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**Extracts of outgoing CARICOM Chair Prime Minister Timothy Harris, of St. Kitts and Nevis, 40th CARICOM Heads Meeting, Saint Lucia, 3 July 2019**



I am delighted to pass the baton of Chairmanship over to you Prime Minister Chastanet.

We are graced with several special guests. I refer in particular to the Prime Minister of Norway, Your Excellency Erna Solberg and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Your Excellency António Guterres. Secretary-General, you continue to be a reliable friend to our Region. That was demonstrated by your visit to the affected states after the Hurricanes of 2017 and your continued advocacy with respect to the effects of climate change, which is an existential threat to our Community.

Prime Minister Solberg, your presence is historic. I am advised that you are the first Head of Government of the Nordic Countries to interact with your CARICOM counterparts. I must commend you on your advocacy on climate change and your initiative, which resulted in the establishment of the High-Level Panel for a Sustainable Ocean Economy, which you chair and of which Prime Minister the Honourable Andrew Holness of Jamaica is a member. The blue economy and our ocean resources are critical to the sustainable development of our region.

I certainly look forward to the exchanges with our two distinguished guests.

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## Ghana's president promotes "Year of Return" to five Caribbean nations



### President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo

By Ray Chickrie – Caribbean News Now contributor – June 12, 2019

GEORGETOWN, Guyana — President Akufo-Addo had embarked on a working visit to five Caribbean nations as part of efforts promoting the "Year of Return."

Having proclaimed 2019, as the "Year of Return" to Ghana, the 400th anniversary of the commencement of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, when the first 20 West African slaves landed in Jamestown, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, the commemoration, according to President Akufo-Addo, "is a statement of our determination that never again should the African peoples permit themselves to be subjected to such dehumanizing conditions, sold into slavery and have their freedoms curtailed in order to build up forcibly countries other than their own and create wealth for the peoples of unknown lands to which they were sent, wealth from whose enjoyment they were largely excluded."

The countries visited by the president were Guyana, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Jamaica.

On arrival in Guyana on Monday evening (10 Jun 2019), with much jubilation, euphoria and symbolism, since Nana Akufo-Addo is the first sitting Ghanaian leader to visit Guyana, and from one of Africa's fastest growing economies. Ghana is home to a large segment of the Guyanese population whose enslaved ancestors were uprooted from the Gold Coast.

On Tuesday, president Nana Akufo-Addo laid a wreath at the Georgetown Non-Aligned Movement monument where there is a bust of Ghanaian first leader and co-founder of the movement, Dr Kwame Nkrumah. He also laid a wreath at the Square of the Revolution, at the statue of Kofi (Cuffy), Guyana's national hero.

The Ghanaian leader said, “a national hero of Guyana with the name Kofi, an Akkan namely, clearly has strong links with Ghana.” Kofi was one of many Akkans who led major slave rebellions in Guyana and Suriname.

Later in the day, president Nana Akufo-Addo was received at State House by President Granger for the signing of bilateral agreements and a luncheon in his honor.

President Nana Akufo-Addo called for cooperation between the two countries in the fields of agriculture, energy, trade and tourism investment.

The Ghanaian leader also met with the leader of the opposition, Bharrat Jagdeo and the local Ghanaian community in Guyana.

The events of the “Year of Return” are, above all, aimed at solidifying relations with descendants of Africa, resident in the Americas and the Caribbean, who have been defined as the sixth region of the African Union.

#### **ILO CONFERENCE**

Before visiting Guyana the President of the Republic, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, was invited by the leadership of the International Labour Organization (ILO) to address the 108th International Labour Conference, in Geneva, Switzerland.

President Akufo-Addo addressed the opening session of the conference, Monday, June 10, 2019, in which he set out Ghana’s contribution to the future of the world of work.

This year’s session brought together over 5,000 delegates from around the globe to find solutions to the challenges of the future of the world of work and celebrate the centenary of the ILO.

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## **Edward Seaga and the Institutionalization of Thuggery, Violence and Dehumanization in Jamaica**

by HORACE G. CAMPBELL

### **Introduction**

The island of Jamaica has achieved international notoriety as a space of unbridled violence and as one of the main hubs for the trans Caribbean and trans-Atlantic drug networks within the illicit global economy. These features of Jamaican society developed rapidly after 1980 when Edward Seaga, became the fifth Prime Minister of Jamaica. As the leader of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) 1974 to 2005, Seaga was associated with the refinement of a mode of politics that garrisoned poor Jamaicans into areas controlled by political contractors. Seaga was born in Boston in 1930 and died peacefully in Miami, Florida in May 2019. In the ensuing 89 years, his insecurity as to his identity and his wish to be accepted as part of the Jamaican ruling oligarchy sent him into a career to be an expert on Jamaicans of African descent. Edward Seaga and the JLP mobilized Jamaican workers against their own interests in organizations that guaranteed his success as a political entrepreneur. One organization that has been linked to Edward Seaga was the deadly Shower Posse that wreaked murder, violence and drug running in the Caribbean, North America and Europe. The historical record now attests to the fact that this organization was integrated into the networks of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States when the USA moved to destabilize Jamaican society in the 1970's.[1]

Elements from these same networks were to later name Seaga as involved in drugs in Congressional hearings and in court cases in the United States. Names such as Lester Cole aka 'Jim Brown,' Claude Massop, Vivian Blake, Cecil Connor also known as (Charles "Little Nut" Miller), and Christopher 'Dudus' Coke are forever etched into the political history of thuggery, violence, money laundering and drugs in Jamaican society. Edward Seaga was dependent on these gunmen within the polity and in the process undermined the office of the Prime Minister and left this position in Jamaica devoid of dignity, authority and values. The case of the extradition of Christopher 'Dudus' Coke from Jamaica in 2010 to prison in New York revealed to those who followed the case the extent of dehumanization of the poor in the political constituency of West Kingston. This debasement of politics and humanity was to be fully revealed under the leadership of Bruce Golding who attempted to extricate the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) from the clutches of dons (political enforcers). The killing of over 70 Jamaicans in Tivoli gardens in 2010 exposed the levels of dehumanization that had overtaken Jamaican society when Prime Minister Golding ordered the army to kill innocent civilians who defended Christopher Coke.

The lessons of these aspects of the life of Edward Seaga have not been revealed in the obituaries that have been written about him since his death. Most of these obituaries downplayed the extent of the CIA, the Cold War, and Cocaine triangle in Jamaica under Edward Seaga, although the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Times of London and the Telegraph all paid homage to his conservatism and his alliance with the neo liberal forces represented by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. Edward Seaga's own autobiography was part of the literature to praise unfettered capitalism which he celebrated in the two volumes entitled: *My Life and Leadership. Volume 1 . Clash of Ideologies 1930-1980* and *Volume II, My Life & Leadership: Hard Road to Travel 1980 – 2008*. Seaga was explicit in Volume 2 that "socialism is a pulling down ideology. Capitalism is a pulling up strategy." [2]

This ideological outlook defined the career of Edward Seaga as he opted to mobilize the human and material resources of Jamaica to establish sweat shop conditions, opposing black liberation in Jamaica and in Africa, opposing the Cuban revolution and spearheading the invasion of Grenada in 1983. Conscious of the importance of history, Edward Seaga had attempted to distort the historical record of the collusion between the Jamaican oligarchs and the Reagan Administration in the invasion of Grenada in his pamphlet entitled, *Grenada Intervention: The Inside Story*, 2009. Such was the trepidation of Edward Seaga among some Caribbean intellectuals that this relationship in the Shower Posse killings have only been fully

revealed in unpublished doctoral dissertations, in the book *Born Fi dead* [3] and in the fictional work by Marlon James, *A Brief History Of Seven Killings*.

At the time of his death, Edward had become marginalized in his own party by young black professionals who wanted to rise above the dehumanizing traditions of garrison politics. He had taken refuge into academia becoming a Fellow of the University of the West Indies (UWI), but now the road has been cleared for a full analysis of the role of Edward Seaga and his ilk in the politics of Jamaica and the Caribbean. This is urgent to reclaim the dignity and humanity of those who were dehumanized by the political traditions of Edward Seaga in the Caribbean.

### **Background of Edward Seaga**

When Edward Philip George Seaga was born on 28 May 1930, in Boston, Massachusetts, his parents had been suspended between the African majority in Jamaica and the small planter class of British and Europeans who dominated the plantation economy of Jamaica. The grandparents of Seaga had migrated to Jamaica from what is now called Lebanon to escape the stultifying effects of the last days of the Ottoman Empire. Jamaica was then, and now, a predominantly African society with the majority of the population tracing their roots back to Africa. In 1930, over 91 per cent of the population were Africans with a small percentage highlighting their European heritage to be called Afro Jamaicans or brown skinned Jamaicans. These 'brownpeople' comprised 15.1 percent of the population by 1950. According to the census of Jamaica in 1960 the population was divided into six categories of racial origin: 76.3 percent African, 15.1 percent Afro-European, 0.8 percent European, 1.2 percent Chinese or Afro-Chinese, 3.4 percent East Indian and 3.2 percent "Other Races." The Lebanese/Syrian community in Jamaica had comprised the small percentage of colonial subjects determined to be 'other races' under the colonial racial hierarchy of Jamaica. The economy of Jamaica was dominated by the less than 1 per cent of the society, designated as Europeans. Phillip Seaga had moved to the United States to make life in the context of the roaring twenties, but by the time he was seeking to advance, the Wall Street crash of 1929 created conditions of desperation for immigrants such as Phillip Seaga and his wife Erna (née Maxwell), who was Jamaican of African, Scottish and Indian descent. Hence, three months after his birth in Boston, the family of Phillip Seaga returned to Jamaica. Hence the birth of Edward Seaga in the USA.

