

"LESSONS AND CHALLENGES"

ADDRESS

BY

MOST HON. P. J. PATTERSON, ON, OCC, PC, QC, OE

AT

LAUNCH OF BOOK

"N.W.MANLEY and THE MAKING OF MODERN JAMAICA"

By ARNOLD BERTRAM

**THE BLUE MOUNTAIN SUITE
KNUTSFORD COURT HOTEL**

SUNDAY, JULY 3, 2016

7.30 P.M.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND SALUTATIONS

- Born on the 4th of July

American Independence – Hence Middle Name
Washington

Caribbean Community Day – Named in his honour

- Somme – July 1916 - Centenary

Participated in that battle

Gunner - When the Allies launched a major offensive

Killing 20,000 British

Wounding 60,000

Encountered violent prejudice of colour,
stories of captured coloured soldiers were
very grim.

Earned the M.M. for bravery -but lost his
brother Roy.

Arnold Bertram's *NW Manley & The Making of Modern Jamaica* represents his *magnus opus* in an impressive body of published work. Viewpoint of distinguished Caribbean Historian – Regret he chose academia over politics.

Rachel sought – “to restore her grandfather’s well deserved reputation as the doyen of Jamaica’s nationalism in the consciousness of my generation.”

Jolted by Stone Poll in December 2000.

“Which Prime Minister has done most to improve the lot of the Jamaican people”

NW came last because the present generation is unaware of his remarkable contribution.

Scree may have taken long to complete the book, but it was certainly worth the wait.

THE MANLEY - SHEARER AXIS

During their courtship Thomas Manley acquired his 383 property, Roxburgh, and it became the family home. Margaret was settling into her new home, when her mother Elsie Shearer, challenged with the effort required to keep Blenheim afloat, died before seeing her fiftieth birthday.

At the time of her death, no one could have recognized that Elsie Hunter of Meyersfield, Westmoreland, through the progeny of her two marriages would become the matriarch of Jamaica's first indigenous ruling dynasty. Two of her grandsons, William Alexander Clarke and Norman Washington Manley, would alternate the roles of Chief Minister and Prime Minister from 1944 to 1967. Both would become National Heroes.

One of her great-grandsons, Michael Manley, would become the fourth Prime Minister of Jamaica.

India is the only country within the British Empire which affords a parallel to a ruling dynasty of such depth. Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter, Indira, and grandson, Rajiv.

THE REBEL

As soon as the family fortunes improved, Margaret transferred Norman from Guanaboa Elementary School to Beckford and Smith in Spanish Town, and made arrangements for him to board with the headmaster during the week. On weekends he went on horseback and galloped so furiously through the town that he often got into all sorts of trouble with the police.

In 1906 he won a partial scholarship to Jamaica College, his fourth school in four years. Here the 13-year old Norman Manley came face to face with widespread bullying which made him consider running away before the end of his first year.

After fighting and whipping an older boy who was a known bully, he systematically took on the task of suppressing bullying in the school. His notoriety spread in his second year when he became the ringleader of a group of boys who were repeatedly before the school masters for breaches of school discipline. The young rebel achieved such levels of

notoriety that in one day all seven masters reported him to Headmaster Simms for various infractions.

Having resolved to turn over a new leaf, he shocked the headmaster by announcing his intention to prepare himself for the Rhodes scholarship. The headmaster gently reminded him that the Rhodes scholarship was awarded for academic excellence and strength of character, and on both counts no master at J.C. had any basis for giving him a good report.

For Norman, R.M. Murray became much more than his tutor. He brought such "zeal and energy" to their relationship that he quickly became Norman's mentor.

"Running, jumping, and hurdling; very good bowler, good batsman; excellent shot; - he excelled in all our athletics.")

– Murray boasted

His academics were as brilliant as his athletics. The headmaster noted that in the examinations, four out of his five mathematical papers were distinguished.

Years later Norman would reflect: "I had an unusual school career. I was by nature a rebel and little affected by what people thought of me. But I had a great interest in ideas and was by nature of a skeptical outlook. I read widely, almost everything I could lay my hands on and I delighted in talk and argument and was lucky to have some elderly friends who had an equal passion for talk and argument so hard to satisfy...that they welcomed a young man who thought nothing of keeping at it till signs of dawn... I had a real capacity to work hard for what I wanted and I had an unquenchable belief in excellence.

