

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

FJM-22 Jamaica III
The confrontation to come

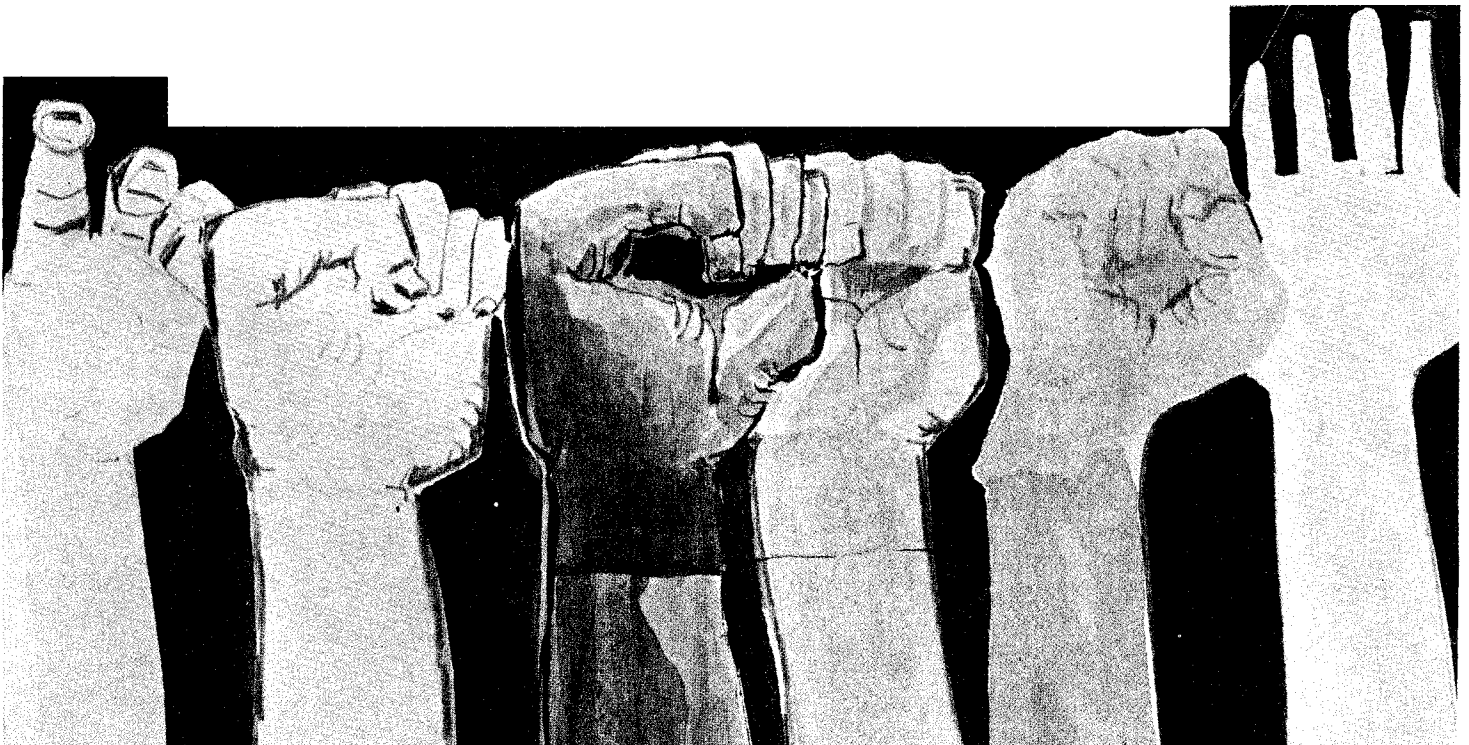
Kingston, Jamaica
April 30, 1970

Mr. Richard Nolte
Executive Director
Institute of Current World Affairs
535 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Nolte:

There is confrontation every day in Jamaica. It goes for the most part unnoticed, but it pervades the entire society. It exists between the police and Rasta, the estate owners and the rural under-employed, the Kingston Merchant and the Trench Town Rudie. It also arises between the American bauxite industry and the mass of Jamaican unemployed, or with the frightened vigilante on his verandah and the black man on the street. Eventually, however, these tensions must surface even though now they are hidden by biased or censored new-media.

Then they will erupt into a more explicit confrontation. When they do, and the police nor the army can repress them, the politicians will call for non-violent revolution. But then it will be too late. The antagonists will be too far apart, conflict will have built under pressure for too long and the pain of structuring a new order will have to begin.



The Jamaican police are under most circumstances polite and courteous--to the upper-class Jamaican or white man. The mass of Jamaican population, on the other hand, are treated differently. Hardly a week passes without some press report of "another police raid carried out"....."suspects detained"....."man shot while resisting arrest".....or....."shot while attempting to escape". Perhaps the most characteristic confirmation of police methodology was the night just a few weeks ago.

The Star of March 24 carried the headline: "Civilians, Cops in Battle, Man Found Dead." The story went on to detail the events of the night before.

"One man was found dead on the road this morning, three other persons hospitalized with gunshot wounds and several others slightly wounded, arising out of disturbances in Trench Town last night when guns blazed, molotov cocktails and other missiles were hurled. The dead man was identified as Francisco Simms, popularly known as 'Stupid', aged about 35, of no fixed address, whose body was found in Collie Smith Drive".

Then the item narrates how a fight at a local cinema resulted in the need for police. According to the police, while trying to intervene in the fighting, one of them was disarmed by the crowd. Riot police were summoned and a gun battle broke out which resulted in Simms' death and the injury to two others.

Actually, according to several other reliable reports, the "disturbance" began when a policeman found that his rifle had been stolen from his automobile. Parked outside a local cinema, he decided that someone from inside the theater must have taken it. Consequently, he called for riot police who surrounded the theater, placed machine guns at the front door and had each spectator stopped and searched before leaving. Periodically, and without cause, certain individuals being searched would be beaten about the head. One man, watching the individual in front of him being hit, became frightened. He bolted out the narrow door and ran. The police fired and killed him. This was Simms, a man people called 'stupid' because he was half-mad. As a result of the shooting, the crowd within rebelled and the "battle between cops and civilians" ensued.

