had under consideration for the encouragement of industry through tax relief and temporary protection to infant industries. In 1949, the government passed the Pioneer Industry Encouragement Law, the first of a series of

legislative efforts to stimulate industrial development. The revision of the Ten Year Plan in 1951 formally marked the government's shift to the adoption of an official industrial policy. In that year, the government created the Industrial Development Corporation and charged it with coordinating and promoting the island's industrial policy. In 1952, the government formally invited the World Bank to make an independent and objective study of the industrial development requirements of Jamaica. In addition, the government invited a team of British industrialists to Jamaica and retained the services of an American consulting firm for the primary purpose of recommending specific industrial projects and promoting foreign investment in Jamaica.

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION AND THE RISE OF BAUXITE AND TOURISM (1952-1972)

Import Substitution: Origins and Implementation

Influenced by the writings of economist and later Nobel Laureate Sir W. Arthur Lewis, the Jamaican government embarked upon an ambitious industrialisation campaign. After World War II, the Caribbean Commission asked Lewis to prepare a study for the future of the British West Indies, in which Lewis recommended that the English-Speaking Caribbean industrialise as quickly as possible. Although his suggestions were initially rejected, nationalist pressure reversed this decision and Jamaican policymakers embraced Lewis' recommendations. Many of these policymakers ignored significant elements of Lewis' industrial strategy although Lewis himself later played a more direct role in the direction (and particularly the financing) of Jamaican industrialisation when he served as president of the Caribbean Development Bank.

Lewis argued that the government needed to restrict imports, focus on domestic production, and actively encourage the development of secondary industries (especially those industries that processed raw materials with relatively low capital and labour skill inputs). Lewis believed that industrialisation in the "capitalist" sector would eventually absorb the surplus labour found in the agricultural "subsistence" sector and thus lead to increased employment, an objective which he repeatedly stressed.

The Lewis model differed somewhat from the traditional Raul Prebisch/ECLA import substitution model in its heavy emphasis on foreign capital and in its call for long term export development. The

emphasis on foreign capital as the primary catalyst of development instigated the use of the term "industrialisation by invitation" to characterise this era. Between 1950 and 1968, one scholar estimates that foreign capital accounted for 35% of total net investment in the Jamaican economy. Despite his emphasis on foreign investment, Lewis recognised the limitations of the Puerto Rican model ("Operation Bootstrap"), and thus he stressed the need to customise the import substitution model to the Jamaican context.

The government import substitution programme rested on three platforms. These were (1) the creation of government agencies to stimulate industrial development, (2) the enactment of legislation to encourage industrial production, and (3) the implementation of quantitative restrictions on imports to protect domestic industries.

The government created a number of agencies to direct the import substitution model and to provide financial and technical support to export-oriented, labour intensive, low-import content industries. These organisations included the Industrial Development Corporation (1951), the Central Planning Unit (1955), the Small Business Loans Board (1956), and the Development Finance Corporation (1959). Incentive Legislation either targeted specific industries or emphasised general industrial development through the Pioneer Industries Law, the Industrial Incentives Law, and the Export Industries Law. In addition, the government imposed a series of quantitative or absolute import restrictions on a number of consumer, capital, and intermediate goods (table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Number of Items under Quantitative or Absolute Restriction (1961-73)

	Consumer goods	Intermediate goods	Capital goods	Total
1961	44	3	3	50
1964	58	5	9	72
1968	128	15	15	158
1973	164	16	21	201

Source: Bonnick, "Jamaica: Centralization to Liberalization, and Back?" 273.

Import Substitution: Impact and Effects on the Economy

The import-substitution strategy succeeded in transforming the Jamaican economy and in generating substantial economic growth

(Appendix C). Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased during this period by an average annual rate of 7%. However, real per capita GDP increased at less than 5% during the same period, reflecting the rapid growth of the population. Manufacturing increased from 6.8% of GDP in 1938 to 13.2% in 1960, and thus replaced agriculture as the leading contributor to the GDP. Nearly 60% of the industrial expansion in this period resulted from the import substitution initiative.

The industrialisation process generated significant production increases in secondary and some primary manufacturing industries. As such, producers in these industries formed the core economic elite in the island, a position they would hold for the next three decades. Powerful families which engaged in construction, food processing, pharmaceuticals, and other related forms of manufacturing, made large profits throughout this period. Industrial firms that these families controlled dominated the local manufacturing industry.

As these manufacturing firms grew increasingly wealthy, small farmers, rural labourers, and the urban unemployed suffered from a decline in income. After centuries of colonial rule, income inequality had become a striking feature of Jamaican society. In 1958, the top 20% of households controlled 61.5% of income in the island (table 1.4). This severe income inequality increased dramatically during the period of import substitution, with most of the income earned in the creation of GNP accruing to the owners of local manufacturing firms (table 1.3). Between 1958 and 1968, the income share of the poorest 40% of the population (in personal earned income) declined from 7.2% to 5.4%.

Table 1.3 Distribution of Income Earned in the Creation of the GNP (1953-59)

Income Shares	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Earnings of Employees	50.4	49.6	50.3	50.8	49.1	49.9	49.9
Earnings of Resident Corporations	2.8	3.2	3.4	4.7	6.8	6.8	6.7
Earnings of Property and Self Employment	33.2	33.2	32.4	30.4	29.8	29.0	28.9
Net Indirect Taxes	7.6	6.6	6.4	6.3	7.0	7.2	7.2

Source: Munroe, *The Politics of Constitutional Decolonization*, 203.

