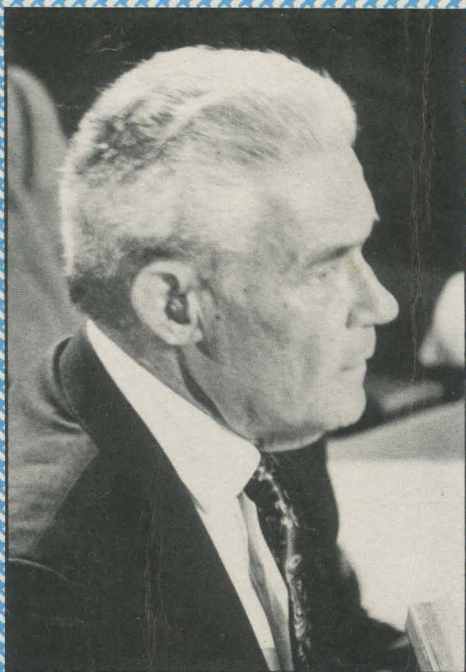


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**Address to Parliament  
by Rt. Hon. Michael Manley P.C., M.P.  
Prime Minister of Jamaica**

**Gordon House  
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May I begin by basing my opening remarks on what has been said by the Leader of the House, and by thanking the House for its indulgence. Though I daresay that I may, having listened to that learned dissertation about me, be making my remarks under false pretences, because I really do not intend to explain again what I am about to do, having done that more than once before. So I am going to crave the leave of the House to breach the indulgence and allow me to make some other remarks.

### A RARE AND EXTRAORDINARY PRIVILEGE

I would like to begin by thanking you and the Speaker himself, who I know is off the island, and all your distinguished predecessors, for the many kindnesses over the years. I want to thank the Members on both sides of the House, for similar indulgences, similar kindnesses, similar tolerances, and to say that it has been a very rare and extraordinary privilege to have been allowed to serve in this Chamber, and, I must say, to have made many, many friends on both sides of the aisle.

The first and the last of anything are peculiarly difficult, and I would be wanting in frankness if I claimed to remember what exactly I talked about the first time, 30 years ago. It is perhaps best forgotten anyway. But I remember that was a difficult moment and, in spite of all the years of experience, this is also a difficult moment. But I must say that, during the last ten days, people have been extraordinarily kind, both in the Chamber and outside. In fact, they have been so kind that I once or twice caught myself wondering why I did not do this more often? And I will ask the Opposition not to comment on that, please.

I would also very specially like to thank that extraordinary group of public servants that it has been my privilege to work with

over the years, and people who have occupied positions like Governor of the Bank of Jamaica, Financial Secretary, Permanent Secretaries in the Office of the Prime Minister.

I wish also to say that I think this country has been extremely fortunate in this sense. Much has been said of general levels of civil service efficiency and so on, and, like any service in the world, it is not perfect. But I have a very strong feeling that, certainly at its upper levels – and at the levels with which I have worked most closely, some of which have already been mentioned – I would dare to say that Jamaica has produced a level of public servant second to none in the world.

If I could be permitted, I will devote the indulgence to reflections, not on any concrete thing happening now, as it is really not appropriate for me to do that. There will be plenty of opportunity for everybody who will still be here next week to continue with that exercise. Having spent virtually my entire adult life in the public arena – in public life, in the trade union movement and in politics – I would like to offer reflections on where I think we are as a country, and on things that perhaps we need to look at and to do.

#### BROAD CONSENSUS ABOUT FUNDAMENTAL MODELS

I would like to start by saying something that I feel very strongly about, and which I do not think would have occurred to me 30 years ago, perhaps even 20 years ago. I believe that the greatest thing that a country can achieve is broad consensus, convergence and agreement about the fundamental models within which public activity and, indeed, private activity take place. Having said this, one is often in danger of confusion arising as to the difference between a model, and proper and vigorous debate about what is the best way to make the model work.

A model, we must always remember, flows from some set of principles that we all share, and a broad structural framework that we create around those principles and arising from them. When a country is capable of agreeing on its models, it is then, I suggest, and then alone, that it becomes capable of great achievement. A country that is quarreling about its fundamental arrangements cannot devote the energy and the direction to the achievement of progress.

So, as I have grown older, I have come to think it of critical value to any country, and to our country in particular, when certain fundamental models come to be agreed upon. Yet I notice that sometimes commentators cannot draw the distinction between a model and vigorous democratic debate, argument, or even quarrelling, about what is the best way to make that model work.

