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MICHAEL MANLEY'S NATIONALISM IN THE 1970S: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES AS PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA.

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Abstract

Leaders and aspiring leaders nurture visions of the nations they want to develop. To fulfill their visions, they develop platforms based on their perceptions of national problems. Ideally, platforms become programs that can create better futures for their people. This concept of governance illuminates the leadership of Michael Manley, who embraced a democratic socialist philosophy to map the future of Jamaica in the 1970s. With campaign slogans like "Better Must Come" and "Forward Together," Manley conceived of a nation that would embody principles of equality, social justice, and co-operation. I argue that his efforts to develop this new society reflect his brand of nationalism. This thesis analyzes the development and implementation of Manley's nationalism as part of his construction of an ideal Jamaica.

The thesis situates Manley's endeavors against the backdrop of Jamaica's independence from Great Britain. As the country's third Prime Minister, who followed administrations of his uncle Sir Alexander Bustamante and his father Norman Washington Manley, Michael Manley faced the challenge of promoting a national identity that would make independence a meaningful reality for ordinary citizens. In order to understand how he navigated this challenge and moved beyond colonialism and the first independent governments, the thesis interrogates the philosophies he communicated to the public in speeches he delivered between 1972 and 1980. The analysis demonstrates how his Nationalism served as a mechanism for his democratic socialism.

The thesis approaches the issue of nationalism in two ways. It first maps the types of nationalistic thinking that have been deemed relevant to the Caribbean. This

discussion allows me to contrast Manley's program with dominant notions of

nationalism. It provides a conceptual framework for my analysis and conclusions that

place Manley's construction of a Jamaican citizenry at the core of his attempts to build a

collective civic and political identity for the nation.

MICHAEL MANLEY'S NATIONALISM IN THE 1970S: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
SPEECHES AS PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA.

by

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Introduction

In 2002, I was one of hundreds of adolescents chosen to view a documentary about Jamaica. It was shown in selected schools to the senior classes. Like my peers, I was confronted with the legacy of Michael Manley and the economic development of my country. The documentary *Life and Debt* examines the economic and social situation of Jamaica.[1] It sheds light on the impact of globalization and the rise of the global economic policies driven by international organizations, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on a developing country. Primarily, this documentary educates viewers on the role that the IMF played in the economic growth of Jamaica at during the 1970s. This story problematized the idea I had about "Sweet Jamaica", the country I had grown to know and love.[2]

At the end of the video, I asked the question, "so, what are we expected to do about this?" This question wasn't intended to make trouble, but I sought clarity about the intended response from a generation removed for this event. The legacy of Michael Manley is entrenched in Jamaican society and the issues that he confronted affected my family, my community and my upbringing.

This thesis is ultimately a result of my own grappling with understanding the history of Jamaica. It is based in an examination of the political history of Michael Manley and primarily focuses on the pre-IMF era of the 1970s.

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[1] *Life and Debt,* Directed by Stephanie Black, (2001)

[2] *Sweet Jamaica,* Tony Rebel (n.d.), Cherry Oh Baby Riddim.

With campaign slogans like "Better Must Come", "Giving Power to the People", and "A Government of Truth", Michael Manley rose to power by leading the People's National Party (PNP) to victory over the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) in 1972.[3] These slogans suggest that prior to this campaign the country's socio-political environment did not incorporate the mass population and that there was an unequal division of power in Jamaica. At the same time, these slogans suggest that Manley was the first post-independence leader to grasp the political value of these sorts of slogans.[4]

Manley challenged the racial discrimination and the subordinate economic position of the black majority and other marginal groups.[5] For Manley it was, "a tragedy of our history that the masses are predominately black and the privileged classes predominately fair-skinned."[6] Historian Arnold Bertram, argues that Manley's campaign and agenda called "on Jamaica to assault the economic system that perpetuates disadvantages and [break] the delusion that race is the enemy, when poverty is the true obstacle to overcome."[7] Although the country had a high per capita income, its economic gains were based in the suppression and oppression of its mass labor force.[8]

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[3] John Masouri, *Steppin' Razor: The Life of Peter Tosh,* (London: Omnibus Press, 2013)

[4] Arnold Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley's Social Revolution," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 9, 2006, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060409/lead/lead8.html> Bertram argues in this article the charismatic use of religious techniques by Michael Manley.

[5] Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley"

[6] Quoted in Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley"

[7] Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley"

[8] ibid

Rationale

Michael Manley has been described as "charismatic" and "the people's choice." He has been defined as a "hegemonic leader" and a "revolutionary."[9] His strategies were unconventional and his ideology challenged the status quo. He used his position to enable the possibilities for changes that took place in Jamaica during the 1970s.

Rachel Manley said that under Prime Minister Michael Manley's term, Jamaica experienced true independence.[10] The country was self-defined and, in a sense, liberated from the colonial powers of the British Empire. This ideology differs from flag-independence, occurring a decade after the country gained legal independence. Walter Rodney uses the term "flag-independence" to signify that a nation's or country's liberation struggles were pending despite the achievement of legal independence. African countries would have a neo-colonial system, and still be bound to European domination, just under a different name and flag.[11] While Jamaica was able to gain what Walter Rodney correctly called flag-independence, it did not ensure a national bond of the people.[12] In less than a decade, Michael Manley fostered a national culture and identity aimed at unifying the people, developing social growth, and enabling upward class mobility of the mass population. In reflecting on his term as Prime Minister, Manley said

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[9] Davie Dunkley. "Hegemony in Post-Independence Jamaica." *Caribbean Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (06, 2011): 1-23,146-147. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/904426249?accountid=14214.>

[10] Rachel Manley (daughter of Michael Manley) noted this in her interview in a documentary on Jamaica and the International Monetary Fund. *Life and Debt.* Directed by Stephanie Black. (2001).

[11] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1973)

[12] An adaptation from Walter Rodney's distinction, actual independence means a social, economic and political independence. While Jamaica is an independent state politically, it is still a part of the British monarch, where the Queen is held as head of the state. There was at the time a significant economic dependence on the British as well as an inherited legal and social system.

in an interview that he wrestled with building Jamaica under a socialist banner amidst the challenges of the economic situation that befell the country.[13]

The 1970s marks a significant era of change in the social, economic and political climate of Jamaica. This research examines speeches made within this period that correspond with major social, economic and political events that occurred. This includes the negotiation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), addresses to United Nations, and Commonwealth Heads of Governments and in support of activism against apartheid in Africa.

Taking on the academic discussions about Black Nationalism and Pan Africanism, this research will critique the nationalistic ideologies postulated by proponents of nationalism who have sought to situate both Michael Manley and Jamaica during the 1970s, and identify the philosophical ideals that are grounded within Jamaican society. This research is an examination of the history of ideas and understanding ideas is important to the shaping of our future. This research will examine this era and what occurred within this period that enabled this change, in an effort to determine to what extent the Michael Manley administration of 1970s can be defined as nationalistic.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the communicated ideas of the Rt. Honorable Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley. It seeks to make sense of the world as he saw it, and describe his ideas about nationhood and nation-ness in terms of an imagined or ideological construct for Jamaica. This thesis is focused on interpreting the

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[13] Michael Manley noted this in an interview for a documentary film. *Life and Debt.* Directed by Stephanie Black. (2001).

meaning of Manley's speeches, with an aim of understanding the history and culture of Jamaica that stems from the influence of Manley. "By seeing the variety of ways in which it is possible to interpret reality, we also understand our culture better because we can start to see the limitation and advantage of our own sense-making practices."[14] It is in this light, that this examination is relevant to understanding the source of governing policies and role that Manley played in history of Jamaica. This research examines Manley's nationalism in the context of Jamaica's social, economic, and political development during his first two terms as Prime Minister (1972-1976; 1976-1980) of Jamaica. Through an analysis of his speeches, this thesis seeks to engage the communicated ideas of nationalism by Michael Manley to the public.

In regards to Jamaica's history of the 1972-1979, I attempt to understand the nationalistic dealings with the realities of stratification that existed in the society. Manley attempted to forge a united Jamaica identity, one that transcend racial and economic divisions This thesis is concerned with looking at the philosophy that engages the populace as a platform for systemic cultural, economic and political change.

In addition this research is an examination of the political history of Jamaica. It seeks to understand the process of nationalization and the development of national consciousness that is identifiable with this particular period in Jamaica's history. The years after independence will be examined through the lens of nationalism. The aim is not to retell a story that has been documented by historians and news archives, but to reexamine the story and to locate the development of Jamaican identity.

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[14] Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 1

This thesis asks one primary research question: To what extent can Michael Manley's philosophy as communicated to the public be defined as nationalism? It also seeks to determine what the overall and communicated aim of Michael Manley's political trajectory was during his tenure as Prime Minister of Jamaica in the 1970s. Put simply, it asks: what was Michael Manley saying?

Context of the Research

David Panton, Michael Kaufman and Darrel E. Levi have named Michael Manley as a pivotal image of change and place him at the center of the socio-economic and political structure of Jamaica. Levi has charted a biographical examination of Manley in *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader.* Through discussions and interviews, Levi was able to account for the development of Michael Manley. Levi has not interrogated Manley's ideas and sacrifices any treatment of it primarily because it was seen as a complicated project that took the work in a divergent direction. Levi chronologically charts the life of Manley to his last term, which ended after the book was published. However, he avoids analyzing Manley's political development and democratic social government. Levi's introduction and conclusion provides a framework for this composition of Manley's story. In an interview in 1972, Manley described himself as pragmatic; however there is a distinct change in 1973/1974 in Manley's communicated agenda to an overt call from "democratic socialism."[15] It is important to recognize that this ideological platform came after Manley has taken office as Prime Minister. Levi does not interrogate this issue and neither asks nor answers this question.

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[15] Darrell Levi, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 131

Throughout the text, Levi includes quotes from Manley's correspondences and speeches, as well as personal accounts noted from the various interviews and political accounts noted in the *Daily Gleaner,* a primary source of information. However these accounts read more like inserts and aren't nestled into the narrative.

Levi also fails to flesh out themes and event in a way that characterizes Manley's style or philosophical position. Themes are generalized, and as such conversations that could distinguish foreign policy as against public policy are categorized simply as politics. Manley's attitudes to each are only evident implicitly in the history. Events are titled with a journalistic sensationalism that does not lead the readers of the history to a fair examination. One example of this is 'US Destabilization efforts'.[16] Similarly, his treatment of politically controversial figures is lacking. Levi spends time on 'big names' like Fidel Castro, which is understandable, however he surmises other leaders like Venezuelan Leader Carlos Andres Perez.[17]

Levi's documentation uniquely provides insight into Manley's early years. His account however, does not speak to what influenced Manley, nor what were the peculiarities of his persona. He does make a bold attempt to illustrate the person, and tells stories of Manley, but the 'why' question and 'what his ideological thoughts were', has not been thoroughly discussed.

David Panton looks at Manley because he embodies an attempt at changing the socio-economic and political traditions of Jamaica. In *Jamaica's Michael Manley: The*

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[16] Levi, *Michael Manley*

[17] ibid

Great Transformation (1972-1992), Panton examines two fundamental questions: Why did Manley break from the state-driven standpoint of socialism and substitute it with a market-driven impulse? And, how did Manley implement a liberalization package? Panton focuses on the last term of Manley, in which he returns to office after structural adjustment programs had been implemented following the IMF Agreement and a push towards the US affiliation. He examines the historical and contemporary developments in these two decades from a political and socio-economic perspective.

Panton notes that Manley is "firmly committed to his socialist path" in both stages.[18] He claims "Michael Manley has forcefully and painfully brought the nation to the brink of economic viability by reducing the protectionist chains that have hindered its productivity for decade".[19] This claim comes primarily from the support and the ground on which Panton examines Manley, in the post 1980 era. He primarily speaks to the 1989-1992 term Manley held, which saw a more structural adjustment policy and programs following the IMF deal and liberal politics that lean more to the right. However, this economic analysis fails to incorporate the necessity for local protectionism, which Panton argues against. For Panton the future of Jamaica must "surge forward into the economically competitive world of the future."[20] This is based in a system that has not changed to support the progression of the Global South both in the 1970s and now in the 21st century.

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[18] David Panton *Jamaica's Michael Manley: The Great Transformation (1972-1992)*, (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1993) 151

[19] Panton *Jamaica's Michael Manley*, 187

[20] ibid, 187

Michael Kaufman, who wrote a thesis following the first two terms of Michael Manley, published *Jamaica Under Manley: dilemmas of socialism and democracy.* In this book, Kaufman addresses the notion of social transformation, the process of change and the problems of inconsistences and contradictions with the program, policies and structure of the People's National Party (PNP). He notes that this was Democratic Socialist experiment of the PNP. He does this by first examining the elements necessary for change, as well as the structural barriers to the change. The base for his research is in the theoretical framework of social democracy, which he locates as the alternative that the PNP presented and a possibility for the structure of an alternative socio-economic and political structure of Jamaica.

Kaufman looks at the responses of the public, particularly the traditional disenfranchised, who were now eligible to access new opportunities. The election of the PNP to Government in 1972 generated an atmosphere of positive idealism and a sense of 'real' transformation. For example, under the program "Operation GROW' which stands for Growing and Reaping Our Wealth, in 1973, the government initiated a leasing project to provide access to land to small farmers. Kaufman provides a critical examination of the social programs and the political development within this decade. He argues that the plan, although successful, was significantly hampered. By 1976, 45000 acres of land was distributed to 23,000 peasants; however this was minimal when compared to acres that were still 'idle'. For "landowners merely had to stick a few cows on the land or say they

had development plans for the property. Thus, only 14 percent of idle land was redistributed."[21]

Kaufman's framework of democratic socialism ignores nationalism as a viable platform. For Kaufman, nationalization is not a radical platform whereas "socialization" requires the "transfer of actual control to communities and to works in each field of production."[22] Kaufman goes further to note that, although the PNP laid this foundation through education, it was unable and unprepared to carry out this actual process.

Much of the body of work that surrounds Manley is retrospective in nature and speaks to his personal character and/or the effects of his political philosophy of Democratic Socialism. This includes biographies and political profiles, and family memories, works that have a gap that I try to fill in this thesis. Through this work, I attempt to gain insight into specific ideas about nationalism as conceptualized by Michael Manley. These works do not engage in a conceptualization of Manley's philosophy, but instead stem from a subjective engagement of perspectives of Manley. The memories of his relatives, as well as his own writings, are based primarily on reflections of interactions and work done. With this in mind, engaging in biographies and works of this nature provides a context or overview of how Manley was seen. Highlighting the various viewpoints of Manley and his message sets in motion my interest in Manley's messages, that is to say what was communicated. These works lay the foundation for insight into the

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[21] Michael Kaufman, *Jamaica Under Manley: dilemmas of socialism and democracy*, (London: Zed Books, 1985), 98-9

[22] Kaufman, *Jamaica Under Manley*, 128

events of the 1970s and maps out the network and relationships that influence the

development of Manley, his engagements and his ideas.

Methodology

The character and personality of a leader is reflected in the country they represent.

This character and personality is equally reflected in the attitudes and responses of that

country to the leader, the region and other states. Through an examination of a leader's

speeches, interviews and statements, research can garner information to hypothesize

about the beliefs which are attributed primarily to what a leader communicates and how

that leader communicates it. Similarly, it is often not just what a leader says, but precisely

what the leader wants to portray. According to Margaret Hermann, "Through content

analysis, we can begin to develop images about these people when they are essentially

unavailable for the more usual assessment techniques."[23] In this case Michael Manley,

who is "unavailable" for any discussion, the assessment of his beliefs requires alternative

methods of analysis.

To engage in this investigation, I use textual analysis for interpreting what

Michael Manley has said. Textual analysis is a kind of content analysis that is primarily

qualitative in nature. Content Analysis is about making inferences from texts, which can

be written, verbal or visual. This methodology is "capable of throwing light on the ways

[people]… use or manipulate symbols and invest communication with meaning."[24]

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[23] Margaret G. Hermann, "Using Content Analysis to Study Public Figures," in *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide*, ed. Audie Klotz & Deepa Prakash, (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2008), 1

[24] George Moyser & Margaret Wagstaffe, *Research Methods for Elite Studies*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 20

I consider how people make sense of the world in different ways. While we do share similar experience, we see the world differently and have many contributing attributes and events that shape our unique experience, thus no one construction of reality is either right or wrong. In other words, "people from different culture experience reality differently."[25] This position is akin to cultural relativism.[26] This is, in my view, the best way to garner the meaning of ideas and engage in the kind of interpersonal communication that the political and public communication genre seeks to employ.

When speeches are made, they are for the mass audience, however, they are targeted and written for a specific kind of individual, like a brand personality, with the aim to connect on a level that evokes an emotion that would cause the recipient of the message to support the sender. In this case, Manley is the sender and his constituency, the people of Jamaica, the recipient, to support his position and ideas. As such, meaning is essential, and this paper seeks to understand Manley's meaning. Additionally, the speeches frame the relevance and support for Government policy, and as such there is residual meaning to current readers of Manley's speeches, the speeches retains meaning when contrasted with the results of Manley's policies. The importance of his speeches go beyond just public policy, but helps us to see his nationalistic vision and his attempts to see the development of the citizenry that are embedded in his mission. In focusing on select speeches I also incorporate other speeches that are less explicit in declaring Manley's philosophy and policies but in spirit promote those policies to his citizenry.

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[25] McKee, *Textual Analysis,* 1

[26] For further readings on reality and appearance, see Bertrand Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959). The foundation for my consideration is grounding this basic philosophical dilemma.

This is also being constructed along a certain dimension of thought, in this particular case, nationalism. A framework of nationalism provides an outline for examining and identifying particular kinds of ideas. This thesis engages the kinds of ideas surrounding nationalism, which include national conscious, identity, and membership. Put simply, this thesis engages in a thought experiment that takes a historical and philosophical approach to political communication.

This research is based on speeches made by Michael Manley in the 1970s. Manley's speeches provide a response to the questions throughout this thesis. Manley can be seen as a cult-figure, a figurehead that has influenced the people and changed Jamaica. As a leader the speeches would be consciously constructed to reaffirm that public imagery of his position and legacy, as well as simultaneously operating as a motivator for his mission of change and political philosophy. Thus his speeches convey the ideas of inventing the people and molding the Jamaica he envisions and seeks to create. As such I endeavor to move beyond the popular imagery of Manley and examine his ideas and intent.

These speeches were sourced from the archives of the National Library of Jamaica, The Jamaica Information Service, The Michael Manley Foundation, The Jamaica Gleaner Company, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library and the United Nations. I spent approximately four months doing research in Jamaica where I accessed the newspaper collections and speeches surrounding initiatives of the former Prime Minister between 1972 and 1979.

My research focuses on what was communicated to the public, and thus I gathered transcripts and recordings of broadcasts, interviews and pamphlets/publication that illustrate Manley's communicated ideology. These are based in a form of interpersonal communication that is typical of politician-civil society relationships. Therefore my examination of what was communicated is *de facto* what is knowable. This will frame the perceived idea of Manley's philosophy. As such, this thesis is a textual analysis that looks at the latent meaning of the content of these speeches. Examining these speeches defines Manley's advocacy as well as provides insight into the chosen rhetoric in calling for democratic socialism.

