The Press and Transformation in the Anglophone Caribbean - Constraints and Action: A Case Study

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## ABSTRACT (Loose)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

## SOME ABBREVIATIONS

## LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

## LIST OF APPENDICES

## INTRODUCTION

### CHAPTER 1

**THE CONTOURS OF CARIBBEAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PATHS OF TRANSFORMATION**

1. **Introduction**
   - 8
2. **Class, class consciousness, and ideology**
   - 8
3. **Aspects of the colonial legacy and their implications**
   - 12
4. **Processes, explanations, and pitfalls**
   - 21
   - **1.4.1 Modernization and its revision**
   - 21
   - **1.4.2 Dependency and its limitations**
   - 23
   - **1.4.3 'Cold War' politics, U.S. interventionism, and the Soviet/Cuban 'threat'**
   - 28
5. **Conclusion**
   - 40

### CHAPTER 2

**CLASS, ECONOMY AND THE DILUTION OF PROSPECTS FOR TRANSFORMATION IN JAMAICA**

1. **Introduction**
   - 42
2. **Decolonization and change**
   - 45
   - **2.2.1 Universal adult suffrage, unions and party strength from 1944**
   - 48
3. **Some specifics of political economy to 1972**
   - 51
4. **The PNP and the wave of crisis and protest - The 1972 victory and the 'multi-class' alliance**
   - 53
5. **Introducing ‘Democratic Socialism’**
   - 57
6. **The alliance - the PNP, capitalists and capital, and the lower strata and others**
   - 61
7. **A threshold for the left**
   - 65
8. **Further capitalist action/re-action**
   - 67
9. **The IMF, its allies and beneficiaries**
   - 70
10. **Political and social crisis of the IMF years**
    - 74
11. **Conclusion**
    - 75

### CHAPTER 3

**GRENA DA: SOCIAL PROCESS AND THE 1979 INSURRECTION**

1. **Introduction**
   - 79
2. **Settlement and decolonization**
   - 82
ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploratory inquiry into the press and transformation in the Caribbean, with particular reference to the Anglophone Caribbean. It highlights the major commercial corporate owned newspaper press in the mass-mediation of significant political and social change processes. It arose from the broad assumption that the press would tend delegitimate processes of, and efforts at significant political and social change.

As a starting point, two case countries embracing change processes which were felt to be far-reaching - compared to the mere switching of parties in general elections, and so on - in the context of late twentieth century or post-independence Anglophone Caribbean formed the basis on which the analysis was conducted. Jamaica under the People's National Party regime of 1970s-1980, and revolutionary Grenada with particular focus on the 1979 insurrection were selected. In examining the case countries, the hope was not only to draw conclusions about the press in relation to those two cases cited but more broadly to see them as a path to an understanding of the Anglophone Caribbean as a whole.

Basing the study on a holistic approach and a largely macro-analytic framework, the press was taken through its historical and sociological buttresses in keeping with the view that examination of the mediation process requires a perspective on these (buttresses). The study relied overwhelmingly on primary data to examine corporate concentration in newspaper publishing in the area of the Caribbean on which it focuses, to draw from such concentration and other broad factors (e.g., newspaper economics, and the prevailing economic and political climate) affecting production, the nature of the cluster of constraints and interests which were likely to impinge on the social production of news and information. It further embraced interviews, mainly of core journalistic producers of news and information in the Caribbean and executives who themselves bring various factors to bear on the process to isolate some of the factors which help to structure the production process. A content analysis of two brief but crucial periods gave an idea of the sorts of views which arose from this nexus of processes and actors.

The findings broadly, but not unproblematically, pointed to the press as being ranged against significant transformation, by tending to reproduce views/positions in tune with the existing order of society and delegitimate the change process. This tendency seems to have arisen, and arise, from a complex of factors unearthed by other aspects of the study, including importantly: the concentration of ownership and control within interests antagonistic to change; external factors which impose particular constraints; the structuring of the news and information production process within organizational/editorial policy frameworks, journalistic codes and practices; as well as some degree of intervention particularly by policy makers.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has benefited from many, often vital inputs and contributors too numerous to mention. However, space will allow for a few.

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could materialize. I managed the assembly line; fundamentally, it is their creation.

In closing, I wish to stress at this point that any errors in, or omissions from this thesis
are purely my own. I structured, typed and edited all of its several versions, except for a few
chapters of a couple of versions which Jen and Sue browsed through to identify any typographical
errors.
SOME ABBREVIATIONS

AP - Associated Press  
API - Agency for Public Information  
BET - British Electric Traction Ltd.  
[Britain] - Used in relation to British papers (publ. London/Britain)  
CAIC - Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce  
CAMWORK - Caribbean Media Workers Association  
CANA - Caribbean News Agency  
CARICOM - Caribbean Economic Community  
CBC - Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation  
CBU - Caribbean Broadcasting Union  
CCC - Caribbean Cement Company  
CCJ - Communications Corporation of Jamaica  
CDC - Commonwealth Development Corporation  
CEF - Caribbean Employers' Federation  
CIA - Central Intelligence Agency (of the USA)  
CIDA - Canadian International Development Association  
CNN - Cable News Network  
CPBA - Caribbean Publishers' and Broadcasters Association  
CPC - Caribbean Press Council  
CPSU - Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
CPU - Commonwealth Press Union  
CWP - Committee of Women for Progress  
D&G - Desnoes and Geddes  
EEC - European Economic Community  
EU - European Edition (of Weekly Gleaner)  
FELAP - Federation of Latin American Journalists  
FSLN - Sandinista Front for National Liberation  
GES - Grenada Electricity Services  
IAPA - Inter-American Press Association  
IBA - International Bauxite Association  
IBRD - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development ("World Bank")  
ICD - Industrial Commercial Developments  
ICSID - International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes  
IDB/IADB - Inter-American Development Bank  
IMF - International Monetary Fund  
IOJ - International Organization of Journalists  
IBC - Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation  
JCC - Jamaica Chamber of Commerce  
JIS - Jamaica Information Service  
JNH - Jamaica Nutrition Holdings  
LAB - Latin American Bureau  
LDCs - Less Developed Countries  
LOJ - Life of Jamaica
McAL - McElhinney Alstons
MCC - Maxwell Communications Corporation [Britain]
MDCs - More Developed Countries
MGN - Mirror Group Newspapers [Britain]
MNIB - Marketing and National Import Board
MSB - Mutual Security Bank
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCB - National Commercial Bank
NCC - National Continental Corporation
NEC - (PNP) National Executive Committee
NIIT - National Housing Trust
N&M - Neal and Massy Holdings
NUDT - National Union of Democratic Teachers
NWO - National Women's Organization
NYO - National Youth Organization
ODA - Overseas Development Association
OECS - Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
OREL - Organization for Revolutionary Education and Liberation
PAJ - Press Association of Jamaica
PCJ - Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica
PNC - People's National Congress
PNM - People's National Movement
PNP - People's National Party
PRA - People's Revolutionary Army
PRG - People's Revolutionary Government
PSOJ - Private Sector Organization of Jamaica
RFG - Radio Free Grenada
RJR - Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion/Radio Jamaica Limited
RMC - Revolutionary Military Council
SDR - Special Drawing Rights
SLA - St. Lucian Airways
STC - (Jamaica) State Trading Corporation
TATIL - Trinidad and Tobago Insurance Ltd.
TTT - Trinidad and Tobago Television
UJAE - Union of Journalists and Allied Employees
UK - United Kingdom
UN - United Nations
UNO - National Opposition Union
USA - United States of America
US-AID - United States Agency for International Development
UWI - University of the West Indies
WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions
WI - West Indies
WLL - Workers' Liberation League
WPFC - World Press Freedom Committee
WPJ - Workers' Party of Jamaica
### LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES (BY CHAPTERS)

#### TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(i)</td>
<td>Changes in political party systems in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1962-1972</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(i)</td>
<td>Class and the PNP vote in the 1972 General Election</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(ii)</td>
<td>Social class and partisan preference, 1973</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(iii)</td>
<td>A suggested demarcation of class structure in Jamaica</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(iv)</td>
<td>Class and strata in Jamaican society, 1973</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(v)</td>
<td>Ownership of sections/Jamaica bauxite industry - 1979/1980</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(vi)</td>
<td>Industrial disputes involving stoppage action, 1976-1979</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(i)</td>
<td>Land distribution, December 1940</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(ii)</td>
<td>Plantations and peasants in the Caribbean</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(i)</td>
<td>Gleaner Co. - advertising, circulation and turnover (sales revenue), 1975-1989 in $'000</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(ii)</td>
<td>Size and cover prices for the Eastern Caribbean newspapers for selected years</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(iii)</td>
<td>Gleaner publications - initial cover prices for selected years</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(iv)</td>
<td>Circulation and readership compared for Gleaner Publications - in ‘000 of copies/readers</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(v-a)</td>
<td>Major newspapers/systems in the Caribbean (not including Guyana) 1976 - 1982 (July-Dec. average unless otherwise stated)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(v-b)</td>
<td>Major newspapers/systems in the Caribbean (not including Guyana) 1983-1990 (July-Dec. average unless otherwise stated)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(i)</td>
<td>Corporate newspaper ownership in the Anglophone Caribbean (established or recent major papers at the time of starting the study)</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(ii)</td>
<td>Local and local-regional newspaper ownership</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(iii)</td>
<td>Principal media owning companies, by number of quoted subsidiary and associated companies, and location (selected years)</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(iv)</td>
<td>Companies, turnover/sales, (&amp; profits) - J$ &amp; TT$'000</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(v)</td>
<td>Newspapers, publishing and parent companies, and other publishing house business, 1970s-1980s</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(vi)</td>
<td>Gleaner Co., number of directors, directors belonging to long-standing owning/ruling class ('old capital') for selected years</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(vii)</td>
<td>Gleaner Co. by directors 1982/83 - 1983, number of corporate directorships, sector, and top positions on boards of directors</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(viii)</td>
<td>Jamaica's largest corporate enterprises with which the Gleaner has interlocked directly/indirectly (based on complete 1986 data, but other years added for indications of growth)</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(ix)</td>
<td>Survey findings on companies concerned about Jamaica's development</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(x)</td>
<td>Ranking of major CARICOM companies, by market value in US$million, 1990</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(xi)</td>
<td>Trinidad Publishing, directors, directorships held in McEnearney Alstons,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
number of subsidiaries and associates, and total number of directorships, for selected years

6(xii) Trinidad Express directors 1983-1983 and 1977-1978, directorships held, and location 227

7(i) Newspaper editorial and other staff, by company and categories - 1988 (± 1990) 257
7(ii) Gleaner Company staff, by department - 1988 259

8(i) Number of front page stories on, or referring to Jamaica’s political situation, 28/10/80 - 3/11/80 313
8(ii) Headlines for editorial articles on Jamaica 330
8(iii) Number of editorial articles (and others on page), by paper, 28/10/80 - 3/11/80 331

9(i) Number of front page stories on, or referring to Grenada, by paper, 14/3/79 - 20/3/79 340
9(ii) Headlines for editorial articles on Grenada 378
9(iii) Number of editorial articles (and other items) making direct reference to developments in Grenada, by paper, 14/3/79 - 20/3/79 380

FIGURES

6(i) The structure of interlocks between the Gleaner and large industrial and commercial organizations in Jamaica’s corporate economy - 1986 & 1989 214
6(ii) Ownership and directorship interlocks between Caribbean publishing houses and related companies, 1970s - 1980s 238

8(i) Editorials and political-ideological orientation 329
**LIST OF APPENDICES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>Map of the Caribbean area</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1</td>
<td>Map of Jamaica showing urban centres, main roads, and parish boundaries</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-1</td>
<td>Map of Grenada showing urban areas, main routes, parish boundaries</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Physical area, population, and date of formal political independence/status of Anglophone Caribbean countries (CARICOM)</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Currency exchange rates for selected Caribbean countries, and two major world currencies vs the US$, for selected years</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The organizational structure of the multi-class party (the People’s National Party - PNP/Jamaica)</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Production of bauxite and alumina in tonnes, 1974-1980</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Jamaica’s Gross Domestic Product by kind of activity, in current prices - selected items and years</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Returns for Jamaica’s main traditional exports, for selected years</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Grenada’s Gross Domestic Product by kind of activity, in current prices - selected items and years</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Returns for Grenada’s main exports (crops) for selected years</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Basic components of methodology</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Advertising revenue for various media in Jamaica, 1981-1986 (available information)</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Newprint imports, consumption, (metric tons) and consumption per 1,000 inhabitants (kilograms) for Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Radio and television receivers in use (and/or licences issued) in selected Anglophone Caribbean countries, plus numbers per 1,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>NCC’s corporate structure illustrating the position of CCJ (publishers of the Daily News), 1973</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Gleaner Company, departments and main functions - late 1980s</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Lead, or main front page headline for five major Caribbean newspapers around the time of the 1980 general election in Jamaica (October 28 - November 3, 1980)</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Summary of editorial articles written during the period October 28 - November 3 relating to the 1980 general election in Jamaica</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Lead, or main front page headline for five major Caribbean newspapers following the 1979 insurrection in Grenada (March 14-20)</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Editorial coverage of the 1979 insurrection/revolution in Grenada (March 14-20)</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Newspapers, number of editorial articles on Grenada, dates and pages</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Studies about the press and the mass media broadly in the so-called ‘Third World’ continue to grow and to draw from various models and theoretical perspectives. However, that growth, and especially as far as critical research is concerned has been very limited partly because of the nature of the societies and relative inaccessibility of some types of worthwhile data. This exploratory study itself attempts to add to the existing limited stock of detailed critical work on the role of the press in the Caribbean.

The study began with the assumption that the major corporate press in the Anglophone Caribbean would tend to delegitimate the processes of transformation in the region, while reproducing existing structures and the prevailing order which is imbued with inequalities of access to power and resources. It was felt that the mass-mediated information or the particular character of social ‘reality’ arising from the press does not arise because of crude manipulative intent, even though this is one of the factors, but largely because of the broad historical, sociological, economic and political factors as well as particular codes of practice which structure and impose constraints on its production.

In order to attend to the broad assumption, a wealth of various types and levels of data are drawn on. It was necessary to consider the boundaries, constraints and tendencies in the larger societal context nationally, local-regionally, regionally, hemispherically, and globally. To make sense of the media, this sort of background within which they are located, shaped, and from which the cultural product derives much of its substance if not much of its cosmetic peculiarities, is extremely important. The inquiry takes the path of a critical political economy in which the funneling process accounts for aspects of the origins of, the residual forms of, and the dynamics of corporate capitalism (e.g., at the levels of ownership and control), and the journalistic codes/beliefs which are brought to bear on cultural output. Beyond that, it examines what emerges in the form of news and views.

Wherever the term is used in this thesis it is premised upon the time at which countries so classified gained or wrested nationhood from colonizing countries, and in another sense to mean comparative backwardness fairly specifically in terms of industrialization and/or capitalist development/growth.

The term ‘local-regional’ will frequently appear in the study and will refer to what others may view as sub-regional but hopefully goes beyond that to imply the closely knit relationship between the Anglophone Caribbean territories. Additionally, bearing in mind the historical context in which the indigenous population was decimated and C. L. R. James’ comment in this introduction, the reference to the local or local-regional in terms of, say, capital, points to the situation which has arisen from the particularities of a settler composition founded upon that historical basis. Some analysts have over-emphasized the divisions created by the colonial experience vis-a-vis the lines of correspondence which radiate from common history, class structure, proximity, etc.

See especially Appendix 10 for notes on methodology.
This process then, takes us to the core arena of the media and much more specifically, the newspaper press in the case of this study and how that press might tend to address processes of significant political and social transformation. By examining the case of Jamaica under the PNP/Manley regime of 1972-1980 and Grenada under the NJM/PRG Bishop-led Revolution of 1979-1983, it was hoped that useful insights into the role of the newspaper press in such processes would emerge both at a specific and at a general level.

In a general sense, political economy can be taken to mean the dialectical relationship between the virtually inseparable spheres of economics and politics. As applied to the contours of this particular study, that political economy must account for the specific Caribbean context and the broader framework within which it exists. Similarly, it is one which must appropriately account for this context in order to properly situate the press and the communications industry.

Some brief notes on the mass media and their role in society generally are useful at this point. The mass media in 'liberal-democratic' societies - the economically rich and poor - tend (to a large extent), on the one hand, to inform people about goods and services which are available, and on the other, provide them with details of events and processes relating to the political systems at home and abroad which will ostensibly assist them to make decisions or participate in the decision-making process as citizens. In such societies, in large measure, ownership and direction of the major commercial press - though less markedly broadcast media - are generally situated in corporate capitalist embrace. It is a tradition founded upon the nature of the capitalist process itself but also more specifically on the old libertarian/social-libertarian ideological premise that the press was supposed to 'watch' government on behalf of 'the people' for the good of 'man'. That press was supposed to inform, educate, and entertain its readership.

Students of the media have suggested that mass mediated output is, in large measure, the end product of an largely unconscious process on the part of journalists or other relevant professionals operating within a complex of organizational policy, professional 'ideology' or 'folklore', financial constraints of an internal and external nature, sources, and so on. It is also argued, for instance, that the views which emerge tend to be those in line with the conservative ideology of those who own and control the media in capitalist society (see, e.g., Miliband, 1973). In general, whatever the slot we ascribe to the press as a general tendency, students of mass communication largely agree that its ideological output is not entirely innocuous, although it may be largely unintentional or unwitting.

McQuail suggests that 'mass media institutions do have a key activity which is the production, reproduction and distribution of knowledge, in the widest sense of sets of symbols having a meaningful reference to the world of experience.' Further, such 'knowledge enables us to make sense of the world, shapes our perception of it and contributes to the store of knowledge of the past and the continuity of our present understanding' (1983: 51). Media institutions are intermediate and engage in the process of mediation which may imply for mass media one or more of the following functions: acting as a neutral carrier; serving as an interactive link, with varying chances of participation; serving as a means of control, with or without consistent purpose and direction... (p.52)

Counterposing a critical conceptualization of communication to the 'entrenched individualism' of 'the
dominant paradigm in empirical-behavioral communication research and theory', Hall (1989) is more graphically in tune with the path of the present study:

Now more than ever, modern communications cannot be conceptualized as external to the field of social structures and practices because they are increasingly, internally constitutive of them. Today, communicative institutions and and relations define and construct the social; they help to constitute the political; they mediate productive economic relations; they have become a 'material force' in modern industrial systems; they define the technological itself; they dominate the cultural. They construct and sustain the second-order universes that increasingly are our experience of the cultural and social world. They are not external to or reflective of - whether directly or indirectly - these relations of the whole social field in which they operate. They help to constitute them, they are internal to their functioning. Our theory must be a theory of internal, not of external relations (1989: 43).

Two quite polar approaches or theoretical frameworks for explaining mass communication or the role of the media in society have become dominant over time - basically 'liberal-pluralist', on the one hand, and 'critical'/ 'marxist', on the other. This study will tend to adopt the latter strand, in light of the foregoing and the starting point implied - inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power.

Traditional liberal-pluralist assessments of society saw a pervasion of groups in competition with each other with no particular elite group being able to hold power for any sustained periods of time to the exclusion of other groups. Neo-pluralist versions still view the state as generally a neutral arbiter but some strands accept that the political agenda is biased towards corporate power.4 Pluralists suggest that access to the media rests on open competition, with no group being able to dominate consistently, and a multiplicity of 'innocuous' views prevail. 'The media respond more to public demand than vice versa.' Critical approaches - some falling generally within a Marxist framework - in contrast, and which are sometimes perceived under a 'dominance' model, emphasize class domination under capitalism. In the 'dominance' model, the media are an arena of ideological contest in which there is ever increasing concentration of cultural/economic resources under monopoly capitalism. This concentration grants to the powerful and those groups in control of the communication resources and their allies/sympathizers, priority or, in general, an advantage over others. According to McQuail, the conflict is central to media theory, as it derives from:

...a fundamental difference in perception of the context in which mass communication operates in liberal democracies and of the way in which media work... (1983: 69)

Craig, for instance, observes that 'critical theory' itself 'seeks emancipatory social change through critical reflection on social practices' (1989: 106).

Countries and media in such the Anglophone Caribbean exhibit somewhat similar patterns as some levels to those which prevail in advanced capitalist countries. This likeness derives in part from a historical relationship with the more advanced nations and reproduction of the residual patterns, the general tendency of capitalist incorporation broadly, as well as the specific policies implemented by, and within the poorer countries themselves. C. L. R. James, was not completely off target when he stated that 'in Africa and Asia independence meant a rebirth of something native, something that belonged to them' but that the 'Caribbean has nothing native, no language, no habits, no practices; the Caribbean is merely a repeat of Western civilization in a tropical country, 4For a note on this see, e.g., B. Burkitt (1984).
that's all’ (Interview, Jamaica Journal, 1986: 26). At another level, and as a contradiction, even though referenced through broadcast media, Demas (1973: 21), writing in the unfolding of the post-colonial period is relevant: They ['many people'] look at them in the setting of their operation in the advanced countries where the situation and context are entirely different. He also goes on to emphasize the impact of global capital in arguing that the media are ‘instruments for selling metropolitan consumer goods..., for homogenizing the population of the Region for induction into a second rate kind of mass commercial culture...’ This theme emerged or was implied in some of the fairly sparse communication research in the Caribbean in the early years and even for some time later in the ‘post-independence’ period (e.g., Cuthbert, 1979, 1981, 1986; and to a lesser extent, Brown, 1976/1977; Hosein, e.g., 1973, 1975 & 1976). Nevertheless, emphasis on the external ought not to be discounted. What with increased globalization of markets in the 1980s and the outset of the 1990s with an influential backdrop arising through the dialectics of the Soviet restructuring and fragmentation. Both statements cited above are useful for what they stress or imply.

A major guiding principle of this thesis - to reiterate - is that the press cannot be seriously examined or understood apart from the context in which it operates. It has to be situated in its historical roots, in its particular locale, in its specific social relations of production, and within the wider landscape of the system of which it is a part. C. L. R. James’ view that the Caribbean acquired all its ethos and basic paraphernalia from elsewhere is overstated but it tells us something of the inherited structures and ways of going about things - some of which bear on the press - which will be developed on in later sections of the study. Demas, like Brown (1976/1977) and others point to the relevance of change and the importance of core capitalism and the relationship with peripheral capitalism through the media; the former pointed to a difference in the Caribbean media context. Brown concludes that the mass media are vital in consumer economy as they are used essentially to sell goods ‘within the profit making milieu.’ In relation to this primary purpose’, disseminating ‘news and information and entertainment are ancilliary functions.’ Nevertheless, as ‘entrenched big business’, and since media product, information, ‘is critical to mobilization efforts for change, any government desiring to transform social and economic relationships...will have to contend with the inevitable counter-propaganda effects of the entrenched media’ (1977: 206-207). They touch on some of the central themes in the present thesis. Brown with others refer to this ‘ancilliary’ place of news and information, but he partly retrieves the situation in the rest of his statement. Whereas in our discussion the general primacy of the economic role (here, at the subsidiary level of advertising) and the broadly subordinate status of the editorial/news sphere itself is embraced, a preferable assessment (without getting bogged down in semantics) is that the roles are complementary and integral, with one - the economic - being generally determining. This assists us to deviate from any tendency to trivialize the information - and indeed, the ideological - role of the media.

Chapters One, Two, and Three are foundation chapters on Caribbean political economy. Chapter One has a historical starting point generally embracing the larger Caribbean as the arena in noting briefly the modes/systems) of production which shaped the region immediately before, and from the onset of European colonialism; the more specific recent economic, political and social factors circumscribing political and social transformation. At a broad theoretical level, the chapter examines some of the frameworks which influenced research and guided options for the

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5 See, e.g., Schiller (1976, 1982, 1989a; 1989b: e.g. 294-310, on TNCs and the globalization of culture); Hamelink 1983.
Caribbean nations and other 'new' nations. Further, it touches generally on Jamaica and Grenada and on the recent far reaching dynamics of the socialist camp which bear profound implications for transformation in the Caribbean and further afield.

Chapter Two takes up from where Chapter One left off and centres on Jamaica, traverses the colonial framework and the extent to which it defined, and has been sustained in the contributing economic, political, and social structure. The chapter also recognizes the broader as well as the more specific historical and structural antecedents of the 1972-80 PNP regime. It revolves around the contradictions which shaped the main political and social institutional framework, class configuration, and accounts for the residues of the colonial process which dwell over and above simply the interstices of the system. An examination of 'Democratic Socialism' which provided the main ideological pillar for change under the 1972-80 regime is provided. Further, the chapter highlights processes and relationships within the local-regional, and broader international sphere (e.g., the global economic crisis from the 1970s) which, along with the national economic crisis and socio-political factors imposed limits on the extent of, and the capacity for political and social change.

Chapter Three follows a somewhat similar path in addressing Grenada. It proceeds through a political economy of Grenada and its place in the eastern Caribbean and regional political arrangements, attending to the historical antecedents (including the rise of Eric Gairy) to the emergence of the New Jewel Movement, and the 1979 insurrection. The Chapter emphasizes the insurrection, the class basis and the nature of the struggle on which it occurred, and points to its unusualness within an Anglophone Caribbean characterized as it has been by gradual decolonization and by change through the electoral process under Westminster-style parliamentary democracy, and touches on the implications of these factors for how the insurrection and change it heralded would be received. It also offers an examination of the revolutionary period, including its demise and further, touches on factors which shaped other revolutionary struggles.

Chapter Four begins to set the scene for the other chapters which centralize the media - Five to Ten - in developing on theoretical and conceptual paths touched on or implied in the Introduction - liberal-pluralist and 'critical'/'marxist'. It touches on somewhat divergent paths in radical analysis, for instance, among Marxists - those who stress economics rather than ideology or structure rather than action, and so on. One feels that the fact of human agency or 'action' is somewhat submerged in some versions of critical analysis. This is not a call for prioritization of 'action' over structural 'practices' or the 'inexorable' momentum of history and capital but a reminder that it needs to be seriously recognized. In all this, it is mainly Chapter Seven among the media-centred chapters which point, empirically, to some of what is being referred to in this regard - and there, partly in terms of 'intervention'. Rather than take the broad theoretical discussion of the social production of news and information, by way of examining some of the literature, to Chapter Seven, it is retained in this theoretical chapter. Chapter Four concludes with definitional notes on content analysis in anticipation of the findings of that process in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Chapter Five, examines the dynamics of the processes and context which shaped the emergence of the Anglophone Caribbean press. It also engages in the first stage of an examination of press economics by focusing, on the dialectics between advertising and circulation, and costs. Although, the broadcast media and other channels are not central to the study, it was felt that even a passing look at these should be accommodated in order to place the press in wider perspective. Thus,
Chapter six draws us into broad and sometimes specific discussions about concentration and evidence of conglomeration in local and local-regional cultural capital from a starting point with those companies which have held interests in the press. It touches on the question of ownership and control in view of the earlier discussion in Chapter Four. It attempts to show how concentration/conglomeration itself may impinge upon the mass mediation process through corporate imperatives and action locally and local-regionally. A closely related factor is that Chapter Six continues the start made by Chapter Five in considering corporate relationships or interests in the state and the political sphere, a factor which is explored to a limited extent.

Based centrally upon interviews of publishers or key publishing executives, and journalists, Chapter Seven explores the factors which constrain the news production process such as journalistic practice and policy; the general negotiation process over news and information; and indeed the (perhaps unsystematic) significant direct action of executives/principals and those of the political sphere which may affect output. It highlights and further illustrates some of the factors raised in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapters Eight and Nine involve an exploration through a macro-qualitative content analysis of the images of the PNP regime and its orientation at the juncture of the 1980 general election, and those of the insurrection in Grenada in 1979, respectively. One chapter then, is marked by the demise of a regime whereas the other deals with the ushering in of another. They examine, in particular, front-page news items and editorial articles.

The concluding chapter, Ten comprises a summary and discussion of the findings mainly of Chapters Eight and Nine, and discusses them briefly in the light of the implications for transformation of societies such as those in the Anglophone Caribbean; it further touches on the question of democracy and democratization. Lastly, a few recommendations for further research are offered.

In all this, the research accounts also for the author's particular socialization, including the reality of having worked within the communication industry prior to, and during the PNP/Manley regime of 1972-80 and the years of the revolution in Grenada (1979-1983). This concrete experience is usefully coupled with early inspiration from certain strands of thought/research at the University of the West Indies, as well as within the broader region and the wider global arena; and the convenience of having been able to analyse the situation from a distance. Beyond this, any bias which others may perceive in the work (selection of topic, periods of analysis, etc.) may be as inherently related to this background and the circumstances at the particular historical juncture and their impact upon the decision as to conscious and deliberate choice.

The effort is one of applying available and difficult-to-access resources and drawing on the experience of those who lived through or participated in the situations as well as other conscientious observers or scholars to help in building a useful assessment of the role of press. Cuthbert, for instance, points to cultural and contextual constraints in drawing from her experience.
of the Caribbean to offer words of caution: 'Third World people generally do not share the Western fascination with numerical precision...Qualitative data are more understandable and often more meaningful in Third World cultures, because qualitative approaches are close to the strong oral and narrative traditions of such cultures' (1985: 30).
1.1 Introduction

The 1970s to the 1980s marked a particularly crucial stage in the political and social change process of the Caribbean against the background of a matured Cuban Revolution, and of the general success of the anti-colonial thrust in the area. It constituted a period of significant outcrops in revolutionary and other progressive currents of change, marked particularly by the experiment with ‘Democratic Socialism’ in Jamaica, and revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua. This chapter stresses two broad concerns which are interrelated. The first is that of outlining briefly the modes of production with particular reference to the Anglophone Caribbean from the juncture where the modern colonial process confronted the early indigenous communal formation through to what some observers have referred to as dependent capitalism - but which will be largely addressed in this thesis as backward capitalism - of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The second factor is an examination of the paths towards transformation and associated theoretical formulas which have been advanced for the ‘new’ nations, and further to examine ‘Cold War’ influences on the possibilities for change in the region and United States interventionism. In all this, we will emphasize or imply that the political and social change process has been locked into a sort of stagnancy within contradictions in which significant transformation process seems to be more dominated by truncation and continuity is illusive.

It is in the internal (local and local-regional) constellation of social factors and processes broadly, classes, strata, and interests that the deterrent to significant transformation may be most sharply identified even though inevitably internal processes are frequently affected (often profoundly by larger global considerations). Additionally, the discussion is guided by the view that social reality is unstable, even if the fundamentals remain securely rooted. Some considerations which are only touched on in this chapter will be raised in more detail where appropriate in the next two chapters which focus on Jamaica and Grenada respectively.

1.2 Class, class consciousness, and ideology

It is necessary to pause to examine very briefly a few concepts - class, class consciousness, and ideology - which are quite relevant to the discussion at this stage and later. The term ‘class’ has long attracted various definitions from philosophers and social scientists, or has

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1 The preference for ‘backward’ as against ‘dependent’ capitalism is, firstly, in keeping with the writer’s view of a largely interdependent world where even the centres of capitalism are themselves dependent for raw materials and, indeed, the finished commodities of capitalist production from the fruits of production outside these main centres through the mechanism of the now fairly deeply inscribed international division of labour. In this arrangement, the producers of raw materials themselves are engaged in different levels of capitalist production themselves. Secondly, the study wished to attach to the notion of ‘dependence’ a ‘secondariness’ to separate it even at this level of ‘semantic nomenclature’ from our position of an internal focus at the core of the period which it (the study) emphasizes.
come to mean various arrangements or objects depending on its user and the context in which it is used. Comments such as 'We are all middle-class' in tandem with better living standards in core centres of capitalism have gone hand-in-hand with efforts to omit mention of 'class' as a definable, concrete and existing category.

Calvert explains: 'The concept of class as an association of individuals holding a similar relationship to power is something that ultimately we owe to the ancients...Economic position in society conferred not only rights but also duties' (1982: 208). Bell - who we will meet again with regard to 'managerialism' - has argued that class 'denotes not a specific group of persons' but, on the contrary, a system which has 'institutionalised the ground rules for acquiring, holding, and transferring power and its attendant privileges' (1974: 361).

Some of the foremost contributors to social theory, perhaps most conspicuously, Marx and Weber turned their attention to the question of classes in terms of concrete existence and their role, but not necessarily to the concept itself. Marx, was largely influenced by the development of capitalism in nineteenth century Europe during his time. In his materialist conception of history (historical materialism), based on an analysis of the European context, Marx saw human society as advancing through modes of production: communualism, or simple commodity production; ancient slavery; feudalism; and, during his generation capitalism which was displacing the old feudal order. For him, each mode was superceded by the next through the interplay of contradictions. Capitalism, the new mode which was rapidly emerging during his time was, for him, increasingly resolving itself into a struggle between two great classes - the capitalist class (the 'bourgeoisie'), and the working class (the 'proletariat') - which would resolve itself, firstly, through revolutionary means, into the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dissolution of the state, and the eventual emergence of a classless society. In all this Marx did not survive long enough to complete what appeared to be the start of an effort to address the concept itself. Marx seems to have begun thus:

The first question to be answered is this: What constitutes a class? - and the reply to this follows naturally from the reply to another question, namely: What makes wage-labourers, capitalists and landlords constitute the three great classes?

At first glance - the identity of revenue and sources of revenue. There are three great social groups whose members, the individuals forming them, live on wages, profit and ground-rent respectively, on the realization of their labour-power, their capital, and their landed property (Capital, 1959, Vol.3: 886).

Marx continued into another paragraph which explained that a widening of this analysis could lead to identification of an almost infinite number of classes. The manuscript then ends abruptly. He left the definition of the concept too late and did not survive to complete the answer.

'What are social classes in Marxist theory?' - asked Poulantzas, as if to begin a development of Marx's own incomplete answer:

They are groups of social agents...defined principally but not exclusively by their place in the production process, i.e. by their place in the economic sphere...[T]he political and ideological (the superstructure) do also have an important role...We can thus say that a social class is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices, i.e. by its place in the ensemble of the division of labour which includes political and ideological relations... (1973: 27-28) [Emphases original]

Poulantzas readily pointed out that any emphasis on 'the importance of political and ideological
relations in the determination and the fact that social classes have existence only in the class struggle, should not' drag observers 'into the "voluntarist" error of reducing class determination to class struggle...[T]he economic criterion remains determinant.' Further, the "economic" sphere is determined by the production process and the place of agents, i.e. by their distribution into social classes by the relations of production..." (1973: 28).

Lenin was quite precise, and it is a definition which the present study is inclined to accept for its comparative clarity and range:

Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and consequently, by the mode of acquisition and the dimensions of the share of social wealth of this they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy (Selected Works, 1969: 486).

Following Marx and Engels, Lenin felt that to abolish classes it was necessary not only to overthrow 'the exploiters, the landlords and the capitalists...it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production.... the distinction between town and country...between manual workers and brain workers.'

Weber who has an echo of Marx in much of his writings, approached the concept and the ingredients which comprised the configurations but much of his core discussion is quite brief (see, e.g., Economy and Society, Vol.1: 302-307).

"Classes" are not communities; they merely represent possible, and frequent, bases for social action. We may speak of a "class" when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, insofar as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour markets. This is "class situation."

"Property" and "lack of property" are, therefore, the basic categories of all class situations... (1968/ Vol.2: 927)

In some respects, Weber seems to come to terms with the framework of class and class consciousness, in the relatively small fragments found in his work at the level of conceptual exploration. Thus, he continues: 'That men in the same class situation regularly reaction in mass actions to such tangible situations as economic ones in the direction of those interests that are most adequate to their average number is an important and after all simple fact for the understanding of historical events. However, this fact must not lead to that kind of pseudo-scientific operation with the concepts of class and class interests which is so frequent these days and which has found its most classic expression in the statement of a talented author [implying Marx/ 'false' consciousness], that the individual may be in error concerning his interests but that the class is infallible about its interests.' (1968: 930). Weber went on to argue that 'the factor that creates "class" is unambiguously economic interest, and indeed, only those interests involved in the existence of the market. Nevertheless, the concept of class-interest is an ambiguous one...The class situation and other circumstances remaining the same, the direction in which the individual worker, for instance, is
likely to pursue his interests may vary widely (1968: 928-29)

For Weber, a 'property class' was mainly founded upon property differences; a 'commercial class' upon the marketability of goods and services; and a 'social class summarizes in entirety 'the class situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical.' 'Class organizations' may emerge on the basis of the three types. A uniform class situation is rare. Importantly too: 'Mobility among, and stability of, class positions differs greatly; hence, the unity of a social class is highly variable' (1968: 302).

Crompton and Gubboy observe that Weber's 'conceptual framework on class is limited to two unfinished fragments' rendering the account 'rather confusing and sometimes contradictory' (1977: 5). In this regard (conceptualizing 'class'), Marx does not appear to have exceeded Weber although he was almost boundlessly expansive on the composition and dynamics of the classes of his time as well as his perceptions of those of other eras. Further, whereas he emphasized production, Weber was preoccupied with the sphere of the market.

'Non-Marxist economists', Burkitt points out, 'have been slow to recognize the existence of social classes; they classify the agents they analyse, but the categories obtained (e.g. landlords, rentiers, workmen) are simply sets of individuals displaying some common characteristic' rather than having a class position within 'certain productive relations' (1984: 46). Burkitt himself identifies some of the criticisms of Marx's theory of social class: (i) analyses based upon classes depend crucially upon the definition of class adopted; (ii) business achievement is not the sole route to social eminence, so that ownership of the means of production is not the only determinant of positions in the hierarchy of power; and (iii) it is claimed that Marx exaggerated the antagonisms between capitalists and workers (1984: 47).

The various definitions, taken together both complete and incomplete seem to offer a fairly useful picture of what is being referred to by the term 'class'. But questions of class consciousness and ideology arise. Undoubtedly, having delineated groups, strata and/or classes in ancient societies keen observers would perhaps have been able to perceive some identifiable, determinate or coherent ethos and themes which characterized different levels or sectors of all but the smallest societies.

C. Wright Mills identified three qualities of class consciousness, namely, a rational awareness and identification with one's own class interests; awareness of, and rejection of other class interests as legitimate; and awareness of, and readiness to use collective political means to the collective political end of realizing one's interests (cited in Anderson, 1974: 135). Mills, like most analysts of the issue have been clearly aware that there is no necessary correspondence between objective position and an awareness of this.

Giddens argues that 'class consciousness involves, first of all, the recognition, however vaguely defined, of another class or of other classes: perception of class identity implies cognizance of characteristics which separate the class of which one is a member from another or others' (1982: 163). He is not aske of classical Marxism or neo-Marxists in adding that there are different levels of consciousness, such as those which exist in clarifying ideas, and in revolutionary activity. Weber is also little removed, except perhaps in his manner of expression, when he argues that
'class-conscious organization succeeds most easily' (in terms of workers against entrepreneurs or peasants against manorial lords) if large numbers of people are in the same class situation; if it is easy to organize them technically (as when they are concentrated in the workplace); and 'if they are led toward readily understood goals, which are imposed and interpreted by men outside their class (intelligentsia)' (1968: 305).

The most notable work on the theme 'class consciousness' along critical, or more specifically Marxist lines is that of Lukacs (1968). For Lukacs, 'With capitalism and the abolition of the feudal estates...and creation of a society with a purely economic articulation, class consciousness arrived at a point where it could become conscious. From then on social conflict was reflected in an ideological struggle for consciousness and for the veiling or the exposure of the class character of society.' Furthermore, the 'question of consciousness may make its appearance in terms of the objectives chosen or in terms of action' (1968: 59). [Emphases original]

Several accounts which touch on the question of ideology suggest that the concept had its foundation with the ancient Greek philosophers or even earlier but that its wide usage and associated inquiry was an eighteenth century phenomenon. Shils, a liberal-functionalist, referred to ideology as a 'variant form' of the 'comprehensive patterns of cognitive beliefs about man, society and the universe in relation to man and society, which flourish in human society. Outlooks and creeds, systems and movements of thought, and programs are among the other types of comprehensive patterns which are to be distinguished from ideology' (1968: 68).

The guiding principles for some radical analyses of consciousness and ideology arises from some of Marx and Engels' comments: 'Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?' (Communist Manifesto, 1977: 57) This will be addressed again in Chapter Four.

1.3 Aspects of the colonial legacy and their implications

What are implications of the colonial order and its residue for transformation? Historically, the Caribbean and the Americas were dissected by various European powers to fulfill the quest for wealth and new lands. At the extreme, the native populations, based predominantly in a communal social formation, were decimated in some territories, as a result of the deeply exploitative and violent newly imposed relations. Accumulation under this subsistence arrangement supplied the community with basic needs and a small surplus. Simple subsistence commodity production in the Americas was quickly and increasingly displaced by mineral and other forms of extraction and plantation systems geared for export, firstly to Spain and Portugal, and then increasingly the other European nations as well. Mercantilism (a sphere of early capitalist tendency), emerging through contradictions in Europe as capitalism began to superecede feudalism, extended its reach to the Caribbean, the Americas and elsewhere, and was itself facilitated by this process.

Mercantilist capitalism was in increasing contradiction with feudalism which was being subordinated. This contradiction in itself has a basis in several factors. Part of the foundation was laid by Spanish and Portuguese division of the so-called 'new world' among themselves and the
concerted challenge of the Dutch, French and British in particular to that dominance and the flow of wealth to Southern Europe. In the colonial exploitation to support the capitalist process unfolding in Europe, during the very many decades of profitable sugar production (that, other crops and minerals in the Americas) a wealthy planter-dominated local ruling class emerged in the Caribbean colonies. Surplus accrued to, and was appropriate by them and their merchant interests in England and other European countries. The inadequacy of existing technology and the increasing momentum of capitalist production and demand in the marketplace resolved itself into a demand for large-scale supplies of labour power as a principal link among the forces of production to cater to the rising taste in Europe for sweeteners (sugar) and, for example, the increasingly fashionable tobacco smoking. In Marx's language, the sugar would be acquiring 'use-value' which is only realized in consumption. But by virtue of trade and exchange in the marketplace, Caribbean sugar also acquired an 'exchange-value'. At another level, neo-Marxists have cited a symbolic value which could exist, for instance in this case in the form of sugar being related to social status (by the very possibility of its affordability in those times mainly by the privileged), and so on. The slave mode of production was comprehensively grounded in sugar production and all its dimensions, and it is within the dynamic of this situation that local and regional political and social arrangements were to be established. Indeed, the emphasis on monoculture (at the level of one-crop primary produce) in the various countries was a factor of considerable circumstance, among others, in consolidating the local and regional ruling planter strata behind similar interests.

In the Caribbean, as in places such as north-eastern Brazil sugar plantations had superceded crops such as tobacco and coton as a major revenue earner and a defining basis of the social structure. The haphazard labour supply from the Arawak and Carib Indians in the Caribbean islands supplemented by that derived from small numbers of 'disturbers of the peace', petty thieves, heretics and the like thrown up by the emergence of capitalism and the disintegration of feudal society in Europe, was inadequate to fill the requirements. Africans were the principal source of labour power under the modern slave mode of production and the system was for long legitimized far and wide - from the metropolitan state and ruling strata to 'wearers of the cloth' (the clergy).

The Large numbers of Africans brought in were indeed classified as 'property' within a system managed by the new planter and administrative ruling strata, who took charge of the structures for the benefit of the British ruling class, the local and regional oligarchy in particular. Appendages of the metropolitan countries, in the years under colonialism, and as suppliers for the capitalist process elsewhere, the subject territories began to exhibit a 'class' structure reinforced distinctively by role within the relations of production but also in terms of race/colour/ethnic parameters during slavery. Black African slaves from the outset formed the broad base of a pyramid as 'property' with poor whites of labouring or peasant strata (expanded later by immigrant labourers and creoles), through clerical to professional, administrative and big planters at the pinnacle of a firmly crystallized class/caste system. This structure was not erased under emerging dependent peripheral capitalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This stage and variant of capitalism developed with the spread of monopoly capital particularly from Europe and the USA.

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Although this commonality also linked them to the metropolitan power at least firmly until in the words of Disraeli, the colonies became millstones around Britain's neck and a sugar duties act of 1846 (with later revisions) severed preferential treatment for British colonies in favour of Britain's expanding interest in world trade.
Intermediate groups in the emerging class system included largely petty traders, the skilled workmen, the professionals, and so on. Under the old planter oligarchy such groups were graded downward between the planter class and the mass base. "Political rights were monopolized by the top stratum" who were 'regarded and regarded themselves as Englishmen overseas'3 (Hart, 1972: 272). This 'top stratum' had major formal relationships with the metropolitan power but also differences. The intermediate strata almost naturally evolved into a strategic slot for mediating conflict between the ruling class, on the one hand, and the working class and the larger mass of the population. In some cases, this mediating role was an assigned role in which the cohorts were propped up and supported by the receding colonial power. However, historically, as aspirants for places among the owning strata and the ruling class as a whole, and a desire to escape from the downtrodden and struggling poor. The children of liaisons between white settlers and slave or free black/mulatto women accounted for considerable numbers of the middle strata. The middle strata as a class inclined towards supporting the ruling class as a part of a collaborative arrangement (conscious and unconscious) which often served to guarantee the perpetual deprivation of the people at the bottom of the social structure. This was a feature sprouted by the mode of production but which apparently, in part at any rate, generated a momentum of its own. It is not to be presupposed from this that the most deeply exploited in the system were, and have been (later) apathetic and have not generally challenged their exploiters, or that the middle strata have been altogether and at all times inclined to be oppressive. As always, there are conscious and progressive middle class elements in any class formation. Generalizations must, of course, be assumed only against a background of prevailing variations in class/ethnic structure and relationships between strata. Later, in examining Jamaica and Grenada more specifically, points of collaboration - objective and subjective - will become somewhat more evident.

Slaves and contract labourers of a pre-capitalist era became a rural working class, the small and medium peasant, the urban working class (this last more broadly conspicuous in some territories), and the unemployed. The middle strata expanded and continued to be a buffer between any sort of upward mobility by ex-slaves, although less resolutely so than under slavery. As capitalism developed and expanded in Europe the local and regional ruling strata themselves were to become more differentiated. Members of the planter class/oligarchy as a class were shaped by the emerging capitalist process in the colonies of the Caribbean to become agro-commercial capitalists and later, commercial and industrial capitalists.

Explaining the demise of the slave system in the British colonies in 1838, Eric Williams (1964), applying Marxist analysis, saw the system's inefficiency and its inevitable collapse under the indomitable momentum of capitalist industrialization in Europe. Richard Hart (e.g., 1972), in bringing to bear a like analytical approach, has stressed the militancy and resistance of the exploited, the slaves themselves, while others have stressed the work of the abolitionists in Britain, or, generalized. The first two positions are closely related, and from the evidence, appear to be most realistic - the abolitionists being overwhelmingly wavering liberals, and conservatives. As Hart explains:

The disfranchised slave masses...comprised a social stratum of permanent importance...

3This was even though some were of Scottish, Welsh, or Irish origin, Hart explains.
The numerous slave revolts in Jamaica were basically a violent expression of the conflicting economic interests of the two main social classes. But during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these revolts were more than a simple class struggle. The rebels always attempted to establish autonomous Maroon settlements in the uninhabited mountainous regions of the island, and defended these settlements tenaciously. Clearly their aspirations included an element of self-determination (1972: 275).

Nevertheless, it is a matter of degree of contribution because the various forces were interrelated. The abolitionists, meagre as their contribution was, were influenced, for instance, partly by the imperatives of emerging capitalist production in which mechanization was crucial for efficiency and partly by humanitarian currents which sought as well to further subordinate feudalism, and restrict the mercantilist lobby in Britain. Hart states that shifts in Britain's social structure in the industrial revolution 'led to a sharpening of conflict between the British Government and the West Indian Assemblies' (1972: 277) (about which more will be said later). 'A new class had emerged in Britain, wedded to the concept of freedom of contract between worker and employer...Their emergence as a class of wealth and influence gave real strength to the efforts of the humanitarian on behalf of the slaves' (p.277).

The needs in the post-plantation slavery period (mid-19th century onwards) were partly filled by cheap labour from the newly freed who opted to work on plantations as a supplement or as an alternative to joining the growing peasantry in some territories where land availability and vagrancy laws did not close off that option. That was the decisive point at which - when labour began to sell its labour power on a considerable scale to owning elements - that backward capitalism began to emerge in the Anglophone Caribbean. Marxist writings, and Marx and Engels themselves have tended or tended to situate capitalism upon the defining character of 'surplus value' and its extraction - a factor which would suggest a less decisive starting point than that suggested here in the case of the Caribbean. Thus, according to Engels:

...the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production, and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it (Basic Writings, 1969: 130).

Trinidad, and Guyana (then British Guyana) recruited large numbers of Asians, particularly from the Indian sub-continent as contract labourers most of whom settled but countries such as Jamaica, Grenada, Barbados, and French territories (e.g., Haiti [until the first decade of the 19th century], Guadeloupe, Martinique) the freed and descendants of African slaves formed the core of the labour force. This made for differentiation, both in the social structure at the level of strata rather than class (strata being segments of a class in the sense used here) in terms of partly ethnic-based political contestation (e.g., Trinidad and Guyana) with certain debilitating and divisive consequences for consolidation of mass struggle.

The changing class configuration from about the mid-twentieth century and formal independence later, de-emphasized 'caste' distinctions without eliminating them. To generalize, (1) while it is useful to appreciate that the class structure of the territories has representatives from the various ethnic groups at all levels, it is necessary to bear in mind that membership of the various

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4 The Maroons initially comprised mainly rebel former slaves who had run away from Spanish settlers around the time of British conquest in 1655. Their numbers were increased by later runaways but some runaways were rejected at times. They exacted favourable peace treaties in 1739 and 1795 after wars with local militia and British troops. Their counterparts existed in other countries in the region and some settlements have been continued by their descendants.
strata, however limited, is to some extent in accordance with the old oligarchic order, and resources have tended to be distributed accordingly; and (2) the territories are somewhat locked into the capitalist system based partly on the historical position of entrenched appendages of former colonial powers in the old established order of being open, primary export economies while obtaining large amounts of their manufactured goods from abroad. In this specific statement we would tend to exclude revolutionary Cuba which has made large strides in avoiding continued incorporation into the capitalist system, and because of its progressive measures in allocating material resources. However, at the end of the decade of the 1980s and the unfolding of the 1990s, its position as one of the few last great outposts of 'old style' socialism was increasingly threatened by globalizing market forces and attendant isolation as well as the specific tightening of the noose of economic strangulation under continuing Republican control under Bush.

Thus far, the primarily political factors have been omitted from discussion in this section. We can now turn briefly to that aspect. It is virtually idle to talk of the political organization of early inhabitants as having had major impact on present structure and ideology because, as pointed out these inhabitants were all but deleted from the Caribbean landscape. It is not, of course, being denied that martyrdom could be a major factor in informing later political action or tendencies. However, the dominant political tendency has been informed by the desires and structures of the historically dominant groups (see, e.g., Munroe, 1972). What was the nature of the political apparatus, and, who inherited the paraphernalia? From the early days of colonialism, the various Caribbean territories were linked to the Crown or ruling strata of colonial powers though it is useful to note that individual (if not independent) adventurers exercised some sort of brief political leverage in these embryonic stages.

The Caribbean ruling strata from the early days dominated both the economy and the political sphere. Big planters and upper level professionals also occupied seats as members of local assemblies or legislative councils under a restricted and limited franchise which excluded the working/enslaved people. Various accounts have indicated that locally as well as regionally a certain unity was evident from early days, for instance at the level of demands for freedom to trade with countries other than Britain and with regard to early demands for political autonomy. Even when labour was in short supply in some countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries planters were not chronically antagonistic to their counterparts in neighbouring countries who sought to entice labour away from them, except in times of acute crisis.

The axis shifted somewhat, particularly in the extended de-colonization period and enabled a certain degree of effective 'autonomy' and power on the part of various polities, local and local-regional capital. This has occurred through evolution of the ruling class (which will be touched on in the next two chapters) over the centuries and decades, the addition of new elements thrust up by the expanded middle classes, and the capitalist wars and reconstitution of the twentieth century. In

5 However, in some cases considerable movement took place among petty trading sectors during the 1970s and particularly 1980s in Jamaica and against the background of an oil boom in Trinidad up to the start of the 1980s. In short the process of class structuration is a dynamic one and shifts, though marginal in many cases, must be borne in mind.

6 Bear in mind, however, the mainly marginal changes under the emerging new international division of labour.
addition, middle class cHORTS rose in a mediatory role between the ruling class, and the working classes, noticeably in the political sphere; and the differentiation of this larger population in the particular Caribbean context which Marx and even Lenin later would not necessarily have anticipated.

Even in the twentieth century, with the extended franchise and eventually universal adult suffrage, for instance, in Jamaica from 1944 and in Barbados from 1950, whereas the ruling class and capital were reduced or displaced from direct representation in the political sphere their interests were still maintained (particularly through the JLP in Jamaica; and in Barbados). The existence of an aspiring middle class and the desire of the colonial power to mediate a burgeoning conflict between the ruling class and lower strata resulted in the reins of political power being virtually handed over to the middle class (Munroe, 1972) who as we will note, tended to be contented with change within existing structures. We will enter into more detail in chapters on Jamaica and Grenada (Chapters Two & Three).

The reconstitution and regeneration of the ruling groups and the capitalist sections within were also enhanced by the nationalist wave globally and local political parties/leaders and governments expressing these sentiments.