The capitalist depression had a devastating impact on the oppressed in Jamaica, exacerbating impoverishment and cultural domination. It was in the midst of this crisis that the African poor in Jamaica deepened their identification with Africa as an expression of cultural resistance and human affirmation. The Rastafari movement blossomed after the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 and in 1938, the working peoples registered their opposition to colonialism with massive working class protests on the sugar plantations. These protests in Frome, Westmoreland on the Serge Island Sugar Estates of St Thomas and in the working class areas of Kingston, (especially the docks in West Kingston) had been stimulated by Garveyites such as St William Grant and worker activists such as Allan George St. Claver Coombs of Western Jamaica.

After the 1938 uprisings, Alexander Bustamante offered himself up as a leader of Jamaican workers diminishing the importance of Garveyism within the anti-colonial cultural resistance. Bustamante and his cousin, Norman Washington Manley became activists for Jamaican freedom in the period 1938-1962 forming two political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the Peoples National Party (PNP). Both of these parties had a trade union and worker base in the form of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) and the National Workers Union. By the time Jamaicans wrestled Universal Adult Suffrage from the British in 1944, Bustamante was riding two horses; as the leader of the trade union named after himself (the BITU) and leader of government business in the colonial parliament.

Seaga the Applied Anthropologist

Volume 1 of the auto biography of Seaga, *Clash of Ideologies 1930-1980* gave some indication of the frustrations of this Lebanese/Syrian stratum in Jamaican society and at the same time the privileges as passing for white. After high school in Jamaica at Wolmers, Seaga had studied social anthropology in

the United States at Harvard University. By virtue of his background, Seaga the anthropologist, brought his understanding of the retention of African culture in Jamaica in his study of the lifestyle of the poor and oppressed and their religious practices. In colonial Jamaica, according to social scientists such as M.G. Smith, the only 'cultural' persons were Europeans while African descendants followed 'cults.' Edward Seaga was slowly learning of the cultural power of the African ideation system among the poor as he sought to document and observe the rituals that were practiced in Pocomania and Kumina, African religious forms that still persisted in Jamaica. The rituals of Africa spiritual observances involved nonverbal interaction with the ancestral world in the form of dancing, possession by spirits, and animal sacrifice. Seaga who extended his career as an applied anthropologist research to child development and revivalist churches was to later weaponize the cultural practices of the poor to sow division and mayhem. It was in this period of anti-colonial energy in the Jamaican countryside where Seaga recognized the financial potential of Jamaican music.

### **Seaga as the Political Apprentice**

While in the process of studying the music of Africans in Jamaica, Edward Seaga recognized the long term potential of the voices of the people and embarked on opening a record store, becoming a music producer founding his own record label, West Indies Recording Limited (WIRL). From this vantage point as a music entrepreneur, Seaga got to feel the pulse of Jamaican popular culture as it was emerging in Ska, Rock Steady and later Reggae. As a producer, Edward Seaga signed popular Ska artists such as Joe Higgs and Byron Lee and the Dragonaires. It was from this musical perch where Seaga made his probing with respect to his future in Jamaican political life. In the period between 1955 and 1959 when the PNP had come to power, Seaga had sent out feelers to the leadership of both the PNP and the JLP. In his own words, Seaga tells the tale of how Alexander Bustamante recognized his skills as an organizer and recruited him to the political leadership of the Jamaican Labor Party. In 1959, Bustamante had appointed Seaga to the Senate while the JLP was in opposition, and it was from the Senate at the age of 29 where Seaga made his famous speech about the 'haves and have not' in Jamaica.

Alexander Bustamante had dominated the JLP with an iron hand, hence there had been no opposition to his naming Edward Seaga as the contestant for the constituency of West Kingston in 1962. Prior to 1962, Seaga had demonstrated his energy and loyalty (some would say sycophancy) to Bustamante, especially in the context of the referendum over whether Jamaica should remain in the West Indies Federation. By the time of independence in 1962, the JLP had gravitated away from its political commitment to the poor workers and had become the party with a base of poor black workers and peasants, but a party serving the interests of the white planters. Bustamante himself had retreated from his trade union militancy and had become conciliatory to local capital. In the retreat of Bustamante from the defense of workers, the son of Norman Manley, Michael Manley became a major trade union organizer of the National Workers Union (NWU), the party affiliate of the PNP. In order to satisfy the Cold War hysteria of the fifties, the PNP had purged Richard Hart, Ken Hill, Frank Hill and Arthur Henry from the party. These four were among the most formidable defenders of the working people and by 1949 the unions that they officered were among the largest after the BITU.[4]

### **Edward Seaga and the Constituency of West Kingston**

After the purging of the four H's from the electoral political space, the Jamaican society proceeded towards decolonization in carefully orchestrated steps after the results of the referendum in 1961. There were elections in April 1962 and August 6, 1962 was designated as the date of independence. Edward Seaga was an activist of the JLP and he was named as Minister of Development and Welfare from 1962 to 1967. Seaga had contested the elections in April 1962 against three other candidates who ran on explicit African values and orientation. Of the three candidates, the candidate for the PNP, Dudley Thompson had served in East Africa as counsel for Jomo Kenyatta and had earned the name of Burning Spear. Sam Brown, a well-known organizer and leader in the Rastafari Movement ran as an independent and Byron Moore carried the mantle of the Peoples Progressive Party (PPP). Seaga mobilized the resources of the JLP and



the BITU to win in this constituency and represented himself as a messianic leader. Seaga was the 'white man' who the black masses would follow became the narrative of the JLP.

The opportunism of Seaga was manifest early when two years after independence in 1964 he opportunistically championed the cause of the return of the body of Marcus Garvey to Jamaica. Prior to this re entombment of the body of Marcus Garvey in Jamaica, in the election campaign of 1962, Seaga had opposed the ideas of Marcus Garvey and the candidates who appealed to citizens on the basis of black dignity. Four years later Seaga was complicit in the decision of the JLP cabinet to ban Walter Rodney from Jamaica and to accuse him of stirring up racial hatred.[5]

Edward Seaga had been an enthusiastic member of the Bustamante government that moved to arrest thousands of Rastafari brethren after the Coral Gardens altercations in April 1963. Seaga's own anti Rasta exuberance was manifest in the massive destruction of the poor communities of Western Kingston called Back o Wall in the 'urban renewal' project that became known as Tivoli gardens. [6] Tivoli became associated with the person of Seaga and as a community that gradually purged from its midst Jamaican citizens who considered loyalty to another formation other than the JLP. In the process, after 1967 Tivoli became a near political homogenous community where violent enforcers emerge to ensure that sympathizers of other political tendencies were unwelcome in Tivoli.

In October 1965, Seaga had signaled his orientation toward political thuggery when at an event at the National Stadium, Seaga had declared in response to booing from the assembled crowd recognizing Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey as national heroes that, "If they think they are bad, I can bring the crowd of West Kingston. We can deal with you in any way and at any time. It will be fire for fire, and blood for blood." [7]

This language of blood and fire took on real meaning in the State of Emergency of 1966 and the violent conflict for power fought out in the elections in 1967. Dudley Thompson, (the candidate for the opposition PNP) had campaigned against Seaga in 1967 and had surrounded himself with PNP gunmen while with the resources of the government, Seaga developed a small force of gunmen that outgunned the Dudley Thompson forces. Despite this political rivalry, both Seaga and Thompson remained good friends. This was revealed to the citizens of Jamaica after the death of Dudley Thompson when Seaga revealed the depth of their friendship. Prior to his death, Dudley Thompson apologized to the people of Jamaica for his complicity in the Green Bay massacre. This was an episode where the military ambushed young JLP adherents and shot them down in cold blood.

Petty violence in the form of throwing stones, use of cutlasses, throwing Molotov cocktails and fist fights had been a feature of competitive politics in Jamaica since 1944. By the 1960's the quality and intensity of the violence edged up a notch with the introduction of hand guns among the enforcers. At the end of the decade the mix of sub machine guns, drugs and politics had become toxic in Jamaican society with Tivoli becoming the place associated with guns and repression. With the rise of political violence and the increased use of guns in political battles, Tivoli earned the distinction of becoming a garrison community. The political enforcers and gun men who coerced citizens were called dons. These figures received government contracts and were the source of political payoffs (called patronage). [8] In Jamaican society, Edward Seaga was known as the don of the dons and the architect of a new form of housing called the garrison. Garrisons were and are "a veritable fortress where the dominant party and or its local agents and supporters are able to exercise control over all significant political, economic and community related social activities. " [9] Political enforcers such as Claude Massop created fear among poor workers. Mark Figueroa in his study of "Garrison Communities in Jamaica 1962-1993," outlined the violence that was associated with gun men such as Massop in the JLP while the PNP countered with its own garrisons and gunmen such as George "Feathermop" Spence, Winston "Burry Boy" Blake and Anthony (Tony) Welch from the nearby area of Arnett Gardens (Jungle).