There are several kinds of speeches--those that categorize his economic philosophy and those that define his political and social philosophy. The speeches analyzed here were chosen based on two key characteristics. The first was that they were made to the public in general, as well as made accessible to the public. The second, was that these speeches were made by Manley from his position as Prime Minister between 1972 & 1979, a position that in theory reflects a representation of the members of the state of Jamaica.

As such, there are speeches that were not included for various reasons. The option to not include any data after 1979 is based on the change in character of Manley as a thinker, politician and leader. Manley's character as he prepared for the 1980 election, as well as when he was leader of Opposition and when he returned to power in the late 80s was more passive and less militant. Manley's public speeches, those done during times of campaigns, at rallies, program launches and convention are sensationalized; the rhetoric

used being more accessible to the local populace, but also specifically geared towards party politics and not the population in general. This can be seen as propaganda, but this is effectively the message to a specific group within the population.

The speeches analyzed, provide contributing implication to the analysis and the understanding of the position from which the speeches were made. The Parliamentary debates in which Manley took part, particularly the budget speeches, illustrate the discussions that occurred in the political arena concerning the agenda being implemented. Manley's budget debate speeches bring a more sociological and political context to the budget; while David Coore, the then Financial Minister provided facts and figures concerning the budget, Manley provided the justification, ideology and social effect of the initiatives for which the money was being used. It also reflects on Manley and the party's position and advocacy for the country. The budget debates will provides an understanding of the operations of the government, its policy, and legal reformation. Additionally, the chronological collection charts the economic changes and policy projections from 1972-1979. The budget debates also provide an understanding of the operations of this government, and its policies and legal reformations.

Interest of the Study

This work on Michael Manley is aimed at resolving the disconnection between the history of Jamaica and what I view as the present and future generation's belief in its failure. This thesis challenges the notion that Manley's vision was a failure of conception. It seeks to position the dominant ideology of Manley in the 1970s not as failure in Jamaica's history, but as a revolutionary attempt of molding a nation. Michael Manley's

ideology was aimed at reshaping Jamaica, and affirming the sovereignty and position of the Global South. He pushed a 'non-aligned' agenda in global politics and campaigned for changing the world economic structure to be more beneficial to newly independent states of Africa and the West Indies.

This work will contribute to the preservation of the legacy of Michael Manley in Jamaica. It will further the debate on Black and Pan African Nationalism and Socialism as political and economic frameworks for societies in the Global South. This work is centered on an African diasporic country, and the history being examined is an influence to the Pan African World. By incorporating my philosophical methodology, historical research, and political analysis, the re-reading of history will attempt a different lens on the past.

Overview

This thesis has three main chapters. Chapter 1 is entitled "Background on Manley and Jamaica". In this chapter, I present a succinct history that relates to both Michael Manley and Jamaica. This chapter seeks to answer the question: ***What is the context that gives rise to Michael Manley's political vision?*** As such, it looks at the development of political independence and the history that Manley comes out. It draws on historical accounts of events of political activism in Jamaican history. I also provide an illustration of Michael Manley's relationship with the people of Jamaica with the example of the trade union activism that stimulates his involvement in politics.

Chapter 2 is entitled "Discussions on Nationalism: Nationalism in the Caribbean." This chapter explores the theories of nationalism that apply to the location of this study. It illustrates the debate concerning the kinds of Nationalism that are evident in Jamaica, particularly Creole Nationalism and Black Nationalism. It asks the fundamental question: ***To what extent do these theories of nationalism apply to Michael Manley?*** It defines nationalism and outlines the framework of nationalism that I employ for my examination of Manley.

Chapter 3 is entitled "Manley's vision as communicated in speeches made nationally and internationally between 1972 & 1979." This final chapter is the analysis chapter, which examines the speeches made and presents my interpretation of the speeches in the context of framework laid on nationalism in the previous chapter. This chapter asks the fundamental question: ***What are the features of Michael Manley's Nationalism?*** It explores how Manley's nationalism is entrenched in his working project and how he continuously had an imagined conception of his vision for Jamaica. It also looks at how his construction of nationalism confronted his perceived reality of Jamaica at that time.

Finally, the conclusion seeks to respond, in no uncertain terms, to the main research aim, and conception of this thesis: ***What was Manley saying?***

Chapter 1: Background on Manley and Jamaica

What is the purpose of this chapter? I am particularly interested in the socio-economic and political history of Jamaica that facilitates the birth of the public political figure that is Michael Manley. I want to know the reality that predates his occupation of the position of Prime Minister and the factors that led him to this position. Furthermore, I want to connect this background with his conceptions of reality. This understanding will help to illuminate his vision for the future of Jamaica and his plan to get there.

In this chapter I seek to determine the context that gives rise to Michael Manley. This can be considered in two main ways: First, to understand Jamaica's societal context entails asking, *what was the situation of Jamaica prior to and during 1972?* Second, to put Michael Manley's background into context entails asking, ***who is Michael Manley, and where did he come from?***

In order to understand the foundations of Michael Manley's leadership and to determine his ideological perspectives, we first need to understand his contexts. He needs to be understood in the context of the socio-political and economic history and culture of Jamaica. As a result, in this chapter I aim to illustrate the context that gives rise to Manley and his political vision. I set the basis for an examination and understanding of what can logically be understood as his nationalism.

Michael Manley was a Prime Minister of Jamaica who served three terms in office, from 1972-1976; 1976-1980, and 1989-1992. When Manley came to power in 1972, it was the first time that the People's National Party (PNP), the political party of which he was the leader, had governmental control holding the majority seats in the House of Parliament in independent Jamaica. They defeated their rival and the reigning

party for the last ten years, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Manley's campaign encompassed the plans for national reformation under the platform of a democratic socialist agenda.[1] Similarly, the plans suggest that prior to this campaign, the country's socio-political environment was not incorporative of the mass population and that there was an unequal division of power in Jamaica.

　　　What was the position of the JLP Government before independence? What was the position of the JLP Government from 1962-1972? The JLP Government was the first government of independent Jamaica, which became an independent nation on August 6, 1962. Prior to 1962, the party leader, Sir Alexander Bustamante, held the post of Chief Minister from May 1953 to February 1955. He was the first to be appointed Chief Minister of the British colony. Norman Washington Manley, his cousin and political rival, succeeded him. Bustamante, however attained the lead government position in April of 1962, and was the first Prime Minister of Jamaica when the country became independent. He held that position until Feb. 1967, when Sir Donald Sangster succeeded him, after Bustamante's resignation from politics.[2] Sangster was appointed Prime Minister after the JLP won a successive term in office, however, Sangster died shortly after in April, when he became ill.[3] Hugh Shearer was appointed Prime Minister and held the position until March 1972, when the PNP won the national elections. The JLP had the leading/ruling position in the formative years of the colony's governmental restructuring.

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[1] References to plans here, speak to campaigning and slogans as mentioned in Introduction page 2, footnote 3.

[2] Harris M. Lentz, ed., *Heads of States and Governments Since 1945*, (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2013), 450-1. Sir. Alexander Bustamante resigned from both Government and Party politics due to illness.

[3] The National Library of Jamaica, *Biographies of Jamaican Personalities,* (n.d.) http://www.nlj.gov.jm/bios-n-z#don_sangster

What is the history of the JLP? What was the philosophy of the JLP? How did that differ from the PNP? The JLP was born out of divergent ideology about the political issues at hand. To the extent that Bustamante's philosophical position seemed anti-middle-class, and pro-black, Bustamante and the Bustamante Industrial and Trade Union (BITU) drew the working-class to their support based on his "bread and butter political platform."[4] Initially, Bustamante was against independence, citing self-governance as "brown-man rule" and evoking both racial and class-based fractures between the nationalist movement leaders and the Jamaican masses.[5]

The JLP, founded in 1943 by Bustamante, established its central principles in the following statement:

> The Party (JLP) pledged to keep within a certain moderate conservative policy in order not to reduce beyond reason, or destroy the wealth of Capitalists to any extreme that will eventually hurt their economical inferiors, but to advocate for the introduction of such measures and Laws that will shorten the terrible wide economic and social gulf that exists today, that almost inhumane disparity between the haves and the have-nots – the rich and the poor, and which indeed is a reflection on the sense of honour, justice and democracy of a civilized country. Summed up, the whole object of the Party boils down to a few things, a few positive points, points not based upon extreme political philosophies incapable of attainment, but practical points which involve in the main a better Jamaica.[6]

With this the JLP reaffirms a commitment to the existing capitalist model. It recognizes capitalists and capitalism as a necessary good. As such, the driving philosophy of the JLP

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[4] Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica,* (Duke University Press, 2004), 54

[5] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 54

[6] Nigel Bolland, 2001. Qtd in Edward Seaga, *My Life and Leadership - Volume 1: Clash of Ideologies 1930-1980.* (Oxford: Macmillan, 2009), 42-3

is to adopt policies that maintain the wealth status and some defined wealth gap with an

aim or hope that through capitalistic measures the gap would become smaller.

In contrast, the PNP held a strong socialist position, as articulated by Norman

Manley in *My Life and Leadership*:

> Let me state it here and now, firmly and positively, that the PNP rejects
> the appeal of communism. We reject the intrigues of its methods, its
> contempt for democracy as we understand it, its rule of thought and action
> and its denial of the elemental human values and rights. We re-affirm the
> socialism we believe in when we say socialism is founded on respect for
> the full and the sacred dignity and right of each individual human being. It
> must constantly preserve every aspect of freedom and liberty and courage,
> and support the tolerance that this implies.[7]

We see the PNP's philosophy as socialist prior to the involvement or articulation of

Michael Manley as socialist. The JLP noted that the PNP's ideas were unsustainable and

would not be beneficial to the welfare of Jamaica. However, Norman Manley here

advocates the idea of the individual's rights, not for the sake of the rich or for the sake of

the whole, but for the sake of the individual person. Norman pits his position against

communism and identifies it as an "evil" that would not be beneficial to the wealthy

and/or the poor. He advocates for a democratic platform that would by nature uphold the

rights of individuals despite their status. Norman Manley was the Chief Minister of

Jamaica from 1955-1959, and Premier from 1959-1962. After Jamaica's independence,

Norman Manley and his party lost the first and second general elections making him

"leader of the Opposition." Norman Manley was the founder and leader of the PNP,

which he started in 1938.

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[7] Qtd in Edward Seaga, *My Life and Leadership - Volume 1: Clash of Ideologies 1930-1980.* (Oxford: Macmillan, 2009), p. 43

The two parties that exist in Jamaica hold different philosophical positions, both aimed at working towards a better Jamaica. What the problems of the society look like may differ just as much as the solutions; similarly, there may be differences in what political leaders believe constitute a better Jamaica. However, there was and still is a need to address the stratification that exists within the economic and social situation.

What is the history that Manley comes out of? At a time when race, gender, class and power defined who you were in a society, Michael Manley was born.[8] Michael Norman Manley was born on the 10th of December 1924 to Norman and Edna Manley in their family home "Drumblair" in the parish of St. Andrew in Jamaica.[9] The Rt. Excellent Norman Washington Manley charted an inescapable legacy to which Michael Manley became the heir.

Orlando Patterson eloquently describes Michael Manley as "a web of contradictions."[10] He was complex and constantly at odds with the presumed position. Contrasting his personal life with his public persona we see that Manley struggled to identify with people. Manley was, "generous and caring, and 'believed the best of everyone' … but on his terms, and always from a distance, shunning situations that made demands on his feelings, including even the simple familial Christmas exchanges."[11] Beverley Manley, his fourth wife, recalls Michael's desire for maintaining a relation with

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[8] Darrell E. Levi, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), 23

[9] Michael Manley was born into a dynasty, where the leaders viving for political power, and those who held political powere where of a familia relationship. His father, serving as Premier and leader of Opposition, he's father's cousin, Sir Alexander Bustamante, who was leader of the JLP, Premier and Prime Minister of Jamaica. When Manley was held the position of leader of opposition, he stood opposite his cousin, Hugh Sherrera. Manley emerges from this dynasty of leaders in Jamaica, which influences him.

[10] Orlando Patterson, forward to *Slipstream: A Daughter Remembers,* by Rachel Manley (Dzanc Books, 2013), 39 of 4351, Kindle Edition.

[11] Patterson, *Slipstream,* 39

his children, but it would seem at times, more of a chore, a sort of 'to do list', a routine of

meeting every Saturday morning for breakfast.[12] Patterson notes him as a, "spell-binding

orator, who was 'painfully shy' – had actually overcame an early stutter and made his

first speech at twenty-six – and was never fully at ease in intimate gatherings, yet became

refulgent before a large audience, devouring their devotion even as they basked in his

charismatic glow."[13] This is evident in the recordings of his early speeches at political

rallies and personal interviews.[14] Manley, having been born in a kind of presidential

family, which required public access to his life, was often in the shadows at gatherings.

He could be found sitting at the bar, as against the head table; or socializing with the

kitchen staff as against profiling with members of his social class.[15] This was evident in

his love for, "the people, the workers, (and) the oppressed."[16] However, he was also a

lover of,

> the intellectual, rhetorical and personal challenges of democratic rule and contestation… he hated retail politics, the nitty-gritty of constituency work, recoiling from the emotional demands of his often boisterous constituents as an invasion of his privacy. He was upright and incorruptible in public life, but unscrupulous and dishonest in his intimate relations, and "could be ruthless about departures," a trait (Rachel Manley) claims he shared with other members of his family.[17]

Michael was married five times, three of his marriages ended because of affairs. This

illustrates the dilemmas of commitment and principle between his public and private life.

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[12] Beverley Manley, *The Manley Memoirs,* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2008).

[13] Patterson, *Slipstream,* 43

[14] *The Word is Love: Jamaica's Michael Manley,* Directed & Edited by Richard Audley Vaughan, (2012)

[15] *Michael, the story of a leader,* Directed by Louis Marriot, (1974)

[16] Patterson, *Slipstream,* 43

[17] ibid

It also illuminates his charisma that engaged people, moving them beyond his evident flaws to buy into his conceptions and ideas.

Put simply, Michael Manley was two sides of the same coin. He was known as the Saviour of a Nation, the dreamer and leader, and called "Joshua" in his first election campaign. This epithet is based on the Old Testament leader, who led God's people out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land. Just as Joshua did this for Israel, Michael Manley did this for Jamaica. Accounts and reflections by Louis Marriott described him as the Defender of the defenseless, referring to a story told about an incident in high school where young Michael confronted a bully on behalf of a victimized peer.[18]

Michael, like his father, attended the Jamaica College for boys (JC) from 1935, at the age of ten, until 1942. At JC, he held the role of swim captain, leading the school's team to two victories at the Inter-Scholastic Swimming Championship. This could easily be seen as his first leadership role during his early teens. Although Michael was not an extraordinary athlete like his father or brother before him, he was a great motivator and leader, which was evident by the roles he played in extra-curricular activities.[19]

Following high school Manley left Jamaica for Canada to attend McGill University, but he joined the Royal Canadian Air Force shortly after arriving and served as a Pilot Officer. In 1945, Michael moved to London to pursue his tertiary education, studying Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He received his Bachelor's Degree in Economics in 1949, following which he spent time doing post-graduate work on Caribbean political development, as well as journalistic

[18] Levi, *Michael Manley*

[19] ibid,

work writing articles. During his time in London (1945-51) Manley was interested in

doing work to further the political advancement of his father's party, the PNP. In the

biography, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader,* Darrell Levi's construction of

Manley's time and work in London was sketched out into three phases that illustrated or

weighed heavily on certain aspects of Manley's interest as a journalist. Manley had

worked for *The London Observer* while in England and on his return to Jamaica in late

1951 held the position of associate editor for the PNP's weekly paper *Public Opinion*.[20]

According to Levi, during his journalistic period, Manley's focus spanned three main

subject matters. He wrote on "Imperialism, Racism and Nationalism," "Politics, the JLP

and the PNP," and on "Communism, The US and Africa."[21] Throughout the sections,

Manley is portrayed as a commentator, and essentially seen as working through his

political ideology and stance. Manley's writings are in themselves evident of his attempt

to connect the dots and establish correlations in his opinions and editorial pieces. For

example, he recognized the economic dependence of Britain on the colonies, and

recognized Britain's exploitation of Jamaica without a corresponding moral obligation.

He thought that many in Jamaica were indifferent to the macro issues because they did

not see the relationship between the Jamaican situation, which they lived, and

colonialism.[22] For Manley,

> colonialism, be it enlightened or repressive is a state of dependency in
> which the destinies of a people are wholly beyond their control. In such a
> state there can be no incentive to the effort, for effort is a function of will

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[20] ibid, 71

[21] ibid, 75-78, 78-82, 82-84

[22] ibid, 76

and will can only be exercised where it is possible to choose from amongst comprehended alternatives. Colonialism permits of no choice.[23]

This is an example of Manley's deconstruction of the institutional framework he lives within. During his journalistic stage, Manley is able to actively articulate his ideas and illustrate the correlation of West Indian politics, issues that face peoples of the colonies, and the dilemma of the responses to the institutionalized issues within these political frameworks.

Manley established relationships with other Caribbean nationals, like Forbes Burnham of British Guiana and Errol Barrow of Barbados. Manley was the leader of the West India Student Union at the London School of Economics where he was active in working against the inherent tensions of racism and colonialism.[24] Although Manley was light-skinned, unlike some of his colleagues, he was identified as colored while in London. He and his colleagues were exposed to and had experiences of racism and color prejudice. Through their shared experiences in England, Manley saw and forged relationships with West Africans and West Indians as a part of this shared identity of the British's colored population. Manley wrote in opposition of British imperialism and the injustices of racism.

On the matter of nationalism, Manley advocated self-governance, inspired economic development and promoted cultural and social patterns of self-identification, self-awareness and pride. The dangers of nationalism lay in excessiveness, like that which produced Nazism, and caused Manley concern over the consequences of excessive patriotism. Nonetheless, he deemed it necessary and an "inevitable concomitant of

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[23] Qtd in Levi, *Michael Manley*, 76

[24] Levi, *Michael Manley*, 67

imperialism and the only answer to it."[25] This idea was the basis for his support of the Federation of the Anglophone Caribbean. Manley thought that this alliance would satisfy an economic need for Jamaica, though he was unsure of the development plan.

Manley's critiques of local political affairs of Jamaica were published primarily through the PNP party's paper *The Public Opinion.* His criticism of the JLP governing administration and Alexander Bustamante, the Chief Minister, was very partisan. He thought that Bustamante and the JLP were undemocratic and that society was influenced by the plantocracy that dominated the political history of Jamaica. He thought that the plantocrats knew "full well that so long as there is no real party system, democratic politics are ineffective from the point of view of the small men in a country for the simple reason that it is the little man's interest that must be organized and expressed through politics."[26] In addition, Manley's critiques were riddled with emotion that arose from his position. Manley's return to Jamaica found him established in the Opposing Party, as a result of his familial and political position he was politically and emotionally invested. When his father became Chief Minister in 1955, Manley's focus switched from "politics" (as in governance) to trade unionism.