Huntingdon (1968) in writing about change in the ‘modernizing’ countries, suggests that Lenin could have been correct in suggesting that labour could only become conscious through the efforts of outside groups. He further explains that in ‘most of the modernizing countries...that consciousness has been brought to labor not by revolutionary intellectuals but by political leaders or governmental bureaucrats.'^ 8

Huntingdon stresses that as a consequence of this arrangement, labour’s goals ‘have been fairly concrete and immediate economic ones, rather than the transformation of the political social order’ (1968: 288). Nevertheless, both ‘industrial proletariat and lumpenproletariat may oppose the government’ and ‘slumdwellers may erupt into riots and political violence’ but generally ‘they are not the stuff out of which revolution is made. The former has too much at stake in the status quo; the latter is too preoccupied with immediate ends.’ For Huntingdon:

The true revolutionary class in most modernizing societies is, of course, the middle class. Here is the principal source of urban opposition to government. It is this group whose political attitudes and values dominate the politics of the cities (1968: 289).

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^ This, of course, is somewhat problematic as people and family groupings do not simply assume ‘their’ place in a flexible upwardly mobile or buoyant situation.

^ In keeping with this view which is fairly commonly held, Clapham, for instance argues: ‘...the colonial state became the principal unit of political activity, accepted as much as by the indigenous peoples and leaders quite as much as by colonial officials themselves. Politics and administration, at anything more than the very local level, meant dealing with colonial officialdom, and hence accepting - even, often, while opposing - the institutions which it had established. Liberation from colonial rule came to be seen as a matter of taking over these institutions rather than destroying them. In the process, the colonial state acquired a legitimacy as the framework for the creation of a nation, sometimes reinforcing pre-colonial identities – as in Burma, Kampuchea and Vietnam – but more often, especially in Africa, quite at variance with them, so such as degree that the cultures and institutions of local peoples themselves came to be branded by the new nationalist leaders as the manifestations of an illegitimate and divisive tribalism’ (1985: 20).
Huntingdon seems to substitute individuals or groups for class but he goes on to qualify some of what he states. Thus, a 'large middle class, like widespread affluence, is a moderating force in politics. The creation of a middle class, like economic growth, however, is often a highly destabilizing event.' He goes on to write about the 'evolution' of the middle class:

Typically the first middle-class elements to appear on the social scene are intellectuals with traditional roots but modern values. They are then followed by the gradual proliferation of civil servants and army officers, teachers and lawyers, engineers and technicians, entrepreneurs and managers. The first elements of the middle-class to appear are the most revolutionary; as the middle class becomes larger it becomes more conservative...(1968: 289)

His argument, along with some other observers', is that: 'In most cases, the intellectuals cannot desert the existing order because they have never been part of it' (1968: 290). The middle-class intelligentsia however, need the other groups and classes both urban and rural for a revolution, rather than just riots to be possible.

C. L. R. James' comments about 'The West Indian Middle Classes', are pertinent. Viewing the middle classes as having 'political power minus economic power', he stressed that the 'only way' to change 'the structure of the economy and setting it on to new paths' was to mobilize the mass against all who will stand in the way', but:

...They tinker with the economy, they wear themselves out seeking grants, loans and foreign investments which they encourage by granting fabulous advantages dignified by the name of pioneer status...

It is no wonder...that they discuss nothing, express no opinions (except to the Americans that they are anti-communist)...take no steps to see that the population is made aware of the problems which face it, and indeed show energy and determination only to keep away or discredit any attempts to have the population informed on any of the great problems which are now disturbing mankind. They know very well what they are doing. Any such discussion can upset the precarious balance which they maintain. Any topic which may enlarge the conception of democracy is particularly dangerous because it may affect the attitude of the mass of the population. How deeply ingrained is this sentiment is proved by the fact the nowhere in the islands has the middle class found it necessary to establish a daily paper devoted to the national interest...(1980: 138-139 - written in 1962)

Fanon, addressing himself principally to Africa but nevertheless relevant to the 'under-developed countries' of which he spoke generally, observed somewhat appropriately that:

The national middle class constantly demands the nationalization of the economy and of the trading sectors...To them, nationalization quite simply means the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period.

...The national bourgeoisie steps into the shoes of the former European settlement: doctors, barristers, traders, commercial travellers, general agents and transport agents...The national middle class discovers its historic mission: that of intermediary (1967: 122).

Much of that process has advanced and has been refined, and, a significant and somewhat entrenched local (national) ruling class, indeed local-regional ruling class can be said to exist in the Anglophone Caribbean. Fanon differed from Huntingdon in that he gave the title of the most revolutionary class to the 'lumpenproletariat', and perhaps has been rightly chastised for that by others such as Woddis (1972) who gives the major role, if not the leading role, to the working class.

One, with very considerable circumspection and evidence, accepts that what results is a
government which absorbs Fanon’s various factors (note even the core elements among the 
multi-class alliance under the PNP from 1972) and a government which Marx might have described 
as ‘a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie’ (see Communist 
Manifesto, 1977: 38). Of course, Marx, during his time, and followers such as Althusser (e.g.,
1971) and Poulantzas (e.g., 1975a & 1975b) - the latter in particular - saw the situation as much 
more problematic and less deterministic. This latter position is much more acceptable.

Table 1(i): Changes in Political Party Systems in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1962-1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY SYSTEM 1972</th>
<th>NO EFFECTIVE PARTIES</th>
<th>ONE PARTY DOMINANT</th>
<th>TWO PARTY PERSISTENT</th>
<th>MULTIPLE PARTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ONE PARTY DOMINANT</td>
<td>Turks &amp; Caicos</td>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis, Anguilla Belize</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British Virgin Is., Cayman Is.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO PARTY PERSISTENCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTIPLE PARTY</td>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>Monsterrat</td>
<td>Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>Bahamas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Clapham states that ‘while general links between economy and political structure’ are 
fairly simple to sketch, specific application is much more difficult task. However, the link would be 
‘clearest in revolutionary Marxist regimes whose structures of economic and political management are 
scarcely distinguishable from one another’, and ‘call for a very high level of political repression’ at 
least initially; ‘first of all to dispossess the existing dominant economic groups, secondly to force the 
people into new forms of economic organisation subject to central command, and thirdly to withhold 
current consumption in favour of investment.’ Additional repression may be needed for cost of 
domestic control and international political activity (1985: 109-110). ‘Populist socialist regimes’ 
present a less clear case. Thus:

‘Populist socialist regimes lend themselves easily to a rhetoric of identification with 
leader and nation, in which opposition of any kind is identified as the work of traitors 
and saboteurs; but then, in both Sri Lanka under the Bandaranaike governments and 
Jamaica under Michael Manley, such regimes operated within the framework of a 
liberal democratic state. That both Manley and Mrs. Bandaranaike lost elections to 
opposition parties explicitly committed to the reconstruction of the economy on capitalist 
lines demonstrates both the genuinely liberal nature of the political system, and the 
failure of populist socialism to generate lasting popular support...Sri Lanka and Jamaica 
(under Jayewardene and Seaga) governments are both capitalist and liberal, but 
President Banda’s Malawi combines aggressive commitment to capitalism with a political 
structure every bit as authoritarian as that of any of his socialist neighbours (1985: 110).

Some European powers transferred subordinate facsimiles of their political apparatus to
the subject territories in order to consolidate their control. Britain's evolved extensions through the
Colonial Office placed the Westminster model (in the context of Western liberal democracy) as the
path to follow and cemented the territories within the larger Empire or Commonwealth. Growing from
this, the political party systems of some countries have resembled the classifications in Table 1(i).

In some parts of Africa the relationship was less well defined than in the Caribbean and
control was exercised through local chiefs. French Caribbean territories such as Martinique and
Guadeloupe were incorporated - and continue to be - in the home political framework as
departements. Even nearing the end of the 20th century, Britain still has dependencies in the region
(e.g., Montserrat,9 and Cayman Islands), and the U.S. as well as the Dutch still exercise quite direct
control over some territories. Spain left much in structure and population behind but it was displaced
as a hegemonic and imperial power in the Caribbean proper. Central and South America by the
U.S.A. during the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

As far as British territories were concerned, little was tolerated in terms of dissentient
socio-political movements. In 1795 troops were called in to suppress the Fedon-led revolt in
Grenada; in 1865, the same sort of repression attended the Morant Day Rebellion in Jamaica in
which peasants were demanding more land; in Guyana (then British Guiana), in 1953 and 1961 the
British and U.S. ruling classes, through the Colonial Office and the CIA jointly and respectively,
suppressed the Marxist electoral victory, suspending the constitution and replacing the ‘first past the
post’ system with proportional representation (see, e.g., Thomas, 1983, 27-28; Hansard [House of
Commons], Vol.518, 1953: cols. 376-377 [Written Answers]), a system which France, for
instance, instituted in the 1980s but which dominant powerholders in Britain have continued to
reject. The evidence of neo-fascism which was very notable in Guyana, at least until the mid-1980s
has had considerable foundation in such intervention and structuring, no less so than late twentieth
century U.S. invasion/intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean has defined regression in
those areas.

The system of so-called representative government which (except for Barbados) passed
gradually through Crown Colony government and to independence constitutions, transferred direct
political power mainly to a middle strata. As Karch suggests, political parties of the region
(‘Commonwealth Caribbean’) ‘have objectively functioned to limit the political power of the black
working class by making the party dominant over workers’ movements. The nationalism of the
PNP-JLP in Jamaica, the BLP-DLP in Barbados and the PNM in Trinidad is a class nationalism of
the petty-bourgeoisie. Their programs in the 1950s and 1960s were generally populist and espoused a
variant of national capitalism under the assumed “enlightened” guidance of international capitalism.
The middle classes have, since the War, attempted to form and maintain political parties with a wide
populist base that cuts across class/color/race, under the banner of nationalism. In the 1950s and
‘60s they even attempted to deny the class basis of society...’ (1985: 124) On a larger scale, U.S.
and British ruling classes have sought to propagate this non-class fiction during the second half of the
twentieth century. It will be necessary to return and even enter into more detail on some of these
questions in later chapters on Jamaica and Grenada.

9Although some sentiment tilting towards independence exists, one current of opinion questions the
capacity of a country such as Montserrat (pop. approx. 12,000) to handle the various responsibilities
which would arise in the different context as a nation-state.
Part of the structure in the case of the Anglophone Caribbean has been a heavily clientelistic system which in one sphere divides workers while excluding them from real as against potential power. The class structure is preserved - in many respects in its "old" form - and "implied possibilities" of alternative political and socio-economic arrangements are fair game for imperial challenge.

1.4 Processes, explanations, and pitfalls

1.4.1 Modernization and its revision

Various routes to transformation have been advanced and readjusted to channel or explain the path that particularly the many new nations emerging from around the second half of the twentieth century should follow, or to explain the dynamics of these nations. Drawing from a Weberian lead, modernization theorists at the cultural/psycho-cultural level saw a linear continuum through traditional, transitional, and modern society and the corresponding traditional man and modern man. McLelland, for instance, posited the idea of achievement motivation. The need for achievement, so he wrote, was basic to humans but unevenly distributed between cultures. He argued that evidence pointed to a correlation of economic growth with achievement motivation. High concern for achievement in a nation was associated with its more rapid economic growth. In observing the 'very high' scores in terms of 'concern for achievement' in Turkish children's stories, and Iranian scores as lower, in 1950 research, for example, he derived an explanation for differences in the rate of growth between the two countries. For McLelland, 'high achievement was also peculiarly suited to success in business' (see, 1963: 154-161).

Daniel Lerner with others from the same school such as Wilbur Schramm, saw a considerable relationship between the media and economic and political participation and modernization. Taking his cue from the concept of empathy, Lerner, for instance, noted that 'empathy' endowed a person to imagine himself as a proprietor of a bigger grocery store in a city, to wear nice clothes and live in a nice house, to be interested in "what is going on in the world." Emphasizing the need for 'an economic capacity to construct and maintain the physical plant of the mass media', he stressed that the 'connection between mass media and political democracy is especially close' and saw this as especially clear in 'countries which had achieved stable growth at a high level of modernity' (see, 1963: 336-343). Schramm cited W. W. Rostow's "pre-conditions" to "economic "take-off"" but notes also Lerner's fuller development of one pre-condition - national empathy. For Schramm:

Now if we ask, "To which of these 'preconditions' must communication contribute?" the answer is, "All of them." (1963: 38).

For such observers, modernization was epitomized in economically advanced Western nations which were to be emulated. People in the traditional cultures or the newly emerging nations had to have greater achievement motivation and/or empathize, in order to be modernized - like the West.

Theoretical formulas purporting to explain the nature of 'backwardness' or 'underdevelopment'
in the so-called Third World and the foundation of such qualities, as well as to chart the course of potential solutions, largely began in economics and mushroomed into the political science arena. They have further tended earmark a fairly central role for the mass media at the cultural level. It is useful to touch on some of the arguments advanced, if only to illustrate their inutility as regards this study, and even further, the general limitations and thinness of their prescriptions.

Development/modernization theorists at the psycho-cultural level as importantly, the political level were influenced in part by currents in sociology, and in part from economics, and specifically from works such as those of W. W. Rostow (see, e.g., 1963). Sourced from sociology among some of the early contributions from modernization theorists were works such as the series of essays edited by Almond and Coleman (1960) - *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, and by LaPalombara (1963) under the title *Bureaucracy and Political Development*. In a later work (1966), Pye devoted time to examining some of the meanings frequently associated with the term 'political development', an exercise which for him was 'to illuminate a situation of semantic confusion which cannot help but impede the development of theory and cloud the purposes of public policy.' In his analysis he recognized the 'three dimensions of equality, capacity, and differentiation as lying at the heart of the development process' but pointed out that this was not to 'suggest that they necessarily fit easily together' (see, 31-48).

Briefly, and for purely academic purposes we can take a look at Rostow who based his calculations in a theory of economic growth and in counter-position to Marx's thesis, along a five-stage path. Rostow's five-stage process to 'take-off' and thereafter, envisaged, quite significantly, the eventual transformation of traditional societies into virtual carbon copies of Western capitalist societies and their liberal-pluralist framework, as well as their assumed maturity in democratic forms. Rostow partly summarizes his position thus:

...the fundamental distinction between the economy of a traditional or transitional society and a modern growing economy lies in whether industrial innovation has or has not become a more or less regular flow...Industrialization and modern economic growth can be viewed, therefore, as depending in the end on the systematic and progressive application of modern science and technology to the economy. Although a vast series of technical and societal changes must occur before this capacity is built into a society's outlook, habits and institutions, the take-off is the interval when these deeper changes yield their result; and the emergence of leading sectors is the form this result assumes (1963: 21).

Evident flaws in modernization theory were partly addressed by modernization revisionism. Modernization theorists had focused on, and been guided by, the linear move from the traditional to the modern which in some respects neglected the intricate and problematic relationship between traditional societies and modern. There were problems with the concepts themselves at the level of definition. Among modernization revisionists, Randall and Theobald (1985) cite, for instance, Anber's work (1967) on the Nigerian civil war of the late 1960s. Anber's position was that, contrary to theories such as those from Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, educational and economic development in new nations did not erode tribal loyalties. Indeed, the Ibo example in Nigeria illustrated the reverse in that the Ibos, according to Anber moved from a nationalist to a tribalist orientation. For him 'the root cause was the unequal pace of modernization in Nigeria' - that is, development was uneven between different ethnic groups.

10 A term used, e.g., by Huntington.
Randall and Theobald point out that Anber neglected the economic dimension, and thus, the unequal modernization which he observed as 'the cause of subsequent communal conflict was rather a symptom of the structure of the colonial economy.' Anber also had the tendency to view the Biafran situation in terms of the ethnic dimension which resulted in his neglect of social class. Hence, 'Anber's mode of analysis is very much within the ambience of modernisation theories which he is criticising' (1985: 49-50).

Partly illustrated here again is the inadequacy of modernization approaches. Apart from shortcomings such as problems with the use of the concepts tradition and modernity, for instance, in Randall's and Theobald's assessment, the main failing of modernization revisionism itself as an approach was to view the role of 'traditional' structures such as caste and clientelism as the key to understanding Third World politics' (1985: 65). However, modernization revisionism pointed to the intricacy and problematic nature of the relationship between 'tradition' with 'modernity', simplified in linear form under earlier mainstream modernization assumptions. Schramm, in an edited work with Lerner (partly focusing on Eisenstadt's 1973 book) explained:

...to put it simply, things are not as simple as had been assumed, and the generality sought by the old paradigm may not now be possible. Back to the old drawing board! (1976: 48)

1.4.2 Dependency and its limitations

Dependency theorists have been generally critical of modernization/development approaches. However, their approach also displays certain inadequacies. This is a convenient point at which to pause very briefly to consider a definition of 'imperialism'. We have already gone through some concrete manifestations of the colonial process. Indeed, it is one of these terms which could be concretized by invoking from ancient history various relationships of an economic, social, political and/or cultural nature between peoples and territories which manifested a position of domination and subordination/resistance. However, the modern context is that which is more central here and a lengthy examination can be found in an almost countless number of textbooks and articles. Modern imperialism tends to be identified as having begun around the late nineteenth century - from around 1870 - (and, politically, especially marked by the great rush of European countries to complete the colonization of the world in the mid-1880s). Perhaps the two most widely referred to analyses are those of Lenin and the progressive liberal, Hobson.

Five basic features of imperialism emerged in Lenin's analysis:

(i) the concentration of production and capital to a high stage, creating monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;
(ii) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation on the basis of this 'finance capital', a financial oligarchy;
(iii) export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;
(iv) formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves; and
(v) territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers (see, 1982: 85-86).
For Lenin, it was a development and continuation of capitalism but at a very high stage of capitalist development. The main economic feature was the 'displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalism monopoly', and politically the general trend was 'toward violence and reaction' (1982: 83-84). The late twentieth century does not do Hobson's halting perspicacity that much injustice. According to him:

> It may be that Imperialism in its competitive aspect carries within itself the seeds of its own demise, leading as it must, to conflicts ever more destructive to life and property. Indeed, its competition for an ever shrinking area of profitable acquisition may so intensify the struggle between the possessing and the non-possessing nations as to destroy the fabric of civilization. Whether the slowly evolving rationality and sociability of man has advanced sufficiently to furnish a strong enough safeguard against this imperial predacity is the question that confronts the world today (1938: xiii).

Hobson can hardly be faulted here for pointing to the destructiveness in the competition and for recognizing the slow advance of man in the sphere to which he refers, even though he seems to overestimate man's capacity to deal with the process as it unfolds.

Frank broadly followed Lenin in suggesting that, by imperialism, should be understood 'a certain kind of relation between the metropole or its members and the periphery' (1975: 56). Generally, for Frank and others, this phenomenon has served to reinforce the continued development of the metropole (centre) at the expense of, and/or alongside the underdevelopment of the periphery (hinterland). A noted dependency theorist, Frank implies his stance, for example, in the following statement:

> ...capitalism/imperialism has never ceased to exploit the underdeveloped periphery to the benefit of the developed metropole (1975: 72; see also, e.g., Rodney, 1983)

This is acceptable and realistic but it is a question of emphasis. He derives support from Amin, for instance, who reiterates - partly paraphrasing Lenin - that with the advent of imperialism, 'the principal contradiction of the capitalist system tends to be between monopoly capital and the over-exploited masses of the periphery; the centre of gravity of the struggles against capital tends to shift from the centre of the system toward the periphery' (see 1977: 108-109).

Commenting on Frank's work, Roxborough stresses that it is not that Frank neglects class analysis, but the fact that 'the conceptualization of class relations...is accorded little or no role in the analysis of relations of domination and exploitation, which are instead conceived of as occurring between spatial categories' (1979: 42). Moreover, he explains, 'flows of value between spatial regions can only be accounted for in terms of the distribution and redistribution of surplus-value (together with value produced as a result of primitive accumulation) among social classes.' Partly surprising in Frank's case, he thinks, is that one of the early concerns expressed in his work entailed the 'correct formation of class alliances in order to bring about a socialist revolution in Latin America' (1979: 47).

Laclau too, chastises Frank for the 'deliberate' omission of 'the relations of production from his definition of capitalism' and wrote that 'only by abstracting them [feudalism and capitalism] can he arrive at a sufficiently wide notion of capitalism to include the different exploitative situations suffered by the indigenous Peruvian peasantries, the Chilian inquilinos, the Ecuadorian huasiapungoeros, the slaves of the West Indian sugar plantations or textile workers in Manchester...In all these cases the fundamental economic contradiction is that which opposes the exploiters to the
exploited' (1977: 23). [Enclosures in brackets added] Frank's position in viewing capitalism as having existed from the outset of European colonization of Latin America comes in for similar attack from this source based upon his seating of this assumption in general 'market' (mercantilist activity and capital) considerations rather than pointing to capitalism as arising at the specific juncture which sees the labourer selling his/her labour power (see, e.g., 1977: 24).

Some of Amin's efforts, in working from this dependency school can be taken as conscious attempts to rise above the limitations but at times he appears to revert to what could be referred to as mainstream dependency. Thus, he notes that

...the system of superexploitation works to the benefit of monopoly capital. The local exploiting classes are only the intermediaries, the junior partners, in this exploitation. This is precisely where their responsibility lies: in their collusion with imperialism. And it is precisely because imperialism benefits from this superexploitation that it operates via international class alliances (1980: 163).

This was the sort of argument advanced by Fanon (1967). Probably because of the environs on which Amin has focused, there is an implicit downgrading of local capital (see also Beckford & Witter, 1982) and the primary internal contradiction between capital and labour. In the case of the Caribbean, it would be difficult to ground these particular aspects of Amin's views expressed as securely as Amin would perhaps wish in the milieu of countries of this sort in a maturing post-colonial era, bearing in mind notably, the considerable rise of local and local-regional capital and its alliances. In addition, it is easy to accept the 'junior' partnership status assigned to local exploiting classes and as collaborators - particularly at a fundamental level - but to view them almost trivially as 'intermediaries' in this arrangement tends to imply a negation of their own particular interests and degree of autonomy as well as somehow glossing over the non-monolithic quality of the capitalist or exploiting classes (note, e.g., industrial and commercial capital and their varying levels of relative sympathy at 'normal' times with transnational capital). Amin, of course, would probably come out very much better in a closer reading of his work.

Wallerstein (1974) does not distance himself from dependency thesis in viewing the world system as representing the mode of production and the struggle as primarily within a global class structure rather that at the level within the various specific social formations. Briefly, whereas Wallerstein is associated with the tradition of dependency theorists, he sees the world system more so as the seat of the mode of production.

According to Wallerstein:

...I abandoned the idea altogether of taking either the sovereign state or that vaguer concept, the national society, as the unit of analysis. I decided that neither one was a social system and that one could only speak of social change in social systems. The only social system in this scheme was the world system (1974: 7).

Problems with Wallerstein's analysis have arisen in several quarters. Bergesen (1990: 71), for instance, argues that 'the element of force and power, the political and economic dominance of the European core over the rest of the world, is not only missing in Wallerstein's exposition, but mystified by his analysis.' When he suggested a 'struggle' over price between
'buyer' and 'seller' [unequal exchange], where the core is the buyer and the periphery the seller, it implies the relative independence to buy and sell on the world market' (1990: 71). Wallerstein's 'theoretic misconception' arises for a number of reasons. Bergesen mentions among them:

The suggestion that 'the transnationality of commodity chains is as descriptively true of the sixteenth century capitalist world as of the twentieth-century' (Wallerstein, 1983: 31) is misleading, because the colonial periphery was not composed of sovereign states. Colonies are not states, and to describe colonial plunder and surplus transfers as 'transnational' trade is misleading (1990: 72).

Underdevelopment - which Beckford (1972), for instance, (modified, with Witter, 1982; see also Best, 1971 and others in the New World Group) identified in terms of 'plantation economy' thesis (a Caribbean offshoot of dependency theory) - has been a serious disadvantage in attempts to order fundamental change. Plantation economy thesis itself was undermined by the decline in the relative importance of the plantation to Caribbean economy and associated and subsequent factors but enhanced later by the globalization of the market and the revitalized racial/ethnic divisions of the 1980s through 1990 onwards. A useful collection of contributions based on plantation school analysis is contained in Readings in the Political Economy of the Caribbean, an edited work by Girvan and Jefferson (1971). Although perhaps somewhat less so, like mainstream dependency theory, it paid less than adequate attention to the internal class arrangements and particularly the role of the ruling class in interrupting and diluting the change process except as a surrogate of larger external masters. Much of this work as it developed in the 1960s was associated with the efforts of Latin American structuralists who identified a need for change and indeed, radical change to advance the cause of the exploited working or unemployed poor. Even such structuralists tended to be attracted to the perspective that an increased rate of growth would solve 'all' problems. Experience showed that to have been a mistake, as one of the leading figures observed (Prebisch, Third World Quarterly, Jan. 1980).

Cross (1971: 115-116), drew a distinction between the rural and urban sectors of Caribbean classes, which, for him, 'have come to be dominated by the multinational corporation.' He admits that the systems are no more than 'analytically separate'. For him, with the emergence of the corporate plantations, the long-standing conflict between the planters and urban classes 'gives way to co-operation as both depend upon the same capital sources. Similarly, the urban proletariat is constantly replaced from the displaced peasantry and estate labourers are forced towards the city by lack of land and rural opportunity.' Cross recognizes many exceptions to the pattern, for example, in Barbados - where the old landed planter class has rebuffed corporate control and has retained dominance; Martinique - where the Beke still has considerable control; Cuba - where large plantations were taken into public ownership; and to different extents, countries such as Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago made incursions into multinational holdings by way of nationalization/localization or participation in ownership during the post-colonial period. Cross seems somewhat over-zealous in assuming that 'a framework for analysing the ties of dependency is the only tenable approach to understanding the patterns of change within the contemporary Caribbean' (1971:

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11 Bergesen’s criticisms in this instance are based on Wallerstein’s *Historical Capitalism*; London, Verso; 1983.

Nevertheless, his analysis is somewhat dated and may be taken as more in keeping with the early post-colonial (or imminent political independence for some countries) period. Later twentieth century global economic and political currents have probably redeemed some of its apparent former gloss.

While it is recognized that the openness and entrenchment in the capitalist system is a feature of the economies, and that there is a degree of dependency on the capitalist centres, the countries have their own dynamic - increasingly so (with hiccups, of course) - in the aftermath of formal political independence. Partly because of these factors and notable further and intricate capitalist development, we can usefully talk of a local and local-regional capitalist class. Assertions such as Cross' about dependency and the centrality of the MNCs are far from misplaced but must be viewed in their proper perspective as this study hopes to do in passing.

The early Caribbean variant not excepted, dependency theory tended to marginalize or neglect internal class considerations and the mode of production analysis (national), in favour of a metropole-satellite/hinterland nomenclature where internal class divisions and domination were sidelined. The replacement comes out as something in the form of an international working class and an international capitalist class. Indeed, this is not as unrealistic as it may seem (and especially within the contradictions of the late 20th century) but, where such a basis may be misguided is particularly at the point of neglecting or de-emphasizing internal class relations.

Caribbean islands being decolonised in the post-World War Two period were attracted by 'Operation Bootstrap' or the Puerto Rican Model of development. This entailed 'industrialization by invitation' of foreign capital. The model - private-sector-led and state-supported, failed to deliver the results and has been more of a conveyor belt for unemployment, abysmally unequal distribution of wealth, and a further skewing of the economies internally, while tying them further into the capitalist world system. Among the problems too was the general inappropriateness for some countries bearing in mind that Puerto Rico, in contrast was 'a low wage part of the United States customs area' allowing 'the free movement of capital and of population between that island and the mainland' (Jefferson, 1971: 112-113, on Jamaica).

Local and local-regional capitalists and their predecessors have had a long and fundamentally unbroken history with the colonial and neo-colonial state from the earliest days of the plantation-based oligarchy to the more diversified commercial and industrial central power base which has obtained in some countries in the twentieth century. A parasitic and supposedly weak national capitalist ruling class argued from within and outside the state apparatus for the tax holidays and special privileges for 'infant' industries within the local sector - and some of these industries never seemed to grow up, not so much because of the weakness of national capital but more so because of its strength within, and vis-a-vis the state.

Local capital accumulation in Caribbean countries has, in many cases, entailed an increasing role for the state. C. Y. Thomas (1983: 29) has argued that political/state power in Guyana, as elsewhere in the capitalist periphery, 'is being used as an instrument for the consolidation of a now developing ruling class.' Keith and Girling, in an examination which is also referred to in Chapter Two, reiterates (re the PNP 1970s-80 Government) that: 'Even under a progressive government, the capitalist state will channel benefits to the working class only insofar as
is necessary to stabilize the situation' (1978: 24). Ironically, while there are serious implications and consequences for the continuity of regimes which fall 'victim' to this malaise - as the PNP/Manley regime learnt in 1980 - these implications and consequences do not always lead to 'progressive' political and social change.

1.4.3 ‘Cold War’ politics, US interventionism, and the Soviet/Cuban ‘threat’

Maurice Bishop emphatically stated that Grenada was part of nobody's backyard (speech - see, e.g., Searle, 1984). The presence of the U.S. as a superpower and the core of the capitalist world has borne heavily on the Caribbean. Firstly, what has been the approach of that power, which has loomed so large in the twentieth century and particularly in the post-World War II period? It is difficult to refer to the Caribbean - itself of imprecise boundaries - without reference to ‘Latin America’ which is taken to include the continental areas of South and Central America without necessarily including the non-Hispanic Caribbean.

In approximately half-a-century after it had advanced from the Boston Tea Party through its own revolution to displace Britain’s control over its destiny, what has been the U.S.A., in a world of nation states, came to arrogate on to itself responsibility as final arbiter for the political and social future of the Americas and the Caribbean area, in common parlance - its ‘backyard’. This modern, let us say, 'second stage' power (being post- the original European powers of the modern colonial era), and imperial power initially sought to stave off a perceived European threat. The U.S. position had become most concretely identified with what became known as the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 arising from President Monroe’s statement to Congress which read in part,

...the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers (see State of the Union Messages of the Presidents, 1967: 204; also Peridna, 1976: 399-402; & Rappaport, 1964).

The 'Doctrine' for the most part lay dormant for decades until about the time of the American civil war when Spain took the opportunity to intervene in Santo Domingo while France endeavoured to set up an empire in Mexico. France soon withdrew under U.S. diplomatic pressure. The Doctrine gradually became an accepted part of U.S. ideology, and - widened with the Theodore Roosevelt Corollary - it became increasingly applicable to Caribbean territories.

Europe’s relative decline and the emergence of the USA and the Soviet Union as superpowers, particularly in the Cold War climate after World War II shifted the definition of threats and contextualization of activities with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc as a whole being typecast in the West as ‘the enemy’. The principles of the Doctrine were further widened, and through the Organization of American States (OAS) (established in the 1940s), for example, a system

13. This is, of course, being further segmented with Japan and Europe being increasingly important in the late twentieth century. Market economics and insertions of Western-style democracy in Eastern Europe, Soviet Asia and further afield also means that established positions are being etched at daily.

14. During this time Britain, for instance intervened in Central America and, also acquired the Falklands.
"Pan-Americanism" was set in motion.

The list of U.S. overt and covert interventions (through the CIA and other machinery and direct military action) and collaboration with far-right groups and regimes in Latin America and the Caribbean is a long and extending one. One need only mention a few and elaborate on one or two recent cases - Haiti, 1915; Nicaragua in the 1920s and 1979 onwards; Guatemala, 1954 and current propping up of a military dictatorship; Guyana (then British Guyana), 1961 with Britain, as we noted earlier; Cuba, 1960-61 and any number of assassination attempts on Fidel Castro's life since then; the Dominican Republic, 1965; Chile, 1973; the PNP/Manley administration in Jamaica, 1970s-1980; Grenada, 1979-83; Panama, 1989-90. President Reagan's statement to the OAS (24/2/82) on the quite fraudulent U.S.-inspired Caribbean Basin Initiative implied the deep concern of the American leadership and right-wing:

...The dark future is foreshadowed by the poverty and repression of Castro's Cuba, the tightening grip of the totalitarian left in Grenada and Nicaragua and the expansion of Soviet-backed, Communist-managed support for violent revolution in Central America (Bulletin of Eastern Caribbean Affairs, Vol.8, 1982-83).

Outgoing President, Reagan told cheering Republicans in the 1988 Bush campaign that: 'We liberated Grenada from the communists and help return [the] island to democracy' (BBC-1 TV, 16/8/88). He would probably have said the same of Panama by January 1990 and of Nicaragua after the February general elections which gave victory to a U.S. backed multi-party coalition. The onslaught against Nicaragua through economic sanctions/manipulations, ideologically and militarily by consciously clamping down on bilateral/multilateral aid to the Sandinista administration but increasing resources to the Contras and counter-revolution at that level, continued until the election. The effort, by then, had wrecked the Nicaraguan economy. As Vilas notes:

The impact of the war of aggression waged by the United States government against Nicaragua has been enormous. Between 1980 and 1986 counter-revolutionary activity has caused destruction of property and losses in production amounting to $596 million - that is, 15 per cent of the total material product of those years. The sectors most seriously affected were agriculture, forestry and construction, which bore 82 per cent of the total losses. In the same period, the aggression claimed over 17,500 victims...The total direct impact of the war on the Nicaraguan economy has been estimated at almost $1,000 million; the equivalent of three years of export earnings (1988: 182).

Altamirano, commenting in 1988 (World Marxist Review (WMR), Dec. 1988: 10), put loss of life in Nicaragua at over 28,000, while an end to the conflict was still some way off. Ortega himself told a large gathering in London in May, 1989 that there were some 60,000 casualties [killed, injured].

This included the mining of Nicaraguan ports, supplying military and other aid to the Contra mercenaries, financing the UNO coalition in its 1989-90 election campaign and February 1990 election victory.

As Nettleford describes it, 'a monstrosity...concocted, with little regard for the sort of assistance the United States swore it meant to give, but which in fact is more designed to secure geopolitical hegemonic control rather than to ensure the creative development of the human resources in these parts' (1990: 11). An editorial in the PNP's newspaper, Rising Sun pointed to the ominous nature of the plan, referred to it as 'a most dangerous' one which, through deregulation and other factors would 'destroy small farmers and small businessmen' and 'protect United States capital interest by military action and therefore turn the region into a zone of war...It can only succeed in eroding the national independence of the region...'. (Vol.1, No.5: 8).
He also stated that the U.S. ‘has given itself the right to classify us’ and that it sees only two dictatorships in the area, Cuba and Nicaragua (Morning Star, 10/5/89: 4). Those who are attracted to the simple and convenient assumption that the failure of revolutions or other significant progressive processes of transformation is inevitable should benefit from this sort of background. Under Reagan’s protege, George Bush the U.S. - with minor caveats - was as ready to advance support to the forces of counter-revolution. As a U.S. academic appearing briefly on Channel 4’s [TV, Britain] ‘The World This Week’ (14/5/88: 10.00 a.m.) noted, the failure of U.S. covert military action in ‘backyard’ countries such as Nicaragua and the inappropriateness of direct military intervention as well as the use of nuclear weapons, partly explains the increased emphasis on military-based chemical/biological research.

In 1988, the U.S. wanted General Noriega of Panama to give up his leadership in the country and go to the U.S. to answer drug charges. BBC-TV reports in May, 1989 pointed to the relationship between Bush and Noriega ‘in better days’ [when the latter was a CIA collaborator] with appropriate film footage (1970s) and reiterated the disclosure of a U.S. Senate report that the U.S. contemplated assassinating Noriega when he proved somewhat of an embarrassment thereafter (BBC-2’s ‘Newsnight’, 11/5/89, 10.30p.m.; BBC-1 TV News, 12/5/89, 7.30a.m.).

In May, General Noriega announced victory for his administration in apparently rigged elections in Panama but later declared the elections null and void under domestic unrest and U.S. threats. A foreign correspondent for the BBC, Tim Sebastian told his audience that: ‘It’s calm in Panama City after a day of shocking violence against the leaders of the opposition, violence that sent shivers all the way to the White House where the President ordered in additional troops.’ The presenter and editor at the BBC studios (London) offered a familiar piece from Washington (this time from Bush):

I am worried about the lives of American citizens, and I will do what is necessary to protect the lives of American citizens. [Emphasis added]

The BBC correspondent with news out of Washington, and evidently also for Washington returned to assure viewers that: ‘About 1,800 troops have been despatched...a modest response to the tension in Panama although there are warnings more could follow if American lives are threatened...The American Ambassador is being recalled’ (BBC-1 TV News, 12/5/89: 8.00a.m.). [Emphasis added] Others such as British Conservative Party MP, Chris Patten in speaking on BBC-1’s ‘Question Time’ (11/5/89: 10.45 p.m.) hoped that ‘the rest of the world would get rid of Noriega.’

Nicaragua’s Foreign Minister Miguel d’Escoto alerted us before the end of the Revolution that information from Washington about his administration and the Revolution must be taken not with ‘a pinch of salt’ but ‘with a pill of salt’ (BBC-2, 8/5/89: 6.30 p.m.). Of course, on occasion, long after a U.S. intervention or destruction, routine ‘Congressional Committee’ or ‘Senate Sub-committee’ hearings - evidence of the workings of liberal democracy - sometimes reveal details of covert and other activities. If we read further between the lines and draw from one or two other media reports, the Independent [London] (Editorial, 11/5/89: 24); surprisingly, expanded that the CIA recruited Noreiga in 1966 and ‘he supplied the agency with intelligence on Cuba and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua; and, with Washington’s approval, rigged the equally fraudulent 1984 elections...The Americans’...periodic outbursts of enthusiasm for democracy’ there attracts scepticism.
The Morning Star, daily organ of the British Communist Party explained that charges against Noriega were made in 1986 'on the basis of information supplied by Contragate conspirator John Poindexter' and they followed a meeting of Reagan's National Security Council two months earlier 'which laid plans to renege on Washington's commitment to return the Canal Zone to Panamanian sovereignty by the end of 1999. "We need a policy aimed at ensuring our control over the Panama Canal much later than the year 2000"; and reports "about corruption amongst some high ranking members of Panama's defence forces will offer an opportunity to begin a campaign to destabilise Panama and illegally break the treaties", according to a memorandum prepared for the meeting. The Morning Star argued that, far from being narrowed, the Panama government's base had been strengthened by communists, 'and other nationalist, left, and progressive parties joining the National Liberation Coalition' against which has been ranged the opposition alliance of those parties of landowners and businessmen, which have traditionally done Washington's bidding' (Editorial, 12/5/89: 2). General Noreiga was eventually arrested in 1990 in a large scale U.S. invasion on mainly alleged drug trafficking charges, to be tried in the U.S.A. at its convenience - in late 1991 he languished in prison. One of the dilemmas of the U.S. situation, as one of its internal critics, Noam Chomsky has stated, is that the U.S. fears both nationalism of the right and of the left (Channel 4 [Britain], 'The Eleventh Hour', 10/4/89).

Some of the various territories listed above have been viewed as 'backyard' areas to be protected against 'Soviet and Cuban penetration' and forces advancing 'foreign ideologies', but clearly, the U.S.A. also sought to protect its economic interests - investments, markets, shipping lanes. Investment amounted to many billions of dollars by the 1960s and afterwards (see, e.g., Girvan, 1976; Chapman, 1985: 152), represented mainly through the MNCs. The perceived Soviet threat, particularly in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, dwarfed the earlier superficial rivalry with Western Europe. The Russian Revolution had long ago helped decisively to shape the East-West divide. As far back as 1901 Britain had signed a treaty which not only gave the U.S. the right to build the Panama Canal but also 'tacitly recognized America as the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere' (Ryan, 1977: 8). Louis (1985: 418), arguing from another angle, suggests that 'American influence on the dissolution of the British Empire...must have been small.' Reagan was to note in 1983,

...Soviet theorists noticed what we failed to notice: that the Caribbean Sea and Central America constitute this nation's fourth border. If we must defend ourselves against large, hostile military presence on our border, our freedom to act elsewhere to help others and to protect strategically vital sealanes and resources has been drastically diminished... (Presidential Papers, 1984: 373).

Hence, the intolerance of alternative - and more particularly, radical - paths to transformation in what the U.S.A. defines as its own territory.

'United States arrogance towards Latin America', declares Connell-Smith (1974: 4) 'reflects the vast disparity of power...which encourages North Americans to pay scant regard to the sensibilities of Latin Americans. Such arrogance is of long-standing...' The American strong-arm tactics were not always seen as appropriate, and 'dollar diplomacy' for bankrupt 'banana' republics in Latin America was at times more important (Bailey, 1980), as was globe-trotting during the 17

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17 As U.S. official statements on the media during the crisis indicate, this is not unfounded.
Nixon/Kissinger/Ford era of the 1970s. It is, however, eminently more reasonable to view the situation in the context of the U.S. de-emphasizing one approach and upgrading another on a fluctuating basis rather than at any time utilizing one to the exclusion of another.

Kissinger (1979: 659) saw U.S. intervention in Chile in the 1960s, and up to 1973 - when Allende's regime was forcibly removed for the more favoured Pinochet dictatorship - as justifiable to 'support those internal political forces seeking to maintain a democratic counterweight to radical dominance...'. A more militarized and overtly hostile Reagan said (BBC-TV Evening News, 7/10/87) about Nicaraguan Contras: 'We will not just stand by and watch tens of thousands of men and their families turned into refugees.' Part of U.S. ruling class' strategy which was activated under this same presidency involved CIA mining of Nicaraguan ports, utilizing the CIA. Bear in mind that around the same time the U.S. sought to isolate Iran and attack its forces, alleging that the latter was mining the Persian Gulf (1987). The reasons here were of course wide-ranging: at the economic level, ensuring the flow of trade, noticeably oil; and Iran itself had been at the forefront of the formation of OPEC and sparking of the 1970s oil crisis and the larger capitalist crisis itself. Under the same Presidency in 1987, high level political and military advisers sold arms to Iran which would be used in the war, against Iraq (which latter the West supported in the eight-year war, ended in 1988) in exchange for hostages (revealed in televised Congressional hearings, 1987), a useful high-profile vote-puller in the run-off to presidential nominations.

The vast profit from the sale to Iran was being channelled to the Nicaraguan Contras (ITN News [Britain], 27/11/86). Admitting under duress that 'I was stubborn in the pursuit of a policy that went astray' (ITN News, 13/8/87), President Reagan denied Imowledge of the second leg of the arrangement - that is, diversion of funds to the Contras. Indeed, a major actor in the affair and one used to divert attention from the President - Colonel Oliver North - had featured in the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 as had his senior, General Poindexter. The change to the more liberal Carter has been seen as:

the subordination of liberalism and ideologically pluralist tendencies to ultra-conservative anti-communism and hegemonism, particularly as regards the Caribbean Basin (Munroe, 1987: 22).

The Reagan administration also provided arms and other supplies for South African-backed UNITA forces in Angola via, for instance, Zaire. Thus, reports state that St. Lucian Airways (SLA) in the Caribbean flew arms on behalf of the U.S./CIA, not only to Iran but also for forces in Southern Africa. Flights to Iran were made in November, 1985 and May, 1986, and for the CIA to Zaire, at least six flights in 1985 (Bandung File, Channel 4 [Britain], 8/8/87).

U.S. power in the Caribbean is clearly not exercised independently of the assistance from particular local-regional cooperation. Lewis & Singham (1971: 177) in a relevant theoretical analysis, suggested that 'structural links within the area are at present so weak that the area can only be categorized as having a "low" degree of "systemic" integration.' The key consequence is that 'it

18Iranians had overthrown the repressive right-wing dictatorship under the Shah which was later followed by a hostage crisis in which several Americans were held. (Much more recent reports on British television suggest a further twist. Reagan is said to have had a deal with Iran under which Iran would hold the hostages until after the presidential elections to ensure his victory over the hapless Carter.)
plays a significant though passive part in inhibiting the resolution of political conflicts or problems either by units or groupings within the area..." The examples of calls to the U.S. and Britain, as against (under international law) illegal intervention, are more than a few. Of course, the two factors are in common embrace. From a somewhat different standpoint, Pastor (1986: 509) suggests that U.S. power in the region which is not 'automatically' translated 'into influence or control... is reversible, with leaders and groups...trying to use the U.S. to further their own political and economic ends.' Chang (1975: 97-99) has offered support for such an assertion in an examination of the South Korean situation.

The encasement in a political culture and the world capitalist system coupled with a footing in the U.S. 'backyard' present various consequences. Maingot (1979: 257) has argued quite cogently about the case of the three largest Anglophone Caribbean countries - Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana. For him, the political cultures of all three nations had already crystallized by the time the United States displaced the European nations as the dominant power. Moreover, he states, 'the political cultures reflected advanced consumer societies more prone to state-directed populism than to people-oriented socialism.' Washington's policy objectives were thereby made 'considerably easier to achieve.' Allied to this U.S. leverage (in the overwhelming majority of cases consolidated by those of its major Western allies) within organizations such as the IMF, IBRD, and UNESCO as does its ability to distribute patronage, reinforce its capacity to undermine and subvert political and social advance.

In all this, it is important to bear in mind that the capacity or will of the USA to intervene in the Caribbean and elsewhere particularly in view of our concern with more recent times, depends partly on military might as one of several pillars from which to launch an attack. The shifts in U.S. public opinion within a framework of political apathy (and a malaise which Dolbeare, 1974: 59-60, for example, views as having 'many characteristics of the soil from which fascism springs') from right to further right, for instance, from the Nixon-Vance-Kissinger-Ford era to a less illiberal Carter presidency and then again further right under the official grind of the Reagan presidency have a bearing on such a tendency to hostility. The less than fifty per cent turn out for the 1988 presidential elections (even further down from 53.1 % in 1984 - see, e.g., Reuter report in Guardian [Britain], 16/8/88: 6) supports some of what Dolbeare suggests:

Americans see and feel intransigent problems, threatening prospects of change, powerlessness - but nothing seems to work anymore. There is no moral principle worth standing behind, and existing leaders appear venal and self-aggrandizing (1974: 60).

Whether the American public in general can be described as a highly informed 'public' re the bounds of U.S. military or covert involvement in other countries, and what this 'public' ostensibly supports is profoundly open to speculation. The results of an interesting Gallup poll were summarized in The Economist. 'Not only do Americans laik less geography than people from most other developed countries, but their ignorance is increasing.' Elaboration is justified here:

One in five of those polled could not name a single country in Europe [consider NATO alliance, etc.]. Three in four could not find the Persian Gulf on a map [part of the 'playground' of so much of the U.S. naval forces, e.g., against Iran & Libya prior to the 1991 destruction of Iraq]. One in four could not find the Pacific Ocean [adjacent to California/Hollywood and embracing Hawaii]. One in two could not find South Africa [U.S. administrations are not known opponents of apartheid]. More astonishing, nearly one in two could not find New York state on a map. Indeed, 14% could not even find the United States.
...Only half of all the adults [polled] knew that the contras and the Sandinists have been fighting in Nicaragua. One in ten college graduates thought the Soviet Union to be a member of NATO ([Parts of what was the Soviet Union might yet become a member(s). ([Enclosures in brackets and emphasis added] (July, 1988: 42)

Gilbert Grosvenor, president of the National Geographic society suggested that ‘geography has become boring, thanks to homogenisation in America.’ The reason for the inadequacy, as identified in the article is that most Americans are not taught geography and only 25 per cent of them ever have a course in it at school (The Economist, 7/88: 42). Britons too fared less than favourably in the research. One of the serious implications of this bears on the precariousness of liberal democracy. Market forces and deliberate official action have tended to delete essential aspects of the education curriculum; no ideological malice need be assumed. It permits U.S. interventionist policies abroad (backed by NATO allies) to be explained away as ‘threats to our nation’ or ‘threats to democracy’, as people are led to accept that attempts at change in other countries are illegitimate or distant and meaningless. Indeed, even large sections of the people in the subject countries tend to subscribe to much of that sort of propaganda, implying another level of false consciousness especially when associated with the exploited working population. The situation has been facilitated from the late 1980s through the early 1990s by Soviet retreat (and eventual fragmentation) and a continuing U.S. appetite for world dominance in a militarily somewhat uni-polar world - most clearly shown in the 1991 Middle East war. The seat of control of the United Nations' decision making apparatus was also quite sharply visible with the Republican administration in mid-term crisis and the Thatcherism under pressure late 1990.

The U.S. version of liberal democracy has to be placed in some sort of perspective. More frequently than not calls - and as we will see in later chapters on the Caribbean - for democracy begin and almost end with so-called 'free and fair' elections. Indeed, the line 'free and fair elections' is advanced as one of the central tenets of liberal democracy. In the USA - no exemplar - the ruling class only approved universal adult suffrage for many of its citizens under the Voting Rights Act 1965, two centuries after a grand independence declaration and at a stage when voting had become relatively unfashionable (recall, e.g., Dolbear's comment above) in the USA. Many black Americans, in the South were, prior to the 1965 legislation, constitutionally locked out of the system in a process partly buttressed by way of profound state-managed physical violence. In fact, the first American women managed to obtain the franchise two decades into the 20th century - the others from 1965. Even under colonial rule (in the advanced stages of decolonization), Barbados in the Caribbean was ahead of the USA in terms of universal adult suffrage by fifteen years (1950), and Jamaica by the 'adult' twenty-one years (1944). The interested analyst may care to pursue this specific factor farther but we must move on.

At least equally important as the specific U.S. context is the global shift to the right in the politico-ideological spectrum from sometime in the 1970s but most assuredly so in the 1980s within

19 Ruled from 1979 into the 1990s by the right-wing Conservative Party which had only some 43 per cent of the popular vote and an overwhelming majority in parliament in its third-term from 1987 (reduced for a 4th term in 1992), under the first-past-the-post system of Westminster-style democracy.

20 I do not suggest the righteousness of the Saddam Hussein-led Iraq regime but merely point to a tendency towards militarism and some underlying factors.
the capitalist economic crises of these decades and, more recently, the avenues opened up by perestroika (reconstruction) and glasnost (openness) in the former Soviet Union/Bloc. 21

Perhaps what most epitomized the rightward tendency (by the end of the 1980s/start of the 1990s under moderate retreat), apart from a listing of administrations and policies - which, because of time constraints, cannot be compiled for this study - is the fact that a Nazi under Hitler's World War II tutelage, Kurt Waldheim served two terms as head (Secretary-General) of the premier world political body, the United Nations, and was soon after, in 1986 popularly elected as his country's (Austria's) president and to remain so even at the start of the 1990s. Austria was, of course, a fairly willing surrogate in German fascism's absorption of Europe.

What of the Soviet position? As suggested, the sharp conflict (somewhat diluted up to the start of the 1990s in the age of 'post-perestroika/glasnost, and post-Soviet) with the U.S. as far as the Caribbean was concerned drew considerably from the relationship which the Soviet Union was deemed to have or had with Cuba and the suggested activities within the larger Latin America - in the context of politico-ideological framework concretized in the Russian Revolution and global status as the other peer superpower. But even while American officialdom and some Caribbeans leaders on the liberal or conservative right continued to refer to a 'Soviet threat', that 'threat' was probably on the wane in the 1980s and has now left in its wake the formal dissolution of the Union, an outlawed Communist Party, a more fueled ethnic nationalism/tribalism, and a somewhat uni-polar, if more dangerous world. In the West capitalism and liberal democracy have also had some repercussions: even as serious economic recession affects some of the main centres of the core - what to do with soldiers, and armoury originally set up against the background of the Cold War to stave off the 'Soviet threat'; questions exist about the manner in which economic and political relationships should be managed, and so on.

Whereas these new developments represent profound structural vibrations globally, it is nevertheless necessary to attend to some of the considerations which have, in part circumscribed and structured the whole sprouting maze of economic, political-ideological and socio-cultural factors at that juncture from the late 1980s and the early 1990s.

The impetus given by the Cuban revolution to progressive movements in the Caribbean and beyond was considerable. However, until the 1970s that revolution was somewhat isolated as it has been again in the late 1980s and the start of the 1990s in terms of the absence of associates holding effective power within the region and the fragmentation of the Eastern Bloc. The appearance on the scene of a high profile PNP/Manley administration from 1972 and the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions in 1979 raised the tone of possibilities beyond traditional political culture and dependent capitalism to put socialism or serious efforts at transformation more noticeably on the agenda.

21 A Soviet journalist, Vladimir Posner explained that the term 'glasnost' is translated into English as 'openness' but that is somewhat inaccurate. The reason: in old Russian 'glas' means voice, and 'nost' is like the 'ness' in English and taken together 'glasnost' is literally translated as 'voiceness', and it means speaking out loudly as a policy. While 'perestroika' was aimed at increasing the Soviet economy's competitiveness with the West's, its ally 'glasnost' was intended to help in opening society to public examination particularly with regard to burdensome bureaucracy and secrecy (see, e.g., McNair, 1988: 131).
Stephens and Stephens (1986: e.g., 2 & 329-45), for example, in examining Jamaica under the PNP’s Manley regime and taking ‘democratic socialism’ as a given, maintain that the ‘non-capitalist path’ as well as some other frames of analysis are ‘inferior’ (e.g., state capitalism, populism, social democracy). Basically, the Stephens rule out fundamental change as an option which could be open to such societies, and suggest that to the extent possible, intolerable cost would be involved. The ‘non-capitalist’ path or ‘socialist orientation’ has guided much of the communist movement in the Caribbean, and endorsed a gradual stage-by-stage advance to socialism. Ambursley and Cohen (1983) with Lowy (1981) saw the approach as having no basis in the writings of Marx, Engels or Lenin - all of whom advocated proletarian control in the context of an advanced Europe. In the case of Russia, Lenin had also called for a broad front of progressive forces against Tsarist oppressors in Russia (see, Collected Works, Vol. xxxvii for a note on revolutionary movement in the ‘colonial countries’) but he was simultaneously contemptuous of those who feared the ‘recoil’ of the bourgeoisie from the revolution (see, Lenin on Politics and Revolution, Connor/1968: 104-105). Among the stipulations is a protracted strategic alliance with the capitalist class and specifically a so-called ‘patriotic anti-imperialist bourgeoisie’. In short, the derivation from this here is that the capitalist class is being asked to act in the long-term in opposition to the fundamental basis of its own existence. To the extent that the left accepts that as a possibility, to that extent would it be over-ambitious.