Despite the significant economic and industrial growth, the import-substitution strategy had several negative effects on the economy. Although the government imposed numerous restrictions, imports rose rapidly during this period. Imports grew from 32.5% of GNP in 1950 to 51.6% in 1968, while exports grew from 26% to only 40% over the same time frame. The rapid growth in imports reflected the growing demand for imported food, consumer durables, and manufacturing inputs generated by the import-substitution model. Moreover, despite its contribution to national income, the import substitution strategy failed to reduce the sectoral pattern of import coefficients.

Table 1.4 Percentage of Income of Deciles of Households (1958)

Decile	% of Income	
1st	10%	
2nd	10%	2.2
3rd	10%	2.5
4th	10%	3.5
5th	10%	4.7
6th	10%	6.1
7th	10%	8.3
8th	10%	11.2
9th	10%	18.0
10th (first 5%)	5%	13.3
10th (second 5%)	5%	30.2

Source: Ahiram, *Income Distribution in Jamaica*, 337.

In addition, despite efforts to the contrary, most of the new industries created during this period were extremely capital intensive and thus contributed little to local employment. Between 1956 and 1968, firms established under import substitution provided direct and indirect employment for 26,000 persons, as compared with an annual labour force increase of 25,000 in the years preceding this period. Indeed, the number of workers employed by the manufacturing sector under the Incentive Programme over a ten-year period was less than the growth of the labour force in a single year. Excessive migration rates in the post war period led to a reduction in the size of the labour force and thus postponed an inevitable unemployment crisis. Between 1953 and 1957 the

economy grew by 11.5% per annum, but unemployment remained constant at around 18%. As migration rates slowed, the situation became even more severe. Between 1960 and 1972, unemployment increased beyond 20% despite a real growth rate of 5% annually.

The new industries started during this period did not create significant inter-sectoral backward or forward linkages. Most of these firms engaged primarily in assembly or finishing operations—so-called “screwdriver” operations—and therefore did not contribute to other aspects of the local economy. The firms were heavily dependent on imports for raw materials and partly finished components. In addition, the nature of the employment created under the import-substitution model was biased toward unskilled labour. Local firms thus had little incentive to develop training facilities for the growing working force. This lack of training establishments created a largely unskilled labour force that later posed a major obstacle to effective employment creation.

In macroeconomic terms, the contribution of new manufacturing firms to employment and income generation did not justify the substantial loss of revenue caused by government incentive programmes. Tax breaks and other economic incentives to production were unnecessarily excessive in many instances and only led to increased profits for local merchants and producers. Although economic production increased during this period, government revenues were substantially lower than they could have been. Jefferson calculates that between 1959 and 1969, the funds flowing out of the Jamaican economy actually exceeded all the incoming investments attracted by official incentive policies.¹

The Further Decline of the Agricultural Sector

The governmental emphasis on import substitution also led to neglect and subsequent decline in the agricultural sector. Significantly, few linkages occurred with the agricultural sector, which contributed to its relative stagnation. Although agriculture employed more than one-third of the Jamaican labour force between 1950-1968, agricultural production increased at a rate of only 2% in that time, compared to a 6.7% increase in real GDP over the same time period. Over these years, export agriculture fared the worse, although livestock and crop production for domestic consumption expanded at a faster rate.

The plantation system had created unequal land distribution

exacerbating agriculture's problems. In 1954, 1300 farms of 100 acres or more accounted for nearly half of the island's total farm acreage, while 43,000 farms of under one acre in size accounted for less than one percent of total farm acreage. More than one quarter of the land suitable for continuous cultivation was lying idle in 1961. Although successive governments expressed a commitment to improvements in agriculture, no major land reform programme was instituted during this period.

The sugar and banana export industries deteriorated even further during the late 1950's and 1960's, especially under the weight of colonial neglect. In the sugar industry, the technological capabilities of the factories had declined substantially, input costs were increasing, investment was low, and cane yield per acre had fallen. Only extensive tariff and quota protection from Britain kept the industry alive. Poor management of sugar plantations in Jamaica led to a further decline in production and by 1969, Jamaica could no longer meet its protected markets quota. Banana output during this period also fell short of its quota as a result of inefficient spraying, labour shortages, and rigid quality controls on bunches for export. Banana farmers faced particularly difficult conditions such as expensive transportation costs, difficult access to credit, poor storage and distribution facilities, and the high cost of imported inputs such as fertilisers.

The Rise of Bauxite/Alumina Production and Tourism

The mining industry was the primary contributor to the structural transformation which occurred in the Jamaican economy during the 1950's and 1960's. Mining for bauxite—the ore which is the base mineral in the production of aluminum—first began in 1952 under the control of privately-held American and Canadian companies. The American declaration that bauxite was a "strategic resource", demand from the Korean War, and worldwide economic boom conditions contributed to the rise of the industry. In addition, the industry received significant government funding through the Marshall Plan in the United States and the Economic Co-operation Administration in England. The mining companies in Jamaica also received substantial encouragement and support from the Jamaican government, primarily through the 1950 Bauxite and Alumina Industries Encouragement Law, which provided a tax relief on mining inputs.