What is the history in which Manley sets his stage as an activist in Jamaica?
When Manley makes this activist shift, his position in the public light became a force to be reckoned with. In the time period from 1955 to 1968 Manley establishes his position as a trade unionist. Manley officially began working as a trade unionist in August 1953, when he accepted the post of Sugar Supervisor with the National Worker's Union

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[25] Qtd in Levi, *Michael Manley*, 76

[26] Qtd in Levi, *Michael Manley*, 78

(NWU). In 1955, he was appointed Island Supervisor and elected First Vice President of the NWU. He founded and was President of the Caribbean Bauxite, Mineworkers and Metal Worker's Federation in 1964, a position he held until 1974. He was also elected President of the Trade Union Congress (TUC). He had amassed twenty years of experience as a trade unionist before he entered Parliament. Essentially, he avoided elected politics and any charge of capitalizing on his father's name or legacy. His journey was about finding his own identity and role in life.[27] While an active trade unionist, Manley was appointed to the Jamaica Senate in 1963 and held that post until 1967.

Michael Manley was essentially "baptized by fire", in the realm of trade unions and negotiations.[28] He was originally invited to sit in a labor dispute between the NWU, representing the union workers of the Ariguanabo textile mills, and the company's board. Will Isaacs was asked to handle the meeting, and invited Manley to sit-in. Isaacs left the meeting immediately after introductions to attend another meeting on the other side of the island, and handed the meeting over to Manley. This was a successful negotiation and as a result Manley was asked to return for more negotiations; this was the start of his career as a trade unionist.[29]

The NWU is a trade union started in April 1952 by the PNP. In December 1952, Manley began his work negotiating wage disputes and stayed on part-time until his official appointment in 1953. His involvement in the trade-union movement was based on a deeply held belief that "it (trade unions) is indispensable to the progress of the working

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[27] *Hon. Michael Manley: Prime Minister,* (Kingston: The Agency for Public Information, 1977), 3.

[28] Michael Burke, "Michael Manley, trade unions and kola champagne", *Jamaica Observer,* June 20, 2013, accessed June 22, 2013, <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/columns/Michael-Manley--trade-unions-and-kola-champagne_14525124>

[29] Burke, "Michael Manley, trade unions and kola champagne"

classes and that the progress of the working classes is indispensable to the progress of the nation."[30] In his role as sugar supervisor, Manley was able to experience first-hand workers' conditions in the industry. In a publication by the Agency for Public Information (API) Manley is quoted as saying that the industry was, "literally crying out for tough single-minded efficient, professional deputation," speaking to the deplorable conditions of bad worker-management relations, small wages, and limited benefits, if they existed.[31]

The NWU challenged other trade unions like the BITU, which was affiliated with the JLP. The BITU was originally affiliated with the PNP, but it broke association when Bustamante left the party to form the JLP and took the BITU with him, in 1938.

Trade unionism can be seen as the foundation of politics in Jamaica. To understand this development and to understand Michael Manley as a political leader it is necessary to ask, **what is the history of Trade Unionism in Jamaica?** The BITU and the PNP were both aligned together for the cause of representation of the workers and the population. They rose out of a need presented by the Labour Rebellions of the 1930s.[32] Prior to this, both law and organizational factors limited the Trade Union structure and movement in Jamaica. The Trade Union Act of 1919 enabled the organization of workers, however, it failed to grant any real power of negotiations and protest to the bodies. The laws that governed the British colonies were distinctly different from those that governed Britain. What was lawful for white workers in England, like wage

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[30] *Hon. Michael Manley: Prime Minister,* 2

[31] ibid

[32] Richard Hart, *Labour Rebellions of the 1930s in the British Caribbean Region Colonies,* (Caribbean Labour Solidarity and the Socialist History Society, 2002)

negotiations and picketing, was unlawful for black workers in the colonies. Here we see a prime example of stratification. This facilitated a legacy that legally produced economic (income) stratification. The fact that the colonial population was majority black facilitated the demarcation of racial stratification coupled with income stratification.

1938 can be seen as the birth of Jamaica's modern era and the end of the colonial era.[33] The crown colony was bankrupt, and the labor revolution had taken hold throughout the West Indian colonies. In Jamaica, a general strike throughout the island illustrated the cry of the peasantry and unemployed mass population for a change. This was a pivotal moment that seemed to be sudden, however accounts like that of Richard Hart's examination of the labor rebellions of the 1930s in the British West Indies illustrate that this had been developing prior to the mass eruption of strikes in the various fields across the island.[34] ***What accounts for this sudden burst of activity?*** Overall, there are two main issues that accounted for this sudden burst of activity, according to Arthur Lewis. The first was bad conditions, where prices of exports were low, thus forcing workers to accept drastic wage cuts. There was also an increase in taxation and unemployment, as a result of unfair international trade policies. The second reason was the steady rural to urban migration of unemployed workers who were in search of employment, because the agricultural and plantation jobs provided long periods of unemployment.

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[33] Hart, *Labour Rebellions of the 1930s*. While the colonial era officially ended with Jamaica's legal independence, it change in climate began around 1938. In this respect, the end of the colonial era took a while. It is also important to note the time context. The rebellions to which Hart examines occurred around the same time the Great Depression, 1929-139, in the United States. The geographical proximity between the United States and Jamaica has implication for shared experiences and effect on the smaller colony.

[34] Hart, *Labour Rebellions of the 1930s*

Unrest amongst the peasantry was irregular before 1938; however, in 1938,

groups across the island began organizing. There was agitation following a petition to the

Governor by peasants and proto-peasants, persons who farmed or worked on land that

was not their own to provide for their self and family, for land as well as better wages for

agricultural workers in Clarendon.[35] At Serge Island Estate in St. Thomas, workers

stopped work in demand for better wages.[36] These are two examples of similar issues on

distinctly different parts of the island with different targets. The protest got bloody, with

several persons killed in the police's attempt to dispel the protest at the Central Sugar

Factory of the West Indian Sugar Company, where workers were protesting for better

wages.[37] Strikers were jailed, and many rushed to trial, where they were charged with

"riotous assembly," facing sentences of thirty days to one year of imprisonment.[38]

An investigation commissioned by the Governor resulted in the arrest of William

Alexander Bustamante, who had risen in popularity by addressing the issues of public

protest. It was this arrest of Bustamante and his assistant St. William Grant that sparked

the wave of strikes and riots throughout the colony. However, the release of these

prominent men did not extinguish the spirit of revolt in the workers, who were protesting

throughout the island.

According to Michael Manley, while steps were taken to make changes that

addressed the immediate concerns of protestors, in the form of wage increases and leave,

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[35] ibid. The term proto-peasants stems from the engagement of enslaved people working lands they didn't own to provide for themselves and their families. This continued through Apprenticeship and after Emancipation. In 1938 these conditions still existed.

[36] ibid

[37] Hart, *Labour Rebellions of the 1930s*

[38] ibid.

changes at the institutional level did not occur in the overall labor system.[39] The situation

gave birth to representation in politics and labor through the development of

structures/institutions like the PNP and the BITU that would provide some form of

satisfaction to the issues at hand. George Eaton says,

> The early expectations of those who emerged as leaders were that both
> movements (political and trade union) would complement each other,
> serving as two facets of a single process aimed at achieving economic
> betterment for those gainfully employed, as well as self-government,
> political independence and social reconstruction for Jamaicans at large.[40]

This history is essential to understanding Manley's engagement in both trade

unionism and politics. It informs his understanding of representational politics

and philosophies of worker rights.

What was the relationship between politics and/or the Political Party and Trade

Unions? To understand the conflicts that gave rise to the trade union movements and the

inevitable location of Michael Manley, as well as to understand the groundings of the

philosophical stance he takes in the 1970s, we must first have a fundamental

understanding of the history of trade in Jamaica. The establishment of the BITU and the

PNP provided working class support for political actions. However, fundamental changes

were necessary to protect and effectively support the working class. In the twenty years

since their establishment, the societal legal structure had not changed to support the

working class. Levi notes that Manley believed that, "In Jamaican society of the early

'50s the rule of law conflicted with the law of capitalism, and thus labor laws favoured

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[39] Michael Manley, *A Voice in the Workplace: Reflections on Colonialism and the Jamaican Worker*, (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1991)

[40] George E. Eaton, *Alexander Bustamante and Modern Jamaica,* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers Limited, 1975), 38

the capitalist."[41] This hints to the history of trade in Jamaica, which is based in plantocracy, colonial oppression and exploitation of slaves for profit.

Jamaica was governed by the British Empire for approximately three centuries. It was a gold mine for sugar exports prior to World War I, and following World War II the colony became an encumbrance on the British economy. The entrenched psychology of labor is linked to the institutional system of slavery because of the colonial history of slavery. Through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the British colony acquired "slaves" taken from Africa to work the cane fields of Jamaica. Thousands of enslaved Africans were brought to Jamaica over the course of a century before the Slave Trade was abolished throughout the British Empire through the Slave Trade Act of 1807. Three decades later, the Emancipation Act of 1833 freed the enslaved population of Jamaica, granting them freedom and citizenship in the British Empire. Emancipation gave liberty to the enslaved and established them as British subjects. As "slaves" Blacks had neither liberty nor rights. When slavery was abolished, the implementation of wage labor favored the plantation owner and not the liberated worker. Planters had lost their property in other persons, the labor of the enslaved body and works of their hands, the cost of which was inferior because it ensured a sustainable source of production.[42] Post-emancipation descendants of the enslaved enjoyed legal freedom, but the rights to ownership of one's own body and labor, for example, were fabricated. This is not to say wage labor did not exist, but it is in a similar light, in benefit of the capitalist class that wages were *déclassé*, sustainable to large profit of the capital, or "true" owner. It is in this light that we

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[41] Levi, *Michael Manley,* 110

[42] A twist on John Locke's notion "Of Property" in one's self. See John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government,* (Lonang Institute, 2004-2014), www.lonang.com/exlibris/locke/loc-205.htm, Book II, Chapter 5 – "Of Property" #26.

recognized Manley's statement, about the conflict between law and capitalism, when he becomes active in the 1950s. As such, the legal framework for the Jamaican society is in conflict with the rights of the individual and the masses. The history of trade and labor in Jamaica is based in the exploitation of labor, first for the production of sugar, which was originally the only export of Jamaica, and then for bananas, and bauxite.[43]

What was Manley's history as a Trade Union Leader? Michael Manley's experience as a trade unionist can be seen as a foundation for his ideological stance as a Prime Minister. His advocacy for the working class places him as an image of change for the mass population. His need to be able to 'reason' with those he represented illustrates that he is keen on maintaining a bond and not a dictatorship. Though he experiences a need to be a sort of Savior of the people, his charisma and methodologies mask those intentions. Public meetings, rallies and demonstrations are methods he uses in his ascension to power, which forge a political identity of what one would describe as ubuntu.[44] His belief in democracy and keen representation is a commitment evident in this period, and his history as a trade unionist.

Michael Manley's first major acquisition victory as a Sugar Supervisor came in 1954 when the NWU won representation rights for three major sugar estates: Caymanas, Bybrook and New Yarmouth Estates. These gains enabled the NWU to establish itself as a major trade union in Jamaica. The following year (1955) Manley's appointment to Island Supervisor and First Vice-President of the NWU propelled his activism, establishing him not just as a negotiator but a leader in this field. His advocacy for sugar

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[43] Hilary McD. Beckles & Verene A. Shepherd, *Freedoms Won: Caribbean Emancipations, Ethnicities and Nationhood*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

[44] Ubuntu, a Yoruba phrase, means 'I am because we are.'

workers continued, and his research and experience was invaluable when in 1960, the

Goldenberg Commission of Inquiry into the sugar industry occurred. Manley's case won

a record 1.1 million pound sterling settlement for sugar workers.[45]

While Manley had many victories, the most significant event of his career as a

trade unionist is arguably the 97-day strike at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation

(JBC). JBC was, at that time, a publicly owned company that operated both television

and radio programming throughout the island and had employed over 100 NWU

members. The "JBC Strike" started after two employees were dismissed for a broadcast

that was made on the radio regarding NWU-JBC salary negotiations, on January 27,

1964. The employees Mr. Adrian Rodway and George Lee, an editor and a journalist,

were called into a meeting with high-level managers and board members, and charged on

the grounds of broadcasting inaccurate and unverified news. The NWU requested that the

dismissals be reviewed by an arbitrator and reinstated if one or both were found wrongly

dismissed. The board, following a meeting on Feb 1, 1964, denied the proposal,

following which approximately 50 JBC workers went on strike.[46]

A notice sent to all employees from the Chairman of the JBC Board, Mr. K. H.

Ivan Levy that said, "strike action could lead to dismissal. He said that anyone who had

to be replaced to carry on service would be replaced instantly."[47] The dispute itself

proved a dilemma, and this became an issue of "principle" that Mr. Manley championed.

The dismissal of the employees was reminiscent of an ulterior motive, as the JBC Board

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[45] "SMA, Unions Reach Agreement on Goldenberg Commission Recommendation: £1,100,000 to Sugar Workers: 1 ½ d in shilling bonus for 1959; 12 ½ % of wage rise this year. Unions Pledge Co-operation in 1960 Crop Take-Off", *The Daily Gleaner,* January 29, 1960, 1.

[46] "J.B.C. Employees on Strike", *The Daily Gleaner,* February 2, 1964. 1-2.

[47] "J.B.C. Employees on Strike", 1

was not willing to discuss reinstatement. Simultaneously, during the period of the strike

the JBC Board moved to change its structure as the Management made it publicly known

during this time that employment cuts were pending.

On March 4, 1964, a published press release outlined the final position of the

Board, being that any agreed arbitration would be done internally and if it were found

that JBC had erred compensation would be granted to the dismissed employees.[48] JBC up

to this time and for the entire period of the strike had been operating on minimal staff

with non-union and managerial staff. JBC announced its restructuring which would result

in retention of just over 40 percent of its employees.[49]

Over 120 JBC workers were on strike during the three-month dispute. Manley

expressed the view at his appointment as President of the Trade Union Congress (TUC)

on March 2, 1964 that, "job security is the concern, with this strike".[50] Overall the NWU

rallied support from the TUC, the BITU, the UWI student's Union and the public. The

API publication on Michael Manley notes that,

> Mr. Manley regards this strike as the battleground on which a more
> profound issue was a stake; that is, whether an employer had the absolute
> right to terminate a particular contract of employment "not because a
> worker was deficient, not because the job itself had ceased to exist, but for
> no reason other than the arbitrary desire of the employer to get rid of the
> particular employee".[51]

Mr. Manley organized a union demonstration to champion the cause. In his testimony at

the inquiry that followed, he made it clear that they were union demonstrations and not a

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[48] "JBC Board's final position outlined", *The Daily Gleaner,* March 4, 1964, 2

[49] "JBC Board's final position outlined", 2

[50] "Michael Manley elected… TUC link with PNP & NWU ratified", *the Daily Gleaner,* March 2, 1964, 2

[51] *Hon. Michael Manley: Prime Minister,* 3

striker demonstration. He felt, "deeply about the demonstrations."[52] Initially, he desired

to stage a march, but the application made to the Commissioner of Police was declined.[53]

He also failed to garner support from the Minister of Labor Edward Seaga. For Manley,

these events and implied government involvement and interference in the dispute.

Major demonstrations came after proposals from the JBC board rescinded

agreements reached between the NWU and the JBC. According the Mr. Manley, "the

suggestion that the only thing they can hope for is 30 pieces of silver in the form of cash

compensation is a suggestion that the NWU, the workers of JBC, and I myself will never

accept, no matter what the consequences may be."[54] Manley wanted to ensure job

security for these employees and by extension was concerned in the same for all

Jamaicans. He demanded, "complete and reasonable assurances in relation to

victimization" in light of the pending reorganization.[55] This was a 'civil disobedience'

campaign launched with the view to focus public attention on the issues, and increase

pressure on JBC and the Ministry. Organized demonstrations that occurred took the form

of picketing and road blockages. On March 7, 1964, 22 strikers were arrested at two of

the demonstrations that took place.[56] The following day, Manley lead a motorcade

through the city, which resulted in major traffic delay and road blocks.[57] Groups

congregated throughout the city, as a result of attempted dispersal by the police. Riot

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[52] "NWU Supervisor gives evidence on civil disobedience campaign during JBC Strike. Manley ends testimony: enquiry adjourns to Monday", *The Daily Gleaner,* May 7, 1964, 5

[53] "NWU Supervisor give evidence", 5

[54] "Proposals 'totally rejected' by NWU", *The Daily Gleaner,* March 4, 1964, 2

[55] "Proposals 'totally rejected' by NWU, 2

[56] "Obstruction, unlawful picketing… 22 JBC Strikers Arrested" *The Daily Gleaner,* March 7, 1964, 2

[57] "Blockade by Union Striker. Demonstrations Back JBC Walkout. Senator Manley leads Motorcade", *The Daily Gleaner,* March 9, 1964, 1

squads armed with rifles and tear-gas attacked the demonstrators resulting in the detainment of hundreds of people including Michael Manley.

A public inquiry launched into the strike and the dispute between the NWU and the JBC vindicated the workers. As a result Michael Manley and the NWU were recognized as champions for the working class. During this campaign, Manley held community talks across the island with panels of speakers discussing with the people the issues of the working class population. Manley believed that the trade union movement forwarded worker education and increased awareness of the worker's position as a citizen and as a force in society. His campaign rallied support for the University students and other sympathetic supporting groups, who demonstrated across the island during this period.[58]

The JBC 97-day strike stands as a message to the public about the position of Michael Manley. It was a bridge to Manley's future as a Member of Parliament and later, Prime Minister. Several years later, the government restructured the constituencies' boundaries, and Manley was elected to represent the Central Kingston constituency in the 1967 general election. In 1969 Norman Manley resigned and retired from his leadership position of the PNP, and Michael was elected president of the party. He was appointed Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, and served until 1972 when the PNP won the general election. Michael Manley took office as Prime Minister on March 2, 1972, and served for two consecutive terms until 1980. He returned to power in 1989 and held the position until he resigned in 1992.

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[58] "JBC issue: large measure of accord. Conciliation talks open at Ministry. Wave of sympathy stoppages", *The Daily Gleaner,* March 10, 1964, 1

Through these experiences Manley was able to reform his belief in the Jamaica identity, fighting for the rights of individuals to have a say in their life, as against exploitation of the capitalist system of governance. Although he disliked politics, he was able to separate politics, as a battle for the power of people, as against the bureaucracy of state and its neo-colonial structure. His belief in the people, their responses to the socio-economic issues, and his anticipated support for these shared concerns propelled him in a time that was essential for the evolution of the country. Manley had a vision, one that he shared with the people through a language of spirituality, utilizing songs, and biblical stories in his speeches. This tactics reinforced his nickname "Joshua."[59]

Manley challenged the racial discrimination and the subordinate economic deprivation of the majority black and poorer class population.[60] For Manley it was, "a tragedy of our history that the masses are predominately black and the privileged classes predominately fair-skinned."[61] His campaign and agenda called, "on Jamaica to assault the economic system that perpetuates disadvantages and [break] the delusion that race is the enemy, when poverty is the true obstacle to overcome."[62] Although the country had a high per capita income, its economic gain was based in the suppression and oppression of its mass labor force.[63]

Manley perceived Jamaica's problem as one of social construction, which is exemplified in multifaceted levels of stratification that perpetuate an unfair bias towards

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[59] See page 24 earlier in this chapter for reference and explanation about Joshua.
[60] Arnold Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley's Social Revolution," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 9, 2006, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060409/lead/lead8.html>

[61] Qtd in Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley"

[62] Bertram, "Revisiting Michael Manley"

[63] ibid

favorable classes. This bias was rooted in the historical attitudes of Jamaican society.