Strategies of change towards socialism may be viewed in terms of the approaches advanced by some Soviet theories in their recommendations for third world countries. Conceptually, they advanced a ‘non-capitalist path’ or ‘socialist orientation’ (a refinement of the former). Not all analysts of the change process in the Caribbean accepted such recommendations. Neither were all aspects contextually appropriate, and continuously relevant as experience and rethinking in the age of perestroika further illustrated.

Among other Soviet theorists, Brutents (1977) seems to endorse without prescribing; but the attention paid to, and the favourable elevation of an ‘anti-imperialist bourgeoisie’ is based more on an analysis of liberation from colonialism than one which emphasizes the qualitative differences between that stage and more recent differentiation. Brutents is careful to point out that contexts vary and at least in some parts of the two-volume work note problems arising from the alliance:

The experience of almost all countries with a socialist orientation shows that attempts after the advent of power to cooperate with the native bourgeoisie and to involve the capital of the latter in national reconstruction - attempts characteristic of revolutionary democracy, at least in the more developed countries such as Egypt, Syria and Burma - do not meet with a favourable response by the native bourgeoisie. And subsequently the political and economic programs of states with a socialist orientation are met with outright opposition by the bourgeoisie...

We must also recognize that there are within the framework of revolutionary democracy some petty-bourgeois groups and intelligentsia circles that are subject to bourgeois influence and in effect champion policies meeting the bourgeoisie’s interests. And through such groups the bourgeoisie is, to some extent, also represented’ (1977, Part 2:17-18).

Communist or progressive movements exist in most Caribbean countries but it is essential to bear in mind that options for political and social change appear more distant in some cases and perhaps particularly so in the very smallest areas as well as those which - on the surface at least - are ‘direct’ extensions of capitalist power centres (e.g. Puerto Rico, in the case of the United States;
Martinique and Guadeloupe, for France). This in itself holds contradictions for classical Marxist theory in terms of the revolution at the centre but is not so extraneous when the different framework for the Third World countries is taken into account. Jinadu in a 1987 article noted the potential that ‘Afro-Marxist regimes’ offered the Soviet Union for challenging ‘the hegemonic position of the West in Africa’ (1987: 225) but observed that ‘the Soviet notion of socialist orientation’ contained ‘the seeds of potential disagreement with such regimes’, based, for instance, on how Marxism-Leninism was ‘to be conceptualized and concretely applied to specific situations’ (1987: 227). Moreover, the extent of development and differentiation of the classes - and certainly the working class and the capitalist class - vary considerably among the countries.

Prior to the late twentieth century (1980s) political and economic problems, Soviet foreign policy in relation to the Caribbean was channelled to some extent within the context of ‘internationalism’ although this element was less emphasized later as reversals became evident in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean itself. The Soviet position is implied in Borodin’s brief review piece in WMR. Borodin notes that the ‘very existence of socialism as a reality and the support which it gives to these countries [Non-Aligned and Third World generally] limit imperialism’s opportunities to imposing its will and using force to influence them’ (1986: 126). [Enclosures in brackets added]

The 1991 war in the Middle East detracts from this argument. Much of the Soviet interest in Latin America was probably exercised through Cuba but it would be irresponsible to maintain that Cuba did not have any level of autonomous decision making. Moreover, emerging differences between Moscow and Havana were evident as ‘old style’ socialism continued to be displaced by a more democratically inclined ‘new style’ socialism, and a fragmentation of the Soviet Bloc.

The Cubans’ view that their ultimate survival would be founded on the success of other revolutionary struggles in Latin America, led to the Second Declaration of Havana supporting armed revolutionary struggles in the region. As Kenner and Petras explained (1969: 107), the document directly conflicted with the Soviet line of peaceful co-existence ‘and further rejected the Soviet assertion that the Latin American bourgeoisie was capable of leading the revolutionary struggle. From the perspective of Cuba the choice was quite limited: either encourage revolutions on the mainland and break the U.S. blockade, or the Cuban revolution would have to surrender to U.S. policymakers. That was the choice, although the Soviets pretended otherwise.’ In 1960 the Soviet Union had warned that if the U.S. imperialists took any aggressive actions against Cuba which was defending its national independence, it (the Soviet Union) would extend support to the Cuban people (Oswald, 1970: 315/trans.). That was in the 1960s, and clearly the revolution matured considerably during subsequent years but perhaps more than merely marginal are later variations in Cuban and Soviet perspectives - the division within the Central Committee of Grenada’s NJM, and Castro’s, as against Moscow’s response in the immediate aftermath of invasion in 1983 is illustrative.

Increased Soviet use of force, according to Spechler (1986: 459) was ‘held in check by those within the Soviet political establishment who believed that to fuel and exploit regional conflicts was less in the interest of the U.S.S.R. than to cooperate with the U.S. in managing and resolving such conflicts.’ However, developments in ‘the third world and in U.S. Soviet relations in the years after 1973 [recall the Chilean situation], made it impossible for holders of the cooperative image to

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22. The term ‘socialism’ itself, has attracted new facets conceptually and materially in the light of late twentieth century social, cultural, political, and economic currents.
continue to restrain Soviet policy..." More thinly acceptable as the position which has obtained in that period of the twentieth century is Valkenier's (1986: 422) assessment in a review of Soviet literature, that 'revisions' in 'Soviet perceptions' were 'based on an emerged awareness of the gap between ideological formulas and harsh realities...'. Soviet views, she notes, point to a modification on the early 1970s stance, 'which held that it was desirable and possible for the LDCs to distance themselves from capitalist markets and to start forming an alternative economic order - a socialist international division of labour with the Soviet-bloc countries.' In perestroika's early years there was considerable evidence of Soviet distancing from an aggressive foreign policy in military terms, and this attitude which was further emphasized by the serious problems of the Union and demonstrated quite clearly, for instance, by its feeble approach in the debate on the Middle East crisis and war in 1990/91.

In a recent work by Brzezinski, The Grand Failure (of communism) he cited among the reasons for the failure of communism in Latin America, U.S. adoption of 'a somewhat more enlightened approach' toward the region, 'particularly by identifying itself with the ideal of human rights.' He cites as even more important the rise of indigenous democratic forces, and offers the plausible suggestion that, in South America, 'during the coming years revolutionary activities will not reflect classical Marxism-Leninism ideologically or organizationally, but rather a variety of homegrown revolutionary doctrines' (1990: 19-24).

The rise of a 'socialist tendency' or progressive movements in the economically less advanced countries has been frequently cited by the U.S.A. as evidence of Soviet penetration or influence and hence deserving of overt and/or covert challenge. More strongly, Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and Cuban troops in Angola are examples on which the U.S. and the West justified and provided the scaffolding for South African occupation of Namibia until 1990, South African intervention in neighbouring states, U.S. invasion of Grenada, and so on. Progressive 'Third World' political and social-economic advance is shaped by pro-U.S. camps in East-West conflict and is not viewed in such camps as having much to do with transformation of society, for instance, to redress inequalities.

Perestroika rearranged the political map dramatically and differentiated the agenda on transactions in superpower relations and between socialism and capitalism as well as, indeed the conceptual parameters within which socialism, in particular is understood. It also contributed to restructuring debate in and about possibilities for Third World countries. Soviet academic Vladimir Kudryavtsev explains the its source thus:

The basic reason is that we have to renovate our socialist society...The reform of the political system is also a prerequisite of and essential precondition for accomplishing our urgent economic, social and ideological tasks...The programme of perestroika as it was formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress laid emphasis predominantly on the economic aspects (WMR, 9/9/88: 57-58; see also, e.g., WMR, Jan. 1988: 103-113).

The Congress placed democratization among its central priorities although its economic programme seemed uppermost.

The rethinking and restructuring appear global although there are pockets of resistance. Lewis of the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ) reminded that in the 1970s the Caribbean Left embraced 'much of the assumptions of Marxist-Leninist social and political theory that were now
being thrown out in the Soviet Union by more radical theorists of perestroika and glasnost' (Sunday Gleaner, 2/4/89: 6A). He cites the fact that Soviet 'Third World' experts had admitted that Soviet thinking 'on the Third World was wanting and the problems of that set of countries were not really understood by their academics' and concludes emphatically:

The Caribbean Left needs to re-examine recent experience and develop independent ways of relating to the strategic economic, social and cultural needs of the region over the next 30 to 50 years...This, needless to say, involves critical rejection of the neo-colonial pro-Soviet left thinking of the 1970's (2/4/89: 13A).

Writing in WMR, the WPJ’s General Secretary mentions the rethinking which has been underway from early in the second half of the 1980s:

...in our party and more broadly in the left movement in Jamaica there has been taking place a process of fairly profound thinking which seeks to uncover not only the root of errors in a tactical sense, but also seeks to uncover shortcomings in our concepts...not in order to abandon the revolutionary process, not in order to become reformists, but in order to make our revolutionary activity more effective, more mature, more humanist and, ultimately, more supported by the masses (Munroe, WMR, March 1989: 35). [Emphasis original]

He also sees a need to ‘caribbeanise’ Marxism-Leninism (p.37). By the start of the 1990s the WPJ had decided to embrace perestroika. The party leader’s argument above is not quite the same as Best’s comment that the ‘Marxists have been learning that we cannot approach the building of a better society with prepared positions - or at least, with positions so fully prepared that they lead us to suspend our discrimination as to context’ (1971: 18), but the caveat regarding context is as emphatic as it should be. The general trend was apparently to accept and appreciate the need for perestroika and general renewal. Cuba remained adamant. In a July 26, 1989 speech, Castro emphasized the threat from imperialism, noted the problems in the USSR, Poland, and Hungary, and, errors in the revolutionary process as well as the specifics of the Cuban revolutionary struggles. In the text of a speech (reprinted in the Militant [Britain], 1/9/89: 9-12 /from Granma Weekly Review/English Edition, 6/8/89), he stated:

...are we perhaps witnessing peaceful transition from socialism to capitalism? This is possible; we're not against it. We defend each country's and each party's sacred right to independence. This is what we ask for all people of the world, for the people’s of Latin America and the Third World: the right of each country to construct socialism if it wants, which is something the United States tries to prevent by force of arms - our people’s right to construct socialism. Obviously this right wasn’t given to us by anyone; we won it ourselves and we will defend it ourselves...

Our most fervent desire is that the Soviets manage to overcome their difficulties...(1/9/89: 12).

23 An article on the front page of the Boulevard News pointed to prominent WPJ members for restructuring, and noted that some members wanted to ‘shed Marxism/Leninism’ (30/6 - 13/7, 1988: 1). Some resignations had already taken place.

See, e.g., also Artemendi/Uruguay, WMR, Jan. 1988: 27 for a brief note that ‘problems’ of the USSR are not uniformly Uruguay’s; his comments in a WMR interview, Feb. 1989: 30; also, interview/General Secretary, CP of Sri Lanka, WMR, Jan. 1989: 26.

24 A Caribbean structuralist of the immediate post-colonial dependency school.

25 That was the anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks.
Panitch (1989: 7) suggested that ‘Gorbachev’s “revolution from above”’ appeared to have been helping the Soviet Union in the direction of ‘recovering through glasnost some of the spirit of the revolution of 1917.’ A more ‘humane’ image of ‘“actually existing socialism”’ may be beneficial to socialist aspirations in the West, but optimism must be tempered by the implications of a new era of detente for leaving revolutionary socialist movements and regimes in the Third World bereft of support in the face of repression and counter-revolution. And it must be tempered as well by the predominantly top-down nature of perestroika so far, as well as by those aspects of it that are more inspired by norms of market efficiency than by democracy.

China has been, for several years, allowing controlled seepages of market economics and a degree of political democracy on a mass scale. However, the violent state/military suppression of the student protest at Tiananmen Square in 1989 did little for the cause of socialism and the democratization process. China’s leaders blamed the escalation on the counter-revolutionary input. Writing prior to the 1989 crisis, Lew, referring particularly to the “de-Maoiflcation” period from the late 1970s, explained that the People’s Republic of China, ‘like other eastern Bloc countries, experienced, and is still experiencing, a desire for reform, for economic and even self-reform on the part of the system’ (1989: 154).

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined some aspects of the political economy of the Caribbean with particular emphasis on the Anglophone Caribbean. The discussion touched on the pre-capitalist modes of production or systems of social organization, and later eras, and generally delineated the broad economic, social and political context of the societies with notable reference to the factors which have shaped, and the dynamics of, the historical process through the stages as appendages of the colonial power(s), and later, the post-independence period. We saw the roles of the various classes and observed some of the implications for change arising from the dynamics of the relationships between them and internal and external context.

The discussion briefly entered into the territory of conceptual and theoretical assessments and formulas advanced for the transformation of ‘new’ nations. It cited some postulates of modernization theory and its revision and pointed to its inadequacy, and followed suit for dependency theory and its next of kin, world systems theory/approach, which were (the latter two) both viewed as flawed particularly in relation to the neglect of the primary (internal) contradiction especially in terms of late post-independence reality.

At another level, the chapter outlined the evidence of ‘Cold War’ superpower relations and US interventionism, and how this presence shaped and actively impacted upon the Anglophone Caribbean and broader context. It examined the Soviet/Cuban impact in the region and the interface with U.S. influence from a historical viewpoint as well as the situation in the twilight of the twentieth century in a somewhat uni-polar world of ‘Soviet’ decline/break-up which present a series of problematics around ethnic nationalism/tribalism as the lid was removed from ‘old-style’ socialism, and the future direction of change programmes in the ‘Third World’.

Modern slavery is sometimes described as a ‘system’ and an off-shoot of capitalism rather than the (perhaps, more comprehensive) ‘mode of production’ per se in Left terminology.
In ending it is useful to note broadly that Western capitalism has not been unaffected by recent sharpening contradictions globally within the economic, political and social spheres, and it too has undergone changes against the background of Soviet dissolution. With regard to this last statement, the editors of New Times, Hall and Jacques, the editors stress that:

The 'New Times' argument is that the world has changed, not just incrementally but qualitatively...and advanced capitalist societies are increasingly characterised by diversity, differentiation and fragmentation, rather than homogeneity, standardisation and the economies and organisations of scale which characterised modern mass society (1989: 11-12).

They have not been alone in noting that the Left has been slow to respond creatively to the changes in capitalism. Saville, writing later, feels that: 'What...happened in the year to 1990 has been an historical moment of great significance, not only for Europe and the relations with the United States, but on a world scale. Without question, there has taken place a major defeat of the socialist idea and ideal' (1991: 7).

In all this, of course, there are broad implications for any process of social and political transformation in the Caribbean which is aimed at fundamental improvements in the quality of life of the people as a whole; and, for another, related level, the press and the media broadly, notably in terms of democrtisation along cleavages of distribution and management of resources, their forms, access, and so on, some of which will be raised later.

27The editors of New Times address their attention mainly to Britain but this observation has universal application.
CHAPTER TWO
CLASS, ECONOMY AND THE DILUTION OF PROSPECTS
FOR TRANSFORMATION IN JAMAICA

2.1 Introduction

Jamaica’s People’s National Party (PNP) returned to power in February, 1989 for what will perhaps be its third alternate two-term administration since the institution of universal adult suffrage in 1944. The PNP had defeated the JLP at the polls in 1972, and again more overwhelmingly in 1976 to achieve its second two-term stint, and was itself later devastated in 1980. This systematic ‘exchange’ has been sometimes accompanied by notable political polarization embracing Jamaica’s capitalist ruling class, on the one hand, and the lower strata (working class, etc.) on the others generally emerged from contradictions in the economy and political action which produced deprivation of the lower classes and to a lesser extent discomfiture for the middle and upper strata. However, rather than propelling fundamental change the contradictions have operated to raise the tempo of politically-motivated violence between warring political gangs, and sustained a profoundly unequal structure as regards wealth and power. The change process has tended to be concretized most notably in the electoral demise of one party - after two terms in office - and the ascendency of the other major party. The tenor appears to have changed fairly significantly with the renewal of the PNP and its attainment of political power through the prevailing popular currents in 1972.

When the right-conservative JLP displaced the PNP regime in October 1980 it did so on a mandate professing the JLP’S greater competence to extricate the country from a deepened economic crisis and the alleged threat of communist takeover under what it perceived as a rhetoric-laden PNP. The PNP, in 1980 had gone to the electorate for a mandate to pursue alternative economic and social policies, particularly in terms of divergence from International Monetary Fund (IMF) guidelines and programmes, but one which also indicated another return to a project aimed at prioritizing mass concerns.

True to form, the JLP regime which has tended to be more attractive to big capitalist interests and compatible with the edicts of the symbiotic multilateral financial institutions, and indeed local capital as a specific sector, opened up the economy and attracted notable injections of finance. At the political-ideological level, when Seaga called on the new U.S. President, he told Reagan that six Caribbean countries had ‘all unilaterally decided...to revolt...from the left to the center.’ Reagan, for his part noted that in the case of Jamaica it was the ‘turnover or turnaround of a nation that had gone, certainly in the direction of the communist movement; it was a protege of Castro...I think this opens the door for us...of bringing them back in or keeping them in the Western World, in the free world’ (Public Papers of the Presidents, 1981: 48 & 59).

Support from international funding agencies and the Western countries which was halted

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1The other major party, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) achieved its own from 1980 to 1989.
or reduced to a mere trickle, particularly in the later stages of the PNP administration to 1980, soon assumed the dimensions of a flood. Seaga's address to Parliament (18/11/80: 9-10 - and 24/4/81: 1-3) pointed to the change:

...many lines of credit which had been frozen and on which we could draw no further credit were immediately reopened without the Government expressing any desire on the day after election (18/11/80: 9).

The total amount available from the IMF alone over the three-year period was to be 'approximately US$698 million, or J$1.2 billion' (API, 24/4/81: 1). The local capitalist class responded as enthusiastically as it had done in evidently opposing the PNP administration particularly from the late-1970s and 1980. Visiting U.S. businessmen noted the enthusiasm among local counterparts in official visits to the Island early in the 1980s.

It became increasingly clear approximately two years-plus into that JLP administration that the needs of the Jamaican poor were generally not uppermost. In the light of declining electoral support shown in mid-term polls it called a snap election in 1983 - riding on the wave of popular support for the invasion of Grenada in which the Government had maintained a high profile - and took all 60 seats in the House of Representatives because the PNP refused to participate. The PNP's main contention was that the JLP had not fulfilled its promise of revising the electoral list before any new elections, and that this failure left people who had migrated, died, etc., on the old list while excluding large numbers of potential new entrants among the young. Seaga explained in a November statement that there were 'urgencies in national life which escaped all our planning and such is this occasion' (JIS, 26/11/83). The JLP Government also appointed to the Senate along with the governing majority of 13, under the constitution, eight (as stipulated in the constitution) other 'independent' Opposition invitees from whom the PNP publicly distanced itself. The PNP resolved to maintain a regular forum through which it would perform its role as Opposition. This extra-parliamentary arena offered criticism of government and outlined the views of the party, including a call for new elections.

The PNP won the 1989 general election and retracted most of the substance of its 1970s commitment to social change. An occasional hint of the 1970s nevertheless crept in. Thus, in terms less abrasive to the liberal capitalist conscience, Manley stated in the comparative remoteness of the PNP's Eastern Kingston Constituency Conference in late 1990:

...the movement that I lead is a model of democracy, a model of participation, a model of dignity, a model of respect, a model of unity, a model of co-operation, a model of comrade toship, and a model of communication (Weekly Gleaner, 23/10/90: 6).

Traditionally identified as a middle-class party, the PNP had declared itself socialist in the early 1940s, whereas the JLP initially and ostensibly emerged as the principal political ally of the working poor but metamorphosed almost naturally into its opposite - definitively the party of the owning class and capital. In fact, the ideological distinction between the two was scarcely observable. However, the 1970s-1980 - the focal point of this chapter - produced the sharpest sustained political-ideological polarization in twentieth century Jamaica.

In 1972, the PNP won the general election under the crescendo of 'Power to the people' and 'Better must come' - its two slogans through which its message for social change were channelled. Explaining the context in which the PNP gained power through a multi-class alliance, Manley states:
In spite of a well-established two-party democratic system, the policy was still firmly elitist and those elements of the economy which were in local hands were controlled by a tight oligarchy...

In the economic field we were determined to make the process of production and distribution of goods less dependent on external factors and local oligarchic control (1982: 40-41).

The PNP's project at the various levels was to be attempted within the 'third path' and through 'Democratic Socialism', a path 'rooted in our political experience and values, capable of providing an economic base to our political independence' as well as 'some measure of social justice for the people' (1982: 38. Also 1974).

The lower strata led by the working class gave the PNP a more resounding mandate in 1976 in an expanded House of Representatives (60 seats from 53), and were the more conspicuous losers under the PNP's last years in office. While the prevailing economic crisis partly explains the regime's failure to consummate the 1976 change mandate, it is necessary to guard against the assumption that electoral defeat in 1980 was based overwhelmingly on the PNP's rejection of the IMF (and its implications for the evaporation of overseas funding sources) (e.g., Edie, 1986; & 1989).

The 1980 general election was not simply a change of government. It represented the climax of a complex of issues - revolving for the most part around political and social change of a significant nature - and a test of that body (the PNP) and those forces which were viewed as representative of, and/or accountable for whatever successes or failures were associated with them. In examining the processes behind the 1970s-1980 period and 'Democratic Socialism', October 1980 represents to some extent the summary content of a regime with a philosophy and policies reflecting it or associated with it; and the demise of the regime on October 30 suggests a great deal about how tenuous a political and social change process can be in contexts such as Jamaica and the Anglophone Caribbean. The culmination, at that time, of a process will be the principal focus of a later chapter on content analysis.

The study is largely centred on the capitalist class, and this chapter will note not only the extent to which the scope of their operations was circumscribed under the PNP regime of the 1972-1980, but the class too affected what could be achieved during that period and under 'Democratic Socialism'. In other words, they were contained partly with PNP regime policies which affected commodity production and exchange, ownership of resources, import controls, minimum wage legislation, land reform, the broad banner launching the PNP into power suggesting that it had to partly uphold the 'interests' of the working class and poor, and so on. Similarly, other contradictions existed - for example, that between capitalists and workers, and even ancillary ones between sections of capital itself; and increasingly from the late 1970s, between workers and the regime. At a more general level, the overarching crisis economy accompanied by the related dynamics of increasing political-ideological and social unrest bounded by the global capitalist crisis partly defined the various permutations, not only in terms of what the government could achieve to extent that the will existed and its survival, 'but also the business climate and the relationships between capitalists and others.

In general the chapter examines the dynamics of the development of the two major political parties in Jamaica out of the economic, social and political crisis of the 1930s and class forces involved; the factors leading up to 1972 which helped to shape the form and content of the
PNP's project, and the 'Democratic Socialist' experiment and the context in which it was attempted up to the 1980 general election. The study has some sympathy for aspects of the radical critiques advanced, for example, by James (1983) although it (the present study) is less grounded in 'instrumentalism'.

It is useful to note one of Manley's own comments made from the Opposition sidelines of the 1980s:

In a world increasingly dominated by the superpowers, there is a tendency for the unthinking to assume that the personalities of political significance are to be found only among the ranks of the mighty. At the same time the interaction between the democratic process, the power of the mass media and the influence of the opinion poll is producing a kind of politician whose mediocrity reflects the perpetual search for compromise and the need to be all things to all men.

The Caribbean continues to compound both these assumptions... (South, August 1987: 58).

When the JLP slogan, 'deliverance', dominated from 1980 it was in an atmosphere of profound economic and socio-political crisis in which that party as Opposition and the high profile local capitalist sector in particular had managed to legitimate their definitions of 'mismanagement' of the economy and the 'communist threat' and so on with regard to the PNP's orientation and relationships. The deepened deprivation of the poor, the falling living standards of the middle class and the economic problems facing the owning class, discomfort over 'Democratic Socialist' ideology, together with large-scale politically motivated violence and other factors also ensured that the political culture would retain its tendency of two-party, two-term arrangements.

2.2 Decolonization and Change

Chapter One offered a general political economy of the Caribbean was outlined with particular reference to the English-speaking countries. We need here only mention that Jamaica was taken over by the Spaniards in 1494 and is among those territories whose indigenous populations (referred to as the Arawaks and Caribs) were decimated. The island was never heavily populated by the Spaniards and weakly defended, and hence was an easy target for a partly failed expedition under Cromwell's grand design which sought to exert Britain's right to a share in the 'new world'. Hence, from 1655 the island came under British rule. It was then also that the Maroons originated, firstly as those slaves who had escaped from the Spanish when the British arrived and drove the few remaining Spaniards out. The basic outline in Chapter One covers the rest of the factors that can be accommodated, at least generally. However, it is useful to note the class formation at the post-emancipation period. Beckford and Witter (1982: 44-47) offer a useful outline which I have summarized as follows: -

- emergence and growth of the peasantry of African slaves and their descendants;
- the rationalization and consolidation of the sugar export economy as pure capitalist production, and the emergence of agricultural wage earners from the ranks of African ex-slaves and Asian contract labourers ('indentured servants');
- the growth of a middle class of professionals, preachers, small proprietors, etc. ('Their social circumstances - principally professional and small propertied - permitted them the independence
and the illusion of security of small producers with their own means of production. Their petit-bourgeois social existence dictated a petit-bourgeois consciousness, with interests partly tied up with the capitalist planters and partly with the peasant and proletarian masses. They amounted to a 'buffer class'.

- Merchants - who were all foreign, and comprised the British merchants who monopolized the trade in sugar, and those who joined them from the Middle East and Asia; and
- the European plantocracy who owned the capitalist plantations while their compatriots directed the colonial civil service and administered the state (They were a sub-category of creole Europeans, born in Jamaica of 'expatriate British planter families...who became a powerful force in latter day Jamaican politics).

In their general comments, one can assume that Beckford and Witter did not assume a profound separation between sections of capital. Moreover that structure was shifting to produce a somehow fairly standard two-dimensional capitalist sector - the national, and the 'comprador'. 'Foreigners' and their descendants would later discard that designation to become the core of the local capitalist class (with local-regional counterparts).

The year 1938 was a watershed in Jamaica's political and social evolution. Widespread labour unrest occurring in other islands (e.g. Antigua, Trinidad, and Barbados) from 1935 onwards spread to Jamaica where it represented a more serious threat to the social order. From this ferment rose the two major political parties - the PNP and the JLP - and also their trade union bases.

The causes of the unrest were similar when the then colonies are taken as a whole - general socio-economic and political considerations, including low wages, high prices, unemployment and underemployment, inaccessibility of formal participation in the political process. The problems were deepened by the continued crisis in world capitalism, marked most firmly by the 1929-35 depression which had created fractures in the economies of the major capitalist countries but had impacted even more severely on the working population in the backward capitalist societies such as Jamaica. The report of a commission of enquiry corroborates the analyses of the threat the disturbance posed to the Establishment: '...we are struck by the remarkably small number of casualties, considering how prolonged and widespread was the disorder...(Report: 2., cited in Post, 1971: 198).

Post (1971: 200) noted that 'the strikers and demonstrators were demanding only those things which they believed the existing system to be capable of giving them - higher wages, more work, and more land...'. He doubted that the system was objectively capable of catering to the demands, and concluded:

...while the situation in Jamaica in 1938 was in terms of the masses, only a rebellion, its dialectic was that of a revolution...[T]he sufferers were revolutionary in spite of themselves...(1971: 202)

However, essential prerequisites for a revolution were absent, and '...the role of Manley and Bustamante amply demonstrates that many, if not most, were still prepared to accept the existing social structure and...the role of these two middle class leaders...' (1971: 202). What is important in the discussion is that the disturbance gave immense momentum to a nationalist groundswell in the Caribbean as other struggles were doing for various countries still then under colonialism, and
shaped the major parties and trade unions of present-day Jamaica. As Munroe (1981: 50) notes:

In the National Liberation Movement...it was the working class leading the peasants and small farmers in the 1938 revolt which gave the decisive push to the struggle of the whole people against the colonial system for more political rights, ultimately for national independence.

Johnson (1977: 76), in his comment on the situation notes that a 'change in approach to West Indian problems came only with the island-wide disturbances in Jamaica in late May 1938.'

The PNP emerged from the disturbances with Norman Manley, an Oxford-educated lawyer as its leader. Soon the party declared itself socialist along British Fabian lines. The leadership stratum included professionals, intelligentsia and small businessmen. It drew strong support from the lower middle class, and held as its major objectives, universal adult suffrage and national independence. For a short while it enjoyed a somewhat symbiotic relationship with the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) which provided its mass base. Gonsalves (1977: 94) states more graphically that the disturbances 'which sprang from the neglect of the colonial years, shortly thereafter catapulted Bustamante into a labour leader and his cousin Norman Manley into a labour mediator.'

Norman Manley initially 'saw the PNP as a kind of Congress-type party as in India and actually struggled between 1938 and 1942 to bring all and sundry...to the cause' (Nettleford, 1971: 16). 'It...motivated the rhetoric of democracy as well as the actual democratic procedures adopted and the group-based structure feeding representation into an all-powerful General Conference which actually determined the composition of the influential General Council and a powerful decision-taking executive. The structure reflected a mosaic of participants by providing for several sub-committees and affiliates; and facilitated the presence of a left-wing socialist group which acted as a catalyst to the party and irritant to the moderates and liberal conservatives all coexisting under the same umbrella....' The JLP equated socialism with communism. The red smear became a feature of general election campaigns, and the fight with the PNP became an ideological one (1971: 39-40).

The split between Manley and Bustamante - partly the result of Bustamante's 'demagogic personality and imperial pressures to diffuse the solid nationalist phalanx' (Phillips, 1977: 5; also see, e.g., Munroe, 1972; Brown, 1979) - led to the formation of the JLP in 1943. Under the Roosevelt administration in the USA, a Special Adviser in Jamaica, Paul Blanchard saw the party as 'Bustamante's weird personal vehicle...moving towards an alliance with the JDP [Jamaica Democratic Party], and...destined to get some considerable support from the conservative business interests who fear the combination of his pro-labour economics, and pro-capitalist policies less than they fear the socialist programme advocated by the PNP' (cited by Bertram 3 Money Index, 19/4/88: 22).

2 Munroe records that the JDP was partly formed by way of the motivation 'that the P.N.P. had to be countered ideologically' (1972: 40).

3 Arnold Bertram, a 1970s PNP junior minister and member of the party left.
According to the Jamaica Labour Party's Revised Constitution 1966:

The choice of the name 'Labour Party' has been deliberate...because the Jamaica Labour Party grew out of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, a Union that had its birth pangs during...1938, and was built upon the blood, sweat and tears of the working class...We believe that the mutual respect and cooperation between CAPITAL, MANAGEMENT, and LABOUR will generate the harmony and enterprise so necessary and desirable for progress (1966: 1). [Emphasis original]

Labour has been incorporated for electoral support at crucial times and general exploitation for the benefit of capital. But, there are bases for unity. For instance, according to Nettleford communism 'conjured up dictatorship and loss of freedom in the minds of many Jamaicans', and expropriation to a 'property conscious peasantry and a mercantile-dominated urban society, a threat to man's very existence' (1971: 40). The nature of the response to the PNP of the 1970s can be partly understood from this.

2.2.1 Universal adult suffrage, unions & the party strength from 1944

In the first elections under universal adult suffrage in 1944, which the local oligarchy and allied elements of the privileged opposed - the JLP won 22 seats (41.4%) to the PNP's five (23.5%), and independent candidates, five (30%) in a 58.7 per cent turnout among registered voters. The JLP contested 27 seats and the PNP, 19. PNP leader Norman Manley lost in his constituency (see, e.g., Sherlock, 1980: 135).^ Manley (1982: 31) reiterates that in 1863, 'the plantocracy and the merchant class provided 1,798 votes in a population of 441,264! ' Others were excluded.

The oligarchy under the banner of its JDP (dominated by, for instance, H.G. Delisser^) gained only 4.1% of the votes and lost its deposit. The failure of the latter group to maintain its direct political dominance under an extended franchise, seems to have led the members primarily into the JLP camp and a fairly assured continuity within the political realm and the state, even if this were in part indirect. Munroe (1972), reiterated that this move typified one 'from the street corner to the caucus room' (see also Phillips, 1977a: 5). Engel's comment (in examining Marx's Capital) neatly encapsulates the situation: '...universal adult suffrage compels the ruling classes to court the favour of the workers (Marx, Selected Works, Vol.1: 344). Here the ruling classes enter the so-called mass parties and establish an indirect hegemonic position (politically) and reinforce their economic and social dominance and exploitation. Phillips (1977b, 152; 1977a), more specifically notes that the 1944 defeat of local business interests would lead paradoxically - through 'subsequent political and economic developments' to a strengthening of 'the control of the nationally based capitalist class over the economy, so much so that by 1962 they were again to exercise pre-eminent influence over critical areas of national decision-making' (1977b: 152). Thus, the independence constitution outlawed compulsory acquisition, or acquisition without proper compensation (1962, Chapter 3, Section 18). Munroe suggests too that in the first two-term PNP regime, the party was preoccupied with wooing

[^] Manley (1982: 31) reiterates that in 1863, 'the plantocracy and the merchant class provided 1,798 votes in a population of 441,264! ' Others were excluded.

[^] Party Secretary, and also Editor of the Gleaner from 1904-1944.

[^] e.g., in relation to the formal independence constitution arrangements - entrenching property rights, with the agreement of the political of the major parties.
the foreign investor, and 'proved demonstrably more adept at running free enterprise' than had the JLP (1972: 100). Michael Manley has offered a supporting reminder:

Indeed, it was the PNP which, from opposition, had moved the resolution in the House of Representatives in 1950 which led to the creation of an Industrial Development Corporation by the JLP government of the time. This was to be the main instrument for the invitation of foreign capital to Jamaica (1982: 30).

Barrow and Greene (1978: 38) have stated that, for three hundred years, political participation in Barbados had been restricted to an elite which controlled economic resources, 'firstly as a planter elite and subsequently with a broadened industrial base as an agro-commercial elite.' A broadened franchise left the balance of control very much similar to that of Jamaica:

During the 1951-56 and the 1956-61 sessions of the House of Assembly, white planters and merchants between them secured only three seats. This agro-commercial elite has, however, retained economic control and their removal from front-line political positions does not mean...that they no longer wield any influence in political affairs (1978: 38).

In addressing the press in later chapters, we will further dwell on the crucial place of this 'elite' but not specifically in terms of Barbados.

In the case of Jamaica, for instance, the emerging political leaders tended to be middle class moderates. Barrow and Greene point out that the 'few black professionals who, during the 1930s became spokesmen for the black section of Barbados' population, sought access to the system as it existed. They were more concerned with constitutional reforms than with the economy...'

Nevertheless, on occasion during the late 1930s and early 1940s 'the need for radical change was expressed', but:

By comparison with Jamaica and Trinidad, the Barbados movement was polite and restrained...The men who emerged to lead the labour movement after the simple explosion of 1937 were lawyers and small businessmen, journalists and doctors, not more than one generation or two removed, perhaps from the working class which they were going to lead, and tied to it by bonds of birth, race and common social exclusion; but they were steeped in the traditional values of the West Indian coloured professional middle-class which sees change as a process by which 'men of colour' inherit the prestige and position of the old white elites rather than as a fundamental re-organization of the structure and relationships in society (1978: 39 - cited from Mark, 1966: 84).

The 1949 elections in Jamaica resulted in a second-term victory for the JLP in the first-past-the-post system - the JLP won most seats but the PNP gained marginally more votes, a turn-around for the PNP credited in some quarters (see, Gonsalves, 1977) to the increased mobilization of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) which had constituted itself as a separate union, rather than as a member of a body of unions. Again, the link was shortlived. 'The left-wingers...wanted to retain links with the communist-dominated WFTU while the centre-right sought to realign with international union organizations in the western capitalist 'bloc'. The issue

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7 Barbados has had the intended franchise from 1950.
8 Recall the labour unrest in several countries (not including Grenada which experienced its turbulence in 1951-52).
9 World Federation of Trade Unions.
which divided both groups...went much deeper’ but the final battle was over affiliation (Gonsalves, 1977: 96). Key TUC left-wingers were expelled from the party ‘ostensibly on the ground that belief in communism was incompatible with membership in the party.’ Nettleford has termed them ‘a catalyst to the party and irritant to the moderates and liberal conservatives’ (1971: 16).

Munroe argues that in the “purge” the P.N.P. lost most of its active organizers and political educators. Importantly, working class organization fell into disarray and the dominance of middle-class positions in the councils of the party was firmly established. The tremendous pressure, deriving from a formidable coalition of local and foreign anti-communist forces had ultimately won a victory...

The ‘centre-right’ dissentients eventually formed (in 1952) the National Workers’ Union (NWU) as a PNP affiliate and it soon became one of the two largest unions (the other being the BITU of the JLP-BITU phalanx). The PNP’s ascent to office in 1955 and other factors seemed to have contributed to the TUC’s decline thereafter but a relationship was resumed in 1959. In the 1970s to 1980 it was not unusual for the TUC to be aligned with the NWU, and for the General Secretary of the Congress to speak from PNP platforms during election campaigning. The growth of the trade union movement and a division into two dominant camps as base support for the two major parties have not led to a significant advance for the working class. The heterogenous mass parties (in terms of varying class content) have not, as implied, served the interests of workers very well. Ambursley (1983), in a note on political clientelism states that there are indications that the party-union alliance may be in for considerable fracture. The general evidence for such a fracture has been unconvincing.

The PNP’s development as a middle-class party, as illustrated, has embraced a number of elements, including the shaping of Michael Manley. Political activist, Richard Hart - among the left-wingers expelled from the party in the 1950s - characterizes Manley as ‘a petty bourgeois politician par excellence, sharply to be distinguished from the average middle class politician who can be easily bought by the bourgeoisie’ (1976: 82). In the transition period of the early 1950s, states Gonsalves,

...Michael, was drafted into the NWU not only to combat Hugh Shearer of the BITU in the sugar industry but also to assist in crushing the left-wing forces in the TUC (1977: 96).

But, a revamped Michael Manley himself (1975: 209) notes that the unions have tended to maintain a chronic and ‘ideologically irrelevant state of combat’ which tends to diminish union ‘political impact’ ‘on the system’. Hart again, in a review of Manley’s A Voice in the Workplace (1975), stated that Manley failed in this work to take this point to ‘its logical conclusion in that Manley did not point out that working class unity, ‘desirable as it may be, will be of limited benefit to the workers so long as they remain politically under the leadership of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois politicians’ (1976: 45).

The politics of experimentation with the West Indian Federation was conspicuous during the later years of the PNP’s first two-term administration (1955-1962), especially from 1958. Munroe states that through it, were reflected many of the less obvious features of the political process
such as the continuing role of the colonial power, near total absence of popular participation, the 'considerable agreement among the colonial and imperial political elites, the irrelevance of the masses except in conditions where this unanimity was broken...Hence Federation derived its significance not only as a political issue in its own right but also as a microcosm of the Jamaican political process of which it was a part' (1972: 116). Jamaica decided against the Federation through a referendum in 1961 and Trinidad followed suit, after which it was disbanded.

The PNP lost the 1962 general election to the JLP. Bustamante, the first Prime Minister of formally independent Jamaica with the retained Westminster model of parliamentary democracy, served through the first of a two-term JLP rule (1962-67 & 1967-72) but relinquished the post early in the second term owing to failing health and old age. He remained life president of the party's union affiliate, the BITU. He survived until the 1970s but Norman Manley passed on, and son Michael Manley was elected by the PNP to lead the party through the period up to the 1972 elections and thereafter.

Thus far, the discussion has explained that the formation of the two major parties was sparked by the revolt of the working class and the peasantry and the pressures which they imposed on the system and the owning/ruling class from the 1930s. The struggle, as Post, for instance, suggests faltered under middle class leadership [and as was further explained in relation to the JDP, also with incorporation of representatives of the perennial local oligarchy]. The PNP and the JLP came to be supported by 'blanket' unions. Leadership of both parties came to eschew 'left-wing' and communist links. A commitment to capitalism and the inherited parliamentary system on the union-party base ensured a division of the world population and their vulnerability and if not subordination - apart from minor interruptions - to needs of the local oligarchy and capital. This environment had gloomy forebodings for any possibility of fundamental political and social change for the 1970s and beyond. Any devolution of democracy to workers and the lower strata as a whole, apart from extension of the franchise was very limited. It is now useful to address some factors which underlay the PNP's resurgence at the start of the 1970s and the relative strength of local capital in relation to labour, in the background of socio-political and economic realities.

2.3 Some specifics of political economy to 1972

The 1950s and 1960s (under the PNP government of 1955-62 and then the JLP from 1962) were years of relative economic growth guided partly by experimentation with what had widely become known as the Puerto Rican Model of development which was noted in Chapter One.

The beneficiaries of such growth were the overseas investors with their tax holidays, facility in repatriating profits, restrictions on trade union activity, and so on; the growing local capitalist class - sections of which also demanded tax holidays for never maturing 'infant' industries - and more particularly then the comprador or peddling element who in addition to some power within the state and the political apparatus ensured the continued hold of the owning class as a whole. As Edwin Jones explains that they were not 'authentic mass parties in the sense of being led and controlled by the masses and promoting mass-oriented policies' (see Inside Jamaica, Vol.2, No.3, 198: 3-8).
Karch (1985: 126) observes, although the 'corporate faction' of the local bourgeoisie abandoned contesting the polls directly, they have reconsolidated themselves by indirect control over the state apparatus. The agro-commercial bourgeoisie in Jamaica has been transformed into a commercial manufacturing bourgeoisie and has increased its economic power since the advent of self-government.\(^{1}\)

The ingredients of the economic boom were varied and impressive in the context of dependent economic growth as Girvan and associates (Girvan, 1980: 58-59; Girvan et al, 1980) illustrate. During the years 1953-1972 capital inflows to Jamaica totalled approximately US$1 billion, mainly as direct investment in mining and refining of bauxite for export (through the major North American MNCs - Alcan, Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaiser). These inflows financed domestic investment to the tune of 32 per cent and about a quarter of all imports. Among the other indicators, GDP growth averaged 5 to 6 per cent per year. Tourism, construction and manufacturing were other areas of growth along with an expanding public sector.

Agriculture stagnated, unemployment rose from 13 per cent in 1962 to 24 per cent by 1972. The new investment was highly capital-intensive, and higher incomes, for instance, in the bauxite industry contributed to a skewing of income distribution and the creation of a sort of a labour aristocracy. Additionally, few linkages were created between the industry and the rest of the economy. Indeed, the expansion of the bauxite industry with its vast acreages had contributed to the growth of shantytowns and to a broadening of the working class and the ranks of the unemployed (particularly in the major urban centre, greater Kingston). Inequalities widened. Estimates put the decline in personal earned income of the poorest 40 per cent of the population as having fallen from 7.2 to 5.4 per cent between 1958 and 1968 (Girvan et al, 1980: 120). As Girvan (1976: 120) explains, in spite of the growth of Jamaica's per capita income to one of the highest in the Third World then, 'the quality of life of the vast majority of the Jamaican people' worsened: the 'richest 5 per cent' earned some twenty-four times the average of the poorest 50 per cent at one stage.

In the 1967 general elections, gun violence was widespread; and in 1968, rioting broke out following the banning of left-wing radical historian Walter Rodney, a Guyanese national and lecturer attached to the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies. Lacey (1977: 33) raises the contribution of the 'lumpenproletariat' when he notes that 'the mobilization of the lumpenproletariat against the property of the national bourgeoisie in October 1968 resulted temporarily in a lower level of interpersonal violence than had been experienced for much of the previous two years.' The JLP administration's reaction included the banning of literature from socialist countries, and on the Black Power movement which (latter) had attracted a large following. The government also seized the passports of lecturers and political activists who had travelled to Cuba.\(^{11}\) 'Shanty-town' youth came under increasing repression from the state machinery via the police. This was indeed the front page of neo-colonialism which has occupied the attention of many observers. Fanon noted in relation to the so-called underdeveloped country that:

...the party is given the task of supervising the masses. The party plays understudy to the administration and the police, and controls the masses, not in order to make sure that they really participate in the business of governing the nation, but in order to remind

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\(^{1}\) See, e.g., New World Fortnightly, 12/11/65; The Abeng, 1/2/69, and 13/9/69; 1; Forsythe (1974) lists banned literature.
them constantly that the government expects from them obedience and discipline (1967: 146).

This assessment is useful but whereas it would be good news for pure instrumentalists, it is structured too much towards viewing key sectors/organizations as mere appendages of the 'national bourgeoisie' and capital in general. In fact, Fanon saw the party's role as attached to the desires of the bourgeoisie.

A current of protest grew from the later years of the 1960s and Rastafari and Reggae music were among politico-cultural channels. Rastafarians and many unemployed were conspicuous supporters of the Black Power movement. In an article in *Third World Quarterly*, Manley has explained that for the decade of the 1960s 'we had strong democratic institutions such as parliamentary elections, a free press, and the other paraphernalia of a plural democracy' but 'political life was comparatively backward' and 'the level of political education and consciousness of the people was low, particularly in relation to that most fundamental of Third World challenges: political mobilization for development and structural change' (1980: 32-33).

2.4 The PNP and the wave of crisis and protest - the 1972 victory and the 'multi-class' alliance

In Opposition, the PNP, with Michael Manley who had just assumed the party leadership (1969) drew on this current. It is appropriate to digress briefly. The Party's rise was perhaps a turn-around. The Abeng newspaper noted in 1969: 'The lack of interest in the PNP conference seems to indicate that the small man has to realize that he has long ceased to be a part of the PNP. The PNP is now in danger of having leaders without followers.' The newspaper saw little difference between the two leadership candidates who were 'slight variations of the same theme. Both men were produced as a result of the split in the PNP that drove the working class from the party' (8/2/69: 1). Vivian Blake, the loser, became a Minister in the PNP's first term of the 1970s. The men were not distant variations of the same theme but surely, by the start of the 1970s, the PNP had gained some working class support. The wave of a clenched fist accompanied by the shout of 'Power!' became a familiar greeting and a sign of solidarity as one travelled through the countryside and saw unemployed, workers, lower petty-traders, etc., and it symbolized what would become a noticeably heightened level of political awareness, if not necessarily ideological or class consciousness, in the decade. 'Power to the People' generally implied political, social and economic change with the interests of the working and unemployed people high on the agenda. It encompassed the transformation which the party implied in its campaign issues. A clear philosophy was eschewed as the party focused on issues - social and economic inequalities, unemployment, political repression, non-participation of the people in the political process, and Jamaica's low profile in international affairs.

Manley himself, in retrospectively explaining the failures of the PNP under his leadership, noted - as we saw earlier - that despite 'a well established two-party democratic system, the society was still firmly elitist and those elements of the economy which were in local hands were controlled by a tight oligarchy' (1982: 40). The 1972 victory in which the PNP gained 37 seats to the JLP's 16 was a multi-class alliance (Manley, 1982, 120; Girvan et al., 1980, 115-116; see also

12This is a reference to the lower middle class, working class, peasantry, unemployed, and broadly the poor and relatively powerless.
Principles and Objectives, 1979: 14-16). According to Manley:

In 1972, the PNP had added the small farmers and the agricultural workers to the columns of its majority strength, but was still very much a class alliance and with leadership somewhat dominated by the more articulate members of the middle class (1982: 120).

Tables 2(i) and 2(ii) illustrate, to some extent, the sort of class support for the PNP and others. Table 2(i) concentrates on the PNP. This table is fairly self-explanatory, but as a corollary, it is necessary to bear in mind that research has shown that unskilled (urban) labour tended to be overwhelmingly pro-JLP (cited in Stone, 1973: 37), but, as we see, the PNP made a marginal majority breakthrough in 1972. Assignments such as 'White' Collar are vague notions drawn from industrialized Western capitalist societies and their applications to contexts such as Jamaica's should be treated as such but the substance of what Table 2(i), for instance, presents is what is crucial.

Table 2(i): Class and the PNP vote in the 1972 General Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>% PNP VOTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Farmer</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labour</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Labour</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Farmer</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2(ii): Social class and partisan preference, 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL CLASS</th>
<th>% PNP</th>
<th>% INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>% JLP</th>
<th>% ANTI-PARTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small business</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed artisan</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working or blue-collar class</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The figure of '31' under 'ANTI-PARTY' was apparently intended to be 21.

Table 2(iii): A suggested demarcation of class structure in Jamaica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATA</th>
<th>GROUPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Big Businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Upper</td>
<td>Big Planters, Professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>Small Businessmen (Some Professionals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>Artisans, Middle Peasants, Skilled Workers (Some Professionals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Lower</td>
<td>Small Peasants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Lower</td>
<td>Unskilled Workers, Rural Proletariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Lower</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** (Adapted) Beckford (1980: 8).

Beckford's impressions of the class structure is generally offered Table 2(iii), and this is further clarified with Stone's illustrations in the previous two tables. Two minor additions are enclosed in brackets.

The contours of the class structure with all its appearance of comprehensiveness is somewhat limited and very general even in the context of the early 1970s, especially with regard to certain strata. As one example, the lumping of 'Professionals' in 'Lower Upper' and 'Small Businessman' in 'Upper Middle' taken without close examination of the reality and analysis would distort the fact that considerable proportions of the categories 'Professionals' and 'Small Businessman', when several key variables are applied could easily fit into strata lower than those in which the above generalisation places them. Bear in mind also that the findings for 'Partisan Preference' noted in Table 2(ii) were drawn from an urban context: the PNP has traditionally had overwhelming support from urban Kingston (though this tradition suffered considerable fracture in the 1980 elections) which has several times the population of any other urban area. A more precise assessment of the components of the multi-class alliance of 1972 would have to account for the rural areas, indeed, for the country as a whole. Somewhat of an extension of Table 2(iii) can be seen in Tables 2(iv) derived from Nelson's (1975) assessment. It gives a fairly concrete picture of the closely approximate proportions of the various class/strata in the economy in 1973.

An analysis of the 1972-80 PNP administration under Manley must take account of the multi-class factor, as well as the party's historical roots and declared intent. But, as implied in touching on the 'non-capitalist path' and 'socialist orientation' there were definite links with these in terms of class alliance in the context of high profile anti-imperialism. Several institutions in Jamaica's state sector were put under the leadership of major capitalists. For instance, the Matalon brothers - a major element in Jamaica's 'Twenty-one Families' featured in the Urban Development Corporation, and one (Eli Matalon) became Minister of Local Government. A small quota of Manley's inheritance in this multi-class alliance was not a 'proletariat recruited from all classes of the population' or a union of 'progressive forces' which would have been endorsed uncritically on the left [the Marxist-Leninist WPJ offered 'critical' support]. It brings to mind the anti-Gairy alliance of 'seventies Grenada.
middle-class professionals was in evidence, and among the low representation of the left was D. K. Duncan, then a member of the Black Power Abeng Group who would be Party Secretary, and Minister of National Mobilization. Appendix 3, which was referred to earlier, illustrates the class character and PNP's organizational structure within what these authors viewed as 'Westminster-style neo-colonial politics.' Their assessment is based on the second half of the 1970s but is a close reflection of the first term structure although taken with other evidence, is not based on second term broad class/strata electoral support.

Table 2(iv): Classes and strata in Jamaican society, 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASSES/ STRATA</th>
<th>NO. OF PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Proletariat</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Working Class</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers &amp; Other Unskilled</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Middle Strata</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Petty-Bourgeoisie</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Classes &amp; Strata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labour, Unpaid &amp; Semi-proletariat</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:  
1. Excluding employers.  
2. A conservative estimate of all males seeking or wanting and able to work plus all females seeking work.  
3. Category not mutually exclusive with the others as it includes members of the peasantry, urban self-employed, and workers who have dual economic statuses. It should therefore not be added to or strictly compared with the others. The figure is an estimate.


The PNP administration, on entering office, began attending to employment creation, income redistribution, and attempting to attain greater national control over the economy. Land reform, free (to university level) education, minimum wage, equal pay for women, imposition of

14 Defined on the basis of wealth and historical position in the corporate economy (see, e.g., Reid, 1977).

15 Declining health appeared to be at least part of the reason why Eli Matalon left the job later. He reappeared later and was quite conspicuous in the PNP Government which took office from early 1989. According to the Weekly Gleaner: ‘Eli Matalon, ambassador at large and a close confidante of Prime Minister Manley and Chairman of the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica (PCJ) has resigned over a scandal.’ This ‘scandal’ was founded on the waiver by the Government up to December, 1991 of over $23 million (over USD$1 million) in tariff to Shell Company (West Indies) Ltd., one of the principal petroleum marketing companies operating in Jamaica. Shell’s General Manager is a member of the Central Executive of the PNP (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 31/12/91: 1 & 7/1/92: 1).
subsidies on basic commodities, and a higher profile in international affairs were among the many areas on the agenda. These were in the package of measures addressed to the urban working class, the peasantry, 'agro-proletariat' (rural farm workers), rural 'semi-proletariat' (peasant farmer/part-time worker), and other strata. Some measures such as the minimum wage stipulation were clearly irksome to the capitalist class and middle strata housewives. Somewhat notable is that influential sections of commercial capital as well as the capitalist class as a whole, in contesting and offering recommendations for the level at which the minimum wage should be established, named figures ranging even below one-half the eventual level of $20 per week finally set at the time. Mass dismissal of wage workers including large numbers of household helpers was one threat arising from these strata, and sections of the middle class.