By 1957, Jamaica had become the world's leading bauxite producer and the primary supplier of bauxite to the United States, a position it held for nearly fifteen years, until 1971. The bauxite companies were all foreign-owned and all exported the mineral ore without processing it into aluminum. Only one bauxite company, Alcan Jamaica Company, converted bauxite into alumina locally (the first part of the process of converting bauxite into aluminum). This fact would later prove critical, as bauxite-producing firms could easily leave the island to other countries (which almost all of them did), while Alcan was one of only two companies that did not leave the country despite adverse relations with the government during the 1970's.

The expansion of the tourist industry represented further diversification of the Jamaican economy. Active government participation played a critical role in the growth of the tourist industry. This government participation included legislation—such as the Hotel Aid Encouragement Law of 1944—and the reconstitution of the Tourist Board in 1955. Although tourism had made a small contribution to the economy preceding the Second World War, Jamaica was transformed from a vacation spot for the relatively wealthy to a mass tourist destination during the 1950's. Between 1945 and 1969, the number of hotels increased threefold, and in the latter year, there were 95 hotels with 4,352 rooms and a guest capacity of 8,413.

Unlike the bauxite industry, tourism offered significant opportunity for local participation (largely confined to a wealthy local elite). In 1968, 53% of hotels on the island were in local hands compared to 39% for foreign owners (9% belonged to both). Although Jamaican-owned hotels existed, the industry depended to a great extent upon North American tourists (primarily Americans) for its survival. For example, American visitors made up 66% to 81% of visitors during the 1960's. In 1966, 345,000 visitors spent approximately J\$90 million on the island. Tourism's contribution to national income increased from 4.4% to 6.5% between 1959 and 1969, and its contribution to total retained foreign exchange earnings moved from 10% to 17% during the same period. By 1970, tourism had become one of the most important sources of government revenue, second only to the mining sector.

Bauxite and Tourism: An Evaluation of their Impact on the Economy

Both the mining and tourist sectors contributed to the significant diversification and growth of the Jamaican economy during this period. Despite their income contributions, they made only minimal contributions to employment, largely because of their exceedingly high capital-intensity and import content. Bauxite production requires little labour and instead depends on large machinery to facilitate the process. Although the industry contributed 17% of Jamaica's retained foreign exchange earning and 14% of GDP in 1968, it provided only one percent of total employment in the same year.

In addition, the mining industry paid extremely high wages and exacerbated the severe wage dualism characteristic of the Jamaican economy. Tidrick posits a provocative thesis that wage increases in the high-wage mining sector reduced employment directly because these wage increases tended to "spill over" and create unemployment elsewhere in the economy.² High wages induced unemployment because they drew large numbers of workers from rural into urban areas in search of high incomes. Tidrick argues, however, that the limited number of jobs available led to widespread open unemployment in urban cities.

More labour-intensive than bauxite/alumina production, tourism employed between 10,000-12,000 workers directly and an equal number in related sectors during this period. Most of this labour was seasonal and the industry was extremely vulnerable to international conditions. In addition, the tourist industry had an extremely high import content. Scholars estimate that for every dollar of tourist expenditure in Jamaica throughout this period, 34 cents was spent on imports. Many theorists conclude that the returned value to the Jamaican economy of both industries (including local purchases, salaries and wages, tax and royalty payments), was much less than possible. Between 1956 and 1967, the bauxite industry contributed between 36% and 43% of the total value of bauxite and alumina exports—the rest accruing as profits to the bauxite and alumina firms. In tourism, estimates of profit outflow during this time range from 70 to 77 cents per dollar. Both the bauxite/alumina and tourism industries made significant contributions to the Jamaican economy during this period, although the overall net impact on the Jamaican economy could have been greater.

The Expansion of the Informal Sector

In addition to the expansion of the bauxite/alumina, tourism, and manufacturing industries, the other significant aspect of economic growth during this period involved the informal, or hustling sector, primarily the export of marijuana ("ganja"). With the sluggish growth in traditional agricultural exports, many small farmers turned their interests toward the illegal production of ganja to supply the growing North American market. Although few studies exist on the extent or growth of the ganja trade during this period, subsequent studies estimate that ganja probably surpassed banana and sugar as the islands chief export crop.

For many of the farmers who did not engage in ganja cultivation, migration to urban areas became a major source of increasing their incomes. As numerous agricultural labourers migrated in the hope of finding high wage employment, many of them found few job opportunities available. Until these workers found formal employment, they engaged in small-time hustling, trading, and the provision of personal services outside of the official economy. Most remained unemployed, however.

Participation in the urban informal economy usually paid more than did agricultural production, although not as much as industrial employment. By participating in "casual employment," labourers earned at least as much or more over a year's time as full-time wage earners in agriculture. Between 1943 and 1960, the service sector experienced the largest gain in employment, second only to manufacturing, which clearly indicates the rapid expansion of the urban informal sector. Table 1.5 charts the levels of urbanisation that occurred between 1943 and 1970.