Upon his successful bid for office, he mobilized state based institutions for reform.

Programs like free education, labor policies in favor of women, and equal pay were all

aimed at bridging the class and economic divide.[64] In his reflections on Jamaica,

Manley's advocacy for equality interrogates the capitalist position of equal opportunity.

He believed that, "the fact that society cannot function effectively without differentials in

rewards together with the fact that men are manifestly not equal in talent must not be

allowed to obscure the central purpose of social organization."[65] For Manley human

welfare was the most significant purpose and his agenda strived to implement that

purpose as its fundamental point.

Manley contrasts the ideas of colonialism with his ideas for the nation of Jamaica.

In particular, he sees the ideas of colonialism as being antithesis to his goal of nation

building. To understand the historical background of this conception it is necessary to

ask, ***can the JLP Government be categorized as neo-colonial? By whom and to what***

extent? Did the JLP Government and by extension Bustamante perpetuate the same

ideals of imperialism? (British or American)? What happened between 1962-1972?

When Jamaica gained political independence, it inherited the British imperial culture

along with its socio-political structure and economic norms. The race and class divide

that was constitutive of the colonial system perpetuated the social organization of

Jamaica.[66] Coming into the post-independence period, the JLP, having successfully won

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[64] Robert Buddan, "Michael Manley: nation-builder" *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 8, 2009, accessed March 16, 2013<http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090308/focus/focus4.html>

[65] Michael Manley *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (Kent: Andre Deutsch Ltd, 1974), 18

[66] This is further explored in the section on Trade Unionism in Jamaica.

the elections of 1962 over the PNP, had the opportunity to chart the legacy of the newly

independent Jamaica. The economy was in a recovery state, having declined dramatically

during the Great Depression because of the low demand for products like sugar.[67] The

agriculture sector's increase peaked in 1965 and began its decline, thus reducing its

contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP). In response the JLP Government

sought an alternative major contributor to the GDP and invested significantly in the

development of the tourism industry as it was thought that, "attempts to save the sector

consumed more time, effort and Jamaican government financial subsidies than support

given to any other sector. This proved unsuccessful in saving jobs and export earnings."[68]

According to Levi, "The JLP Government adopted a strongly pro-western and

anti-communist foreign policy,"[69] being comfortable inviting foreign capital as a tactic

for recovering the employment lost. ***Why? What policies were adopted? How does the***

policies adopted (foreign or local) set the stage for change in government? The JLP was

against governmental ownership except in the cases that were short-term, where they

deemed it necessary and an immediate response to preventing a larger impact on the

macro-economy. This was done with the idea that a suitable investor would acquire the

company in near future. For Seaga, "the inclusion of foreign capital was expected to

introduce higher technology as well as more proficient management" providing Jamaica

with the tools it needed for development. [70]

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[67] The Great Depression experienced in the 1930s was a significant contributor to the economic instability that plagues the export industry and the low prices of resources cultivated in Jamaica. By extension it was a fueling factor to the Labor Rebellions of the 1930s.

[68] Seaga, *My Life and Leadership,* 187

[69] Levi, *Michael Manley,* 109

[70] Seaga, *My Life and Leadership,* 192

The foreign policy adopted under Alexander Bustamante and the JLP Government was conservatism. The policy vaguely takes any ideological stance, except to repetitively enunciate its agency or sovereignty. It takes the positions, as any country should to seek efforts that advance Jamaica's interest. The policy illustrates a pro-U.S. stance and notes that Jamaica's position is one that furthers solidarity and security within the Western Hemisphere and advances social and economic development. Accordingly, Jamaica is particularly proclaiming cooperation in "every possible manner with the United States of America."[71]

Nationally, there were two major events that occurred under the JLP Government between 1962 and 1972. The Anti-Chinese Riots, also known as the Race Riots in June 1965 and the Rodney Riots in October 1968. These riots speak to the stratification that plagued the society due to the legacy of colonialism. The JLP believed that racial issues would get resolved in and of themselves if left to their own demise. They were unable to respond to the issues of race, because they felt that they could not prevent it.[72] The act of colonialism/imperialism is not solely based in economic profiteering and tyranny, but, as Thomas says, in, "cultural control that attempted to socialize colonial population into accepting the moral and cultural superiority of Englishness."[73] The British ordained their rule through a transformation of the space that was the colonies and codified, "hierarchies of education and status to color, class, culture and gender."[74] This class of identity and struggle to develop agency while sustaining the imperial legacy, set the stage for Michael

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[71] Alexander Bustamante, *The Foreign Policy of Jamaica*, (Kingston, Ministry of External Affairs, 1964)

[72] Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*

[73] Thomas, *Modern Blackness,* 4

[74] ibid, 4

Manley to challenge and demonstrate how he could address these issues. The JLP

Government stood in a position that perpetuated the history of oppression and

colonialism in the newly independent Jamaica. Michael Manley's campaign sought to

respond to this history with a call for change.

Chapter 2: Discussions on Nationalism: Nationalism in the Caribbean

What is the aim of this chapter? My thesis is focused on deciphering, from his speeches, Michael Manley's concept of the nation. My analysis of nationalism involves an explication of his vision of the nation and his conception of the citizenry within this nation. I will first examine the ideas of nationalism that are related to and can aid in this exploration. In this chapter I aim to explore nationalism in the Caribbean and Jamaica in particular. I will illustrate the extent to which conceptions of nationalism that arise in the 1970's and in the Caribbean apply to Jamaica.

What is nationalism? The term "nationalism" is generally used to describe the attitude that the members of a prospective or extant nation state have when they are conscious about their group identity. It outlines measures that members engage in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development through self-determination. Overall, nationalism encompasses an ideological agenda, which must be entrenched in the society to be effective socially, economically, and politically.

*What theories inform this definition? T*here are different types of nationalism, with their own defining features. [1] Each kind, because of its different characteristics, is suited for different arguments regarding nationalism.

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* provides a lens for explaining the concept of nationalism. Although embedded in an examination of Eastern European states, his project is relevant to my work because his theory aids in the application of ideas to a location like Jamaica.

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[1] Usage of nationalism - Nationalism with an "N" denotes existing theories, where as nationalism with a "n" denotes the conception.

It offers a useful starting point for analyzing Manley's nationalist ideas as articulated in his speeches. Benedict Anderson's exploration of nationhood provides a broad understanding of Nationalism and stands as a reference for explicating Manley's conceptions. This analysis seeks to derive latent meaning from the available content. My argument is based on the fundamental notions that are illustrated in Manley's speeches. These are examined based on analysis and contextualizing of the speeches. This is done with the aim of explaining an alternative method or perception of looking at an individual, in this particular case, Michael Manley. I do not seek to synthesize ideas of nationalism with Michael Manley, or with his proclaimed philosophy of Democratic Socialism. That is to say that this thesis is not about mapping constructions of nationalism unto the framing of Manley's term in office but examining the ideas communicated to the public. I seek to provide new perspective to this public figure. This discussion is essential to exploring the possibilities in speaking of Nationalism in the context of the 1970s and in particular, of Michael Manley. The examination of the varying kinds of Nationalism provides context for this analysis, particularly Black Nationalism and Creole Nationalism, in that we are able to separate the analysis and interpretations here as independent ideas that ought not be confused with my analysis of nationalism as embedded in Manley's speeches. This thesis aims to add to the discussion of how we can conceptually think about nationalism and the relationships among the diversity of people in a nation, challenges of independence, and state development in the Caribbean. It suggests ways of rethinking conceptions of individuals as political figures as against their personal identity, their private conception of themselves.

Anderson's model provides a concrete framework within which I am considering the ideas of nationalism, national identity and nationhood. This model raises the question about the applicability of the theory of nationalism to Michael Manley and Jamaican society. Anderson's model is rooted in an examination of feudal-based societies, which are significantly different than the complex and multifaceted stratification that exists in the post-colonial societies of the West Indies. Given the difference between Anderson's examples and the structure of Jamaican society, I anticipate that there may be limits to the application of Anderson's theory to this case.

Despite the background of Anderson's theory of nationalism, I believe that it provides a conception of the nation that transcends geographic boundaries. ***Why do I say so?*** Anderson's theory is very general and presents itself as evidentiary through identifiable nations. It is also malleable.

Nationalism, according to Anderson, invents nations where they do not exist. That is to say, in Anderson's model of nationalism the nation is an invented concept that a population invests in. Nationalism transforms a group of individuals into a nation through a shared ideology that defines the collective. Thus in this case, prior to the independence of Jamaica, the nationhood or national identity of Jamaica as we understand the conception of a country's patriotic identity, did not exist. The possibility of constructing this nation as independent and disconnected is beyond the conception of the people of the time, if we consider the nation building history of Jamaica. Between the 1930s and 1950s, the political figures of the time, Norman Manley and Sir Alexander Bustamante for example, advocated for local political representation and to strengthen relationship with Britain. Furthermore, Jamaica, along with Trinidad and Tobago, was the first two

colonies in British West Indies to gain their independence. The colony of Jamaica was a part of the British Empire, which had a mass population of dislocated people. As former British subjects, their conception of liberty and agency was grounded in British colonialism, that is they were culturally and socially conditioned to act colonially.

Anderson defines the attributes of nationalism as limited and sovereign; it is an invented concept and an imagined community.[2] It is limited because it encompasses a finite and simultaneously elastic boundary, beyond which other nations exist. If we consider the illustration of any geographical space that is bordered and defined, it confines the people who inhabit that space and identify with that space. The space therefore provides a shared point of origin for a given community. According to Anderson, the notion of sovereignty of the nation arises from the Enlightenment and Revolutionary age that delegitimizes feudalism and the monarchy systems that are based in the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm.[3] Moreover, despite the varieties of inequality, oppression, and exploitation that occur within a state or community, Anderson insists "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[4] That is to say, there exists a sense of equality among the individuals within the state or community and *familia.* Citizenry demarcates equality within the group, which is the basis of the common identity of each member. Anderson argues that, "nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of the word's multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind." [5] In order to understand these

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[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition*, (Verso, 2006), Kindle edition

[3] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 6

[4] ibid, 8

[5] ibid, 3

conceptions of nationalism, it is necessary to understand their historical evolution, the transformation of their significance, and the strength of patriotic emotion they command over time.

It is in this regard the contextualization of Manley's nationalism can be considered as essentially a unique phenomenon for this particular period. The nationalism of Manley and/or Jamaica is of a particular kind. In order for us to understand what that looks like, we must understand the context and the history that is instrumental to this situation.[6]

What is the site of study? What does the discussion on nationalism have to do with Michael Manley? Jamaica in the 1970's had a diverse population, with a majority African/Black ethnicity and numerous minorities, including but not limited to East Indian, Chinese and White Western-European. The country gained its independence from British colonial rule in 1962, and abolished slavery on August 1, 1833. Jamaica in the 1970s was a post-slavery, post-colonial society, *de jure*. However, the legacy of slavery and colonialism are evident in the society. Coming into this post-independent society Manley has to contend with this legacy.[7] It is in this light that shared responses to the legacy of colonialism and slavery require an examination of nationalism.

For this paper, two primary discussions of Nationalism are relevant: Black Nationalism and Creole Nationalism. ***Why are they relevant?*** These forms of nationalism have been examined in relation to the site of study. Scholars such as O. Nigel Bolland, Deborah Thomas, Brian Meeks, F.S.J. Ledgister, Rupert Lewis, Rex Nettleford and

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[6] The situation being the time and location; Michael Manley and Jamaica between 1972 and 1979

[7] See Chapter 1, page 22

others, have discussed the nature of nationalism within Jamaica. This debate illustrates the root nature of the question of nationalism, nation building and the constitutive features thereof, that are eminent to the nature of the agency of the country and the identity of the people who inhabit the state.

Why is this relevant? How does it contribute to locating Manley's nationalism?

An examination of Black Nationalism in the Caribbean will provide an understanding of the issues of racial and national identity and its relation to the socio-economic and political issues that plagued Jamaica. Some proponents of Black Nationalist ideas in the Caribbean were political colleagues and rivals for the same community. The ability to adopt and manipulate the rhetoric of Black Nationalism by political parties and groups for the purposes of challenging modern issues illustrates the diversity of situations where Black Nationalism took root. The influences of these ideas on Michael Manley's campaign and the PNP's order are evident by proponents' presence in the party and involvement in party and governmental politics. However, as Brian Meeks illustrates in tracing the rise and decline of this kind of nationalist idea, there was a shift from the core focus of agency in politics to cultural vanguardism of Black Nationalism.[8] Where Black Nationalism was a guiding idea in the political sphere of Jamaica, it became a signifier of cultural symbolism.

Creole Nationalism, like Black Nationalism, comes out of a response to White Supremacy. However, the discourse of Creole Nationalism focuses on the Caribbean and the struggle for independence. It provides the best frame of reference for understanding

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[8] Brian Meeks, "The Rise and Fall of Caribbean Black Power" in *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution,* ed. Michael West et al. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009). Meeks references here to Black Nationalism as a political movement, for example the Black Panther Movement in the United States.

Michael Manley and the Jamaican society. F.S.J. Ledgister's examination and definition

of Creole Nationalism looks at the British West Indies of which Jamaica is a part. And,

while there are other proponents of this kind of nationalism, such as Percy Hintzen,

Ledgister's examination provides a solid framework for examining Michael Manley and

a good critique of alternative ideas. Ledgister, however, limits his examination to the first

generation of political independence in the Caribbean, excluding Michael Manley.

Despite this limitation, Creole Nationalism is relevant for trying to understand Manley,

because he contended with the same kinds of issues of the pre-independence society, i.e.

the effects of slavery and of colonialism. This examination challenges Ledigster for

failing to relate Michael Manley's ideas to this framework.

To gain a broad understanding of Creole Nationalism, I will draw on related

constructions of creole identity from Francophone and Hispanophone West Indian

literature. Discourse on creole and creolization are shared constructions based in the

colonial history of the West Indies. This discourse spans cultural and linguistic borders

because of the unifying notions of othering as well cross-cultural exchange in the

transitional years from colonial to post-colonial or neo-colonial society that marks the

early to mid 20th century. It is with this fundamental issue in mind that Francophone and

Hispanophone discourse is relevant to this discussion.

What is Black Nationalism? Black Nationalism has been defined and redefined

consistently, primarily because it means different things to different proponents. [9] A good

example of this diversity of meaning is amongst editors John H. Bracey, Jr, August Meier

and Elliot Rudwich, who published *Black Nationalism in America.* In their co-authored

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[9] William L. Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black nationalism: from Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan,* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1997)

introduction they make it clear that they disagree on the status of blacks in America, "the pattern of black nationalism," in its history, and "how the various kinds nationalism" relate to social stratification. [10] However, they collectively purport that Black Nationalism is a "body of social thought, attitudes, and actions ranging from the simplest expressions of ethnocentrism and racial solidarity to Pan-Negroism or Pan Africanism. Between the extreme lie many varieties of black nationalism."[11] They have established fundamental features of Black Nationalism for which they agree and disagree. Their primary disagreement is of the constituting factors of identity and what that means for nationhood. However, holistically the philosophical groundings are ethno-centric. ***What does this mean for the examination of Manley?*** The diversity of meaning suggests that locating Manley in a Black Nationalist framework is dependent on its characteristics and definitions. Utilizing the appropriate definition to essentially aligns Michael Manley to that framework or vice-versa. It also means that it is possible to deduce based on identifiable features a definition or form of Black Nationalism that is primarily befitting of Manley. The latter is not the aim of this thesis.

Despite variations, there are groups that existed during the 1960s and 1970s who defined themselves as Black Nationalists and defined the term in the most applicable way to their agenda. At the 1968 Black Power Conference in Philadelphia, activists stated, "Black control is Black Nationalism; control and chosen by Blacks for the benefit of Blacks."[12] The Black Power Movement echoed a basic conception of Black control

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[10] John H. Bracey, Jr., August Meier & Elliot Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America*, (Indianapolis & New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc, 1970)*,* liii

[11] Algernon Austin, *Achieving Blackness: Race, Black Nationalism, and Afrocentrism in the Twentieth* Century, (New York & London: New York University Press, 2006), 21

[12] Austin, *Achieving Blackness*, 84

throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s. Similarly, the 1970 Congress of African Peoples defined Pan Africanism as "the global expression of Black Nationalism."[13] According to Algernon Austin, this was an expression globally of Black Power.[14] As such we have an assimilation of ideas that are synonymous with Black Nationalism, i.e. Black Power and Pan Africanism. Thus if we are to consider Manley as a Black Nationalist, we would be suggesting that his position was primarily about Black control and Black benefit.

Kinfe Abraham defines Black Nationalism as referring "to the ideology of racial and cultural consciousness among blacks which gathered significant momentum as a counter-reaction to the former [ideologies] in the early twentieth century."[15] While this definition is limited to racial and cultural ideas of "nation-ness", it illustrates the rise of contentious ideologies in response to the dominant thoughts of white supremacy and oppression on the black population.

The history of the early 20th century is marked by the rise of black consciousness and the development of Black Nationalism. A pinnacle figure of this era and ideology is Jamaica-born Marcus Garvey. Proponents and writers of Black Nationalism and Black Liberation identify Marcus Garvey symbolically with this ideology. Marcus Garvey is an important figure in the history of Jamaica, however his location in this ideology stems from his activism and work in the United States of America.[16] This does not diminish his role as an essential figure in organizing racially for a political agenda. However, it speaks

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[13] ibid, 85

[14] ibid, 85

[15] Kinfe Abraham, *Politics of Black Nationalism: From Harlem to Soweto,* (Trenton: Africa World Press Inc, 1991), 1

[16] Marcus Garvey is recognized as one of Jamaica's national heroes. He was the first to develop a political party in Jamaica. (Reference?)

to the articulated impact of Garvey and his activism. O. Nigel Bolland illustrates in his examination of the history and politics of labor with the British West Indies that Garvey's political organizing stint added to the class and racial consciousness of the majority black populace.[17] Scholars in the United States situate Garvey as emerging out of the "classical" Black Nationalism, which is defined by activists who worked towards a separatist conception, as against "modern" Black Nationalist thought, who are self-identified and support the goal of public and private Black administrations.[18] According to Wilson Jeremiah Moses, "classical black nationalism, which reached its fullest expression in the years 1850 to 1925, may be defined as the effort of African-Americans to create a sovereign nation-state and formulate an ideological basis for a concept of a national culture."[19]

Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914[20] and posited that the purpose of this organization was for the betterment of the Negro's condition "industrially, commercially, socially, religiously, and politically."[21] It is in this light that Garvey and the UNIA promoted the development of a Black nation in two senses. The first, as a nationhood within a nation that is a Black nationhood within the United States of America. In terms of Jamaica, which was still a colony at this time, this would be a nationhood with the potential to break away from colonial ties, but still in

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[17] O. Nigel Bolland, *The politics of labour in the British Caribbean: the social origins of authoritarianism and democracy in the labour movement* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2001), 302

[18] Dean E. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black nationalism*

[19] Wilson Jeremiah Moses, ed. *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey*, (New York & London: New York University Press, 1996), 2

[20] While still in Jamaica

[21] Amy Jacques-Garvey "The Future as I See it" from *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Or Africa for Africans,* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986)

its formation developed around this central identity that would in effect create a

nationhood within an empire, the British Empire. Garvey and the UNIA also promoted

the development of a black "nationhood", which would be located in Africa. The former

conception is based on the development of the UNIA as a strong political and economic

arm, which started in Jamaica, with headquarters in Harlem, New York City. The UNIA

is an illustration of the development of economic, religious, educational, and cultural

nationalism. For example:

> For economic nationalists, the UNIA provided a cooperative network of grocery stores, laundries and restaurants as well as the Negro Factories Corporation, the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, and even a (black) doll factory, a printing plant, and a fleet of moving vans.[22]

The latter conception of Garvey's nationhood is based on the promotion of

emigration to Africa as a program of "national independence."[23] Garvey's Back to Africa

Movement, was based on a resettlement plan he had negotiated with Liberia. [24] "Black

nationalism, as manifested in the nineteenth century United States, was a racial

nationalism, premised on the assumption that membership as a race could function as the

basis of a national identity."[25] This idea of nation building around a racial identity is

based on collectively organizing a particular part of the population.