**Emergence as leader of the Jamaica Labour Party 1974**

During his tenure as Minister of Finance 1967-1972, Edward Seaga had strengthened the financial institutions to fully wrest economic power from the old planter classes that had discriminated against the Lebanese/Syrians. The Bauxite and Tourist industries had created new poles of accumulation away from sugar plantations, banana production and cocoa farming. Noel Nethersole as Minister of Finance under the PNP before independence had laid the foundations for a central bank- Bank of Jamaica, and founded the Development Finance Corporation. [10] With technocrats such as G. Arthur Brown and Noel Nethersole, there were social democrats who wanted the public institutions to register an independent path for the society with clear planning. It was in this climate where the intellectuals of the New World Group flourished. The intellectual and political energies of these intellectuals were clearly having an impact on the region as a whole, inspired as they were by the anti-imperialist ideas of Bandung.

Edward Seaga sold himself to the US leaders as an opponent of the Bandung spirit. Yet, the Jamaica media celebrated Seaga as the brains behind decolonizing the financial sector and the establishment of the Jamaica Stock Exchange, Jamaica Unit Trust, Export-Import Bank, Jamaica Promotions Ltd, the Agricultural Credit Bank, the Jamaica Mortgage Bank, the National Development Bank, Urban Development Corporation and the Kingston Waterfront. Of these ventures, the Urban Development Corporation facilitated the basis for the emergence of new elements in real estate capital and the control of the Kingston Waterfront wrest control from the shippers and insurers that were linked to the export of banana and sugar. The export of bulk shipments of marijuana and cocaine were to develop in the seventies as new sources of wealth for the new narco capitalist class.

The inequalities and class polarization in the society alienated the poor and the PNP mobilized around the question of the oppression of the sufferers. Michael Manley had succeeded his father as President of the PNP in 1969. Shortly thereafter, in 1972, Manley as head of the Peoples National Party won the General elections. Michael Manley had campaigned on the slogans and platform of the PPP of Millard Johnson openly canvassing for the votes of the oppressed, especially the Rastafari.[11] In 1974, Manley declared that Jamaica was moving in the direction of Democratic Socialism announcing a number of social welfare reforms as socialist. Moving to embrace the spirit of Bandung, the nonaligned world and support for African liberation created a new sense of pride among the mass of African descendants in Jamaican society. Within the Caribbean, Jamaica strengthened relations with Cuba and Michael Manley championed the push against imperialism with the call for a New International Economic Order (NIIEO). These initiatives scared the entrenched local capitalists in Jamaica while Edward Seaga moved to establish himself as the defender of international capital.

In order to better position himself as a full servant of international capital, Edward Seaga had to capture the leadership of the JLP. Seaga could not compete with Donald Sangster who had been one of the brains running the party after Bustamente had been stricken with illness, but Sangster had died suddenly after becoming Prime Minister. Hugh Shearer had become Prime Minister, but by the time of the competition for leadership of the party, Shearer had stood down. By 1974, the leaders of the JLP standing in the path of Edward Seaga were competent leaders such as Frank Phipps, Wilton Hill, Ronald Irvine, and Ian Ramsay. Senior figures such as Robert Lightbourne had been nudged out of the party with the rise of Seaga and the legalistic /professional blacks of the likes of Phipps, Irvine and Ramsay were not cut from the same cloth as the blood and fire vintage of Edward Seaga. Wilton Hill had sought to develop his own fighting force but did not have the financial resources that Seaga had at his disposal. In his push for power within the party Edward Seaga also dumped experienced JLP leaders such as L.G. Newland, Edwin Allen and Tacius Golding.

### **Edward Seaga: the anticommunist champion**

During the era of the seventies, the anti-colonial struggles had intensified after the defeat of the US military forces in Vietnam in 1975. In the same year, the Angolan forces with the support of Cuban internationalists defeated the South African apartheid army in Angola. Poor Jamaicans had followed these battles and many reggae artists used songs to mobilize the people to support African liberation. The

government of the USA labeled the Jamaican support for liberation as hostile and in December 1975 the Secretary of State of the USA, Henry Kissinger visited Jamaica. In his meetings with the Prime Minister Michael Manley, Kissinger warned Jamaica to limit its support for the Cubans in Angola and diminish its relations with Cuba. Kissinger held out the promise of US \$100 million for the Jamaican economy if Manley agreed to distance Jamaica from the nonaligned movement, from African liberation and from Cuba. When the Prime Minister of Jamaica disagreed, there was a new thrust to destabilize Jamaica and Edward Seaga offered himself as an instrument for the CIA destabilization of Jamaica.[12] The experience of the Jamaican society became another textbook case of how the CIA destabilized societies. Using some of the same tactics that had been deployed in the overthrow of the Salvador Allende government in Chile in 1973, the CIA mobilized its resources to undermine the PNP government. The six key mechanisms were :

1. Covert financial support for the opposition.
2. Extensive labor unrest.
3. Covert shipments of arms and other equipment to opposition forces.
4. Economic destabilization.
5. Mobilization of the middle class into CIA-created anti-government organizations to carry out well publicized demonstrations.
6. infiltration of Security Services and armed forces to turn them against the government

All of these elements were expanded in Jamaica. There were three attempts on the life of Michael Manley as the Prime Minister. "The unexplained presence of M16 rifles, submachine guns, as well as sophisticated communications equipment also caused alarm, for the paltry Jamaican security forces were simply unable to cope with the violence." [13] No section of the population escaped the new violence and the reggae artists Bob Marley was shot at his home in Hope Road prior to a free reggae concert in Kingston, December 1976. A decade later, in September 1987, Peter Tosh was to lose his life when gunmen invaded his home to send him to the land of the ancestors.

Despite the escalation of violence, the PNP defeated Edward Seaga and the JLP in the 1976 general elections. It was the elections with the highest voter turnout in the history of Jamaica, over 86 per cent of the electorate participating. The PNP won the elections with 57 per cent of the votes, but this victory only stimulated the CIA to intensify its campaign of destabilization supporting the IMF to undermine the economy, using propaganda to scare citizens and intensifying violence in the streets. The CIA propaganda represented Seaga as the economic genius while the local media propagated misleading stories scaring local entrepreneurs resulting in the mobilization of the Jamaican Manufacturers Association and the Jamaican Chamber of Commerce against the PNP. It was in this period when the new organization called the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) appeared on the political scene as one other form of support for Edward Seaga.

Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Bunny Wailer and 13 other major of reggae artists had attempted to stand aloof from the violence but they had grown up with many of the former 'rude boys' who were now political enforcers. It is this intimate knowledge of the shooters that precipitated the reggae artists to mobilize with others for the historic peace concert at the National Stadium in 1978. This peace gesture which brought together 16 of the most well-known reggae artists was at the other end of the plans of the CIA for Seaga and for Jamaica. It was at this peace concert where Peter Tosh condemned imperialist violence and where Marley called on Seaga and Manley and Seaga to come on stage and pledge to end the violent political war in Jamaica. Despite the pledge for peace, the top contractors/ enforcers for the JLP and the PNP, Claude Massop and Buckie Marshall were both killed within two years after the concert. The following election year in 1980 would see 889 reported murders in Jamaica, over 500 more than the previous year. The combination of violence and the economic terror of the IMF against Jamaica was too much for the people and in the 1980 elections, then the bloodiest in the history of Jamaica, Seaga won the elections after hundreds lay dead and tens of thousands displaced..

### **Edward Seaga the Prime Minister of Jamaica 1980 -89.**

When the PNP won the elections in 1976 there were two choices before the society, either give meaning to the massive support that had been gained in the 1976 elections for drastic social change or succumb to the dictates of the IMF. Michael Manley choose the latter and the IMF intensified the economic destabilization while Seaga and the gunmen escalated the violence in the streets. Long before the Mexican debt crisis of 1982, the IMF had decided to use Jamaica as a guinea pig in its new direction of structural adjustment. The decision to cut the Civil Service, to devalue the currency, to lift price controls and to liberalize the economy led to the huge capital flight, reinforcing the already dire conditions for the sufferers. Three months after the signing of IMF agreements, according to the IMF Jamaica failed its first quarterly performance test. We now know from historical hindsight that there was no way that governments such as that of Manley in Jamaica or the Julius Nyerere ujamaa administration in Tanzania could pass the IMF performance tests. What was instructive was that the apartheid government of South Africa that oppressed the African majority could pass the IMF tests but leaders such as Manley, Nyerere or Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia could not pass these tests. It is now well documented by economists (such as the late Norman Girvan) that the IMF performance requirements resulted in “one of the most savage packages ever imposed on any client government by the IMF.” [14]

Edward Seaga became the Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1980. He was not fully vested in his position before he traveled to Washington and to New York to ingratiate himself with David Rockefeller and the decision of the IMF to change the conditionalities for Jamaica. By the time Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as the President of the United States in January 1981, Seaga was the first world leader to be invited to the White House. It was in the context of these meetings in 1981 where Seaga sold himself as an opponent of organized labour in Jamaica and the Caribbean. In his autobiography Seaga has bragged how he introduced the idea of the Caribbean Basin Initiative ((CBI) to the Reagan administration. This orientation started the long road of the debasement of the Jamaican workers and the introduction of sweat shop conditions in Jamaica. International conservatives were pleased to have a leader of a labor party being in the forefront of denying basic rights of decent wages, and protection at the workplace for workers. These were fundamental elements of the struggles of the Jamaican working people from the time of enslavement.