Table 1.5 Urbanisation, 1943, 1960, 1970 (thousands and %)

	1943	1960	1970
Total Population	1237.1	1609.8	1797.4
Urban Population*	236.8	519.5	751.2
Urban Population as % of total	19	32	42
Corporate Area**	201.8	376.5	475.6
Corporate Area as % of total	16	23	26

*Excludes places with populations of less than 5000.

**Urban population of Kingston and St. Andrew parishes.

Source: Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism*, 25.

The Influence of Nationalism on Economic Policy: Increased Centralisation

Although official government policy during this period was to actively pursue foreign capital investment, this policy did not supplant strong nationalist tendencies among various government administrations. For example, in 1957, the officially socialist People's National Party (PNP) under the leadership of Norman Manley, renegotiated the government contract with the bauxite companies, which led to a six fold increase in revenue. Indeed, this PNP government set the dominant economic agenda for the future by establishing numerous government bodies, statutory boards, and quasi-government authorities to regulate and play an active role in industry.

With official independence from England in 1962, nationalist fervour achieved new highs. The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) won the first post-independence elections and, despite its overtly pro-Western capitalist leanings, embarked on a relatively ambitious "Jamaicanisation" programme to increase local participation in the economy. Using various tax measures and policy statements, the JLP government encouraged foreign businesses to sell shares on the local stock exchange, to increase domestic holdings of companies to 50%, and to establish local Boards of Directors. This programme targeted the financial sector where foreign control and ownership was exceedingly high.

In response to this "Jamaicanisation" drive, a number of financial and industrial firms divested partial ownership to local hands prior to 1972. The JLP regime also strengthened the import substitution industrialisation policy, increased public sector activity, and expanded domestic monetary and credit policies. The centralisation of the state and the increasing number of controls on production characterised the Jamaican economy which Michael Manley inherited when he assumed office in 1972.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL TRADITION

And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, "there is a noise of war in the camp."

—Exodus 32: 14.

Jamaica's political history provides a valuable insight into the development strategies which were adopted by Michael Manley both in 1972 and later in the 1989. This chapter argues that political change in Jamaica until 1972 can be understood only within the context of English colonialism which sharply divided the Jamaican society. Local English authorities subjugated the black Jamaican underclass. Political and economic change occurred mainly as a result of rebellion and riots among this politically disenfranchised and economically exploited group. Local authorities did not implement this reform in direct response to class agitation but were forced to do so by the English parliament.

This "benevolence" on the part of the English led to an increased respect for colonial authority among most Jamaicans. As such, the move for self-governance was delayed for several years and led to division among the local populace, with many loyal to Britain and others adamant in their call for national control over political decision-making. This sharp division helped to foster the two-party political system in Jamaica.

The lack of national unity among the local political elite also led to political tribalism that later erupted into violence. Jamaica thus established a democratic tradition, but a democracy tainted by violence, tribalism, and patronage. By 1972, although the government had achieved self-governance and full independence, years of English control had left a political legacy of sharp social inequality that easily fell for the persuasive rhetoric of egalitarianism and social justice espoused by Michael Manley.

LOCAL PLANTOCRACY DOMINATION VS. ENGLISH CONTROL (1655-1900)

Local Plantocracy Domination and Popular Unrest (1655-1866)

Until 1865, Jamaican society could best be understood by

using the "conflict pluralist" approach put forward by Smith.¹ The conflict pluralist approach presupposes the existence of differing cultural groups with one dominant group ruling through coercive and regulatory institutions. Political change usually follows changes in the social structure and is often accompanied by violence. Under British colonial rule, these two striking patterns emerged in Jamaican society.

Effective political control and power over the island rested not in England, but in the hands of local wealthy plantation owners intent upon furthering their own economic interests. Consequently, almost all significant political change that occurred during this period did so in direct response to resistance from the oppressed black population.

The local plantation elite maintained strict control over the island and brutally suppressed all acts of revolt among slaves. A major rebellion in 1831 played a crucial role in quickening the emancipation process that occurred in 1838. Even after emancipation, the local authorities used their legislative and political power to restrict the rights of freed slaves and limit their economic and political mobility. In response, angered blacks, with the support of sympathetic freed coloreds, rose up in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 which was brutally suppressed by the local authorities.

The Rise of the Colonial Office (1865-1900)

The post-rebellion repression by the local planters led the English Parliament to reassert a dominant role in Jamaica's affairs. To facilitate this new role, the English implemented the Crown Colony system of government in 1866 which created a non-elected Legislative Council and strengthened the position of the Governor. From this time onward until independence in 1962, English authorities played a dominant leadership role in the governance of the island. Prodded by England, successive governors embarked on social reform and infrastructure growth programmes that improved the plight of the black underclass by creating employment and providing welfare relief. These reforms were limited, however, and many Jamaicans, especially those in rural areas, remained unaffected by them.