However, no group of Jamaicans suffer more from police brutality than do the Rastafarians. The Rastas, a religious cult who follow their African deliverer, Emperor Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari) and plan on returning to Africa, have taken the brunt of police repression. Often it is in terms of a simple jostle or a blow with a "rock steady" (a rubber encased wire truncheon). More often a raiding party, usually in search of ganja (which the Rastas have been smoking for years) will suddenly appear at the home of a Rasta. His small wooden home will be torn apart, family abused and (in one instance) his child's hair shorn with shears. (The Rastafarians wear their hair plaited in African fashion.)



Above: Police using their "rock steady" treatment on a Rastafarian
Below: Searching home of West Kingston resident for weapons or ganja



It is a regular pattern. The police are utilized by Government to suppress a possible source of unrest in the population. The political leaders realize that their grip on the country is tenuous. And because the Rastas represent the most open and complete rejection of the society as it is structured, they are the most likely to "get pressure".

Other alienated sections of the society recognize this fact. They understand too that any open defiance of authority is likely to result in pressure for them. This accounts for the fact that Jamaica is not often given to demonstration or some other form of non-violent protestation. Instead, dissent is expressed in other ways: by the extremely high crime rate, or in a series of underground records which the Government has banned. Together crime and music seem to be the Jamaican's most persistent preoccupation these days. (Most conspicuous in both respects is the "rudie": short for rude person, whose unemployed gangs of young peers have turned to crime music as a means of survival. (There is a group of singers called "Rude Boys".)

The Prime Minister, Hugh Shearer, is not very sympathetic to Rastas or Rudies or their cults and music. They are criminals as far as he's concerned; and the police are only following his lead:

"Don't measure the distance between the criminal and you (group of policemen) before you set him alight."

There is also his famous remark about reciting the Beatitudes:

"I make no bones about it gentlemen, I want all Jamaica to get the message that the police force is not going to recite Beatitudes to anybody."

This last statement was very satisfying to many middle class Jamaicans, however. Right now they feel very insecure. Recently small groups of commercial people and landowners have formed themselves into informal vigilantes. One notable example of this is the addition of a small rack for guns which has appeared in several prominent homes recently. It provides guests with a place to securely lay their pistols.



Top: On stand by, the Jamaica Defense Force
Bottom: A west Kingston neighborhood



The single, immediate cause for the repressive quality of life in Jamaica today is unemployment. There are, at latest count, 175,000 men who cannot find any work at all and every year that figure increases by at least another 10,000. That is, almost 25% of the total Jamaican labour force is out of work. Add on top of that the fact that nine out of ten Jamaicans who do earn a wage receive less than \$15 a week and the causes of the country's problems are clear.

For example, early Monday morning each week, several busloads and cars transport an average of 75 men from Kingston to Mandeville and the ALPART plant, a trek of some ninety miles. These men, unemployed, looking desperately for work, "hear that maybe there is work to be had at the big bauxite company in the center of the island".

The entrance to ALPART is blocked by a huge, wire-mesh gate which slides back on rollers after a security guard has checked proper identification. When the crowds arrive from Kingston, the first thing they see is that gate and a sign saying "No Trespassing". Then they are told that there is no work and the Jamaican police detachment assigned to guard the plant arrest the men and take them to the Mandeville jail where they are fined \$2.00 each for trespassing on private lands. Noting the crowd one Monday morning, the Industrial Relations Director of the plant remarked that it was a "small number for us today, we only had 50 while normally we get a hundred out here".

ALPART, however, cannot really help the unemployment problem. The company requires only 450 hourly paid workers and employs a total staff of only 800. The bauxite industry as a whole is able to take on only 5000 workers. This is essentially because the bauxite industry is geared to the American economy where the means of production are capital intensive rather than labour intensive. It is also because the means of production require more labour, such as smelting and fabrication, are located in the United States. (See FJM--20)

The bauxite industry is therefore in a very sensitive position. As the largest industrialists as well as the biggest land owners (the Americans own a total of 142,000 acres), the companies realize that pressure is building and that they are in the middle. Along with the Government, however, the Americans hope that if the lid on upheaval is kept firmly in place long enough, the economy may develop enough to satisfy the basic needs of the population. Instinctively too, the companies have organized massive social welfare schemes in hopes of easing some of the pressure.

Alcan, for example, has undertaken an extensive agricultural and reforestation programme on its 48,000 acres. The company also leases 21,000 acres of this land to tenant farmers at a cost of \$2.40 each a year. Another \$7000 is donated to a scholarship fund which at the present time is providing 11 men with some form of educational training. Another example is ALPART's dairy farm which provides 1,000 quarts of milk to a Montego Bay dairy plant each day. ALPART has also funded several schools in the Mandeville area, awarded almost \$1,000 in scholarships and even built its own school for its employees. (It is significant at the same time, however, that children who attend the school salute the American flag each morning.)

The personification of these social welfare programmes must be Donald Tretzel, the Managing Director of Kaiser in Jamaica. With respect to moving into the social fabric of Jamaica, providing scholarship money, schools, resettlement schemes, land leases, on the job training and community services, Donald Tretzel has no peer. It is obvious that he enjoys his work and the place he has made for Kaiser in Jamaica. It is also clear that he is one of the most powerful men in the country.

Tretzel's involvement in the community includes his participation on at least a dozen boards, committees, corporations and institutes. The list includes being Chairman of the Jamaica Railway Corporation, member of the Engineering Advisory Council at the University of the West Indies, President of the Science Teachers Association of Jamaica, Member of the St. Ann's Area Hospital Board, and several others. Tretzel has also overseen Kaiser's donation of \$69,000 for the St. Elizabeth Technical High School, the offer of land for the Aboukir Industrial Institute, property for a training camp for young farmers, and the erection of a trades training center at Port Rhoades. He is also responsible for the fact that Kaiser now provides part of the north shore of Jamaica with its water supply, that there is a park providing recreational facilities in Discovery Bay and that thirty-three men are now having on the job training with Kaiser in the United States. In all, Tretzel has at least 65 such projects in the air at the present time.

This is not consciously done with the intention of defusing the potentially eruptive conditions of the country. Nor, on the other hand is it entirely benevolent. It is aimed at creating good community relationships with the people of Jamaica so that Kaiser can dig its pits, extract its bauxite and make its profits. On a personal level, the fact that Tretzel has been living in Jamaica for twenty years and that he has come to know and like Jamaicans makes it that much more easy and enjoyable for everyone involved. The vital question is, of course, what effect these projects are having on the social and political conditions of Jamaica.