In foreign policy the PNP forged links with Cuba which provided technical assistance (e.g. in school building, and dams), and the Soviet Union in this area of diversification. Ahead of the then three other politically independent Anglocphone Caribbean countries, Jamaica accorded full diplomatic recognition to Cuba. Jamaica was declared a non-aligned country and Manley travelled to the Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers in 1973 in the company of Fidel Castro. A small but not insignificant current of opinion among the local capitalist strata and allies at home and abroad took cognizance, if not umbrage.

Definite problems arose in the economic sphere to affect capitalists, other classes, and also the PNP’s ability to undertake its political and social programmes. Among these was the fact that the investment cycle of the '50s and '60s ended in 1972, and the oil price increases from 1973. The nation’s oil bill rose dramatically and a levy was imposed based on aluminium ingots from locally produced bauxite to cushion the effects of the crisis on the economy. These will be elaborated on later as they are major explanatory factors relating to how the enveloping economic crisis and the political and social considerations would affect the capitalists and others in the alliance. Particularly important would be fate of the local capitalist class and the deprived strata. Other related factors included the fissure within the party; political alliances (e.g., with the WPJ); the destabilization by local sources; the regional factors; the looming intervention of the IMF and the U.S.A.

2.5 Introducing ‘Democratic Socialism’

When Manley implied a lack of affinity to or disaffection with ‘isms’ in the lead up to 1972, it can be securely argued, from earlier observations, that on balance he was demonstrating a pragmatism based on an understanding of the carefully nurtured awareness of the Jamaican electorate. Garveyism, founded in black nationalism had had, by and large, a favourable reception from the Jamaican peasant and working classes but attracted the scorn of the ruling oligarchy and emergent middle class elements during the early decades of the 20th century (see, e.g., Forsythe, in Race, 1974). ‘Socialism meant “tyranny” and slavery according to JLP electioneering in 1949...’ (Nettleford, 1971: 39-40). Moreover, in 1962, shortly before the general election of that year two Russian ships made a stop in Kingston harbour for fuel, water and food (Daily Gleaner, 9/4/62: 1-2) while on a scientific expedition in the Caribbean. Within two days,
...casual news of the arrival...was transformed into a rumour, spreading over the whole island, of a threat of Russian takeover of Jamaica should the ruling party be returned to power. This is considered by the losing party to have played a major role in its defeat at the polls (Alleyne, 1963: 37-38; also 1971: 181).

A statement from the leader of the scientific group, Leonid Brechowsldch, read:

If we had known that it would have embarrassed the Government we would not have come, but we wanted fuel and water badly (Daily Gleaner, 9/4/62: 1-2).

Bell in a 1958 survey of 'top leaders' and 'second and third level elites' - drawn from political parties, the private sector, the civil service bureaucracy, mass media - found, for instance that 83 per cent of the 227 cases viewed the U.S. as morally right in world affairs 'in recent years', but the score for the Soviet Union was only one per cent (Bell and Gibson, 1978: 11). In a somewhat similar study over preference of leaders in alignment (based on a longitudinal approach) in 1974, with 82 cases, over preference of leaders in alignment, the Soviet Union got only one vote (1 % approx.), 'Western nations', 36 per cent, 'but there was by comparison a considerable shift to preference for alignment with 'Third World countries' (29%) and 'Jamaica's self-interest' (27%) (1978: 15).

The Russian and Cuban revolutions, nationalist ferment, the growing disaffection with a repressive second-term JLP, and the Black Power movement are among factors which, by the 1970s, would have helped to diffuse paranoid anti-communism for which imperialism had ordained the foundation. 'Democratic Socialism' itself appears to have been plucked out by the momentum force of events and processes already well underway by 1974. Manley (1982) explains that there was a need to proceed other than in a piece-meal fashion, hence the announcement of 'Democratic Socialism', but within the party itself as in earlier years there were divisions based on fears by the right-wing that the party's fortunes would decline.

While re-emphasizing the leading role of the working class in 1938, but pointing to its relative weakness at the time, Munroe (1980: 49) stresses the predominance of the wider middle strata in a leadership capacity in the anti-colonial struggle. For him, the liberation movement fell into the 'ideological sway' of a composite of 'British conservatism and racism, bourgeois liberalism, petty-bourgeois nationalist Garveyism and American cold war influences which fostered anti-communism amongst broad sections of the people...' Further, he informs (1981: 80 & 120) that the first General Secretary of the BITU (recall, the union allied to the Jamaica Labour Party was later closely identified with the interests of the owning class) was the first Jamaican Marxist, Hugh C. Buchanan, 'an artisan, a mason by trade.' These factors point to an aspect of the ideological structure which confronted even the onset and continuation of the PNP's relatively mild programme.

The party's paper, Democratic Socialism: The Jamaican Model, in November, 1974 stated in part:

Socialism is first an ideal, a goal and an attitude of mind that requires people to care for each other's welfare. Socialism is a way of life. A Socialist Society cannot simply come into existence. It has to be built by people who believe and practice its principles.

Socialism is the Christian way of life in action. It is the philosophy that best gives

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16, Manley was out of the country at the time of that study, but his book was used as the base of an 'interview'.
James' is critical of the 'good-intentioned' document for its vagueness. 'Little or nothing', he stresses, was stated 'about how this new society is to be achieved.' He admits, however, the concreteness implied in mention of the 'classic social democratic formula of the "mixed economy"' but laments an absence of specification of the "mixture" between private and public sectors. It speaks about the quest for equality, but at the same time clings to the sanctity of private property... (1983: 150). It seems that a document of the size released then could hardly have varied in detail content significantly from what James saw.

Stephens and Stephens conclude that the demise of the PNP government was 'not inevitable' but the administration 'failed to put the country on a viable development path.' They argue that 'democratic socialist development is the best alternative open to the left in democracies in the Caribbean and Latin America.' According to them history shows 'left revolutionary movements' to have failed in the context of political democracies and 'that maximalist attempts at rapid socialist transition through electoral means will fail at the polls or be crushed by military coups...' (1987: 342 and elsewhere). The Stephens seem to place a disproportionate emphasis on failure and corresponding diminished attention to reasons for failure. Nevertheless, looking ahead, they would have been happy to hear Michael Manley as the new more pragmatic 1989 Prime Minister state: 'Like so many social democrats...I have undergone a very serious re-evaluation of what will work' (The Voice [Britain], 1/8/89: 9).

Kaufman - unlike the Stephens - does not take 'democratic socialism' as a given and virtually as a terminal point for countries such as Jamaica. He suggests that 'dramatic and profound changes were possible in Jamaica.' One of the lessons he derives from the Jamaican experience is that 'the most fertile approach for the process of change would not be a model imposed from without - either the classic social democratic model or the traditional Leninist, dual power model. The most fertile terrain for any change is the reality of Jamaican politics, political traditions, and economic structures...' Another lesson for him is that 'there is obviously no guarantee that local and international capital and local or international military forces would allow for such a peaceful transition...' (1985: 232-237). Lewin points to Manley's 'democratic socialism' as a compromise in an arena in which compromise is impossible' - being socialist and democratic. Using Frank's term, 'the nationalizing bourgeoisie' he frames Manley within it - pointing out that this element frequently advocates revolutionary change, but never genuinely work toward it. What they really want is full-fledged capitalist development under control of local capitalists (1981-82: 57).

Let us look further at what Manley and the PNP at large offered in the party's structured approach to what was perceived as the task ahead. A brief look at Manley's Politics of Change, (1974) will assist. A one-party state and 'acceptance of the status quo are' inadequate 'solutions for a society like Jamaica's' (1974: 67) (though, he admits that democracy is possible under such a one-party regime, and he instances Tanzania under Nyerere). For him, An alternative must be sought in the 'politics of participation'. An antithesis of remoteness is involvement. Since remoteness is the problem we must tackle, involvement must be the objective of our method - by involvement I mean the conscious attempt to make people feel that they have a part to play in the decision-making processes of government...
We must be careful of criticizing Manley for what could very well be a slip of the pen, but merely note that in presenting this central element in what can be assumed to have been part of the party programme, for him involvement would be 'the conscious attempt to make people feel [emphasis added] that the decision-making processes of government also entail a role for them over and above election time.

He refers to a 'post-colonial paralysis' in relation to the political party and the state. The political party exists to elect people to office but two other 'over-riding functions' are 'to recognize it primarily as an instrument of mass political education' and to develop its potential as a two-way instrument of communication between the people and the government.' The party 'must have a clearly articulated philosophy' and the philosophy of an egalitarian society is a non-negotiable item. You are either an elitist, an egalitarian, or unconscious. A party of change cannot be by definition unconscious. It must therefore choose between the elitist and the egalitarian model.' (see, 1974: 73-75; also, 1982: 50-87). 'The "politics of participation", involves the attempt to make government the beneficiary of institutional advice and responsive to popular need...

Jamaica, Manley argues, is 'a society which needs to be changed', and whose leadership is 'committed to equality and whose traditional method is democratic.' A high level of illiteracy exists, 'a quarter of the workforce has no job', 'the distribution of the ownership of land and of the means of production represent gross and growing inequalities' which together constitute 'an affront to any notion of social justice' (1974: 27). Lewis, like Manley generally saw as acceptable regimes such as Nyerere's (1960s-1980s) of Tanzania, but noted a failure of the single party to be democratic. Somewhat contrary to Manley, he wrote: 'It is not natural to West African culture...It is partly the product of the hysteria of the moment of independence, when some men found it possible to seize the state and suppress their opponents...' (1965: 63).

Consideration of alternatives for Jamaica, according to Manley, begin 'with an understanding of "the natural tendency":

There is no question that the 'natural tendency' of the Jamaican people is individualistic, disputatious almost to the point of destructiveness, but rooted in a great historically acquired strength: the ability to accept the vote is the natural end product of dispute and that a majority decision is conclusive of an issue (1974: 27-28).

All the institutions through which 'the entire society began to attain coherence, were designed in the shadow of the Westminster model of democracy.' He denounces the 'politics of tinkering' and replaces it for his party with 'the politics of dynamic change'. In examining the political, social and economic problems of the period between 1945 and 1972 (1974: 86-91), he notes, for instance, 'a widening gap between the rich and poor...' and that the 'social tensions that result from this process are intolerable and represent a threat to the existing social order if remedies cannot be found and the process reversed.'

Evident contradictions arise in Manley's grounding on the 'natural tendency' alongside the relevance of the Westminster model. Fundamental shortcomings and change-resisting qualities of this model have been cited by serious scholars and observers. Writing from the University of the West Indies, Jones, for instance, states in part:

...the Westminster model is elitist; it envisages little structural change and
de-emphasizes the principle of mass mobilization. It is also committed to a specific ideology - the free market system which is particularly defensive of private property...

The model also underwrites division of the polity at all levels and thus hinders effective mobilization for collective action. Further, it has helped to inject a considerable amount of hysteria into the political debate and has supported the tendency towards political violence.

The Westminster model has anaesthetised a large portion of public opinion against any deliberate search for alternative systems of government... (see Inside Jamaica, 198: 3-8).

Hart, in a review of Manley's *The Politics of Change*, concluded that the 'most charitable construction that could be put on his ideas about economics' was, 'should a socialist system become inevitable, at some future time, he would not be unalterably opposed to it. Meanwhile he will borrow one or two socialist ideas' (1976: 82). Yet, emphasizing that 'We are a socialist Government', Manley told Parliament in his May, 1975 Budget speech (API, 27/5/75: 27), that the 'final aim of Socialism is the creation of a just society based on the principles of equality, self-reliance, discipline and participation by all of the people in the process of Government and the running of the economy...The fundamental strategy of Socialism is the bringing of the people into ownership and control of the means of production and distribution...'

2.6 The alliance - the PNP, capitalists and capital, and the lower strata

Reference has been made to the PNP's early years approximately up to 1974, and to some elements of a structured political programme under 'Democratic Socialism' from 1974. These early years of the PNP's first term were largely populist and targeted at defusing the problems arising from historical neglect of the exploited classes and from JLP neo-colonial authoritarian methods.

The task of the discussion here is to examine broadly the regime's implementation of the programme and the extent to which it bore strictures for, and invited or attracted the participation and response of the capitalists and capital - local, local-regional, international without rigid compartmentalization - and the broad base of working class, peasantry, and 'semi-proletariat'. Firstly, it is necessary to make a further entry into one or two elements of the 'mixed economy' package. Not only was the government limited in what it could do but - at least implied in much of the discussion thus far - it was committed to remain well within borders perceived as known. The 'ordinary manufacturing sector belongs naturally in private hands' but 'we see the picture of an economy with a public, a private, a small business and a co-operative sector. We see a clear place for foreign and local private capital', Manley outlined. We also see a principle of widely based citizen participation in ownership in the private sector along with the principle of worker participation in ownership throughout the public sector and in all the reaches of 'the commanding heights' of the economy. 17 We see the farmer and the small businessman retaining the "feel" of ownership in a co-operative form of organization which simultaneously guarantees the economies of scale' (see 1974, 118-122; see also, 1982: 70-71; & Principles and Objectives - People's National Party, 1979). Sugar cooperatives were developed based on estates formerly in the hands of landed interests from whom they (the estates) had been rescued to preserve the industry, its foreign exchange earning capacity and jobs.

17 The 'public utilities, the banking system, the bauxite industry and the sugar industry...can be said to constitute the principal elements' which 'quite clearly belong in public ownership and control.'
Manley, on reflection emphasizes further that the exodus of the propertied classes from Jamaica in the 1970s began not as a result of political rhetoric as claimed in some quarters but 'with the property tax [which for him caused most furore in the first term]. In no time this was being represented as the thin end of the wedge for the expropriation of all property in terms of the strategy, real or imagined, of out and out communist governments. Touch a man's pocket book and you will pull the first trigger for his political acts!' (1982: 89). [Enclosures in parenthesis added]

The year 1974 was crucial as it marked the formal introduction of 'Democratic Socialism' but it was important for several other reasons - some specifically economic, but embracing large political implications. It was the year of the minimum wage law, the sugar cooperatives, nationalization of the electric service (Jamaica Public Service Company) and public transport in the capital city (Jamaica Omnibus Services), increased poor relief payments, and so on. In later years a significant small business element arose as the main urban transport service was put into the hands of smaller, sometimes individual one-unit, operators under the PNP and continued under the JLP regime. The result of such action (including involvement in the bauxite industry) in part helped to shift public capital formation to pre-eminence over private by the mid-1970s. This was the inverse of the Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago positions, and more an approach to Guyana's at that level. Hence, capital formation which stood at 238 million (private) and 129 million (public) 'current U.S. dollars' was reversed to 371 million (public) compared to 354 million (private) by 1975 (see Economic Report - Jamaica, Jan. 1978: 12).

The single most notable initiative of 1974 in the economic sphere by virtue of scale, and which had considerable implications for the political and social climate, revolved around the bauxite industry. The control of holdings (1979/80), partly on paper, is illustrated in Table 2(v), but observers have not all been convinced of a major shift in ownership. Indeed, more fundamental in terms of the immediate benefits to the economy was the introduction of a levy which brought about considerably increased revenue to assist for some time in buttressing the 'Democratic Socialist' programme. The Manley administration had noticed the success of the OPEC cartel and endeavoured to introduce a like body for bauxite. Jamaica played a leading role in the formation of the International Bauxite Association (IBA) in March. One glaring contradiction in the IBA's membership was the inclusion of Australia, a member of the OECD group with the bauxite industry accounting for only 4-5 per cent of its exports at the time. The significance of this will become evident later.

Table 2(v): Ownership of sections/ Jamaica bauxite industry - 1979/1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORMAL ACQUISITION/ GOVT.</th>
<th>COMPANIES &amp; %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 31, 1979</td>
<td>JAMALCAN (Alcan 93%, Jamaica 7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31, 1979</td>
<td>JAMALCO (Alcoa 94%, Jamaica 6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1, 1980</td>
<td>Kaiser Jamaica Bauxite Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kaiser 49%, Jamaica 51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1, 1980</td>
<td>Jamaica Reynolds Bauxite Partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Reynolds 49%, Jamaica 51%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The IBA comprised only a part of the strategy for the bauxite industry. Jamaica's oil bill grew in 1974 to $160 million from $40 million (Girvan et al., 1980: 116 etc.; see also Appendix 4) against large increases in grain prices. Government imposed a bauxite production levy - initially 7.5 per cent of the world market price of the aluminium ingot for the bauxite/alumina output, imposed May 15, 1974. The government insisted on the levy in the face of intransigence on the part of the companies. In a single year, bauxite revenue rose from approximately $27 million in taxes and royalties to $180 million in 1974 and $206 million in 1980 by way of levy earnings (see, Davies, 1984b: 4, cf. Jamaica Bauxite Institute /see also Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica 1986). The status of mining (and 'quarrying') among major contributors to Jamaica's Gross Domestic Product, and as a major earner of foreign exchange can be observed in Appendices 6 and 7.

A feature of the PNP's position was its land reform programme under which a quarter of a million acres of land, sold outright to the companies by a JLP government 'was to be repatriated' (Manley, 1982: 98; Girvan, 1976; Bauxite Institute reports). In the early post-war years, the companies had not only bought up large acreages owned by the state but also (at what were then perceived by some observers as attractive prices), they acquired vast numbers of small holdings owned by peasant farmers or the 'agro-proletariat'. These farmers, for the most part, either ended up as part of the Jamaican urban working class and 'sub-proletariat', or their counterparts of these strata in major receiving capitalist countries (most specifically, the U.S. and Britain, and Canada). The regime sought 51 per cent ownership of the companies' operations as well as joint ventures and partnerships.

Cooperation with Socialist Bloc countries (e.g. the Soviet Union, Hungary) accompanied attempts at the regional level. Agreements with Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, on the one hand, as well as with Mexico and Venezuela, on the other - worthwhile initiatives though they were hardly transcended signatures. On a broader levels, beyond bauxite, Manley stated that the Caribbean relationship would involve playing 'our part in the creation of a Caribbean Common Market' but must be 'of an eventual scope to include all the countries of the Caribbean regardless of ethnic, linguistic or political characteristics' (1974: 126-127). Hence, the attention must also be toward Central and South America, and further to Africa and the third world in general. The Caribbean could 'demonstrate to the rest of the world a new approach to the question of foreign investment...if its people can summon the historical vision and political commonsense to move beyond the apparent ideological differences within the region.'

Manley left no stone unturned in implementing the bauxite strategy. As he states (1982: 43), 'we were clear that we would never expropriate property, but would make acquisition in the

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18 e.g., wheat from the USA. The local flour mill was largely owned (44%) by the TNC, Pillsbury - well known also for animal feeds, the shortage of which was one basis for criticism of the Manley administration.

19 The company's final position was 3 per cent (Manley, 1982: 101).

20 This was not the first effort to extract a better deal from the MNCs. Campaigning in the 1959 general elections, the PNP under Norman Manley's leadership (already in power 1954-59) stressed that it had increased Jamaica's revenue from bauxite from £314,532 (receipts 1955/56) to £4,666,491 (figure for 1958/59).
public interest on a basis of fair compensation... We also had a firm and un waiversing commitment to the preservation and development of a strong private sector'. Further, the government feared retaliation based on the bauxite strategy and hence sought to inform Canada and the U.S.A. Manley had meetings with U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, to allay fears of expropriation and to explain that the strategy was basically economic and had no political component. Even though bauxite was not nearly as lucrative as oil, and bauxite deposits are very widespread in relation to demand, Jamaica was the principal source of ore for the U.S., a factor which had crucial implications for politics. Alternative sources and volume cannot be obtained at the snap of a finger. Furthermore the PNP regime’s action could attract similar cartelization from other countries with marketable ore deposits which would be particularly significant if this were to occur in perceived ‘backyard’ appendages. As Manley explained, the talks were ‘an insurance against risk’:

It was important, therefore, to talk to the political leadership in the USA and Canada to make them understand exactly what we were about to do and why (1982: 99).

This combined with Australia’s place in the IBA reinforces what Keith and Girling (1978: 24) reiterates as the ‘tacit commitment to operate within the rules of the capitalist game... common to all third world commodity cartels.’ However, in this case the situation was more than tacit. The local capitalist class not only exercised a significant overt leadership presence on the negotiating team, but was well represented in the management of, as well as among, recipients under the Capital Development Fund which had major direct responsibility for how the revenues were allocated/spent. There was also a presence among the members of the Panel of Conciliators and Arbitrators of the ICSID (see report, 1975/76, Annex 3: 14). Here we come across the ‘anti-imperialist bourgeoisie’ members of which were not averse to the Third World nationalist appeal for a new economic order. Mayer Matalon who was a member of the negotiating team from 1974 (resigned in 1976) was awarded the Order of Jamaica for services to the country (Jamaica Bauxite Institute Ltd. - Annual Report 1976). He headed the Fund and was generally perceived as the most senior principal in the ICD group of companies - which have had major interests in construction (particularly housing, extending to ICD [Trinidad] and beyond. Patrick Rousseau (a member of one of Jamaica’s wealthy ‘twenty-one families’) had participated in the negotiation process itself.

The bauxite multi-nationals (MNCs) were taken by the force of unfolding events to adhere to the bauxite arrangements - for a time. In the immediate situation, they contested the legality of the regime’s imposition of the levy through the IBRD/World Bank’s Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) (see ICSID reports, 1973/74: 4; 1974/75: 5-6; 1974/76: 5-6) - on which they were defeated - and through other less structured channels.

The shift in production levels and investment as a result of the conflict and reduced potential profit levels was manifested in a shift in emphasis from Jamaica in favour of Guinea and Australia which offered more accommodating terms and a more amenable and somewhat more stable political climate. Appendix 4 partly illustrates changes in relative production levels. The oil crisis and the global economic crisis associated with it, high prices for imports, and the election promise of change forced the regime to continue with offensive to derive higher revenues from the bauxite industry. It appears that to pursue the MNCs was - in the immediate context - politically less costly than confronting capitalists and labour at home over shortfalls in funding for programmes.
2.7 A threshold for the left

Politically, the 1974 measures for increased state control of major sectors of the economy and the declaration of 'Democratic Socialism' raised the tempo of local activism and public debate. The left in the PNP grew stronger and became more vocal (particularly the youth arm which included some Marxist-Leninist sympathies). Moderate elements apparently cooperated but in some cases minimized grassroots activity. Some party moderates suggested that sections of support would be alienated if a formal philosophy were promulgated. Further, as Manley explains in Struggle in the Periphery, there were differences in perception of socialism, and of change, which led to inconsistencies (1982: 87).

An important development was the evolution of the Workers' Liberation League, from 1978 formally the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ) - a Marxist-Leninist group, led largely by University of the West Indies (UWI) intellectuals but with a developing base in trade unionism. The movement and party increasingly identified with the PNP with which it sought formal alliance. Drawing from the shift in the official communist movement's orthodoxy to strategic or critical cooperation with progressive forces, the League (and Party later) saw progress within the PNP's 'halfwayism.' As stated in the League's theoretical arm, Socialism:

One thing, and one thing alone, determines how far our policy of critical support continues, and that is, the extent to which the Manley government continues to have the interest of the poorer class of people, and the workers at heart (Oct.-Nov., 1978: 17-18). [Emphasis original]

That critical support seems to have been officially maintained at least until some time after the defeat at the 1980 October general elections, but deteriorated as some sections of PNP supporters and a range of other observers blamed the WPJ for the PNP's poor showing in the election (see, e.g., Lewis, WMR, 1981). The relationship is complex and cannot be discussed comprehensively here. Left solidarity rising with the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions of 1979, in part, seemed to have strengthened the relationship at the earlier stage.

The U.S. under the Ford-Kissinger administration viewed with some uneasiness the PNP's reforms and the significance for U.S. geo-political and economic influence in the region. Aid was withheld, for instance, as a follow-up to Manley's visit to Cuba mid-1975, his praise of achievements under the Cuban Revolution, and considered support for the Cuban military assistance to the liberation struggle in Angola, and in Southern Africa (see, e.g., Budget Debate Speech, 29/5/74: 59-61 /& 27/5/75: 53-54, for a gist of Manley's foreign policy itinerary). A sizeable anticipated aid package literally evaporated after Manley informed Kissinger of his support for Cuban assistance following South Africa's invasion of Angola (see, e.g., Manley, 1982: 116-117). Even before then, in late 1974 on the first of two visits to Jamaica during the period - Nyerere, in an address to the PNP's annual conference, was visibly elated at news arriving of the defeat of the

21 Apparently this was never granted in a truly formal sense but was implicit in statements and actions such as joint canvassing, and strategic withdrawal of WPJ candidates in certain constituencies in the 1980 elections.
22 This is a familiar term used by the WPJ's General Secretary and leadership during the 1970s and 1980.
U.S.A. in the Vietnam war.

U.S. fear manifested itself beyond words into at least apparent cases of destabilization. A repeat of the Chilean example was discerned, and former CIA agent Phillip Agee, on a visit to Jamaica in July 1976 identified agents at the local U.S. embassy, photographs of whom were subsequently published in a Jamaican newspaper. Bizarre cases of gun violence and arson with an anti-government tendency were committed with the incorporation into the political process of local criminal gangs mainly from the Kingston 'sub-proletariat'. Jamaica was listed as an unsafe destination for tourists and with general adverse propaganda vastly out of proportion with the reality and misrepresentation of the areas in which violence was concentrated. The tourist industry, then hovering around joint second spot as a foreign exchange earner began a long precipitate decline.

The flight of skills, and capital was as much related to violence as to what was perceived as likely to develop or had been intended or otherwise from the PNP's policies and rhetoric. Local violence of a political nature was nonetheless relatively contained especially from the establishment of the Gun Court and the associated legislation which laid down a mandatory life sentence for the illegal possession of a firearm. The Court and legislation were sparked by a brisk season of shootings when at least four fairly well known members of the professional/upper middle and 'lower-upper' strata, were gunned down in a matter of days in Kingston and Montego Bay - the capital and the second city - under fairly suspicious circumstances. It seems that the reason for the legislation would have been much broader. When violent crime, some politically motivated rose to serious proportions in 1975-76 after a lull, much of it took on a terrorist tendency with some apparent external ingredients. Approximately 150 old people were burnt to death at a Kingston alms house. Similarly gunmen launched a reign of terror in the ghetto areas of Kingston against laiown supporters of the PNP and party offices - with apparent response from pro-PNP gangs. The government, after lengthy consideration, called a state of emergency.

At the December, 1976 election the PNP obtained an overwhelming mandate to carry on its programmes and policies which the party and the regime were to fail to use to tip the balance decisively in favour of the lower strata and against capital. The party won 47 seats to the JLP's 13, with approximately 57 per cent of the votes.

On the election victory, the left in the party grew at least temporarily stronger with increased calls for radicalization in the PNP's programmes. The establishment of a Ministry of National Mobilization, headed by General Secretary D. K. Duncan was one of the measures which eventually arose in keeping with the party's 'Democratic Socialist' programme of linking the party with the cabinet and strengthening the exchange of communication in the 'politics of participation' (see, e.g., Manley, 1974). The Ministry met with opposition from various other ministers, especially those to the right who saw the tentacle entry as anathematic to whatever autonomy they exercised. In staffing and approach the Ministry clearly veered from the traditional role of a 'neutral' civil service implanted with Westminster style baggage - to one exhibiting a strong presence of party cadres. Left ascendency in the party also brought about defections of one nature or another from the regime, if not notably the party. In January 1976 Manley fired Allan Isaacs, the Minister of Mining.

An estimated $300 million was leaked out of the country illegally in about three years from 1974 (see, e.g., National Self-Reliance - Phase I, Jan. 1977, Manley's address to Parliament and nation).
and Natural Resources (see, e.g., Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, Feb. 1976), and Permanent Secretary Hardy-Henry was sent on extended leave for collaboration in the release of strategic financial information in the form of a Cabinet Submission which ended up in the major capitalist-owned Daily Gleaner of December 10. Isaacs, like Florizel Glasspole (who was by then Governor-General) - moderate members of the PNP from its formative years - was at the time expressing disenchantment at the trend in the regime. Another relative, Wills O. Isaacs had been posted to the comparatively harmless position of Ambassador to Canada. Yet another, William Isaacs was Minister of Labour, and later Minister of Industry and Commerce.

Among other notable developments were changes in the cabinet, and an expressed concern by Manley and some others that the party was not doing enough at the 'grassroots'. Ministers and other Members of Parliament were losing touch with the people, particularly in the rural areas. Indeed, some of the portfolio adjustments and changes in structure were directly associated with filling this assessed emerging void.

2.8 Further capitalist action/re-action

Local-regionally, capital and governments of a moderate orientation watched developments in Jamaica without excessive hostility in the earlier years of the regime, but were far from silent or inactive as the regime gradually crumbled to defeat in 1980. The Manley and Castro exchange of visits, as the Manley/Bishop exchanges, as well as the visits of Foreign Affairs Minister Dudley Thompson to Cuba, and various exchanges involving trade and Cuban assistance schemes were not overlooked. Considerable engagement took place between the capitalist class in the Anglophone Caribbean at the economic and political levels from various bases of association - notably CARICOM, joint membership in certain local-regional bodies of an economic and other nature, and from joint participation in various enterprises. This was against a background of the increasing economic/financial plight of the various classes and strata, socio-political unrest, and ideological uncertainty particularly in the light of the Left's resurgence and the real or implied consequences for capital.

Local capitalists - including recruits from the 'anti-imperialist bourgeoisie' - escalated their offensive against the regime when they increasingly found that revenue, mainly from bauxite, could not adequately cater to the needs of the working people (e.g., housing, education, Impact Programme jobs), and their wants within a background of notable socio-political turbulence. A somewhat pro-employer piece of legislation - the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act (LRIDA) - was viewed as 'toothless' by both unionized labour and the employers themselves as far as it affected each side and was otherwise received relatively calmly on most counts by capitalists. Major opposition from this class concerning the LRIDA arose, for instance, in so far as it stipulated an end to arbitrary dismissal of workers and union recognition.

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Table 2(vi): Industrial disputes involving stoppage action, 1976-1979

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Industries &amp; Services</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacture</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>9</td>
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The economic crisis became increasingly acute. Big capitalists threatened mass dismissals/redundancies and union demands for increased wages as well as improved working conditions were met with provocatively minute offers. Local capitalists such as those of the Seprod group (producers of key basic consumer items - bath soaps, detergent, cooking oil) which had roots in the landed stratum of the oligarchy frequently announced mechanical breakdowns and shortage of raw materials. Of course, some of these alleged constraints might well have been real but somewhat over-emphasized. The unapologetic and unbroken hostility of some sections of the capitalist class was increasingly evident in the second term. The only cement manufacturing plant in the country - owned by the wealthy Ashenheim family - was acquired by Government in a long process ending in 1980 in keeping with its commitment to secure public interest in a number of key concerns (see, e.g., Our performance since 1972 - People’s National Party). The process was partly encumbered by the collapse of a storage silo which blocked the only direct road into Kingston from the Norman Manley International Airport. Shortages led to frequent price increases. Appendix 5 illustrates the precarious gypsum production situation (which had negative consequences cement supply and price situation, and further - the buoyant construction industry); imports supplemented the local output.25

The tendency in industrial disputes for much of the period, as illustrated in Table 2(vi) showed ‘Mining’ (bauxite - almost wholly-owned by overseas investors; gypsum/cement) to have been at its highest point (among the selected years) in 1976 followed by a lull and a notable increase in 1979. The numbers of strikes for that sector seem small but so, relatively, have been the number of workers in a high income/high revenue sector with few linkages with the rest of the economy. Labour confronted capital on various fronts, with an increasing number of disputes resulting in stoppage action in ‘Commerce’, and a fairly constant level for ‘Manufacturing’ for 1976-1978. ‘All Industries & Services’ increased from 1976-1978 but declined in 1979 compared to 1977-78. Against this sort of background, for instance, a principal functionary of a high profile MNC subsidiary such as Colgate-Palmolive (of toiletries background) in dispute over wage increases is alleged to have intimated that its parent MNC’s revenue was larger than Jamaica’s budget, and that

25 The crisis might have been partly inspired by the growth in the construction industry itself. Manley (1982: 94) states: ‘This was a monopoly that had made huge profits for years for its majority shareholders consisting of a group of Jamaican businessmen. They had been clever enough to get into the deal at the start, 20 years before, when the monopoly franchise was granted. We wanted the cement factory because it was strategic to the entire construction industry, and in particular to the government’s mass housing effort. Here we were touching deeply vested interests. This was a sign that the government was willing to exercise judgements about the domain of the private sector by standards not determined by the private sector itself. Hence it became a battleground.’
the company would hardly bend to pressure.

Girvan et al. (1980: 119) noted that contracted wage increases 'averaged 50-60 per cent in late 1974 and through 1975, and began to exceed cost of living increases substantially. For those analysts 'government was tilting the balance between the public and private sector, and between labour and capital' (see also, Girvan & Bernal, 1981-82: 41). When coupled with the diminishing capacity of the state to offer handouts to even its own perceived capitalists, and other factors, we begin to see the inevitability of the cohesive response of capitalists, fundamentally united, in situations as those then developing under the Manley regime.

Manley explains (1982: 135) that the two main business associations at the time (mid-1970s) - the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association (JMA) and the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce (JCC) 'were against us.' As he stressed at the PNP's 38th Annual Conference, ...

A few months before the 1972 victory Manley had told the November, 1971 meeting of JMA Directors: '...I believe and expect that industrial development should be accomplished in the main by the method of skilled entrepreneurship and by the marshalling and harnessing of private capital...' (The Jamaican Manufacturer, 1971: 7). Later, from the Opposition side he wrote that the 'sad' thing about the JMA and JCC was that 'we did far more than talk' (1982: 135). We were 'clear that we would never expropriate property' and had 'a firm and unwavering commitment to the preservation and development of a strong private sector' (p.43), in our 'sincerity to the mixed
economy' (p. 135). Throughout this period (1975, mid-1970s) and later,

...we did much to help them to remain viable. A series of Ministers were appointed with
good credentials among the business community. Special loans were earmarked; an
export credit facility was introduced in April 1974; Bank of Jamaica loans were available
at special rates for exporters; the Jamaica Export Credit Insurance Corporation was
created to provide guarantees for exporters on as much as 85% of the value of their
exports...; credit facilities through the Jamaica Development Bank were expanded (1982:
135).

Manley, then, was somewhat surprised or disappointed that the big capitalists who opposed the
PNP's administration or undermined the economic programme were 'all-or-nothing' (see, e.g.;
p. 135) capitalists. In passing, it is useful to note that some of his 'Ministers with good credentials'
included William Issacs (mentioned in earlier discussion); H. Danny Williams, an early Minister of
Industry and Commerce; Eric Bell, Minister of Finance, and several others. Persons appointed to
head several government agencies such as the State Trading Corporation (STC) which sought to buy in
bulk and cushion the effects of high prices (of imported staples such as rice and flour) on the Jamaican
lower strata, and subsidiary, Jamaica Nutrition Holdings (JNH) in large were executives with
'positive' 'credentials'. O. K. Melhado, who served as one of the Prime Minister's advisers and STC
chief executive was well integrated into the local ruling/capitalist class (through kinship), and, at one
stage at least, in PNP. 26

In his 1982 work, Manley said little about the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica
(PSOJ), formed in 1976 and embracing the two major strata of the capitalist class and their various
unit associations. Perhaps he would have failed to anticipate that in the 1980s the PSOJ's offices
would not only be situated a quite considerable distance from any of Kingston's core commercial
complexes, but almost directly opposite to Jamaica House, Office of the Prime Minister. One thing
is clear in this example, the location of Jamaica House at its Hope Road site pre-dated the
establishment of the PSOJ offices nearby and the formation of the PSOJ itself. An undated PSOJ
brochure dominated by a front cover with the black, green and gold of the Jamaican national flag,
gave among the organization's objectives, to

...foster unity and cooperation within the private sector [and] lobby government for
policies and programmes favourable to the private sector (PSOJ brochure, A free
country needs free enterprise).

Physically, it's location might have enhanced it's capacity for attaining the second segment of this
task.

2.9 The IMF, its allies and beneficiaries

The IMF is an organization introduced after the Second World War to cater to the
requirements of the industrialized capitalist countries, and is noted for its inflexibility in dealing with
the particular needs of the economically poor countries. The independence and 'sovereign'
decision-making, such as might have existed, of a small nation with an even more 'opening'
economy is highly compromised in deals with the Fund. Nyerere stressed in 1985 that the Fund

26From 1989, under a new PNP administration, he was Chairman of a quasi-government body, the
Jamaica Tourist Board (see, e.g., The Weekly Gleaner, 10/10/89: 18), by which time tourism had
overtaken the bauxite industry as the largest foreign exchange earner.
could not "point to a "success" in Africa from its prescriptions." Further internationalism had been 'replaced by the naked use of power. Poor and desperate countries are told: agree with the IMF - or else...' (1986: 394) Pastor (1987) has offered an overview of the effects of IMF programmes in eighteen Latin American countries in the period 1965-81. The Fund's role is that of, providing a structure for the dual domination of periphery by core and labor by capital. The macroeconomic prescriptions of Fund programs lower labor's share and increase the surplus available to dominant classes, tilting the balance of power to those already in power (1987: 259). [Emphasis original]

The Manley Government, as did even the comparatively well treated successor JLP Government are on record as having challenged the IMF's resolute inflexibility. In her book, The Debt Trap, Payer stresses, however, that the 'real villain of the piece' is not the Fund 'though it is the agent of the villains.' The villains are the MNCs and capitalist governments 'which are the natural enemies of Third World independence and can usually mobilize resources to crush it' (see, 1974: xii-xiii).

The political dimension of the Fund's role has not only been that of a banker protecting the interests of depositors and clients against political instability and uncertainty but also that of a banker and capitalist organization seeking to preserve arrangements favourable to capitalism. The IMF became keenly interested in the direction of the Jamaican economy and the PNP government's policies in 1974. Girvan and his colleagues summarize the concern as based on three headings. These were excessive real wages, excessive global demand, and excessive intervention into 'the market' (1980: 119). Recognizing the political difficulty of imposing wage restraints in the conditions of 1976, the Fund suggested demand management, particularly fiscal restraint. Both measures, the government found, were politically unpalatable. The government was able to stave off the Fund's incursions for a time as foreign exchange reserves were still positive in 1974-75, and by imposing certain measures such as freezing salaries above $16,000 to reduce income inequalities and applying limited tax initiatives.

By late 1976, with the Fund unhappy and the economic situation worsening, Jamaica obtained $13.5 million under the Compensatory Financing Facility to cope with export shortfalls, but major industrial countries were dissatisfied with the government's attempt to stand against the IMF's recommendations. Manley told the nation on January 5, 1977 in a strong stance that,

...this government, on behalf of our people will not accept anybody anywhere in the world telling us what to do in our country. We are the masters in our house and in our house there shall be no other master but ourselves. Above all, we are not for sale (cited, e.g., in Girvan et al, 1980: 122).

The outstanding features of the package were a large devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, a wage freeze, and action to balance the budget. Naturally, for the Fund, workers were to be restrained so that the capitalist class could establish beyond question its clear ascendancy. Nevertheless, some capitalists also felt the pressure, although less so than the poor.

The government announced its own measures in which it ruled out devaluation, increased gasoline sales tax sharply and hence the price of petrol to consumers, imposed a six-month pay moratorium, rationing of foreign exchange to essential payments only and strict import licensing. Additionally, there were to be further acquisitions in commercial banking (e.g., the National
Commercial Bank (NCB) and cement (above), as well as the introduction of an Emergency Production Plan aimed at mobilizing domestic agriculture, industry, bauxite, and tourism. Elements of this package were well within what the IMF and capital would have desired but some clearly portended hostility from the capitalists - indeed, recall the fact of the capitalist strike, elements of which were referred to above. They would not have been enamoured by the statement: 'The Government will take over a number of businesses to gain effective control over important sectors of the economy' (API/Manley to Parliament, 19/1/77).

Efforts to obtain finance on the scale required, resulted in visits by Manley to Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela, and by Foreign Affairs Minister P. J. Patterson and Party General Secretary D. K. Duncan to Cuba. This failed to realize anything approaching the US$250 million approximately required to fill the external financing gap. A change in the U.S. administration to a somewhat liberal Carter leadership promised the resumption of financial assistance, particularly if Jamaica pursued the IMF's line more closely following the dearth of such assistance in 1975/76. The regime was drawn into an IMF path by factors such as those; the harsh realities of threats from capitalists to lay off large numbers of workers; some support from Prime Ministers Callaghan of Britain and Trudeau of Canada; and the temporary reduction in IMF bargaining strength based on the failure of many of its programmes for the Third World around that time.

A two-year agreement signed in 1977 was fairly satisfactory to both sides. Failure of one of the performance tests - the net domestic assets level of the Bank of Jamaica by 2.6 per cent of the J$355 million had negative implications for obtaining resources from agencies such as the World Bank and the international banking system. The Prime Minister's friends in Britain, Canada and the USA deserted. A loan from Trinidad was refused. Manley in March, 1978 called for the resignation of Finance Minister David Coore - also Deputy Prime Minister and Party Chairman - who was associated with the failure (see Manley, 1982: 159) and transferred from another portfolio, party right-winger Eric Bell who had 'good credentials' with the private sector and who would be more acceptable to the IMF. An extended three-year arrangement for the equivalent of SDR 200 million was agreed upon in 1978 (IMF Annual Report: 66). The Fund was relatively happy with the 1978 programme which had brought down price inflation, taken 'aggregate domestic demand...into better balance with supply', and so on:

...a more favorable setting for production and investment has been created as Jamaica's international competitiveness was restored by depreciating the currency and holding wage increases within narrow limits. However, the productive sectors responded relatively weakly to the Government's policies. Consequently, real GDP stagnated, while unemployment rose (IMF Survey, June 18, 1979: 193).

In spite of the efforts of the regime to 'bend over backward' to the local capitalist class and their allies, in terms of facilities - if not rhetoric - the constraints imposed by the prevailing crisis, the nature of the political and social currents, and the weakening commitment to resist as well as the specific constraints on capital (which in turn were the sources of pressures on the government), the regime's embrace of the IMF had become simply the next stage. The working class and the lower strata as a whole, not only suffered as a result of the withdrawal of subsidies from basic goods and

27 For a general impression of GDP, see Appendix 6 (a reading of which should be assisted by referring to Appendix 2/exchange rates) which points to the high status of manufacturing and of the wholesale and retail sectors to GDP.
inflationary pressure but also from limited wage increases and contraction of the number of jobs even at the hands of defecting members of a pro-PNP section of local capital as well as the government under IMF 'manners' (discipline, restrictions), within the prevailing capitalist crisis.

Girvan (1980) saw the 1978 package as a crushing one in which the private sector was given the leading role in economic recovery. In terms of the 'shock treatment' which was alleged to be necessary for recovery of its credibility with international banks, Girvan and his associates (1980) calculated that when put together with the projected package of $180 million in new taxes, and price liberalization to guarantee a 20 per cent rate of return on capital to the private sector, the projected inflation rate over the 12-month period would have been 40 per cent. The operation of the State Trading Corporation (STC), for instance, was restricted to existing activities. Inspection activities by the Prices Commission and trained auxiliaries, which had helped to ensure somewhat tolerable prices for basic commodities in particular were reduced. For Girvan et al, the capitulation to the IMF was demonstrated in the fact that the macroeconomic targets and policies in the Five-Year Development Plan 1978-82 were principally a restatement of the IMF agreement, even though the social policies in the Plan retained the concerns of Democratic Socialism.

The new agreement of 1979 was aimed at supporting the Government's economic programme for 1979-80 - which was geared towards 'a recovery of production and further reduction in inflation' (IMF Survey).

The rest is for the economist's more detailed examination. For the discussion here it is mainly important to note that this was the beginning of the high plateau of degeneration of the regime, before the precipitous demise at the polls. Talks with the Fund were broken off. Cuts in public expenditure under the Fund had not only virtually erased the Impact Employment Programme under which thousands of formerly unemployed people earned a small wage for doing various unskilled jobs (some trained in later stages); subsidies on basic food supplies were drastically lowered in some cases, and the activities of the State Trading Corporation further restricted, among several areas of cutback. Up to February-March 1980 the PNP still hoped for an agreement with the IMF. While also considering the 'Non-IMF path', in December (1979) the regime had reduced the number of cabinet members from 21 to 14 to lower administrative costs; in January, it announced large increases in the prices of locally consumed sugar and petroleum products; the private sector was invited to lease some government-owned hotels, and to be involved in export crop production on government-owned land.

The Fund's medicine threatened to come in even heavier dosages. One of the rumoured 'tablets' which was never 'properly' announced was the demand that approximately 11,000 public sector workers should be made redundant. Politically, the regime could not withstand the repercussions of such a move; when added to other proposals plus the PNP's already deficit position in the electorate's goodwill, the much lamented political and social situation of 1980 would arguably have been dramatically escalated. A Special Delegates Conference on the Economy, and an appointed Economic Affairs Commission examined an 'alternative path', and eventually near the end of March the decision to break with the Fund was taken and announced. A new Finance Minister, Hugh Small from the party’s left-wing replaced Bell (see Jamaica Hansard, 1980: 31 re September letter of resignation). Assessing the 1970s PNP regime, Girvan is probably right in stating later that '...it never developed a coherent strategy for the growth and development of the economy to correspond to
its social and political objectives' (1985: 8).

2.10 Political and social crisis of the IMF years

The IMF’s presence in the management of the economy was a definite reflection of the larger world economic crisis and the specific limitations of a small (especially then) non-oil producing economy; and the political and social limitations under ‘Democratic Socialism’. Bernal concluded:

IMF programs of balance of payments have a serious impact on the class structure and class struggle...The IMF programs implemented in Jamaica during this time were a dominant factor in the dismembering of the class alliance that supported Michael Manley and the People’s National Party (1984: 79).

The ideological confrontation within the party which frequently reared it head during the IMF years had led to the resignation of Party Secretary D. K. Duncan, and his reinstatement in 1979 - around the time that the party belatedly introduced a refinement of its approach in Principles and Objectives - People’s National Party in which it theoretically allowed for the ascendancy of the working people over capitalists. The Opposition JLP, and the capitalist class in the second term, displaying a more looming and authoritative presence as the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) stepped up its allegations of mismanagement and its calls for the government’s resignation became ever more resonant.28

At this juncture then PNP meandered once more to the left. In 1979 Manley had been critical of IMF measures at the Inter-American Development Bank’s meeting in Jamaica and was strident on his government’s foreign policy stance at the Non-Aligned meeting in Havana. The Government’s recognition of the PRG in Grenada and the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua, Manley’s visit to Moscow, as well as the call for expulsion of Cuban Ambassador Estrada (because of his critical comments about the Gleaner and the JLP), were among factors which variably heightened the ideological struggle. Stone found that most people supported the recognition of Grenada based mainly on knowledge of the recklessness of the Gairy dictatorship (1982: 48). This, however, must be put into perspective. A low knowledge base was associated with Stone’s findings. For example, the percentage of support for recognition was only 36.9, and those opposed 10.6%. ‘No views’ accounted for 6.3% and ‘No knowledge of developments in Grenada’, 46.2%. We should therefore not assume too much. More decisive, according to what the poll suggests, was the concern over Cuba’s involvement in Jamaican politics. According to Stone, following ‘the Estrada affair and the familiar JLP-inspired build-up of anti-Cuban and anti-communist sentiment throughout the country, the Nov.-Dec. poll found that most citizens in both the Corporate Area and in other parishes agreed with the JLP’s view that Cubans were too involved in Jamaican politics.’ Sharing this view were JLP supporters, independents, PNP defectors and some PNP supporters, while those opposed were all PNP supporters. A total of 58.3% in the Corporate Area29 and 56.8% in Other Parishes responded

28 Patriotic capitalist Carlton Alexander (deceased, 1989) led the charge from the helm of the PSOJ of which he started out as Chairman around the time of its official launch (1/3/76). Avis Henriques (from the ‘21 families’), a Board member of the group of companies (Grace Kennedy Ltd.) of which Alexander was the long-standing executive director, operated from the helm of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce (JCC) which we encountered earlier.

29 The Kingston and lower St. Andrew conurbation - or Greater Kingston.
that there was too much involvement (see Stone, 1982: 48-49).

With the internal pressure (economy, increasing violence with over 600 killed by the gun from January to October, 1980) and the external pressure (particularly from the U.S.), and regionally from Anglophone Caribbean countries, all Jamaica’s classes seemed ready in 1980 to give the JLP Opposition another reign of two terms.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the basis of prior economic, political and social arrangements within the framework of a general political economy, tracing some of the central features and institutional framework of modern Jamaica with especial reference to the major upheavals of the 1930s-1940s and their aftermath. That period of upheaval helped to shape class configuration, alignment and struggle within the economic and political realm around the period which was itself affected by global processes such as repercussions of the world capitalist economic crisis which prevailed between the two World Wars, the Russian Revolution, and so on.

The discussion observed the path taken by owning elements/the local oligarchy (or sections therein) when they failed in direct attempt to gain political power - as Munroe (1972) put it - to counteract the PNP (which had declared itself socialist) ideologically. Observers suggest that the JLP was the recipient of most of the members of the oligarchy, and this has been borne out by the evidence of the later era in the 1970s, but - as also illustrated - some supported or were incorporated into the PNP, at least in its more moderate form and as a major dispenser of patronage in the 'better' years of the 1970s.

Much of the material informed us of a considerable and long-standing undercurrent of hostility to communism/socialism, and this manifested itself in several ways. It was also noted that alliances opposed to political and social change went beyond ‘capitalist exploiters’ sometimes to incorporate leadership in the political sphere, and other support which feared a leftward tendency.

We entered the 1970s with a political economy suggesting very wide disparities in income and quality of life between capital and labour, the poor and the wealthy, with a somewhat repressive and neo-colonial state machinery and party (JLP) - factors which served to heighten the contradictions in the society and clear the path for a revamped and perceptibly progressive and people-oriented democratic (primarily in the liberal sense) management under the PNP. The PNP itself soon began a significant programme of political and social engineering, at the level of party and beyond, workers participation in industry, wage increases for lowly-paid and middle-income groups and professionals, land reform, acquiring key sectors of the economy, and so on. Vested capitalist interests were affected by some of these measures, as they were with the formal introduction and implementation of ‘Democratic Socialism’ particularly as it embraced the acquisition of property (e.g., cement co.) and ideological implications perceived as aberrant to dominant prevailing local/local-regional tendencies. The imposition of the bauxite levy which was inspired by the oil-led world economic crisis, interrelated problems in the local economy and the associated need to sustain reforms, operated in the interest of the capitalist class but also that of middle income and poorer strata. On the other hand, it contributed to alienating foreign capital. Eventually too, the revenue so derived was insufficient to raise the economy from the doldrums. Some social programmes had to be
abandoned and a serious shortage of foreign exchange and general economic problems together with fear of 'Democratic Socialist' ideological tendency helped to bring an end to the PNP regime.

The regime's defeat and the consequent truncation of its political and social change programme - taken broadly - which were inconsistently maintained, were undermined primarily by contradictions internal to the economy and the polity, but external factors of an extra-regional parentage were also notable. Pro-capitalist and anti-worker IMF packages, and the alienation of foreign capital resulting from the bauxite impasse, ideological stance, and other considerations. In spite of all this, Lewin views Manley's 'Jamaicanization program' as a feeble attempt to wrest control of foreign enterprises and place them in the hands of wealthy nationals' (1981-1982: 57) and the PNP's leader himself in outlining the course to be charted (1974: 118-122) and on reflection (1982) also offers much support in informing us how the regime endeavoured to 'bend over backwards' to the local oligarchy through a 'mixed' economy. As we have seen, the PNP shifted to the left again in 1979, but as some analysts rightfully state, this offered 'too little' and was 'too late'. The most significant statement in its Principles and Objectives - released 1979 - for change was:

At all times, every decision which is taken and every programme implemented, must ensure that the interests of the working people predominate (1979: 15).