I would like to comment on the two things that I think are fundamental to Jamaica's future at this time, and I hope they will be guarded by everybody.

#### A POLITICAL MODEL

I remember that in 1968 my late father made a very famous speech, a speech that has come to be known as "Mission Accomplished". Some people have given that speech a rather superficial interpretation, as if all he meant was that he, and Sir Alexander, and all the heroes on both sides, had won political independence.

Of course, that was an important part of it, but they had done something far more fundamental than win independence. They had really, between them and their colleagues, some of whom are still in this Chamber, had really created a political model. They

had won independence, but they had founded it in an agreed set of principles about democracy, about participation, about the role of parliament in decision-making, and they had really, in a sense, brought into that model a government structure.

That was 30 years ago, and now tremendous enquiry is directed towards that political model. But when you examine all the debates about it, nobody is challenging the principles on which it is based – the principles of democracy, and of the role of parliament, and of broad outlines of government structure.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL EXERCISE

Recently the Leader of the Opposition and I were sharing the view that the Constitutional Commission that has been created in this House by joint action – and, in fact, using a particular device suggested by him – has not yet attracted that much interest. I was reflecting on that, and it led me back to the fact that we really have to look at three elements in a political model. One is the set of rules that govern it – which is the Constitution. The second is the political structure that decides how you take decisions. The third is the government structure that decides how you implement the decisions when they have been taken.

What then occurred to me is that two very important parallel exercises are taking place. We may have to work these exercises into the deeper process. What the Stone Committee has done is to raise a number of fundamental questions about the political process, the role of the parliamentarian, and the role of Parliament itself.

I hope that those who are here are going to follow those recommendations with deep interest, and try to involve the public, because now is a time of unease in the country, some of

it perhaps justified, a lot perhaps not.

I was happy to receive the report of the Nettleford Committee, which we are broadly calling the Committee on Governance. This committee is making some very interesting suggestions, and offering a very probing analysis of government. It is very important, because the fact of the matter is that our implementing structure was really borrowed from colonialism, went through various adaptations, in the more statist emphasis of the 1970s, later variations in more market-oriented policies in the 1980s, but has never really been subject to the question, what is it that you really want the government to do? Do you really want those statutory boards? If so, what for? etc.

I have a feeling that, when we work on the Stone Committee's work and the Nettleford Committee's work, and begin to get a sense of what we think needs to be adapted, that all of a sudden the constitutional exercise will take on meaning. Constitutions can be very remote, abstract in the public mind, unless you begin to talk about what is the role of a parliamentarian, what is the proper structure for a government to take, to see whether that may have a bearing on your constitutional arrangements.

#### TWO REFLECTIONS OF MY OWN

Before I leave the subject of the Constitution, I want to just offer two reflections of my own. Neither is new, and I don't even know to what extent they particularly have support, and they are not by any means the only things that are important. But I remain, quite unapologetically, committed to the view that in our country, here in this Caribbean, with our social background and history, we ought to repatriate the symbols of our sovereignty and become a republic. I am reconciled to the thought that it may not

happen in my lifetime, but I will be quite unrepentant on my way to my maker.

The other thing that I feel, and have thought since the 1970s, is that we do not organize the use of our political manpower resources in the most intelligent way at the present time. Nothing is going to persuade me that it is sensible to ask a person who has to carry massive ministerial responsibility to also carry massive and unending constituency responsibility. I do not agree, I do not think it rational, I do not think it is intelligent, and I just hope that all of you are not going to be bound to the past.

I can think of many ways in which we could imaginatively create a double-trenched political system in which some opt for both, some opt particularly for constituency representation, some, by some process of selection, can concentrate on ministerial work, and, indeed, some can graduate from the one to the other. I believe this will make for a more efficient system.

#### A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MODEL

I turn now to the second half of the comment of my late father in that 1968 speech. When he talked about the mission accomplished in terms of political freedom, independence and what I am reminding everybody was really also a political model, he spoke of the need then to turn to the social and economic reform of the country. One has to really put all this in the context of a social and economic agenda.

Of course, that is a much harder thing to do. In fact Jamaica, like many other countries, has been through tremendous searching for some basis for consensus, some basis for convergence about an economic and social model. I feel very deeply that, although it has taken nearly 30 years to do it – going through the

1970s with great emphasis on social things, less success in economy, going through the 1980s with less emphasis on social things, more on evolving a greater clarity in the economic model – all of that is now a part of the fabric of history.