In 1884, English authorities allowed unofficial members of the Legislative Council to be elected. For the next fifty years, the English slowly facilitated increased representation into the political

process, including the extension of suffrage to women in 1919. Although the British increased political representation among the local populace, the Governor still retained executive control over the affairs of the island and the Legislative Council still served in an advisory capacity, as a vocal but largely ineffectual group.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION: SEARCHING FOR AN IDEOLOGY (1900-44)

Increased Political Awareness and Participation (1900-38)

This period witnessed the rise of organised black leadership both inside and outside of the formal political process. During the 1900's, as the black population expanded, so did their participation on the Legislative Council. In 1900, the first black was elected to the Legislative Council. By 1910, there were five brown members and one black member of the Legislative Council out of the fourteen elected members. By the 1920's there were more black members than white and by the 1930's the membership was almost entirely black. Criticism of the island's political structure by these new entrants often led to initial response from the colonial office but not to subsequent action. For instance, colonial authorities formed a committee in 1921 to examine government structure in response to a call from J.A.G. Smith, but nothing arose of it. Members of the Legislative Council were forced to form their own political organisations to lobby for reform. Although vocal, these organisations failed to achieve any meaningful success as the colonial office remained intent upon preventing substantial change.

Outside of government, various leaders had begun to press for change in a variety of fora. In the religious arena, Alexander Bedward, a prominent evangelist with a mass following, called for black people to rise up against white oppression. His anti-government message led him into difficulties with the authorities and, after he declared himself to be Jesus Christ, the government locked him up in the insane asylum.

Marcus Garvey, a black nationalist, also rose to prominence during this time. In 1928, Garvey founded Jamaica's first black political party, the People's Political Party (PPP). Garvey's party resulted in failure, however, largely because of the limited political enfranchisement for blacks and harassment by government authorities. Despite efforts to restrict his political participation, Garvey was elected as councillor of the Kingston and St. Andrew

Corporation. Like that of Bedward, Garvey's message consisted of a call for political redress that reflected the growing dissatisfaction among the black underclass with their conditions.

Despite the rise in political awareness and organisation, the extent of popular participation still remained abysmally low. In 1930, only eight percent of the population was eligible to vote and in 1935, that number had fallen to six percent. More importantly, material conditions had deteriorated rapidly. The great depression in the United States affected Jamaica significantly, thus driving up unemployment. This resulted in numerous labour riots and protests that spread throughout the island between 1935 and 1938. The Moyne Commission examined the reason for the disturbances and suggested several constitutional changes; this resulted in the establishment of limited self-government in 1944 based on universal adult suffrage.

The Organisation of the Labour and Political Reform Movements (1938-44)

The 1938 disturbances marked the birth of the modern trade union movement. The Jamaican Legislature first granted legal status to officially registered trade unions with the passage of the Trade Union Law in 1919, which was passed in response to widespread labour restiveness and the pressures of the liberal-leaning Governor. It deliberately denied the right to picket and placed numerous restrictions on the right to strike. In subsequent years, various unions were formed but none laid claim to substantial membership. In 1936, the Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union (JWTU)—the island's first union representing workers of all occupations—was founded and became the bedrock of all later unionism.

Alexander Bustamante, a near-white money-lender of a formerly wealthy Jamaican family, became the treasurer and eventual president of the JWTU. Bustamante, who had changed his name from Alexander Clarke, had left Jamaica at an early age and had gained initial prominence during the 1930's by writing a series of letters to the *Daily Gleaner* criticising the colonial office and decrying the conditions on the island. When he became president of the JWTU, Bustamante traveled across the island delivering speeches and holding rallies in which he displayed fiery oratory that made him extremely popular among the working class. Although he frequently criticised the colonial office, Bustamante's agenda called for improved labour conditions and not major political change. By 1938, Bustamante had emerged as the unofficial leader of the labour

movement in Jamaica.

Between 1936 and 1938 the call for political and economic reform had reached a fevered pitch. As such, a diffuse political and reform movement began to grow to parallel the growth in trade union activity. Several left-leaning intellectuals formed organisations dedicated to securing self-government and founded journals dedicated to the cause of political reform. Four expatriate Jamaicans in New York formed an organisation called the Jamaica Progressive League (JPL) in 1936 committed to securing self-government for Jamaica and in 1937, three left-leaning middle class intellectuals in Jamaica founded a new journal, *Public Opinion*, dedicated to the cause of political reform throughout the colonies. In the same year, the most prominent and well-respected barrister on the island and Bustamante's cousin, Norman Washington Manley, started an economic organisation designed to promote community development in rural areas (Jamaica Welfare Limited). A few months earlier, various middle class political activists had approached Manley to lead a new organisation (the National Reform Association) designed to unify the several forces seeking change, an offer which Manley refused. By 1938, many Jamaicans began to recognise Manley as the unofficial head of the movement for political and economic change in Jamaica.

The 1938 riots brought these two forces—labour and political—and particularly these two men—Bustamante and Manley—to the fore of the reform cause. Bustamante's decision to intervene on behalf of rioting sugar workers by organising a demonstration led to his arrest. Norman Manley, who had previously represented sugar estates as a barrister, acted as a negotiator on the worker's behalf and attempted to secure Bustamante's freedom. The workers conceded to company demands only on the condition of Bustamante's discharge from prison. Manley had to vouch for Bustamante's subsequent release, an act which formally signified the beginning of a long professional relationship between the two men.

The disturbances came to an end when the employers agreed to wage increases and when the government announced a land-settlement programme to benefit peasant farmers. Prodded by authorities in England, the Legislature also instituted various working condition reforms. The Moyne Commission report played a significant role in enacting these changes and also laid the

groundwork for the island's first election under universal adult suffrage in 1944.