The political configuration at Government and party levels seemed to have limited what could be achieved through the 'multi-class alliance'. Some observers have argued that the left could have broken away after 1976 to form a viable third party alternative (e.g., Marable, 1987) and also that the PNP itself could have - had it acted promptly after the 1976 general election - followed a more significant change programme. The mass support in the election tends to support that view. The PNP seems, nevertheless, to have increasingly lost its support from around 1974 beginning with middle class professional elements, and dubious sections of the capitalist class with the declaration of its 'Democratic Socialist' proposals. The JLP began stepping up its campaign with accusations of mismanagement, and the historic communist 'smear' (clearly misplaced); the IMF entered the scene to protect the interest of capital; and U.S. and Western propaganda ensured that receipts and jobs from tourism fell; violence escalated. Stone, in a recent article (1989) points to the PNP's loss of its lead in all major strata by 1980.^^

The WPJ's Leader, Trevor Munroe has itemized some of the factors which would determine the future of the WPJ and that of like parties in Jamaican and regional politics in the light of a retreating Left and a prevailing view that association with the WPJ itself had contributed to the PNP's loss in 1980. For him, ultimately, this future would depend on 'objective conditions and circumstances independent of the will of leaders or even members' (1987: 31). This is not helped by Stone June, 1980 poll findings that 'as much as 60 per cent of the Jamaican electorate feared communism and communists, and the historic communist smear' (clearly misplaced); the IMF entered the scene to protect the interest of capital; and U.S. and Western propaganda ensured that receipts and jobs from tourism fell; violence escalated. Stone, in a recent article (1989) points to the PNP's loss of its lead in all major strata by 1980.^^

30 By 1986, he states, it had regained all but business and higher professionals.

31 Imminent dissolution was followed by the reality in the 1990s against the background of Soviet collapse and the loss of key members and supporters in the party's leadership and wider structure (see, e.g., Caribbean Contact, Dec. 1988: 14). The indication is dissolution came, for instance, in a Weekly Gleaner report, noting: "If members and supporters of the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ) accept the recommendation of the General Secretary Dr. Trevor Munroe, the WPJ could be dissolved by the end of February or early March 1992" (Weekly Gleaner, 7/1/92: 13).

Bernal states (1986: 621-622) that the most important problem in developing relations with socialist countries was 'the failure to create a dominant state sector...Planning was never implemented, even though it was advocated (see also, Davies, 1984a: 41). Among six principal factors, Bernal (himself a former National Planning Agency technocrat) explained that limited progress in expanding economic relations was based on suspicion and anti-communist hostility.

The possibility of transformation in Jamaica in the post-1980 period has continued to be compounded by several factors. The JLP completed its two terms in February, 1989 when it was resoundingly defeated at the general election by the PNP which had virtually abandoned all it stood for in the 1970s. A 1987 interview of Manley by the Editor of the Gleaner (Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, 6/10/87) illustrates the nature of some aspects of the PNP's retreat:

...in retrospect, we realise that things that we did with Cuba - particularly the school building programme which meant that there were several hundred Cubans in Jamaica - were misinterpreted by the people and was a great source of tension in the national political situation. It caused unnecessary misunderstanding and hostility in Washington... (6/10/87: 13 - note also Express, 29/8/87: 1; The Weekend Star, 3/6/89: 9; RIR 'Exposure', 19/6/88; Channel 4 News + other TV reports [Britain], 2/89; The Voice [Britain], 1/8/89: 9; Girvan, 1985: 10). [Emphasis added]

The Party's Policy Document No.1, released in 1988 implied the imminent improved political climate for capital:

It is important to remove at the outset any lingering perception of an adversarial relationship between the Public and Private Sectors. This requires a harmonization of objectives and specific policies, clear guidelines [demarcating] the roles and responsibilities of each sector and a forum for discussing and resolving any differences or misunderstandings as soon as they occur (1988: 23).

In the run-up to the 1989 general election Manley stressed that he had always believed in the free market and that 'the story would begin to unfold' on his visit to Washington which would be his first overseas destination after the election (Channel 4 News [Britain], 2/9/89: 7 p.m.). In 1990 and 1991, the PNP’s programme of privatization and other measures appeared to be continuing with even more zest than the JLP’s had. JLP Party Chairman Bruce Golding explained, perhaps with some merit, that ‘while both parties were agreed on a market economy’, the leadership of the PNP reflected a lack of economic management (Weekly Gleaner, 7/4/92: 10). This assumption is partly based on the fact that the PNP has become engaged in a contest with the JLP in precincts which the latter has had either real or perceived control. Michael Manley himself retired early in 1992 as Prime Minister and MP. U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker wrote of Manley as a leader of ‘unusual stature and accomplishment’ who had given ‘inestimable help’ to the ‘cause of freedom and justice thoughout the hemisphere.’ The letter was said to have been ‘conveyed’ to Manley on his arrival in Washington on March 24. On the visit, he was hosted at a private dinner by President Bush (Weekly Gleaner, 14/4/92: 13).

Local capitalists and their allies, but not the poor had apparently won the day.

Admirably, both the PNP and JLP leaders - towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s - were close on the question of reducing politically motivated crime (even to the extent of signing an agreement), a factor which could help to politically unite the Jamaican poor though the
leaders' primary and perhaps only objective was to deal with violence.

Jamaica's economy hops from crisis to crisis within its range of chronic problems. Politically, the exact nature and definition of the course from the contours of the 1980s/early 1990s juncture has to be left largely to conjecture. The details of the future are difficult to predict (and that is not the purpose of this study), especially in the era of capitalist ascendancy (in spite of recurrent crises), globalization of the market, fragmentation of Left/progressive tendencies locally, regionally and globally, and a period in which new configurations and alliances are being shaped - not necessarily predominantly along class lines.
CHAPTER THREE

GRENADA: SOCIAL PROCESS AND THE 1979 INSURRECTION

3.1 Introduction

The four-and-a-half year-old Grenada revolution was dramatically terminated in October, 1983 by a U.S.A.-led invasion force, assisted by recruits from Caribbean nations with commitment rather than just as governments sympathetic to the American effort. The invasion was the culmination of years of counter-revolutionary activity involving notably the local capitalist class, and local-regional capital; the U.S. administration and its allies; but was also brought on indirectly by factors affecting small economies such as Grenada, and errors in the political sphere at party level and in terms of programme implementation. The Caribbean mini-state of some one hundred thousand people had become formally independent of Britain in 1974 and in March, 1979 a relatively peaceful insurrection (in the sense that only three people died) marked the most profound transformatory political and social action of the Anglophone Caribbean of the late twentieth century.1

Under the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), headed by Maurice Bishop, the revolution replaced the corrupt Eric Gairy-guided dictatorial regime. Gairy himself had dominated the Grenadian political scene from the start of the 1950s. He and his party, Grenada United Labour Party (GULP), particularly in the 1970s, had kept internal political opposition ruthlessly in check by careful manipulation and gave enough credence to the view that the chance of removing his administration by the parliamentary route was rather remote. That position was not lost on the revolutionary forces of March, 1979, nor on the large majority of Grenadians and particularly the lower strata, who evidently gave the insurrection an overwhelming seal of approval.

A protracted U.S. occupation, a provisional administration, and (by the end of 1984) a broad-based right-tilting New National Party (NNP) government were notable political features in the immediate post-revolutionary period. The NNP was headed by one of the father figures of Grenadian politics, Herbert Blaize - by 'any standard...conservative' (Financial Times, 11/12/86) - and sustained under U.S. tutelage.

Prominent among other consequences was the U.S.-managed trial and conviction on murder charges of former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and thirteen others of the People's Revolutionary Government for the killing of former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, some cabinet colleagues and civilians (see various newspaper reports, and, e.g., Thorndyke, 1987). In 1991 their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after public appeals.

In the general election held in March 1990, a new party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) won seven of the fifteen seats and led a coalition subsequently. High on the agenda

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1 The Muslim-inspired mid-1990 disturbance while echoing some of the serious economic and social problems and the popular frustrations of post-oil boom Trinidad and Tobago fell far short of having mass support.
around this time too (from 1991 especially) after the suspicion among island governments during the revolutionary period and subsequent caution was a renewed effort among the small Eastern Caribbean states to fashion a sort of federal political unity.

Pivotal, the area of concern here is with the onset of the revolution, or, in other words the insurrection, but also the circumstances within which it materialized and the factors which undermined its progress, and to a much lesser extent the period of the revolution. The chapter is - as in the case of the previous chapter on Jamaica - profoundly concerned with the constraints on capitalists, their response, and to some extent the state and the political arena, both in Grenada and regionally. It is indeed, unavoidably and importantly involved with other strata and classes, and overall with the NJM’s early programme. In other words, and as implied above, the chapter is particularly concerned with the place of local capitalists or the local oligarchy, but also to some extent, other classes in Grenada’s political and broader social process over the years years until the start of the Revolution. It is also interested in the implications for these groups - and their local-regional counterparts - of the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship even though such implications will not be gone into in detail.

Impending measures or those imposed by a regime committed to fairly radical political and social change would be perceived as ominous for large commercial and industrial interests (including those with media holdings). The perceived conflict of interest and its reality tended to create a context in which capitalists and their allies saw the new arrangement as threatening. The situation was compounded by prevailing economic conditions, the regional political and social context, and the fact that the PRG was not opposed to capital, informed as it was by Marxism-Leninism which stipulate a national-democratic stage in the revolutionary process, which embracing the utility of a broad political alliance of progressive forces.

The profound limitations of an economic, social and political nature which afflicted Grenada and which the new regime encountered were wide ranging. The general capitalist economic crisis and the attendant limitations on a small nation coupled with an alliance with local capital and the ruling class for whom change was hardly more than a little tidying up of the Gairy legacy implanted marked hindrances and contradictions in the path of serious transformation. Together with the historical grounding in Westminster-style parliamentary democracy and its assumed immutability and ‘rightness’, the ruling class in particular expunged the ideology of fear of ‘the Cuban presence’, ‘the Soviet threat’, and perceptions of freedom and democracy which buttressed that fear. A righthand grind of the politico-ideological spectrum under Cold War Ramboesque leadership, emphasized under the Reagan presidency with cohorts (particularly Thatcherite Britain) did not make for an overly cordial reception in 1979. Moreover, Caribbean capitalists and the U.S. administration and transnational capital were already engrossed in the Cuban process nearby and with Jamaica under ‘Democratic Socialism’. The examination here will help to clear the path for the more central aspects of the study - the communications industry and the press in particular.

The end of revolution and post-revolution Grenadian situation, taken together, have attracted considerable attention among scholars. Some studies have focused particularly on the imperialist intervention (e.g., Searle, 1983). Among others, Marable (1987), for instance, focused on the basis of the immediate pre-invasion rift in the party. Indeed, it is the invasion which has stimulated, by far, the major attention as an event and as a process, rather than the insurrection.
Of course, the two are inevitably closely linked, even though for most detailed commentaries or worthwhile academic works the insurrection has tended to be tacked on - sometimes, it seems - merely as a secondary analytical reference point. Not surprisingly too the studies have been political science-centred. The present study, of course, centralizes the role of the press. As the setting from which to launch our examination, the concern is broadly with the insurrection and what the NJM stood for in manifesto terms; and to a great extent, with the social relations of Grenada on a historical basis up to the insurrection. Again, the chapter is keenly concerned with the constraints upon and actions of that prime driving force - even in backward capitalism - the capitalists and how they were catered for within the system up to the time of the insurrection. As in the case of the wider Anglophone Caribbean, and of Jamaica, it addresses the historical processes which have shaped social relations in Grenada and perhaps provide indicators regarding why significant efforts at political and social change would tend to be resisted. In part, it is sympathetic to some aspects of the approach of studies such as that of Jacobs and Jacobs (1980).

Jacobs and Jacobs are critical of those who deny the applicability of Marxist analysis to Grenada and who in particular argue that 'Grenada's economy is underdeveloped and dependent and as such it cannot be referred to as capitalist.' For them:

...those who doubt the reality of a capitalist economy in Grenada because that economy is underdeveloped, seem to forget that the main cause of that underdevelopment can be traced to the very existence of capitalism within Grenada, and in particular the plantation nature of the economy (1980: 28).

They explain further that under the long existence of capitalism in the Caribbean, 'agriculturally-based, plantation-dominated economy led to the emergence of several social strata within the two principal classes, and further each of these strata spawned several groups of allies.' All these were based on 'the relationship to the principal means of production - the land.' They identified with the capitalist class a 'foreign based ownership group - the foreign bourgeoisie', a 'local based ownership group - the local bourgeoisie', and a 'comprador sector' including local and foreign groups. Furthermore, aligned to these were 'large sections of the professional strata' such as, firstly, 'medical doctors, lawyers, higher levels of the civil (the bureaucratic bourgeoisie), higher levels of the teaching and other intellectual professions, and commercial managers (the managerial class). Secondly, there was that 'section of the petty bourgeoisie' which 'developed a capacity to generate a surplus e.g. "successful" shop owners and retailers, small business and more prosperous peasants. The third section was the 'political directorate operating the capitalist political economy' (see 1980: 29). These observers not only seem to be on target in most respects but their analysis fits the development of the social relations for the Anglophone Caribbean as a whole, and to some extent, the larger Caribbean.

The Gairy era and the rise of the NJM present an almost natural starting point which will provide an avenue into a discussion of the extent to which the Movement attained political power. The actual course of the revolutionary process beyond the first week after the insurrection as the core concern is with political economy up to the time of the insurrection itself which will help to explain the particular nature of the resistance to change processes of the sort which are the cornerstone of this study.
3.2 Settlement and decolonization

Grenada became a French colony in 1654. Under France, small and middle level farmers cultivated cacao, cotton and coffee but only a small quantity of sugar (see, e.g., Sherlock, 1966: 48). Britain took the colony from France during the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and retained it under the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the war. Sugar production and the number of African slaves increased as Grenada became a centre for the trade in slaves who were the major source of the labour involved in accumulation under the system in the Caribbean.

France regained Grenada in 1779 but Britain retrieved it at the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The general atmosphere was also circumscribed by periodic disturbances or bouts of instability. Increased repression under the English united broad sections of the Grenadian population (with the added stimulus of the French Revolution, and victory by slaves in Saint-Domingue) led to Fedon’s uprising (or, for some - revolution) in the mid-1790s. Julien Fedon was ‘a member of the Grenadian propertied colored class. Born of a slave mother and a French father, Fedon had inherited his father’s estate...’ (EPICA, 1982: 18). The uprising was crushed after a year and a half of vigorous battle involving large numbers of dead, extensive damage to property, and the inevitable executions, and also deportations (see p. 19).

No uprising on the scale of Fedon’s Rebellion would have been possible without the active participation of the slaves. The slaves were not concerned with the political rights of free men, (nor as some writers seem to believe) with the advantages of French culture over British. The fundamental injustices of the slave system itself were the underlying cause of the armed struggle which began in 1795 (1982: 18).

Modern Grenada’s class structure and capitalist orientation as well as the political culture drew heavily from the post-1838 (emancipation from slavery came in 1838) period. Grenada, like Jamaica, but unlike Barbados, for instance, presented possibilities for ex-slaves to leave plantation life after emancipation, and thus a considerable peasantry was fostered (see, e.g., Lawrence, 1971) as well as the beginnings of a working class within largely agrarian relations and nascent agro-commercial capitalism. It is partly against this background and the likes of the Fedon Rebellion as well as the 1979 insurrection and the Revolution which will be discussed later, that Edward Brathwaite referred to Grenada’s orientation in comparison to Barbados:

Grenada, as a mountainous island, although it may be larger in terms of surface area, its mountainous areas tend to have valleys which throw people into themselves rather than out of themselves...[W]hat Grenada has as an advantage, in relation to growing up in the twenty-first century, is a tradition more in connection with Jamaica than Barbados - the tradition of Maroonage, the Maroons. These mountains and this inward-lookingness at the same time nurture self reliance and an alternative to imperial and metropolitan cultures, which is a rare commodity (Interview/Searle, 1981: 393). [Emphasis original]

Beckford (1980: 5) in an admittedly crude economic typology placed Grenada alongside St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica as ‘peasant export’ economies. Those who became primarily small farmers/peasants derived some income from subsistence plots which was supplemented by wages from estates and in other facets of employment in a ‘semi-proletarian’/rural worker status. These, for the most part, and immigrant labour to a much smaller extent, accounted for the working

2 Particularly free blacks, and ‘coloureds’ [of mixed descent], and members of the slave population which accounted for the overwhelming proportion of the Island’s people.
class (urban and rural, and the peasantry in later years). The nature of this arrangement required that any administration committed to change in social relations would have to regard agrarian reform as a central issue.

The Crown Colony system had marked the beginning of the gradual decolonization process in the British Caribbean. Under this system, introduced in most colonies during the second half of the nineteenth century (Grenada, in 1877), the planter-dominated local assembly was replaced with more direct control by the Colonial Office through its appointed Island Governor. A Legislative and an Executive Council served as buttresses for the Governor, and as nominated councils they were allegedly defenders of popular interests in Grenada. In fact, locally planter class interests were paramount although within the sway of the imperial government in Britain. However, it would be grossly misleading to suggest (despite the decline of the sugar economy and less deference to the planter class in London’s salons) that the situation lacked a fluctuating dynamic of acquiescence, confrontation and challenge between the imperial ruling core and the Grenadian planter/owning core, on the one hand, and on an intra-strata basis in Grenada, on the other. In other words, several contradictions presented themselves.

The arrangement continued into the twentieth century to coincide with the attempts to establish a West Indies political federation. Grenada played a leading role in early twentieth century demands for political reform in the British-held territories, particularly through the efforts of T. A. Marryshow, a journalist. With colleagues, Marryshow started the West Indian newspaper in 1915 and, two years later, the Representative Government Association (which acted as a pressure group). Through these channels Britain was persuaded to reintroduce a local assembly. Marryshow was influenced by the British Labour Party while in England and he started the Grenada Workingmen and Women Association, later renamed the Grenada Labour Party (GLP). Like its predecessor, the GLP receded into political and public insignificance by the late 1930s due to lack of support. However, as reiterated by EPICA:

The first challenge to the Crown/plantocracy alliance came in the early 20th century from the emerging Grenadian middle class. The new middle class consisted of native-born Grenadians, mostly colored but with a sprinkling of blacks and whites, and was concentrated in the two largest towns St. George’s and Gouyave. Like the old elite, this new class possessed income, property, education, and professional skills. In fact, many middle-class Grenadians were better educated than the planters, and they felt acutely the irony of their exclusion from the colony’s political life (1982: 26).

Several factors contributed to the failure of a working class movement to develop. Very basic are small size and the opportunities for own account subsistence which the country presented. Even during the early decades of the century when there were considerable numbers of dock workers the base was largely absent because of other factors. These included lack of education and the perceived risks of public association/assembly which made the labour force reluctant to engage in opposition.

3 For example, some arose in relation to those elements who wished to retain closer ties with Britain in the interest of security, on the one hand, and those who preferred at least the commercial/economic freedom to trade with whatever market would pay the best price for sugar and other produce, or preferred the best of both worlds, on the other. The circumstances which created such a specific crisis rested partly on factors over which they had no control and, to notable extent, on their own actions.
3.3 Class and economy under the Gairy dictatorship

As Singham noted, with some relevance, ‘in all strata the Grenadian political culture is marked by its marginality: to Trinidad, to Great Britain, to Latin America, to the West Indies - all the broader units with which its members are partially involved’ (1968: 95). It is useful to bear these in mind as we approach that period - at the start of the 1950s and most specifically, the 1958 constitutional crisis - through which Grenada’s political and broader social fabric in the last years of formal colonialism and the early years of nationhood would be markedly conditioned.

Many Grenadians had journeyed to work, for instance, in the oilfields of Trinidad and the Dutch trans-shipment islands of Aruba/Curacao. Uriah ‘Buzz’ Butler emerged from this milieu to unionize Trinidad’s oil workers, thereby setting the stage for the massive strikes of 1937 and acceleration of the anti-colonial struggle in the Caribbean. These developments seemed to have reached their highest point in the labour/peasant revolts in Jamaica in 1938 which were examined in the previous chapter. It is somewhat ironic, bearing in mind the qualitative political advance of 1979, that in spite of the unrest in various countries (to quote from Brizan):

the Grenadian worker neither clenched a fist, brandished a cutlass nor threw a stone. Contradictions existed and conditions were ripe for the working class to assert itself but a catalyst was lacking - a leadership to weld the various elements into a coherent whole...

(1984: 257)

The EPICA Task Force in a background to its account of the Revolution restated that ‘Marryshow’s inability to organize the Grenadian workers and peasants into a strong political force - at a time when working class militancy was mounting all over the Caribbean - reflected inconsistencies in the middle class approach to change.’ According to this source the main problem was that Marryshow never attempted to transform the Workingmen’s Association into a genuine trade union despite 1933 legislation approving trade unionism in Grenada. ‘Trade unionism was emerging as the route to popular power in almost all the other [countries of the] West Indies, yet Marryshow held to the belief that cooperation - not conflict - between labor and employers was the key to betterment for the working class.’ Additionally, middle-class politicians were reticent about demanding ‘universal franchise which would have enabled even the poorest Grenadians to go to the polls’ (1982: 29).

It is necessary to be cognizant of the element of deliberate action or inaction. However, any assessment of what could be done must note the institutional and ideological bind within the social relations out of which the likes of Marryshow and his colleagues staggered and more specifically the serious contradictions of middle class existence in a society deeply grooved along class/strata, and ethnic lines.

Deported for union agitation from the nearby Dutch island of Aruba where he had worked in oil refineries, and back in Grenada, charismatic ex-schoolteacher, Eric Gairy set out to recruit the depressed plantation workers and peasants. The basis of his subsequent union and political support base can be partly seen at the level of the prevailing agrarian structure from the point of view of land holdings. The distribution of land as assessed not long after the socio-political unrest which affected several others of the then colonies in the 1930s is illustrative (Table 3(1)).

According to The Grenada Handbook and Directory, the ‘former large estates have been gradually broken up and small holdings now predominate.’ This seems to be related to the more
extended period of mass oppression under slavery and the shaping of the early stages of post-slavery agrarian process. The owning planter/commercial class owned, by far, most, and the best land. Conversely, the masses of poor, apart from having small parcels of land, also had the worst land. This position of the labouring classes was further emphasized by the fact that, for instance: 'Slopes to steep or rocky for cacao' were 'often rented to peasants for gardens' (1946: 104). Within the 'Cultivated land' of the period cacao and nutmegs (27,300 acres, and listed jointly in the Handbook) occupied several times the acreage of other crops, although within land described as 'Semi-productive' the acres in 'Intermittent peasant cultivation' accounted for a relatively large acreage (17,650 acres). These circumstances offered notable cement for the continued development of Grenada's social and class structure. The Handbook further explains:

In some cases Government has acquired and parcelled estates, in others peasants have purchased direct. There is an active demand for small holdings. The Agricultural Superintendent in his report for 1938 estimated that as an average for the colony a family of five persons lives off 4 acres of cultivated land. Much livestock is kept and the value of manures appreciated (1946: 105).

Table 3(1): Land distribution, December 1940.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under 10 acres</th>
<th>10 acres</th>
<th>11 - 50 acres</th>
<th>51 - 100 acres</th>
<th>101 - 1,000 acres</th>
<th>Over 1,000 acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18,456</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 1950 Gaify formed the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union (GMMWU), and the Grenada People's Party (GPP) - later the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP). He was to use the newly won mandate to cater to his personal desires in an atmosphere where he was despised - partly on the basis of racism and his working class background - by the upper classes, from whom he craved acceptance. The 1951 crisis and Gaify's working background launched him into legitimacy as the most important figure in twentieth century pre-revolutionary Grenadian politics.

In 1951 the immediate causes of the crisis were the disputes between plantation workers and the big landowners over wage levels and the low living standards of the workers, in the background of depressed world prices, particularly for cocoa. The GMMWU grew quickly as it met with enthusiastic response and Gaify declared a general strike in February when most planters refused to recognize the union. The local police force and British naval personnel brought in from neighbouring islands were unable to diffuse the turmoil which raised the climate beyond that of purely a Grenada labour question to a challenge to colonial rule. A colonial government report viewed the strike as 'an upheaval such as has not been known within living memory' (see, e.g., EPICA Task Force, 1982: 36-38).

The imprisoned Gaify was released in the background of local worker demand and those of protesters, for instance, in Trinidad, and through Jamaica's foremost labour leader of the time, Alexander Bustamante of the BITU and the JLP. The GMMWU was recognized. The Government also promised to negotiate wage increases as part of a package to restore order. Gaify
called off the strike and shifted into the political arena - a process (i.e. union activity to political life) which had become orthodox in the Caribbean. His Grenada People's Party (GPP) won the first elections held under universal adult suffrage in 1951 and won six of the seven parish seats to defeat the Marryshow and Renwick-led opposition. These were groups prepared to accept the prevailing structure and negotiate within it.

Gairy was to lead for two decades and overshadow the rest of the twenty-eight years to 1979, presiding over what Shils (1959) might have termed an extreme aberrant form of 'tutelary democracy', and Marx, 'bonapartism'. Brizan states that the GMMWU emerged as the 'indomitable voice of the working class, and was soon to subordinate trade unionism to party politics...'. Further, the union 'was able to polarize Grenada's class structure in the early 1950s' and succeed 'in projecting into the minds of the working class and the rural population the image of a working class saviour' (1984: 255). Of course, that ability rested in large measure on the structural contours - in economic conditions and deprivation, associated class structure and conflict, and the momentum gained through the early unrest.

Gairy established relationships with sections of capital and landed elite and the party lapsed into political favouritism and neglected the aspirations of the broad masses upon whom it depended for retaining power. Renamed the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP), the party lost ground in the 1954 elections under determined challenge from the Grenada National Party (GNP), led by Herbert Blaize. The GNP, mainly sponsored by the commercial sector, promised various reforms (see, e.g., LAB, 1984) and won the 1957 elections, with the result that:

...while the net income of planters soared by 170% between 1957 and 1960, the basic wage of agricultural workers had gone up by only 15.3% - all in the context of a 6% rise in the cost of living...[and in 1960 the] unemployment rate was 42.6% (EPICA Task Force, 1982: 40 - cited from Jacobs & Jacobs, 1980: 69).

GULP, under Gairy regained power in 1961 but soon lost it by default to the GNP coalition in 1962 when the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Public Expenditure on the squander of public funds and other abuses seriously undermined GULP's and its leader's legitimacy. Again, in 1967, GULP gained power and was to retain it, however tenuously, until 1979. This shifting and 'reordering' seems to support Beckford's hypothesis that 'practically no significant change has taken place in the West Indian polity.'

Constitutions change, parties change, but the polity remains - frankly - colonial (Beckford, 1980: 12).

But that is not all. 'All West Indian polities are identical. They are dependent.' Beckford drew from Lindsay (1974) in noting that this involves, to a large extent, the patron-client relationship which becomes prominent from time to time - and extends beyond the internal situation when governments try to woo foreign investors, and have recourse to aid and lending agencies. 'With narrowly based economies, revenues tend to be smaller than is necessary. Consequently, corruption becomes the order of the day.'

Two features were pre-eminent in Gairyism - obscurantism, and corruption/repression,

^See Chapter 2.
87

in his particular style of personal government. Gairy studiously perceived himself as a messianic presence. His broad support in an agrarian society lay with the rural peasants/wage labourers, among whom he encouraged the spread of obeah, a West Africa-derived cultural continuity embracing superstition and a belief in the supernatural and magical powers. Simultaneously, he projected himself as a messenger of God and had become fascinated with UFO's - a subject which he raised at the United Nations. This orientation also provided a smokescreen and a pillar for strident anti-communism. There is the need, he stressed, to guard against the 'evils of communism' and atheistic ideologies and philosophies. Obscurantism had an associated apparatus of coercion. The Commission of Enquiry in 1962 found widespread corruption and harassment of public officers. Colonialism and imperialism provided much of the basis from which the fascist-style dictatorship of the GULP/Gairy sort grew. Gairy maintained a relationship with his then Caribbean counterpart Haitian dictator, 'Papa Doc' Duvalier who also enjoyed the embrace of U.S. imperialism.

Grenada, as well as several other Caribbean countries - particularly regional LDCs - have been heavily dependent on a narrow range of primary products. The constraints imposed by small size limited cohesion within some sections of the various territories in the Caribbean, uncertainty and apparent powerlessness in the global market situation, are only some of the general problems which chronically encumber efforts at social change. Grenada became dependent on three commodities - cocoa, bananas, nutmeg (and mace) - and, in terms of invisible earnings, tourism.

The collapse, from 1962 of the short-lived British-initiated attempt at a West Indies federation, not long after the pull-out of Jamaica in 1961 and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 (also Barbados and the then British Guiana) left the LDCs not only in a political, but also in an economic quandary. The territories were governed as partly autonomous units under colonialism; the MDCs were concerned about the possible retardation of their progress, and LDCs worried about possible domination by MDCs (see, e.g., Report of the Fiscal Commission, 1963: 5). Sir John Huggins, the then Governor of Jamaica in speaking at a 1947 conference in Montego Bay (Jamaica), stated that when he arrived in Trinidad in 1938, 'there was some talk of federation' but 'it may almost be said that insularity reigned supreme at that time' (Conference proceedings, Part 2, 1948: 4).

Eight LDCs - among the Windward (including Grenada) and the Leeward Islands - later considered a union of Eastern Caribbean states, an intention which they announced to the UK government in January, 1962. Trinidad and Tobago, in leaving the federation offered to enter into unitary statehood with any of the islands. In Grenada, the GNP's leader, Herbert Blaize had made unitary statehood with Trinidad the main plank of his election campaign. His election victory meant the withdrawal of Grenada from further discussions (concerning the small Eastern Caribbean union) and the 'Little Eight' became the 'Little Seven.' Three years later Grenada appeared no nearer to being absorbed into a unitary state with Trinidad, and in 1966 joined the other islands in discussions

5 This has been a feature not uncommon among Caribbean politicians although it is now apparently on the wane.

6 Hence, for instance, limited resource base, small internal market, and absence of economies of scale in the area of public expenditure.

7 These were the More Developed Countries (MDCs) among British territories.
for an associate status with the United Kingdom' (O'Loughlin, 1968: 217 & 223). Under the federal ministerial system, the Islands had been 'centred under one Governor stationed in Grenada, with supporting officers and an administrator under him in each member of the group' (Report of the Fiscal Commission, 1963: 5).

Table 3(ii): Plantations and peasants in the Caribbean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>(SMALL PEASANTS)</th>
<th>(PLANTATIONS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 5 Acres</td>
<td>Over 50 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(COUNTRY)</th>
<th>(% of All Farms)</th>
<th>(% of Farm Land)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Beckford (1975: 87) - 'All data from the most recent census in each territory.'

The 'additional costs of government' under unified status would 'far exceed savings', and expenditure on sectors such as education, agriculture and health 'would not only remain but in the poorer areas [e.g. Grenada] would increase'. Furthermore, 'wealthier units of a unitary state would presumably have to freeze development and salaries' until others improved. It seems that this sacrifice would have been unacceptable to Trinidad or Barbados (O'Loughlin, 1968: 239). Failure of the Federal effort must not mislead one into thinking that links between the various territories were as tenuous as they appeared. The political delinking from Britain at the end of the formal colonial process strengthened a fairly powerful internal nationalist as well as intra-country dynamic which was in part consciously geared at fostering unity and partly a natural outgrowth from a common historical background.

Agriculture's importance to the Grenadian economy can be partly seen from the fact that it was the largest sector employer, accounting for 43 per cent of the labour force in 1960. Appendix 8 further emphasizes the sector's leading position during the Gairy era in the 1970s and later, compared to the relatively lowly place of 'Manufacturing'. Construction's comparatively high status -
after some decline for the mid-1970s - maintained a fairly stable and increasing role later partly because of the construction of the new airport under the PRG. The distributive trades, and finance held a fairly prominent position throughout.

The distribution of land varied from large plantations to small peasant subsistence holdings as was touched on above for an earlier period as part of the background to Gairy's rise to power in 1951. Table 3(ii) shows how Grenada compared with other Anglophone Caribbean countries in the much more recent pre-1979 Revolution years.

The table emphasizes the presence of a multitude of smallholders (under 5 acres), on the one hand, and the relatively small number of plantations (over 500 acres) but the predominance of plantations as a percentage of farm land, on the other hand, in all countries for which figures were available with the exception of Grenada and St. Vincent. If Beckford's figures for Grenada and St. Vincent are correct, he apparently subsumed the case of these two countries in the comment that plantations 'occupy most of the farm land everywhere' (1975: 86). The reasons for the variations regarding these two countries is not immediately clear and available evidence does not point to a land reform efforts which would have produced that degree of change in the pre-revolutionary years. It is true that the planter class was drawn into commerce, for instance tourism, by such factors as the major early 1950s conflict and the economic boom in the industrialized Western countries paved the way for some of whatever shift took place.

Table 3(ii) shows that plantations larger than 500 acres occupied 15 per cent of farm land but accounted for only 0.1 per cent of all farms. On the other hand, small farms of less than five acres accounted for 23.9 per cent of farm land but 89.7 per cent of all farms. This was a marginal improvement over 1940 when this last figure hovered around 95 per cent (see, e.g., The Grenada Handbook and Directory 1946: 104-105). The greater impact of the plantation is partly evidenced in the case of Jamaica, with figures of 44.9%/0.2% for plantations and 14.9%/78.6% for small holdings, for the more recent period (see, also Beckford, 1972). Grenada's agricultural workforce itself declined during the 1960s but not because of urbanization, which occurred at a very low rate - quite a contrast with the tendency in the Commonwealth Caribbean MDCs and some of the other LDCs. Migration accounted for most of that decline. On the other hand, the population showed only a marginal increase between 1960 and 1970 (from 88,700 to 92,775) (Chernick/IBRD: 238 & 247).8

The land distribution figures are useful in unveiling a broad picture of the standing of the planter oligarchy, on the one hand, and the extent of the peasantry and the rural working class, on the other, against the background of the level of dependence of small farms and the plantations. However, they mask certain indicators. The peasant land-holdings were based on less workable ground and subject to subdivision into even smaller parcels by inheritance arrangements. Many

8 See, e.g., Beckford, 1972 & 1975 for an elaboration on plantation economies.
9 Population figures vary somewhat. As cited by a World Bank report from the 1981 Census and Central Statistical Office, population was listed as 96,542 in 1970; 88,175 in 1981; 90,908 in 1982; and 92,322 in 1983. Migration is listed as a major reason for the apparent fall from 1970 to 1981. Observers who have written on the period of the Revolution of 1979-83 have tended to quote the figure of about 110,000.
small-holders over the years also tended to supplement their meagre earnings with work on plantations and on their neighbours' holdings. In addition, large areas of plantation land remained idle even in the context of evident 'land hunger'. It is notable that while the 'Total Working Population' increased by 3.2 per cent between 1960-70, 'Sales Worker' increased by 1.5 percent, 'Service Worker' by one per cent, and 'Production and Related Workers' by 7.4 per cent. A large decline of 9.6 per cent was recorded for 'Farm Managers Supervisors & Farmers' (see Chernick/IBRD, 1978: 280). The labour force grew from 27,314 in 1960 to 28,682 in 1970 (1978: 246). Hitz (1984: 132), from his 1979 and 1980 data for three communities, has helped to further illuminate the structure:

Over half the 157 surveyed households with at least an acre of land reported some off-farm work. On average, farm operators with off-farm jobs worked 22 hours a week on farm, and 26 hours a week off-farm.

Many of those with off-farm jobs worked with the Government in waterworks, carpentry, and as prison guards. Others were engaged in other areas of construction, jobs at spice boxing and processing plants, fishing and craftwork.

Under Gairy's limited land reform effort launched in 1971, 3,500 acres or about 5 per cent of cultivable land (estates), was redistributed. One-half of the land distributed comprised half-acre housing lots while the rest included parcels of barely over an acre (see Chernick/IBRD: 124). Briefly he offered some explanation of Gairy's 'land for the landless' programme. Between 1970-78, he states, 28 estates or one-fifth of the total 'area occupied by this class of holding' (large) was acquired. 'Instead of increasing the extent of cultivated land the programme had the opposite effect' (1985: 304-305). The policy, of course annoyed the local oligarchy who felt threatened.

Internally, Grenada's most important agricultural products were under the umbrella of specific statutory organizations. The Grenada Banana Co-operative Association, the Grenada Cocoa Industry Board, and the Grenada Co-operative Nutmeg Association were dominated by big planter interests as were many of their counterparts in other islands. They were empowered to undertake services such as purchasing the entire crop from growers and to handle aspects of marketing. Peasant farmers' insignificant participation in the running of the associations underlined the entrenched position of the planter oligarchy. Importantly, these statutory bodies often had linkages with, or interests in, larger producing and marketing networks.

Anglophone Caribbean banana production was dominated by five countries - Jamaica, and the four Windward Islands (Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent). As Beckford (1971: 78) explained, the industry in the Windward Islands was serviced by 'grower co-operative-type associations which contracted with the MNC, Geest Industries Ltd., for marketing all export fruit...And the associations have been able to secure good marketing arrangements from the agent.' On the other hand: 'The Jamaican industry...is serviced by an inefficient administrative superstructure consisting of the AJIBGA, a growers' association, a statutory insurance scheme and the Banana Board, a statutory body which is the sole exporting agent...For exporting fruit, the Banana Board contracts with Elders and Fyffes, a subsidiary of United Fruit Company, and the Jamaica Banana Producers Association, a Jamaican grower enterprise...'

10 All-Island Banana Growers' Association.
Gairy not only disbanded the Banana Association's board but also those for cocoa and nutmeg in 1969 and 1971 (see, e.g., Ambursley, 1983: 197). Perceiving them as a threat, he replaced the three elected boards with his chosen nominees. Gairy also disturbed the oligarchy when he introduced a bill to prevent the Nutmeg Association from transferring its funds to Barbados.

The capacity to obtain credit defined the positions of the peasantry/rural working class, on the one hand, and the Grenadian ruling/owning classes, on the other. Peasant farmers contributed a large proportion of overall output for the various crops but found access to loans from the big transnational banks (such as Barclays, Bank of Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada) extremely difficult because of inability to meet the stringent loan conditions. A minimal number of loans to small farmers came from the Grenada Agricultural and Industrial Corporation but government corruption intervened.

The net contribution of tourism, another significant contributor to the economy, is difficult to calculate but one factor is very evident: commercial capitalist interests were an increasingly strong force in this sector within the constraints of political uncertainties under Gairy and the known relative fickleness of the tourist market. Tourism too - as the figures for various Caribbean countries and many other areas will indicate - does not tend to be a large-scale direct employer of labour, although overall gross revenues for the service providers are usually relatively high. Thus, a World Bank estimate (Chernick, 1978) put the number employed in existing accommodation in Grenada as of the early 1970s at a mere 370. Furthermore, in most countries where tourism has been important to the economy it has also given rise to associated small-scale traders involved in rental of down-market accommodation, and ancilliary trading such as sale of artifacts, food, and garments. In large measure in the Grenadian case, as implied, there were few and limited linkages with other sectors of the economy.

The manufacturing and distributive sectors employed considerable numbers of people but organizations tended to be minute. Considerations of size of the territory clearly manifested themselves in these sectors. The largest enterprise during the Gairy era employed less than one hundred workers. Fragmentation of the workforce prevailed then, except on large plantations and at ports. The 1978 World Bank study put in the category 'Other Agricultural Workers', 25.1 per cent of the workforce for 1970 and 28 per cent for 'Production and Related Workers', 'Farm Managers Supervisors and Farmers' accounted for another 7.3 per cent (Chernick/IBRD, 1978: 274). Later, during the revolutionary period, PRG figures announced in 1981 listed a rural workforce of about 3,000 (similar for urban/commercial and agro-commercial) plus another 4,000 part-timers. According to that account, if the average size of the family were five persons that sector and dependents accounted for approximately 35,000 (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982: 96). Studies have generally pointed to a poorly paid workforce, both in the manufacturing/distributive sector, and the agricultural sector, the latter moreso.

Kenrick Radix, the PRG's Minister of Justice, Industrial Development and Fisheries explained:

...in 1970 two thousand workers were engaged in manufacturing activities, 8% of the labour force. By 1975 only 300 additional workers found employment in this sector, whereas total employment increased by over four thousand. In 1980 estimates revealed that the manufacturing sector employed about 3,000 workers or 10% of the work force (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982: 61 & 63).
Grenada's seat within an ever expanding global capitalism was assured by its relationship with organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF, the IDB, the EEC, CIDA, and US-AID. Entry into the EEC market was fashioned when fears about the loss of trading outlets arose from Britain's proposed accession to the EEC in the 1970s and the response to colonies and former colonies in the Caribbean, Africa and elsewhere. The Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) and its upgraded replacement, CARICOM with its various agencies (e.g., Caribbean Development Bank) have served in part a similar purpose, if somewhat indirectly. A large proportion of Grenada's trade has been, and continues to be with CARICOM - mainly Trinidad.

3.4 The New Jewel Movement and the insurrection

Anti-colonial struggles and Black nationalism guided and informed much of Caribbean 1960s and 1970s socio-political unrest. Grenada - with unemployment hovering around 50 per cent (Bishop/Grenada Is Not Alone, 1981/82: 14; also Bishop/interview, Searle, 1984) - as a result of the decline of estates under Gairy - was deeply influenced by the 1970 rebellion in neighbouring Trinidad. Many of the eventual leaders of the revolution who helped to organize and lead the Black Power solidarity demonstration in St. George's in May, 1970 had been students and activists abroad. They had evolved an anti-imperialist consciousness and had been influenced by conditions in Europe and North America, by the Cuban Revolution, the liberation struggles in Africa and Vietnam, and by the associated nationalist and radical currents. Maurice Bishop, for instance, returned in 1970 from law studies in Britain. Shortly after his arrival a nurses demonstration in St. George's (Grenada's capital) attracted popular support but also Gairy's heavy-handed political style. Police arrested and charged 30 people. Bishop and other young lawyers obtained the acquittal of those charged after a seven-month trial.

Some time after Gairy easily won the 1972 elections, what would become the New Jewel Movement (NJM) began to take shape. Its Manifesto commitments and the dynamics through to March 1979, and the reception of the Revolution are instructive. According to one source,

...it was in response to the absence of any significant domestic opposition as well as to widen pan-Caribbean currents in favour of political independence that, authentic democracy, the improvement of living conditions and the suppression of racism and colonialism that the new generation of political radicals emerged in Grenada (LAB: 23).

As Bernard Coard summed up the then opposition of the GNP under Herbert Blaize: it was the other side of the coin, with Gairy, and though not 'fascist, or brutal and terrorist like Gairy' was 'ineffectual...bumbling...lacking in initiative...cowardly...' (Interview, Searle, 1979: 174-175). The NJM arose in March 1973 from the merger of two organizations. The Movement for the Assemblies of the People (MAP) was urban-centred, nationalistic, interested in social reforms of the nature implemented by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania. Formed by lawyers Bishop and Kenrick Radix, it evinced a radical but non-marxist tendency. The other group, the Joint Endeavour for Welfare,
Education and Liberation under Unison Whiteman, was similar in style but had a larger rural following (LAB, 1984; EPICA Task Force, 1982: 45).

In an address at the 1981 solidarity conference, Selwyn Strachan - by then the PRG’s Minister of National Mobilization - stated that when the NJM was formed in 1973:

We knew that our people would only awaken from this nightmare if resistance and democracy were one. We had to provide a genuine democratic alternative. It was an unquestionable truth for us, we had to create organs of a new democratic power that would fully realize all the hidden, submerged strengths and beauty of our people, that would grow, prosper and finally explode in the face of the dictatorship, as it did on March 13th, 1979...Democratic organization was inevitable for us, it was a necessity and a guarantee that we were serious...When we conceived our slogan, ‘NOT JUST ANOTHER SOCIETY, BUT A JUST SOCIETY’, we were saying that our aim was not to replace Gairyism by another smothering neo-colonial deformity which would continue to keep our people passive and exploited, but we were unfurling our banner of direct democracy, revolutionary people’s democracy, whereby we were not seeking to act on the people’s behalf or as their self-appointed representatives, but our aim was essentially to engage our people in a process of building their own liberation, and in so doing they would transform themselves and free their country of the quivering grip of the dictator (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982: 84).

Formal political independence was the dominant issue in 1973/74. Nearing mid-1973 the NJM organized a People’s Convention attended by 15,000 people, at which it denounced the terms on which Gairy hastily sought full administrative autonomy from Britain. The convention also resolved to form new democratic structures and replace the dictatorship with a system of People’s Assemblies. At the second convention in November, a People’s Congress at the same location (Seamoon) attracted 10,000 under the chairmanship of Bishop and Whiteman. ‘...we collectively charged Gairy (in absentia) with 27 crimes against the people, and gave his government two weeks to resign or an island-wide shutdown would enforce the will of the congress’ (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982 - Strachan: 85). The deepening brutal tendency under Gairy’s rule was emphasized on the eve of the general strike which the NJM called for November 19. Future Ministers under a revolutionary Grenada were beaten up and imprisoned as they made their way to fulfil a requested appointment with (Grenville) businessmen ‘to explain in a detailed way the nature of the general shut-down which was supposed to take place...’ (Selwyn Strachan/cited in Searle, 1983: 20). That became known as ‘Bloody Sunday’. The opposition drew into action organizations calling themselves the ‘Committee of Twenty-Two’. The ‘committee’ included a broad range of organizations with leadership from the anti-Gairy sections of the local ruling class. It included the Chamber of Commerce, the Employers’ Federation, the Grenada Union of Teachers, the Civil Service Association, some independent unions, the Church, and some middle class organizations such as the Rotary Club.

The group’s main demand amounted to a call for a reduction in Gairy’s excesses. Gairy capitulated with an offer to disband coercive bodies, but he reneged on his promise. The Committee and the released NJM leadership henceforth decided on a strike to begin January 1, 1974. The stoppage damaged the economy. As it continued, Bishop’s father, a small businessman, was shot and killed by Gairy’s forces as he attempted to protect women and children ‘from the dictator’s hoodlums’ (Grenada Is Not Alone, 1982: 82; Searle, 1983).

Gairy’s appeal for help from Britain drew a Foreign Office response that because of Grenada’s position of associated statehood with Britain it could not intervene in the island’s internal affairs. Britain later (in February, 1974), nevertheless granted Independence and a ‘gift’ of
£100,000. The NJM had wanted Gairy out of office before formal Independence (see, e.g., The Daily Gleaner, 2/2/74: 1 - from Reuters, 1/2/74). Opportunism in the GNP-inclined union leadership, notably the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union was among other factors which undermined the strike in March. The union received $45,000 in strike assistance from overseas-based Grenadians, support from the Caribbean Congress of Labour, and loans from the governments of Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana. Some of the leadership had received training from a North American-based labour organization with CIA connections. As for Gairy, the 'gift' from Britain enabled him to increase the civil servants' and wages and those of the police and thereby defuse the political crisis. Independence itself became 'a powerful political tool for Gairy' in which he further reinforced his control over affairs of state. Regional and other organizations became part of his domain:

Making use of his entry into the United Nations and the Organisation of American States (OAS), the prime minister denounced his opponents as communists and called for concerted...action against the left throughout the Caribbean...(LAB, 1984: 26).

The NJM's Manifesto (1973: 9-12) advocated a people's democracy as opposed to the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy - the dominantly approach in the Anglophone Caribbean - and certain economic and social reforms. It adopted an anti-imperialist stance, and proposed to nationalize major sectors of the economy (e.g. foreign-owned hotels and housing schemes). The list of proposed measures was radical in some respects and reformist in others, and indicated an appreciation of the historical/structural realities and the implications of these for the attainment of the party's political and other objectives.

The manifesto proposed a provisional government drawn from various groups (students, police, farmers, teachers). This government would set up people's assemblies (village, parish, workers assemblies) which would send delegates to the National Assembly (the national government). According to the manifesto (see pages 8-9), the people's assemblies would end the deep division and victimization of the people which prevailed under the party system and would constantly involve all the people in decision-making:

Power will be rooted in the villages and at our places of work. At anytime, the village can fire and replace its Council, its representative on the Parish Assembly, or its representative on the National Assembly. Together the people of the villages and workers can throw out the whole National Assembly and put in a new one. In this way, power will be in the hands of the people of the villages (Manifesto: 9).

This drew largely from C. L. R. James who, at some time within the decolonization ferment in the early post-war World War II years, began advancing the theme that revolutionary movements would end up as workers' councils. In a 1985 interview, James himself explained:

...today and in the last few years workers don't wish to be led by anybody...Whereas 100 years ago the tendency was to form an organisation to lead, today the organisation is so organic a part of society that the organisation to lead is no longer a necessity...The modern worker in a plant doesn't need parties today to lead him...(Interview with Beshoff/Jamaica Journal, 1986: 27-28).

This, James implied, was based on the increased numbers of the working class, who were disciplined, united and organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself (lecture/1981 - see Busy & Howe, 1984: 16; also 55-56). In part, he drew from Marx and Lenin.
The alliances which the NJM had developed with the business class and a broad front of anti-Gairy elements in the 1973/74 crisis as well as its entry into the three-party People's Alliance to confront Gairy at the 1976 elections, on close examination, point to its appreciation of the breadth of the task with which it was confronted. Prior to 1976 - partly drawing inspiration from links it began developing with communist and other progressive forces in the Caribbean - it began a shift from Black Power and the early referent, James' position. The NJM initiated links with Cuba, the Workers' Party of Jamaica, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, and with progressive tendencies such as exhibited by the PNP administration under Manley. It would also identify with the liberation struggles in Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement (NJM Manifesto, 1973: 10) and that of Nicaragua (which culminated in the 1979 Sandinist Revolution). It began to function increasingly as a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party which was mainly concretized after the return in 1976, of Bernard Coard, an economist who had studied and taught in Britain. Coard was an adherent of the 'non-capitalist path' of development proposed by the Soviet Union for the Third World, and became the party's major theoretician. Significantly, the shift was not publicized. Recall in Jamaica's case, the PNP's reticence towards 'isms' in the lead up to 1972.

The NJM gained three of six seats won by the People's Alliance in the 1976 general elections and with its increasing popular support became the effective opposition. Gairy's manipulation (including vote-rigging) secured his continuation in power, as his party took the remaining parliamentary seats. The NJM's urban-centred strength among intellectuals, students, deprived youth and allied elements expanded to include rural components. In addition, it gained positions of influence in the trade union movement (including the Bank and General Workers' Union, led by an NJM activist) as well as in some of the organizations which participated in the 1973/74 strike.

The insurrection of March 13, 1979 has been generally described as an NJM 'mop-up' project undertaken at dawn by some forty to fifty party activists who later became leading figures in the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). Gairy had left the island the previous day (12th), 'stopping in Barbados to consult with the American Ambassador, Frank Ortiz, having left instructions to his forces to carry out the assassination of the six major NJM figures.' The NJM leaders had got word of the planned arrest from progressive elements in the police force by the 10th and had gone into hiding (Epic Task Force, 1982: 54; Searle, 1983: 31). Britan cites certain broad stages in Grenada's historical development from 1763-1979: the Old Representative System which ended in 1876, Crown Colony Government which spanned 1877-1924, modified Crown Colony Government from 1924 to 1951, Responsible Government from 1952-67, and the pre-Revolution and Independence era from 1974-1979. He argues:

In none of these stages did ordinary working people [play] a continued and dominant role in the political process[,] Grenada's constitutional experience manifested four major characteristics: political inequality of opportunity; external dependence on an imperial centre; no clear outline of a path to development; and the dominance of elitist groups in the economic, social and political life of the country. This unequal balance of power and opportunity bred irreconcilable conflicts that culminated in the revolution of 13th March

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13. Reminiscent of the broad-based alliance of the PNP government Michael Manley in Jamaica from 1972, and even that in the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

14. The other parties were the GNP, and the United People's Party (UPP).
The peacefulness of the insurrection has been emphasized in many quarters. Moreover, the 'humanitarian course' was taken. Political detainees were well treated. Of 'the 400 to 500 people picked up by our masses on revolution day, on the 13th of March, not one of these Mongoose Gang elements arrived in jail with even a scratch...And the only reason that happened is because our people...understand the principled position that revolution takes no revenge, no victimization, no torture, no ill-treatment of anyone, regardless of what they have done. It is because our people understood this, something that very often happens in all revolutions - the spontaneous upheaval of the masses - did not really happen in Grenada' (Bishop, 1983: 21).

\[15\] 3.4.1 The contours of revolutionary government

The insurrection of March, 1979 did not simply occur spontaneously and upon Gairy's absence from the country. Strachan stressed:

...when we finally triumphed...we did not triumph through spontaneity and good fortune...[but] because we had laid an organizational and democratic base that had fully engaged our people in the process of national resistance. So when the movement of liberation came through our popular insurrection, we already had a mass organization to support us and carry on the dawn's revolutionary work (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982: 86). [Emphasis original]

The nature of the administration from 1979 was consistent with the popular support and the class/strata 'eclecticism' marking the NJM's ascent from 1973. The insurrection was successful partly because the major factor motivating the people was democratic rights. Further, as implied earlier, in order to appeal to all strata, mention of socialism and class struggle were studiously downplayed (Ambursley, 1983; Marable, 1987: 221), and 'free and fair elections' were part of an immediate promise but this was later placed on low priority listing, and became a source of criticism, which will be considered later in examining the media. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Coard explained in a 1979 interview,

...fundamentally, at this time, we see our task not as one of building socialism. It is one of restructuring and re-building the economy, of getting production going and trying to develop genuine grassroots democracy, trying to involve the people in every village and every workplace in the process of the reconstruction of the country. In that sense we are in a national democratic revolution involving the broad masses and many strata of the population' (cited in Scarie, 1979: 179; see also Bishop in WMR, 1982: 84).

Many countries officially recognized the PRG soon after the insurrection. Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados recognized the PRG within ten days, though the last two named countries were notably hesitant. The EPICA Task Force in the book, Grenada - The Peaceful Revolution also notes that:

Enthusiastic support was given by Cuba, and after July 19, by the new Sandinista Government in Nicaragua (1982: 57).