But the fact of the matter is that a model now exists. Again, I believe that we must be clear what that model is, and that we must thank our stars and our God that there is a model that we can agree upon, and have debate about its implementation, the best way to run it, and so on and so forth. Once we agree on an economic and social model that ensures that the country is not wrenched between fundamental divergencies of direction, you will be amazed to see how this country will take off and develop.

Now what is the model? It is a model that is market-driven, with a production, wealth-creation system based on entrepreneurship and, of necessity, focused on exports and foreign exchange savings. The objective of the model is efficiency, and the model is demanded by the fact that we have to be able to compete in the world. I pause to add, it is a model that is rooted in our culture.

#### THE FOUNDATION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

There is a social side to the model, and I would dare to suggest that it cannot be challenged, that if you can achieve the greatest levels of economic efficiency in a market-driven environment, in an entrepreneurial environment, you still have got to dedicate the model to something.

I would dare to assert that nobody in the political system challenges the fact that the purpose of the model is to create the foundation for social justice; that the foundation of the model is to promote the reality of equality in our land, and, most of all, that

it is for the purpose of enabling the empowerment of the smallest people of this country. And in that, the state must be the regulator, the facilitator, and, in many areas, the major actor.

#### NO LONGER A SUBJECT OF QUARREL

Once that model is there, you will have continuity, not about how to implement it, but about the model itself. In my farewell utterances, in which I think I have concentrated importantly on what is fundamental to the process taking place, I have said that the model is no longer a subject of quarrel. I have been a little surprised to see that several people, in commenting on my statements, have interpreted that to mean that I was trying to suggest that successors, from whatever quarter, could have no policies.

I have really never been quite that naive. Of course there will be policies. Of course there will be variations of implementation. I hope there will be new energy, new ideas, our constantly learning from experience to make the model work better. What I assert, and you watch history and you'll see that I am right, is that the model I have described, market-driven, entrepreneurial, devoted to social justice, working for empowerment, releasing forces of manpower training and education, working through the different agencies to incorporate people in the productive process, that model will not change, I dare to suggest, for the rest of this century.

In the sense that a model has been created, I think that all of us who are of a succeeding generation really ourselves have accomplished a mission. Now the rest is for implementation and how to make it work. There is a large agenda: MIDA has just started, land reform, the Employee Shareholder Ownership

Programme (ESOP) referred to a while ago, the consumer coalition.

I regret that I will not be here when two very important things come to be: one is the Fair Competition Act and the other is that long-delayed but critical instrument of justice for our artists, the Copyright Act. I really regret that I will not be a part of that. And we must remember that, in the future, we have to find the means to regulate private utility monopolies, etc.

#### LIFT OUR WORK OUT OF POLITICAL CONTENTION

With all that to come, there is much to do and much to be improved, but I hope also that we will learn to try to lift certain areas of our work out of political contention. I would love to see us evolve to the point where our education policy is absolutely national and the focus of convergence and consensus.

I would love to see us work to the point where there is a manifest sense of security-force objectivity, also taken out of the arena of political contention. We must never allow the rule of law to be tampered with by any form of political influence or interference. We have got to face the question, how do we get community structures – not necessarily local government, but community structures that are rooted in community experience – lifted out of the environment of political conflict, so that they can become the focus of united effort, co-operative effort, within communities.

I think we are going to have some big things to deal with. I think there are issues about the management of the financial system – I confess that this is not a settled issue in my own mind. In the future there is going to be much discussion about the role of the Bank of Jamaica, as to the extent to which that institution

should be lifted out of the arena of political management, and, as in some countries, put on a different basis. This is a very complex issue, because it is a fundamental instrument of activist intervention. Yet there are arguments the other way, and I know you are going to have to deal with them. I will watch with fascination to see what you decide.

#### COMMENTS ON REGIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

As I am near the end of my stay, I want to make a couple of comments on regionalism and internationalism. I want to declare my own conviction about regionalism. I know there is always a debate about how irritating things can be, dealing in this, that, or the other regional association, and I understand that. I myself counsel the longer view. I do not think that it is so important that there be common market arrangements in the future. They are there, they will continue, they are important up to a point, and, to the extent that they facilitate economic formation and development, they are good.