As a soldier in the Cold War fighting against the rights for working people, Seaga joined forces with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in promoting crude neo-liberalism. The zeal of Seaga in his anti-communism led him to mobilize for the military intervention of the United States in Grenada. In this zealotry, Seaga trumped Margaret Thatcher because the British Prime Minister opposed the military intervention. Seaga has attempted in his book, *Grenada Intervention: The Inside Story*, to distort the true meaning of the invasion. There was one academic at the University of the West Indies, Patsy Lewis, who clinically exposed the lies and manipulation that was embedded in this text. [15] The ignominy of this act in the Caribbean placed him in the same category as Tom Adams, the former Prime Minister of Barbados, who most Barbadians now want to forget because of his links to the cocaine trade and the US military invasion of Grenada.

This work of placing Jamaica in the ranks against basic democratic rights endeared Seaga to the conservatives internationally and he was honored by President Reagan with the Freedom Foundation’s American Friendship medal for his “furtherance of democratic institutions” and “courageous leadership in the cause of freedom for all people.” What most Jamaicans did not know was that the International Freedom Foundation was the anticommunist front established to support regimes such as the apartheid government of South Africa and the dreaded Pinochet regime of Chile. The receipt of this award placed Seaga within the company of opportunists such as Manafort and Stone who represented Jonas Savimbi, but Seaga did not want the people of Jamaica to understand the real import of the award from the International Freedom Foundation. Seaga was being rewarded for his opposition to the liberation of Africa and for the destabilization of the Caribbean. In return for these services, the IMF and the international

financial institutions would allow Seaga to represent himself as the financial wizard turning around the Jamaican economy from the 'mismanagement' of the Manley administration. The election results of 1980 made Jamaica the first victim of the Third World debt crisis and structural adjustment policies that has now produced massive inequalities on a global scale.

### **Edward Seaga and the Illicit Global Economy**

The era of neo liberalism accelerated the movements of illicit funds outside of government control. Not enough research has been done in Jamaica about the way Jamaica became integrated into the Contra/ cocaine pipeline that had been established by the Reagan White House. The CIA of the USA had established conduits between drug cartels and the banks to finance its contra wars in Central America and the Caribbean. It was in this period when narco banking became institutionalized . Money laundering, drugs and banks were always part of global capital, but during the era of social democracy state control over financial institutions had placed rigorous controls over the movement of illicit funds. When Ronald Reagan became the President of the USA, the anticommunist fervor and the contra wars stimulated the loosening of controls over money laundering. The CIA strengthened its money laundering capabilities and many banks such as HSBC were attracted to this new source of wealth. According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODOC) in their 2010 Annual Report , they stated that "money-laundering is the method by which criminals disguise the illegal origins of their wealth and protect their asset bases in order to avoid suspicion of law enforcement and to prevent leaving a trail of incriminating evidence."

UNODOC estimated that profits derived from narcotics rackets amount to some \$600 billion annually and that up to \$1.5 trillion dollars in drug money is laundered through seemingly legitimate enterprises. As Prime Minister in 1981, Seaga had seen the new money laundering direction of U.S and European banks as an opportunity and new institutions such as the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) appeared in Jamaica.

With the anticommunist obsession that had come into the international political economy after Reagan's inauguration, the Republican administration officials tolerated drug trafficking as long as the traffickers gave support to the contras leaders who pledged to oppose socialism. This is now well documented in the 1989, the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations that was chaired by then Senator John Kerry .[16] We learnt from this Hearing how the narco bank, Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) established operations in Jamaica, "BCCI cornered the market for government funds and programs in Jamaica as the result of establishing a personal relationship with then-Prime Minister Edward Seaga. Ultimately, this relationship involved BCCI being involved in financing all of Jamaica's commodity imports from the United States under the U.S. Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) program and handling essentially every foreign current account of Jamaican government agencies." [17]

Gary Webb in the book *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion* added extra details on the way the crack epidemic in the Caribbean and the USA was facilitated by the CIA. Edward Seaga was a willing facilitator of narco banking and the Dark Alliance and he went overboard to ingratiate himself into this new illicit global network for money laundering. Seaga was able to use his position as the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance to establish the infrastructure for the integration of Jamaican society into illicit financial flows. One testimony before the Kerry Senate Committee in 1992 stated unequivocally that, 'By the mid-1980's, we (viz BCCI) handled every penny that came into or out of Jamaica in terms of foreign currency. We were bankers to the central bank, we were bankers to all official governmental organizations in Jamaica.'"[18]

Other manifestations of this integration with narco banking and the illicit global economy had come to light in the trials and tribulations of the Israeli money launderer Eli Tisona (who was called one of the top Israeli mobsters by the Jerusalem Post). Tisona had appeared in the Jamaican society after Seaga became PM. Tisona was presented to the Jamaican population as a business person involved with a supposed high tech agricultural scheme. Tisona, with no known experience in agriculture, was

represented to be the brains behind a scheme of the Prime Minister Edward Seaga for the establishment of an agricultural complex called Springs Plain. It is now on record that Seaga's Agro 21 program was integrated into the trafficking of cocaine from Colombia. According to the book, *Cocaine Nation: How the White Trade Took Over the World*, Eli Tisona was a money launderer for the Cali cartel of Colombia.[19] Springs Plain was another front for the transfer of cocaine from Colombia to the United States through Jamaica. During the Seaga period, the planes that were leased to fly out the winter vegetables flew from Colombia before collecting the 'vegetables' from Jamaica. At this period International Lease Financing Corp (ILFC), the Los Angeles-based aircraft leasing division of AIG, was the biggest force in the leasing of planes. AIG worked closely with the US intelligence services to the point where the CEO of AIG was once under consideration to become the director of the CIA. The agricultural complex called Springs Plain employed Lester Coke aka Jim Brown as Head of Security and it was while at Spring Plain when Jim Brown built up his expertise to smuggle drugs from Colombia via Jamaica to the United States and the United Kingdom

After the end of the Cold War and the defeat of Edward Seaga, Tisona was arrested and jailed in the United States on charges of fraud and money laundering. In 1997, an Israeli Knesset committee report named Eli Tisona and his brother, Ezra, as being the country's two most powerful drug lords. Tisona was jailed in the US in 1999. By 1992 Jim Brown died mysteriously in a fire while awaiting extradition to the USA. His son Christopher 'Dudus' Coke inherited the organizational structures developed by Jim Brown.

#### **Seaga and the Shower Posse.**

Claude Massop (the top gun man for Seaga) had been an acquaintance of Bob Marley in the concrete jungle that Bob Marley wailed about early in his singing career. They had both traversed the tenement yards of pick up football and early reggae culture. The Reggae world had been shaken by the 'ambush in the night' of December 1976. Massop crossed the CIA by agreeing to the peace concert with the PNP's Buckie Marshall. For this he was shot, dead. [20] After the death of Massop, Lester Coke, – Jim Brown became the chief lieutenant of Edward Seaga in Tivoli gardens during the period of CIA destabilization. "One of Lester Coke's associates, Cecil Connor, would claim that he was trained by the CIA to fight political wars for the JLP through killing and spying. Connor would stuff ballot boxes and intimidate voters to help the JLP win elections. Connor would go on from being a political thug to being part of the international Jamaican based cocaine ring known as the Shower Posse. He wound up testifying against Lester Coke and his cohort Vivian Blake, only to return to his native St. Kitts to become a drug kingpin who almost held the country hostage." [21]

The saga of the efforts to extradite Dudus from Jamaica is still fresh in the minds of Jamaicans and many remember that Dudus said that he did not want to suffer the same fate as his father or his brother. After the elimination of Claude Massop, the forces of Lester Coke organized the Shower Posse in Tivoli with a worldwide reach into Canada, the USA, Europe and other parts of the Caribbean. Jamaica became a node in this Dark Alliance of the CIA, Contras and Cocaine during the period when the Seaga administration was in power, 1980-1989. In order to establish a firm entrepreneurial basis for the distribution of cocaine in the Caribbean, the Shower Posse developed the logistical capabilities to move large volumes of cocaine through the Caribbean. According to street legend this particular posse got its name from the JLP election slogan 'Shower', which was a response to the PNP's 'Power' that was coined from Manley's 'Power for the people' slogan in the 1970s. One other source noted that the name shower had been taken from a speech by Edward Seaga where he promised that: 'Blessings will shower from the sky and money going jingle in your pockets.' Seaga knew that this money was not coming from the production of goods and services within Jamaica.

