MARCH 9, 1997

# TRIBUTE TO A VISIONARY

Michael Norman (Joshua) Manley 1924-1997

A JAMAICA HERALD PUBLICATION

### The World has lost a Thinker



Sir Howard Cooke

Ith the passing of The Right Honourable Michael Manley, Q.M., P.C., Jamaica, the Caribbean, the Third World and, indeed, the world has lost a giant, marked by his caring for the poor, the needy, the dispossessed.

Born into a life of relative privilege, he could have used his natural and family assets to ensure for himself a life of luxury and ease. Instead he threw himself into the struggle for the betterment of those desperately in need, those subject to mistreatment or indifference from persons possessed of economic might. He hated poverty whether of the pocket, the mind or the conscience.

With that betterment as a constant vision he took on all comers, at the community and parochial levels, the national level, the regional level and the international level. He did so in a way which sought not only the goal for betterment but fought to do so in a way in which the players of the day could live with the outcome.

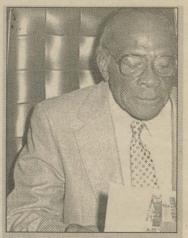
He tried to be a bridge over troubled waters but would never do so at the cost of marginalising the dispossessed and so he was a tower of strength in Jamaica, in the Caribbean community, in the non-aligned movement in the efforts to reconcile the North and South and one could never forget his efforts against the evil of apartheid.

The leaders of the world always sought his response to the current world situation and while being very analytical, he never denied his forthright assessment of any situation.

The world has really lost a thinker who brought new dimensions to the political scene and a new approach to economics at the world level.

His approach to change on the world scene has served as a model statement throughout the world

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



Florizel Glasspole

### His was a star studded Career

Former Governor General Sir Florizel A. Glasspole

Death has claimed the life a great, distinguished and outstanding son of Jamaica, The Right Honourable Michael Manley, former Primer Minister of Jamaica.

Despite our knowledge of his recent incapacitation, his death still leaves us with a sense of shock and a deep sense of loss. He has made history as a giant in our national life as well as in regional and international spheres.

He was a great patriot, consummate trade unionist, shrewd political leader and an outstanding national and international statesman.

His was a star-studded career. He had tremendous empathy and sympathy for the underprivileged and fought for them continuously wherever and whenever it was demanded.

In parliament, whether as Prime Minister of Leader of Opposition, he loomed larger than life. Blessed with the gift of spellbinding oratorical skills he made his presence felt on both the national and international stage.

Now he has left centre stage and Jamaica must mourn her irreparable loss.

I tender the great sympathy of my wife and myself to his dear wife Glynne, and to his children and his brother.

Long may his name live in our history, and my his soul rest in peace.

# In tribute to a visionary

ith the death of Former Prime Minister of Jamaica on Thursday January 6, the Caribbean lost two of its most outstanding charismatic leaders within 24 hours.

The 72 year-old political leader lost his six-year battle with prostate cancer at 11.45 pm following the death of 78-year-old Guyana's president Cheddi Jagan early Thursday morning.

The Government has declared Friday March 14 to Sunday March 16 a period of mourning for Mr Manley who will be buried in the national heroes park on Sunday March 16. The state funeral service will take place at the Holy Trinity Cathedral on North street in Downtown Kingston.

Hid body will lie in state at the National Arena on Friday, March 14 and Saturday March 154, between 10:am and 4pm on both days. As of last Friday the Jamaican flag was flying at half-mast as a mark of respect for Michael Manley.

On Saturday a condolence book was opened at Jamaica House and at the Ministry of Foreign affairs tomorrow. Condolence book swill be opened at parish council offices islandwide on Tuesday until the day of the funeral.

Born on December 10, 1924, in St Andrew, Jamaica, Michael Manley was an offspring of suburban Jamaica, just as his father, Norman, was a product of peasant or rural Jamaica.

He was educated at St Andrew Preparatory School and Jamaica College to which he was admitted in 1935. After leaving J.C., he worked for six months on the editorial staff of the nationalist weekly newspaper "Public Opinion", the unofficial news-organ of his father's political party, before registering as a student at McGill University in Canada. But the week after registration, he volunteered for service in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and was trained as a wireless operator and air gunner. Fortunately or unfortunately, he graduated only just before the war ended in Europe in May 1945. So undaunted by the fact that he was denied active service in the European theatre of war, Michael Manley volunteered for the Far-Eastern theatre of war (the Japanese front).

His plan was however doomed to disappointment, because the Royal Canadian Air Force and Army, which were volunteer forces, decided to demobilise their young recruits in order to make way for the men who had been on active war service. No more Canadian air crew committed to the war, which was still being fought on the Japanese front. Michael Manley received the usual courtesy; was thanked for his voluntary offer and demobilised about one month after VE (Victory-in-Europe) Day (May 1945). This war had lasted six years.

Young Michael Manley returned to Jamaica and again worked for "Public Opinion" newspaper for another six months. Then he was off and away again — this time to London, England, where he subsequently graduated from the London School of Economics (L.S.E.) B. Sc. (Econ.) in 1949. His special subject was Government and Political Science.

Michael Manley did not realise his youthful ambition to be a political journalist. But he nevertheless in his 44th year, became President

of the people's National Party in succession to his father, the late Norman Washington Manley, who was proclaimed a national hero by the Jamaican Government in October 1969.