I think what we need to do, and I really feel this very deeply, is to take all those steps that really encourage economic integration, that is to say the pulling together, in rational alliance, of the productive capabilities of the region. That what you want to do is to create an atmosphere that is conducive to corporate integration, an atmosphere that is conducive to co-operation, making common systems of ownership in the region, to rationalize the use of their resources and exploit economies of scale.

Therefore, I think that the process that encourages corporate integration is what is critical for us to work on. If we do not do it, we are going to find it very hard to compete in that world out there. To the extent that we do it, we will be more efficient and more competitive. That is why I do not regard the North

American free-trade arrangement as a necessary enemy. Of course, it has got to be watched with care, of course we have to see that there is sensitivity to our situation as it expands. But I believe that we have to be ready to be participants, and not be marginalized by it.

They talk about a new international order. I make one comment – a lot of what is said is rhetoric. The only fundamental change that the international order needs is more voice for the less powerful... that is what we need. That is what we have to work for, however long it takes – more voice for those, like us, who are less powerful.

#### REFLECT ON OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM

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

I also think that, as we grow more mature, one is happy to see the signs of it: a greater ability to distinguish between the dictates of partisanship, and to make them yield to patriotism. That is fundamental. And I must say that there have been striking examples set to our country, in that regard, by the trade union movement. Equally, if we cannot stop the worst tribalism, you will never get effective community action. I hope that never, ever again will we sink into political violence.

As I speak, I am very conscious that our calling is under tremendous attack. I suppose the politician has never been more cruelly the target of every kind of criticism, obviously some founded, a lot totally unfounded.



I would suggest two things: one, I think you would do well always to listen, and be receptive, to criticisms. I would hate to see our calling descend into a sort of angry "bunker" mentality, where, because a lot of the attack is unwarranted, strident, internal and, frankly, sometimes just boring, that it nonetheless gets us into a defensive mode. Remember always, we have to learn, we have to improve, we are not perfect. And many criticisms are well founded.

At the same time, I would urge you, particularly the younger ones, don't allow the attacks to make you lose confidence in yourself. Hold onto the simple guiding truth that you have one mission in the end, and that is service – no other mission! He who wants power for itself does not deserve it, and funnily enough, he who dedicates his life to service through power will probably depart with some honour.

#### NATIONAL HONOURS

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

One of these honours is to go to a person who has really brought extraordinary distinction to our educational work, a man who is of the highest repute internationally and who is now making a tremendous impact on the reorganization of our

university. Since he is not a Jamaican, it would be an honorary award. Frankly, his contribution has been almost more international than purely Jamaican. The Cabinet has agreed to allow me to give an honorary award, an honorary Order of Merit, to Sir Alistair McIntyre.

The second honour is to someone that my friend opposite and I will, I think, feel identically over. He is a person who, I think, has become the most extraordinary industrial relations conciliator in the history of this country. He has probably saved this country untold millions in lost production by his patience, by the extraordinary confidence he commands among the workers of this country, the trade unions of this country, and the employers of this country. Therefore I have decided to award the Order of Jamaica to Mr William Isaacs.

The third honour is to a lady who has made a tremendous contribution to theatre, as an administrator, as a writer and as an artiste. She has given a sterling contribution in journalism, and has always had a quality of shining and unblemished patriotism. To Mrs Barbara Gloudon, the Order of Jamaica.

Fourthly, to a leader of the church who has, over the years, contributed profoundly to the ecumenical process in Jamaica, and who has, more and more, become a major, -passionate and convinced social activist. He is a person that I regard as being, in a very profound sense, the heir to the great church social activism typified by Pope John 23. I therefore wish that Archbishop Samuel Carter should receive the Order of Jamaica.

Finally, from within this Chamber, one who, like me, comes to the end of a career, in his case a very distinguished career, a career that began as a political activist under that great figure Wills Isaacs; one who became a federal Member of Parliament, and has been one of the finest mayors we have ever known, and one of

the finest Ministers of Local Government we have ever known – the Order of Jamaica to my great friend Ralph Brown.

### THANKS AND BLESSINGS

I thank you, Mr Speaker, for the indulgence; I thank the Opposition for its good-natured patience; I thank all my colleagues, who have been my friends for so many years – I thank you all for allowing me the privilege of leaving... for a season.

I say good-bye to this Chamber with total confidence in Jamaica's future. We are a great country, a remarkable country; we've known what it is to deal with hardship, and we are going to overcome it, as a country. I wish God's blessing on this House, and all the Members on both sides. I especially wish God's blessing on my successor, and I wish God's blessing on the country and its people.

Thank you very much.



**jis**

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