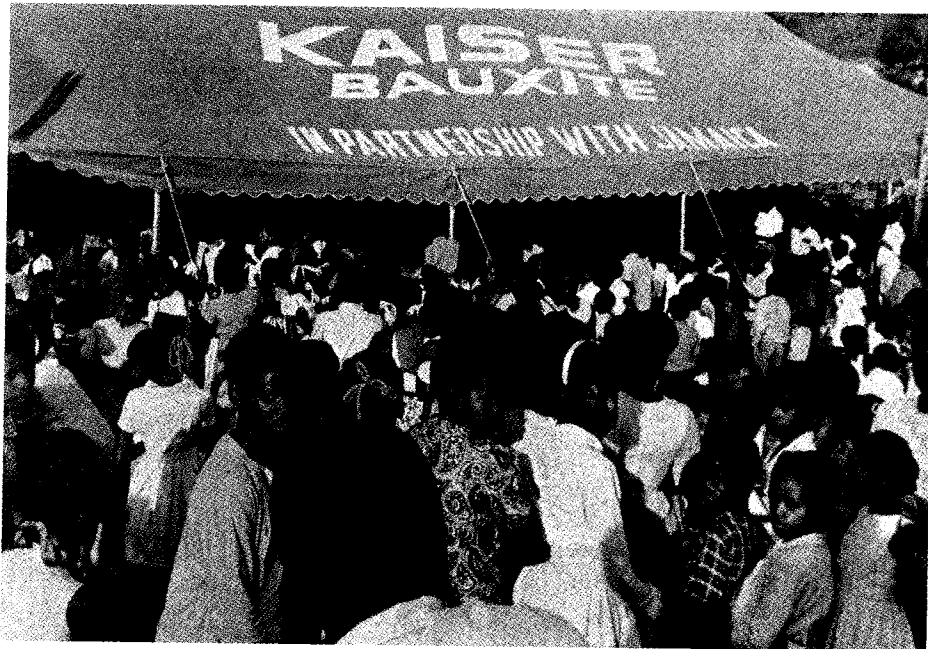
In the first instance, no matter how benevolent Kaiser or ALPART or Alcan are, the fact remains that the bauxite industry is operating a plantation economy in Jamaica today. The decisions which effect that bauxite industry are made in the United States, and these decisions are made in the interests of the "Company", not the Jamaicans. In terms of employment, profits, technical innovation and industrial diversification the Jamaicans are the losers. In return, Kaiser and the other companies in Jamaica are paying some taxes (an inequitable amount), some royalties and the various social welfare projects outlined above. The Government then takes this money and spends most of it on Government administration, welfare, transportation, social services and road building--none of which alters the essentially unproductive nature of the Jamaican economy.

Moreover, as in a plantation society, the bauxite companies have become the most powerful social and political units within the areas they operate. In Discovery Bay where Kaiser is, for example, the community recognizes that the Company is the real source of power and services today, not the Government. Kaiser provides the community with water, schools, hospitals, parks, beach facilities and even pet shows. The man who organizes the people is not the local representative of Government. Instead he is Mal Copley, the Public Relations Director at Kaiser.



Above: ALPART's General Manager, Winston Cundiff, presenting Jamaica's Minister of Education with a \$10,000 check for an educational center.

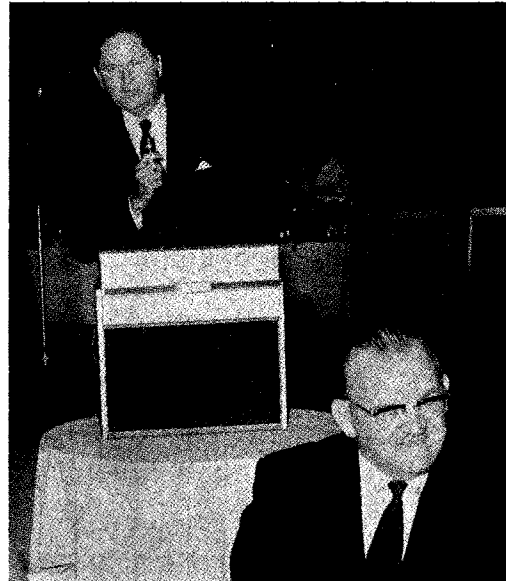
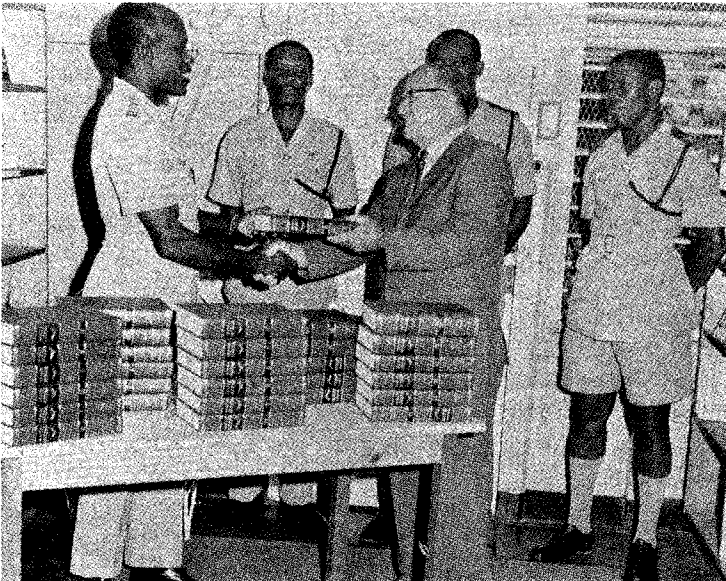
Below: An outing sponsored by Kaiser for residents of Discovery Bay





Above: While the Minister of Education opens one of Kaiser's gifts of an educational center, the Prime Minister and Donald Tretzel listen side by side.

Below: Tretzel presents a gift set of books to the Police Training School (left) and then listens to American Ambassador Vincent de Roulet address a gathering of Kaiser employees.



The political consequences of this may be significant. Because its traditional functions have been usurped by Kaiser, the Government's hold on the allegiance of the people has been weakened. A vacuum has thus been created in many respects and either Kaiser or some other force will be likely to fill it. A political movement which could demonstrate the less benevolent characteristics of the American bauxite industry may be in a position to replace Government altogether.