It is equally significant that he reached the top post in his party vie the trade union movement, in which he served as Vice-President and Island Supervisor of the National Workers Union

Manley's political career spanned some 30 years with an unprecedented three terms in the prime ministerial office, the only Jamaican political leader to achieve this to date. He first entered parliament in 1967 when he won the central Kingston constituency and by 1992 he led the PNP to power in a landslide victory over the Jamaica Labour Party.

Manley is remembered by the region for his sterling contributions in fostering the spirit of regional economic integration through CARICOM, for his bold step in embracing democratic socialism an ideology which incurred the political wrath of the so-called defenders of the status quo.

Internationally, he was recognised a son of the leading spokesmen of the socialist international where he served as vice president and emerged as a fierce critic of the structural adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund, IMF that were said to be aggravating the social and economic problems of the Caribbean.

Michael Manley is the only West Indian politician to have given up leadership of his party and quit as prime minister in 1992.

It is to the memory of this great man that the Jamaica Herald would like to devote this supplement "Tribute to a visionary."

### **PUBLICATION TEAM**

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### Manley the Politician

Manley's first campaign for elective office in 1967, took place against a background of what was dubbed the "west Kingston wars." Darrell Levy in his book, Michael Manley..the making of a leader recalls that Manley's third wife, the former Barbara LeWars, played a major role in persuading him to run.

A poll conducted in what was

then central Kingston constituency, now east central Kingston showed that Party heavy weight the late Wills Isaacs would lose. Consequently, the party hierarchy decided to run Manley in central Kingston and Isaacs in St Ann. Manley was privy to discussions within his party on the violence and its remedy. Manley was convinced that the JLP was responsible

and his party had retaliated in self defence. It was said that his supporters pressured him to supply them with guns- a request which he refused.

Manley opted to work with the police and avoid violence. The campaign which took on a religious tone. His late father, Oxford-trained Barrister Norman Manley made one broadcast entitled 'Praise the

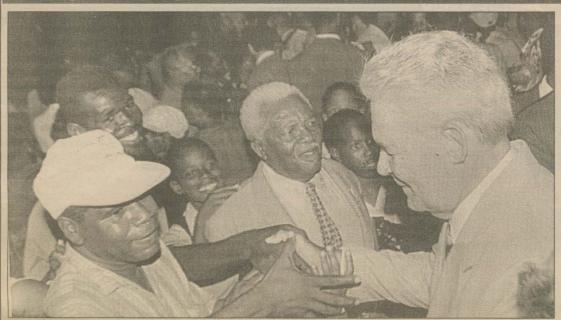
Lord for the day of deliverance has come." The song "we shall overcome was sung as mass meetings at which Manley preached that the rich people had captured the JLP and were behind the violence in the lower class areas. Historians recalled that Manley could have lost if the JLP candidate E. K. Powell was better organised. However, he scraped through by 43 votes out of 10,000. Manley's victory in 1967 paved the way for his bid for leadership of the party and country. His first hurdle was crossed in February 1969 when he succeeded his father as party leader after defeating moderate Lawyer Viv Blake 376 to 155 votes. In his acceptance speech, Manley emphasized equality, social justice, the problems faced by youth, crime, victimization, unemployment, the scandal of the electoral system and corruption and the arrogance of the JLP leadership as his main con-

Now sitting at the top of his party, Manley dubbed "Joshua" selected more biblical themes as he embarked on the 1972 election campaign. Songs like "beat down babylon," 'Small Axe,' and 'Better must Come,' were some of the popular songs used in the campaign. The PNP won 56 percent of the vote, capturing 37 of the 53 seats. The party won majorities from all urban classes. After the election then JLP chairman and later editor of the Daily Gleaner accused some unnamed PNP lead-

ers of "terrorism; in marginal constituencies where the JLP lost preliminary counts such as in northeast Westmoreland-where a JLP winning margin of 32 votes became a deficit of 44 votes on recount. The period of the 1970s was undoubtedly the heyday of Manley's political career. Manley's regime invested heavily in social programmes an Programmes fighting poverty. such as special employment programme, skill training programme, JAMAL, community health aides, free secondary education, land lease were among a plethora of social programmes initiated by the government. On the international scene, Manley went to bat for the New International Economic Order, Non Aligned Movement among others which formed the plank of the PNP foreign policy.

Manley's push for social reforms was met with resistance locally and internationally. At home the political picture was undermined by gloomy economic crisis, world inflation, increase oil prices, high cost of imports, decline of tourism and bauxite and the flight of capital. As a result GDP collapsed from 3.9 percent in 1974 to 0.4 in 1975. This trend continued right down to 1980 the year when Manley and the PNP was wiped by the JLP. After eight years in the political wilderness Manley emerged to defeat the JLP in 1989. However, two years later he quit public life due to ill health.

### MAN OF THE PEOPLE



Michael Manley greeting members of a massive audience at one of his mass rallies. Manley was that dynamic speaker who could move a crowd through his rhetoric.

# Manley, a fighter for the less fortunate



Prime Minister P.J. Patterson

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

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

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

region and the wider world at large."

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

"Speaking for myself, I feel a deep sense of personal loss for someone who was my leader, my colleague and my friend. Nor can I forget the wider circle of colleagues, supporters and friends who now grieve."