Edward Seaga had skillfully studied the duplicity of the war on drugs in order to manipulate the Jamaican electorate on the integration of Jamaica in the international money laundering business. When Seaga lost the elections in 1989, Jim Brown had accumulated enough knowledge of the Springs Plain logistics to be able to move between the USA and Jamaica with the support of the infrastructures that

had been perfected by Tisona and the CIA. When Jim Brown decided to be independent of Edward Seaga, he was arrested and held in jail in Jamaica. Jim Brown had agreed to testify in the USA about the infrastructure of the Shower Posse and its link to JLP politicians. Before he could testify, Brown lost his life in a mysterious fire in his jail cell in Jamaica. The dominant Jamaica newspaper, the Daily Gleaner wrote on the rise of Dudus in this way, "The lives of the Coke family members changed again dramatically one fateful Sunday morning in 1992. The senior Coke was behind bars, locked up at the high-security Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre after losing an extradition battle, when news broke that Jah T, his heir apparent, had been killed. Jah T was riding along Maxfield Avenue, St Andrew, on a motorcycle when he was attacked. The reprisals were swift and vicious. Police said at least 12 persons were killed within a two-week period. In February 1992, on the afternoon Jah T was being buried, another tragedy hit the Coke family. Jim Brown died in a mysterious fire in his cell. With the demise of the father and heir apparent, Dudus, an adopted son, was chosen to lead Tivoli Gardens over 'Livity', to the latter's displeasure.[22]

What was remarkable about the reporting in the Jamaican newspapers at the time of the extradition of Dudus was the silence on the role of Edward Seaga in the militarization of Tivoli Gardens. [23]When Seaga lost the elections in 1989, he gradually lost control over Tivoli. For a short while, the members of the Shower Posse gang continued to do the bidding of Seaga, but he did not have the resources of the state behind him to hand out contracts to the dons. As leader of the opposition after 1989, Seaga had brought the thuggery against the leading members of his own party. Errol Anderson, Edmund Bartlett, Karl Samuda, Douglas Vaz and Parnel Charles were called the 'gang of five' and chafed under the authoritarianism of Seaga. By this time, The JLP was not a real party, but an instrument to further the goals of Seaga. As leader of the opposition, Seaga used this group of enforcers to intimidate those who opposed his leadership. Bruce Golding left the JLP after this intimidation to form the National Democratic Movement (NDM), in 1995. Such was the power of Dudus by this time that Seaga had to defer to Dudus in accepting Golding back into the JLP.

Seaga resigned as leader of the JLP in 2005 after losing four consecutive elections. Historians will now await the memoirs of Dudus to explain the power he wielded over Edward Seaga in the latter years of his service as the Member of Parliament for West Kingston. It is already known the coercive power that Dudus held over Bruce Golding when he decided to make West Kingston his political constituency. Bruce Golding was the Prime Minister of Jamaica, but Dudus Coke was referred to as President. When the US government instigated charges against Dudus, the vigor with which the Prime Minister of Jamaica moved to halt the extradition led to Golding representing himself as an anti-imperialist. To delay Coke's extradition, Golding authorized the retention of a U.S. law firm—for a hundred thousand dollars per quarter—to lobby officials in Washington. Bruce Golding suffered the indignities of association with gun men and the Shower Posse, reaping the rewards of the seeds that had been sown by Edward Seaga. Golding had placed his reputation on the line by defending Dudus and employing the US law firm to fight the extradition. While defending Dudus, Bruce Golding, as PM, later reversed himself when the US government intensified the pressures by withholding visas for members of the ruling party. Golding then unleashed the army against the citizens of Tivoli, while he well knew that Dudus was not in Tivoli but holed up in a government house in the rural areas of Jamaica. Dudus was captured in a roadblock on his way to Kingston to hand himself over to the US embassy. Dudus was extradited to the USA and is now serving a long sentence in a minimum security prison in the USA/ The full history Edward Seaga and the Shower Posse is to be written.

### **Edward Seaga and the debasement of Africans in Jamaica.**

The mass of the people of Jamaica had struggled against exploitation and slave like conditions. These working people had cut the sugar cane, planted the bananas, picked the pimento, and grew the foodstuff that fed the society. Colonialism exploited their labor and denigrated them as human beings. These people rebelled to get better working conditions. The 1938 rebellion was the high point of these worker protests. Out of these protests, Alexander Bustamante formed a political vehicle called the

Jamaica Labour party. Working class persons from the grassroots embraced this formation and such was the loyalty to Bustamante that some workers shouted that I will follow Bustamante till I die. Despite this commitment to Bustamante, there had been a vibrant opposition party called the PNP and the quality of the political leadership in Jamaica was world class, with high levels of tolerance for opposing ideas. The competition between Noel Nethersole of the PNP and Lynden Newland of the JLP as opposing trade unionists in the 1944 elections would be a textbook case in the kind of civility that was possible in Jamaica among politicians. Gradually in the wake of international Cold War dictates and intense competition for power, the JLP deserted the working people. However, the full departure from the demands of the working people came when the JLP came under the control of Edward Seaga.

The debasement of the working peoples was on two fronts. The first was the establishment of sweat shop conditions to erode the gains of the workers after 1938. Seaga boasted of his ability to attract foreign capital to exploit nonunion labor. This foreign capital was integrated into narco banking. Scamming and murder are the two legacies of the Seaga energy in establishing the Caribbean Basin Initiative. The second debasement was the escalation of gun violence and the development of garrison communities. Unemployment and the use of thugs acted as a coercive force that was more rigorous than simply state violence. Thuggery and violence, sweat shop conditions and the general hustling and opportunistic culture bequeathed by Seaga ensure that hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans opted to leave the violence and thuggery of this center for money laundering and the illicit global economy. This cancer of cocaine, guns, violence, scamming and money laundering then spread throughout the Caribbean. Charles Miller or Cecil Connor would go on to ensnare St Kitts and the Bahamas into this new front for the illicit global economy.

The thuggery and violence of this period of Jamaican history eroded the basic values of decency in the society. Being a bad man was now the ambition of many youths. Hustling of the poor came with this new political culture, while the Cayman Islands became one of the biggest offshore centers for narco banking.

No institution in Jamaica could escape the stain of rotteness that Edward Seaga had bequeathed on the society. After being chased out of Tivoli by Dudas, Seaga sought to reinvent himself as a social scientist. His short stint at the University of the West Indies belied his own ambivalent relationship to the University. One former Vice Chancellor, Rex Nettleford used very sophisticated language to mock Seaga's claim to be a rigorous social scientist. This sophistication was necessary because Nettleford understood the vindictiveness of Edward Seaga in Jamaica. Anthony Abrahams had understood this vindictiveness when he attempted to come clean on the relationships between Seaga, money laundering and Tisona.

Edward Seaga is dead. Jamaican and Caribbean scholars can now lift the self-censorship that they had imposed on themselves during the lifetime of Seaga. The Jamaican society will need to heal from the wounds inflicted by Seaga to show the world that Africans in Jamaica were not Born Fi Dead. The sufferers struggled for the decriminalization of marijuana. They are now poised to demilitarize the society. But before that point of demilitarization can be reached, the truth about Seaga must become public knowledge. In this way the traditions of peace and love will take precedence over the culture of blood and fire.

#### **Endnotes.**

1. Horace G Campbell, "Gangsters, politicians, cocaine and bankers: lessons from the dudus Saga in Jamaica, Pambazuka News, June 24, 2010, <https://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/gangsters-politicians-cocaine-and-bankers> and Casey Gane-McCalla, Jamaica's Shower Posse: How The CIA Created "The Most Notorious Criminal Organization" Global Research, June 13, 2010, <https://www.globalresearch.ca/jamaica-s-shower-posse-how-the-cia-created-the-most-notorious-criminal-organization/19696>. See also Duane Blake, Shower Posse: The Most Notorious Jamaican Criminal Organization Diamond Pub, 2003 ↑