In the wake of the 1938 riots, Bustamante went on to form his own trade union, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), over which he exercised dictatorial control by declaring himself President-General for Life. In September of the same year (1938), Manley was asked by O.T. Fairclough, a prominent middle class leftist, to head Jamaica's first mass political party, the People's National Party (PNP), dedicated to securing self-government for Jamaica. Initially, Bustamante supported the PNP, but he did not support the party's primary objective of self-government. Eventually, Manley's support for the BITU-rival Trade Union Advisory Council threatened Bustamante's stranglehold on labour leadership in the country. In addition, Manley's declaration of the PNP as a socialist party in 1940 further estranged Bustamante, which led to Bustamante's break with the PNP in 1942. Bustamante's departure from the PNP and his subsequent formation of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) in 1943 to contest the election devastated the grass root support base of the PNP.

The 1938 labour disturbances therefore signified a crucial turning point in Jamaican politics. Several dominant trends emerged out of this period. First, the powerful trade union movement established itself as a vital component of politics. Trade unions came to exercise significant control over both political and economic decisions. As such, mass political parties based on labour support dominated Jamaican politics. Labour support became especially critical as other parties later failed because they lacked this strong labour base. Second, members of the middle class (primarily intellectuals) came to dominate party politics. Most political activity not related to the labour movement came from left-leaning middle class intellectuals committed to improving the lives of the poor.

Third, a charismatic/personalist political tradition emerged out of this period. Bustamante derived most of his power from his magnetic personality which was able to win over most crowds. Although Manley possessed less personal charisma, his ability to command respect and his personal convictions earned him tremendous admiration from the Jamaican people. Through their dominant personalities, these two figures contributed greatly to a personalist legacy that intensified under Michael Manley during the 1970's.

INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIAL UNREST (1944-1972)

Forming a New Nation: Grappling with Ideology (1944-55)

In 1944, the new government structure consisted of a bicameral legislature with a lower house elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, a Legislative Council with nominated members, and the Executive acting as the chief instrument of policy. Ultimate authority remained with the colonial office. Numerous parties contested the 1944 election, including the Federation of Citizen's Association, The Jamaica Liberal Party, the Jamaica Radical Workers' Party, the J.A.G. Smith Party, and the Rent Payer's Party. The most prominent party apart from the JLP and PNP was the Jamaica Democratic Party, formed in 1943 by urban representatives of the wealthy business class. All these parties lacked a labour base or grassroots support and thus the two primary contenders in the election were the JLP and PNP. In the election, the Bustamante-dominated Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) won an overwhelming majority of seats (23 of 32 compared to 4 for the PNP) and Manley failed even to win his seat. Importantly, five independent candidates won seats while all of the other parties failed to win even one seat.

Bustamante's campaign consisted of labour legislation and social welfare reform. The widespread popularity of the wage labour movement under Bustamante clearly appealed more to the Jamaican people than did the less attractive force of self-government which the PNP actively endorsed (Bustamante's campaign slogan was "self-government=slavery"). History explains the Jamaican people's initial aversion to self-government. Traditionally, most acts of welfare reform for the Jamaican people (such as the 1838 emancipation proclamation and the 1938 labour reforms) originated in the English Parliament only to face the resistance and hostility of local authorities. As such, Bustamante's opposition to self-government found support among a generally discontented, but essentially loyal, Jamaican people.

In preparation for the 1949 election, the PNP strengthened its labour support by creating a more overtly partisan organisation (the Trade Union Council) to replace the Trade Union Advisory Council. With this strengthened labour support, the party managed to win thirteen (13) seats in the 1949 election to combat the JLP's seventeen (17) seats. Ideological debate dominated in the 1949 election, more so than in the previous election. Bustamante repeatedly denounced

the PNP's socialism and declared that "[t]he JLP dissociates itself completely with communism and socialism and other theories which lead to the domination of the individual and oppression of ambition under a soulless state machine."²

Manley's experiences in Britain had exposed him to the Fabian socialism popular among young intellectuals at the beginning of the century. In Jamaica, however, the general attitude toward socialist theory mirrored that of the United States to which Jamaica was becoming increasingly close. As such, socialist ideas fell into disfavour among the Jamaican electorate. Socialism was also viewed as similar to or the same as communism in the eyes of most Jamaicans, who were raised listening to the anti-communist message preached in Christian churches throughout Jamaica. Van Horne argues that the Church in Jamaica, "though split into several denominations, nevertheless exerts a strong influence on matters it perceives to be inimical to the moral foundation of Jamaican society."³ In Jamaica, the Church's "fundamental opposition to Communism" has fostered an anti-communist bias, especially given the extensive "power of the Church...in the culture of black Jamaicans."