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

## A towering political figure

ichael Manley's career spanned a life of public service characterised by revolutionary spirit. He was the anti-establishment man whether he was battling management on behalf of labour of the marketplace on behalf of the workplace.

"The spirit to rebel was underpinned by a deep sense of rejection of what he saw as injustice and what he felt should be attacked with moral outrage. This he did with supreme political oratory, punctuating his arguments with colourful phrases and rich intonation.

"Yet he was not just an angry man. The other side of his controversial personality was widely acknowledged charm which made conversation with him easy and even jocular, smooth in argument, rich in laughter.

"As a public leader, a role befitting his dominant personality, he was a galvanizing force. Many would say his true role was that of a motivator of people not a doer of deeds. He had both his share of victory and defeat in the causes he championed."

"He was my counterpart in



Opposition Leader Edward Seaga

political life moreso than anyone else. As unyielding adversaries we knew where we stood with each other as neither of us had the gift of hiding our feelings and reaction.

"When, in later life, he abandoned the socialist mission which he pursued with deep conviction for 30 years and embraced the market system as the most effective way to fight oppression and secure real benefits, the fire of earlier years was missing. If he became a repentant socialist, he

was also a reluctant capitalist."

"He endeavoured to raise self esteem, racial pride and political consciousness in the nation. He left this as a legacy which for many, was a mission accomplished.

"His deeds may be less cherished than his over-riding pursuit of he principles of his convictions and the strident, even militant, commitment with which he delivered his message."

"Undoubtedly, one of the Caribbean's towering political figures for 25 years, he left an indelible impression in the international arena on friend and foe of which there were many of both.

"Indeed, he was a man to be reckoned with on the world stage where he played a dominant role in the struggle against racism, particularly on the African continent.

"His passage leaves the nation to reflect on his life and his family to embrace his beneficience as father, husband and friend."

"My deepest sympathies and those of the Jamaica Labour Party to his widow, Glynne and his children, who I know grieve deepest of all."

# His battle with cancer

(The following article, written by the late Former Prime Minister Michael Manley shares his experience with coping with cancer. Here he showed the strength which was characteristic of the man, and the hope and encouragement he extended to persons battling cancer.)

ur struggles in life do not involve the elimination of death, nly its delay. And even the delay is only worthwhile if we something positive for as long as we have the chance.

Many developed countries have made great strides in accepting illness as an objective fact of life. In so doing, they have developed private support systems for patients and families who have their lives affected by serious diseases such as AIDS, cancer or other life-threatening conditions. With a few notable exceptions such as the Jamaica Cancer Society and the Jamaica AIDS Support Group, very little of this kind of community support is available in Jamaica. Having lived through my rather active medical history since the 1980s, a number of people have suggested that I might try to share some of what I have learned about coping with illness. I do so with some trepidation as I am no authority in any trained sense. On the other hand, I have accumulated a fair amount of experience. In fact, during the last 14 years I have had many opportunities to reflect upon the question: "What is the best way to handle illness?

One observes that there are three fairly typical reactions by people. Some go into denial and simply will not face the reality of what has happened to them. Others succumb to depression born out of fear. A third group begins by accepting reality, and bring their resources of common sense and intelligence to bear on the problem. A path based on reality as better for two

Firstly, medical science has made, and continues to make, incredible progress in the treatment of disease and if you react positively you set up an immediate alliance between yourself and the scientists, with your doctor acting as the broker. Secondly, a danger faced and understood is not nearly as frightening as one ignored and left to roam uncontrolled in the territory of

With the single exception of AIDS, cancer is the most terrifying of the common disease in the modern world. Yet, one of the things that has impressed me in recent years is the way that women are learning to deal with the possibility of breast and uterine cancer. It was not so long ago when these were seen as terrifying prospects, mostly shrouded in mystery, as women tended to look the other way and I prayed it would never be their problem. Then a number of women began to speak out. Their purpose was to dispel the aura of shame and embarrassment. Women were encouraged to take advantage of the huge strides made by science in the early detection and treatment of these cancers. I particularly remember Betty Ford, the wife of United States president, Gerald Ford, who wrote a book and began a public campaign to encourage women to deal with these problems.

### KEY — EARLY DETECTION

The key to the prospect of successful treatment of these diseases is early detection. Today, most women take Pap Tests and mammograms as a matter of course. This alliance between woman, doctors and medical science is a victory of common sense.

By contrast, I feel that men are a long way behind in accepting prostate cancer, the form of the disease that is peculiar to our gender and of which I have six years of experience. Once again, early detection is a critical factor. And here I wish to issue a warning. Many men, particularly after 40, are diagnosed as having an enlarged prostate. This is handled with a very simple surgical procedure and very often the accompanying biopsy reveals no cancerous activity. When this happens the patient must not treat the matter as a closed chapter. All too frequently men who have had the good fortune to learn that their condition was benign assume that they are permanently reprieved. Some maybe that fortunate. However, the successful removal of a benign growth in a p state is absolutely no indication that there will not be subsequent cancer.

My first word of advice to a man who has been through this experience and come out relieved, is that he must institute a system of regular checks with the doctor so that there is the earliest detection of any subsequent, less friendly, development. In fact, the time has come when all men should be tested once a year after the age of 40 just as women do with Pap Tests starting at an even earlier age.