Despite his achievements, he was aware of his deficiencies. In England he would, for the first time, experience the racism which his countrymen felt so bitterly. His only experience of racism before had been the ostracism meted out to his near-white mother for marrying a coloured man.

As he reflected then: "Colour meant little to me and I did not allow it to be an obsession since I was totally without any idea of 'white superiority'...the only superiority I knew was the superiority of excellence."

RETURN HOME

When NW Manley returned to Jamaica in 1922, he was a legendary schoolboy athlete, a Rhodes scholar, a war hero and the winner of double First Class Honours in both the Bachelor of Civil Law and the Bar finals.

Yet, on his return Norman Manley was the first to admit “that he was without knowing one single fact about the history of the past, the current history or the possibilities of Jamaica as a country.” – so much for the Grammar School curriculum.

His law practice took him all over the island and afforded him every opportunity to correct this deficiency.

When the Banana Growers sought his services to establish “a banana co-op, big enough to own its own ships and strong enough to bargain with the giant United Fruit Company as equals”, Norman Manley devoted his legal expertise to make the growers’ vision a reality.

Manley's "ideological orientation to Fabian Socialism placed Co-operatives at the centre of economic policy", we read.

In 1934 he led in the formation of the Jamaica Boxing Board, and two years later the Jamaica Olympic Association and the Jamaica Athletic Amateur Association.

His home, Drumblair, quickly became the centre of the emerging fraternity of writers and artists and provided a unique forum for collaboration out of which the National Movement emerged.

Edna, with "her artistic intuition had anticipated the awakening – combined with her unerring political instincts – was a major factor in the evolution of NW's potential career" – Bertram tells us.

The Critical importance of volunteerism –

On June 7, 1937 Manley launched Jamaica Welfare to “promote, manage and control schemes for... the social and economic betterment...of small settlers, farmers and the working people of Jamaica.”

The motto proudly proclaimed its mission: “We are out to build a new Jamaica”. Under his leadership Jamaica Welfare inspired a new level of volunteerism as individuals from the middle and upper classes came forward to help find solutions to the pressing problems of rural Jamaica.

The rural community development process established by Jamaica Welfare became a model for the developing world. Tom Simey, Professor of Sociology at Liverpool University and an advisor to the British government on social welfare, came to Jamaica and after observing the work of Jamaica Welfare recommended the collaboration and assistance of Colonial Development Welfare.

NW: THE ETHICAL MAN

In 1938 NW launched the PNP and recorded the following in his diary:

"I became leader of the Peoples National Party and deeply involved in the most active politics Jamaica has ever known...I decided to lay down the strictest values to keep Jamaica Welfare out of politics, and not to use it or allow it to be used in any way that could advance my political course."

[He also issued the following Memorandum to the staff of Jamaica Welfare:

"It has always, as the staff knows, been the policy of the company to work entirely free from political activities. It is not permitted to allow community centers to be used by any person or group for a political meeting or other political purposes. As political feelings become more evident, it is the more imperative that workers should observe the obligations of strict political neutrality."]

Subsequently, at a Jamaica Welfare Conference in Porus, NW saw a teacher whom he knew to be politically active for the P.N.P. When he was introduced to him as a new member of staff, to the man's dismay, NW looking quite annoyed, said to him, *"I take it you are aware that your political activities are at an end or you will have to seek a new job."*

Fundamental to NW's national project was the conviction that nothing could replace the fullest participation of all the Jamaican people in the political process as a pre-requisite for nation-building.

[It was for this reason that he came out so strongly for Universal Adult Suffrage and a participatory democracy. "A careful reading of Manley's address to the public session of the founding conference leaves no doubt that his vision of the PNP was of a mass-democratic, de-centralised organization that would not only elect the national leadership, but would function as the "university of the people" to inculcate the membership with a sense of rights and responsibilities to underpin a dynamic and functional democracy.]

The imperative of education and organization in the building of a political party.