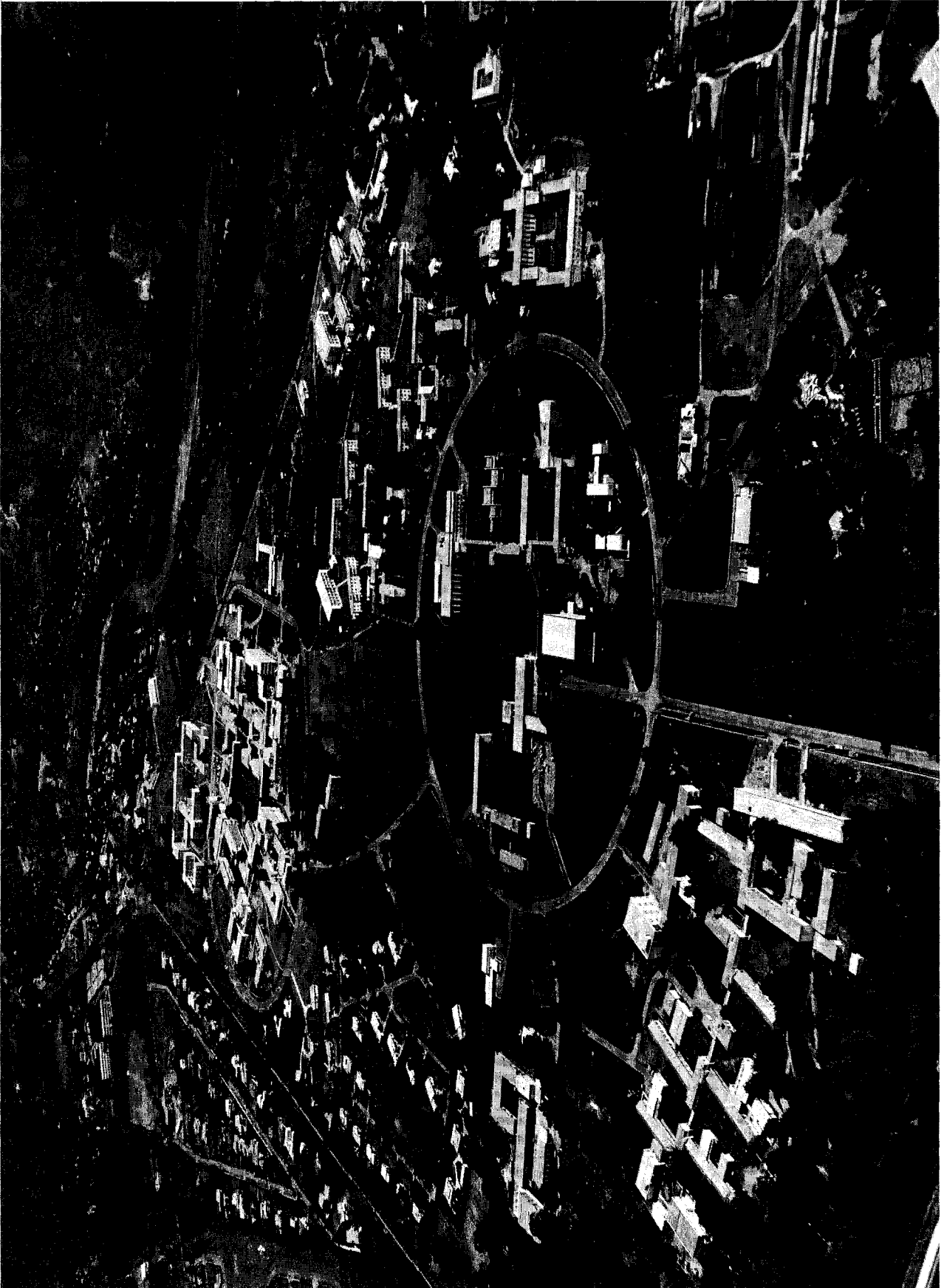
In his Budget speech of last year, the Minister of Finance pointed out to the country that "the Opposition People's National Party has gradually been eroding the principals and ideology for which it had stood and has now reached, with some improvisations, the same position as that of the JLP". "There is not much disagreement between the two parties over fundamentals", the Minister said and therefore "since they have now reached the position of Government, who should the people trust, 'the shadow or the substance?'"

The fact that the PNP has in truth "been eroding" most of its traditional differences with the JLP has created a political vacuum in the country. Within the past year and a half this vacuum has been partially filled by students and lecturers at the Jamaica campus of the University of the West Indies.

The University of the West Indies is composed of three main campuses (Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica) in addition to thirteen extramural centers located throughout the region. The enrollment at the three major campuses numbers about 5,000 and roughly 600 professors or lecturers. The official Head of the University is called the Chancellor, who in this case is Britain's Princess Alice. In the Caribbean, the acting pro-Chancellor is Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad.

There is an administrative head of the University, however, who exercises the day to day authority in carrying out the wishes of the Council. At present, this is Roy Marshall, a Barbadian lawyer who has his main offices at the Mona Campus in Jamaica. Beneath Marshall, there are three "Pro-Vice Chancellors" who might be called the acting principals of the three campuses.

The real authority in the University is a series of committees, with three key committees exercising major control of policies and finance. The first of these is the University Council of which Dr. Williams is Chairman. It exercises all the controls of a governing body including the powers to make appointments and regulate the finances of the University.



Jamaica campus of the University of the West Indies



Above: Professor Roy Marshall, Vice-Chancellor of the University in conference with Minister of Finance, Edward Seaga.
Below: Recently expelled University economist, Clive Thomas.



It meets once a year but its functions are carried out by the Finance and General Purposes Committee which meets monthly at the Mona campus.

The direction of research, instruction and examinations is largely controlled by the Senate. It is the academic authority of the University. This body consists of the Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellors, Deans, all professors and the directors of the various institutes.

The most important source of financial control comes from the University Grants Committee. This committee provides the basic financing of the University and consists of representatives of all the contributing Caribbean Government. It sits three times a year.