Black Nationalism as a political ideology is a militant rejection of things Western,

a position in accord with modern versions of Black Nationalism, as against a classical

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[22] Van Deburg, *Modern Black Nationalism,* 11

[23] ibid.

[24] African American Migration Experience "Marcus Garvey Back to Africa Movement - Timeline for the Project." (New York: The New York Public Library, Schomburg Center Research for Black Culture) last Retrieved March 3, 2014, <http://www.inmotionaame.org/migrations/topic.cfm;jsessionid=f83024043813955828154631?migration=4&topic=8&bhcp=1>

[25] Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism*, 5

assimilationist position. Dean Robinson argues in *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* that

> the most politically consequential feature of black nationalism is its apparent inability to diverge from what could be considered the "normal" politics of its day. By accepting the notion that black people constitute an organic unit, and by focusing on the goal of nation building or separate political and economic development, black nationalism *inadvertently* helps to reproduce some of the thinking and practices that created black disadvantage in the first place.[26]

Robinson argues that the ideology is influenced by the trending political philosophy at the time.

Garvey's position was oriented towards "Western culture and capitalism, operating out of what we today would call a 'Eurocentric' framework."[27] It focused on the ideals of "manhood," "African nationality," Christianity, and civilization. The notion of "manhood" referred to a nineteenth-century self-concept developed by the middle class to stress "its gentility and respectability." But manhood was not only a gendered term, it also applied exclusively to the white race.[28] "Classical black nationalism mirrored what we could loosely call "white American nationalism" of the time."[29]

Black Nationalism stems from a tradition of responding to these issues, and has occurred as aligned movements globally, but self-determinant in their locale. Internationally, there were many proponents of Black Nationalism, including Malcolm X and Kwame Nkrumah. There were also variations in the conceptualization of Black Nationalism. This raises the concern regarding the adoption of nationalist constructs

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[26] Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought,* 1-2.

[27] ibid, 8

[28] ibid, 9

[29] ibid

outside of their location considering that they are or can be uniquely formed. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania both advocated for the unity of Black nations in Africa both under the banner and ideology of Black Nationalism. Nyerere and Manley shared in a socialist philosophy and were colleagues and friends. Their route and conceptualization, as well as their environment (community) illustrate their divergent views of their own nationhood and implementation of their socialist beliefs.

Scholars of Black Nationalism locate its conceptualization outside of the Caribbean. Much of the literature that surrounds the discourse on Black Nationalism stems from the United States. The location of Black Nationalism outside the Caribbean, *begs the question*[30] of the appropriateness of extending these ideas from the Pan African World into the Jamaican context. ***Are these residences of Black Nationalism from both the United States and Africa extendable and relevant to Jamaica?*** The continent of Africa, where Ghana and Tanzania are located, has post-colonial societies like Jamaica but does not share the same history of slavery (i.e. the reception of enslaved via the Transatlantic Slave Trade) with the United States and Jamaica. The U.S. is not a post-colonial society in the contexts of Africa and the Caribbean, (Jamaica).[31] These disparities lend themselves to some overlapping but also make transplanting ideologies problematic because of divergent histories. Applying Black Nationalist ideas from one context to another is therefore difficult and it is presumptuous to interpret Manley's construction of nationalism in the light of Black Nationalism as is constructed in situations that are systematically distinct from Jamaica.

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[30] Given that "begging the question" is a specific form of logical fallacy, this usage implies that there is something inherently wrong with the adoption without justification and validation. The argument in itself is being examined here.

[31] While I recognize that The United States of America is born from thirteen colonies of Britain, the country declared independence in 1776 and rises to become a dominant colonial power of the political West.

Did Black Nationalism take root in the Caribbean, (Jamaica)? Black Nationalist ideas did in fact inhabit the Caribbean from as early as the 1930s, following the First World War.[32] Evidence of Black Nationalism predates organizations like the Black Panther Party in the US and the Black Power Movement. Ethiopianism and Rastafari are prime examples of cultural and political challenges to the imperial structure that facilitated the rise of Black consciousness.[33] These are by definition the aims of Black Nationalism in a surrogate form. These cultural connotations of Black Nationalism predate Black Nationalist events in the US and are similar in characteristics but different in expression. Furthermore, these would essentially be attributed to the classical era of Black Nationalism, where the ideas can be deduced from race conscious activities. Overtly, as a political phenomenon, Black Nationalism in the modern era was short lived, but very much a prevalent factor in the shaping of the events of the 1960s that give rise to Michael Manley.[34]

Is Black Nationalism as scholars present it, a United States phenomenon? If so, does the paradigm extend to the Caribbean? Should it? I.e. is it a useful lens for trying to understand the Caribbean? Are there features of Black Nationalism that emerge in the United States and in Africa that seem to have any bearing on what is going on in Jamaica? How do we understand Nationalism in the Caribbean, given the other kinds of nationalism we see in the Pan African World? The development of Rastafari and

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[32] That is the 1920s

[33] Leonard Howell is noted as the First Rasta, the founding father of Rastafari in Jamaica. After his return from travelling during World War I, he brought back to Jamaica news of Ethiopia, a black king. He founded a commune in the hills of St. Catherine, based in Ethiopianism, which urged religious and political freedom for blacks in Jamaica and a strong opposition to Colonialism. See Daive A. Dunkley, "The Suppression of Leonard Howell in the Late Colonial Jamaica 1932-1954" in _New West Indian Guide,_ 87 (2013).

[34] Meeks, "The Rise and Fall of Caribbean Black Power"

Ethiopianism were sites for cultural forms of Black Nationalism, and the visits of Haile

Selassie in 1966, and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1965 were symbolic events of racial

consciousness.[35] The discourse on Black Nationalism examined here illustrates a shared

philosophy among different sites of Black Nationalism, which further enables us to

connect notions of Black Nationalism within the United States to the Caribbean. While

Black Nationalism is not strictly a U.S. phenomenon, articulation of this framework in

this context has placed its rhetoric as one. Books on Black Nationalism focus primarily

on the U.S., as is evident with William Van Deburg and Jeremiah Moses.[36] However,

several key proponents create a basis for locating Black Nationalism in the Caribbean

because they transcend the geographical borders with their activism and literature that has

influenced the various movements in the Pan African World. Scholars like Arnold

Bertram, Trevor Munroe, George Beckford, Louis Lindsay, Michael Witter, Rupert

Lewis and Rex Nettleford, have literature that speak to the core of Black Power

Movements in the Caribbean in general and Jamaica in particular.[37] These scholars were

themselves leaders and activists during the 1960s and 1970s. Additionally, "up to the

early 1970s, the writings of those with the greatest influence on Caribbean Black Power –

C.L.R. James, Walter Rodney, Frantz Fanon, Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, and Amilcar

Cabral,"[38] were a part of the dialogue on racial consciousness and the politics of Afro-

peoples.

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[35] Edward Seaga, *My Life and Leadership - Volume 1: Clash of Ideologies 1930-1980.* (Oxford: Macmillan, 2009). Haile Selassie landed in Jamaica on April 22, 1966, and Martin Luther King Jr, gave a speech at the UWI on June 20, 1965.

[36] Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black nationalism*; Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism*.

[37] Brian Meeks, *Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad and the Caribbean,* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2000), 3

[38] Brian Meeks, "The Rise and Fall of Caribbean Black Power", 204

In an analysis of Black Power in the Caribbean, Brian Meeks provides evidence of Caribbean Black Power which was apparently short lived, because by the mid-1970s these "radical Caribbean movements had switched to a Marxist-Leninist ideology, abandoning, at least overtly, the nationalist and populist insight of Caribbean Black Power."[39] Meeks notes that the name stemmed from the movement in the United States, however the root of the ideology was multifaceted, making linkages to Marcus Garvey's UNIA which was started in Jamaica and the rise of the Rastafari Movement following the coronation of Haile Selassie as Emperor of Ethiopia in 1930.[40] According to Meeks, Caribbean Black Power was prominent between 1968 and 1973, the year following Michael Manley's inauguration as Prime Minister of Jamaica. He suggests that the victory of Michael Manley and the PNP was a contributory factor because the proponents of Caribbean Black Power were absorbed into the effort of the PNP and their campaign and subsequent victory.

Caribbean Black Power can be seen as three-pronged. As defined by Walter Rodney[41] Black Power is:

    i.   The break with imperialism which is historically white racist;
    ii.   The assumptions of power by the black masses in the islands;
    iii.   And, the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks.[42]

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[39] ibid, 197

[40] Brian Meeks, "The Rise and Fall of Caribbean Black Power", 198

[41] Walter Rodney, born in British Guiana in 1942, was a historian, political activist and scholar. He taught at the University of the West Indies, Mona, during the mid to late 1960s. Prime Minister Hugh Shearer barred Rodney from returning to Jamaica in 1968, because of activism among the working poor. The riots started on October 16, 1968, and were called the Rodney Riots. Tis uprising first began as a collective response by students of the declaration of Walter Rodney as a *persona non grata,* but evolved into riots against the state because of standard of living, and poverty in the country. The Rodney Riots played a role in Manley's rise, as the circumstance provided support for his platform of change.

The cry for an Afro-centric platform and change in the socio-economic and political realities of the Caribbean mirrors the rhetoric of Black Nationalism in the US. This is evidence of racial consciousness in the Caribbean, and with the Rodney Riots in the 1960s, we see it physically manifested on the streets of Kingston, Jamaica. However, this short-lived movement, while influential, is still problematic to nation-building in a place like Jamaica. Even within proponents like Walter Rodney there was a shift in ideology that was internationalist. The overarching framework of Black Nationalism, and by extension Black Power, cannot be implanted onto the Caribbean *ad usum proprium.*[43] Its identity is embedded in a definitive ideology that is constructed based on "othering"; that is to say that it purports what it is not, in defining what it is. It is important to understand that the construction and representation of Black Power in the Caribbean is contextually different from that of the US and as such deploying any conceptions of Black Nationalism, as a defining notion of Black Power is incongruous. Interpretations of Manley based on formulations of Black Nationalism are dependent on and must be appropriate to the context of a shared situation. Critics of this nationalism argue that this ideology in the Pan African World is hegemonic and patriarchal, insisting that it fails to be representative of the population. Additionally, the dilemma of cultural identity permeates the post-colonial world, in the battle to synthesize root and colonial culture.

In the United States, Black Nationalists construct an imagined polity that has no geographical border. This kind of applicability is not self-evident in the Caribbean because of ethnic differences in the population. Additionally, Black Nationalism focuses

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[42] Walter Rodney, *Grounding with my brothers,* (Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1969), 28

[43] Meaning 'for one's own use'.

only on people of African descent in a location that is diverse and a period in which islands were in fact breaking colonial rule. This kind of image of society would essentially change only the face of a sovereign system. This raises the question about the classification of the Jamaican population. ***Is it a Black nation or a multicultural/multi-ethnic populous? Or does Creole suit as a definition for the population?***

While one can argue that Jamaica is a Black nation state made up of the majority Black people, it has minority ethnic groups who share in the history of colonialism. Replacing White supremacy with an equally strong cultural and iconic Black representation results in a change of face not system.[44] Replacing white supremacy with black supremacy over minority groups perpetuates a cycle of oppression. To preserve its ideals, Black Nationalism in Jamaica would need to promote equality, not a dominance of the majority Black population over ethnic minorities.

To consider an alternative idea of a Creole identity, we first have to define the term "creole" and what that means for the Jamaican population. The Caribbean, and by extension Jamaica, has often been identified as a melting pot of cultures that is often termed creole.[45] ***What is creole?*** The term 'creole' originated in the 16th century, where it was used to describe the colonies and settlers in the colonies.[46] Thinkers of the 20th century employed the term 'creole' to refer to cultural assertions of nationalist ventures.[47] Kavita Ashana Singh argues that the term "is now about cultural and racial intermixing

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[44] At least not necessarily.

[45] Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770*-1820, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), xiv-vx

[46] Kavita Ashana Singh, "A Schizophrenic Metaphor? Disciplining Creoleness," *Transforming Anthropology* 20 (2012): 173, accessed March 19, 2014, doi: 10.1111/j.1548-7466.2012.01150.x

[47] Singh, "A Schizophrenic Metaphor?"

more than geographical activity, the invention of a radical new culture instead of a

gradual and often unwilling cultural adaption."[48] Contesting ideas concerning the term

creole crosses linguistic-cultural territorial borders; however, they share the common aim

of defining the identity of peoples in and of the Caribbean. In essence, the historical

displacement of various peoples contributed to redefining these people who inhabit the

Caribbean in a united sense that would articulate an ideal Caribbeanness. Jean Bernabé,

Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant declare in their paper "In Praise of

Creoleness", that we, people of the Caribbean are creoles.[49] "Creoleness is the

interactional or transactional aggregate of Caribbean, European, African, Asian and

Levantine cultural elements, united on the same soil by the yoke of history."[50] They

argue that "creoleness" is diverse, complex, open, and diffracted but recomposed.

"Creoleness is an annihilation of false universality of monolingualism and of purity."[51]

For Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant, this identity is derived from having been called

to invent a design for cohabitation between/amongst the populations in the plantation

economies that existed.[52]

Similarly, Edward Kamau Brathwaite refers to the anticipated mixture of African

and European cultures in the plantation society. While he recognizes that this optimal

scenario was not the reality of the Jamaican society that would produce a kind of

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[48] ibid, p. 174

[49] Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, & Raphaël Confiant "In Praise of Creoleness," *Callaloo* 13 (1990): 891, accessed March 19, 2014, doi 10.2307/2931390

[50] Bernabé, et al. "In Praise of Creoleness"

[51] Bernabé, et al. "In Praise of Creoleness," 892

[52] ibid, 893

mulatto[53] society, the concept holds true for the undertones of speaking to creole and a

creole society. Creole as a definition refers to a native of, or one identifying with an area

of settlement. As such, Brathwaite suggest that a

> "creole society" is the result of a complex situation where a colonial polity
> reacts, as a whole, to external metropolitan pressures, and at the same time
> to internal adjustments made necessary by the juxtaposition of master and
> slave, elite and laborer, in a culturally heterogeneous relationship.[54]

A simplified illustration of a creole society is likened to a mulatto group, being a mixture

of White European and Black Africans to create a proliferation of "brown" people. These

definitions provide two conceptions of creole: First, a new generation of inhabitants from

displaced peoples; and second, the mixing of cultures in a location.

Why do we need to know what creole means? As a definitive term creole is the

root of the identity that can be attributed to peoples of the Caribbean. Understanding what

constitutes creole provides a foundation for the kind of nationalism that would arise from

a complex and diverse population as in Jamaica; the binding identity for Creole

Nationalism is the creole population, which can be defined in terms of racial, cultural and

ideological concepts.

What is Creole Nationalism? Embodying the locale of Jamaica, Creole

Nationalism stems from the debate about creolization as a unique phenomenon in the

Caribbean. As such, there are several ways to look at and define Creole Nationalism, all

of which have different implications for understanding and locating Michael Manley.

Creole Nationalism contextualized is a response to the political disposition of the

modern-era of Jamaica. According to Hintzen,

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[53] Half black, half white

[54] Qtd in F.S.J. Ledgister, *Only West Indians: Creole Nationalism in the British West Indies*, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2010), 13

> Political nationalism has provided the ideological underpinnings for overthrowing colonial domination. It has provided, also, the blueprint for the development of a postcolonial society. Its legitimacy was argued on the basis of the rights of the colonized population to sovereignty, national autonomy, self-determination, and freedom from repressive domination. At its heart, it was a contestation of colonial constructions of difference.[55]

Creole Nationalism in this sense is a response to colonialism, and the development of a post-colonial society. The conditions of the early 20th century prove ripe for the development of such ideologies that fashioned the kind of leaders and individuals that led during that time. Creole Nationalism situates itself in a period of reconstruction for the British West Indies. This period is defined by the beginnings of a breakaway from colonial rule to the establishment of new nations as autonomous and self-determined sovereign states, self-defining, as each state models its own nationhood and identity.

F.S. Ledgister examines this context, stemming from crown-colony rule, the type of governance dominant in the British West Indies at the time. While his focus is primarily on the development of this kind of nationalism looking at Michael Manley's predecessor, Norman Washington Manley, it provides context for the era of development for both Michael Manley and Jamaica. The changing climate of the society and culture makes this discussion difficult to navigate. Thus, it is important to recognize that within the span of approximately three decades Jamaica transitions from petty bourgeois, anti-black, and anti-socialist, to pro-black, pro African, and pro-socialist.[56] Here is a melting together of different positioning identities in response to the colonial history and a black majority of Jamaica. It is in this light, that I appreciate Ledgister's notion that Creole

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[55] Percy Hintzen, "Afro-Creole Nationalism as Elite Domination" in *Foreign Policy and the Black (Inter)National Interest*, ed. Charles P. Henry, (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000) 185

[56] Walter Rodney, "Contemporary Political Trends in the English Speaking Caribbean," *The Black Scholar,* 7 (1975), 15-21

Nationalism "is a Caribbean form of European liberal nationalism," it is "one that takes into account both the European origin of dominant institutions and the African origin of the dominant mass."[57] The account speaks to a dualistic sense of society.