In the 1944 elections the PNP entered candidates in only 19 of the 32 seats. Norman Manley had established a minimum number of groups as well as a basic organizational framework as the criteria for a constituency to enter a candidate. Predictably, the PNP was virtually wiped out – winning only four seats. Thereafter, the work of education and organization began in earnest and by the 1947 local government elections the PNP moved ahead of the JLP in the popular vote and increased its popular support in every general and local government election up until the 1959 general elections.

In 1938, the process of nation building, particularly in underdeveloped societies like Jamaica, could only be realized by the consistent pursuit of excellence underpinned by fixity of purpose.

Throughout his life Norman Manley was never satisfied by mediocrity and in every field of endeavor he triumphed over seemingly impossible odds.

THE LAUNCH - 1938

One hundred years after the abolition of slavery, economic deprivation, political isolation and social exclusion still remained the lot of the vast majority of our citizenry.

Manley set out to build a nation and create a society in which every Jamaican regarded "his or her country as much more than a place to live in, but a place in which we feel a sense of belonging, a feeling that our lives and our destiny are irrevocably bound up in the life and destiny of Jamaica."

This was a political organization dedicated to creating an independent and sovereign nation "in which its people were to be the arbiters of their own destiny. Through education, social consciousness and material wealth, they were to be empowered to lead peaceful and prosperous lives."

"Its name reflected a deep and unswerving commitment to the cardinal principles upon which it was founded.", Norman Manley said at a launch of the Party in 1938. It is the 'People's Party', he said, because its policies and

programmes must forever aim to “serve the masses of the country.” This is not without recognition to the other classes in society, and as Norman Manley was at pains to point out: “It is perfectly true that the interests of all classes of people are bound together. But it is equally true that there is a common mass in this country whose interest must predominate above and beyond all other classes...” This, he argued is based on the “...elementary principle that the object of civilization is to raise the standard of living and security of the masses of the people.”

SOCIALISM

In Manley’s view, given the inevitability of a radically changed global environment, the PNP’s capacity to lead Jamaica required the adoption of socialism as the party’s ideology.

"The war may last long, or it may end suddenly...the result will be the same. The old order is gone and either we will find the world become fascist under one

guise or another, or Socialism will emerge as a growing and dominant power in human affairs...The Fascist system means that...trade unions, cooperative societies...all other associations formed by working people for their own benefit and advancement would be ruthlessly crushed...The aim of Socialism is to ensure for all economic security...work to the unemployed...fair and just treatment for all workers...to raise the standard of life not only on the economic level but by advancing educational and other social services...All considerations...point to one possible course only. The Party must frankly proclaim its faith in the Socialist cause."

Source: Norman Manley's Address to the Second Annual PNP Conference in September, 1940)

TRIUMPHANT YEARS

It would not have escaped the notice of this discerning audience that the bulk of my presentation has concentrated so far on the less trodden portions of NW's life and career – his early beginnings, his schooling and military experience, his pioneering work in mobilizing our social and welfare groups – now known as N.G.Os.

His formidable skills as a Lawyer have been the subject of several Lectures and publications.

“The best arguments the Court has heard in the landmark Vick's Case.” – The Privy Council Judges pronounced.

Much more research – invitation to our practitioners and legal scholars.

Theodore Sealy recounted that a visiting colonial authority concluded: "Whenever a man in this country gets into trouble, he first flies to Mr. Manley, and if Mr. Manley is already retained, he next flies to Cuba."

Hotheads often threatened, "I will kill you and get Missah Manley to get me off."

In his acceptance speech, after his electoral victory in 1955, Norman Manley's words illustrated the ethical standards by which he would be guided:

He said:

"All my life I have carried responsibilities on my shoulders, I have spent my life on many cases. And now I turn my back for good on all that life. I take into my hands the case of the people of Jamaica before the bar of history against poverty and need; the case of my country for a better life and freedom in our land."

SUCCESS

Much of his success is attributable, not only to his sheer genius and acuity, but to his stamina to his stamina and diligence.

After sustaining a 16-hour work day during the week, Norman Manley would spend "the entire Sunday morning working in the Supreme Court Library...and be off by lunch time to various rural areas to address political rallies and meetings. Very rarely would he return to Drumblair before 11.00 p.m.... and then he would study his brief for the following day.