Moreover, as Coard stated:

\[15\] Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers; New York, Pathfinder Press; 1983. (Speech at Hunter College, New York City, June 5, 1983.)
...the people of Grenada were deeply influenced, firstly, by the struggles of the Jamaican people over the last seven years under the leadership of Michael Manley, by the attempt to build a genuinely independent economic base, by the attempt to transform Jamaica from being not only politically and constitutionally independent but also to being economically independent (1979: 172).

The alliance which sanctioned the insurrection would have included elements opposed to a socialist project but was in keeping with the early contours of the Soviet/Cuban 'socialist orientation' or 'non-capitalist' strategy. The most radical support which could come from the privileged classes was perhaps indicated in a statement from the Grenada Chamber of Commerce which referred vaguely to the glorious opportunity to build something new and different in the Caribbean.

We have seen in our discussion that the local oligarchy was part of the political process to curb Gairy's excesses and bring about greater stability. However, whatever support there was, this was somewhat undermined by concern about stability and fear of the manner of taking power. Lewis, for instance, mentions that 'the PRG regime had elected to follow a revolutionary path out of tune with the mainstream ideology of the region. They were marching to the sound of a different drummer, and the West Indian middle class, notoriously neocolonialist in its mentality, did not like the sound. Like the Cuban middle class after 1959, they saw Bishop, like Castro, as a traitor to his class' (1987: 89).

The analysis in this thesis relates to the broader Anglophone Caribbean region and it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind the situation beyond Grenada. This is particularly necessary as we recall that the media on which study focus are the major newspapers, all of which are situated outside Grenada itself even though the Trinidad Express, for instance, at least used to be distributed in Grenada.

3.5 Constraints and action under the Revolution - the political dimension

The actual period of the Revolution beyond the early days after the insurrection is not central to the analysis and the later content study and thus a less detailed background summary will suffice.

Changes under the Revolution were most marked in the party's political agenda. The Grenada Constitution - which Bishop called a 'farce' and a 'sham' - was suspended (see, e.g., Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May 1981: 15; also see Manifesto (p.9) for a plan to address the constitution). Legislative and executive power were consolidated under the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), initially a fourteen-member body, but the number was later increased to twenty-three who were drawn from a fairly wide cross-section of the population. As far as the main changes in the state machinery were concerned, the suspension of the constitution brought direction through the issue of 'People's Laws', published in the official gazette and broadcast over Radio Free Grenada. The suspension cleared the way for the reform of laws inherited from the Gairy era, gave legitimacy to the revolution, and offered a way to reflect the 'people's democracy' central to the NJM's thrust. The official or titular head of state, Governor-General Paul Scoon (the Queen's representative, appointed under Gairy), marked the maintenance of links within the British Commonwealth. People's Law No.18, however, subordinated his role to one of acting on the advice of the Cabinet, a measure which in itself represented no variation from the operational framework of
Governors-General of other Commonwealth Caribbean countries adhering to Westminster-style parliamentary democracy.

The West Indian Associated States Supreme Court (WIASSC) was sidelined and replaced by the Supreme Court of Grenada via People’s Law No.4 with a High Court and a Court of Appeal but the bench continued to be occupied mainly by conservative elements who held the posts under Gairy. However, significantly, the Privy Council (Abolition of Appeals) Law removed the right to appeal to the Privy Council in Britain, thereby widening the powers of the PRG. Most of this was in keeping with the contempt for the ‘pappy show’ 1967, and proposed 1974 constitutions, as promised in the manifesto (1973: 9). The PRG also embraced the People’s Revolutionary Army (PRA), an NJM creation, ‘comprised almost entirely of young people who seized power on 13 March’ and ‘who have come from all the villages in Grenada’ to defend and consolidate the revolution (Coard, 1979 interview/Searle).

People’s Laws No.17 and No.21, introduced in April, 1979 specified preventive detention of persons attempting to subvert or sabotage the government. Detainees would not be allowed bail (see, e.g., Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, Vol.13, April 1979). Opposition political parties were not outlawed but they (e.g. the GNP) found it difficult to attract support, and unpopular policies which they advanced frequently met with popular mass protest.

According to Jacobs (1980: 115), with the insurrection, ‘Grenada became a nation welded together by the alliance between workers and peasants, with all segments of the population, except the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, participating in the running of the country...The Assembly of the People’s Revolutionary Government consists of representatives of all strata, except those that had discredited themselves by undisguised collaboration with the Gairy regime...’

Local capital and concerned local-regional counterparts were no doubt at least marginally pleased that rebuilding the economy was the number one priority at the outset of the Revolution. The reluctance to expropriate private property and extend the arm of the state - undoubtedly based in large measure on the class alliances of NJM history and the realist’s appreciation of the structural constraints of the small, open economy - denied the neutralization of the capitalist class and the extension of the ‘people’s democracy’ (see, interview/with Searle, 1978: 178). Capitalists (‘patriotic bourgeoisie’) and middle class professionals were among members of the Cabinet.

The NJM’s political programme, to reiterate, did not vary markedly from the projections of 1973. It inclined ostensibly at the level of ideology and political praxis towards the status of an authentic communist party. The new government went about its business - in what was later more frequently cited as the ‘national democratic’ stage of the Revolution. However, it made efforts to comfort the owning groups and they themselves were in some respects at first, keen to maintain their position in spite of any limitations imposed by the emerging policy and programme changes. Indeed, the fragility of the economy, as in the case of many other poor countries, was critically underlined by the oil-based world crisis of the 1970s and this shaped not only the textbook implementation of the revolutionary process and its own dynamic but also the parameters of local capitalists, capital accumulation and what the People’s Revolutionary Government could do.

In terms of constructing the ‘participatory democracy’ which Bishop spoke of frequently,
and in keeping with the requirements of the national democratic stage of the revolution, local pre-revolution NJM parish branches became Parish Councils and within some two years after the start of the revolution eighteen smaller Zonal Councils were created. These channels encouraged local and rural participation in debate and state decision-making. Developing together with these were other mass organizations such as the trade unions, a National Women’s Organization, and a National Youth Organization. Generally this was in line with the poder popular of Cuba. A National Conference of Delegates which made recommendations on national policy received representatives from mass organizations and Prime Minister Bishop chaired the Party’s Central Committee which received the suggestions and resolutions of local NJM members.

The NJM viewed the structure which replaced the parliamentary system as a transfer of notable political power from the privileged to the many (see, e.g. Marable, 1987). What ‘was not fully comprehended by some of the PRG’s supporters in the Grenadian ruling class was that the NJM, not the PRG, was rapidly consolidating hegemonic position within the domestic reconstruction process’ (1987: 222).

Marable, in viewing accountability as a central factor in a democracy, sees the party’s interpretation or exercise of this as having been limited: ‘...for the Finance Minister, and most other NJM leaders, “accountability” meant that PRG representatives should directly report on “everything which affects the people” at local assemblies. But accountability also requires the ability to recall or remove officials who are responsible for unpopular public policies. Agendas of Parish and Zonal Council meetings were frequently set in advance...’ The NJM chose the Council’s executive committees rather than by democratic participation. The political system which the NJM developed could only be referred to as “democratic” if a high level of mass participation was maintained, and if the national leadership was intimately involved in local discussions’ (1987: 227). The NJM’s newspaper, Free West Indian appealed to the people to attend council meetings but after mass response in the early years attendance began to fall. In addition, in the last eighteen months of the revolution no NJM Central Committee member attended a Zonal Council meeting. The strain of organizational and official activity was a part of the explanation. As some observers note, by summer 1983 the NJM’s internal situation ‘was certainly poor’. Total membership was ‘not more than 300 militants’.

It confirmed that the party continued to repudiate easy populism and membership for its own sake, and that it adhered rigidly to the concept of a “vanguard organization”. This was principally because of the enormous demands made [on the time] of militants... (LAB, 1984: 58-59).

Within party forums, NJM Central Committee member Ewart Layne noted ‘dissatisfaction among the masses’ and Bishop expressed concern about the weak ‘links with the masses’. The Extraordinary Meeting of the Central Committee (14-16/9/83) expressed concern at the deep crisis in the party and the revolution at that time. The major contention in the last weeks was over the proposal of a joint leadership in the revolution shared by Bishop and Coard, in which it appeared that Coard would be the senior partner. Bishop considered the proposal but apparently was no longer prepared to accept it on his return from Czechoslovakia via Cuba on October 8 (see Hart, Introduction, In Nobody’s Backyard, 1984: xxiv). Hart, a political activist and historian as well as one of the four left-wingers expelled from Jamaica’s PNP in 1952, and former PRG Attorney General concluded:

...the revolutionary leaders, from Bishop downwards, displayed deplorable immaturity
in failing to restore their disagreement and preserve unity. Had they done so, they could have united the overwhelming majority of Grenadians to defend their country and the Revolution against imperialist attack (1984: xxvii).

Meeks, in stressing the successes (1989: 177) of the revolutionary government and the general assessment of the party becoming disconnected from its social base (177 & 181), explained:

The Revolution fell not through the failure to hold early election or the overwhelming power of the United States in the region. The former provided a tactical reason and the latter was a constant factor throughout four-and-a-half years of the process. The reason was essentially a failure of the leadership to fulfill the people’s expectations (1989: 177).

Ambursley (1983) characterized the regime as ‘a Bonapartism of the petty bourgeoisie’. It is difficult accept his confusion of the regime with Gairyism: ‘despite the more rationalistic and democratic nature of the Bishop regime, it is in essence, like Gairyism, a mediated form of oligarchic rule’ (LAB, 1984: 205). What is evident is that the party in its twilight had less than adequate regard for the local and regional context and history, this apparently under the increasing sway of the OREL/Coard faction. The NJM seemed to have depleted its effort to sustain links with the workers under ‘democratic centralism’.

Thomas, in his analysis of the non-capitalist path notes that leadership, usually provided by ‘revolutionary democrats or progressive elements of the petty bourgeoisie...is not clearly dependent on either major classes’ political organization’ and therefore tends to rely heavily on the military-administrative apparatus. This, Thomas argues, constitutes a severe weakness of the state, because ‘this dependence undermines working class political expression and development’ (1978: 14-15). Thomas (e.g., 1978: 21) cited the demise of Allende’s Chile under gradualism (see also Petras, 1978; Petras & Morley, 1983).

3.6 The economy under the Revolution

Local capitalists were still dominant in the devastated economy left after the Gairy dictatorship. This crisis circumscribed the NJM’s programme of reconstruction and transformation, the possibilities for accumulation and distribution. GDP had declined in real terms under Gairy, unemployment had risen to the astronomical level of about 50 per cent (see, e.g., Grenada Is Not Alone, Bishop, 1982: 10); the major agricultural products were on a down-swing, and tourism, among other sectors had been playing a diminishing role in the economy. Unemployment under the PRG was reduced to 17.4 per cent by 1981 (see, e.g., Population Census cited in World Bank report, 1984) (later - an April, 1982 census, showed a reduction to 14.2 per cent [Maurice Bishop speaks to U.S. Workers, 1983: 14]. Any limitations on the capitalists and capitalist production were emphasized by market conditions for local products as we have seen, local labour disputes, the 1970s-1980s economic crisis.

In keeping with its path of socialist orientation the PRG diversified its trading and broad economic relationships and expanded the role of the state in such sectors as agriculture, manufacturing and commerce. The economy grew in real terms by an average of 6% in 1981-82.

16 Briefly points out that by ‘1979 an estimated 70 to 80 per cent of the 15-to-25-year age group was unemployed’ (1983: 305). In the post-revolutionary period, as early as 1984 the figure had again begun to rise to 25 per cent, states a World Bank estimate.
partly as a result of the recovery of agriculture in 1981, and increased manufacturing output, and
government expenditure especially in relation to construction work on a new airport were realized.

Production of the principal crops cocoa, nutmeg and mace, and bananas largely showed
a downward swing partly based on factors such as low yields because of aging trees (e.g. cocoa,
bananas), low world market prices, poor harvesting practices (mace), labour shortage, and shifts
in currency exchange rates which made Grenada's agricultural exports which were mainly destined
for the British market somewhat uncompetitive as the $EC was tied to a $US then strongly
appreciating against the Pound Sterling (see Grenada - Economic Report, World Bank 1985). The
position is emphasized by the status of the leading export crop, cocoa. Prices fell in 1978-79 and by
1982 with continued decline they were only a third of the 1977 peak. Further, the producer prices
for bananas more than doubled between 1975 and 1980 but fell sharply in 1982 (-20%), and rose to
some extent in 1983.

The increased activity of the various agricultural boards helped to offset the impact of low
prices on the farmers and the level of agricultural credit, especially to small farmers was increased.
Data on the ratio of loans to the dominant large farmers as against the small holders pre- and
post-revolution are not available but information which was outlined earlier suggests the fortunes of
both groups, as well as the credibility of the revolutionary programme specifically, and the
local/local-regional/regional transformation were linked with the fortunes of agriculture. Measures
by the regime to stimulate expansion also included considerable increases in lending through the
state's National Commercial Bank (NCB) - up to June, 1980, $0.4 million or 16 per cent of all
commercial bank lending to agriculture, and up to June, 1981, over $2 million or 69.1 per cent of
total commercial bank lending for agriculture.

The broad picture up to the enactment of the 1981 Land Utilization Law, as reported in
the 1981 Agricultural Census, comprised an agricultural labour force of 12,500 (including farm
owners), accounting for about a third of the country’s labour force. Among the 8,200 farm owners,
49% were classified as full-time and 51% as part-time. About 31% of part-time workers were hired
labour on other farms (recall our discussion earlier in this chapter) (see World Bank Report, 1985:
8). The law empowered the government to lease idle land over 100 acres in size, and relevant leases
began to take place in 1983. This measure as well as purchase of other properties brought state
ownership of cultivable land up to 30 per cent which went some way in keeping with commitments
under the 1973 Manifesto (see 4-5; LAB, 1984: 43; Ambursley, 1983: 209). Many of these estates
were in an advanced state of depreciation. The acquisitions nevertheless amounted to a more than
negligible move toward disorienting, if not uprooting the planter oligarchy. Expropriation was not on
the agenda and the government’s agrarian reform was not activated outside the estates handed down by
the Gairy administration until mid-1980 when workers rioting on an estate forced its attention.

Kenrick Radix, Minister of Justice, Industrial Development and Fisheries explained in 1981:

The sugar cane industry is no longer owned by the private company of plantocrats. It is
today owned by the government for the benefit of the workers engaged in the sugar
industry. (Grenada is Not Alone, 1982: 69).

Some, at least peripheral rearrangement of the structure of the Grenadian owning strata

17Partly related to political uncertainties under Gairy.
continued; for instance, the planter-based oligarchy began to shift more into tourism and commerce. This would have been based on factors including the PRG's agrarian reforms, the fluctuating fortunes in returns from the international commodity markets, and the potential for increased buoyancy in other sectors.

The Grenada Resort Corporation was set up to manage government hotels and other tourism enterprises, and had been 'achieving modest successes', as Bishop stated in November, 1981 (Grenada Is Not Alone: 16). However, the PRG did not undertake to any considerable extent the party's original prescription of taking over the ownership of the industry (see Manifesto: 6), though it did acquire the largest hotel, the Holiday Inn. Much of that hotel had been destroyed by fire in 1981 (Grenada is Not Alone, Bishop: 12, Coard: 35).

For capital, relative security was assured. As Prime Minister Bishop stated in a 1981 interview, 'the state sector alone cannot develop the economy, given the very low level of technology available, the limited human resources, the lack of capital, the lack of marketing expertise, the lack of promotional capacity. So, we must stimulate the private sector generally...'(EPICA Task Force report, 1982: 75 - cited from Granma Weekly Review, 12/7/81: 4).

Traditional 'friendly countries' (e.g. Britain, USA, Canada) had their own difficulties in accumulation in the midst of a massive international economic crisis. However, manipulative traits in dealing with Grenada were never far beyond the horizon. Under the PRG, aid from the USA and Britain as well as the West at large literally dried up though Canada was a notable exception. On the other hand, the British firm Plessey Airport Ltd., for instance, signed a £6.6 million agreement for the supply of goods and equipment for the Point Salines project (CANA, in Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 17, 1983: 35).

The dominant sources of aid became Cuba, the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, and the Middle-East. The early popularity of the revolution with several countries/groups and Coard's meticulous handling of the country's finances, was a contributory factor in the failure of the USA's Director of the IMF to block a loan of US$6.3 million for capital projects in 1981. Finance Minister Coard did not take the delay on that IMF loan lightly and declared in 1981 that the PRG had taken steps to "prove beyond a shadow of a doubt" that the actions of the World Bank...and International Monetary Fund...are motivated by opportunism and political prostitution..." He said letters had been sent to fellow members of the IMF Board of Governors briefing them on the "blatant and vulgar political interference" by the IMF and the WB in Grenada's internal affairs (see Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May 1981: 23).

In August, 1983 an approved IMF Extended Fund Facility of SDRs13.5 million for Grenada (see IMF Annual Report, 1985: 102) on terms which were satisfactory came into force but was cancelled in January, 1984. The U.S. under a Caribbean Basin Initiative ruled out assistance.

18. For instance, tourism, in which the Point Salines airport project would be a bonus.

19. The Finance Minister when asked by a Nicaraguan interviewer why he approached the IMF, replied - 'Where else were we to obtain funds? The point is this: the private banks lend money at very high levels of interest, much higher than those of the IMF...' (cited in LAB, 1984: 42)
to Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

IMF assistance, useful in promoting the interests of the Grenadian owning class, further tied Grenada into the capitalist system though the terms were not as fierce as those confronting the Manley regime in Jamaica in the latter part of the 1970s. Even the Point Salines airport project was to be - at least on the face of it - a bonus to the advance of that group into lucrative areas. Indeed, in the post revolutionary period after the U.S. completed the airport - which it previously propagandized as a Soviet base, a Caribbean reporter for the conservative Financial Times (11/12/86) wrote glowingly of the new airport: 'Grenada's new international airport is a godsend for the tourist industry. Governments, past and present, have argued passionately about the need for an airport to exploit potential...'

In terms of the PRG’s efforts to enlarge the state sector, two of the nation’s foreign-owned banks were also acquired. The Marketing and National Import Board (MNIB) ‘removed the opportunity for unpatriotic elements of the bourgeoisie to create artificial shortages of essential foods and supplies’ (Bishop, interview, 1982/83, Searle, 1984: 9). The PRG passed the Grenada Electricity Services (Share Transfer) law which “without payment of further compensation”, transfers 32,000 CDC shares in the GES to the PRG thus making the PRG the majority shareholder in GES...’ (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May 1981: 17)

3.7 Counter-revolution, division, dismantling, and invasion

The political dimension under the Revolution was gone through in an earlier section. Here, we supplement that and provide part of the summary of the dynamics of the period as a whole.

The PRG/NJM made notable strides compared with the Gairy era in the political, social and economic spheres some of which have been noted in detail above. It abolished ‘all the anti-worker laws which were on the books’ (Coard, interview, Searle, 1979: 182) and under the Trade Union Recognition Act which it introduced ‘nearly the entire working class’ was unionized in four months. Arbitrary dismissal was also prohibited. Capital saw its relatively free hand restrained, although, as observed, it did not previously (under GULP, etc.) have an untroubled tenure. However, the regime’s relationship with the workers was not always conflict-free and protracted disputes with some unions leading up to a settlement in 1981 (see, e.g., Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May, 1981: 19-21) showed the government being critical of unions. An effective housing programme was put in place, more extensive facilities for medical care (and provision of free medical care) were provided, and free secondary education was introduced. Diversification of agriculture, expansion in agro-industry, and development of fisheries were also among the wide range of initiatives.

$14.1 million according to the calculation of some sources.

A Reagan administration-proposed and sponsored aid package - involving economic and military assistance to Caribbean and Central America, and the alleged opening up of the U.S. market to certain regional products. See reference in earlier section of the study.
Links which Gairy had developed with South Korean and Chilean regimes were cut. The PRG also strengthened links which the NJM had started with the progressive regimes and the official Communist movement in the Caribbean, and with Eastern Bloc countries. In the Caribbean, it identified closely with Cuba, the Sandinist struggle and revolution in Nicaragua, the Workers' Party of Jamaica, the People's National Party, and the left in Guyana.

Such arrangements were not particularly palatable to even the local 'anti-imperialist bourgeoisie', nor regional allies in the Anglophone Caribbean even if these elements seemed somewhat prone to accept many of the various measures in the early days of the Revolution. For several regional leaders and the broad ruling class the Gairy dictatorship's demise implied some promise, but schooled and preserved as they were under colonialism and the 'virtues' of Westminster-style parliamentary democracy - they could not resist the temptation of a persistent call for the (promised) elections.

Other forms of political, and, associated economic arrangements and ideological tendencies threatened the Anglophone Caribbean's ruling and economic elite's (closely interlinked) entrenched power in Grenada itself and regionally. The PRG and NJM leadership reiterated that elections 'could be important' and could be held when the climate for the exercise of democracy obtained (see, e.g., Bishop - interview - New Internationalist, Dec. 1980: 22). A not dissimilar position was taken by the FSLN in Nicaragua until the 1984 elections which under the view of international observers gave the Sandinista a comfortable majority, and which was not only rejected by the Nicaraguan ruling class, but also by the United States which sponsored the victorious UNO in the February 1990 elections.

Shortly after the local Chamber of Commerce greeted the insurrection - and on the basis of available evidence, without any pressure to do so - the Caribbean Employers' Federation, through its president 'sought to allay the fears of the Caribbean bourgeoisie at the annual general meeting of the...Federation.' The president, Angela Smith 'pointed to the presence of a Rotarian and a former president of the Chamber...in the PRG and denied allegations that there were Cubans involved in the armed take over' (Ambursley, 1983: 206, from Caribbean Employers' Federation 1979). As Ambursley notes, after then a number of differences developed between the NJM and the organizations, but these, he explains, had their basis in style and the unwillingness of certain capitalists to fully embrace the PRG's development efforts.

Most Caribbean economies have provided direct outlets for the expansion of monopoly capital. Notable avenues are the money laundering operations of the Cayman Islands, the bauxite industry in Jamaica (and formerly, Guyana), and oil in Trinidad and Tobago. Often, there have been joint ventures between local (public and/or private) and overseas capital. It is difficult to realistically separate the two in terms of a common fundamental interest in the profit motive, and the preservation of the political/ideological climate for this. Prime Minister Bishop told a gathering in May, 1981 that his government had uncovered a four-sided plot by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), Esso Standard Oil Company and Barclays Bank International. One side was to allow generation equipment of Grenada Electricity Services (GES) - jointly owned by the CDC and the Grenada Government - to deteriorate and not to bring in any spares. Another was to fail to collect
customers' bills so there would be no cash to pay for fuel supplied by Esso (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May 1981: 16-17). The Bulletin stated:

In an obvious reference to Barbados and his disagreement with Prime Minister Tom Adams, Mr. Bishop said the PRG had discovered that this plot had originated in an island 'not far from' Grenada, 'an island that has been involved in other respects against our revolution', and where a number of regional companies have their headquarters...

The Geest banana multinational of Britain which we met earlier hesitated to resume the purchase of Grenadian (and Windward Islands') bananas after turning to Central America following a hurricane disaster of 1980.

As explained, the Grenadian capitalist class had several causes for concern in spite of the PRG/NJM's considerable accommodation - not so much in rhetoric as in action - towards capital, the national and regional sections of the class and some allied elements. The regime was made to understand this in no uncertain terms before and after the October, 1979 closure of the Torchlight newspaper which grew to be a thorn in its side. That action and the placing of a ceiling on individual shareholding in a newspaper at a maximum of four per cent under People's Law No.81 (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, May 1981) attracted conspicuous antagonism towards the PRG. The paper was partly owned by Express Newspapers Ltd. of Trinidad and local capitalists.

A carefully orchestrated CIA plot set in train in collaboration with local capitalists and middle class elements involving the launch of The Grenadian Voice in at least a five-stage process, had a contributory role in raising tensions across the region. In unmasking the plot, Bishop in a May 1981 speech said, regarding the 'Committee of 26' (including several members of the GNP) who had published one issue of the newspaper:

It is no accident then...that so many of the elements of the "Committee of 26" come from the biggest and most unpatriotic landowners in the country, those who are opposed to land reform...to workers' participation... (see Searle, 1983: 48; also Searle/In Nobody's Backyard, 1984).

Castro, evidently had a good relationship with Bishop and supported the latter's approach - a factor which emerged clearly in the condemnatory statements against the Coard faction after the shootings of Bishop and others. Moreover, the Cuban Communist Party stated in response to that crisis (20/10/83):

Now imperialism will try to use this tragedy and the serious mistakes made by the Grenadian revolutionaries to sweep away the revolutionary process in Grenada and place the country under imperial and neocolonialist rule once again (Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana, 1983: 12).

As Marable has argued, '...two contradictory strains of socialism were present within the NJM, both of which were reinforced by the traditional political culture and social structure of the population. One current of Grenadian society was egalitarian, democratic, and Jamesian; the other was hierarchical, statist, command-oriented, placing power above the masses, and resembling in several administrative respects the rigid autocratic features of Crown Colony and the Gairy regimes' (1987: 199).

Reference to C. L. R. James.
At the birth of the revolution the somewhat liberal Carter administration had played an apparent wait-and-see role:

We believe in a policy of nonintervention (Presidential Papers, 1979: 1665).

Carter himself in a statement to the nation (U.S.) on October 1, 1979 was deemed quite hostile by Prime Minister Bishop who referred to the "new threat" posed by the United States to the Caribbean, in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin, Oct./Nov., 1979: 41). By late 1980 he was saying, 'I think that Washington fears that we could set an example for the rest of the Caribbean if our Revolution succeeds...' (New Internationalist, Dec. 1980: 22).

The more militaristic, overtly hostile and provocative approach under Reagan was evident from early in defining the Grenadian revolution in terms of East-West conflict, and U.S. links with mercenaries were implied. There had been a continuing U.S. orchestrated propaganda flow to destabilize the regime (see e.g.. Bishop - interview, 1982 in Searle; Gilmore, 1984). After the invasion, Reagan in emphasizing a Soviet build-up in the region noted:

We have been slow to understand that the defense of the Caribbean and Central America against Marxist-Leninist takeover is vital to our national security in ways we are not accustomed to think about (1983 - Presidential Papers, 1984: 373).

As Bishop saw, the United States had no embassy in Grenada and no newspaper through which it could pursue its programme of destabilization against the revolution so it acted through local agents (Interview, Searle, 1982: 8) with linkages through the CIA and so on.

According to PM Eugenia Charles of Dominica, Chair of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) she 'personally did not get in touch with them' [Britain], adding that, 'you know that Britain have always made it abundantly clear to us that when we got independence they would not be responsible for our security anymore' (Weekly Gleaner (EU), 18/4/84). The misguided assessment that Britain was kept in the dark about the invasion and was opposed to it has been advanced by some sources (e.g., O'Shaughnessy, 1984). Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, stressed that the PRG was unconstitutional (Hansard, Oct. 1983). Howe refused to tell the Commons important details of telephone contacts with Washington leading up to the invasion. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's commitment to annihilate socialism was constantly evident, and in late 1991, a year after her removal and in later campaigns, she was repeating her relevant achievements. In the Eastern Caribbean's Anglophone countries and Jamaica, officials and large sections of the
populations were said to have been jubilant. JLP Prime Minister Seaga told the House of Representatives in Jamaica:

The time has now come when the English-speaking Caribbean Countries [have] made it unmistakably clear that we will not tolerate subversion and revolution... (Jamaica Hansard, 1983: 51)

International support for the revolution was noticeably strong from the Non-Aligned Movement of which the PRG was a member. Opposition to the invasion was widely voiced by this lobby at the United Nations (see, e.g., UN Chronicle, Dec. 1983; 15-22).

3.8 Other revolutions and their struggles

What were the contexts of some other revolutionary efforts of the twentieth century? What factors have given legitimacy to a movement, particularly leading up to and at the point of accession to political power? How have classes featured in the process?

PRG/NJM's failure is not unusual. At the same time, successes in change efforts of a progressive revolutionary nature are becoming increasingly difficult to identify, especially in the late twentieth century global shifts, the specific situation of the electoral demise of the Sandinists in Nicaragua, and so on. The Angolan and Mozambican cases have had severe disruptions. Mozambique's revolutionary leader, Samora Machel died in a mysterious plane crash at the end of the 1980s. Rebel leaders with South African sponsorship and other connections contributed to dilution and fragmentation of the change effort and helped to reduce the country economically and politically to near shambles by 1991/92. The hazards of such change have been further illustrated by rebel leaders' removal in the early 1990s of Ethiopia's Marxist-oriented regime in favour of tendencies towards Muslim fundamentalism. Any flaws in the regimes or their methods are, of course, another related matter.

A few comments through the work of observers are in order. A useful beginning is the point raised by Laclau and Mouffe. In

[...]revolutions in the peripheral world which took place under a communist leadership... from China to Vietnam or Cuba, the popular mass identity was other and broader than class identity. The structural split between 'masses' and 'class', which we saw insinuating itself from the very beginning of the Leninist tradition, here produced the totality of its effects (1985: 62).

In this 'peripheral world', communist discourse was presented with problems, for instance: How to characterize the plurality of antagonisms emerging on a mass terrain different from that of classes'; and how could 'the hegemonic force retain a strictly proletarian character, once it had incorporated the democratic demands of the masses in its own identity...' (p.62)

Surely, the most profound revolutionary change in the Caribbean of the twentieth century occurred in Cuba. As Zeitlin hypothesizes, the first socialist revolution in a capitalist country occurred in Cuba 'where the owning class was capitalist and the direct producers were wage workers' (1989: 266). For him, the working class was not only the largest, most cohesive and politically conscious class but also one with a countrywide spread, and 'a durable revolutionary and socialist
political culture set in motion by the anarcho-syndicalists and continued under the Communists. Moreover, this could not be said of any other country for generations in which revolutions have taken place - not even of pre-revolutionary Russia, China, Mexico, Bolivia, Algeria, or Vietnam (p.267).

In other social revolutions of the twentieth century, the hand of the ruling class gained in strength from a rural mass social base which could be mobilized to defend their interests. A foundation in legitimacy and control existed. 'Mexican revolutionaries had to violently confront and overcome the combined might of the Catholic Church and hacendados - the large landowners.' The capitalist class such as existed in Cuba was politically, economically, and militarily dependent on America and this accounted for its lack of social legitimacy. Further:

They were illegitimate in the eyes of virtually the entire population because they had shown their incapacity to rule effectively (1989: 268).

A mass-based Marxist socialist movement was relatively durable in the case of Chile, and contrary to the situation in Cuba. Chile’s ruling strata had considerable legitimacy on a landed and industrial buttress and a demonstrated capacity to rule over about a century ‘without either foreign control or the intervention of the military as an autonomous social force’ (1989: 268-269).

Zeitlin raises a point about comparative democracy which is also interesting:

This contrast in the capacity of these classes to rule is also shown by the fact that Chilean political stability and parliamentary democracy have been inseparable. In Cuba, the forms of political democracy associated with capitalism had so to speak exhausted themselves...Parties and politicians associated with Cuba’s ‘Congress’ were all but universally held in contempt. Parliamentary democracy as the legitimate mode of representative government and the bounds within which major conflicts ought to be resolved and government policy determined had lost legitimacy, if indeed it ever existed; a major ideological obstacle to revolutionary change had therefore been eroded well before the revolutionaries took power (1989: 269).

Huberman and Sweezy noted that the Cuban revolution and regime had little to fear (when they wrote, at any rate) from ‘its domestic enemies in the big bourgeoisie and urban middle classes, backed as it was by a well equipped and battle-tested army and enjoying the overwhelming support of the peasants and the workers...’ They felt that the ‘real threat’ came from abroad and that this could have involved internal agents’ (1961: 158-159). The countless attempts made on Fidel Castro’s life partly illustrate that threat. Further, the Cuban experience was built up over a long period of revolutionary struggle, and hence did not fall to the neo-imperialism of say, Mexico. Cuba itself is now quite isolated against the background of fragmentation in Eastern Europe and the reversals in the region.

Urban anarchists, Hart suggests, greatly inspired the Mexican revolution of 1910 (revolutionary period 1910-1917) both doctrinally and through concrete activism. By helping to contribute a body of doctrine, ‘they hoped to change the nature of Mexican agrarianism from profound but relatively inarticulate uprisings into a movement reinforced by a coherent peasant view of the world to come’ (1978: 15). The situation had been one in which:

Resistance provoked by oppression and the lack of basic necessities articulated a programme designed to preserve traditional patterns of peasant life... (p.15).
Hart stresses that both in Mexico and Latin America as a whole, anarchism was much more important than Marxism until after the Russian Revolution (1978: 17). The 'success' of the 'anarchist agraristas' as far as they became a part of the movement stemmed from the compatibility of their program with the values, traditions, and aspirations of the sedentary-indigenous people. This agrarian heritage consisted of individual identification with the local village; a sense of egalitarianism; an abiding distrust of outsiders, such as absentee landlords, labor recruiters, tax collectors, military conscriptors, and government officials; and a persistent suspicion of politics in general... The combination led to the agrarian upheaval of 1910 (p.15). Hart further points out that the 'rise of the bourgeoisie and the factory system of production in the second half of the nineteenth century spawned' a new proletariat comprising former agricultural workers who migrated to the city to be confronted and become enmeshed in oppressive social conditions (which helped to inspire the 'rapid spread of revolutionary ideas and organizations') (1978: 16).

Mao wrote that: 'Never has our country been as united as it is today. The victories of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, coupled with our achievements in socialist construction, have rapidly changed the face of old China' (1959: 299). In all this contradictions still existed - within the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie; between the interests of the state, collective interests and individual interests; between democracy and centralism, and so on (1959: 300).

The Nicaraguan Sandinist revolution of which much was outlined in Chapter One, ran its course of under eleven years (1979-1990), rising on the sentiments of internal class contradictions and nationalism. Vilas remarks in the aftermath:

...what then remains of the Sandinista revolution? If we think of it as a socialist revolution, or at least one that had embarked on a transition to socialism, then the reply can only be devastating. If, as I do, we think of the Sandinista revolution as a popular, democratic, anti-imperialist revolution, the response is much more hopeful (1991: 316).

In any event, the notion that Nicaragua had embarked on a "transition to socialism" was always a questionable hypothesis' (1991: 302).

Weber suggests what appears to have been one of the crucial factors in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua in the first place and in sustaining the revolution's momentum: by 'draping its undistorted programme and methods of struggle in the cloth of Sandinism...the leadership was able to turn the formidable weapon of patriotism against the whole of the bourgeoisie...' (1981: 36. See also Vilas, 1986: 127) Weber, has also noted that Washington's interest in Nicaragua had had a largely strategic character. Large plantations, stock-breeding and industrial enterprises were in the hands of the Nicaraguan ruling class (1981: 34). Little represented were the large multinationals, in this regard it is reminiscent of Grenada, but not Jamaica which had to challenge the bauxite multinationals.

3.9 Conclusion

Significant political and social transformation or attempts to implement this begin most frequently as ideas which may be guided into fruition by gradual or revolutionary processes and/or become possible by the unfolding of a necessary array of events. Whatever their route, as new circumstances, sometimes incongruous with the desires of the those groups who control wealth and power in backward capitalism, for instance, they are necessarily perceived as antagonistic to the interests of such groups. At times, indeed, they fall back on themselves against the onslaught of oppositional forces and various constraints - some of an economic nature - within their domestic contexts and sometimes further afield.

The insurrection by its very nature as a dramatic change of government in a society and set of societies nurtured through the gradualist change of late colonialism and the ‘proper’ channels of Westminster-style government during the period of formal political independence, would attract a cautious and even hostile reception. Economic and political stability as a state of affairs and their own wellbeing are prized by the privileged of commerce and industry, and new uncertain arrangements point to potential - even if temporary - constraints, upon the conduct of business as usual. The Grenada insurrection was an unusual occurrence by any yardstick standing frontally as it did against known version of ‘uprightness’ in political practice and constitutionality in Anglophone Caribbean experience.

We saw how Grenada’s class forces developed from an agrarian-dominated social formation like other Caribbean countries through domination of the political sphere by the local ruling class and through the metropolitan link in the colonial apparatus. The emergence of a middle class, mainly concerned with operating within the prevailing system characterized the political and anti-colonial efforts of Grenadians such as T. A. Marryshow. Grenada’s history of resistance, and class conflict was highlighted by Fedon’s Rebellion which is perhaps closest to the 1979 insurrection, and the 1951-52 unrest under Gairy’s leadership which soon placed him at the political helm through the trade union-led economic struggle against the oligarchy.

The New Jewel Movement itself and many of the eventual leaders of the insurrection and Revolution were among those who led the Black Power demonstrators in St. George’s, Grenada in 1970 and who had developed an anti-imperialist consciousness, and soon, a realization that the dictatorship in Grenada itself had to be challenged. Accordingly Strachan, the eventual Minister of National Mobilization under the Revolution stated when the NJM was formed in 1973 that ‘people would only awaken from this nightmare if resistance and democracy were one. We had to provide a genuine democratic alternative’ (Grenada is not Alone, 1982: 84). A Marxist-Leninist path was pursued after the mid-1970s but, as in the case of Jamaica there was the pragmatic tendency to hesitate regarding the promulgation of ‘isms’ in the interest of maintaining a broad political alliance in the early stages and against the background of a fragile economy.

The end of the Revolution itself - in spite of several quite useful initiatives in various spheres, including the shift from Westminster-style democracy and several social programmes, as we observed, was due to a number of factors such as counter-revolution (internal, and otherwise graphically expressed through the US-led invasion), waning of early popular inspiration, party division, economic constraints which imposed limits on what could be achieved and so on. At another level, it appears that formulas derived notably from Moscow were largely accepted with less than enough regard for the particular nature of the Caribbean context.
CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIA AND SOCIETY: SOME THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter pursues the more media-related theoretical line a general observation which was advanced in the introduction to this study, namely that any examination of the media which evacuates them from their broader context can only be inadequate. In a broad sense the term 'holistic' view or approach points to the preferred framework as it points to the role of the media in the wider society and seats them in this wider context. McQuail, for instance, in identifying what he views as the main alternative approaches to the study of mass communication in the social sciences, sees each as linked to different academic disciplines. Thus, the

'holistic' and usually 'top-down' approaches...presuppose a coherence or unity of the media 'system' and give more attention to 'society' as the source and determinant of this knowledge-producing and organizing institution. Such macro-approaches are more likely to be found in sociology and political science but they also draw on history, economics and philosophy (1983: 57).

The other categories are content-centred, and audience-centred. It is this 'holistic' approach which guides the present study.

It is useful to continue from where we left off in main introduction with regard to the two dominant theoretical frameworks guiding the study of mass communication. The first category is pluralist or liberal-pluralist (or 'liberal democratic'-based) tendencies, and the second - the critical or Marxist tendencies.

The chapter has two other principal tasks. Firstly, it examines outgrowths of liberal-pluralist approaches, namely the assumptions of 'managerialism' and 'consumer sovereignty' with regard to the broad parameters of corporate ownership, power and control and critically dispatches them. Secondly, conceptual and theoretical offerings about the production of news and information are examined prior to, particularly, the empirical presentation in Chapter Seven. This theoretical outline should partly assist in isolating how the mediation process is likely to affect transformation currents of the type that is emphasized in this study. In addition, a note is offered on methodology, particularly with reference to content analysis which will be mainly relevant to Chapters Eight and Nine.

4.2 The basis of the liberal/liberal-pluralist approach to the press

According to Smith (1968), liberalism is 'the belief in, and commitment to a set of methods and policies' which embrace the 'common aim' of greater freedom for individuals. In its early form, liberalism was identified with political parties, social classes, and frequently with specific programmes. However, even though some parties bear the title 'Liberal', contemporary use of the term denotes 'a system of thought and practice that is less specific than a philosophical doctrine and more inclusive than party principle. Furthermore, it falls short of the nomenclature 'ideology'
because it is 'too ecumenical and too pluralistic.' Contemporary liberalism arises from centuries of development and attitudes and responses widely shared among individuals. Basically, it can be viewed as referring to:

- a valuing of the free expression of individual personality;
- a belief in people's ability to make that expression valuable to themselves and to society; and
- the upholding of those institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expression and confidence in that freedom (1968: 276)

Pluralism, in some respects is closely interrelated. According to Ehrlich (1982: xi) the existing interpretation of pluralism in the Western world is associated with 'the idea that pluralism is a characteristic feature of democracy in a capitalist system, manifested by social and political differentiation and a supposed dispersal of power throughout its numerous centres. This scattering of power, whose various elements are to form a system of checks and balances, is considered to be the foundation of individual freedom.' Interpreted along those lines, pluralism 'is opposed to socialist societies which are seen as uniform and monolithic, marked by a lack of social and political differentiation, and accompanied by the centralization of power.' The 'vulgarization of the issue', as Ehrlich sees it, has led to an 'over-simplification of arguments and counter-arguments.'

He goes on to state:

We shall define pluralism as that trend which strives to restrict centralism (not justified in definite fields and in a given historical period)...and as pluralistic every trend which opposes uniformity, both in social and political structure and in the sphere of culture, the uniformity which centralism inevitably breeds. Pluralistic theories on the whole do not deny that there are vast areas of state administration and social life which are approved by all...but consider it neither desirable nor possible that in a free country there should be a uniform common will that absorbs the diversified intentions of various groups. It is indifferent in this connection whether uniformity results from intentional action from the centre of power (i.e., the centre of decision-making in political matters) and hence is something artificial and imposed upon society, an entity duly institutionalized, i.e. comprised within a system of norms; or results from spontaneous, and hence uncontrolled social development (1982: xi).

For Ehrlich too, all 'normative pluralism has social and political differentiation as its point of departure.' Moreover, 'pluralism must be treated as a historical category, as a phenomenon which manifests itself anew in every epoch. Every epoch gives rise to a new structure of interests; hence the importance of the proper comprehension of the concept of interest when we reflect on pluralism' (1982: xii)

To take the cue from here, the rest of this section will examine the growth of liberal-pluralist thought and some of its fairly concrete manifestations particularly as related to the press, the related West-centred version(s) of 'freedom of the press' and the journalist's 'code of conduct'. Firstly, let us diverge slightly and briefly to note a fairly recent construction of what is taken here as a component of the fairly typical liberal-pluralist position which - in this particular case - arises in the work of J. K. Galbraith.

1 Smith used the word "men's", and above that I also substituted the word individual, for another occurrence of "men". I do not think that will substantially change the meaning, but we may bear in mind that men - and some men perhaps more so - are the product of their society, on which they sometimes, but only sometimes, act in a fundamental way!
Galbraith (1957) referred to a countervailing tendency pointing to fairly dispersed power, in suggesting that for every centre of power that emerges in society (He was referring to American society) a countervailing centre emerges to offset it and thus the public's interest is served. For him, this counterpart of competition or countervailing power manifested itself through 'new restraints on private power' which 'did appear to replace competition. They were nurtured by the same process of concentration which impaired or destroyed competition. But they appeared not on the same side of the market but on the opposite side, not with competitors but with customers or suppliers' (1957: 111). This assessment has been rightly criticized in some quarters. Ulmer illustrated that for many centres of power in the society no opposing countervailing powers emerged thereby neutralizing the first of Galbraith's main propositions on this topic. Even worse is the fact, as Ulmer observed that ‘when one centre of power’ did ‘countervail’ the other, no evidence arose to suggest that the public welfare was the beneficiary’ (1959: 250-251).

Pluralist approaches to analysis of the press owe their presence to Western societies' guiding philosophy, liberalism which centralizes individual right, and enshrines scepticism of the usefulness of the state (but from a different angle compared to critical theorists). Liberalism has its foundations particularly in the geographical location and time frame of sixteenth to eighteenth century Britain with the broadening of the accessible physical world, the ascendancy of reason, the decline of royal powers and their subsumption by the parliamentary process, and capitalist development.

The libertarian tradition which emerged through philosophers such as Milton and Locke envisaged a free market of ideas. It represented a shift from authoritarianism (of which more will be said below) and gained a foothold within the intellectual ferment associated with the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment itself premised human capacity to reason and understand the world and universe without need for reference to the supernatural. It coincided with the development of science and the expansion of the horizons of physical travel, and so on. For the libertarian position, as a set of philosophical ideals

...the system spread throughout the world when liberalism was at its zenith, in the nineteenth century. Practically all democratic countries in the world adopted the libertarian theories and embodied them in their constitutions or fundamental laws (Selbert, 1956: 51)

The colonial outposts at various parts of the globe, and not least within the Anglophone Caribbean, the most prized of British colonial possessions at one stage, were nurtured in a large way on these principles. The growth of journalism, its 'ideology' and ethos, as well as the tools of the trade in such societies have gone hand-in-hand with the traditions in Europe and North America (see, e.g., Golding, 1977; Martin & Musa, 1987). Indeed, the early newspapers and even within the twentieth century under global transnational presence a large proportion of the communications industry including newspaper publishing and the imported 'culture' of production was in the embrace of this sort of influence (plus ownership and control). In all this, however, we must never lose sight of the problematic nature of the context. In this light Nettleford in addressing a journalists' conference in Jamaica (Dec., 1989) reminds us, for instance, that:

...Eurocentricity dominates our being in every major field of endeavour and this is duly reinforced by latter day cultural penetration from Europe's trans-Atlantic surrogate, the United States of America...

Our ordinary people learnt about democracy in its pristine sense not from reading Plato, Aristotle, Jefferson or John Stuart Mill, but from the life-experience of
struggle against slavery and the existential reality of resistance against persistent institutionalized racism, by retreat into the inviolable inner sanctums where free thinking and creative work are forged. Such a reality is yet to be a full and central part of our modus operandi in crafting a safe entry into the 21st century ("A time for Dialogue").

To continue with the broader context, freedom of speech and of the press without government interference would allow for 'right' to emerge victorious through the 'self-righting' process. Censorship was to be avoided. Great store was made of individual freedom and the right of the individual to free expression. Thomas Jefferson, an early American philosopher and statesman felt that the press was a key information source as well as a guiding force for the populace. The democratic process would be enhanced by an educated and informed population. The press itself had to be free from state control if it were to perform its rightful role in a democracy by informing the public and maintaining a watchful eye on government lest government reneged on its promise to perform its duties. From this was derived the concept of the 'Fourth Estate'. A counterpart, J. S. Mill - on the other side of the Atlantic wrote in a similar vein:

The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by, when any defence would be necessary of the 'liberty of the press' as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government. No argument...can now be needed, against permitting a legislature or an executive, not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or what arguments they shall be allowed to hear (1974: 75).

Tocqueville observed that in some countries 'which profess to enjoy the privileges of freedom, every individual agent of Government may violate the laws with impunity since those whom he oppresses cannot prosecute him before the courts of justice.' In such a case, he argued, press freedom was 'not merely a guarantee, but the only guarantee' of the 'liberty' and 'security which the citizens' possessed (1980: 88). [Emphasis original] Like Mill, he felt acutely concerned about 'the tyranny of the majority' as that which may be cloaked with the unchecked powers of government. For him:

...The sovereignty of the people and the freedom of the press may therefore be looked upon as inseparable institutions; the censorship of the press and universal suffrage are two things which are irreconcilably opposed, and which cannot long be retained among the institutions of the same people. Not a single individual...who inhabit...the United States has as yet dared to propose any restrictions on the liberty of the press... (1980: 88)

The various ramifications of these arguments cannot be entered into here but it will suffice to say that they represent the sort of themes which lent clarity to the libertarian position.

In England, the 'main battle to establish freedom for the mass media was fought in the eighteenth century, and in the vanguard of that fight were the printers and publishers of newspapers' (Siebert, 1956: 47). In 1694 when the licensing system was abolished the press became the target of prosecutions for sedition and, less directly, of factors such as particular taxation, and restricted access to Parliament.

Bills of Rights from the eighteenth century protected press freedom along with clauses on speech and religion. Within the framework of liberalism, it was stressed that such freedom was not absolute and further, that law as shaped by Parliament and the Courts was necessarily uppermost.

2 Rather than a 'surrogate' in its late post-Boston Tea Party/political independence pageantry, in other writing beyond this thesis I have preferred to describe it as a secondary or second-level colonizer within modern imperialism.
Gerard reminded that ‘Milton’s model of the society of open communication was incorporated in 1791, as part of the Bill of Rights, into our Constitution.’ He cited the ‘natural and historic association of journalism with politics’ and noted that business and politics ‘were hardly separable or distinguishable, but the idea of political and economic independence grew inside the press’ (1963: 19). In fact, here we begin to encounter the shape of the contradictions which would lead to the next stage in the life of the press or the next ‘normative theory’ of it which will be discussed shortly.

A central tenet of the libertarian stance was opposition to government monopoly of the instruments of mass communication. In part, it heralded the era of twentieth century global communication empires in insisting that any person - citizen or foreigner - should be unrestricted in the right to own and operate mass communication channels in the atmosphere of capitalist free enterprise. Private ownership was assumed. As Siebert explained:

> Anyone with sufficient capital could start a communication enterprise, and his success or failure would depend upon his ability to produce a profit. Profit, in fact, depended upon his ability to satisfy his customers. In the end, the success of the enterprise would be determined by the public which it sought to serve (1956: 52).

In short, we are also being reminded of the structured place of profit and the motive for profit while being taken into an area which some observers have more recently defined as ‘consumer sovereignty’ (on which more will be said later). Early newspapers and publications in the emerging capitalist societies of the West, and, later in their colonial appendages, in fact, soon began to earn their survival or profit through circulation revenue, and later sometimes combined this with the generally more lucrative advertising receipts.

Some of the cardinal principles of journalistic practice became associated with the idea of press freedom. Reporters began to see their essential role as reporting the ‘facts’, and this was in line with, and influenced the decline of political partisanship in reporting in countries such as the USA and Britain. The increased presence of advertising and circulation as sources of revenue is also seen as having contributed to shaping the journalist’s stand as an ‘impartial’ observer. This stance and crystallizing professionalism also endorsed the separation of fact from opinion, the distinguishing of the news pages from editorial comment.

Libertarian theoretical postulates did not embrace need for, or the relevance of government’s power to impose restrictions on the press when national security was at risk during catastrophic processes such as the major twentieth century wars. These wars saw Western governments working closely with the media or limiting their access to centres of military activity. Indeed, beyond the major world wars, the press/media had relatively free access in the Vietnam War of the 1960s-1970s which some politicians felt might have contributed to the USA’s defeat. The US Government subsequently, literally closed the doors when it invaded Grenada in October 1983; and Western reporters and news correspondents from the broadcast and printed media in the 1991 Western-led war against Iraq were clearly reporting from the embrace of military officers and camps. Critical reporters in this last case (then almost non-existent), such as Britain’s John Pilger earned considerable hostility not only from politicians but perhaps most conspicuously from their colleagues.

\[3\text{See, e.g., McQuail (1983), for a brief reading on this.}\]
The libertarian theory had its shortcomings, and criticism of the idea of virtually unfettered 'freedom of the press' led to the development of what has been referred to as the 'social responsibility theory'. In the USA, the Commission on Freedom of the Press was somehow a culmination of this increased criticism through publications and modern philosophers of humanity's capacity to extract truth through the 'self-righting' process. Published in 1947, appropriately under the title A Free and Responsible Press, the Commission's inquiry was financed by grants from Time, Inc. and Encyclopaedia Britannica. The funds were managed through the University of Chicago and the research led by a team of American academics.

Governments continued to be the awesome potential enemy of free expression and the free press. It was cognizant of the US First Amendment and the tenets of Jeffersonian philosophy. '...government must set limits on its capacity to interfere with, regulate, or suppress voices of the press or to manipulate data on which public judgement is formed...Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are moral rights which the state must not infringe' (1947: 8-9; 114-121). Nevertheless, the idea of duties began to emerge:

The press is not free if those who operate it behave as though their position conferred on them the privilege of being deaf to ideas which the processes of free speech have brought to public attention (1947: 9).

Importantly, the Commission noted that the press had 'transformed itself into an enormous and complicated piece of machinery' and had 'become big business' (1947: 15). The number of press units had fallen markedly relative to the total population. To emphasize the shift in emphasis, and theory, a basis in contemporary reality was evident:

The right of free public expression has therefore lost its earlier reality. Protection against government is now not enough to guarantee that a man who has something to say shall have a chance to say it. The owners and managers of the press determine which persons, which facts, which version of the facts and which ideas shall reach the public (1947: 15-16).

Thus, one side of the coin was the effect of the communications revolution on the right of the citizen to publish his/her beliefs. The other side was the effect of the revolution on the press as an agency through which members of a free society received and exchanged opinions, ideas and information which they needed for participation in the management of society. The time had come 'for the press to assume a new public responsibility' (1947: 17). The Commission's assumed that through 'concentration of ownership the variety of sources of news and opinion is limited.' Thus:

the service of news, as distinct from the utterance of opinion, acquires a new importance. The need of the citizen for adequate and uncontaminated mental food is such that he is under a duty to get it....

To protect the press is no longer automatically to protect the citizen or the community. The freedom of the press can remain a right for those who publish only if it incorporates into itself the right of the citizen and the public interest...