2. Edward Seaga, *My Life & Leadership: Hard Road to Travel 1980 – 2008*, page 19 ↑
3. Laurie Gunst, *Born Fi' Dead: A Journey Through the Jamaican Posse Underworld*, Henry Holt, New York 1995 ↑
4. O.W.Phelps, "Rise of the Labour Movement in Jamaica," *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (DECEMBER, 1960), pp. 417-468 ↑
5. Walter Rodney, *The Groundings with My brothers*, Bogle L Overture Publications, London 1969 ↑
6. Tivoli became more famous as a JLP stronghold after the death of DC 'Clem' Tavares in 1968. As Minister of Housing, Clem Tavares had built the first political garrison and called it Tavares Gardens, now known as 'Payne Land'. The high-rise buildings and other low-cost houses which were built on previously unoccupied land, were crammed with JLP-supporters. Anthony Spauldings had built up his own garrison with PNP supporters in what came to be known as Arnett Gardens. ↑
7. Reported in the *Daily Gleaner*, Jamaica, October 25, 1965. ↑
8. In an otherwise excellent study Obika Gray used the formulation of 'patronage' to describe the relationship of Seaga to poor workers in Kingston in the book, *Demeaned but Empowered: the Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica*, UWI Press, 2004. Carl Stone had given life to the discourses on patron client relationships in a clear effort to diminish the class analysis of Jamaican society. ↑
9. Mark Figueroa & Amanda Sives. *Homogeneous Voting, Electoral Manipulation & the 'Garrison' Process in Post-Independence Jamaica*, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (March 2002) ↑
10. "NOEL NEWTON NETHERSOLE," *A Short Study* by James Carnegie, Published by the Bank of Jamaica, November 1974, [http://www.boj.org.jm/pdf/publication\\_jcarnegie.pdf](http://www.boj.org.jm/pdf/publication_jcarnegie.pdf) ↑
11. Walking around with a stick which was called a 'rod' of correction, Manley was identified as 'Joshua' who would lead the Jamaican people away from the oppression meted out by the JLP and the policies of Seaga as Minister of Finance and Culture. ↑
12. Ernest Harsch, *U.S. Intervention in Jamaica: How Washington Toppled the Manley Government*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1986 ↑
13. Ernest Volkman and John Commings', "Murder As Usual" *Penthouse Magazine*, October 1977. For Michael Manley's account of the situation is contained in *Struggle in the Periphery*, p. 140. ↑
14. George Beckford and Michael Witter, *Small Garden, Bitter Weed: Struggle and Change in Jamaica*, Zed Books, London 1982 ↑
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16. United States Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations. (1989). Drugs, law enforcement, and foreign policy : A report. Washington: GPO  
↑

17. The BCCI Affair, A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate by Senator John Kerry and Senator Hank Brown, December 1992, 102d Congress 2d Session Senate Print 102-140, ↑

18. *ibid* ↑

19. Thomas Feiling, Cocaine Nation: How the White Trade Took Over the World, Pegasus Books, New York 2009 ↑

20. Obika Gray celebrated the leadership of Claude Massop in the chapter of his book entitled, 'Massop, leadership from below,' Chapter 6 'Unfettered Freedom: Warfare and Solidarity in the Ghetto.' ↑

21. Newsone, "How The CIA Created The Jamaican Shower Posse," <https://newsone.com/543415/how-the-cia-created-the-jamaican-shower-posse/> ↑

22. Gary Spaulding, "the Rise and fall of the Coke empire, Daily Gleaner, June 25 2010. <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100625/lead/lead4.html> ↑

23. Cheryl Walker, Civil War in Jamaica- Jim Brown,: the Observer, January 27, 2008

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## Death announcements

**Marjorie Cambridge**

**April 20 1936 - June 10th 2019**

**The Wind Beneath My Wings**



**Kim Kissoon**

**June 18, 1952-June 9, 2019**

The passing of former parliamentarian and prominent businessman Alston Amin 'Kim' Kissoon has been described as a massive loss to Guyana's forestry sector.

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**Save the children. Enroll them in the Queens Daycare and, Child development center. Call Sister Elvira 2275093**

## Letter to the editor



### Government's plan to amend the Freedom of Information Act

June 11, 2019

The Editor,

My use of the FOIA to get answers from UTT

The plan by Government of Trinidad and Tobago to suddenly amend the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA, 1999) is an undemocratic attempt to frustrate the rights of citizens for transparency and accountability of public authorities.

The FOIA has a simple form to fill which has been used by ordinary citizens free of charge, often without the help of an attorney.

When 59 of us were retrenched as lecturers by the University of Trinidad and Tobago (UTT) on May 11, 2018, our dismissal letters merely stated that we were being fired because we were deemed "surplus" and "redundant" to the university's "restructuring exercise."

It is only through the use of the FOIA that I received the following startling facts that are being used in my lawsuit against UTT for wrongful dismissal.

(1) In a FOIA response to my request to see a progress report of the restructuring exercise, UTT stated in a letter dated 05/10/18 - five months after we were dismissed - that "[T]he restructuring exercise is not complete and there is no Restructuring Exercise Report."

(2) I was retrenched by administrator Judy Rocke for carrying a 70% teaching workload (discounting Practicum) when some of my former colleagues had scores as low as 15%, 28%, 34%, etc. and were retained, and

(3) Through the use of the FOIA, I was able to get copies of the CVs/Resumes of two unqualified lecturers who replaced us to teach Anthropology and TVOC (Technical and Vocational Education).

The 30-day limit to respond to FOIA requests for information from Government agencies ensures timely equality of treatment and empowerment of all citizens who pay taxes to support these same institutions. Government's proposal to extend the response time to 90 days, and then an additional 90 days pending the approval of the Attorney General - a political appointee - is clearly an attempt to politicize the response process. Government's plan is also to discourage and obstruct members of the public from their "right to know" about the operations of public authorities.

Government should not try to hide information that is in the public interest.

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### GIHR Twelfth Conference: LABOUR, MILITARY, and MIGRATION

Congratulations to the Guyana Institute of Historical Research on its 12th annual conference organized around the theme Labour, Military, and Migration.

The conference opened last night (June 28, 2019) at the National Museum and concluded today (June 29, 2019) at the Critchlow Labor College. The event attracted participants from Guyana, Suriname, Trinidad & Tobago, and the United States. There were panels and presentations on "the military and migration;" "the nature and scope of Indian immigration;" "patterns of African Guianese resistance in the immediate post-emancipation period;" "Sugar, the declining years;" and biography."

## MILITARY and MIGRATION

Dr. Kumar Mahabir (T&T) presented the paper “Military migrants: from the battlefield of India to cane fields of British Guiana.” Ms. Mildred Caprino (Suriname) presented the paper “Military strategy of Maroon fighters in the 18th century—1742-1750.” Ms. Norma Scott (Guyana) presented on her experiences as a female soldier in Guyana Defence Force. Ms. Scott was among the first women to join the GDF on February 16, 1967.

### The nature and scope of Indian immigration to the Caribbean

Mansraj Ramphal (T&T) presented the paper “Indian immigration into the British West Indies and Mauritius during the indentureship period, their numbers and impact, 1834-1920.” Ms. Shalima Mohammed (T&T) presented the paper “Exploitation: Re-imagining the migrant experience.” This paper focused on a contemporary issue—the exploitation of Guyanese of Indian ancestry in Trinidad.

### Patterns of African Guianese resistance

Dr. Aubrey Thompson (Morgan State University) presented the paper “Freedom with a continuum of resistance: African Guianese in the immediate post-emancipation period.”

### The sugar saga

Ms. Volda Morris-Williams (Guyana) presented the paper “The Sugar Revolution: the declining years, 1900-1920.”

### Biography

Dr. David Hinds (Arizona State University) presented the paper “Revisiting Walter Rodney’s Civil Rebellion, 1979-1980.”

Dr. Dawn Stewart (Guyana) presented the paper “Faith Harding.”

### Feature addresses

Dr. Vibert Cambridge presented the Feature Address at the opening event on the evening of Friday, June 28 at the National Museum, Georgetown, Guyana.

Mr. Eric Phillips presented the Feature Address on Saturday, June 29 at the Critchlow Labor College.

The papers from the conference will be published by the Guyana Institute for Historical Research in the upcoming months. Here are some photographs from what was a stimulating event. Congratulations, “Team GIHR.”



1. Cleaning.
2. Employment
3. Event planning

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### Scenes from GIHR Twelfth Conference





**GIHR**







**2019  
Conference**



**June 28-30,  
2019**



**Guyana Institute of Historical Research**

**June 29, 2019**

**“Cometh the Hour, Cometh the Man”**

**Address by Eric Phillips**

One hundred year ago, the first Trade Union in the Caribbean was founded by Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow on 11 January 1919. By the end of 1919, the British Guiana Labour Union (BGLU) had more than 7,000 financial members comprising waterfront workers, tradesmen, sea defence and road workers, railroad workers, balata bleeders and miners, some Government employees and hundreds of sugar estate labourers. Branches of the union were also set up in various parts of the country.

The son of a Barbadian father and Essequibian Guyanese woman, Hubert began his journey in November and December 1905 when he led a strike by waterfront workers for increased wages.

The rest of course, is history and a monument to Critchlow is most appropriately located in the grounds of the Parliament, where interestingly enough, another great Guyanese hero, the Father of Non-Violent protest, a man named DAMON, who protested the apprenticeship scheme, and whom raised a “flag” as a sign of freedom and independence from the farmers, was hanged at noon, on Monday October 13, 1834, on a scaffold specially erected in front of the new Public Buildings which is today’s Parliament grounds.

In British Guiana in the early 1900s working and living conditions for workers were horrendous. Those fortunate to find work at a time of high unemployment faced a long working day for low wages and rising cost of living. In Georgetown many people lived in shantytowns with poor water supply, little or no drainage or garbage disposal. Disease was rampant, infant mortality rates were high and life expectancy low. No organization existed to make representation to employers on behalf of their workers to secure better wages and improved working conditions.

The sheer injustices and inhumanity meted out to workers drove them from time to time to strike out in total desperation, to risk their livelihood and their safety, in a basic human instinct for survival, in order to better their lot, but to no avail. When workers protested in Georgetown and in the countryside for better pay and working conditions, the government sided with the employers and quelled workers’ demonstrations with military force. Some protesters were even killed. Government did not see it as their role to have laws about income and hours of work, or grant recognition to organised labour unions.