His junior partner, Vivian Blake attended pre-trial conferences at Drumblair which began at midnight and ended at 3.00 a.m." On one occasion when a conference ended at 3.00 a.m. Blake was to accompany Manley to a cow shed and to hold a torch while Manley inspected two sick calves.

VICTORY AT LAST

N.W.

Long before he had assumed the reins of power, NW had asserted:

Economic and social problems would only be removed –
“when our Secondary Schools have produced a sufficient number of persons to make an organic whole of the country.”

No wonder – in the constellation of stellar achievements –

The centre piece was the 1957 award of 2,000 free places

Based on performance and ability.

The social transformation it spawned is incalculable.

Simultaneously, a Common Entrance Examination was introduced to select the scholarship winners.

“A large number of children of poor parents, who in the past, were unable to enter and pay fees should be afforded the opportunity of a good grammar school

education...”, there was no attempt to assess the ability of parents to pay in determining the scholarship winners.

The increase of 2,000 in the annual enrolment of secondary schools was five times the annual average in the preceding decade.

Another major milestone in education was the conversion of the Kingston Technical School along with the practical training centres at Holmwood, Dinthill and Vere into technical high schools. Two new technical high schools were also established in St. Elizabeth and St. Andrew.

The establishment of the College of Arts, Science and Technology provided a tertiary institution for the graduates of the Technical High Schools.

Impact on the labour force was far-reaching – providing the skills demanded by the rapidly growing manufacturing, mining and tourism sectors.

- Scientific Research Council
- Laws enacted **1955-62** – They form an Appendix to book
- No other Government has produced this volume – far-reaching – (not even during the transformative years of 1972-1980)
- Youth Corps – Cobbla & Chestervale
- Land Reform
Move from Land Settlements to Allsides and Rhymesbury
- Ban on trade with South Africa – did so at the same time as the new Dominion of India
- ADC – JIDC – secured from Opposition Benches
- Development Bank of Jamaica
- Negril Development
- Jamaica Tourist Board
- Central Planning Unit
- National Stadium
- Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation
- 1959 Self-Government Constitution
No country has ever been better prepared and more ready for nationhood.

INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTION

For Norman Manley –

“We enjoy and accept as part of the air we breathe a system in which the rule of law prevails”

The right to have your life protected

To have your normal comings and goings as a citizen protected from arbitrary interference.

To stand on an equal footing before the Law with all other people.

But it is not the Constitution that preserves these rights. It is the spirit of the people”

Norman Manley insisted –

“That public interest, rightly determined, must always be paramount.”

He demonstrated, time and again, his unwavering belief that “it is the spirit of the people, the vigilance of the people, it is the public opinion and it is the constant awareness of itself” which could best stand as a bulwark for human liberty and the supremacy of the rule of law.

LESSONS AND CHALLENGES

Brexit & the Referendum

Chapter 30 of the Book provides a detailed sequence and analysis of the Federal debacle.

Read carefully and make your own assessment as to whether or not Jamaica would have remained for the long haul in a West Indies Federation debacle to which Norman Manley had devoted considerable energy in pursuit of the Federal objective. His party was divided at a time when increasing tensions and challenges at home demanded the full attention of a united party.

The recent decision by the British electorate to leave the European Union (EU) has spurred an urge to re-visit Norman Manley's decision to hold a referendum in 1961.

There is a critical difference between the 1961 Referendum in Jamaica and BREXIT. The 1961 Referendum was called before independence was achieved so that the Jamaican

people could enter independence with the confidence that the will of the majority had prevailed.

Manley's approach also created the basis for national unity and a shared understanding of Jamaica's future as an Independent State.

"It was the right thing to do. One act of democracy in practice on a crucial occasion is worth a thousand protestations." – NW maintained.

A proper comparison would be with Harold Wilson's Referendum in the U.K. on its entry to the EU and At CHOGM in Jamaica 1977 – the implications to the Commonwealth were fully ventilated.

This Second U.K. Referendum has resulted in crippling uncertainty about the future and the entire British political system is in turmoil and disarray.