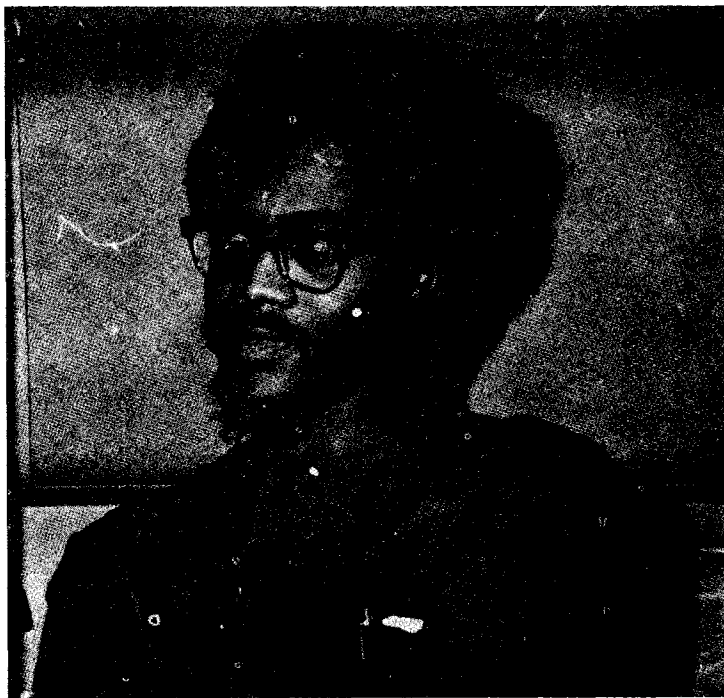
Much significance stems from the fact that the Government of the Caribbean, including the United Kingdom Government, are the major benefactors of the University. Representatives of all the Governments sit on the University Council and on the important University Grants Committee. There is supposed to be an important "convention" that such representatives take part in the discussions of these committees free from any mandate from their Governments. Nevertheless, it would be naive to think that as sources of the University's funds, Governments are not going to want to exercise policy making when it is in their interests to do so. This past year it is apparent that Governments have been very active in University affairs, particularly in Jamaica.

The University of the West Indies has eight, degree-conferring faculties. In Jamaica the Social Science faculty has become the major source of policy making and, to some extent, manpower in opposition to the ruling JLP. This fact has become particularly apparent in the past eighteen months, ever since Walter Rodney was met by police at Jamaica's Kingston Airport and refused entry back into the country.

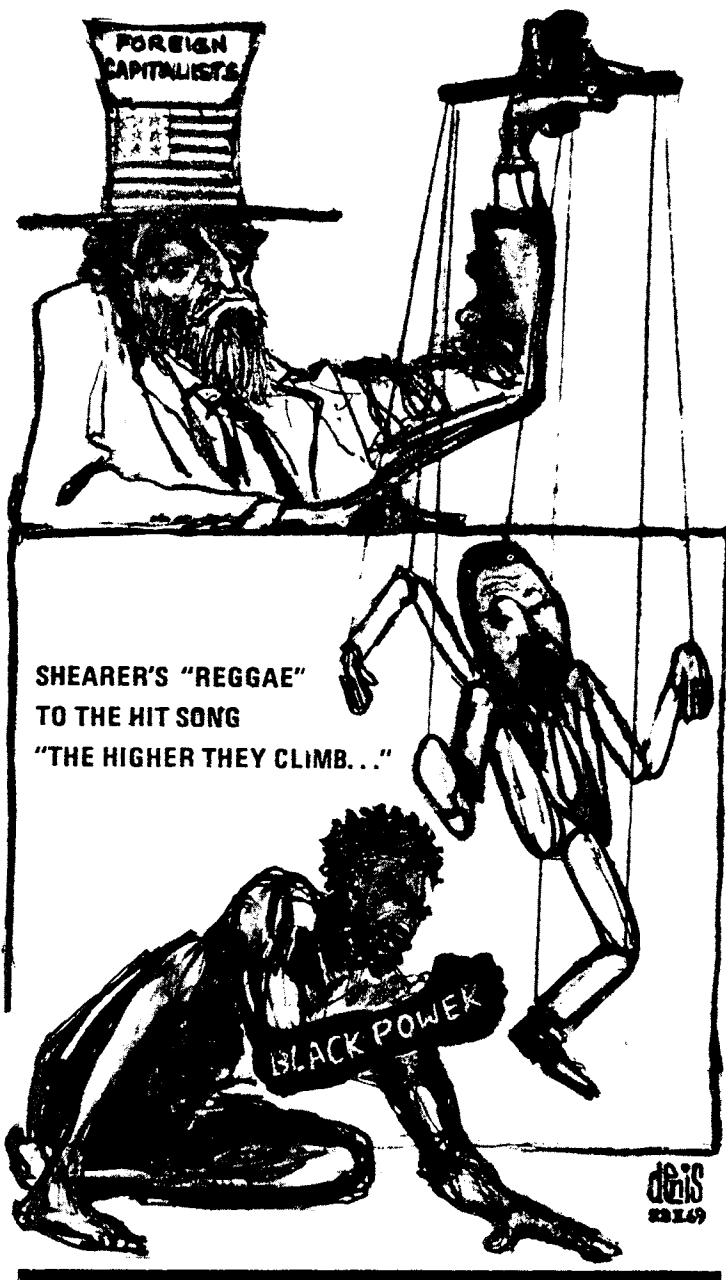
In October of 1968, Walter Rodney was a Guyanese lecturer in history at the Jamaica Campus of the UWI. He was highly popular both on and off the campus, having made a determined effort to make contact with the people of Jamaica. He spoke often and well about Black Power. His greatest assets were simplicity and clarity which enabled him to communicate easily with student or villager, both of whom in time he came to influence greatly. In effect he was one of the early UWI lecturers to begin creating links between the West Indian intellectuals and the community traditionally separated from the University. He made contact with the Rastafarian "brethren" and praised them for their insights into the plight of the black Americans, Africans, and people of the Caribbean. And he linked the struggle of the black man in Jamaica with the emergence of American economic power in the region.

"Black power in the West Indies means three closely related things: First, a break with imperialism which is historically white racist. Second, the assumption of power by the black masses in the islands. Third, the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks."

Below: Abeng cartoon



Walter Rodney



In mid-October, 1968, Rodney was returning to Jamaica from a Black Power conference which he had attended in Canada. The Jamaican police were waiting for him. As Rodney left the aircraft, police met him and explained that he was an undesirable alien, that he would have to leave Jamaica.

On the UWI campus, traditionally apathetic, the reaction was dynamic. Mobilized by what they considered a flagrant violation of the University's rights, early on the morning of October 16, students and lecturers marched from the UWI campus to Kingston to protest before the Ministry of Home Affairs. Half the distance to Kingston, the police intervened and using tear gas and truncheons, dispersed the students. Other events followed quickly. Riots broke out in several places in the Kingston area, which Government later blamed on students although they had nothing to do with the violence.