Nigel Bolland, in contrast to Braithwaite, purports that the assimilation of cultures in the creole society limits and alienates 'others' in the society, and as such argues for a transculturation because creole does not reflect the complexity and diversity that exists within the Caribbean society given the history of indentured servants. The root of these arguments of Creole Nationalism is founded in the societal definition of racial stratification. Building around the identity of creole, Braithwaite suggests a coming together of two specific parts, which supports Ledgister's argument. Bolland suggests multiple identities that should be included to transcend this idea of reciprocal determinants. If we aim to consider Michael Manley's ethnicity, then he would ideally fall within the categorization of Brathwaite, as a melting pot for both European heritage and ideology, with Afro-culture and history. This would reduce Manley's nationalism to a reflection of ancestry, and as such Creole Nationalism is not a logical option for defining Manley's nationalism. It would negate Bolland's point and therefore alienate subsets of Jamaica's populous. However, Ledgister's point of the assimilation of the two dominant cultures should be considered because these are the two cultural and racial identities with which Michael Manley was familiar, because of his background. ***Does this familial mixture translate to ideology as well?*** Considering Bolland's argument of othering, Manley's ideology of mixing only Afro- and Euro- type cultures would essentially negate the existences of other minorities; the European/British population

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[57] Ledgister, *Only West Indians*, 25

being the only minority considered. As a representative of the whole populous, the

selection of two cultural backgrounds does not reflect the reality. As such Bolland's point

enables us to consider beyond these two groups, to be open to other cultures that exist.

This raises the question of whether there is transcendence of cultural domination, or an

actual cultural representation within the nation.

Deborah Thomas dislocates Michael Manley altogether from the discourse of

Creole Nationalism, noting that

> Jamaica's official political ideology evolves from Creole nationalism to
> the dismissively described "'brown man' internationalism" (sic) of
> Michael Manley in the 1970s to a modified black nationalism in the
> 1990s.[58]

For Thomas, the "brown man" position stems from the promotion of Creole superiority,

as adapted by Braithwate, and Black inferiority, which contradicts the foundation of

Blackness. This swaying between the value of European qualities and devaluing of

African qualities is best summed up as civilizing the African by way of assimilating to

the European. According to Thomas, the "creole multiracial nationalist project" which is

embodied in the adopted motto of *Out of Many, One People,* illustrates the attempt by the

emerging Black/Brown middle-class to legitimize selective parts of the Afro-culture in a

bid to cater to majority black population of the society.

As an ideology, Creole Nationalism, "connected the aspirations of the middle

class to lower class concerns by challenging colonial rule and white racial domination,"[59]

however, the result, as Hintzen and Thomas argue, is a "brown nationalism" that in

essence excludes the black masses for which is essential in polity and cultural undertones

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[58] Ledgister, *Only West Indians*, 21. Michael Manley was Prime Minister in 1990 as well as the majority of the 1970s.

[59] Ledgister, *Only West Indians*

(like the attributions of folk) and fails to meet the aspirations anticipated with this position.

   What is Thomas's argument? Deborah Thomas sees the development of Creole Nationalism in Jamaica stemming from the 1938 labor rebellions, and encompassing an articulated appreciation of the Black populous' cultural heritage. The uprising of the rebellions coupled with the return of veterans and students from England in the post-World War I era called into question the idea of the supremacy of Britain. Michael Manley would also question the supremacy of Britain in the post-World War II era.[60] Moreover, Thomas sees the problem of Nationalism in the context of the British West Indies and by extension Jamaica, in the relationship between a racial identity- blackness - and a forging a national identity - a kind of "Jamaicaness" that would not be exclusive. For Thomas, "creole multiracial nationalism was a narrower assertion of a specifically Jamaican identity more closely resembling classical European naturalism;"[61] it being focused on a common history and cultural attributions rather than race or class. In this pre-defined nationalistic era or reconstruction period, nationalist's emphasized racial equality but facilitated the propagation of colonial values, which reaffirmed class-based values.

   What the significance and/or relevance of Deborah Thomas? The aim of this thesis is to interrogate what is communicated by Manley, to define what Manley conceptualizes, and provide a framework for understanding Manley in this context. Creole Nationalism, in its undertones, affords a lens for this examination. Thomas's

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[60] Michael Manley was in the Royal Air Force in Canada. Trained, travelled but never saw actual combat. By the time he was done training, the war was over. See Darrell Levi, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990)

[61] Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness,* 55

position on creole nationalistic ideals is justifiable, and I contend that her arguments of creole multiracial identity can be extended to Michael Manley. While I disagree with Thomas' conclusions that Creole Nationalism reverts to a form of "brown-man" nationalism under Manley, her argument provides a solid critique of the social issues and dilemmas of the time.

Ledgister offers an alternative way of considering Creole Nationalism, which stems from the rising brown/black middle class, who believe in self-governance. While proponents of independence and Creole Nationalism illustrate that political independence is contingent on economic independence and development; economic nationalism posed a major problem for this class. Essentially, Ledgister notes that the West Indian colonies, as part of the British Empire, must be transformed from colonial subjects into national citizens of the newly independent states. This transformation has three requirements: first, that the colonies or people of the colonies, constitute an actual nation, which is composed of a diverse population of settlers who have been dislocated whether voluntarily or involuntarily; second, that the colonial rule prevented the inherent development of the people; third, that colonial rule had prepared the subjects for agency in a Western-dominated world, by way of either "Westernization", or amalgamation to produce a new national culture. As such colonial rule would be a hindrance to competent peoples who can govern themselves.

Why am I considering Ledgister? What is his relevance? Ledgister posits that West Indians, like Norman Washington Manley, articulated the desire and illustrated the capability of these three requirements, in their quest to liberate the colonies from the British Empire. In his book, *Only West Indians: Creole Nationalism in the British West*

Indies, Ledgister identifies Norman Washing Manley, as a Creole Nationalist, and his articulation of this definition is limited to first generation liberators, that is to say, those who championed the West Indian Federation, and their country's national independence. This excludes Michael Manley. I posit that Michael Manley is contending with the colonial legacy, and by extension, similar conditions as the first generation liberators, to develop the nationhood of this newly independent state. Ledgister provides some working definition for understanding the tenets of creole nationalism, and as such fundamentally provides undertones for examining Michael Manley. The implications for which I will contend with Ledigster, is an attempt to extend this framework and critique the limitations of his discourse.

To what extent does either Thomas, or Ledgister respond to the questions of this thesis? Neither Thomas, nor Ledgister directly make notions to a form of Nationalism that is inclusive or descriptive of Michael Manley. However this discussion on Nationalism manifested in Jamaica illustrates the contending ideas that contextualize the period of the 1970s, and the issues of identity and nation building that are essential to the discussion. What identity represents the people? Or rather, what is the descriptive identity given to the people of Jamaica during the 1970s, is the solidifying feature of the nationalism of Michael Manley. Racial identity is contentious, because of racism that is systematically instituted because of the history of colonialism. How the society both understands and interprets race is essential to how they see themselves and how Manley conceptualized the place he envisions.

While the mass population of Jamaica is Black and of direct African descent, the extent to which black ideology is embraced is contingent on the perplexities of cultural

acceptance. According to Bolland, most of the riots that occurred during 1838 and 1970 had to do with non-racial matters of social justice like wages.[62] This does not mean that race is not a factor, whether institutionalize or conscious. We can deduce however, that the concern with the mass population embracing racial nationalism is related to how it has been incorporated in the political sphere. Therefore the next chapter considers how racial identity factored into Manley's nationalism.

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[62] Bolland, *History and Politics of Labour in the British West Indies.*

Chapter 3: Manley's vision as communicated in speeches made nationally and internationally between 1972 & 1979

What is the purpose of this chapter? The main purpose of this chapter is to examine the literature of Michael Manley and construct the nationalist vision of this political figure. I aim to identify what Manley's nationalism is in dealing with building an independent nation-state. In doing so, I will interrogate his ideas, as he sought to address issues of stratification and the history of colonial imperialism.[1]

This chapter is an analysis of how Manley promoted nationhood by creating a citizenry and mapping the meaning of membership in the national community in the wake of independence. Manley is the elected head of a sovereign nation that physically exists, unlike the framing of an imagined community with other kinds of Nationalism. Manley as leader faces different challenges, in that he is faced with the task of creating a citizenry out of former colonial subjects. This task is embedded in his duties of governance and as such is also an administrative matter. Thus, speeches and his governing initiatives are appropriate sources for mapping Manley's nationalism.

Michael Manley's nationalism is rooted in the ideas he conveyed to the public. As such, the claims made in this thesis are based on a vision communicated through speeches and made available to the public during the 1970s. This vision is not necessarily different from his retrospective narratives and biographic literatures that speak to situation of Jamaica in the 1970s. However, its foundation is based in the political figure that is existentially different from the man himself.

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[1] Or at least, as they are juxtaposed against the capitalistic model that is seen to exist in Manley's mind.

In this chapter, I offer an interpretation of Manley's speeches that proclaims a nationalist sentiment. Manley's articulation of democratic socialism is self-evident, however, because he does not explicitly make claims, especially in these speeches, to any form of nationalism, this analysis focuses on the concepts of nationhood and national consciousness. Manley is critical of capitalistic endeavors and the ability of capitalism to field the kind of nationhood he imagines. This is evident in the framing of capitalism as imperialist and oppressive in nature. Manley's goal of social reconstruction was an attempt to foster/develop a community of citizens that have equal access to the resources of the nation. These kinds of activities and rhetoric are manifestations of Manley's nationalism in that they foster nationhood, national consciousness and a national identity, by way of instructing the people on their responsibilities as citizens.

What is the concept of nationalism that frames this chapter? The concept of nationalism that frames this chapter comes from Benedict Anderson's definition of nationalism. This framework looks at the features of nationhood, identity, culture and the bringing together of people that share in these features. Manley's nationalism is an invented concept and based in his imagined community. The features this chapter seeks to identify stem from the picture that Manley sought to convey. This chapter explores the various notions that are aimed at the nation- building task of Manley.

Anderson suggests that nationalism is an invented concept; a nation is brought into existence where one did not exist before. Manley's nationalism similarly attempts to bring into existence its own autonomous and independent nation, which is juxtaposed against a society that is dependent and neo-colonialist.

Alternative theories of nationalism suggest a prescriptive method of examining the society, Manley, and his administration's operation during that time. These theories attempt to impose an external structure of nationalism, rather than a theory of nationalism based on the particular situation in Jamaica. This examination is descriptive of a particular content and thus illustrates its own context that can be independent of events and outcomes of the society. Thus, the parameters and limits of nationalism as it pertains to looking at Manley's speeches is specifically that which has been communicated. Anderson deems it necessary to limit the definition of nationalism to the particular individual that is conceiving of it. Beyond the personal conception of the individual, the specific conception of nationalism is invalid.

In the same vein, it is not possible to extrapolate the nationalistic vision of Manley outside of the specific ideas he communicated through speeches and conversation. Philosophically speaking, if Manley failed to communicate an idea, it does not exist in his conception of nationalism. For this purpose, we use the recorded speech of Manley as a point of origin for his conception of nationalism, and do not conjecture further from that point of origin. The presentation of ideas in this thesis is a thought experiment, which hypothesizes and theorizes his conceptualization of nationalism for the purpose of thinking through his ideas and its implications. This thesis is about rethinking the history of Jamaica, Michael Manley and the Michael Manley led Administration of the 1970s using the documented communications of Michael Manley.

Anderson's definition of a nation can be seen as a community of people, with nationalism serving as a point of connection for the members of the community as well as a description of their values and beliefs. Similarly, this collective identity delineates their

community apart from any other. In this case, the collective identity is formed by Manley's definition and perceptions of what Jamaica must become. Anderson purports that the relationship that members have with each other explains the kind of society they make up, and how that society operates within it borders, as well as positions itself outside their borders. These features are particular to each society and/or nation-state. This chapter will illustrate these particular features as communicated by Manley using Anderson's framework.

What is Manley's nationalist agenda? Manley's nationalist agenda confronted the task of nation-building. As the successor of leader of the P.N.P. and Prime Minister of Jamaica, he saw his charge as gaining economic independence in a step toward true autonomy, and taking on the mission of restructuring the social and economic spheres Jamaica. Jamaica had already attained "political independence" as a sovereign state. Manley's nationalistic agenda shows how he conceptualizes relationships among the people in the society, the formulation of identity, the challenges of independence, and economic and political development.

In this chapter, we will explore the various notions that are aimed at the nation-building task of Manley. I contend that Manley attempts to a two-fold effort of promoting political and economic independence in a bid to develop an egalitarian society.

What was Manley working towards? Manley recognizes Jamaica as a neo-colonial society originating in a colonial history.[2] He proclaims that "[w]e are a neo-colonialist people, we are just emerging from three hundred years imperialism and

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[2] "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside." Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism,* 1965.

colonialism."[3] In a "revolutionary" effort to break the chains of bondage to a legacy of

colonialism, Jamaica, for Manley, must have the "new post-colonial" man.[4] The

attributes of this example citizen include: productive work ethic; equal status; morality;

training; sense of civic responsibility and duty; consciousness of African heritage; an

embrace of Third World status; autonomy and agency; self-reliance; co-operative;

sacrifice and participation. These attributes are drawn from the conceptualization of the

kind of society that Manley was working towards: a society of equality, social justice,

self-reliance and discipline, which is for Manley a socialist society.

> Manley defines a society as

> "founded in shared responsibility, in mutual recognition of dignity and in
> general oneness that summons every day to work together for the common
> good, because all will benefit commonly because all have put out
> themselves to make the benefit come true."[5]

Manley's definition speaks to notions of commonality for the community and to a sense

of the common good. Society for Manley is grounded in the concepts of cooperation and

égalité, as well as recognition of member's humanity. The society Manley envisioned

works towards a communal objective of sustainability as well as common benefits for all.

Manley identifies several key principles essential to the development of a society: the

principle of brotherly responsibility, which entails sacrifice; the principle of greatest

suffering and greatest need; the principle of national sovereignty; the principle that

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[3] Michael Manley, "We Are Not Ashamed: June 21, 1978" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 366-404), 396

[4] Manley, "We Are Not Ashamed: June 21, 1978," 404

[5] "Michael Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 234-288), 286

fundamental resources must be held nationally, and; the principles of equality, self-reliance, discipline and participation.[6]

What does Manley mean by socialism? Where does his position come from?

Manley and the P.N.P. have been ideologically grounded in the ideals of Socialism. In fact, the P.N.P. was founded on the principle that socialism is the ideal foundation for society. According to Rex Nettleford, "Socialism as understood in Jamaican politics may be said to have been the intellectual and moral 'creation' of the PNP" and has undergone changes since it was first declared in the 1940s.[7] Michael Manley recommits the PNP Administration to socialist objectives and principles and defines the tenets of socialism in a statement made to the House of Representative entitled, *This is What Socialism Means.* Manley's reiteration of the principles of Socialism, for him, takes a "democratic re-examination."[8] Manley reexamines how the principles of Socialism relate to Jamaica and its people. In 1977, Manley notes that neither the Government nor the society was an actual socialist system, but that this was the aim of his administration.[9]

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[6] Michael Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 289-332); Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975", 271; Michael Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29,1974" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 177-233); Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"; Michael Manley, "We Are Not Ashamed: June 21,1978" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 366-404); Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975";

[7] Rex Nettleford, *Manley and the politics of Jamaica: towards an analysis of political change in Jamaica, 1938-1968,* (Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI, 1971); See also Michael Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means, Statement to the House of Representatives by Prime Minister Michael Manley On Wednesday November 20, 1974", (speech, The Daily News, Jamaica, Nov. 21, 1974).

[8] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 1

[9] Michael Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24,1977" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 333-365),

Manley distinguishes that socialism concentrates power with the people, whereas nationalism concentrates power within the government.[10] In recognizing the context of nation-building, we see evidence of theorizing nationalism as a normative idea, Manley is establishing socialism as the goal for Jamaica. Additionally, in examining the feature communicated, we can see it as evidence of a descriptive idea. If, according to Manley, neither Jamaica nor his government was ever a socialist system, then we see the features of nationalism as a path to socialism and building a socialist society. Manley bases his nationalism in socialist ideas, and communicates his nationalism to move Jamaica towards a socialist society. The elements of a nationalistic society, as I will lay out, were the strategy that Manley engaged with the vision of giving birth to a new generation that would be a socialist society.

Manley articulates socialism as the "creation of a just society based on the principles of equality, self-reliance, discipline and participation by all the people in the process of Government and the running of the economy."[11] As such, he aims to have a Socialist Government, taking decisions that are "primarily in the interest of the social order."[12] For Manley, socialism provides the organizational framework to put social justice concerns into practice, which are based on the following beliefs:

1. That the nation is like a family;

2. That every individual member of this "nation/family" is entitled to opportunities;

3. That the "nation/family" has a responsibility to grant rights and opportunities to members of the family;

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[10] Manley, "The Politics of Change: May 2, 1973"

[11] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975," 255

[12] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 4

4. That the "nation/family" owes an opportunity of life with income and security to its members;

5. That members of the "nation/family" owes to it their loyalty, service and have an obligation of hard and honest work;

6. That members have a responsibility to contribute towards the welfare of the "nation/family".

In his view, the first concern is the survival of the people; the members of the "nation/family'. Collectively they must act in accordance to ensure the proper welfare for all. Here, these beliefs are expressed to illustrate how they are related to Anderson's construction of Nationalism; showing how the society should interact.

How do the ideas of socialism relate to Manley's call for Democratic Socialism?

In 1974, Michael Manley, following the statement on socialism, declares the ideology or platform of philosophy of his government as "Democratic Socialism." *Democratic Socialism for Jamaica* is then published, outlining the philosophy and principles of socialism in a democratic context. It illustrates the plan of action, defining a 'mixed economy' and the roles of the governments as well as the private sector in building this ideal society.

The document highlights "40 Milestones" that the government has achieved on its road towards socialism. It could be deduced from this publication that the government is justifying its control over the economy, as it argues that to achieve its goal, "the Government must supervise the running of the economy, by a combination of direct ownership, control by participation, regulatory machinery, and by creation of appropriate

incentives and opportunities."[13] Thus, economic nationalism was the strategy

implemented to build Jamaica during the 1970s. The aim of this was to ensure social

accountability, and therefore the government was invested in public ownership and

participation in companies' decisions that were deemed to affect the public interest.

Democratic Socialism "is an aim to achieve social justice and developments and

equality in the society through the political management of the economic process."[14]

What does Democratic Socialism mean for Manley's Nationalism? This was the core

philosophy for building the nation, and the proposition that informs Manley's

nationalism. Manley argued in his early budget debates that there must be an informed

philosophy upon which the government is grounded.[15] As such, Democratic Socialism, as

defined by Manley, informed the policies and principles upon which the Government he

led based their actions of management of the country and organization of the economy.

Combining the principles of socialism and his belief in democracy, Manley aimed to

promote the nation as a family and promoted this as the "ends."[16]

Manley's articulation of this philosophy and position was repeated throughout the

speeches identified for this thesis. Following the declaration of this philosophy in said

terms, core features were continuously highlighted. In a bid to inform and educate the

population, Manley urged an initial campaign for Democratic Socialism. Education, in

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[13] *Democratic Socialism for Jamaica: The Government Policy for National Development,* in Prime Minister Speeches 1974, Jamaica Information Service, Kingston 10, Jamaica, 3

[14] Michael Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 289-332) , 294

[15] Michael Manley, "The Politics of Change: May 2, 1973" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 136-176); Michael Manley, "Better Must Come: July 26, 1972" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 92-135)

[16] Which is to say, a means to an end, where the end goal is duty to the nation.

this sense, is about communicating an ideology to the public in an accessible manner. This is integral to his nation-building because the members that make up this nation/family should at least acknowledge a common goal or philosophy that binds them together as a group.