Brexit came 43 years after EU membership.

Norman Manley has had his share of blame for his commitment to democracy which deprived him and the PNP

of the right “to take Jamaica to the brink of the river but not across it.”

He has never been given full credit for his recognition that unity and social cohesion, the prerequisites for independent Jamaica to succeed, could only have been laid by a referendum before independence. Once the people had spoken he committed his entire being and mobilized his party to honour the decision of the people with the fixity of purpose that had characterized all his endeavours.

Instead of asking whether he was outfoxed – Let us all applaud Manley’s statesmanship and foresight instead.

Unlike the British who had no strategy for exit, NW already had a plan B.

Once the Brexit decision has been taken, we in Jamaica and the Caribbean can no longer wait and see what Britain and the E.U. will do. We must have our own response.

In today's world, it must be regional. By acting separately, rather than in concert, "No one will take any notice of us.

What of our trade and investment relationships with Britain itself!?

The Commonwealth of Nations – its vast size and wide outreach – 54 nations with billions of people.

Many of us belong to the ACP which already has within its framework a scope for intra ACP development – admittedly under-utilised.

India – an emerging giant;

Australia; New Zealand, Canada, South Africa – developed countries.

We must explore new possibilities with them.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

There is another question which cannot escape our attention

– The BREXIT Campaign raised the question -

Sovereignty – Vs the European Court of Justice.

The No campaigners argued that a Foreign Court undermined the supremacy of the UK Parliament to legislate the laws which govern Great Britain.

Does that argument not make the case compelling for us to depart from the imperial corridors of the Privy Council in order to exercise our sovereignty?

We of the P.N.P. have long supported the removal of the Monarchy

The last Throne Speech indicates a willingness of the Administration to make the transition long overdue, but said nothing about the CCJ as our Final Court.

We should be reminded that the decisions of the Judicial Privy Council are couched as advice to the Queen for acceptance or rejection on the appeal to Her Majesty.

You cannot light up the chalice in Buckingham Palace and let the Downing Street Privy Council dictate what you can inhale and when to exhale.

The incongruity cannot stand.

I speak for myself – not for the PNP – my views are my own. I say it would be a betrayal of Norman's trust to abolish the Monarchy and still retain the Privy Council - to have one without the other.

Norman Manley had explained to me why the P.C. was never entrenched.

He never intended to retain the P.C. indefinitely, but wanted to exercise the freedom to replace it by a simple majority when the Region settled the future of the existing Federal Court.

The Imperatives of Political Renewal

Whether in Jamaica, Great Britain, U.S.A. – throughout the world – the popular appeal is for change and renewal in the political arena.

Following the results of February 25th

No one can challenge the urgent need to renew, recruit and rebrand.

He had wanted to go after the 1962 elections but the party would not hear of it. So it passed a vote of confidence.

Here, I only pose the question: “What are the lessons we can learn from the renewal process which Norman Manley launched in 1967?”

After losing the 1967 elections no one could dissuade him from what he considered his duty: “to launch the renewal process to make way for the next generation to take over.

In 1938 – Howard Cooke	23
Richard Hart	21
Ken Hill	29
NW was the ripe age of	45

So at the Success Club on Wildman Street, Manley, Blake, Coore, Dudley became VPs. It was a changing of the guards.

I entered the race that morning and garnered 55 votes to place eleventh.

NW formally launched the renewal process with the immediate appointment of the Appraisal Committee, and mandated it to complete the work in time to report to the Party’s annual conference in September.

For the first time Glasspole, Ivan Lloyd, Wills Isaacs, William Seivright were not among the Vice Presidents.

The work was completed within the time frame. I cannot express the awesome feeling of privilege and responsibility on being chosen to chair and present the Appraisal Report to Annual Conference, which adopted its recommendations and fixed a time-table for implementation.

That was fifty years ago. We are now in our sixth political Administration in ten years. The sustained national demand for renewal is not limited to a single political party but extends to the national political class. The electorate demands accountability and neither social origins nor past services can compensate for the failure to deliver.

The renewal that is required goes beyond the simple substitution of the old with the young. The transition must be orderly to benefit from the combination of experience and fresh insights.