The riots, however, provided Government with the perfect excuse to associate the students and lecturers with fires, rebellion and anarchy. Using Parliament and the media (which was controlled or censored by Government), the Prime Minister attempted to isolate the University, and particularly the Social Science faculty, from the rest of the Jamaican community. The Daily Gleaner was particularly effective in this regard.

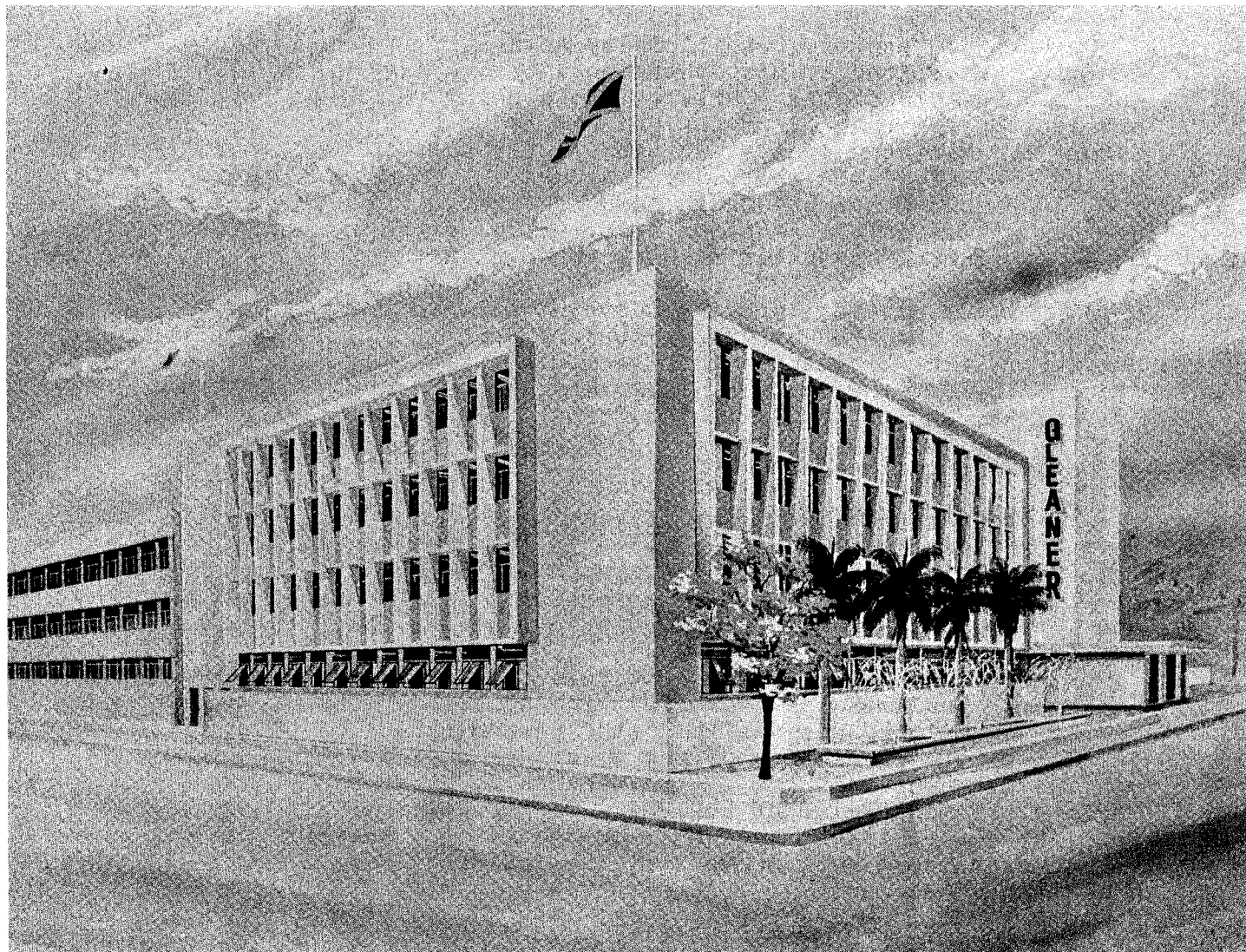
Published since 1834, The Daily Gleaner is the oldest newspaper in the English speaking Caribbean. It is also the single most reactionary institution that can be found in the region. Dominating the Kingston skyline, the Gleaner building is a monument to the power and influence the business community of Jamaica still exercises.

Commenting on the Gleaner's policies, one very influential JLP Minister capsulized the editorial line as being "liberal on the social issues but quite conservative on the economic side of things". This is an accurate reflection of the newspaper's views. It is rabidly nationalist, which is one of the reasons it is so opposed to the regionalist tendencies of the UWI. On most matters, the paper will take the JLP position, though from time to time the PNP will come in for some praise. Yet, above all, the interests of the paper are with the business community. It does not try to hide this fact. Witness the statement from its own history:

"The Gleaner has always supported commercial enterprise, particularly Jamaican, and from 1882 on was linked through its proprietors' interests to most of the local industries and important undertakings.....The paper has always had a powerful survival value through its close links with, and support of local commerce which are the country's life blood."

The key man in making this link is Sir Neville Ashenheim who is the Gleaner's Board Chairman. His grandfather was one of its early promoters and since then, as a result of inter-marriage between Gleaner families, the paper has remained firmly controlled by the Ashenheims and one or two other families. Family control is also maintained by Board control of shares. No one may buy Gleaner stock without permission of the Board of Directors.

Recently, the Gleaner Company has moved into a magnificent new, four storey building which has been modelled from the new Miami Herald



The new Gleaner building. A five million dollar monument.

building. No other newspaper in the Caribbean can compete with the Gleaner in these terms. The building cost five million dollars, part of which was covered by a soft loan drawn from the U.S. Import-Export Bank. The Jamaican Government backed the loan, a significant indication of close links between the two institutions.

The Daily Gleaner is the only daily newspaper published in Jamaica. (The Star is put together by Gleaner staff as an afternoon publication.) It therefore has a monopoly on newspaper advertising and a large say in moulding public opinion. Revenue for advertising is roughly \$2.5 million a year; and what the Jamaican public reads in the Gleaner is most often very conservative opinion. Apart from the editorials and the slant which often accompanies a news item, the primary attitudes of the newspaper come out in its feature articles.

There are nine feature writers who contribute regularly to the Gleaner's columns. None of them write with much understanding or sympathy for anti-establishment views. For the most part, these writers espouse extremely simplistic, conservative viewpoints. One example is the column written by H.S. Burns which appeared on January 13, 1970 entitled "God Help Jamaica".