Beyond the generalities, the Commission somehow saw press freedom as 'freedom from and freedom for.' It should be free from 'the menace of external compulsions from whatever source.' But, to 'demand that it be free from pressures which might warp its utterance would be to demand that society should be empty of contending forces and beliefs. But persisting and distorting pressures - financial, popular, clerical and institutional - must be known and counterbalanced. The press must, if it is to be wholly free, know and overcome any biases incident to its own economic
position, its concentration, and its pyramidal organization.' Further, it should be free to develop its own 'conceptions of service and achievement.' This implied that the press must also be accountable to society, 'for meeting the public need and for maintaining the rights of citizens and the almost forgotten rights of speakers who have no press' (1947: 19). The Freedom of Information Center of the University of Missouri in the United States carried out a survey on 'press freedom' under Ralph Lowenstein and started with the following definitions of 'free' and 'controlled' press:

A completely free press is one in which newspapers, periodicals, news agencies, books, radio and television have absolute independence and critical ability, except for minimal libel and obscenity laws. The press has no concentrated ownership, marginal economic units or organized self-regulation.

A completely controlled press is one with no independence or critical ability. Under it, newspapers, periodicals, books, news agencies, radio and television are completely controlled directly and indirectly by government, self-regulatory bodies or concentrated ownership (1976: 138).

According to Lowenstein too, '[j]ournalists in democracies are usually concerned with the degree of "press freedom" they enjoy', and this is 'not simply because this freedom involves their ability to turn out "the product from which they can earn their livelihood"; it is also based on the belief that "press freedom is inextricably bound up with political freedom" (1976: 136).

Peterson explains that the 'social responsibility' theory which began to emerge in the twentieth century does not deny the rationality of man, although it puts far less confidence in it than libertarian theory (1956: 100). He summarizes the functions in this case thus:

- servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs;
- enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government;
- safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government;
- servicing the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising;
- providing entertainment;
- maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests.

According to Peterson, social responsibility theory accepts the six functions but with certain provisos. For instance, it accepts the role of the press in servicing the economic system, but it would not allow this task precedence over other functions such as the promotion of democratic processes or enlightening the public (see 1956: 74).

Merrill goes further to propose 'three main approbative theories of press responsibility' as follows, and stresses that the third is the valid one for American society:

1. That which is legally defined or determined by government;
2. That which is professionally defined or determined by the press itself;
3. That which is pluralistically defined or determined by the individual journalists themselves.

He feels that that third theory 'is really harmonic with our social values and goals and, in spite of the individual instances of questionable journalistic behaviour in the press system, permits the greatest potential for freedom and responsibility' (1986: 49). Perhaps this would parallel the situation in
1990s Britain where the Press Complaints Commission's role is defined by publishers and journalists
who are largely their own police in spite of statutory restrictions which have led to large libel case
payouts, for instance, and of official threats particularly targeting tabloid sensationalism ('invasion
of privacy'). Nevertheless, it is clear that social responsibility is not similarly practised or interpreted
by all journalists in different countries or even within the same country (see, e.g., Ziff, 1986:
152-153).

Rivers and Schramm (1969: 50-51) add the useful point that

[social responsibility is defined by various publishers and journalistic groups...In fact,
the whole point of social responsibility is that it is defined by journalists and enforced not
at all. If it were defined and enforced by government, it would be nothing more than an
authoritarian system in disguise.

Merrill saw shortcomings in the theories of classifications of the press systems and felt that gradations
such as 'libertarian leaning' (1976: 20) were preferable. The assumption in the present study is that
in so far as the theories are of any use in their normative skeletons they are interrelated, and social
responsibility, for instance, does not represent a vast shift from libertarian. Seibert and his
colleagues themselves noted that ‘what we have called the Social Responsibility theory is only a
modification of the Libertarian theory (1956: 2).

Seibert et al and followers also highlighted two other closely related theories - the
authoritarian which was mentioned above in passing, and a development of that theory, the Soviet
communist theory. Authoritarian theory, they argued, is the oldest of the four theories and it
originated in the authoritarian atmosphere of the late Renaissance just after printing was invented: ‘In
that society, truth was conceived to be, not the product of the great mass of people, but of a few wise
men who were in a position to guide and direct their fellows...The press therefore functioned from the
top down. The rulers of the time used the press to inform the people of what they thought they should
know and the policies the rulers thought they should support’ (1956: 3). [Emphasis original]

Monarchical power was supreme, and publishing amounted to a form of 'agreement
between power source and publisher', in which the source granted a monopoly right and the
publisher offered support. The source also retained the right to 'license, and in some cases the right
to censor.' Implied is the absence of the idea of the libertarian, and social responsibility/social
libertarian 'watchdog'. According to Seibert and his colleagues, this concept of press as a servant of
the state was universally accepted for the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries; it set the
original patterns for most of the national press systems of the world, and still persisted. Libertarian
theory displaced the authoritarian theory with the growth of political democracy and religious
freedom, and as mentioned earlier, increased trade and travel, the rise of laissez-faire economics,
and the philosophical ferment of the Enlightenment (1956: 3).

Soviet Communist theory, Seibert et al explained, was grounded in Marxist determinism
and the political necessity of maintaining the political ascendancy of the party. As in old-style
authoritarianism, they suggested, the press operated as 'a tool of the ruling power' but with the
difference being state ownership. The concept of positive liberty was substituted for that of negative
liberty and so on (1956: 5).

Traversing the route through which many of the ideals of the press in Western societies,
have found a place in areas such as the Anglophone Caribbean through colonialism and imperialism, should allow us a better appreciation of the factors which shape the news and information production process and its complex of imagery. The foregoing should not be taken as evidence of the persisting dominance of external forces, but, rather more as residue existing within the primary (internal) domain which helps to shape the reproduction and mediation processes and which is itself, acted upon. Indeed, Somerlad, in identifying three 'concepts of information' referred to the authoritarian, the liberal, and the evolving, and he reminded, for instance, that it could not be assumed 'that the Western concept of press freedom can be transplanted intact to the new emerging nations, where circumstances are very different. The freedom of the press' has evolved in Western countries 'as part of the democratic Parliamentary system, based on individual liberty and private enterprise and can survive, in this form, only in a democracy where there is freedom of opinion and a representative government. In emerging nations, systems of government patterned on European institutions have frequently proved unworkable after the grant of independence, with inevitable repercussions on the status of the press' (1966: 140-141). In general, Somerland would not have been worried by the Anglophone Caribbean - it would appear - with the exception of revolutionary Grenada. Several of the themes which have arisen bear on the upcoming chapters.

This residue from the colonial era and its reproduction in journalistic practice, and in the context of the social production of culture and 'reality' has also manifested itself through modernization theory. Here is arises in terms of a critical 'positive' relationship with government or official policy in countries such as those which are emphasized in this study, and in some strands of mass communication research. The reference here is to what has been characterized as 'development journalism' and 'development communication'. In journalism the orientation or implication is that of media supporting programmes or policies operating in the public interest, in actuality promoting or selling new formulas or ideas to the 'backward' in agriculture, education, health care and the like. This orientation, it could be reasonably argued, exists to only a limited degree in the commercial press but operates more generally through the government public relations variant of journalism.

4.3 Critical/Marxist approaches

Over the years, the liberal-pluralist emphasis, has tended to dominate mass communication research, somewhat in tandem with the more lengthy existence of this informing theory. Suffice it to say, however, that considerable outcrops of critical analysis have managed to establish a rightful and necessary place at centre-stage, a factor not independent of the rise of twentieth century overarching global ideological polarization and continued cavernous inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power in human society.

4.3.1 Stressing economics: political economists, 'instrumentalists' and others

'Marxisant' or critical scholars, Murdock and Golding, although they refer to 'modera' societies (by reference to 'the advanced societies of both East and West) in putting forward a theoretical approach, note with some relevance:

4 See, e.g., Ogan & Fair, 1984 for a note on this; and works by e.g., Hoein, 1973, Campbell, 1984, & Mody, 1986; also note by Oto, 1986 & Musa, 1989.
Our basic departure is the recognition that social relations with and between modern societies are radically though variably, inequitable. And leading on from this our focus is on the relations between the unequal distribution of control over systems of communications and wider patterns of inequality in the distribution of wealth and power. At the broader level of the international system, our formulation focuses on the unequal exchanges between advanced and developing nations and on the various dimensions of imperialism.

Our second main concern is with the processes of legitimation through which the prevailing structures of advantage and inequality are presented as natural and inevitable. This entails exploring the relations between communication systems and the other agencies through which disadvantaged groups are incorporated into the existing social order. Our third and final starting point, then, is with the sources of social dissent and political struggle, and with dialectical relations between challenge and incorporation (1978: 352. See also, 1991).

Critical/Marxist strands of media/social analysis and theory have branched into major tendencies. Perhaps best emphasizing the major positions are two of Marx’s statements. The first, that ‘the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas’ (1970 - Part 1: 64-65; also Manifesto, 1977: 57) is a statement which represents at least a conditional starting point for those who launch their analysis from ideology (power and influence). The second - ‘in the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will...’ (see, Selected Works, 1942: 355-356) has been more attractive to structuralist/political economists. The positions are not mutually exclusive as is clear, for instance, in Marx’s own position in that he applied both approaches, realizing that any attempt at comprehensive analysis would be handicapped if it neglected either. As stressed by Bottomore, Marx’s conception is not marked by a one-sided determinism of society by nature, or of nature by society, but an interchange and a mutual influence (1973: 39). Interpretations of the statements vary but the major difference has been between those who uphold economic determinants (‘structuralist’-political economists), on the one hand, deliberate ‘action’ (‘instrumentalists’), on the other. The distinctions are not unproblematic, and they are perhaps losing much of their sharpness in view of late twentieth century restructuring and change.

In essence, instrumentalist approaches - of which there are several variants - begin, like structuralist political economists with economics as the foundation, but they concentrate instead on how the individual capitalist or capitalists as a group work to advance their particular interests or their general class interests. Adherents of instrumentalism have viewed the communications industries as being part of the general state of capital and as instruments of capitalists to preserve and sustain through media images, an unequal and exploitative social arrangement. An expansion and refinement in this strand of scholarship has seen an emphasis on images, on the one hand, and on the other, links between the capitalist class - the one more of granting primacy to ideological considerations and the other to the economic. Work in a quite sophisticated version of instrumentalism informed by economic roots has been advanced by authors such as Miliband (1973):

There is nothing particularly surprising about the character and role of the mass media in advanced capitalist society. Given the economic and political context in which they function, they cannot fail to be predominantly, agencies for the dissemination of ideas and values which affirm rather than challenge the existing patterns of power and privilege, and thus to be weapons in the arsenal of class domination... (1973: 211).

Perhaps a bit outdated is Mosco & Herman’s assessment that: ‘Unfortunately, neither approach has had much impact on communications research’ (1981: 65).
According to Milliband too, 'obviously, those who own and control the capitalist mass media are most likely to be men whose ideological dispositions run from soundly conservative to utterly reactionary; and in many instances, most notable in the case of newspapers the impact of their views and prejudices is immediate and direct, in the straightforward sense that newspaper proprietors have often not only owned their newspapers but closely controlled their editorial and political line as well, and turned them, by constant and even daily intervention, into vehicles of their personal views' (1973: 204-205).

Miliband is correct - and evidence of another phase of interventionist proprietors in the 1980s and start of the 1990s (less the recently deceased Robert Maxwell) is abundant in Britain, and it is a feature of advanced and backward capitalist societies. However, what Miliband apparently does is to view the news production situation as unproblematic, leaving journalists, and some other entities as ever 'passive'. It is not being argued that the journalists broadly would be an inevitable hindrance to this free hand of the proprietor but they require some attention which this study hopes to be able to offer in the not-so-different context of the Anglophone Caribbean.

Instrumentalist approaches are generally classified as "action-oriented". Murdock (1982: e.g., 124-127; also 1980) counterposes structural analysis which is, concerned with the ways the options open to allocative controllers are constrained and limited by the general economic and political environment in which the corporation operates. The pivotal concept here is not power but determination (1982: 124).

Meehan adds from a look at television, but quite useful: "...the creation of cultural artifacts is primarily an economic activity subject to the bounds of profitability, cost efficiency, oligopoly, and interpenetrating industries. Processes of production and distribution tend to be centralized, rationalized, and routinized, clearly placing such activities within the term "culture industry"." (1986: 449). Murdock (1982: 127) apparently sees considerable validity in Marx's statement drawn from Selected Works (1968: 188):

"The will of the capitalist is certainly to take as much as possible. What we have to do is not to talk about his will, but to inquire into his power, the limits of that power, and the character of those limits. [Emphasis original]"

A careful examination of the statement would inform that it is not fundamentally at variance with the preceding one. Further, if we ignore the capitalist's 'will' it nevertheless apparently embodies some cautious implication and appreciation that capitalists do exercise some power independent of the forces which constrain them even though it is frequently difficult to decipher whether the direct exercise of power constitutes a 're-action' or an 'action'.

It is quite acceptable that broad economic conditions and 'the economic organization and dynamics of mass media production determine the range and nature of the resulting output' (Murdock...
Murdock and Golding state that they do not defend "bald economic determinism" - a factor which sometimes tend to characterize some work in this broad tradition (e.g., Smythe 1977, 1980). Control 'over material resources and their changing distribution are' they argue, 'ultimately the most powerful of the many levers operating in cultural production. But clearly such control is not always exercised directly, nor does the economic state of the media organizations always have an immediate impact on their output' (Murdock & Golding, 1977: 20). In addition, they illustrate the consequences that certain economic processes have on cultural production. One is the range of material available through deletion of the less commercially successful. The second 'general consequence' is that the non-random process of concentration, etc., plus deletion of some voices 'systematically excludes voices lacking economic power or resources'. Indeed,

...the underlying logic of cost operates systematically, consolidating the position of groups already operating in the main mass-media markets and excluding those groups who lack the capital base required for successful entry. Thus, the voices which survive will largely belong to those least likely to criticize the prevailing distribution of wealth and power. Conversely, those most likely to challenge these arrangements are unable to publicize their dissent or opposition because they cannot command the resources needed for effective communication to a broad audience (1977: 37).

The tendency of the 'instrumentalist' and 'structuralist' approaches to develop separately is inappropriate. 'In the final analysis, it is not a question of choosing between structural determinism [and] methodological individualism but of exploring the relations between determination and concrete action, and ways in which they have been formed and transformed historically' (Murdock, 1980: 63). It should be borne in mind that either position may attain primacy over the other depending on the nature of the particular set of economic and political circumstances, the nature of the society being addressed and the particular historical stage. The peculiarities of the Caribbean context and its stage of capitalist development plus political currents which have grown out of colonialism and imperialism should be borne in mind in this regard. Furthermore, as Laclau states:

...If determination was a last instance it would be incompatible with autonomy, because it would be a relation of omnipotence. But, on the other hand, an absolutely autonomous entity would be one which did not establish an antagonistic relation with anything external to it, since for an antagonism to be possible, a partial efficacy of the two opposing forces is a prerequisite. The autonomy which both of them enjoy will therefore always be relative (1977). [Emphasis original]

Smythe (1980) calls the mass media the "shock troops" of the Consciousness Industry, and suggests that the manner in which they deal with news, and public controversial issues, for example, 'powerfully affects people's behaviour'. Approaching from the standpoint of influence for the book's theme, he argues that:

...the mass media have a more basic influence on our lives and our ideology because they, together with advertisers, take a central part in the process by which the monopoly-capitalist system grows or declines in strength. In the core area, the mass media produce audiences and sell them to advertisers of consumer goods and services, political candidates, and groups interested in controversial public issues (1980: 4). [Emphasis original]

Audiences perform three types of work, Smythe adds:
they market consumer goods and services to themselves;
- they learn to vote for one candidate (or issue) or another in the political arena;
- they learn and reaffirm belief in the rightness of their politico-economic system. (1980: 8-9)

Smythe assigns too much power on the part of media to influence audiences (a factor which would agonize liberal-pluralist observers and the old mass society theorists), and wraps up advertising too closely with the determination of the news and information product, virtually subsuming the latter into advertising. He blames Enzensberger for basing his analysis too much within an assessment suggesting manipulative media.

Enzensberger, in his book The Consciousness Industry (1974) argues that the media and cultural industry serve to reproduce the system of exploitation by producing the required consciousness in the majority of people. The media thus operates in tandem with the desire of the class of owners of media and industry (1974; & Jhally, 1989). According to Jhally, ‘Smythe’s version of Consciousness Industry differs from Enzensberger’s in that he stresses the absolutely fundamental necessity of the consumption of commodities for the survival of the system.’ Both too, are ‘functionalist in their treatment of the cultural realm’:

The first looks at the role of the media in the reproduction of society in general. The second emphasizes the role of media in the reproduction of the economy in general. In both accounts, the attention is not so much on the cultural and the media sphere itself, but on what function it plays within the system as a whole. While this is not an incorrect way to approach the study of culture, it is an incomplete and partial approach. Focusing on the wider role of the media deflects attention away from what could be learned if one focuses closely on the media themselves (1989: 70).

A reading of Smythe (e.g., 1980) and Enzensberger (1974) generally endorses what Jhally states. In another sphere, Miliband points to the question of degree in terms of his emphasis on empirical data in his contestation with Poulantzas which is touched on below. In a sense, in Jhally’s observation, it also seems to be a question of degree of emphasis, and it is necessary to be cautious in this regard because, to focus too closely on the media and fade out contextual background considerations may be self-defeating to an effort aimed at explaining or understanding the media. Garnham would be perhaps more satisfying to Jhally in that he attempts to ‘elaborate a political economy of culture with a political economy of mass communication taking its subsidiary place within the wider framework as the analysis of an important, but historically specific mode of the wider process of cultural production and reproduction’ (1981: 123). According to Garnham:

...the purpose of a political economy of culture is to elucidate what Marx and Engels meant in the German Ideology by ‘control of the means of mental production’, while stressing that the meaning that they gave to the term was quite clearly historical and therefore shifting and was never meant to be frozen into some simple dichotomy as it has so often been in subsequent Marxist writing. Further the political economy of mass-media is the analysis of a specific historical phase of this general development linked to historically distinct modalities of cultural production and reproduction (1981: 127).

In his own observations, Jhally argues that:

More and more areas are being drawn into the sphere of domination by exchange-value so that the cultural realm (where healthy societies think about their past, present, and future) becomes more and more intertwined with narrow economic concerns. Capitalist interests are moving forcefully into the one area of society where there may still exist some alternate social visions - a process of increasing colonization and control (1989: 81).
In a capitalist economy, exchange-value (worth) subordinates use-value (meaning). Thus, in the case of television (observations of which can in some cases be extrapolated to newspapers), for instance, the quality of programmes which arise are not reflective of the best that the artistic community can produce but point to the role they have 'to play in the production and exchange of audiences' (1989: 80).

Hund and Kirchhoff-Hund (1983) state that media capital, like industrial capital is spent for the purpose of exploitation. Further, 'the object of capital-exploiting news production is therefore not primarily news that is good, informative, reliable, true, etc., but the exploitation of the media capital':

The media capitalist spends his capital on the purchase of the means of production and the raw materials for the manufacture of news (e.g. typewriters, cameras, printing plants, 'raw news' from news agencies, paper, etc.) and on the labour power of the media workers...These two factors are combined in the production of the commodity 'news' (1983: 84).

The media capitalist is concerned with exchange value. The user of mass communication products, 'news', for example, is mainly interested in its substance, in terms of the 'greatest possible information content, entertainment value and so on - the use value (p.84).

A few comments from observers on the question of 'action' are in order as this study in allowing ascendency to constraints and determination nevertheless perceives them as having a limit, at the point of overlap with intentional action and at least some apparent 'relatively' autonomous (to bastardize Poulantzas' term and present an irritant to his ghost in allowing a place for social actors) scope even beyond that. Habermas argued that capitalism developed the capacity for purposive-rational action to a degree never approached by any previous social order (cited in Hallin, 1987: 294). Giddens (e.g., 1981, 1982, & 1989), a neo-Weberian, has sought to develop an 'action' theory. For him:

A conception of action in the social sciences...has to place at the centre the every day fact that social actors are knowledgeable about the conditions of social reproduction in which their day-to-day activities are enmeshed...(1982: 29)

History is not just an unintentional project, and all intentional activity takes place in the content of institutions sedimented over long periods of time (p.32; also p.212).

Giddens, of course, tends to over-play the action/agency role, perhaps partly as an 'unintended consequence' of his quest for an action theory. Williams (1973: 7) referred to the difficulties of 'base and superstructure' in Marxist theory, and notes the 'important... development', mainly associated with Lukacs - social 'totality'. 'The totality of social practices was opposed to this layered notion of a base and a consequent superstructure' and it is 'compatible with the notion of social being determining consciousness.' However, 'one important reservation' against 'totality' is that at one level it implies emptying 'of its essential content the original Marxist proposition' - the process of determination:

Indeed, the key question to ask about any notion of totality in cultural theory is this: whether the notion of totality includes the question of intention...For while it is true that

any society is a complex whole of...practices, it is also true that any society has a specific organization, a specific structure, and that the principles of this organization and structure can be seen as directly related to certain social intentions, intentions which in all our experience have been the rule of a particular class (1973: 7).

This is, of course, a complex question and intentions on the part of a particular class are quite problematic when examined, for instance, from Weber’s position. We merely cite these however, to suggest that intentional action does have a place, alongside and is, integrated with structural imperatives.

Let us return to some of what Garnham states which will take us briefly into the area of an emphasis on ideology which has guided a large proportion of critical research in recent years and an emphasis which has been decried by ‘political economists’ of mass media and culture. According to Garnham, the political economy of mass communication ‘attempts to shift attention away from the conception of the mass media as ISAs and sees them first as economic entities with both a direct economic role as creators of surplus value through commodity production and exchange and an indirect role, through advertising, in the creation of surplus value within other sectors of commodity production.’ It partly ‘chooses its object of study precisely because it offers a challenge to the Althusser/Poulantzas theorization of the social formation as structured into the relatively autonomous levels of the economic, the ideological and the political.’ Buying a newspaper allows simultaneous participation ‘in an economic exchange, in subjection to or reaction against an ideological formation and often in a quite specific act of political identification or at least involvement’ (1981: 131).

Further, from ‘historical analysis of the development of the press’ it is clear ‘that the nature of the political involvement is quite specifically economically conditioned...While accepting that the mass media can be and are politically and ideologically over-determined within many specific conjunctures, a political economy, as I understand it, rests on the ultimate determination by the economic...Indeed, one of the key features of the mass media within monopoly capitalism has been the exercise of political and ideological domination through the economic’ (1981: 132-133. see also, e.g., Inglis, 1990: 113).

4.3.1 The ideological in the analysis of mass media

If a conflict has arisen between structural/political-economic approaches and ‘instrumentalist approaches in critical/ Marxist tendency, another, perhaps equality as keen, emerged within structuralist approaches themselves between those who emphasize economics and those stressing ideology. The dominant tendency in this latter attracts the categorization ‘structuralist’ as it cannot properly be referred to as ‘instrumentalist’ in that in granting ideology as against economics more autonomy it does not see a ruling class as necessarily dominating through ownership and control of the media and directing through the state in the same sense. This strand has been sometimes referred to as ‘hegemony’ theory, drawing mainly from that concept the extensive development of which has been identified with Antonio Gramsci (e.g., 1971). The organization and publication of Antonio Gramsci’s Selections From Prison Notebooks (1971), and Althusser’s

As support to Garnham’s arguments here, Engels wrote that the ‘materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life - and, next to production, the exchange of things produced – is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged (Basic Works, 1969: 131).
influential work, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971) have lent significant inestimable impetus to social/mass communication research at a time when radical analysis needed a knee jerk to make an impact on the languishing but nevertheless enveloping and dominant liberal-pluralist research and scholarship. The result of this and other factors we outlined, has largely led to the relative neglect of economic factors or determinations - a neglect which has attracted criticism. The concept of hegemony was highlighted by Gramsci, and the related one of 'common sense' and their implications for the ideological reproduction and the state have formed the basis of many recent or fairly recent studies.

Williams stated: ‘hegemony is not to be understood at the level of mere opinion or mere manipulation. It is a whole body of practices and expectations...It is a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives.’ It is not a case of a static system. ‘On the contrary, we can only understand an effective and dominant culture if we understand the real social process on which it depends’ - the process of incorporation (1973: 9).

Poulantzas with whom the idea of the ‘relative autonomy’ of the ideological is identified, suggested that a point not mentioned by Gramsci in his discussion of hegemony was that:

The capitalist state and the specific characteristics of the class struggle in a capitalist formation make it possible for a ‘power bloc’, composed of several politically dominant classes or fractions to function. Amongst these dominant classes and fractions one of them holds a particular dominant role, which can be characterized as a hegemonic role... (see, 1975a: 140-141) [Emphasis original]

The discussion of ideology by Gramsci perhaps takes us closest to the point where media enters the picture, especially through later scholars. Thus, for him:

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is psychological; they ‘organise’ human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc. (1971: 367)

For Gramsci, ‘common sense’ referred to the uncritical and largely unconscious way in which a person views the world. Often people’s views, he felt, could be in contradiction to their political activity which could be ahead of their conscious ideas. Further the dominant ideology is constructed on the site of ‘common sense’ which also carries with it the element of resistance and challenge to ideology. Gramsci also refers to coercion and consent, and explains that consent gained by the bourgeoisie’s hegemony, is an active rather than a passive consent.

Buci-Glucksmann (1980) argues that, ‘Gramsci was the first Marxist to challenge the instrumentalist conception of the state based on a mechanistic and economistic distinction between “infrastructure” and “superstructures”.’ Gramsci’s concept of an expansion of the state related in part to an opposition to:

...all reductionist conceptions of the state (the state as neutral repressive instrument in the hands of a class-subject who wields it), Gramsci conceives the role and presence of the state in the relations of production of civil society and in those apparatuses of reproduction that serve as ‘hegemonic apparatuses’ (school, family, etc.). But this penetration of the state can in no way be reduced to a mere ideological reinforcement of
domination, in the way that Althusser adds to the state-as-domination the state-as-ideology (the ideological state apparatuses)...

Hall (1977, 1982, 1989a, 1991) who with his colleagues (1978) has clarified much of Gramsci's work issued the call for a return to ideology through a 1982 article. In this vein, he and colleagues stated earlier, for instance that:

...we must say that the work of "ideological reproduction" which they [the media] perform is by definition work in which counteracting tendencies - Gramsci's "unstable equilibria" - will constantly be manifested. We can speak, then, only of the tendency of the media - but it is a systematic tendency...to reproduce the ideological field of a society in such a way as to reproduce, also, its structure of domination (1977: 346; also 1978: 65-66).

We must bear in mind that Hall refers here to societies such as Britain, and that it is not that he neglects the role of economics, but generally subordinates it to an emphasis on ideology and culture. It is apparent too, that as much of Hall's work is centred on broadcasting, an approach from ideology offers more scope in a society such as Britain.

Hall suggests that those people who work in the media produce, reproduce, and transform 'the field of ideological representation itself. They stand in a different relationship to ideology in general from others who are producing and reproducing the world of material commodities - which are nevertheless also inscribed by ideology.' He preferred to retain 'the notion of ideologies' as systems of representation materialized in practices' but to avoid the identification of 'social practice with social discourse':

While the emphasis on discourse is correct in pointing to the importance of meaning and representation, it has been taken right through to its absolute opposite and this allows us to talk about all practice as if there were nothing but ideology (1985: 104).

Hall stresses that the 'ideological' always has 'its own specific social, political, and cultural conditions of existence.' Moreover:

There is no way that the study of communication systems could proceed without understanding the social, technological, economic, and political conditions in which the systems of representation in society are located - how they are institutionally organized, how they are linked to particular positions and structures of power, and how they are crosscut by the field and operation of power...[T]here is absolutely no way in which communication theory and research can avoid coming to the question of the ideological (1989: 48).

In explaining how ideologies work, Hall points out that in the structuralist approach, the question of signification was emphasized. The implication, for him is that 'events in the real world do not contain or propose their own, integral, single and intrinsic meaning, which is then merely transferred through language. Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean.' If one meaning were to be produced regularly 'it had to win a kind of credibility, legitimacy or taken-for-grantedness for itself. That involved marginalizing, down-grading, or de-legitimizing alternative constructions.' But, how did a dominant definition subordinate alternative or competing definitions? And, 'how did the institutions which were responsible for describing and explaining the events of the world - in modern societies, the mass media, par excellence - succeed in

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9 See Larrain (1991), for a discussion of Hall's representations of the Marxist concept of ideology, and an interpretation of Marx on this subject.
maintaining a preferred or delimited range of meanings in the dominant systems of communication?" For Hall:

To construct this rather than that account required the specific choice of certain means (selection) and their articulation together through the practice of meaning production (combination)...

In the process of meaning construction the exchange and use values depend on the symbolic value which the message contains (1982: 67-68).

In all this, and in spite of the emphasis on ideology, in other work, Hall and colleagues were nevertheless drawn to observe: 'The reconstruction of ruling-class hegemony in the aftermath of war must be located however briefly, in the international stabilization of the capitalist world' (1978: 227. See also 1989a).

Hallin applies the concept of hegemony to American (USA) mass media coverage of Latin America and Vietnam and sees the hegemonic process as having been 'very strongly at work' in the case of Central America (1987: 5). Oso, in examining editorial articles saw that: "The definitions of reality presented were within the dominant perspective which rarely questioned the existing structure and source of inequality in Nigerian society" (1986: 386).

Althusser has been criticized and rightly so with regard to his brief comments on the 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (ISAs). Althusser (1971: 137) listed among his ISAs, the religious institutions, the educational, the family, the legal, the political, the trade unions, the communications (the press, radio and television) and the cultural. Thus, as Golding and Murdock (1979) observe, he simply lists the mass media among his ISAs and moves on. Bennett (1982: 53) argues that 'Althusser's position comes dangerously close to functionalism in the respect that, by viewing all ideological forms as contributing to the reproduction of existing social relationships, it tends to represent capitalism as a totally coherent social system ("one-dimensional" even) lacking internal conflict at either the economic, political or ideological levels.' To this extent, 'Althusser's work joins a long list of "Marxisms" which have managed to banish the spectre of class conflict from their work. To wit:

All ideological state apparatuses, whatever they are, contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of exploitation.

...Each of them contributes towards this single result in the way proper to it...The communications apparatus by cramming every "citizen" with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc. by means of the press, the radio and television (1971: 146. See also, e.g., Hall, 1991: 96).

For Althusser, ISAs operate through ideology and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) operate through repression.

Referring to Althusser's ISAs, Laclau suggests that implicit in their conception is a conception of the State which 'entirely ceases to consider it as an institution (i.e. as an objective structure)' (1977: 63). To continue:

10 See also, e.g., Hall (1991: 96).
Althusser states that "To my knowledge, no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over the Ideological State Apparatuses..." (1977: 69)

On the contrary, he accepted the distinction which Miliband established between class power and state power as appropriate, and which "restores the problem to its true location" but felt that the problem remained unsolved (1977:69).

The increased emphasis on the state and politics - which feeds on ideological determinations and the notion of the 'relative autonomy of the state' or, the ideological, and the state, as we have partly seen so far has thus made for secondary conflicts within Marxism. Perhaps most notable is the Miliband-Poulantzas debate (see, e.g. Miliband, 1983b) which appears widely in the literature. The debate originated after the first publication of Miliband's 'The State in Capitalist Society' in 1969, and a follow-up article by Poulantzas in New Left Review in late 1969 after which there was a build-up of exchanges. For Laclau, Miliband, 'in his attack against bourgeois ideologies of the State ', ends up 'introducing them into his own analysis' (p.53). Here, he cited Poulantzas:

"in the difficulties that Miliband has in comprehending social classes and the State as objective structures, and their relations as an objective system of regular connections, a structure and a system whose agents, "men", are in the words of Marx, "bearers" of it...Miliband constantly gives the impression that for him social classes or "groups" are in some way reducible to interpersonal relations, that the State is reducible to interpersonal relations of "individuals" composing social groups and "individuals" composing the State apparatus...According to this problematic, the agents of a social formation, "men", are not considered the bearers of objective instances (as they are for Marx) but as the genetic principle of the level of the social whole. This is a problematic of social actors, of the individuals as the origin of social action: sociological research thus tends finally, not to the study of objective co-ordinates that determine the distribution of agents into social classes and the contradictions between these classes, but to the search for finalist explanations founded in the motivations of conduct of the individual actors. This is notoriously one of the aspects of the problematic both of Weber and of contemporary functionalism. To transpose this problematic of the subject into Marxism is in the end to admit the epistemological principles of the adversary and to risk vitiating one's own analysis" (Laclau, 1977: 53-54/Poulantzas, 1969: 241-242).

For Miliband, the general point raised by Poulantzas concerned 'nothing less that the status of empirical inquiry and its relationship to theory.' He admits Poulantzas' claim that the State in Capitalist Society is insufficiently 'theoretical' in the sense in which Poulantzas meant it but replied that the latter's own approach 'in his review and in his otherwise important book' Political Power and Social Classes 11 'errs in the opposite direction' (1970: 55). Miliband went on further to argue that 'Poulantzas declared himself not to be against the study of the "concrete": I would go much farther and suggest that, of course on the basis of an appropriate "problematic", such a study of the concrete, is a sine qua non of the kind of "demystifying" enterprise which, he kindly suggests, my book accomplishes...This, I must stress, is not a crude (and false) contraposition of empiricist versus non- or anti-empiricist approaches: it is a matter of emphasis - but the emphasis is important' (1970: 55).

This adversarial or critical exchange went on for sometime and raised other issues, but it must be left at this stage. Among the various factors, it does appear that Miliband places less than

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11 When Miliband responded an English translation of this title was not yet available.

12 Poulantzas uses the word frequently.
enough attention on the theory of the state, even at the basic level if the title of the book is borne in
mind. On the other hand, Miliband is quite correct in accusing Poulantzas of over-emphasizing the
'theoretical' and undervaluing the empirical. A browse of Poulantzas' works - not only that mentioned
by Milliband above - supports this. It is an inadequate approach and, to state the case in a somewhat
pedestrian fashion, it contributes to blinkering exponents from the structures or processes which they
probably hope to assess or affect, theoretically or otherwise. It is necessary to move on but they will
be mentioned elsewhere, for instance, in relation to 'managerial' thesis.

4.4 Pluralism revisited: managerialists and others

Having exited from the secondary conflicts in critical/Marxist approaches and the bases
for those differences, it is useful to revisit pluralism and theories with that category which have been
the source of notable exchanges with critical scholars. The major concern will be with managerial
theory or managerialism, although the subject of the less widely known 'consumer sovereignty' will
be broached. Firstly, however, it is useful to consider briefly the concept of power which a
discussion of these categories seem to attract.

In defining the concept of power, Lukes suggests that 'A exercises power over B when A
affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests.' He cites three views on power - the one-, two-, and
three-dimensional views:

Extremely crudely, one might say that the liberal takes men as they are and applies
want-regarding principles to them, relating their interests to what they actually want or
prefer, to their policy preferences as manifested in their political participation. The
reformist, seeing and deploring that not all men's wants are given equal weight by the
political system, also relates their interests to what they want or prefer, but allows that
this may be revealed in more indirect and sub-political ways - in the form of deflected,
submerged or concealed wants or preferences. The radical, however, maintain that
men's wants may themselves be the product of a system which works against their
interests, and, in such cases, relate the latter to what they would want and prefer, were
they able to make the choice...In brief, my suggestion is that the one-dimensional view
of power presupposes a liberal conception of interests, the two-dimensional view a
reformist conception, and the three-dimensional view a radical conception (see, 1974:
34-35).

Poulantzas argued that 'power relations' constituted 'complex and dislocated relations,
determined in the last instance by economic power.' However, political or ideological power are not
'the simple expression of economic power' because a class could have 'the capacity to realize its
economic interests (the problem of trade-unionism) without having the capacity to realize political
interests. Similarly, it could possess economic power without 'corresponding' political power or
even a political power without having a "corresponding" ideological power..." In its relationship to
the capitalist state the political interests of the dominant classes 'are constituted, as representative of
the "general interest" of the body politic, i.e. the people/nation which is based on the effect of
isolation on the economic...' (see, 1975a: 113-114)

If we accept these postulates from Poulantzas, the simple instrumentalist view of the
capitalist class exercising power through the state can be discarded and the inadequacy of the
construct that the state in capitalist or liberal-democratic society is a committee for managing the
collective interests of the 'bourgeoisie' is partly illustrated. However, Poulantzas did allow
ascendancy to the economic level and usefully, did not seem to rule out a coincidence of the three
types of power mentioned here, or of political or ideological combined with the economic.

C. Wright Mills (1970) felt that:

Among the means of power than now prevail is the power to manage and to manipulate the consent of men...[M]uch power today is successfully employed without the sanction of the reason or the conscience of the obedient.

...in the last resort, coercion is the 'final' form of power. But then we are by no means constantly at the last resort. Authority (power justified by the beliefs of the voluntarily obedient) and manipulation (power wielded unknownto the powerless) must also be considered, along with coercion (1959: 50).

"Power" is 'the chance of a man or number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action', Weber (1968: 926) offers somewhat tersely. For him: "Economically conditioned* power is not, of course, identical with "power" as such. On the contrary the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be valued for its own sake.' Indeed, he argues that '[V]ery frequently the striving for power is conditioned by the social honour it entails. Not all power, however, entails social honour...Nor is power the only basis of social honour.' And social honour, or prestige, may even be the foundation of economic power, and frequently it has formed that base' (926-927).

For many early social theorists, the preoccupation was with official or governmental power, and surely this tended to be so for analysts within the liberal tradition. Mill, for instance, was concerned about the tyranny of the majority as we saw in an earlier section but he also expressed displeasure at any abuse of power (see, e.g., 1974: 62). Tocqueville tended in the same direction. A more recent counterpart, managerialist/post-industrialist Daniel Bell argued that:

Decisions are a matter of power, and the crucial questions in any society are: Who holds power? and how is power held? How power is held is a system concept; who holds power is a group concept. How one comes to power defines the base and route; who identifies the persons. Clearly when there is a change in the nature of the system new groups come to power (1974: 358). [Emphasis original]

Bell then proceeds to sort his power-holders under his chosen headings: 'Pre-Industrial', 'Industrial', and 'Post-Industrial'. Take the category 'Industrial', the 'Resource' is 'Machinery', 'Social locus' is the 'Business firm', 'Dominant figures' (Businessmen), 'Means of power' (Indirect influence on politics), 'Class base' (Property, Political organization, Technical skill), and 'Access' rests on 'Inheritance, Patronage, Education'. In the case of the post-industrial society, knowledge displaces infrastructure, and scientists (or technical intelligentsia)/technical skill take over from the businessmen/property (1974: 359).

Perhaps what most specifically defines the boundaries between radical analyses and pluralist approaches rests on locating control. The concept of 'allocative control' can be ranged against 'operational control', and a brief explanation of both will facilitate our discussion in this chapter. Essentially, what is to be addressed is a distinction between different levels of control, the question of power, and the constraints upon the exercise of that power. Indeed, in this regard, the quest is for the answer to the pivotal question of who controls the media houses and in particular for the present study - the press, but importantly under what sets of circumstances (e.g., what factors
determine or constrain such power or its distribution).

Westergaard and Resler, noting that financial control was still pre-eminent, saw that 'a
distinction must be drawn between "operational" and "strategic" policy' (1975: 163. Pahl & Winkler
(1974: 114-115) used the concepts implying 'first order decisions' and 'second order decisions'.
They draw from Marx and Weber on the idea of an economic elite based on market presence and
power. Hence, allocative controllers have a major say in the distribution (their emphasis) of
economic resources, the power to employ resources or to withdraw them in keeping with their
particular interests and preferences. This we would view as policy level control. As Nunes notes in
his work on the business sector in Jamaica, 'the ability to determine the course of the enterprise' and
the position of power 'from which individuals or groups exert influence on policy formation are the
most instructive criteria for identifying those in command' (1972/74 - cited in Reid, 1977).

Operational control centres on the more mundane decisions and actions at lower
hierarchical levels. It involves largely implementation of decisions and tasks already assigned by
allocative controllers. As Herman suggests: 'The lower echelons of the mass media must operate
within the dominant frameworks imposed from above and adapt the organizational priorities and

People operating at this lower, if not necessarily subordinate level do have some control,
and workers can strike or engage in other industrial action but in the final analysis allocative
controllers can withdraw resources altogether. Of course, this withdrawal itself has limits.
Allocative controllers may only be marginally more able to dissolve or convert to other uses the
production- or service-specific premises and equipment of Trinidad Publishing in Port of Spain than
the vast and complex machinery at a major bauxite mining plant in Jamaica. The converse is that,
for instance, they could sell to others who could in turn employ workers on new contractual
obligations. Even without change of ownership capitalists do undertake measures such as this, and at
another level and perhaps not infrequently, pay workers some sort of 'bonus' to avoid trade union
membership, and so on.

It is useful to bear in mind, as Pahl and Winkler state that allocative control 'is not the
same as, nor dependent upon, the ownership of capital (their emphasis). Owners may control the
allocation of their capital, but not' (1974: 115). Those authors partly imply in this instance,
the role of non-shareholding managers. Pahl and Winkler also usefully point out that there may be
gradations in control, some people having more or less, and there may be overlaps between
allocative and operational controllers - a situation which clearly arises in the publishing houses
examined in the Caribbean.

Pluralist analyses stress autonomy and the dilution of proprietorial control which
according to proponents ('managerialists') was being displaced by technical experts in the form of
executive managers who had different interests from proprietors. According to James Burnham in the
The Managerial Revolution:

In ever widening sectors of the world economy, the actual managers are not the

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13 See notes to their chapter - p.239 of the book.
capitalists, the bourgeoisie; or, at the very least, the managerial prerogatives of the capitalists are being progressively whittled down. The completion of this process means the elimination of the capitalists from control over the economy; that is, their disappearance as a ruling class (1942: 68-69).

Burnham's work was eclipsed by work begun by Berle and Means (1932). According to these two authors, original owners were being gradually replaced as dominant owners and even controllers, as the modern corporation with dispersed ownership became increasingly evidenced in corporate enterprise. For them: 'the position of ownership' had changed from that of an active to that of a passive agent' and 'in the corporate system, the “owner” of industrial wealth’ was “left with a mere symbol of ownership while the power, the responsibility and the substance which have been an integral part of ownership in the past are being transferred to a separate group in whose hands lies control” (1932: 66-68).

This general assessment has attracted the support of later pluralist social theorists such as Dahrendorf (1959), Galbraith (1967), and Bell (1974). For Dahrendorf 'the crucial effect of the separation of ownership and control' was that it produced ‘two sets of roles the incumbents’ who “increasingly move apart in their outlook on and attitudes towards society in general and toward the enterprise in particular. Their reference groups differ, and different reference groups make for different values” (1959: 46). Bell was aglow even in his use of Marxist terminology:

To put the issues in a Marxist framework, the social forces of production have become industrial, but are common to a wide variety of political systems; the social relations of production have become bureaucratic, in which ownership assumes a diminishing role (1974: 80).

...the major class of the emerging new society [post-industrial] is primarily a professional class, based on knowledge rather than property. But, second, the control system of the society is lodged not in a successor occupational class but in the political order, and the question of who manages the political order is an open one’ (1974: 374). [Ruled Emphasis original. Enclosures in squared parenthesis added]

Braverman (1974), arguing from different theoretical roots suggests that the main factor contributing to managerial control is the technical division of labour as knowledge and decision-making leverage over the labour process becomes increasing separated from workers. Scott summarizes from the basic Berle and Means position that the theory comprises six main themes, namely: separation of ownership from control in industry, bureaucratic differentiation of management, technical specialization of management, the end of ideological politics, and modernization theory of development (1979: 19).

C. Wright Mills (1956) observed in reference to America, that the corporate rich included the ‘old-fashioned’ rich. ‘Those whose “high” incomes include the privileges and prerogatives that have come to be the features of high executive position...The propertied class, in the age of corporate property, has become a corporate rich, and in becoming corporate has consolidated its power’ and drawn for its defence ‘new men of more executive and more political stance. Its members have become self-conscious in terms of the corporate world they represent’ (1956: 148).
false problem in one sense, not in another'. Thus: 'It is a false problem in the sense that the "motivations" of managers...are not such as to distinguish the latter in any fundamental way from other members of the capitalist class: i.e., he and I are agreed that the thesis of the "soulful corporation" is a mystification' (Miliband, 1970: 55).

Miliband points also to Poulantzas' accusation that he (Miliband) over-emphasized the importance of managers, and that his (Miliband's) response is that Poulantzas underestimated the significance of the phenomenon which Marx did not do. Moreover:

Poulantzas for his own part chooses to stress 'the differences and relations between fractions of capital'. But while these are important and need to be comprehended in an economic and political analysis of contemporary capitalism, the emphasis which he gives to these differences and relations may well obscure the underlying cohesion of these various elements - and may well play into the hands of those who focus on these differences in order to deny the fundamental cohesion of the capitalist class in the conditions of advanced capitalism' (Miliband, 1970: 56).

Miliband was more concerned about the fact that Poulantzas criticized him for 'attaching any importance to the "motivations" of managers' (1970: 56).

Zeitlin, empirically and theoretically etched forcefully at the roots of 'managerialism' (see, e.g., 1989: 4-5) and has argued that a 'common source of conceptual and analytic confusion' in commentaries on the question of ownership and control 'derives from the teleology of bureaucratic imperatives. Bureaucratization is implicitly assumed to be an inexorable historical process so that even the propertied classes and their power have fallen before its advance.' That stance confuses firstly, 'the existence of an extensive administrative apparatus in the large corporation, in which the proportion of management positions held by members of the proprietary family may be negligible, and... secondly, the locus of control over this apparatus' (1989: 4-7).

Noting the inadequacy of the data base utilized by pioneers Berle and Means, Zeitlin goes on to emphasize that their 'method of investigation, the definitions and procedures utilized, do not, in fact, even begin to accord with the actual content of their own concept of control.' Thus, control would be better conceptualized in way which appeals to a variety of interrelated yet independent indicators. Berle and Means' conceptualization linked them inextricably with a method reducible to a single criterion, namely, a minimum percentage of stock held by a single minority bloc.

A related factor raised in the discussion by managerialists is that profit maximization is not a major concern of bureaucratic managers. They are more concerned with efficiency and productivity, it is argued. To separate these latter concerns from an inclination towards profit making seems to be a difficult proposition and an analysis of this sort will not be attempted in this thesis, but in the general consideration of the Anglophone Caribbean context in Chapter Six it will be illustrated, among other things, that profit making and the rate of profit are quite central in the concerns of corporate executives. Indeed, the success of an enterprise under capitalism is frequently measured by its level and rate of profit. No less an entity than Fortune and its 500 would point to this.

Two gaps in managerial theory which may only have been implied thus far are its failure to account for interconnections between shareholders, and to examine the extent of contextual constraints on corporate behaviour.
Among critical neo-Marxist analysts too there are differences. Thus, Zeitlin questioned a formulation by Baran and Sweezy (1966) to reify if not hypostatize "giant corporations", and to lead, as with the managerialists, to a sort of "capitalism without capitalists." Indeed, Baran and Sweezy themselves assert that "the capitalist today is not the individual businessman but the corporation". In line with this formulation, a prominent Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm takes this logic so far as to assert that "the real members of the ruling class today are not so much real persons as organizations." For Zeitlin this formulation is misleading, because it tends to displace the focus of analysis from the concrete classes, and their interrelations, of contemporary capitalism. It is after all, merely a peculiar Marxian version of the view held by organizational and managerial theorists that "organization" or "power in its institutional form" has displaced and transcended the capitalistic class and capitalism itself (1989: 44/Appendix 1 for that chapter).

Less recognized than managerialism and arising from the related pluralist notions, is the so-called theory of 'consumer sovereignty'. As McQuail (1983: 58) notes, 'the choice of audience as the primary object of study may be associated with a presupposition that the interests, needs of the publicly largely determine the view of the world offered by the media and, indeed, the whole shape of media institutions themselves.' As Murdock (1982: 144-145) explains, "consumer" sovereignty focuses on the spheres of exchange and consumption and the operations of the market...For supporters...arguments about the barriers to competition are ultimately irrelevant since they all see cultural producers, large or small, as equally subject to the final veto of consumer demand." Whale, a notable proponent of 'consumer sovereignty' argues that where proprietorial influence 'survives at all, it must still defer to the influence of readers' (1977: 84). He concludes in his observation of Britain:

It is readers who determine the character of newspapers. The Sun illustrates the point in its simplest and saddest form....

The broad shape and nature of the press is ultimately determined by no one but its readers (1977: 84-85).

Based partly on the desire of newspaper firms to market their papers to as many readers as possible and the fact that newspapers cannot go beyond the range of their readers - so he argues - the readers are therefore the figures of power. If 'any substantial number of people' strongly desired that 'the structure of society' should be 'rebuilt from the bottom, the Morning Star would sell more copies... (1977: 82-85). It is true that in Thatcherite and Major's Britain, for instance, by the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s the Morning Star's circulation was only a fraction of what it was when Whale's work was first published but the explanation is much more complex than he would have implied. The Morning Star's circulation in the late 1980s and start of the 1990s was a mere 30,000 approximately and was suffering from shortfall of about £400,000 at the start of 1991 and roughly the same for the previous January after the then Soviet Union had halved its order to 6,000 copies. A series of fund-raising events were also planned alongside a general appeal as a means of installing new technology costing £150,000 (see Guardian [Britain], 4/1/91: 4. Morning Star, 7/1/91: 1 & 18/1/91)


Clement usefully suggests that to the extent that power derives from the decision making process, it is organized, and this is a factor which distinguishes, for instance, boards of directors from consumers with regard to economic power. 'Although consumers can influence decision making, the board actually makes decisions and need only take into account, more or less, consumer demands as part of their decision' (1975: 26). [Emphasis original]

'Consumer sovereignty' is correct in assuming that consumers have power, but as latent power, this is less significant at this level of analysis than actual power. The argument is also neglectful of the underlying factors and the processes by which consumers may accept what is fed to them as natural and normal. Whale's account itself is very short on how, for instance, certain dissenting views and protest actions have been excluded from the media and have been the target of coercion/direct physical repression by the state and the ruling class. The extended process has resulted in a notable incorporation of the lower strata into the general view that liberal democracy and capitalist, non-social forms of ownership and control are virtually inevitable and indissoluble.

In the actively market-driven world of the late twentieth century, despite its shortcomings, the 'consumer sovereignty' perspective has many dedicated followers. On columnist writing for Britain's Sunday Times - one of the titles of Murdoch's New International - the Britain's largest newspaper firm, informs readers that:

Labour may make a fuss about the supposed excessive control of the newspaper market held by a handful of proprietors. But the fundamental decisions do not occur in Rupert Murdoch's or Lord Rothermere's boardrooms, but Mr. Patel's corner shop. Every day readers vote with the change in their pockets for the title of their choice (Sunday Times, 9/2/92: Section 2: 6).

A somewhat inadequate development which the columnist adds includes a note that readers have a wide choice as 'titles reflect every conceivable point of view.'

4.5 Structuring social reality: producers, the news and information

Sociologists of organizational structure and mass media researchers of various persuasions, liberal, critical, radical, Marxist and sundry, have recognized that the newsroom or editorial department of a media house - especially the larger enterprise - is a quite complex hierarchical structure arranged along lines of responsibility and/or power. As a structural functionalist, Gouldner (e.g., 1955: 107-108; 1954/64; later works, etc.) would have pointed to the flow of information within but also beyond the organization and the implications for organizational efficiency. Golding and Elliott (1979) were more concerned with news production and about

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16Ownership refers to possession of stocks/shares, and/or of plant/factors of production. Zeitlin's summary of control in the context used being applied here is acceptable. For him, it refers to 'the ability of a given proprietary interest to realize its corporate objectives over time, despite resistance; and this depends on the corporation's concrete structure of ownership and the constellation of intercorporate relationships in which it is involved. Control can certainly be exerted without the principal owners of capital within "management" itself, by virtue of their ownership of the corporation's critical minority holdings, or specific financial arrangements. An individual's or group's capacity for control of any specific corporation varies with the number of other large corporations (including banks and other financial institutions) in which it has a dominant if not controlling position' (1989: 76-77).
interrelated questions of control, the extent to which autonomy and creativity could prevail, and the possibilities for autonomous room for creativity, and in general the constraints which impact upon the production process (see, also, e.g., Halloran et al, 1970; Elliott, 1972; Epstein, 1973 & 1975; Hall, 1973a, 1973b & Hall et al, 1978; Tuchman, 1978; Schudson, 1986; Carey, 1986; Murdock, 1990).

The production of news/information involves a complex array of processes, practices and elements such as journalistic beliefs/‘ideologies’, practices, organizational policies and constraints, the nature of information itself, sources and the wider society. The task of the section of the chapter is largely encapsulated in those facets, in that they will assist in illustrating theoretically, the nature of the manufacture and mediation of news and information and, in pointing broadly and specifically to how the process may itself operate to portray or present, even undermine currents of political and social change.