#### THE NEWS

Let us turn to the time when it may be your misfortune to have your doctor tell you that you have the dreaded "C". You may have been sitting in his waiting room, tense and concerned. As he comes through the door with an expression of studied neutrality painted on his face, you will know that the news is not good. Then he will tell you that it is cancer, and in spite of the moment to prepare yourself, the news will hit you like a kick in the stomach.

Everyone reacts to bad news in his own way. Some may sort out their reactions quickly while others need time to internalise what they have heard.

Whether quick or slow it is imperative that one faces the danger of denial and fight off the feeling of depression. This is the moment to summon your capacity for reasoned response and to maintain a sense of perspective. For example, a quick review of the causes of death will remind you, as you fight back the terror of the moment, that people die from many causes, some with no warning at all.

Each of us can succumb to denial or depression. But, if you are aware of these dangers you have a better chance, through rational analysis, to achieve a state of calm and choose the path of knowledge. It is at this stage that you and your doctors become part of an alliance which puts together the most effective combination that is available to you as you face the battle which you must now

FIGHTING TEAM

Beverley Manley-4th wife

The team comprises six elements: your will your intelligence, your family, your doctors, the army of scientists who are working on cancer, and the relevant support group. If you are religious, there will be an indispensable seventh element: the God of your faith. This process of co-operation has important practical and psychological implications. When you and your doctors share knowledge and experience, you quickly learn how to help them help you. Furthermore, you find the psychological benefit "kick-

ing in". Instead of feeling adrift in a sea of misfortune,

When I learned that I had prostate cancer in 1990, I discovered the importance of taking the time to learn as much as I could about the disease. I

you develop the attitude of a combatant and what is more, a combatant who

found that this provided me with a great weapon in my own defence. You can come to know your own body and act as your own early detection system to alert your doctors to changes that may be taking place. For example, this can help them to know when a particular form of treatment is losing effectiveness and that the time for a new regime has arrived. If you permit the mood of denial, fear of being a bother to your doctor, or the fear of learning that a particular treatment is losing control of the disease, to determine your actions, you can sign your own early death warrant.

Of course you have to avoid the danger of hypochondria. But if you are in a combative, rather than a self-pitying mood, and if you have acquired enough knowledge about the disease you will be able to avoid driving your doctor and the people around you crazy as you cry "Wolf, wolf" at the slightest ache or pain.

Prostate cancer tends to be a form of the disease which progresses very slowly. Modern science has discovered a remarkable range of treatments which can be brought into play one after the other over many, many years. Furthermore, new answers are being developed constantly. The body

becomes like a citadel surrounded by many lines of defence. You and your doctors are the allied generals directing the defence; but your role is critical because you can also act as a sentry, watching the enemy and quick to report suspicious movements. I will not be so presumptuous as to talk about

> the various tests, such as the PSA reading from a blood sample, which are critical to early Nor will I go into the various forms of treatment which can range from surgery through hormonal and radiation therapy, all the way to Strontium 89 injections and chemotherapy. All doctors have a general sense of these things and there are many specialists who have it all at their fingertips. They can give you the details and you should read about it for yourself.

MOOD IS CRITICAL

In all of this, your mood is critical. There have been extensive studies in recent years that prove conclusively that there is an intimate relationship between a person's mood and their ability to fight illness of any kind.

Manley and his fifth wife

with his political son P.J.

Glyme shared this moment

The evidence is clear that people who succumb to depression do less well than people who remain up-beat. In all of this the tests show that those who can maintain a sense of humour do best of all.

Your attitude is important in ways that go far beyond you as an individual. The assault troops in your army may be the doctors and the scientists but the most important people of all the members of your family and your close friends. In many ways it is they who make the battle that you are trying to fight worthwhile. It is critical to remember that they hurt and worry for you, even more than you do for yourself. If you can remain up-beat and make them a part of the battle, you help them cope with their terror and sense of helplessness. Also, when you app ach it in a cheerful but realistic way you show respect for the pain that they are feeling for you. In the end you will feel better and you will all develop a sustaining camaraderie. It is always good to remember that life will continue to involve opportunities for activity, work, enjoyment and sheer fun. The more of this the family shares the greater the bonds it creates and the easier to keep the sadness and worry

Having said all that, and I believe all of it passionately, there remains the fear which we all feel from the first moment that we learn that we have been invaded by a life-threatening disease. There will be the private moments when you wonder about the progressions of the illness. The early fear will return and you will feel very alone.

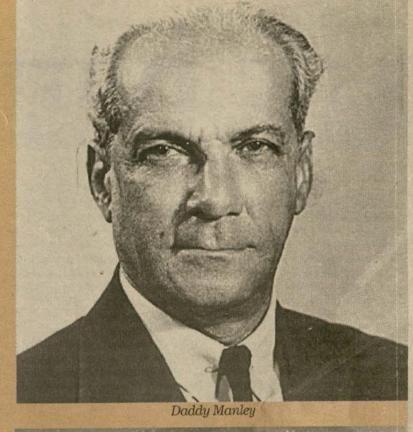
It is at these moments that you have to summon up your will and make up your mind not to give in to your greatest enemy which : the depression that is always lurking at the edge of your consciousness. I find it useful to 'bring up' my plans mentally, as you would on a computer screen. In my case this may involve a book that I'm think of writing, a family holiday that we are planning, or educational targets for the younger members of my family. The best antidote for fear is the positive identification of targets and hopes and objectives for yourself and those who are close to you. When you do this you will be amazed to see how quickly you return to a mood which is positive, determined and above all, grateful for the fact that you are alive, active and still much capable of living a useful life.