Norman Manley designed a vehicle to provide the nation with a policy framework for a national development process that was inclusive. It fought to create that environment in

which all Jamaicans would be able to seize opportunities for social advancement and economic empowerment.

That vehicle is now in need of a total overhaul. It requires a retrofitted engine.

Norman Manley, while accepting full responsibility for electoral defeat, made sure that the Party never lost its way. To fulfil its mission, the Party which NW led, must repair, rebuild and reignite the sparks of change.

Julian Robinson's Report Group must be considered and once accepted, the Party has to immediately and seriously embark on the implementation phase.

The Party has to generate new energy, refine its message to embrace the demand for the voices of our young people to be heard and retune every instrument in our political orchestra. The mantra – organize, organize, organize – as NW proclaimed at every stage of his leadership. He instilled that in me.

SUMMARY QUOTES

Bertram's Book establishes the monumental contribution of N.W. Manley in the architectural framework of modern Jamaica.

"To the extent that an individual can symbolize a social process, Norman Manley symbolized Jamaica's march to independence.

His sustained pursuit of excellence, his iron-clad integrity and his fixity of purpose provided the emerging nation with an example of political leadership that earned him national and international acclaim. His phenomenal intellectual and physical output extended popular conception of human capacity. The breadth of his scholarship, the range of his intellect and his precision of thought made him tower over all of his contemporaries and enriched the lives of both his and succeeding generations."

“Manley began with a vision of where he would like his people to go, and devoted his entire life to getting them there. It was a vision of ‘self-government’ which could only be realized by the people consciously making the choice to break with three centuries of colonialism that had brought them to their present state, and face the hard road of political organization. At every stage in the process of decolonization, his exhortation to the people was to develop “your own capacities, your own powers and leadership and your own people to the stage where they are capable of administering their own affairs.” *Arnold Bertram - The Making of Modern Jamaica.*

Let us reflect on NW's final Address to the Annual P.N.P. Conference.

"Looking back...over the years, may I declare that they have been great years. I have known all things in politics the hard way...I would not have chosen my road in life in any other way. I affirm of Jamaica that we are a great people...patient and strong, quick to anger, quick to forgive, lusty and vigorous, but with deep reserve of loyalty and love, and a deep capacity for steadiness under stress, and for joy in all things that make life good and blessed." - September 1968

COMMENTARY

N.W.MANLEY AND THE BUILDING OF MODERN JAMAICA

Bertram's Book –

A fascinating study of seminal importance.

It is the splendid result of diligent research.

The full story of Norman Manley – the student, the scholar, the military soldier, the brilliant Lawyer, the axeman, the athlete, the politician, the patriarch, the dreamer, the builder, the cultural icon, the National Hero – is revealed within the panorama of slavery and the contours of a perpetual struggle by the people from whom NW sprang to be released from the hardships and inequities which the plantation system imposed.

It identifies a number of persons who had such a profound influence on Norman – the Author, the catalyst and the anchor in the building of a Modern Jamaica

Reginald Myrie Murray – his tutor at Jamaica College.

O. T. Fairclough, who eventually convinced NW to take the helm of a political party and lead in the building of a participatory democracy.

Noel Nethersole – a colleague of unshakeable loyalty and courage.

Read the Book

It addresses frontally

- Issues of colour
- Expulsion of the 4Hs
- The Federal debacle
- The emergence of Black Nationalism and the mounting cry for Repatriation
- The bitter agony of Defeat

It is captivating, with an admirable fluidity.

Provides penetrating insights to guide us in the journey ahead.

Affords a ringseat to every major step and reversal – from birth to death.

It is imperative not only to buy it, but to read it and be inspired by what we learn from this seminal work of sound historiography of the man from Roxburgh to Nomdmi.

"Great men (and women) make history but only such history as it is possible for them to make. Their record of achievements is limited by the necessities of their environment. To portray the limits of these necessities and the realization of all possibilities is the true business of the historian." - Dr. Carlton Davis -

Classical style and insightful overview.

The historian within Arnold Bertram has cleared the Bar. He has truly answered the call.

Let the final words of NW resound:

“Bless this dear land and bless our people now
and forever more.”