As I began to gather my thoughts for this annual Guyana Institute of Historical Research event, I asked myself a simple question:

“What would Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow.....the father of Trade Unionism.....what would he have done if he were faced with today’s labour situation in Guyana:

1. Oil is here signifying the requirement for a plethora of highly skilled, high paying technical jobs.
2. Guysuco and its Union are in crisis. On one hand, for Guysuco’s Management .....there is a crisis of profitability and credibility.....on the other hand, for the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union (GAWU) .....there is a crisis of jobs, integrity and global relevance.
3. For Labour unions, this is a new era of digital technologies and knowledge age where robots driven by artificial intelligence and automation pose the question “will labour unions survive”?
4. Guyana’s population will surge because of oil and the competition for jobs will directly or indirectly result in the weakening of unions, unless there is a new vision. The labour market will be very different, have a totally different set of necessary prerequisites for success and will lead to foreign competition for jobs.
5. Finally, Guyana’s focus on a “green” economy funded by an “oil” sector consistent with its global commitments to the Paris Accords on climate change and Agenda 2030, both necessitate a different “business” culture.

Yes....if Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow were alive today.... what type of Union would he form?

What would be the goals of such a Union?

What type of strategy would he have pursued to achieve his goals?

Today, there is much debate and discussion about the “Future of Work” .

It is the topic of the day. And typically, when this topic is discussed, there are three or four issues embedded within it.

- First, there is the discussion around the impact of artificial intelligence, automation on work and jobs, and whether we’ll have enough work and jobs left after that.
- Second, there is the issue of the changing models for work and the changing models of work structure. This involves questions around independent work, the gig economy, and what people sometimes refer to as fissured work—whether people work as outsourced services or not.
- Third, there is the income question. We know that most advanced economies, over the last decade, have seen this huge stagnation of incomes, at least wage-driven incomes for workers and households. And so that ties into the inequality debate, and whether people work and earn enough to be able to make a living or not.
- Fourth, and finally, there is the fundamental question: “Will technology make that even worse as we look forward”? Then there are questions about how work will be organized and how it will look in terms of people working alongside machines.

All of these questions are embedded in this big topic called “the future of work.”

Automation, the impact of artificial-intelligence and autonomous systems; will there be enough work.... or are we going to create enough work to make up for what we’re going to lose.....ALL THESE QUESTIONS BECOME RELEVANT.

Before we answer the question of what would Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow do.....we need some facts

1. Unionization rates have been falling in DEVELOPING countries for 50years.... from 34% of workers in 1960....to 17% in 2012, according to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), which is a club made up of 34 mostly rich countries.

2. Labour Unions have been in decline for decades as evidenced by the number of wage and salaried workers belonging to a Union dropping from about 20% in 1983 to 11% in 2014.

Part of what explains unions’ decline over the years is their inability to adapt to current dynamics around current workforce issues, as well as a compensation environment that pushes workers away from unions.

For instance, companies over the years have independently adapted their pay and work conditions to ward off unions and discourage worker involvement. He said workers today see a wage floor and ceiling that unions bargain for, which doesn’t take into account individual, merit-based pay packages that many modern workers receive through their companies and that typically leave them better off than the deal a union would likely negotiate.

Additionally, employers and employees want more flexibility, both in regard to pay and in how and when they work, than what unions traditionally offer. Companies, in essence, want to discourage unionization. “The way to do that is to treat your employees well, to pay them well and to give them good benefits, regardless of whether there’s a union at the worksite or not.”

Then there is the fundamental question about Unions and a country’s global competitiveness. “Do fewer Unions make countries more competitive”?

Let us focus on Guyana. And on Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow.

- Automation is here.
- Robotics is here.
- Digital technologies are here.
- High tech jobs are here and are coming

Moreso, Guyana has a very visible but ignored challenge.

The Guyana Labour Force Survey (GLFS) done for the third quarter of 2017, revealed the following structure and composition of the labour force.

- Less than 10% of the working age population completed any degree higher than a secondary education.
- Approximately 50% only have a primary school education.
- 24.3 % have secondary education.
- 2,3 % have a Bachelor' degree or equivalent.
- 0.3 % have a Master's or equivalent.

The fundamental issue reflected in these numbers is the type and quality of jobs that can be created in Guyana. Guyana will soon produce oil. This type of workforce cannot partake in the production of oil other than in low paying service areas.

The country is pursuing STEM, but the focus has been more on Information Technology (IT) and Artificial Intelligence (AI) when the real need is Science, Engineering and Mathematics.

In recent years, there has been less than a 50% pass rate in English and Mathematics, two subjects that underpin the ability of Guyanese to go beyond the primary school level.

There are 10 main reasons for youth unemployment in Guyana.

1. A globally noncompetitive private sector that does not create jobs and is delinked from the development and economic vision of the government.
2. Guyana's economic paradigms over the last 30 years have not been focused on job creation.
3. Guyana's labor force and human capital is inadequate for sustainable job creation.
4. Guyana leads the world in migration of its tertiary graduates (86% annually).
5. The education system is not aligned to Guyana's economic development strategies.
6. Widespread corruption which distorts market forces and genuine entrepreneurship.
7. An outdated immigration policy that advantages foreign nationals and supports their plans to create businesses that crowd out local entrepreneurs.
8. The lack of appropriate technologies and cheap energy to nurture local manufacturing.
9. A small local market that does not facilitate economies of scale and therefore business competitiveness or job creation.
10. The lack of an overall strategic plan for the development of human capital.

Guysuco also provides us with some insights into the current behaviour of unions in Guyana.

The costs of labour is more than 60% of total costs in producing sugar at a price that is 4 times the global price.

Two years ago, on June 27, 2017, at this same GIHR event, Earl John presented "A brief resume of the sugar industry".

In that presentation, he showed the following:

1. Guysuco employees were granted 11,000 house lots across the industry, on which former "logie" occupants were settled in their own homes, financed by loans from the Sugar Industry Welfare Fund (ran by JI Ramphal, father of Sir Shridat Ramphal).....but African who worked in the company but lived in villages such as Ithaca, Rosignal, Hopetown, Buxton and Plaisance, to name a few, were excluded from the same loans..Because they had to prove ownership of property, an impossibility at the time because of how villages were bought communally.
2. Guysuco had one of the best medical programs in the Caribbean. Long before the concept of a National Health Insurance Scheme was developed the industry had been providing free medical services to its several thousands of employees – 228,000 in the 1960s, 17,000 in 2017, to their spouses and all unemployed children up to 18 years. Add to that 5,235 pensioners in 2017. Services are conducted by 6 EMOs and 29 para-medical staff operating in 15 Primary Health Care Centres and 2 Regional Diagnostic Centres – where hundreds of statutory medical examinations and treatments are carried out. In 2016 the total attendance was 88,913.
3. Guysuco had one of the best Education programs in the Caribbean. The Cadetship programme which was initiated by the private owners in the 1950s is still viable – over the last five years alone at UG's

degree course, and at GSA Diploma Course – all in Agriculture. Over the last five years approximately \$7M has been spent on 22 Cadets; some \$30M on Management Trainees and \$36M on GSA Cadets. Over the same period the industry has funded Bursary Awards to 1179 students, children of workers at a cost of just over \$46M. It also manages an Assistance to Study Scheme for which all employees are eligible. Cost for the same five year period was over \$4M – to which 71 employees were recipients. Then there is a Work Study Programme where we encourage students from various schools to be engaged in short periods in the industry. The five year cost for 75 students was over \$2M

As I read the literature and researched what countries around the world were addressing union issues. I found the following:

#### CHINA

China has a comprehensive legal framework that gives workers a range of entitlements and protects them from exploitation by their employer. Workers have the right to be paid in full and on time, a formal employment contract, a 40-hour working week with fixed overtime rates, social insurance covering pensions, healthcare, unemployment, work injuries and maternity leave, severance pay in the event of contract termination, equal pay for equal work, and protection against workplace discrimination.

Workers also have the right to form an enterprise trade union (see below for more details), and the enterprise union committee has to be consulted by management before any major changes to workers' pay and conditions.

#### SINGAPORE

Singapore, with over 70 unions, affiliated associations and related organisations, has a system of Tripartism in which there is collaboration among Singapore unions, employers and the government which has been practised since 1965 when NTUC and the Singapore government signed a Charter for Industrial Progress and a Productivity Code of Practice.

Singapore's tripartism model offers competitive advantage for the country by promoting economic competitiveness, harmonious labour-management relations and the overall progress of the nation.[1]

#### SWEDEN

Sweden has a long tradition of labour unions and today nearly 70% of the working population in Sweden belongs to a union today. This makes Sweden one of the most unionised countries in the world. Swedish unions are powerful and they regulate essential parts of the Swedish work market. This is done by collective agreements – so called kollektivavtal that are the result of agreements between the unions and employers' organisations. These agreements cover crucial matters like fair wages, employer pensions, insurances and annual leave days.

Note: kollektivavtal apply to all employees, even non-union-members.