As such the contents Manley's speech, *This is What Socialism Means,* was made available to the public. Manley communicated this philosophy to the public by:

> "firstly, an explanation of [our] political education process and programme; secondly, [our] basic beliefs as a political movement; thirdly, a careful account of the democratic socialism in which we believe and which we believe is best for Jamaica; fourthly, a careful account of the principles by which we are guided in the development of a mixed economy in Jamaica and, finally, descriptions of some of the terms which are used in political dialogue but which are often misunderstood in Jamaica."[17]

This is an extensive campaign to communicate his ideology to the public, and thus makes Manley's conception of the nation available to the public. Similarly, Manley delineates the features of an ideal society that he wished to work towards.

Is this idea and society paralleled against? This idea of the society with its philosophy and principles are contrasted with capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. These systems/structures were what Manley was contending, and working to change. These systems and subsequent structures had fostered conditions of poverty and dependency for Jamaica, conditions Manley wanted to change. Manley's nationalistic vision was about creating independence and agency, as well as eliminating poverty.

What is Manley's communicated understanding of these ideas? For Manley, a capitalistic government made decisions in the interest of capital and not the people.

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[17] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 2

Exploitation is a consequence of the capitalist philosophy and "is inevitable in any

system based upon the one dominant notion that it is the overriding duty and obligation

of every human being to grab as much money as they can make at the expense of

anything and anybody else in the society."[18] As a result of this system and philosophy,

Jamaica at the point of 1972 had 23% of its population unemployed and poverty

stricken.[19] Capitalism is a system of dire consequences for Jamaica, which operated as a

result under colonial exploitation and slavery.[20] And "[w]hile the G.D.P., was growing in

1962 from $480 million to $1,207 million in 1972, facilitating more big cars, more big

buildings, more big houses; at the same time there were more people out of work and less

farmers on the land."[21] These conditions failed to recognize the identity and the

principles that Manley saw as important components of nationhood. Economic wealth

was limited to a privileged few and material wealth was seen as frivolous.

What are the features of Manley's nationalism? Manley's nationalism is based

in its own conjecture of social order. This can be identified by the systems of institutions

Manley developed and the patterns of interactions that Manley said he wished to

establish. These patterns would form the basis for societal interaction, and would be

continuously reproduced to sustain the communal existence. Thus, the idea of "equality"

of recognition of members of the society is a principle and common theme. Equality

meant the reduction of the class divide. Manley worked towards a social order in the

society that provides rights, access to opportunity, status and recognition as humans and

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[18] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 3

[19] ibid, 7

[20] ibid, 9

[21] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 9. The text illustrates the emphasis as noted in the original document.

agent, in what can only be described as an egalitarian fashion. This effort is positioned

against the stratification established by the capitalistic structure, which predetermined

opportunity, access to resources and status.

Capitalism resulted in a wealth gap and multiple kinds of stratification within the

society. ***What kinds of stratification are you referring? What were his efforts to address***

them? And how does this relate to the goal of nationalism? Manley's vision for Jamaica

was uniting people in a manner that would foster equality and humanity. That is to say

that there would be equal status for all members. However, Manley recognized that there

existed multiple forms of stratification that he would have to contend with in order to

achieve this goal. These include class as defined by factors of political economics, class

as defined by color, and class as defined by employment. These are hierarchical in nature

and denote people by power structures, which can be inter-organizational or societal.

Class as defined by political economic means the characterization of people based on

wealth and education. Class as defined by color regards identity based primarily on skin

color, and is influenced by cultural/ethnic lineage. Class as defined by employment

speaks to the kinds of employment one occupies. This can be agricultural and industrial

"blue collar" positions or managerial and professional jobs, which are labeled "white

collar.".

With regards to factors of political economics. Manley advocates for economic

reformation that would put the society in control of its economy. In doing so, he also

pushes for ethical economic practices, which would serve the needs of the society as a

whole with "proper" rewards to the individuals.[22] This position is founded on the

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[22] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

principles of national sovereignty in the economy and the state ownership of 51% of the all assets.[23] It is also grounded in the principle that fundamental resources must be national lands, and the ownership of the land is central to the people. This tenet explains attempts to ensure that the government is engaged in the economic structure and becomes a sort of gate-keeper for the economy prescribing ethical codes of conduct.

For the government to have control over its economy, it propagates the idea of partnership with foreign investments. Manley repetitively notes, in an attempt to reassure his constituents, that "Foreign private capital is welcome in Jamaica and is assured of fair and consistent treatment."[24] However, it is welcomed only under the condition that it is aligned with the government's philosophy and aim of social justice. Manley saw partnership as an essential component to investments and thus where private ownership was concerned he purported cooperative ownership. Such that in the private sector you would see a 1:1:2 ratio of ownership from Government, Management and Workers, respectively.[25]

In imploring for a moral economy, Manley suggests considering corporations not as institutions, as would be the case in a capitalistic system, but anthropomorphizing them, granting the ideas of civic duty and citizenship unto them. In addition, he proposes

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[23] State-ownership as conceived by Manley is the government standing in for the people.

[24] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means"; Michael Manley "Liberation of the Human Spirit: Address by the Honourable Michael Manley at the Jamaica Educational and Cultural Institute fund-raising dinner, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, October 27, 1977" (speech, Agency of Public Information, Kingston 10, Jamaica, November 1977)*; Democratic Socialism for Jamaica;* Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29,1974"; Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27,1975", Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976

[25] That is 25% Government, 25% Management and 50% workers. See "Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975," 283

the regulation of multinational corporations, as an attempt to manage corporate citizenship, an issue he consistently spoke to on the international stage.[26]

In order to provide for the needs of the people and fill the gaps of the capitalistic culture of business, Manley introduced the ideas and institutions of governmental organizations charged with the task of negotiating trade and expanding the trade market for the country. Jamaica Nutrition Holding Limited is one such organization, whose aim was to seek goods on terms that were best for the nation.[27] Another example that redefined the concept of ownership in the economy, where the government and people are centralized, is government farms. For Manley, in this new society men will not work for wages but because they have a stake in the land on which they gave their labor, as they would have in a company that they gave their labor. The government owns the farm in terms of infrastructure, and establishes patterns of production that are "meaningful." Similarly there was the Leasehold System in farm development, which broke down large blocks of land that were speculatively used. In this case, Manley tasked his government with the charge of redevelopment so that the natural resource of land was being productive to the national interest. Additionally, there is a promotion of development in agricultural as with other parts of the economy, such as manufacturing and industrial. For Manley, the national interest was the centralizing of the people, the core of his nationalism.

The centralization of systems of social and economic properties meant that the public sector would not only provide basic social services, but increase its share in the

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[26] Michael Manley "Social Contract," (broadcast, Agency of Public Information, April 25, 1979).

[27] "Michael Manley, "The Politics of Change: May 2, 1973," 161-2

economy by becoming an essential entity in the fabric of the system. Manley felt that the government had an obligation "to acquire ownership of any industry which produces an important commodity or provides employment for a considerable work force, but which private enterprise is not prepared to continue to operate because of its indebtedness, or seeming lack of potential."[28] Manley declares to the people of Jamaica that "(T)he Government reserves the right to acquire…"[29] This is seen as a duty because taken as a whole, the question of investment in private enterprises, suggests that once it could be salvaged it would be salvaged. This also eliminated the cost of start-up, though the Government was also interested in developing new field and untapped resources. This interest could be seen with its commitment to trail-blazing, spearheading the development of industries where the private sector is hesitant.

Overall, Manley's commitment to an ethical economy meant rethinking the core business. The Jamaican people, the members of the nation and primarily those who are marginalized by the current system were his main concern.

For Manley, it is the individual who is concerned with the building and maintaining a moral system, and who operates the economy. He proposes his vision of the ideal proprietors of this system. He defines these businessmen as acting in obligation to the community, working to keep prices at the lowest possible for the consumer's benefit. The individuals engage workers as partners, and regard profits as a "reasonable reward for effort".[30] "This kind of businessman has been led by social conscience to a

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[28] *Democratic Socialism for Jamaica,* 3

[29] ibid

[30] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 8

kind of attitude which is completely consistent with, and acceptable to, a socialist."[31]

Manley continues to say that even

> Event where one many find instances of exploitation, these are likely to be more incidental than planned. Similarly, his response to exploitation, once it is identified, will be to see how quickly he can apply corrective measures. The second kind of business has a clear place in a socialist society, and a permanent place in Jamaica's future.[32]

This is descriptive of the kind of engagement and interaction with the private sector, and private entrepreneurial spirit of members which Manley's nationalistic mixed economy affirmed. The guiding principles at work are based in a moral framework where people are duty bound to the society in which they operate and focused on the greatest good and supporting the poor. In this morality, diligence and pride is are the characteristics of a productive man, and having adequately provided for one's own family is acting in accordance with being constructive towards the greater society. These are the ideas of "proper" rewards for members of the society who work in this kind of nationalistic framework.

In 1977, Manley's address to the nation and to the Parliament spoke to the economic crisis of the time. He presented his plan for recovery for the nation, which did not have the foreign exchange to operate sufficiently. Dealing with this issue, Manley kept stringently to his ideas/principles and continuously advocated the basis of his nationalistic ideology. The effects of the economic situation meant that the implementation of this ideological plan was in jeopardy. However, if Manley could get

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[31] ibid

[32] Manley, "This Is What Socialism Means," 8

the people to focus on the plan, the effects based on the extreme measures that would be taken for its success would be understandable.

Manley's communicated action for dealing with the economic crisis was to transform the society's economy into a socialist economy, or at least his mixed idea of socialism. The plan was grounded in the principle of self-reliance, by which Manley meant that relations with external entities were based on sovereignty and realistic assessment of needs and capabilities.[33] This principle is one of the grounded principles of his nationalism. For Manley, the solution to the economic crisis was an intensification of the original ideas/principles. Thus, foreign assistance and foreign economic relations must assist in the process of this socialist transformation, as illustrated earlier in this paper.[34]

Manley also speaks to the concept of a social contract wherein cooperation amongst members of the nation and with the government is strategy for working within the nationalistic system. Co-operation would produce "the best results and the best protection for the greatest number of people, and particularly for those poor unemployed, old people and youth, small farmers and household helps who usually have the hardest time of all."[35] Social contract is about cooperation amongst parties, the different individuals and entities that operate within society.

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[33] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977," 341

[34] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977," 338

[35] Manley "Social Contract," 4

With regards to factors of color

Manley's speeches lack a comprehensive look at color. In the speeches analyzed,

he does not address issues of color; thus, while this form of stratification existed, we

cannot speak to Manley's conception of the color divide. This could illustrate that

Manley did not identify a racial divide within the conceptualization of the society.

However, he identified as a "black" man and as part of the "black" collective.[36] This is

seen more as a classification reference than one of ethnicity. Manley spoke consistently

to a "black" identity and encouraged the nation to see Africa as its root.[37] This suggests

that Manley possesses a consciousness of historical identity. Several of Manley's

speeches were made in addressing the concerns of apartheid in Africa.[38] He invoked

symbolism in the Black Nationalist Leaders and Pan African Leaders like George

Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Sylvester Williams, C.L.R. James,

Kwame Nkrumah and Aime Cesaire.[39]

Therefore, a significant part of Manley's nationalistic ideology was consciousness

of African heritage. To develop this, Manley charged the African Caribbean Institute with

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[36] Michael Manley, "Namibia and Zimbabwe: Toward Principled Action – Address at the International Conference in Support of the People of Zimbabwe and Namibia, Maputo (Mozambique), May 17, 1977" (Southern Africa: Time for Action Must be Now: History will be unkind to those who did not care – Statements by H.E. the Honourable Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, Published by the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs)*, 3

[37] Michael Manley "The Reality of Struggle – Address by Prime Minister Michael Manley at opening of MRR Cultural Centre, June 1, 1977," (Speech, Agency of Public Information, Kingston 10, Jamaica); Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

[38] From the speeches collected for this paper, those that reference to apartheid were made in his second term. Manley, "Namibia and Zimbabwe"; Michael Manley, "Toward a More Concerted International Action Against Apartheid – Address at a special meeting in observance of the International Ant-Apartheid Year, United Nations, New York, October 11, 1978" (Southern Africa: Time for Action Must be Now: History will be unkind to those who did not care – Statements by H.E. the Honourable Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, Published by the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs)*; Manley "Liberation of the Human Spirit"

[39] Manley, "Namibia and Zimbabwe"; Manley, "Toward a More Concerted International Action"; Manley "Liberation of the Human Spirit"

the task of developing an African connection in education and re-education for the development of pride and glory in the African heritage of the people of Jamaica.[40]

Further examination is warranted with regards to color stratification and Manley, particularly in light of the silence in the speech examined. Deborah Thomas' articulation of Brown-man rule suggests that this could be a deliberate erasure of color stratification in society.

With regards to factors of employment

Coming from a trade unionist background, Manley's involvement with the working class community is significantly documented, more so than other interactions. As a basis for understanding how Manley thinks about workers and employment, the prevalence for organizing the structures of the economy is centered on what Manley views as the typical and ideal worker. Manley's conception is based in the idea that "human beings are the only resource that a country has," the operationalization of people is developed into a generalized category of worker.[41] Human resources that would be productive agents in the society would propel the society towards a more developed status. Workers are the identified members of the nation, and his nationalism is built on the productive engagement of workers at all levels. The labor performed by the workers would be communal, with each member playing their role to the fullest of their ability. Roles did not equal status. In his call for leaders to lead by example, he stressed equality among members of the society. As an example, parliamentary ministers were called upon

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[40] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976, " 302

[41] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29, 1974,"196

to serve under commanding officers in the Home Guard.[42] Wealthy and powerful politicians were asked to serve in common positions along side their constituents, demonstrating equality with them.

Manley's use of workers as a unifying structure provides equality amongst men, women, wealthy and impoverished. Although all are actively engaged in employment at the time, Manley is building hope that his construction of the nation would work towards would enable such equality. For example, Manley pinpoints *higglers*, street side vendors, as an example of the kind of self-reliance necessary for productive workers.[43] In so doing, he recognizes *higglers* as legitimate members of the society. Children/Youth are also seen as potential workers or trainees who are preparing to be workers, and thus institutions are created to hone the skills and civic leadership necessary for them to become agents and/or participants in this nationalism.

Workers are a part of the society and the process of engagement is one of public interest. The illustration of worker relations was clearly spelt out, in that workers were recognized as legitimate and essential actors in society. To validate this group, legislative changes gave rise to the recognition of workers. One of the legislative changes was the Employment Act, which replaced the 1838 Masters and Servant Act inherited from colonial rule, which was still valid in the early 1970s.[44] The Employment Act officially classifies working individuals as employees, establishes the employer-employee relationship, and establishes the parameters/rights that exist in that relationship for both men and women. Additionally, the Industrial Relations Act, which brought

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[42] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

[43] ibid

[44] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975," 256

workers rights, the Equal Pay Act for women and men, the National Minimum Wage Law, the Termination of Employment, Termination and Redundancy Payment Act were all enacted to protect and empower workers. New labor laws ensured that regardless of race and economics, that is one's background, there was a common ground or a base for treatment.[45] This reframing speaks to the modeling of structures that prescribes the engagements of different kinds of workers. The advancement of worker rights and voices in the workplace, as well as capacity to engage productively in macro-economic program were fundamental to the worker development element of his nationalism, which was based in the philosophy that the working class was indispensable to the progress of the nation.

Farmers are also recognized as productive agents and by extension as workers in the society. Manley's speeches had significant focus on the agricultural sector and rural development.[46] There was a push for empowerment and protection of farmers and the agricultural lands, as well as the development in the quality of rural life. This effort was evident in the work being put towards electrification, roads, housing and other infrastructures in rural Jamaica. The building up of essential resources is indispensable to development of a nation and determines how it must feed itself. Manley paid attention to this detail, even though many discussions centered on industrialization.

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[45] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

[46] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977"

Potential workers

Potential workers are those outside the workforce, in this case, children. For Manley, children have a right to training and the onus was on the government to provide for them.[47] Free education would be the norm and access would be provided to all, including those who have dropped out, or grown outside the age-range for primary education.[48] To guarantee the survival of the nation, the society has a duty to continuously equip each generation with necessary skills. As such, education is essential to Manley's nationalism. Education is standardized for all; moreover diversification of opportunity enabled equality of value for different fields and positions.[49] As a fundamental component to Manley's nationalism, education is free, because it is seen as essential and a right for all children to have the opportunity to develop talent, skills and intellect. Within the education systems are coded elements of civics and citizenship, as well as the teaching of African history.[50]These two elements hone the ability of developing citizens and workers. This was a commitment "to the notion that a school must be the great agency that converts young into dynamic citizenship when they are growing up."[51] Education therefore produces human beings with sense of self-confidence and identity, essential components and philosophies for his nationalism. These philosophies define the kind of post-colonial man or citizenry Manley sought to create,

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[47] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29, 1974"

[48] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29,1974"; Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975"

[49] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975"

[50] ibid

[51] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975," 264

In Manley's conception of society, the school system is a training ground for building democracy. An example of this was the development of the Student Council Body/System, which was defined by Manley as democracy at work within the school system. Similarly, the National Youth Service is an example of the development of communal service. The National Youth Service was developed with the aim of creating

> "a new generation of people in Jamaica who begin with an understanding that we live in a society, that we owe a responsibility to society and that service is the way in which we express the brotherhood of man, the sisterhood of woman and the love of our country."[52]

This service was compulsory, though Manley anticipated that participation would be unanimously voluntary. Manley's conception of this institution was the creation of a cycle of giving back to the community that nurtured and gave birth and opportunity to you. Manley says " come and teach and help us create a revolution in the knowledge of the people by putting the skills we got in our second cycle system so we can bring the light of freedom to the people who are being born in our land."[53] This service provided economic training for students, teaching students about living in the "real world."[54]

The National Youth Service and even the Youth Camps, stand as illustration of the communal system to ensure that there is continuance within the nation-building, and by extension it is a core element of framing Manley's nationalism.[55] Education extended beyond the core group of youth to include Literacy Education among the general population, which had a high illiteracy rate, as well as education on citizenship for the

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[52] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29, 1974," 202

[53] Michael Manley, "The Politics of Change: May 2, 1973," 173

[54] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29,1974," 204

[55] ibid

mentally and physically disabled.[56] Common to both is the recognition and incorporation

of marginalized groups, as well as a goal of literacy and understanding civic engagement

for the members that come together for Manley's nationalism. In working towards this

idea, Manley urges all who can give back in terms of teaching to do so. He also urges

employers to provide space that would enable persons to take part in the learning process.