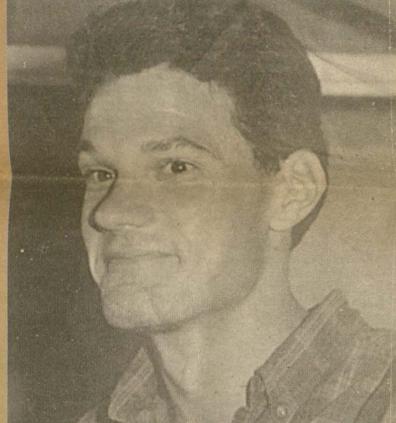
This will help you to remember that our struggles in life do not involve the elimination of death, only its delay. And even the delay is only worthwhile if we do something positive for as long as we have the chance.

Michael Manley



Natasha (daughter) and Douglas Manley (brother)





Joseph Manley (older son)



# Manley the trade unionist

hen Ken Hill, then President of the Trades Union Congress of Jamaica, passed through London on his way to an Executive Meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Rome in May, 1948, Michael Manley who was studying in England then, was associated with him in trying to obtain from British trade unions financial as well as moral support of the TUC bus strike in Kingston.

Inevitably, he became involved in the "split" which occurred in the PNP in 1952, when the PNP broke with the TUC and promoted the organisation of the National Workers Union (NWU) For Michael Manley this was a "traumatic experience". In that year, he addressed more than 100 PNP group meetings throughout the island, mostly in the Corporate Area of Kingston & St Andrew. So when the NWU was formed in April 1952, arising out of the crisis between the PNP and the TUC, Michael Manley was asked to assist by addressing NWU organising meetings. In that way, he became involved in a strike by the workers employed by Ariguanabo Textile Mills at Spanish Town. This was his first practical experience of and involvement in a workers' strike (1952). Later that year, he became involved in a three-cornered jurisdictional battle for trade union representation of the same textile mills workers. The contest was between the TUC, the BITU and the NWU. A poll was held by the Government's Labour Department and the NWU won the right to be recognised as the bargaining agent of the workers. The PNP Leaders were then actively engaged in organising the NWU as its trade union arm, and Michael Manley was invited by Wills O. Isaacs, M.P. to attend a meeting at the Labour Department where the NWU's wage claims on behalf of the Ariguanabo textile mills workers were being negotiated by representatives of the union and the company. But Wills Isaacs was also engaged in a bye-election campaign in Eastern Portland occasioned by the sudden death of Sir Harold Allan, then Minister of Finance in the ruling Jamaican Labour Party Government. And without warning or notice, Wills Isaacs suddenly went off to Portland and left Michael Manley holding the union's "brief" at the negotiating table! Once again, things were not working according to Michael Manley's plans. But there was opportunity aplenty, and Michael seemed willing enough to grasp it.

That same year (1953), he was again actively engaged in trade union polls conducted by the Labour Department among bauxite workers to determine representational rights between the TUC. which the PNP had abandoned the year before, and the NWU, which that Party had created as its industrial ally in order to match the Jamaica Labour Party. The NWU captured the bauxite workers from the TUC which was then affiliated to no political party, and staked out its "dollar-an-hour" claim for these workers. In the deadlock which ensued between the newly-organised union and the bauxite companies, the famous Honeyman Arbitration Tribunal was appointwing of the Jamaica Labour Movement, and he began to win his spurs, as it were, as a top negotiator as well as a vigorous and successful organiser in a union mothered by the opposition People's National Party of which his father, Norman Manley, was leader.

In January 1955 the PNP won the Government of Jamaica for the first time, and the late Noel Newton ("Crab") Nethersole relinquished the office of President of the NWU to become Minister of Finance in the first PNP Government. Similarly, Florizel Glasspole, MP, gave up his job as NWU General Secretary to become Minister of Labour. Ken Sterling moved up from Island Supervisor to become the union's

The course of events in Michael Manley's trade union and political career was marked by what may be justly described as a series of unplanned entries into the respective sectors of the Jamaican Labour Movement.

From childhood Michael Manley was said to have had a strong personal abhorrence of violence. At the same time, he admitted, however, that he understood revolution "based on intellectual ideas". So, in the historical strike of workers employed by the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC), although it lasted 93 days and there was massive confrontation in the streets — confrontation which prevented people from going to or leaving the Palisadoes

sequent negotiations and settlements, that workers were entitled to be re-instated in their jobs where they were found, in a free and fair trial, to have been dismissed wrongfully.

This, in Michael Manley's unpredictable public career, was considered to be yet another "watershed" in the development of the Jamaican trade union movement to which he contributed.

In 1959, Michael Manley authorised a strike, on behalf of the NWU, among sugar workers, which led to the appointment of the famous Goldenberg Commission. The Union's presentation of the sugar workers' case was prepared by Carl Hall and Michael Manley in a series of sessions which occupied no less than five nights a week, lasting some eight hours on each occasion. And the "brief" they prepared was considered by sophisticated trade union experts as a "classic".