"The Rastafarian, the criminal, the communist, the followers of the Black Power movement have a like objective--the overthrow of the present system of Government, the present rulers and their officers, therefore the overthrow of all law and order and decency. In this they are all one--a menace to democracy, to society, to the Jamaican way of life. They must be stamped out, exterminated or God Help Jamaica, our native land.

But there is hope. Within themselves they carry the seeds of their own destruction--their ruthless viciousness. This makes them dangerous, but it also makes them vulnerable. They hate law and order. They have no love. They even hate each other and themselves."

Another, equally as conservative but with a bit more style, is a regular feature written by "The Sentry". On January 14, Sentry wrote the following:

"No country has ever profited by getting rid of white people. One of the first to try it was Haiti, and after 300 years the black people there are still mainly in poverty, misery and oppression--ruled by a black boss whom they dare not offend. The result in the Congo was slaughter, and the result in Nigeria is still slaughter. In India, having got rid of a lot of white people, they found it very desirable to get a lot of them back again.

So the first main point is that Jamaica as a nation of mainly black people cannot succeed and achieve what it wants for those black people unless it maintains excellent relations and friendships with white people abroad.

The second main point follows from this. Good relations with white people abroad cannot be maintained unless there are good relations with white people in Jamaica, whether resident or visiting."



Above: Theo Sealy
Gleaner editor

Below: Bustamante with
Sir Neville
Ashenheim



The cleverest of the entire group is Morris Cargill who writes under the pseudonym Thomas Wright. Cargill is no less conservative than the others. He is simply a better and more gifted writer. He is also extremely influential in the Jamaican community. One example of Cargill's attitude appeared in the Gleaner during the Rodney affair. On October 23, 1968, this description of the University community caught the reader's attention:

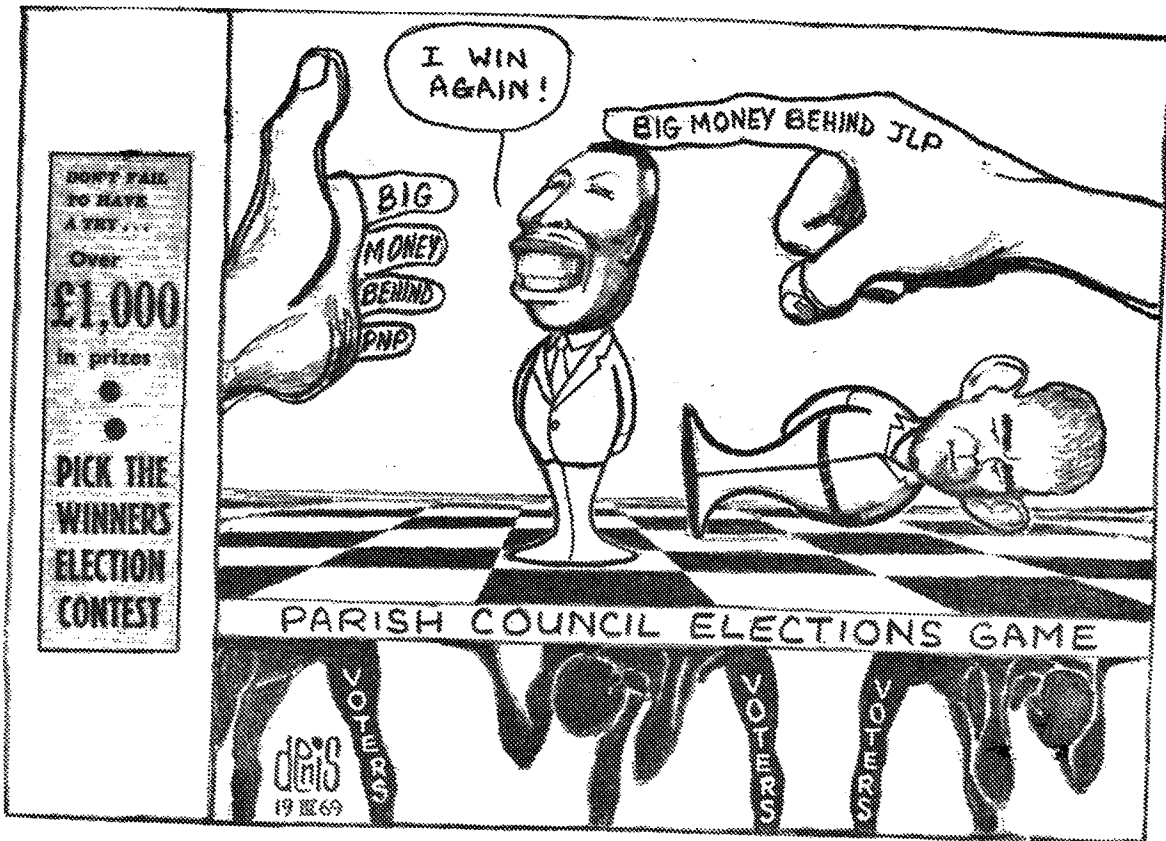
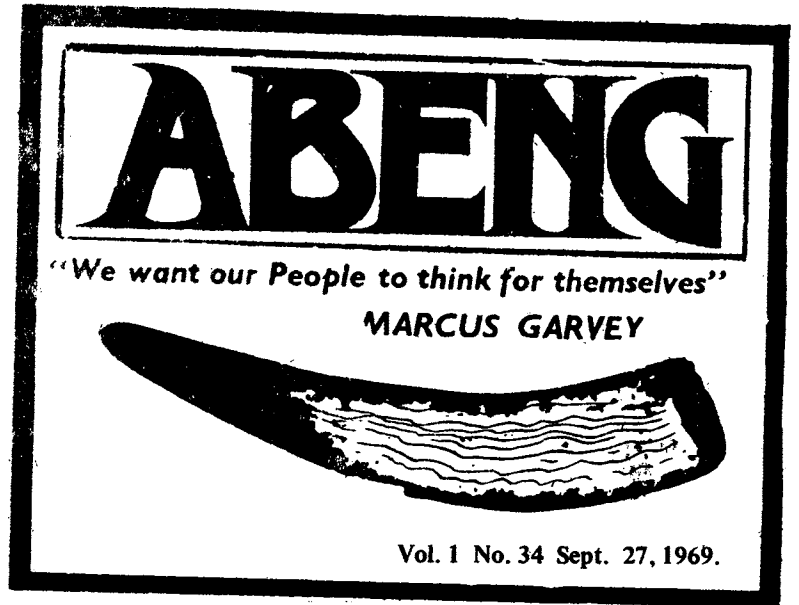
"Those charming characters at the University who seek to disrupt the nation at our expense are still at it, printing their virulent leaflets on a Press which was given them by the Ford Foundation."