Manley's interpretation of socialism rejected its violent or revolutionary streak and expressly rejected communism. However, Manley did advocate public ownership or control of "all the means of production" and called for a "vital transformation of the accepted actual existing organisation of society" along more egalitarian lines.⁴ The declaration of socialism in 1940 had occurred because Manley assessed the international environment (especially during World War II) and concluded that socialism was the ideological wave of the future. To Manley, the "world struggle was clearly between fascist Germany and socialist-oriented England" and since he was opposed to all totalitarian ideals, Manley felt obliged to side with socialism.⁵

Manley shied away from ideological extremism, however, and he chastised those in his party who became too embroiled with ideology. In 1952, Manley accused four Marxist members of the party who controlled the union organisation of 'subversive activity' and he expelled them from the PNP (the four were known as the four H's, Ken and Frank Hill, Richard Hart, and Arthur Henry). Manley did this both for organisational and political reasons. First, the internal power struggle threatened to destroy the party; to preserve party unity, one group had to go. Second, Manley recognised that

four prominent Marxists in the party would serve as a liability in the next general election (which was held three years later), because the Jamaican people had a historical distrust for communism. Michael Manley, who had returned from England a few years earlier, heralded the move to expel the communist members of the party and declared that "the P.N.P. is not, and never can be, either wholly or in part, a Communist movement."⁶

The expulsion of the Marxists from the party signified a crucial shift in the ideological construct of the PNP. After 1942, the party abandoned the socialist platform of nationalisation and instead adopted a more centrist position that involved supporting the use of private capital to stimulate growth. Norman Manley explained that "as a socialist, I do not find it difficult or contradictory to invite capital to Jamaica and to help and to pledge the utmost good faith in our dealings with its enterprises."⁷ As long as the government retained control over long-term development, Manley saw no problem with foreign capital financing that development. The departure of the Marxists also led to the exit of the union affiliate, which dealt a crippling blow to the party's labour support. The PNP quickly formed a new organisation, the National Worker's Union (NWU), which recruited Michael Manley to help the fledgling organisation grow. Manley proved particularly adept at this task and as the NWU made inroads into the sugar and bauxite industries, it began to erode the support of the old union. In the 1955 election, therefore, the NWU played a critical role in canvassing labour and grassroots support.

In 1953, a constitutional change made Bustamante Chief Minister of the island. This shift reflected Bustamante's realisation that Jamaica could indeed benefit from self-government and he thus abandoned his opposition to it. In the 1955 election, there was no explicit difference on self-government between the parties; the NWU had contributed to an increase in PNP labour support; and both parties had converged to the ideological center with the expulsion of the Marxists from the PNP. Bustamante could therefore find no major issue to rally the Jamaican people to his cause. In addition, after almost ten years of governance marred by several incidences of corruption, the complacent JLP could not stave off defeat against the aggressive and organisationally superior PNP. In the election, Manley assumed political power for the first time when the PNP secured eighteen (18) seats compared with the JLP's fourteen (14).

This election marked several important developments in Jamaican politics. First, it institutionalised the two party system that dominated Jamaican politics throughout the twentieth century. Since 1944, government control has shifted between the JLP and PNP consistently after every two-term period of rule, a pattern which continues to this day. In addition, the 1955 election saw a reduction in the number of independent seats from five in 1944 to two in 1949 to zero in 1955. In subsequent elections, no independent candidate would win a seat.

Second, the election marked the beginning of the Jamaican clientelist-patronage system, a striking characteristic of Jamaica's political culture. Close ties with labour coupled with the hostile divisions between the JLP and PNP led those leaders in power to concentrate economic benefits in the hands of party supporters. As the state expanded throughout this period, this system became increasingly important. The clientist state forms an integral and widely-practised component of Jamaica's political landscape. Although clientelism had played a role in the earlier 1944 and 1949 elections, the stakes became higher in the 1955 election leading to various instances of party-instigated violence and political intimidation of the electorate—another feature of Jamaican politics that became institutionalised by this election.

Moving Toward National Independence (1955-62)

The new PNP government introduced several major changes in the governance of the island. These reforms reflected in large part the desire of the colonial office to withdraw from British rule as the colonies had become a severe burden on English taxpayers. The British government slowly moved to shed its colonies. In 1957, the PNP implemented cabinet government which strengthened the role of local leadership in various aspects of the economy. In 1959, the PNP introduced full internal self-government where the Chief Minister became the Premier, and assumed responsibility for local affairs. In the 1959 election, Manley ran on his record of securing increased self-governance, while the JLP campaigned on the platform that the PNP had failed to live up to its promises. The PNP won the election and increased the number of seats to twenty-nine (29) (in a forty-five (45) member House) compared to the JLP's sixteen (16).

With the support and encouragement of the colonial office, the PNP led Jamaica into a West Indies Federation in January 1958.

This move reflected Manley's commitment to regional development through mutual cooperation, something he had advocated since 1945. In the Federal election, the PNP, which had allied with the Federal Labour Party, gained five (5) seats while the JLP, which joined the Democratic Labour Party, won twelve (12). Jamaica soon ran into conflict with the other islands in the Federation, primarily over the issue of sovereignty and the powers of the Federal government. In 1960, Bustamante declared his opposition to the Federation, insisting that Jamaica pursue independence alone. In response, Manley called a referendum on the issue, which resulted in a majority supporting withdrawal from the Federation (55% to 45%). In 1962, Manley announced the move toward independence and called an election. Although he had orchestrated the move to independence, Norman Manley and the PNP lost the election and Bustamante became Jamaica's first independent Prime Minister in 1962.