Through the NWU's "classical" presentation of the sugar workers' case, it was discovered and proved to the Goldenberg Commission's satisfaction that the Jamaican sugar industry had under-reported its profits by £2 million (or \$4 million). Having accepted this as a fact, Goldenberg awarded the highest wage increase in the history of the Jamaican sugar workers, who as a trade union group, had been the almost exclusive protegees of the BITU for 21 years until then. The Award amounted to £1,100,000 (or \$2,200,000)!!

The NWU achieved ascendancy over the BITU in the sugar industry in 1959, and Michael Manley acquired the glory.

It therefore fell to Michael Manley's lot, historically, and in keeping with his training and temperament, for him to claim to have made an outstanding contribution to the intellectual development of the trade union movement in Jamaica, by negotiating sophisticated trade union agreements which refined the gains made by the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in the early days of its primitive struggle with the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union for the loyalty and the minds of the Jamaican workers.

Michael Manley's total personal involvement in the trade union movement extended over the period of September 1952 to February 1967, when, for the first time, he contested election to a public office. And his involvement was exclusive too.



Veteran trade unionists and former prime ministers Hugh Shearer and Michael Manley discussed issues related to the employee Share Ownership Plan (ESOP) and the trade union movement prior to the start of the 1995 seminar of the Joint Confederation of Trade Unions at the Pegasus (FILE PHOTO)

Michael Manley reversed his occupational role by giving up his full time job at the "Public Opinion" and launched a full-time career in trade unionism.

Assuming a full-time post in the NWU, Michael Manley started organising workers employed in the sugar industry. His focal points were Caymanas, Bernard Lodge, Bybrook and New Yarmouth sugar estates.

The NWU was now making headway, and with it, Michael Manley as a promising Trade Union personality who would have to be reckoned within the years that lay ahead. Indeed, as the newlyorganised union moved ahead, Manley's career became inextricably bound up with the industrial

General Secretary.

This was Michael Manley's "main chance", and he became NWU's Island Supervisor — the position which he held up to the time of his election to office as PNP President in place of his father, Norman, who retired from active politics in 1968. As Island Supervisor Michael Manley was put in charge of industrial relations and organisation. Thereby, de facto, he became the unofficial leader of the NWU. On Principle, it was understood, he declined to run for the position of President of the union, because his father, Norman, was President of the PNP to which the NWU was affiliated. Thus the charge of Nepotism was being strategically and skillfully avoided.

International Airport — there was no violence. Not one blow was struck! And Michael Manley was in charge. The exciting demonstration was, however, less fundamental or far-reaching than the principles involved in that strike. Those principles were (1) the right of a worker to a free and fair trial on any charge made against him, before dismissal; (2) the right of a worker found to have been wrongfully dismissed to be re-instated.

The JBC strike and its attendant consequences of mass confrontation and profound dialogue on the sensitive, controversial question of job security soon afterwards forced Jamaican employers, from then and on, to agree, in sub-

# Manley — writer, orator

ichael Manley was a true orator. He could speak on almost any subject, without a text, and hold the attention of his audience from start to finish.

It is reported that in a speech class at school, the teacher gave an assignment and each student had to do a recital in class. Dudley Thompson who was Michael's best friend did his presentation first, and the teacher was so impressed he gave Dudley ten out of ten. When Michael did his presentation, the teacher had no choice but to give him eleven out of ten.

From a boy Michael Manley had a skill in combining words probably due to this he was so passionate in every thing he felt and did. Here he recalls a confrontation he had with his headmaster who said Jamaica College 'had almost gone to the dogs'.

I was fit to be tied. I was bitter about this feisty little Englishman coming here to suggest that our school and our headmaster, that we'd all loved...and I led a protest movement and demanded audience, and told him that we all bitterly resented this remark about our school.

Michael Manley was probably the only student who ever resigned from school, instead of accepting an expulsion. This is his comment:

That story, to this day, evokes very deep, disturbed emotion in me, just as a confession. And that story is a lot of what I am. Now you make whatever you like of that story. But that story is me, raw, me as a man. That's how I am.

How he was? He was also a writer. He wrote many letters to his family from Canada:

You know Dad, I am far away but my heart is right with you in the fight — I hope one day to be able to carry on in my own way— if not from the platform—at least from an editorial desk. Well, that's a long way off. (1943)

Around this time he also wrote: 'I know that I shall live more or less by the pen.' Manley returned to Jamaica in December 1951 and started writing in early 1952 an opinion column 'The Root of the Matter' for the journal *Public Opinion*:

Kingston's masses are angry. They are angry because they are hungry. They are angry because they have been abused for too long...They are losing what little faith they ever had in the future.

Surprisingly, Michael Manley was described as 'shy in public' and he had to overcome 'a tremendous fear of public speaking. Before his first speech, Edna Manley prescribed a strong drink to ease his panic'. He describes the event:

I very nearly never made it. In the end, having eaten



THE ORATOR: "I believe that history will find that (Norman) Manley was not so much wrong about (about WI Federation) as ahead of his time."

nothing since the night before, and bolstered by a half tumbler of neat rum I arrived at the Patriot Group around 8:30 pm in a state that bordered upon abject terror. My speech was distinguished mainly for the fact that it had not occurred to me that you have to work out the ending. After I had said all the things for which I had elaborately prepared myself for at least two weeks, I suddenly realized that I did not know how to bring it all to a close.