The Gleaner is not the only way in which the Government exercises control of media to attack or misrepresent the University. The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, one of two radio stations which operate in Jamaica, was quietly censored during the Rodney affair. On the morning of 16 October, for example, while one JBC reporter was broadcasting a particularly vivid description of police beating a female student, the reporter was suddenly cut off the air. There were no more live reports given that day. As a result of such censorship, it quickly became clear to the University and particularly to the students and lecturers that they would have to provide the Jamaican community with the other point of view. Out of this need came Abeng.

Abeng first appeared February 1, 1969. It terminated ten months later. In the time it existed, however, Abeng represented and gave expression to the most radical politics Jamaica has produced. In many ways it was disjointed, contradictory and self-defeating, but still it accomplished what no other radical movement has been able to do. It made contact with the Jamaica people.

Abeng derived its name from the horn early revolutionaries once used to call one another. The name was appropriate. The columns were used to exchange views between the people within the University and the Jamaicans who lived in the slums of Kingston or in rural villages. If an article or statement came to the editors from a small village in Manchester, the piece would be printed as it was, without editing. The language of the paper was the language of the people. And on Thursday evenings when the four-page weekly would come from the press, dozens of vendors would circulate the paper by car throughout the countryside. As the months went by, these vendors would begin to notice that the villagers would be standing by the roadside, waiting for their weekly supply. Often a vendor would be handed a little note with questions on it about some point made in the paper the week before. The vendors would stop and explain, then be invited to come back and speak to the people of the village at some later date.

The vendors of Abeng also encountered hostility from the police or a group of land owners. As the months went by, Abeng people became the focus of establishment attention. Dances which Abeng sponsored were sometimes disrupted. Black Power became a source of antagonism between people who defended or attacked Abeng's line.



cutting from Abeng

JAMAICA

Jamaica's rent-a-villas
 come with rent-a-cooks,
 rent-a-maids,
 rent-a-nannies,
 rent-a-gardeners,
 and even rent-a-cars.

You can rent a lovely life in
 Jamaica by the week.

It starts with a country house or
 beach cottage or hilltop hideaway
 that comes equipped with gentle
 people named Ivy or Maud or Mal-
 colm who will cook, tend, mend,
 diaper, and launder for you.

Who will "Mister Peter, please"
 you all day long, pamper you with
 homemade coconut pie, admire
 you when you look "soft" (hand-
 some), giggle at your jokes and
 weep when you leave.

A kind of Nannyhood for
 Grownups, actually

They'll spoil you

But you'll also spoil yourself

For more about renting the Life
 You wish You Led, see your local
 travel agent or Jamaica Tourist
 Board in New York, Miami, San
 Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago,
 Toronto or Montreal

An Abeng cutting: Telling the people what the Tourist
 Board is saying

The trouble was that Abeng had no "set line". It was composed of many different types of people with different orientations. On the masthead, for example, was a quotation from Marcus Garvey, one of the earliest Black Power advocates of Jamaica. There was also a Marxist strain running throughout the paper's analysis which ran counter to the Garveyites at times. Then there were Caribbean nationalists or intellectuals who were working out a new politics more adaptable to the uniqueness of Caribbean conditions.

Above all, however, the Abeng was agitational. It moved people. It carried pictures of police beatings; stories about racial discrimination by north shore hotels; analysis of the economic problems of Jamaica written so that the people could understand; features about Marcus Garvey, the Rastafarians, the Rudies; historical articles about Jamaican slave rebellions, popular uprisings and British repressions; news about black struggles in the United States and Africa; and all the while working on the Government, attacking and exposing it for its corruption, inefficiency and inability to deal with the Jamaican situation today.

The results were indirect but important. The politics of Jamaica were sharpened. Moderates and people in the PNP were forced to take positions on the issues. The JLP began to make small adjustments in their political speeches which included responses to the questions Abeng had raised. Never once, however, did the Gleaner attack or even comment on the material the weekly presented. Instead, it too began to publish a few articles about police over-reaction.

In the end, because the paper carried no advertising and its sources of middle-class funding dried up, the paper ceased to publish. There were other reasons, of course, such as the internal problems and contradictions which arose within the Abeng group itself. Some were less inclined to relate theory with practice. To call for revolution and actively work organizing one are two different things. Then too, the Garveyite faction who stressed race were prone to distrust those who had lighter skin colour or a different racial strain--a problem in the Caribbean where there are East Indians, Chinese and even a few radical Europeans. And a culturist wing which stressed black culture or Africanism and contributed a great deal to the paper at times had little to contribute towards a definition or revolution along class lines.

Nevertheless, beginning with Rodney and his expulsion, the shape of Jamaican politics had changed. And the movement Abeng represented will surface again in a different form, when the time is right. Meanwhile, Government has recently expelled another UWI lecturer, Clive Thomas, a Guyanese economist who had done diligent work at the University and whose proposals regarding the sugar industry have been outlined in FJM-20.

So the confrontation continues in Jamaica, just as it is throughout the Caribbean. The people are watching, each island making its way. When, in time, violence does come to these islands, and Jamaica particularly, it will most likely be in some part racial. It has to be, because the economic lines have been drawn that way. At that moment, perhaps the quality of West Indian compassion and grace will help a bit. It seems, however, that there will be a time of pain. Mervyn Morris, a Jamaican poet and friend, speaks about a significant part of that pain.

" To An Expatriate Friend

Colour meant nothing. Anyone
who wanted help, had humour or was kind
was brother to you; categories of skin
were foreign; you were colour-blind.

And then the revolution. Black
and loud the horns of anger blew
against the long oppression; sufferers
cast off the precious values of the few.

New powers re-enslaved us all;
each person manacled in skin, in race.
You could not wear your paid-up dues;
the keen discriminators typed your face.

The future darkening, you thought it time
to say good-bye. It may be you were right.
It hurt to see you go; but, more,
it hurt to see you slowly going white. "

Yours,

Frank Mc Donald

Frank McDonald

Received in New York on April 24, 1970.