#### GERMANY

The issue of Unionization and global competitiveness. Germany, with the fourth-largest GDP in the world (after the United States, China, and Japan), transformed itself from sick man to economic superstar over the last 2 decades? Germany's competitive position relative to its main trading partners has persistently improved since 1995 because its wages grew at a slower pace than productivity. This is due largely to the fact that the German economy went through an unprecedented process of decentralization of wage bargaining during the 1990s. That is what led to a dramatic decline in unit labor costs, and ultimately increased competitiveness.

When Germany's government under Chancellor Gerhard Schröder implemented the so-called Hartz reforms, in 2003, they were extremely controversial.

They reduced and capped unemployment benefits, with the goal of spurring more people to look for jobs. They also introduced vouchers that allowed recipients to choose job training providers. By the same token, they turned federal and local employment agencies — bureaucratic public institutions — into service providers. New management approaches and measures added more efficiency and a results orientation.

## JAPAN

What was happening here, was that rather than focusing on wages and benefits, as American unions do, this union was focusing on keeping the economy strong in order to protect the job security of union members. “The Japanese union believed it had a responsibility to help increase Mazda’s productivity, and improve its competitiveness.” (Fucini, p. 21)

“Under this philosophy, the union and management were not adversaries, as they were in America, but partners, each working to create a successful company.”

The difference was that all Japanese autoworker unions are company unions; thus, their fortunes are linked absolutely to those of the automaker.

## FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

As I approach a suggestion as to what Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow would do, there is a fundamental question that needs to be asked.

What do labour Unions want?

The most important challenges unions from developing countries are facing today are high unemployment rates, especially for the young; the legacies of globalization and international competition; demographic changes through education deficits in their populations due to migration; an education system misaligned with its economic development needs; technological changes via artificial intelligence and digital innovation like automation; and the impact of climate change on jobs and the environment.

What do Labor Unions want today?

Today, unions continue to serve the same purpose for which they were originally founded.

1. Increasing wages
2. Raising the standard of living for the working class.
3. Ensuring safe working conditions
4. Increasing benefits for both workers and their families

Today, Workers Need Fair Treatment Today as Much as Ever

1. Employers are trying to shed responsibility for providing health insurance, good pension coverage, reasonable work hours and job safety protections.
2. Additionally, companies are making workers' jobs and incomes less secure through downsizing, part-timing, contracting out, and sending jobs off-shore.

## SHARED VALUE

I would content that Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow would have intuitively pursued a strategy related to shared value.

Guysuco has shown what unions should not do...kill the goose that lays the golden egg, because of political and historical alliances that are not in tune with national needs, international competition and inclusive growth.

What is shared value?

Like Japan, Germany, Singapore, Sweden and other progressive countries, there is an enlightened understanding that the private sector is more than the engine of growth seeking maximum profits...but that the private sector must play an indispensable role alongside government, civil society and communities to solve complex, global challenges like hunger, poverty, inequality, unemployment and climate change.

In their seminal 2011 Harvard Business Review article, “Creating Shared Value,” Michael Porter and Mark Kramer introduced the concept of shared value: corporate policies and practices that enhance the competitiveness of a company while simultaneously advancing social and economic conditions in the communities in which the company sells and operates.

Porter and Kramer argue that all profit is not equal.

Shared value is about expanding the total pool of economic and social value.

A good example of this difference in perspective is the fair trade movement in purchasing. Fair trade aims to increase the proportion of revenue that goes to poor farmers by paying them higher prices for the same crops. Though this may be a noble sentiment, fair trade is mostly about redistribution rather than expanding the overall amount of value created.

The focus on holding down wage levels, reducing benefits, and offshoring is beginning to give way to an awareness of the positive effects that a living wage, safety, wellness, training, and opportunities for advancement for employees have on productivity.

Many companies, for example, traditionally sought to minimize the cost of “expensive” employee health care coverage or even eliminate health coverage altogether. Today leading companies have learned that because of lost workdays and diminished employee productivity, poor health costs them more than health benefits do.

Shared value is addressing social problems at scale while actually making a profit, so it is a business proposition.

.....  
Today, the world has changed because of globalisation, liberalization and nation state bullyism.

Globalisation spurned great inequalities, so much so that 1% of the population own more than 50% of the world’s wealth.

Globalisation has also spurned environmental devastation, so much so that yesterday France had a temperature of 45 degrees Celsius and this temperature will devastate other parts of Europe.

The North Pole is melting and severe climate anomalies are global and frequent.

With Donald Trump. The world has become a fragmented economic landscape where nations will shout “America First” or Britain First as it exits the EU.

China also has a China First strategy called the Silk Road where it is creating a 77 nation free trade zone that it will and can dominate at the exclusion of America and Europe...this is the real trade war going on between the USA and China disguised as a tariff war.

Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, one of Guyana’s forgotten heroes, chose methods and strategies that suited his time.

Today, I believe, Hubert Nathaniel would have done the same .....moved intuitively to a strategy of tripartism and shared value.

Issues of the future of work, automation, artificial intelligence, the changing work environment would have been incorporated in Hubert’s intuitive solutions.

He would have pushed for a monthly CASH transfer in Guyana as I am pushing for.

This will alleviate much poverty and hardship in Guyana.

Sugar and bauxite workers will get great relief.....

Youth entrepreneurs will be able to pool their monthly cash transfers to generate seed capital instead of being held hostage by greedy banks.

The TRIPARTISM Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow would have pushed is not seen today in Guyana.

Our economic vision is fragmented and we have a “we versus them” attitude.

Cash transfers should be the dominant issue today in Guyana.

But cash transfers is will become a political gimmick of how much and by whom and of a fictitious 50,000 jobs promise.

When in reality, UNIONS and Civil society should be driving this call...and it should be built into every economic plan in Guyana.

How else will poverty and better living conditions be achieved in Guyana.....

Some racial and political entrepreneurs will shout...the People will waste it.....YEA...Like the billions lost in corruption on an annual basis.

The people will WASTE far less than Any Government.....PERIOD

Long Live the Spirit of Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow on the 100th anniversary of his living saving, nation building formation of the first Union in the Caribbean.

He would be pushing for CASH transfers as one of his intuitive and well informed strategies to improve the lives of all Guyanese.

Isn't that what UNIONISM is about?

**"Cometh the Hour, Cometh the Man"**

### Quotes of the President of Guyana



1. "All Saints Anglican Church is an emblem of multiculturalism. Its congregations over the decades have included Africans, Amerindians, Chinese, Europeans and Indians as borne out by the Church's records and the composition of today's congregation," he said.
2. "It is a closely-knitted faith community which has been of modest service to the Region. I commend the work of this Church and, particularly, the efforts of the Mothers' Union".
3. "Training is the foundation of a professional and proficient Force. It is essential for ensuring the success of military missions; for enhancing operational effectiveness and for developing physical endurance. Training is fundamental to military service and that is why your military service begins with a training course here at the Colonel Ulric Pilgrim Officer Cadet School [CUPOCS]. Should training be neglected, standards would fall, troops' morale would decline and deviant behaviour would corrupt the Force's members and corrode the competence of the Force."
4. "Canada has provided assistance to Guyana in a wide range of fields including education, the environment and climate resilience, indigenous people's development, governance, justice administration, public administration, private sector development, social development and of course for the National Assembly."

5. "Canada, today, has become a model of multiculturalism and a symbol of social cohesion. Canada's unwavering commitment to the principles of gender equity, human rights and inclusionary democracy and its leadership on matters of critical importance to the international community have earned it international acclaim."
6. "The digital state demands a reorientation of our education system towards greater emphasis on science, technology engineering and mathematics (STEM). ICT and STEM education will allow Guyana to develop a more a technologically competent workforce."
7. "So our discussions which lasted just about an hour, were clearly focused on the means, not the nomination, the means to be adopted for the nomination and appointment of the Chairman of the Elections Commission. We feel that unless and until the Chairman is appointed, the work of the Commission will not be able to move ahead as quickly as possible. We are also bound now by the interpretation of the Caribbean Court of Justice, which has spoken twice on the issue of elections and it was really an obedience to that last injunction by that Court that I decided to meet the Leader of the Opposition to decide on a way forward and this has been done," he said.





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## Education



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The Institute is therefore soliciting your assistance. We are inviting you/your organization, to invest in the future of the children, and, ultimately in the promotion of the discipline of history. I am your contact person and, my email address is [hazelwoolford@gmail.com](mailto:hazelwoolford@gmail.com)

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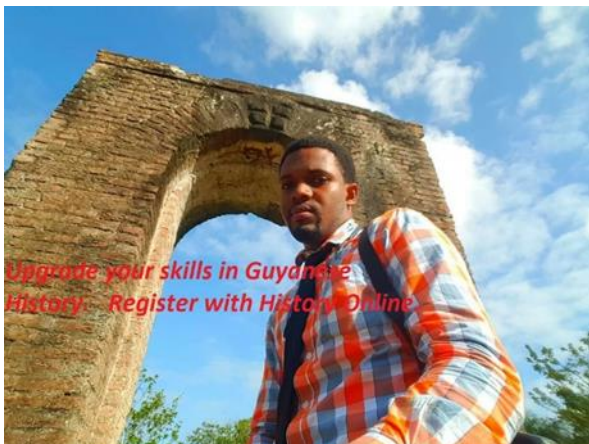


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