I remember stumbling through a series of sentences each more desperately disconnected from the main theme than the one before, as I searched for a climax. None came and in the end I astonished my audience by sitting down in the middle of a sentence which didn't seem to begin in any particular place and was certainly proceeding in no discernible direction. The applause that followed sometime later stemmed, I suspect, more from sympathy than admiration.

This orator-to-be made over one hundred speeches n1952

His wife at the time, Thelma Manley recalls:

There was a great deal of sex appeal in it... He had this marvelous old sort of suede jacket that he brought up from

England. I used to turn the collar and patch the things, and keep it in one piece and all that... And you know he's tall and

imposing and when he was young he used to sort of get the attention of the audience, he would stand up a the mike when he was ready to speak, he'd wear his jacket, I mean it could be ninety degrees, he wouldn't say anything, he'd just slowly start to take it off. It sounds like the strip tease, it really wasn't, but it had the same effect... on the female part of his audience: 'Lord, Young Boy', I would stand at the back, squirming, quietly, but knowing that it was necessary.

#### Joshua

He adopted the name Joshua and brandied the 'Rod of Correction', a cane given to him by Haile Selassie himself. Manley pledged 'Better Must Come', that 'Its time for a government of love', to be achieved through 'Power for the People'.

Remember the sweeping brooms, the slogans, 'Change or Perish' 'Change, Baby, Change' and 'Change Time Now.'

'We do not think we have ever seen an election as confused as this week's election — Daily Gleaner 1972.

#### 'We know where we are going'

Manley leads by example:

When those who are more privileged in the society...will never pick up a broom to sweep their own verandah, they create that attitude that to pick up a broom is a mark of inferiority...I do not believe I have a right to lead this country if I am unwilling to show that I respect the dignity of my own person. They mock, they laugh, they treat life like a joke while people are suffering outside. While they are laughing, let them remember the television cameras are upon them and the sufferers are watching them, and so when you see me... get into Barnes Gully and pick up a broom and work for them, I am only setting an example.

#### This country is not for sale'

I warn this country we are heading for an explosion because the faith of the people is running out... Only a just society can be viable because it is only justice that endures in human affairs. I am opposed to communism, passionately. I am opposed...to all forms of subversion, passionately. Let us understand that it is not necessary to destroy to make change. — Michael Manley in a campaign message

### Someone we cherish...

"I have been profoundly saddened and overcome by grief when I was informed of the passing of Michael who was not only to me and my late husband, a relative, but more so someone who we cherished as a person in the commitment of his life to the welfare of his fellow Jamaicans.

He will be remembered for his enthusiasm and dynamism in his quest to unite Jamaica with the rest of the Caribbean.

On a lighter side, he



Lady Bustamante

was not only an astute politician and statesman, but an avid sportsman, who dedicated his life to the promotion of sports, as a way of moulding young people into being better citizens. Through it all, we had a warm and extremely cordial relationship. I will surely miss him and will always remember his charm, charisma and great concern for the less fortunate."

### The end of an era

The passing of former Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Michael Manley, marks the end of era that has had a profound effect on both the history and future of Jamaica.

The assessment of his stewardship and the value of his contribution to Jamaica's development will continue to be the subject of debate long after his death. However, his passionate commitment to the cause of the poor and dispossessed and the working class can never be disputed, nor can the sincerity of his efforts to improve their lot. His entire life was devoted to the service of the Jamaican people, first as an outstanding trading union leader, and later as a commanding and inspiring political leader.

Michael Manley, more than anyone else since Marcus Mosiah Garvey, must be credited for raising the political consciousness of the Jamaican people and motivating them to political action.

He was a man who refused to accept things as they were and was unapologetic in his pursuit of change. His concern for the welfare of Jamaica led him to an appreciation of the intricate international economic and political relationships and the way in which they impacted on Jamaica's fortunes. His untiring efforts to change those relationships earned him international recognition and made his an authoritative voice in important councils around the globe.



Bruce Golding

Michael Manley's disappointment must certainly have been that so much of the hopes and dreams for Jamaica which he held with such passion and conviction is yet to be accomplished.

I offer my deepest sympathies to his widow, Glynn, his children and the other members of his family.

# A special type of cricket person

### By Raymond Sharpe

ichael Manley was a sportsman at heart, with a Apassion for cricket and boxing and a profound and sincere respect for our champions in sports.

Talk to luminaries like Herb McKenley, Michael Holding, Donald Quarrie, Lawrence Rowe, Merlene Ottey, Michael McCallum, or Clive Lloyd who wrote the foreword for his monumental work 'A History of West Indies Cricket' and you will understand the influence that the man Michael Manley had on them.

To use his own words, that publication was "a tribute to that company of men who have given the West Indian people a special reminder of our uniqueness and evidence of our collective capacity"

Michael Manley was a special type of cricket person. If politics was his first love, then cricket was

his other, with boxing close behind. He could even be said to be much closer to boxers than cricketers, being a one-time boxing manager and with a knowledge and understanding of boxing which could only be matched by that of his favourite game—cricket.