Before the 1962 election, the fever for full independence had peaked. The PNP had formed a small committee consisting of prominent local middle and upper-class Jamaicans to draft a constitution. Significantly, trade union membership was conspicuously absent from this committee, and because many members of the committee came from the nominated Upper House, the committee members were largely unrepresentative of the Jamaican population. The committee recommended that Jamaica adopt the British Westminster parliamentary system relatively unchanged. In newly-independent Jamaica, the Prime Minister received extensive powers and the Leader of the Opposition became a constitutionally-recognised position. The constitution also included a Bill of Rights as well as a compromise clause preventing government expropriation of property without adequate compensation as defined by the judicial system.

In the 1962 election, the PNP made a major shift back to the ideological left. In that year, the PNP founded the Young Socialist League (YSL), a group committed to advancing the cause of democratic socialism. Two years later, the party redeclared its commitment to democratic socialism by outlining a radical platform of nationalising the commanding heights of the economy, placing a 500-acre limit on the ownership of land, and eradicating illiteracy. In the snap election of 1967, the PNP realised that its platform was too radical for the Jamaican people and thus it dropped much of it.

Despite this, the JLP returned to power and increased its share of seats to thirty-three (33) of fifty-three (53) in the House (the PNP won twenty (20) seats).

Prior to the election, Bustamante announced that he would resign as party leader after the election. In February 1967, Sir Donald Sangster, the Deputy Prime Minister became Prime Minister, but he died two months later. In April 1967 Hugh Shearer, the head of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, became Prime Minister. In 1969, Norman Manley resigned as PNP president and leader of the opposition. In a close election, Manley's son, Michael, defeated Vivian Blake for the post of PNP president—even though he had not received his father's official endorsement (Norman Manley was neutral in the election and supported neither candidate). Three years later in 1972, Michael Manley met Hugh Shearer at the polls.

Popular Discontentment and Social Unrest (1962-72)

During the 1960's, a radical, unorganised black nationalist movement emerged which would play a significant role over the next two decades in affecting social change. This movement gained most if its support from four sources: the urban unemployed, radical intelligentsia, discontented students, and religious Rastafarians.

With the influx of migrants from rural to urban areas during this time period, the number of poor unemployed increased rapidly. Rising income inequality from import substitution only made the situation worse. In addition, black intellectuals founded radical organisations such as the New World Group at UWI and started newspapers like *Abeng*, described as the official organ of the Black Power movement in Jamaica. Members of the Rastafarian faith (a syncretism of traditional African religions and Christianity which professes loyalty to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia) became increasingly vocal in their attacks against the government. The black reform movement manifested itself politically in organisations such as the People's Political Party (PPP), headed by a militant black nationalist, that unsuccessfully contested the 1962 election.

Anger came to a head in 1968 when the government refused to allow Walter Rodney, a black nationalist lecturer at the University of the West Indies (UWI), to re-enter the island. This incident led to student riots which rapidly degenerated into sporadic and widespread looting and burnings throughout Kingston.

The government responded to this rise in black nationalism

through both appeasement and repression. For example, the JLP government brought back the body of Marcus Garvey from England and also invited Haile Selassie to Jamaica. More often than not, however, the government used oppressive and restrictive laws to ban and censor "subversive" literature and actions. This authoritarian response by the government only strengthened opposition to the JLP regime (and all forms of institutional authority) prior to the 1972 election. The resultant social unrest and widespread dissatisfaction formed the conditions under which Manley assumed power in the 1972 election.

Jamaica's Democratic Tradition: A Brief Comment

Just like that of other British dependents that achieved self-government, Jamaica's democratic tradition emerged out of the island's strong colonial legacy which had fostered a belief in and respect for democratic institutions. With some notable exceptions, almost all British colonies adopted some democratic basis for their political structure upon attaining national independence. In addition, the commitment to democracy held by the political and institutional leadership that rose to power during the 1944-72 period, helped to maintain this democratic tradition. Payne argues that "at independence, local leaders who genuinely believed in democracy took responsibility for its preservation...It was this élite, incorporating politicians, civil servants, judges, army officers, journalists, university teachers and others, which has been mainly responsible for the maintenance of that degree of openness and competitiveness which the Jamaican political system still possesses."⁸

But Jamaica's "democracy" requires several caveats. First, both political parties shared similar ideologies and could not be differentiated in any substantial way. Although the PNP had adopted a more progressive and socialist outlook, it abandoned this platform when in political office and instead adopted a more centrist political approach indistinguishable from that of the JLP. Hence, certain ideological viewpoints were not represented in political debate.

Second, the party leadership in both organisations possessed upper- and middle-class backgrounds, engaged either in elite professions (as lawyers, doctors, technical or managerial positions) or in white-collar jobs (such as teachers, ministers of religion, trade unionists), whereas party activists usually came from lower-class

backgrounds. This party division led to the perpetuation of a patron-client framework which dominates Jamaican politics to this day.

Third, political tribalism between parties led to widespread instances of violence and political intimidation. In addition to this violence, instances of fraud and gerrymandering became widespread especially in safe-seat constituencies where one party predominated over the other. This political corruption, although practised by many, did not significantly alter election results. Indeed, "Jamaica can still count as a democracy especially when discussed in a Third World context. Elections have not been grotesquely rigged, as in Nigeria; former leaders have not been hanged by successor-regimes, as in Pakistan...All in all, given the pressures, it has been quite an heroic performance."

PART II

Joshua's Ascent and Fall: New Development Paths - Strategies and Outcomes