Women as Workers

    Manley recognized that the society as inherited was constituted of marginalized

groups based on stratification. Legitimizing these groups in policy and law was a

fundamental process for acknowledging both the existence of the division and similarly a

way to identify the diversity of the population in his nationalistic conception. Examples

of this includes the decriminalizing of the mentally disable and legitimizing status of both

mentally and physically disabled.[57]

To a much large extent, issues of gender difference were also addressed. For

Manley, women constituted the majority of his constituency.[58] Much of Manley's

construction of the realities of the people of Jamaica was represented by a single, blue

collar, employed or unemployed mother with several children. For Manley, this mother

served as an example of the hardships the people of Jamaica faced. According to Manley

the status of women in society was "a part of a system of exploitation within the

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[56] ibid. Illiteracy issues Reference

[57] ibid

[58] Michael Manley, "Women in Jamaica… Come forward and play your part? – Highlights of speech by Michael Manley Prime Minister of Jamaica at the Special International Womens Year Rally in honour of Mrs. Helvi Sipila, Secretary General for International Womens Year, Oct. 5, 1975" (published by Agency of Public Information, Kingston 10, Jamaica).

society."[59] As such "the major objective of social engineering in Jamaica is the creation

of a social equality."[60] Manley saw women's liberation as coupled with national

liberation, a movement that "is the creation of a new dynamic energy for the struggle

against illiteracy, the struggle against poverty, the struggle against deprivation within

[the] land."[61] Women were workers who have agency and actively participate in politics

by voting for candidates.[62] His nationalism recognizes citizens regardless of sex, race or

religion, and is specifically concerned to ensuring group equality, representation and

access to resources.[63] For Manley, women are recognized in the sense of speaking about

individuals and workers, along the same lines as speaking of mankind. Historically,

women have been marginalized, thus by engaging in the empowerment and equality of

women, Manley incorporates a significant sect of the population as part of his citizenry.

Post-Colonial Man

Combining these various members collectively equates to the concept of the post-

colonial man, which Manley thought would occupy his nationalism, and defined the

members of this nation-state.[64] For Manley, the struggle for change to his nationalistic

conception of Jamaica was to secure a nation that believed in equality and had confidence

in this post-colonial man. Thus far we have talked about who Michael Manley envisions

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[59] Manley, "Women in Jamaica," 2

[60] ibid, 2

[61] ibid, 2

[62] ibid

[63] Manley, "Women in Jamaica"

[64] Connation occurs within context of general humankind reference to the term man. Manley used the universal 'man' and not woman, though he communicates that women are workers.

as members of his nationalism. For Manley, society is made up of workers and potential workers. The economic class, racial, and gender divide is modified to define all members as equal in humanity and recognize them as contributors to the development of the society. The "post-colonial" man is the ideal citizen and as such defines the ideal member of Manley's nationalism. He [or she] is a worker, who has a [philosophical] stake in how the state advances, as well as an economic stake in the advancement of the both the company employed and the state at the macro-level.

Anderson's second feature requires a definition of how the members of the nation interact with each other. What are the social interaction principles of Manley's nationalism? In how I am framing Manley's nationalism, he defines several key principles of interaction and order for citizens.[65] Fundamental to social interaction is cooperation amongst citizens, which applied to both worker relations across sectors and community relations. The community is an area where people have articulated a sense of being one, and developing this sense of community to build the holistic citizen was essential to the creation of the kind of socialist being critical to Manley's nationalism. In keeping with the ideals of democracy, community councils at the community level would yield greater participation of the citizenry in the development of the nation. This was a systematic way of developing representation and organizing for the community, and provided a model for political engagement with micro-level issues that directly affect the community. For Manley, no more than 2000 people, who would be brought together to develop micro-enterprises that would produce self-reliant and self-sufficient

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[65] See page 77-8, earlier in this chapter. "Manley identifies several key principles essential to the development of a society: the principle of brotherly responsibility, which entails sacrifice; the principle of greatest suffering and greatest need; the principle of national sovereignty; principle that fundamental resources must be held nationally; principle of equality, self-reliance, discipline and participation."

environments, define a community.[66] This organizing would be replicated throughout the

island as micro-models that would map on to the nation-level [or macro-level] of

organizing. Community enterprise organizations would produce self-reliant and self-

sufficient community.[67] For Manley,

> "Participatory democracy pursued as a dynamic objective is the key to the
> building of a new kind of social and economic relationship in Jamaica, is
> the key to making the dream of equality, is the key to the release of the
> creative energies which lie in abundance beneath the sometimes turbulent
> exterior of Jamaican affairs."[68]

Manley's nation would be engaged in a democratic way. The society as it existed had the

potential to become engaged, and through the development of community level

organization Manley's idea could be achieved. In addition to cooperation were the ideas

of equality, self-reliance, discipline and participation. These would guide engagement

and provide participants with structure. Manley's nationalism envisioned a society based

on the ideals knowledge and communication.[69] It involved an open exchange of

information and legislation is founded in open dialog of the community. The disclosure

of accounts by companies is an example of openness of interaction.

Worker relations were also about engagement and developing an economic

framework for business development that recognized workers as agents and participants

with local company structures illustrated this democratization of the economy. Citizens

engaged in Manley's nationalism would be participants in the economic, political and

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[66] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"; Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977"

[67] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977"

[68] ibid, 364

[69] Manley, "We Are Not Ashamed: June 21, 1978"

social building of the nation. Moreover, these members would have guiding normed principles of self-reliance, discipline and participation amongst themselves.

On Discipline

Manley was concerned about the habit of self-discipline; a principle to which each citizen of his nationalism would adhere. Discipline was based in conformity "to rules and modes of conduct because [one] freely [has] faith in the authority which calls for those rules and modes of authority, and because [one feels] that they have an important place in the system of authority itself."[70] For Manley this idea of discipline is not an innate habit because Jamaica is emerging "from an elitist authoritarian structure."[71] As such, for the people of his nationalism to become disciplined they must connect emotionally to the nation, "a [deep] feeling of commitment, loyalty and patriotism that arises when people have a sense of shared ideas and the feeling of belonging to a country with meaningful objectives."[72]

On Self-reliance

Being self-reliant was essential in the structure and organizing of communities and the nation. Similarly it is a pinnacle notion for positioning Jamaica in relation to other nations. In Manley's opinion, the history of colonialism had left a legacy of dependency from which Jamaica must break away in order to mold its own identity and nationhood, one that is unique to its borders and different from its colonial past. The

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[70] "Michael Manley on Democracy and Discipline," (Kingston 5, Jamaica: Agency of Public Information, 1976)

[71] "Discipline in our society," (Kingston 5, Jamaica: Agency of Public Information, March 11, 1977), 2

[72] "Discipline in our society," 3

principle of self-reliance was operationalized primarily at the economic and political

levels. At the economic level this involved re-organizing the macro and micro levels to

support local development and to push for local production and innovation, which would

reduce the need/dependency on importation. There was a similar push to increase

exportation through mass production in multiple industries. National ownership and

partnerships with private industries and worker relations all worked with this principle in

mind.

On Participation

      For Manley, active participation was essential to claiming agency within this

nationalistic structure. Members of his nationalism would own a proactive ideal of

working for the greater good. Higglers were prime example of proactive participants,

who had the entrepreneurial spirit and the principle of self-reliance.[73] Manley's

construction makes allowances for public participation.[74] He believed that members had a

duty to their nation as a reciprocal notion for what is granted them. Manley's bid to

members for participation was for the sake of his nationalism.

On Brotherly Responsibility

      The principle of brother responsibility was about sacrifice and moderation of

human behavior for the community. This involved reduction of the needs of members for

self-gain and individualistic notions, and focus on the community and the neighbors who

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[73] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29, 1974"

[74] ibid - "allowing" public participation.

are poor.[75] This is founded in the principle of greatest suffering and the greatest need.

Both of these foundational principles speak to the welfare of the people. Manley

recognizes that for social progress to occur, basic needs must be taken care of. His

nationalism seeks to redefine community management in both social infrastructure and

communal interaction.[76] Housing schemes are provided with essential facilities like basic

schools, community centers, playing facilities, and day cares.[77] Restructuring housing

facilitated greater control of the community and family environment. This way, while

women went to work there would be a care center for raising children.[78] Manley

recognized that "housing and the human habitat is the very heart line of human

development."[79] Providing that infrastructure within the conceptualizing of Manley's

nationalism facilitated this human development.

In addressing this principle, Manley's core concern and consistent bottom line

was the poor, noting that "[t]hese members of the national family have got to be the first

priority, because thousands live on the edge of starvation."[80] Manley advocated for these

members of the nation, to move in such a way that would provide basic needs for the

poor, and unemployed. Policy changes that arose because of economic decline intensified

this attribute. To what extent this would be consistent with the active living of Manley's

nationalism is full encompassed in the socialist notion that all would be provided for

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[75] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

[76] The later is examined in the notions of community building.

[77] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975," 273

[78] ibid, 275

[79] ibid, 272

[80] Michael Manley, "The Economic Crisis – Broadcast by the Prime Minister, Hon. Michael Manley, January 5, 1977" (Agency for Public Information, Kingston, Jamaica), 6

equally. Welfare equity, for example, redistributes wealth in the society and was a transitioning idea. However, Manley presents a hope that his nationalism would accommodate for a somewhat invisible poor, as opposed to the reality of people living in poverty.

Collectively the nation has a shared identity. For Anderson, this denotes the in-group from the out-group, that is, those who are members of this particular nation, versus others and other nations. How is this expressed in Manley's nationalism? How does Manley position his nationalism, in the grand scheme of the world? Manley's nationalism reinforces three principles that speak to the collective rather than the members. These are the principles/ideas of national sovereignty, national resource and autonomy. National sovereignty regards supreme power and authority. Autonomy deals with independence, liberty/freedom, and self-governance. National resource speaks to ownership of tangible objects, like land, water, and people.[81]

Economically, Manley's nationalism lends itself to control of economy and thus collective ownership of assets and resources, like land, affirms the principles of national sovereignty and resources. In this light, the government is invested in maintaining production and boosting local capacity for development, which aims to meet domestic consumption and boost external trade. Economic reformation was a priority for Manley at the time. In these discussion about honing productivity, there is a focus on shaping creativity into productive elements. This reframes how sectors like the craft industry play an "integral role in the national economy and national production".[82] Additionally,

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[81] For Manley, people were a country's greatest resource. Michael Manley, "Better Must Come: July 26,1972" (speech, Delano Franklyn, compiled & editor, *Michael Manley: The Politics of Equality*, Kingston, Wilson Franklyn Barnes, 2009, 92-135)

[82] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977," 351

pushing governmental collaboration and investment ensures that the "nation" is invested

in the workings of the economy, and maintains control over the resources that were used

for production.

Manley identifies the members of the nation as the most important resources and

thus autonomy, control over self, is vital to affirm the principles of national sovereignty.

According to Manley,

> This Government on behalf of our people will not accept anybody
> anywhere in the world telling us what we are to do in our country. We are
> the masters in our house: and in our house there shall be no other master
> by ourselves. Above all, we are not for sale.[83]

This affirmation of autonomy and authority is made in light of discussion with the IMF,

an external body. For Manley, Jamaica is not comparable to any other nation in the

world. Thus to him, his nationalism is as legitimate as more developed nations. Manley

embodies his nationalism, in that what he conceives as Jamaica is what he represents.

This is how Manley delineates his nationalism: "... as an Internationalist in perception, a

Democratic Socialist by persuasion, a member of the Non-Aligned Movement by

commitment and a member of the Third World but circumstance."[84] These characteristics

locate Manley's conception of Jamaica's nationhood in the global community.

Autonomy is also expressed in building the nation's identity, which is defined in

the recognition of the Third World status. His nation is small, but it claims the status of

Third World by virtue of wealth gap.[85] It is under-developed, and shares the following

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[83] Manley, "The Economic Crisis," 5

[84] Michael Manley, "…We Must Tackle Structures…" (lecture, Third World Foundation Lecture, London, October 29, 1979), 2

[85] Michael Manley, "The issue with which we must now wrestle (is) how to manage the distribution of the world's wealth. – Opening Address to Commonwealth Heads of Government – Kingston, Jamaica, April 39, 1975); Manley, "…We Must Tackle Structures…"

problems with other groups/nations, where "there is a basic shortage of capital, know-how, institutional experience, technology, skilled manpower, supporting social services, education and health, including even basic nutrition." Thus, he advocates for greater self-reliance and economic cooperation to move the realities of Jamaica into his conceptual idea of his nationhood. Manley campaigns for a change in Internal Economic Order, which would restructure international economic relations, to support the collective development of his nation's citizens.

Autonomy is about political power structures. The Jamaican constitution holds the Queen of England as the head of state.[86] In this way the internal political power structure of Jamaica negates its authority and sovereignty. For Manley, legislation needs to reflect the political independence, freedom of sovereignty, gained in 1962.[87] His nationalism is contingent on a power structure that reflects its members as authoritarian. Independence was two-fold for Manley, there was political and economic freedom. Manley notes that those who had governed prior to him worked under the assumption that political freedom was the only problem.

> They governed on the assumption that if this could work within the economic system that they had inherited from imperialism and added only to that experience this opportunity of political freedom, that somehow the transformation of conditions of human beings would occur and so they continued economic and social strategies that were indistinguishable from strategies that they had pursued before.[88]

This system failed to frame Jamaica into nation that was different from its past as a British colony. Constitutional reform needed to represent the aspirations of Manley's

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[86] Manley, "Unleashing the Potential: May 29, 1974"

[87] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976"

[88] Manley, "No Turning Back: May 12, 1976," 291

nationalism, which is an independent Third World developing nation.[89] His nationalism is committed to "a concept of a world order that will allow for true independence on a non-exploitative basis."[90] Economic and social reforms nationally were similarly vital to this change.

A reordering of the international system of economy would reaffirm Manley's nationalism internationally. The issue, for Manley, is economic survival and bringing people up to a new standard of living.[91] Economic reformation would influence social and political structures that would support the changes Manley sought to implement in bringing his concept of nationalism to reality.

On the international stage, Manley's nationalism is framed by the relationships with other nations. Its sovereignty and autonomy is reinforced through external collaboration that is exemplified through foreign policies and trade agreements as well as joint position statements. Manley's nationalism is guided by recognition of commonality with other countries, and co-operative endeavors that maintain autonomy and support the central focus of members within the nation.[92] For Manley's nationalism, "foreign policy is devoted to proclaiming the need to halt; and to expounding an alternative path that could transform the current rhetoric of internal justice into actual performance and progress towards just objectives."[93] His aim is to halt the system that strengthens the

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[89] Manley, "Participatory Democracy: May 24, 1977"

[90] ibid, p. 336

[91] Manley, "Embracing Democratic Socialism: May 27, 1975"

[92] Michael Manley, (Speech, Official Opening of the OLADE Conference, Kingston, Jamaica, February 24, 1975)

[93] Manley "Liberation of the Human Spirit," 14

wealth gap amongst nations, a wealth gap that negates the sovereignty of the nation,

which is fundamental to conceptualizing Manley's nationalism.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I talked about the development of political independence and the history of Manley, examined theories of Nationalism that can be related to the context of Jamaica, and analyzed the speeches of Manley to explicate his construction of nationalism. In examining Michael Manley's speeches, we can see a nationalist agenda that he uses to forge a path towards the democratic socialism that Manley claims was never realized. While these ideas can be interpreted in several ways, it is evident that Manley's focus is creating a citizenry from a population of former British subjects. Manley's conception of Jamaica as a different nation, a new nation from the reality he conceived, is founded in change. This change is based in rallying membership, people who subscribe to the nationhood Manley describes, to engage in building this framed national identity.

This thesis by use of Benedict Anderson's work engages an examination of this conception of nationalism and its relevance to the Jamaican situation. Nationalism for Anderson involves a common identity within a defined space that binds together that specific group of people under said banner, while separating them from others. Anderson's construction of nationalism can be seen in the theories of Black and Creole Nationalism, which come into being during the early 20th century, it's not as evident in 1970's Jamaica, which is, by virtue of its sovereignty, already a nation. Therefore, what makes Michael Manley's framing nationalistic, is that his aim is to conceive a reality that builds a citizenry that is definitive of nationhood, national identity, and national consciousness. The fostering of nationhood and national consciousness is done through instructing people on ways of citizenry. Anderson provides a context for defining

nationalism, but is a limited lens in application to this cross-sectional circumstance. The task of national building requires reconstruction of structures and systems. And for Manley this is what he engages, which is distinctly different from the bare sentiment of attributing ideas as exemplified in the discussion on Black Nationalism. Manley pushes beyond the romance of Jamaica and a Jamaican identity to enact programs and policy changes to facilitate the embracement, development and embodiment of Jamaican citizenry. The Jamaican people as a result can connect with the inherent state as oppose to the colonial state.

I envision Jamaica, as Manley sees, not as a blank canvas, but an unfinished work. Manley's nationalism gives him the opportunity to finish that canvas, and transform the nation, and the people from subjects to citizens. This being akin to the epithet "Joshua," who is seen as the finisher of the nation; the one who would lead the people to their final destination. Having taken up the baton, Manley is working with that which is given him to make that which he sees as the future for Jamaica. He works to create the resources he needs and the kinds of people that work within the nation, giving them defining roles. Mapping that idea unto the Jamaica of the 1970s means that Manley goes into an already established space and reconfigures the structure to create a nation. This is not as linear as the historical development and definition of nationalism as with Anderson's examples.

This is a shared challenged for heads of states and nations, who come into power in an established space. Each has a vision for the change they want to effect, and a plan to move the nation into a progressive position. This is evident in a potential leaders' campaign, however, the extent to which this conception is continued while they are in

power is a good question. Employing an examination of public figure's communication and investigating the meanings and definition of who they seek to represent, as well as the change they seek to employ is worth continually applying to critique leaders both past and present.

One major limitation that exists in this work, due to resources and methodology is that the speeches that were analyzed for this research, while they span the decade of reference, may not be statistically representative of all the speeches made throughout that time period. To further this research, acquiring and engaging in more speeches is fundamental to increasing reliability and consistency of ideas. While instances used here, provide a framework for speaking about Manley's philosophy, laying a timeline will also provide context clues in content and the transformation of his message over time.

To further study this area, comparisons can be drawn between this descriptive conception of Manley's nationalism and the responses of the public, via published letters and other proponents that confront Manley's position. As well as a comparison between the 1970s and when Manley returns to power in the early 1990s. Another major possibility is comparing this position to Manley's reflections, as illustrated in biographies and his published books. A cross-sectional study of these three distinct conceptions that engage Manley, Jamaica and the 1970s, and can be interrogated to look at the symbolic interactionism as well as provide a holistic picture of this particular point in time.

Future work on Manley can also situate the message as framed here in the context of the outcomes of the Manley administration. Thus evaluating the resulting effect of

these speeches, while juxtaposing them with the social climate and examining the social realities of this nationalistic agenda in this era.

Works that share similar rationale of examining leaders content tend to be quantitative in nature. As such, I would recommend a quantitative study of the speeches to examine whether there is quantitative support in context. Additionally, this kind of study with the noted proposition above is encouraged for comparison as well.

This thesis is my attempt to discover the ideas of Jamaica's past that inform my present experience. The generation that came of age during the 1970s is influenced by these conflicting ideologies of citizenship and government engagement. They are influenced by a legacy of dependence on governmental intervention, and a civic duty to political party lines based on the historical ideology of socialism and capitalism. Understanding how past leaders, specifically Michael Manley, shaped these influences and created a framework for the nation of Jamaica has been essential to understanding the circumstances that effect Jamaica's present, and informs her future.

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