He saw cricket as very special and elaborated on it in his book. "In all of this cricket is special. First of all there is the game itself; obscure to the uninitiated; arcane for the enthusiast trying to communicate his excitement; yet withal; graceful and athletic though sometimes requiring patience to a degree that can be mistaken for the call of duty'

The Michael Manley Trust Fund which he set up some years ago for the island's young cricketers in the Sunlight Cup and Headley Cup competitions will remain a lasting and cherished legacy of Jamaica's cricket.

He explained in his book that

the seeds of his enthusiasm for cricket were sown in 1935 when he was 10 and his father Norman provided him with the experience of watching a West Indies Test victory at Sabina Park. Since then, he has been a devoted follower of the game and a visceral supporter of the West Indies. His influence in international cricket affairs is legendary as is evidenced with his role during the Kerry Packer years and the issue of South Africa's re-admission to Test cricket.

His affectation to boxing was just as strong as that to cricket and he could be seen regularly at ringside whether the action was live or it was the big screen telecasts in the National Stadium and National Arena during the years when one of his great favourites, Muhammad Ali, was holding court. He was a source of great inspiration and support to McCallum who was to become Jamaica's first world boxing champion. The same is true for



SPORTSMEN: Michael Manley chatting with Jamaica Herald sports editor Raymond Sharpe and CVM sports presenter Ian Andrews at a 1996 charity Dinner Boxing presentation held at the Wyndham hotel

such stars as Rowe, Quarrie and Ottey whose careers were greatly encouraged and assisted by the social policies of Manley's govern-

But next to politics and the trade union movement, it was the

game of cricket to which he directed much of his great intellect in exploring the sub-culture of the game in the West Indies

In the words of Michael Manley, "West Indian cricket is like a metaphor for social history"

**Mavis Morris...** 

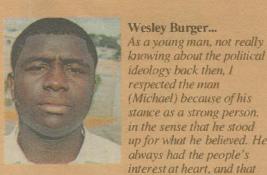


If it wasn't for him, the majority of us all would still be bastards... you know the slogan: 'Nuh bastard nuh deh again, everyone lawful.' He had also paved the way for women to have equal rights, justice and pay in this country.

Angella Lawrence, from East Central PNP Constituency...

I am one person who really love to hear when he speak. he spoke like a leader, and he was indeed a good leader too. Through JAMAL, he made it possible for many Jamaicans who could not read and write become liter

ate and numerate; and even women had equal rights, justice and pay all because of him.



could be seen, and felt

George Lyn of North Central Clarendon...

He was the father of the nation. It is said that when men have done their best on earth, angels in heaven



can't do no more. Michael had done what he could for the time he stayed with us, and I hope this day will be remembered for many years and years to come from generation to genera-

Shedrack 'Phantom''

I never and will never have the good fortune to see, meet, and work with another person, politician, prime minister and statesman like the man Michael Manley was up until death. He is a man of his word, and his word was his bond.

Primrose Channer...



Mr Manley was like a father to me. He was always there for poor people. There were moments that you would gladly turn off your stove and go and be in his presence. Wherever he was going, politically speaking, 1 would just jump on the bandwagon and gone. That was how I loved Mr

Manley

ith retirement, the burden of official and public V office was lifted, but Michael Manley remained as busy as ever.

As senior partner of the Consulting firm of Manley and Manley, he was involved in research and advice to various bodies in tourism, mining, and other areas of activities.

On the international and national scenes, he was Honorary President of Socialist International since 1992, Visiting Fellow at Wesleyan University in 1992, Emory University 1993, Cornell University 1994 and Illinois Western University 1995, and was elected Honorary Trustee of the latter University in 1996.

Acting on behalf of CARI-COM, he co-ordinated the formation of the Association of Caribbean States (ACS0 in 1994. And acting through the Organisation of American States he co-ordinated the first Economic Summit of this organisation 1995.

He also engineered the entry of the United Nations in the process leading to the restoration of President Aristide and Haitian democracy, headed the Observer Mission of the Commonwealth at the first elections in new South

He was a Member of the UNESCO Commission on Education for the 21st Century chaired by Jack Delors; Member of the Executive Board of the South Commission, the Chairman of which is former President of

Tanzania, Julius Nyrere; senior Consultant in Jamaica to the Inter-American Development Bank on the Employee Share Ownership Programme (ESOP); Consultant to the Jamaica Bauxite Institute charged with the task of promoting a new era of union stability and expansion in the bauxite industry; Lecturer to overseas leaders attending the Trade Union Education Course at the University of the West Indies; and a member of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government at the Carter Centre in Atlanta, Georgia, USA, the chairman of which is President Jimmy Carter.

He also used the opportunity of retirement to revise a second edition of the most definitive book ever written on West Indies cricket, a History of West Indies Cricket, published a definitive analysis on the role of Professor Rex Nettleford, formulated a series of proposals to the West Indies Cricket Board of Control on the future of West Indies cricket and was currently working on his ninth book which seeks to formulate strategies for the way forward for the democratic left in the developing world.

He established the Michael Manley Cricket Trust which provides four scholarships each year to young cricketers of outstanding cricket ability and sound academic performance.

He also continued to manage his small coffee farm in the Blue Mountains at Guava Ridge in the hills of St Andrew.

### The Retirement