Professionalization/professionalism and the structure of ‘ideologies’ buttressing journalism have been alluded to in previous discussion. Among them is adherence to the principle of ‘objectivity’, ‘impartiality’ and ‘balance’, as we have seen. McQuail (1991) refers to ‘truth’ aspects of objectivity in addressing media performance assessment, ‘[t]he main task of which is ‘to identify, in the eventual media product, the signs of those strategies pursued by journalists.’ He mentions four principal criteria which have been used in research ‘on this aspect of information quality: amount of information provided, completeness of accounts, accuracy, and factualness’ (see 1991: 130-131). Merrill et al argue that ‘the whole business of journalistic communication is to provide some of the truth’, which it does. However, journalists ‘must select. They must be subjective, in the sense of deciding what to put in a story and what to’ omit. Thus, ‘journalism is a subjective enterprise in spite of the loyalty many journalists have to objectivity. Journalists, therefore, cannot get at the total or complete truth’ (1990: 39). In his book, News and Dissent, in which he looks at the press and antimilitarist dissent in Canada during the 1980s, Hackett reminds that: ‘The attempted separation of fact and opinion that is the core of objective journalism undoubtedly reinforces the credibility of news.’ But, such credibility ‘depends upon the appearance that the “facts” reported in news are straightforward, indisputably concrete, value-free translations from the real (1991: 84). From a more uninhibited critical perspective, Smythe does not hesitate in arguing that any suggestion that news is ‘objective’ is obviously unfounded. It has a subjective perspective - determined by stylized customs (1980: 15).

The process in Western capitalist countries and colonial appendages under their tutelage generally took similar paths through ‘cultural’ and a subsidiary, ‘media’ imperialism. Such professionalism and the development of ideologies have grown up hand in hand with the march of these societies and the expansion of capitalism and its ideological support structure (see, e.g., Golding, 1977: 292-293; Martin & Musa, 1987). Boyd-Barrett uses the concept of ‘values in practice’ which for him denotes both:

highly explicit and visible canons or rules about appropriate task behaviour in media organizations, and also to less explicit but effective attitudes and assumptions about what is appropriate or what is the ‘usual way of going about things’, which may not normally

17 They list ‘five “levels” of truth’, three of which were within reach of the journalist and two, beyond. Those accessible to the journalist are ‘potential’, ‘selected’, and ‘reported’ while those over which s/he has no control are ‘the truth’ (transcendental), and ‘audience-perceived’ (1990: 39-41).
be subject to reflective consideration (1977: 125).

He lists, as examples, objectivity in reporting, assumptions about the most appropriate forms of technology for specific media tasks; and assumptions about what constitutes a good item of output. Such factors typically arise through training received from Western journalists, and internalization of values arising from exposure to wire copy from international news agencies (p.125; see also, 1980). Boyd-Barrett also touches usefully on long-term historical structural factors - which are, of course, closely allied and partly accountable for his 'values in practice'. Europe's, including Britain's, and the USA's earlier industrialization and development of communication systems were 'responsible for..."strategic choice" decisions in the formulation of media systems...' (p.120). He goes on to elaborate that:

...the duplication of these original [communication] vehicles in other countries has to be explained in terms of export and dissemination activity from the economically strong nations to the weaker nations which lagged behind in the development of media systems and which preferred or were forced to adopt or absorb existing modes rather than engage in their own developmental activities. They were therefore saddled with the result of choices made in alien conditions in response to alien market demands (1977: 121).

In Chapters Five and Six, the history of the Rediffusion's and the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) presence as well as that of major newspaper publishing transnationals in the Caribbean of the 1960s is only one of the older avenues, not only for 'strategic choice' decisions but also for the transmission of 'values in practice'. This is not to suggest that the process has been uniform everywhere and all the time, only that the foundations have come to be fairly broadly of this sort in the globalization momentum - structurally, in the monopoly capitalist process and at the level of active insertion.

Indeed, under media/cultural imperialism as a continuing process but perhaps less emphatic and different in form than previously, the values which are imposed continue to be reinforced (although to some extent dulled by nationalist sentiment and other factors), but that is not all. The production process in newspapers or mass media organizations themselves is curtailed or inclined in particular directions by the voluminous amount of information entering the systems from foreign news agencies and other sources which has implications for technology use and the division of labour.

In terms of orientation, Beckford, for instance, noted that the Daily Gleaner (of Jamaica) presented the 1960s conflict between the Windward Islands and Jamaica over the banana market as a conflict between the islands rather than what even elements of the British press interpreted as a conflict between overseas transnational agents for the British market. '. . .public discussions arising from the conflict reveal the consistent failure of the West Indian Press' to analyse regional conflicts 'from the point of view of popular West Indian interests' (see, 1971: 77-78). Of course, that sort of context has been somewhat modified by increased relationships between sections of capital within the region. Brown (1977: 206) saw the mass media of communication as operating in an unrestricted free market in Jamaica, which in the absence of government guidelines, transformation of power and resources in the society would be confronted by media principals who were part of the very structures threatened by any redistribution. Paris examined the power interests behind Trinidad and Tobago's two major dailies (the Guardian and Express) and their response to the PRG's closure of the Grenada Torchlight in 1979, and noted that confrontation centred on the issue of 'freedom of
property and the role of the state in determining how that property is utilized and in whose interests.' Further, 'even though the Grenada government sought to escape the strictures of the definition as assumed by its adversaries by articulating its own conception of a "free press" and "free expression" that was not enough and it did not gain comparable access for its views.

Kepplinger and Kocher explain that the position of journalism and its function in the formation of political opinion have changed in Western industrial nations.

Journalism has advanced from a status on the periphery of established power structures to a central position in society...To the extent to which journalism has taken a central role in the formation of political opinion, journalists, or rather subgroups of journalists, have become a relatively independent power, representing its own views in conflict situations...(1990: 306).

This is consonant with journalists' expressed desire for autonomy from governmental/political, source, advertiser, executive and other pressures. This is the only way they presume and have grown to accept that their public, audience, readership can have access to the 'facts' which will allow them to effectively participate in the political or broad social process. According to Gitlin:

...the legitimacy of the news operation rests heavily on the substantial - if bounded - autonomy of its employees. The audience must believe that what they are viewing is not only interesting but true, and the reporters must be permitted to feel that they have professional prerogatives to preserve. To avoid a reputation for having an ax to grind, the top media managers endow their news operations with the appearance, and a considerable actuality, of autonomy; their forms of social control must be indirect, subtle, and not at all necessarily conscious. Their standards flow through the processes of recruitment and promotion, through policy, reward, and the sort of social osmosis that flows overwhelmingly in one direction: downward (1980: 259).

Gitlin writes from the North American context, and those assumptions can be extrapolated to the Caribbean situation.

Journalists and the mass media are crucial in passing on the vital news and information. Kepplinger and Kocher suggest that journalists will 'only occasionally allow their actions to be guided by the foreseeable consequences, and they will nearly always deny a moral responsibility for unintentional negative consequences of their reports.' Journalists 'can behave in an extremely selective manner toward themselves and toward third parties. This selectivity is a basis for the reputation of journalism and a prerequisite for its success. The full professionalization of journalism would therefore, in the long run, undermine the reputation and functional ability of journalism' (1990: 307).

The selection process, and the processing of news entails the considerations of deciding what is news, working with colleagues and others within the organizational setting with its related constraints; externally, with officials and so on; professional ideologies or journalistic culture; and within the general dynamic of the larger society. Internal and external worlds are clearly not separate but there is enough basis on which to identify a sort of community with particular norms, understandings and ways of going about its affairs.

The capacity to impact upon or determine eventual output is partly implied by the very social organization of news producers and production tasks. The structure may include various combinations of editors-in-chief, editors, executive editors, managing editors, associate editors,
news editors, and subeditors, on the one hand. On the other hand, exist chief reporters, senior reporters, reporters, junior reporters, trainee reporters and also specialist or ‘beat’ reporters such as political reporters, industrial relations reporters, crime reporters, and education reporters who assemble most of the material which is finally assembled in the newsroom for the final artifact. Frequently, staff reporters are supported by correspondents and ‘stringers’ - indeed, some firms seeking to appropriate higher profits or balance their books locate significant economies in a ratio slanting heavily in the direction of part-time staff or freelancers. Trinidad Express Newspapers is said to have had a predominance of part-timers in its early years.

Full-time journalists (but at times joined by others) more formally attached to the organization will sit together on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis, to arrive at what each fraction and at other times, the entire packaged cultural product ought to look like as well as the resource outlay and the time to be expended on the various segments. At this level, journalists in the Caribbean as in many other areas of the world embrace a commonality of objectives. They have a goal which is to produce a newspaper, a saleable commodity, a cultural artifact which will be, at least technically and aesthetically, satisfying. The result, if we go beyond the specifics of writing, are the work of a team. The suggestion by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in the USA in the late 1940s that personal responsibility on the part of media practitioners was ‘missing in communications’ (as against, e.g., law), because the employer took the responsibility is far from wholly true. The Commission, nevertheless, usefully suggested that ‘in the mass media, except at the higher levels of writing, the identity of the individual writer’s product tends to be merged in a joint result, as in newspapers, where it is divided among reporter, copy desk, and makeup desk. The effective organization of writers on professional lines is therefore almost impossible.’ Despite this, however, ‘if professional organization is not to be looked for, professional ideals and attitudes may still be demanded’ (1947: 77).

Within a broad level of ‘unity’, as practitioners of the same trade, journalists have some framework of understanding (‘shared understandings and experience’ for Altheide, 1976: 24-25) which preserves a sometimes (temporarily) fragile togetherness. They are concerned over what is news, how it is written within particular stylistic guidelines or specifications, and about the ‘worthwhileness’ of news (this latter, related to some sort of social responsibility [see, e.g., Siebert, et al. 1956] construct of the press and society). Alongside, and within this agreement is an atmosphere of negotiation (e.g., Tuchman, 1983: 37) and competition over what the ingredients of the various stories or items as well as the overall product, a newspaper edition - the end product of the newsman’s craft - should be. In spite of such negotiation, Carey has argued that, with the rise of ‘objective reporting’ the journalist went through a process of being ‘deintellectualised and technicalised: Rather than an independent interpreter of events, the journalist became a reporter, a broker of symbols who mediated between audiences and institutions, particularly but not exclusively government [...] and changed from an independent observer and critic to a relatively passive link in a communication chain that records the passing scene for audiences’ (1969: 32-33). Within the ranks of reporters and within the ranks of editors, considerable negotiation takes place. But there is also intra-sector negotiation and conflict. But, after all this there are questions about creativity. To follow up on the point expressed by Carey and others, Schlesinger (1991), for instance, has offered some

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18 See e.g., Bensman & Lilienfeld, 1973 for a discussion.
In recent years 'creating reality' has begun to vie with 'mirroring society' as the slogan to summarize the role of the media. Mirroring was a favourite among broadcasters and journalists. It meant, among other things, that they did not carry sole responsibility for the nature of their output. Students of the media have adopted 'creation' from phenomenological sociology, and it has played a part in reviving the idea that media are, after all, powerful.

...while it improves on 'mirroring', 'creation' gives a misleading account of the role of the media. Once more it tends to put them under the spotlight, at the centre of the stage. 'Creation' is to be preferred in so far as it denies that the media are purely passive reflectors of the world. It laid the foundation for the critique of impartiality, objectivity and the other ground rules supposedly explaining media practice by drawing on the critique of positivism in social science. But while talk of 'creation' reasserts the active conception of the media, it none the less is liable to credit them - and the much-studied news media especially - with too much power to define reality (1991: 108).

Editors and subeditors are essentially trained to determine what is news, and further, what is news within the policies and guidelines of their particular newspapers and media organizations (as are reporters).

Editors are supposed to be skilled at refining or dissecting a news reporter's story, the advanced stage in the sifting or gatekeeping process. The journalist's approach to the selection and treatment of news is generally guided by what are often referred to as 'news values' - basically the criteria for news selection. The cultural product, news is based on a set of institutional definitions and meanings frequently identified in 'professional shorthand...as news values' (Hall, 1973a: 149). News production itself is mainly, according to Golding and Elliott, 'the passive exercise of routines and highly regulated procedures in the task of selecting from already limited supplies of information.' News values for them are 'working rules, comprising a corpus of occupational lore which implicitly and often expressly explains and guides newsroom practice.' (1979: 114). Tunstall (1971) recognizes the hierarchical structure among journalists and the assessed greater autonomy of special correspondents, for instance while Ettema and Glasser see daily and investigative reporters as 'very different' in their concern with "hard" news (1987: 340). For Ettema and Glasser, 'hard news produced by the daily reporter tends to be more time-bound than the hard news produced by the investigative reporter.' Furthermore, the daily reporter is unable to utilize as many organizational resources as his or her investigative counterpart. Hence, 'the hard news of the two reporters are likely to be distinguished by the rigours of inquiry to which each is subjected' (1987: 341). For them, the investigative reporter is involved in the "production of justification" which is 'an achievement generally antithetical to the ideals of daily reporting' (p.357). Thus:

The investigative reporter is less burdened by - though not unmindful of - the routines of objective reporting. The reporter, however, has acquired a different, perhaps far heavier, burden: responsibility for the quality of the facts reported as well as a defense of the broader value judgements that effectively define the story's theme. Still, as Gans (1979: 183) reminds us, this does not render investigative journalism - at least from the practitioner's perspective - biased or partial...(1987: 357). This is all very well and reasonable, and relevant to our analysis in later chapters. However, we must bear in mind that in many, if not the overwhelming majority of news organizations - including those in the section of the Caribbean on which the present study focuses - the dominant feature is that the daily reporter and the investigative reporter are one and the same human being. It is the stories which are separate and different, not the journalists or producers. This is not, of course, to deny the existence of features desks and like phenomena. The 'daily reporter' may be frequently and
simultaneously gathering a story from his beat or assigned subject while eking out multifarious fragments from which s/he will produce a story for the next day’s newspaper (or other media) but generally for later publication. Time frame relates to when ‘facts’ can be obtained and checked externally and through the internal editorial hierarchy. The hard news which is more readily produced is the ‘bread and butter’, so to say, of the newspaper and the more slowly maturing investigative pieces are more in the nature of the added spices. Publication cannot await and depend on the slower crystallization of these latter. To state it somewhat crudely, ‘the show must go on’. Tomorrow’s or the afternoon’s edition of the paper, or the next newscast will hardly wait. In stating this it is nevertheless useful to bear in mind that newspapers tend to develop some sort of ‘flow’ of investigative stories over time.

Glasser and Ettema in another work also observe that as ‘ritual, investigative journalism embraces’ the ‘eternal tension between continuity and change.’ But ritual is ‘not only reflective but also reflexive, and occasion for deconstruction and, perhaps, reconstruction of structure and value. It is an agent not only of cultural maintenance but also of cultural change’ (1991: 221) In terms of investigative journalism and this tension:

On the one hand, it hardly constitutes the “culture of disparagement” envisioned by Moynihan. Rather, the press generally, and investigative reporting particularly, serves as a fundamentally conservative influence insofar as it typically reifies but also vivifies enduring values and evokes among the public indignation at their violation. On the other hand, investigative journalism is not the simple apology for traditional values that Gans depicts; it does not simply reinforce and relegate the status quo. Rather it is a process in which new outrages are identified and standards to evaluate the are proposed, and it is a process in which old outrages are shown to no longer capture the moral imagination. Values, therefore, are not only reinforced but renewed or realigned in the attempt to apply them to new and ever-changing conditions (1991: 221).

Galtung and Rouge have suggested that events become news to the extent that they satisfy certain conditions, namely:

- frequency
- threshold
- absolute intensity
- intensity increase
- unambiguity
- meaningfulness
- cultural proximity
- relevance
- consonance
- predictability
- demand
- unexpectedness,
- unpredictability,
- scarcity.

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19 Moynihan, D. P. (1971, March), The presidency and the press (Commentary); 41-52.

continuity,
composition,
reference to elite nations,
reference to elite people,
reference to persons,
reference to something negative

They hypothesized that with all the (categories) factors operating, (i) the more events satisfy the
criteria, the more they would be registered as news (selection); when a news item is selected what
makes it newsworthy according to the factors will be accentuated (distortion); and both the process
of selection and the process of distortion will take place at all stages in the chain from event to reader
(replication) (1973: 60-61). Merrill and his associates suggest that all newsgathering, 'whether for
print or broadcast, begins with the question: Is this event newsworthy? Reporters and editors
answer that question by asking additional questions about the event. The exact queries will vary from
time to time and place to place, but there is a consensus among American editors and reporters that
an event under consideration for cover should be examined for timeliness, and then for conflict,
consequence (or importance), human interest, novelty (or unusualness), prominence and
proximity' (1990: 127).

Among observers, Chibnall suggests that values and their weightings become 'associated
with reader expectations and are justified in terms of pleasing readers and "giving them what they
want". News values are thus translated into conventions of the craft of journalism which constrain
not only what types of reality the reporter can accommodate in his accounts but also what kind of
sense he can make of acceptable events. ' Hence, while news values are part of the 'professional stock
of knowledge of an occupation' they also 'operate in a distinctly political fashion by systematically
excluding large segments of the social world from representation and discussion in the news media.
The effect of this is that public knowledge of those segments is impoverished' (1977: 14) [Emphases
original].

Hall and his colleagues also imply some sort of structure of news values, by referring to
the 'primary or cardinal news value' which point to something "out of the ordinary" (1978: 53 &
71)(for instance, in this study the unprecedented insurrection in Grenada - the dramatic). News
values too assist in shaping the 'news frame' through which various related events are drawn together
to structure dissemination to the public. But in spite of the ostensible breadth of information and
depth which may be implied by this frame of reference, news, as Hoch wrote, is about "NOW",
the "event", and the "facts". This is:

a particular selection of facts that encourages us to think of "newsworthy events", more
or less apart from social causes, seen in terms of "reality", as it is now. Not in terms
of how this NOW developed, or might have been different, or could still be different if
enough of us want it to be...All most people are left with is the status quo. There it is.
There is no alternative (1974: 139).

Space is a major constraint which no rational newspaperman or media worker, and no
student of the mass media would omit in shaping an explanation of news production and structure.
Crucial to the journalist's role too is his general commitment to elements of what were touched on
earlier on as 'objectivity', 'impartiality', and 'balance', and the elimination of bias (see, e.g., Hall,
1973a; Hall et al, 1978; Golding and Elliott, 1979; Schiller, 1981), the second perhaps being more
appropriate to the structure of presentation in broadcast media (see, e.g., Elliott, 1972; Schlesinger,
1978; Schlesinger et al, 1983). Epstein noted:
News can be biased even if newsmen are personally fair and unbiased...Newsmen, after all, have only limited control over their product: producers determine the stories they are assigned to cover, the length and form of their reports, and the editing of their final product (1975: 200).

Manoff and Schudson (1986: 6) overstate the case somewhat in the sense of referring to journalism as a form of 'fiction':

*Journalism, like any other storytelling activity, is a form of fiction operating out of its own conventions and understandings within its own set of sociological, ideological, and literary constraints. To recognize that journalists try to be 'objective' in no way contradicts this. It is, instead evidence that journalists have a strong sense of formal constraints on their work, one of which is the set of rules, procedures and traditions that define what 'objectivity' means and when (not always) to invoke it.*

In earlier discussion we were alerted in passing to facets of the origins of development of the idea of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, as well as of professionalization within Western liberal thought. Libertarianism, the idea of social responsibility, as well as what could be referred to as social libertarianism live on in tandem with the cultural ambit of such thought. For Gerald, as a concept, objectivity in journalism,

*is keyed to the breadth and depth of inquiry. The ideal - to get at the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth - is not looked upon as an impractical goal. Its benefits to the trained journalist and to the public are wholly in the certainty that uninhibited effort to get the facts will be made. Under this concept, information can be gathered and validated without any fear except of the consequences of factual error...No advocate of objectivity ever expects to get the whole truth in a complicated situation, but journalists regard their profession as more adequate and satisfying if they are free to try (1963: 129).*

*The ideology of objectivity*, Angus argues, *denies the productive role of media in the prevailing cultural logic and thereby serves to keep it disguised and depoliticized. The most basic claim in such an ideology of objectivity is that media are purely "representational", in other words media simply represent events previously existing in the world. At present, we need to go beyond representation to the recognition that media constitute reality, that media are constituents of the social world.* The representational factor relates to media's position in modern society; the constitutive function of media can be called "post modern" (1989: 399).

Herman, in examining coverage of US withdrawal from UNESCO, points with others to the "professional standards" widely applicable in the media which are quite elastic in practice and provide little or no assurance of protection against outright propaganda. These standards do not establish which stories are to be selected in the first place, the relative prominence, the emphasis given to the various themes within the story, the tone, and the weight given to various protagonists.*  

*He reiterates that 'nominal objectivity can be spurious; that the preferred viewpoint can be transmitted by questioning someone who says what one wants said. The appearance is maintained that one avoids giving a personal opinion, when in fact this is done by proxy' (1989: 206). The General Headquarters of Allied Occupational Forces in Japan announced a new rule in 1945 called the "Press Code" as a guideline for news reporting. The news was to report only truth, and facts were to be clearly separated from subjective opinions. The Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association was established in 1946 and in that year adopted the "Canons of Journalism" as its moral charter. 'Thus, "objective reporting" came to be regarded as a fundamental doctrine of news reporting for the postwar Japanese press.' However, more recent conflicts such as the Vietnam War and radical student movements gave rise to dissection from objective reporting. Hence, while the
idea of 'objective reporting still remains valid in Japan...there exist implicit feelings that a too narrow-eyed adhesion to objective reporting may result in...fragmentary facts and fall short of presenting the whole picture of complex incidents in modern societies' (Hirose, 1990: 470-471).

Kepplinger and Koscher in looking at Western European countries suggest that journalists represent their own views in conflict situations, and that such views 'are in many respects similar to those held by the liberal bourgeoisie in large cities.' Journalists have thus 'entered into competition with other groups holding power in society, and this has in turn produced a shift in the publicity chances of antagonistic elites in favour of the urban, liberal bourgeoisie' (1990: 306). A considerable wealth of literature exists even by liberal-pluralist researchers pointing to the class position of journalists (usually middle class) and other factors identified in the recruitment process which would partly explain their own stances apart from the views they unwittingly or consciously help to disseminate.

Chan and Lee found that the Hong Kong's 'ideologically stratified press' exercises organizational control primarily through recruitment. 'Reporters were ideologically so congruent with their newspapers that the majority of them did not feel subjected to specific or explicit guideline control in the newswork.' When conflicts occurred 'they did not appeal to ideological discord.' In seven of ten instances 'the conflict resulted from the editor's higher position in the organization's hierarchy and the journalist's firsthand knowledge about events being covered. Particularly instructive were the 10% of the self-proclaimed left-leaning staff in the rightist press, who disclosed in private that they refrained from publicly expressing their political views. When their views clashed with organizational directive, they would couch their views subtly in their written stories without risking job security' (1988: 194).

Our discussion will be mainly in line with the theme that bias in journalistic reporting is predominantly unwitting. Hall (1982) and other scholars work by that assumption. Gans, in Deciding What's News is fairly specific:

...even if news is critical of socialism, journalists are not merely public-relations agents for capitalism. Insofar as they express the dominant political ideology, they often do so unconsciously (1980: 80).

Direct/intentional bias is less difficult to isolate than unwitting bias as its 'manifestations are always indirect', as Hall, for instance, suggests. This unwitting bias he refers to as 'the institutional slanting, built-in not by the devious inclination of editors to the political right or left, but by the steady and unexamined play of attitudes which, via the mediating structure of professionally defined news values, inclines all the media towards the status quo' (1973: 149-150). Elsewhere, in discussing ideology, he elaborates:

After all, in democratic societies, it is not an illusion of freedom to say that we cannot adequately explain the structured biases of the media in terms of their being instructed by the State precisely what to print or allow on television. But precisely how is it that such large numbers of journalists, consulting only their "freedom" to publish and be damned, do tend to reproduce, quite spontaneously, without compulsion, again and again, accounts of the world constructed within fundamentally the same ideological categories? How is it that they are driven, again and again, to such a limited repertoire within the ideological field? Even journalists who write within the muckraking tradition often seem to be inscribed by an ideology to which they do not consciously commit themselves, and which, instead, "writes them." (1991: 98. See also, 1986).
Unwitting or conscious, journalists and news/opinion, it seems, from this broad outline, will predominantly tend toward preserving existing arrangements. Murdock and Golding, in writing of Britain (but nevertheless allowing extrapolation) explain:

The range of interpretative frameworks, the ideas, concepts, facts and arguments which people use to make sense of their lives, are to a great extent dependent upon media output, both fictional and non-fictional. Yet the frameworks offered are necessarily articulated with the nexus of interests producing them, and in this sense all information is ideology... Cultural production retains a real autonomy derived from tradition, occupational ideologies and the genuine tolerance of the liberal consensus...

News becomes a means of handling social change, a comforting reaffirmation of the existing order. Any threat is explained away [as] temporary, deviant or inconsequential (1974: 226-227).

As implied, and as will be clear during our discussion, the ‘nexus’, for instance, is a very complex arrangement with uneven power distribution and shifts at particular junctures including periods of crisis. Fishman tells us:

It is not that the media convinces news consumers that all is well within the present social and political order. Rather, news consumers are led to see the world outside their firsthand experience through the eyes of the existing authority structure. Alternative ways of looking the world are simply not made available. Ultimately, routine news places bounds on political consciousness (1980: 138/ see also, e.g., Fowler, 1991: 21).

This is somewhat reinforced by Tuchman who notes that cultural production embraces in part, ‘the social construction of patterned ways of looking at the world and necessarily entails in contemporary societies questions of class and capital; and that patterned ways of looking at the world also necessarily entail ideology and consciousness’ (1983: 340 - see also, Glasgow University Media Group, 1982: 8). This is, very generally, what we address when the processes of reproduction and legitimation are raised. The press largely performs these functions somewhat ‘unconsciously’ by the very nature of the organization of cultural production, the element of negotiation over, or active prescription of, a preferred set of arrangements (capitalist, especially with regard to the type of organizations under discussion) which impinges on the production process. In other words, to reiterate, the presentation of a particular viewpoint on the part of news producers is largely unwitting but not entirely so. The contours of the system and its relationships (the relations of production) as reinforced through the press are a representation of the larger reproduction through the logic of capitalist production and the associated political and social struggles.

Legitimation (note its companion, delegitimation) - a process which buttresses particular arrangements and clouds the fact that change is possible - embraces several institutions in society, including the press. It is facilitated through various routes, some of which are implied in this chapter. Several specifics of the formalization of news presentation and frameworks may assist in the legitimation or delegitimation process. Take labelling and personalization which, like a number of other factors, are closely associated with the degree of access to the media. According to Murdock, labelling has ‘a dual function’ one aspect of which is to reassert ‘the existence of a basic set of shared assumptions and interests’, and the other, clarifying ‘the nature of “consensus” by pointing to concrete examples of what it is not.’ Both factors, he stresses, ‘are indispensable to the process through which power is legitimated in corporate capitalist states’ (Murdock, 1973: 207).

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21 For a note on this, see, e.g., Hall (1972); Murdock (1973); Graber (1989).
This summary is not irrelevant to the Caribbean context in terms of its general definitional status. O’Sullivan and his colleagues (1983: 124, citing Becker, 1963: 9) identify labelling as the creation of deviance by “making those rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying them to particular people and labelling them as outsiders.” These authors correctly note that such definitions of so-called wrong-doing by other people is mainly by ‘those groups in society who have the power to ensure that their definitions, or “labels”, carry most weight and legitimacy.’ Usefully, they add that ‘deviant labels are...applied to certain forms of behaviour within specific social contexts and historical conditions.’

On a slightly different plane, but not unrelated is the concept of personalization. Hall sees the ‘essence of the ideology of personalization’ as ‘the displacement of mystification of the political event “through the category of the subject”’ (1973b: 129). According to Bensman and Lillenfeld, the journalist as an ‘information-disseminator...is able to present images of the world in apparently clear, personalistic, simple, and dramatic forms that are not abstract, academic or complicated. He is likely to look for the specific image, illustration, symbol, anecdote, or event that illustrates his point; and having found and presented that symbol, he is likely to allow the symbol or succession of symbols to convey his point without presenting the abstract argument’ (1973: 209).

As a second factor, and as stressed earlier, we have raised the level of proprietorial or more largely, corporate representatives seeking to influence the content of news marginally over and above that conferred by some observers. 22

Graber (1989), writing from the USA reminds us that every news organization has its own internal power structure which develops from the interaction of owners, journalists, news sources, audiences, advertisers, and government authorities. She notes that ‘in most organizations today, the internal power structure is slightly left of Middle America, yet predominantly supportive of the basic tenets of the current political and social system.’ She refers to Johnstone (1976), who found that ‘three out of four newspeople indicate that explicit directives from editors attempting to influence their reports ‘are rare.’ However, when top executives do exercise control, it usually involved ‘politically crucial matters.’ Graber appreciates too that the key phases of ‘initiation of stories and final acceptance are subject to organizational controls’ (1989: 65).

Our account is based particularly on the nature of the Caribbean context at the political and other levels, the basis of new technological possibilities, and the central process of capital itself not only through increased concentration and so on but by the very element of ‘play’ assumed by major actors in the communications industries as exhibited, for instance, in the leadership of some of the top world communications conglomerates. Williams was correct in stating that ‘the basic purposes of communication - the sharing of human experience - are being steadily subordinated to’ the ‘drive to sell’ (1976:25). Further,

The old kind of newspaper proprietor, who wanted to control so that he could propagate his opinions, has, in general, been replaced by a kind of proprietor who says he is not interested in opinions but simply in selling as many papers as he can (1976: 25).

22 e.g., Miliband, 1973; Murdock & Golding, 1974; Williams, 1976; Golding & Murdock, 1979; Murdock, 1980; Gitlin, 1980.
Under capitalist arrangements, the two factors which Williams cited can hardly be separated, except for analytical purposes. We must never lose sight of the reality of this interrelationship of the need for the capitalist proprietor and/or his representatives to sell newspapers and attract advertising revenue, on the one hand, and that of striving to maintain a certain climate within which the selling can proceed, on the other. Gitlin seems to have, incidentally or otherwise, noted intervention in times of crisis, which is crucial:

> Only episodically, in moments of political crisis and large-scale shifts in the overarching hegemonic ideology, do political and economic managers and owners intervene directly to re-gear or reinforce prevailing journalistic routines (1980: 4).

It is these key moments, as we noted in earlier discussion, which are central to an understanding of the situation rather than frequency or constant presence in an office located within the principal editorial confines.

Intervention may be noticeable at the editorial level, and even editors who may be hired as ‘safe’ choices [expected to defend corporate interests] and who may become recalcitrant at crucial periods as they adhere to professional ideology may be forced to conform or seek employment elsewhere. In the empirical presentation in later chapters, we will see how the the Caribbean fits into this picture. The inclination towards the view of the absent capitalist is perhaps partly related to the perhaps relatively more stable consensus behind capitalism which might tend to prevail in the advanced capitalist countries.

The point of departure for us is not one of a fundamental nature but to emphasize that the talk about selling newspapers or advertising space must also account for reproducing and sustaining the climate in which such selling is enhanced. The relationship is, of course, a dynamic one which seems to attract intervention at periods of crisis for capital - both in terms of shifts in profit margins and political/ideological struggle or threat. The action/intervention, when it occurs then, would rest on economic and other constraints.

4.6 Brief on method for the current research

It is not to be assumed that the length of this subsection is an indication of the author’s view of importance of conventional methodology in social or mass communication research. However, I would wish to stress the necessity of subordinating method to the more fundamental factors such as the research objectives, its coverage and findings. Of course, all factors here are interrelated, and method has to be appropriate to objectives, identifiable in order to have a clearer understanding of the research and its findings, and so on. However, it is useful to appreciate that it is only a part of the means, not the means, and certainly not the means and the end. Methodology has its proper place and must be appropriately regarded.

Rosengren has stated:

In order to study the relationship between social structure and values mediated by the mass media, ideally one should have access to at least two, preferably three or four, sets of data. Data about the social structure and data about the value system mediated by the mass media represent the minimum demand. In order to get a better picture of the relationship under study, one should also have data about the values entertained by the
149

population. Better still, one should also have data about the values of the producers and controllers of the media content. Finally, time series of these four types of data are to be preferred to cross-sectional data (1980: 168).

This thesis cannot be as fullsome in its range of data and the details implied by that author but the range is fairly considerable and goes well beyond the confines of content analysis. I have placed a few observations about content analysis at this point because it seemed to be an appropriate point at which it should be placed.

Examination of the meaning of media messages, and their location in capitalist and other contexts, Curran and his colleagues note, 'has rather curious and contradictory antecedents.' They further explain that early North American research stressed media effects on individuals 'rather than the area of "meaning" or the relationship between the media and more general social and economic organization and the social psychological impulsion tended to obscure the analysis of media messages which was in any case dependent on the impoverished methodology of content analysis.' Orthodox Marxist commentaries on this area, on the other hand, based on 'a form of economic determinism...took for granted the ideological content of the media' by viewing 'culture as simply the reflection of the...economic infra structure of society' (1977: 311).

Thus far, in this exploratory study it has been at least implied that content analysis is not a sufficient basis on which to draw serious conclusions from research. Carney (1972: 45) pointed out that analyses of 'causes and effects of a communication involves making inferences about matters other than its content.' Hartmann and Husband pointed out that a 'description of mass media content on its own' was an insufficient basis on which 'to be able to say anything reliable about mass media effects' (1974: 127; also Holsti, 1969: 5). The present study is even less concerned about effects per se than Hartmann and Husband were. The brief in this regard is partly to identify press orientation from the messages and images examined. What, nevertheless, is content analysis?

Merton (1957), writing with Lazarsfeld about studies in radio and film propaganda referred to 'content-analysis' and 'response-analysis' and continued their discussion without sharply conceptualizing these items. They were more or less tools that would be used. Nevertheless, it was noted that: 'Content-analysis requires certain procedures, based on clinical experience and founded in psychological or sociological theory, in order to determine the probable responses to the content. Mere impressionism is not enough' (1957: 512).

Perhaps the most frequently quoted definition has been Berelson's, for which he rightfully attracted notable criticism:

Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (1966: 263).

Two primary criticisms have pointed to this assessment's founding in the old Stimulus-Response Model of communication, and a preoccupation with quantification. Carney has suggested of that 'minimal definition' that it limits the 'operations of the technique to those with the highest validity on the immediate face of things', and refers to it as also an 'unsatisfactory definition, because it does not reflect what was being done by content analysts' even prior to 1952. Analysts were making inferences, and on non-quantitative evidence (1972: 24). At least one analyst begins from what content analysis 'is not' in outlining 'A System-Theoretic View of Content Analysis' (e.g.,
Krippendorf, 1969: 4-5).

Carney refers to 'theoretically informed' content analysis, a term which he suggests would distinguish it clearly from 'classical' content analysis, from which it differs in laying much more stress on the drawing of inferences...There are no rules to tell anyone how to make the inferential leap. But strategies have been evolved for telling how well it has been made' (1972: 41). In his 1969 book, Holsti resigns with what he sees as a broad definition, namely, that: 'Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specific characteristics of messages.' [Emphasis original] Of course, content analysis has been significantly refined for use in textual analysis (see, for instance, by van Dijk - e.g., 1988 & 1991) and otherwise in critical/radical research. Hall, referring to the process of signification, and explaining that 'language and symbolization is the means by which meaning is produced', points out:

This approach dethroned the referential notion of language, which had sustained previous content analysis, where the meaning of a particular term or sentence could be validated simply by looking at what, in the real world, it referenced. Instead, language had to be seen as the medium in which specific meanings are produced. What this insight put at issue, then, was the question of which kinds of meaning get systematically and regularly constructed around particular events. Because meaning was not given but produced, it followed that different kinds of meaning could be ascribed to the same events' (1982: 67)

Bearing in mind the macro-approach along lines of a general and dynamic political economy which the study envisages, reference to transformation embraces the political and social (in terms of the specifics of the title of the study). 'Political' constitutes such factors as the manner of attaining political power, the state, foreign policy (and its implications), dimensions of political participation generally (including, e.g., people's or participatory democracy), and so on. Indeed, the political is allowed a sort of 'separateness' mainly because of the considerable emphasis on political regimes, their entry/exit, the very basic consideration that it is analytically possible. 'Social' is taken as overarching, as in 'social system' or 'social sciences'. The former would include the political system, economic arrangements, cultural system, etc.; the latter - political science, economics, sociology, psychology, and so on, as well as various designated 'fields', not least among them, mass communication. In the usage in this thesis, 'social' refers to policies/programmes plucked out by force of events and/or envisaged or effected under the regime or by way of the insurrection. These may arise or be implied in areas such as agrarian reform, wages/incomes policy and workers' control, and housing. One wishes to clarify further that these sub-indices within the broad categories of 'political' and 'social' which bear on the content analysis aspects of the study will not be identified unit-by-unit for the purpose of analysis, a factor in keeping with the macro-approach to which reference is made. It will be more in terms of views on 'the PNP regime's links in foreign policy', 'fear of communism', 'what the insurrection stands for', 'the manner of attaining power', 'the leadership', and so on, where possible. More definitely it will be about reproduction, representation or other approaches in presenting the PNP regime or referring to the insurrection and what such references signify.

Such as that emphasized by Berelson.

See also Stone, in Stone et al., 1966 with whom this definition was developed.
4.7 Conclusion

The chapter began with certain aims which have been covered in general terms at least. It addressed the two major theoretical approaches which have been brought to bear on mass communication research and theory - pluralist or liberal-pluralist, and critical (mainly Marxist) approaches. The discussion endeavoured to establish their roots, both historically and within contemporary reality. We considered the offshoots of the liberal-pluralist trend such as 'managerialism' and 'consumer sovereignty' and counterposed them to critical analysis of a radical nature in relation to questions of ownership, power and control. In this regard, there were certain deficiencies cited in these pluralist approaches.

On the question of approaches, the division was not as clear cut as could be assumed. Within critical or Marxist approaches differences also existed in terms of structuralist, on the one hand, and 'instrumentalist' strands, on the other; and among those who argued from economics as against those approaching from ideology. Hopefully, it has been made reasonably clear that a dynamic relationship exists between economic, and political/ideological considerations, and this is to be borne in mind particularly in contexts such as the Caribbean or similar type environments in the 'Third World'. The study adheres closer to the position that ultimately economic considerations are primary, but, that period, situational and broad contextual factors may translate into a displacement of a temporary or longer-term nature or even a paralleling of the economic by the political/ideological. The Caribbean context of the 1970s-1980s required the recognition of an analysis embracing and informed by this caveat.

Inglis (1991: 111) notes that political economy requires a historical base and 'carries us into a mode of production.' Further, it questions what it is right for anyone to own, what is done with related power and 'how the structures of productive power themselves generate a momentum far beyond individual control.' Additionally, it also poses questions 'with no particular consolation for the political Left or Right about how things might be differently ordered, and whether it would be better if they were.' These are, of course, some of the factors which underlie the foregoing discussion, although the direction adopted for this study stresses the need to avoid debunking or 'over-subsuming' the element of 'action'.

The discussion in this chapter also examined the theoretical and conceptual basis of the social production of news and information, bearing in mind the historical and social-structural considerations, and other factors which impinge on the production process, and to some extent the particular features of contexts such as the Caribbean with its residue and more of colonialism and imperialism.

As another aspect of the tasks set for this chapter, we touched briefly on one aspect of the methodology of study, content analysis, from a conceptual and theoretical basis and suggested some of its inadequacies as well as its partial displacement in its traditional form by approaches which draw partly from the more radical strands in critical theory.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRESS AND OTHER COMMUNICATION CHANNELS
IN THE CARIBBEAN

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three which will both generally and specifically outline the broad political economy of the press in the Anglophone Caribbean as a whole. The major task of this chapter in terms of the discussion of the press and media broadly, is primarily historical, and is two-fold. The more important for the purposes of the study involves an examination of the context in which the press emerged and its source threshold partly with reference to class character. Related and appropriate is a brief sort of window on broadcasting in the region and also the interests which it has served and was purported to serve. A segment of this portion of the task is an inquiry into other less formal channels of mass communication or what one may call mass communication without mass media, notably the dialect and associated popular arts such as verse and music as well as their utility and significance for political communication. One prong of the discussion of the press will attend to questions of audience size and origin, bearing in mind the caveat that news and information production are largely commodity production for profit but by their very nature and the reality within which they are situated, also having a political ideological source. Circulation and advertising are addressed with principal reference to the newspapers and their respective publishing houses and to a lesser extent broadcasting and some popular arts which may operate to narrow scope of the press - as only one of several channels - in its reproduction, legitimation and broader mediation of culture. In general, the discussion on the constraints on capitalists and the press, their actions, and the basis of this will be continued, but here, in an empirical vein.

The chapter is not about the history of the press, although some historical factors will arise. It stresses rather the social basis of the newspaper industry in particular mainly in terms of the developments of the twentieth century which marked the spread and later concentration, while buttressed by the foundation established in the background chapters (1-3).

5.2 The press in the Caribbean: ‘reflecting’ the social and political process

The earliest newspapers or journals in the Caribbean arose in keeping with the nature of the slave system and the relationships with early capitalism in Britain. In 1717, the first newspaper said to have been started in the British Caribbean colonies, the Jamaica Courant and was an early additional channel which, with succeeding counterparts came out of the need to serve ruling/planter class interests.

Omu has written of Nigeria, that in the late 19th century and early decades of the 20th century ‘many newspapermen were of the commercially frustrated elite forced into journalism by the European monopolists who crushed them out of the Niger trade’ and the concern was not purely the dissemination of information but that information ‘should be such as to form the basis of a strong public opinion which the colonial government could not ignore’ (1978: viii-ix). In the Caribbean, if
we take into account the political disenfranchisement of the overwhelming majority of the population through to the fifth decade of the twentieth century it will be clear that the structure of inequality would perhaps be even more deeply manifested in the sphere of the press. However, with the momentum of history and the expansion of the aspiring middle strata with outcrops of individuals prepared to represent the disenfranchised masses, newspapers also arose to advance these interests. Papers sprang up, if only briefly in most cases, to represent political, labour, specific economic, and other interests. Many papers, having only precarious financial support and readership, folded early but several, standing on the threshold of adequate sustained support with a labour and/or political constituency within the growing nationalist current of the 20th century survived for years.

Whereas the two themes of an economic struggle for more of the material wealth of society, on the one hand, and the related social and specifically political struggles for greater participation, on the other, were involved, the former appears to have been uppermost for most of the history of the newspaper business in the Caribbean.

It is not the purpose of this study to chronicle the many and various types of newspapers which have emerged in the Caribbean. However, to mention a few cases will not be an encumbrance. Much of the literature of the struggles of the early 20th century records that trade unions were illegal. This arrangement which was implemented by, and satisfied the interests of local oligarchies, left an opening for the, sometimes, self-appointed leaders from the middle-class to enter publishing. Thus, a monthly periodical, the Union Messenger, was introduced by the St. Kitts-Nevis Benevolent Association, and the level of popular reception allowed for its eventual evolution into a daily. According to Lent, the Association started it in 1921 as a monthly to 'carry out its propagandistic work for the masses' (Lent, 1977: 58). In Jamaica, the Negro World (simultaneously published in New York) was published from 1919 as the information arm of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) of which the leading figure was Jamaican black nationalist, Marcus Garvey. It was circulated internationally and banned in some Caribbean territories (e.g., Trinidad), and in the French African colony of Dahomey, its possession attracted the death penalty.

The great watershed of social and political change in the first half of the 20th century, as noted in earlier chapters was the period from the mid-1930s to the 1940s. Recall the award of increased wages and land as well as universal adult suffrage (starting with Jamaica in 1944; Barbados, e.g., 1950). The modern political parties and less rigid anti-union legislation arose from the struggles of that period. The consequences for the media (press), as Lent (1977: 58) records, meant that at least thirty-two publications appeared in Jamaica 'between the 1920s when unionism and nationalism sparks were struck, and the 1940s when the movements were conflagratory in nature.' The 'radical' journalism in the context of the times was manifested in outlets such as the Socialist (1935 - ) of the post-World War One labour movement led by Andrew Cipriani in Trinidad under the banner of the Trinidad Labour Party; the weekly Public Opinion (1937 - until its premises were destroyed by fire in the 1970s) was aligned with the PNP in Jamaica; the West Indian under Marrishow in Grenada (see earlier chapter); and the Workers Voice (1944 - ) in Antigua.

Incidentally, an afternoon paper, the Daily News was introduced as the arm of the Jamaica Democratic Party (JDP) in the 1940s and was intended 'as an opponent of the Socialist paper, Public Opinion.' Started as a weekly, that Daily News became a daily on the approach to the
General Elections under the new 1944 Constitution and universal adult suffrage. The JDP, the party of the Jamaican owning class or a fraction thereof failed to obtain any seats as the newly enfranchised working and unemployed groups opted for their middle-class representatives in the mass parties - the PNP and JLP - and Independents.

The JDP’s Daily News was short-lived, perhaps mainly because of the 1944 electoral failure but as far as ideological position was concerned, it was well represented under its more durable counterpart of capital, the Gleaner. The JDP’s disintegration was neatly compensated for through the absorption of its core interests by the PNP and JLP (mainly the latter), a factor which has contributed to the dilution, but not obliteration of mass struggle. This dilemma of the lower strata was evident even under the PNP of the 1970s which was compelled to express some of the mass sentiments arising from the socio-political ferment at the start of its two-term regime.

The various publications and many others garnered and expressed the interests of the poor and oppressed, circumscribed by middle-class assessments and as filtered through demands for more land, better wages and working conditions, and even participation in the formal political sphere. Moreover, changes sought were, as stated earlier, conditioned by a preference, particularly on the part of leaders, for remaining within the confines of the prevailing social order. Lest, nevertheless states that the labour press ‘was significant because its spirit was contrary to the spirit of the press of earlier times, which had represented the “conservative sugar-growing interests” or primarily personal designs of the editor’ (1977: 58).

To discuss these papers, and several others as a mere side-show would be careless. However, if pitted against perennials such as the Gleaner, Advocate or Guardian then they were more ephemeral and less ubiquitous counterparts in the region’s newspaper world. The last two of the major papers named here and some small titles in neighbouring countries fell into the grasp of world capitalism’s sweeping MNC empires briefly in the 1960s-1970s. They were later joined in the marketplace by newcomers - the Express, Nation, and Daily News - which were more sympathetic or committed supporters of nationalist political currents. It is useful at this point to enter a brief sketch of the history of the these major newspapers in terms of the factors from which they grew and their class basis from the available data, to which further dimensions will be added in later sections and chapters. At times it will be necessary or appropriate to refer to other newspapers - here and there competitors - which have a bearing on the context of the selected papers (see Appendix 10).

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1 Not to be confused with the Daily News of 1973-1983.

2 The Gleaner’s editor from 1904-1944 [Daily Gleaner 150th Anniversary Issue: 6], was the JDP’s secretary, as was noted in an earlier chapter.


4 Especially the likes of the Abeng (defunct, Jamaica) and Crusader (continues, St. Lucia as the Labour Party organ) which arose from nationalist and radical currents in the 1960s and 1970s. Even among the major selected newspapers, one of my 1988 respondents referred to the Barbados Nation as a black paper and the Advocate, a white paper - a categorization which reflects some of the disparities in, and continuities of the old colonial social framework and the struggles which have emanated.
As the Gleaner Company principals recognize:

The original Gleaner was born in a time of fundamental change: 1834, the same year that slavery was abolished in the British colonies (Anniversary Issue: 2).

A deeper explanation is not available but partly from speculation we can derive that the two processes were not independent. It was a time when the imperial government formally terminated the institution of slavery through the Colonial Office too and financially compensated, not the slaves, but the holders of slaves and their bankers in Britain. Indeed, DeCordova's Advertising Sheet (which evolved through the Gleaner and Weeldy Compendium of News, and three months later, became the Gleaner [Daily]) was introduced in 1833, the year in which the Abolition Act was passed in Britain. The Act was scheduled to take effect a year later on August 31, 1834 and would serve to partly abolish slavery, with completion of the formal process taking place later, in 1838. Those formally freed then became sellers of labour power and represented a new soon-to-emerge expanded potential market in circulation terms but also for advertisers, and it partly reflected the consolidation of the victory of capitalist relations of production in Europe and the reluctant but unavoidable submission of agrarian relations to that dramatic change process.

Over the years the Gleaner Co. has had a parentage in family groups of the Jamaican ruling class5 in more than a century and a half of existence. By dint of its position in the structure of Jamaican industry and society, a sort of image of 'autonomy' even 'independence' from government/the state, if not from corporate industrial interests - also partly founded on adherence to the libertarian watchdog 'Fourth Estate' press orientation - is projected. In addition to this, following the late 1970s appeal for bridging finance through a limited equity flotation, its principals preferred to see it as a 'public company'. What can be generally stated, nevertheless is that by the 1980s, compared to the 1970s and earlier, the family base of the company was being gradually or slowly modified but the presence of what we have designated 'old capital' has remained evident at the top decision-making level, a factor which will be entered into in greater detail in the next chapter.

This sort of capitalist backbone, which has been pointed to here, as stated, has had a perennial history. Thus, even though the Gleaner had been around for over a century and a half at the time of writing it was pre-dated by other papers. As H. S. Burns wrote in the 1940s, the publisher [of the Weekly Jamaica Courant of the 18th century] who was also the printer,

was definitely not a newspaperman in the sense of being an active newsgatherer and the local items in the first newspaper were restricted to advertisements, proclamations and notices of runaway slaves (Press & Radio, 1968: 5).

The Courant lasted four years. The first daily paper in Jamaica in fact was started in Kingston in 1796. This was The Kingston Daily Post. Four years later, The Daily Advertiser arrived, also in Kingston which was by then the leading commercial centre. The administrative capital of the time, St. Jago de La Vega (later called Spanish Town), although displaced by the impetus of Kingston’s commercial development, was served by other papers over a period of time. The Gazette, for instance, took its full name from the town and survived eighty-five years from its launch in 1755.

5 e.g., DeCordova, Ashenheim, DeLisser, etc.
The Gleaner's fairly consistent monopoly as a daily newspaper (indeed, similarly its parent Gleaner Co.), has had significant short-term challenge from competitor publications arising from large-scale commercial capital. The Jamaica Standard which arrived with resounding publicity in 1937 was the product of 'a group of city merchants' (H. S. Burns, reprint of 1940s article, Press & Radio, 1968: 7). Retired Gleaner Editor Theodore Sealy notes that:

Major Nathan who owned Nathan & Company...had a resentment about the influence of the "Gleaner" in Jamaica. He raised 70 thousand pounds, which was a hell of a lot of money, as capital to start a daily paper (Interview, PAJ News, 35th Anniv. Issue, 1978: 45).

Sealy observed that, taking away the Gleaner's Secretary 'who knew almost nothing about newspaper work' and also poor financial judgements (for example, recommending that all machinery be cash purchases) were among the reasons for the paper's downfall. 'They were so anxious to supercede the "Gleaner" in circulation that they agreed to pay the managing editor a bonus on circulation instead of on profits. So this man would hire cars to take papers to Kellets, Farenough, all kinds of places where the sale of the paper could never pay for the cost of getting it there and in about 21 months they were broke.' A long-standing Gleaner journalist, Calvin Bowen has stated that 'newspaper publishing in Jamaica had reached a level of expertise that made the Gleaner bear the proud title of "the best newspaper in the Outer Empire"', a tribute paid to it by Lord Beaverbrook, of London Express fame ("A Time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 60-61).

Half-a-century before the Standard, The Jamaican Post which 'had strong financial backing by Kingston businessmen' was impressively presented and even with the reduction of its price to a penny (the Gleaner was constrained to follow suit), 'fell out of the race' (Burns, Press & Radio, 1968: 7) as have so many others. Sealy, in his interview also pointed to the Jamaica Mail which was established by the cooperative movement in Jamaica 'to fight the cause of the cooperatives.' With 'considerable truth', Sealy stated, "the saying then was...that the "Gleaner" was opposed to this movement and supported the United Fruit Company and the big foreign fruit companies who did the banana trade of Jamaica. So they started with that narrow though great purpose. They were not interested in running a newspaper of broad appeal" (PAJ News: 45). A few themes can be extracted here: that any divisions within capital are superficial; the essential link between the capitalist business enterprise and the hired manager's and journalist's jobs; the vast capital required to start a newspaper and the centrality of economies to be maintained as well as the presence of an established competitor in the background; and, among other factors, the Gleaner's traditional sympathy towards big capital.

It is in the tradition of challenge to the Gleaner Company's monopoly of the mass circulation market that the tabloid Daily News (1973-1983) was introduced. Notice of the founding of the Daily News itself was given by a Cabinet Minister from the PNP's left-wing who sounded a threatening note to the Gleaner. However, the Daily News, with some public sector facilitated financing, was owned principally and for its first years by two of Jamaica's larger corporate concerns. They withdrew by the late 1970s leaving the ailing fragments to a PNP government with which capital had by then become less sympathetic. One can recall that in 1974 Communications Corporation of Jamaica's (CCJ - then publisher of the Daily News) chief executive questioned the

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6 What would be viewed as 'anti-imperialist' capital.
highlighting of at least one of the PNP Government's large housing construction initiatives aimed at satisfying the middle income market. That executive was a member of the board of the largest corporate shareholder in CCJ then (National Continental Corporation - NCC). An NCC subsidiary, Key Homes Ltd., was also engaged in constructing middle income and other homes. In the next two chapters some of the related concerns will be explored.

Among the other countries, Skinner and Houang state that media development pattern in Trinidad was not unique:

"Typically, colonial rulers brought in mass media technology to facilitate either expatriate links to the mother country or colonial administration. This control resulted in patterns of ownership, media aesthetics and publication codes which followed the dictates of the erstwhile rulers. Contemporary patterns are somewhat different. They appear to be more of a reflection of socio-political and geo-political influences (1987: 184)."

In an article, 'A history of Trinidad dailies' (Guardian, 24/11/80: 6), Owen C. Mathurin notes that apart from the Trinidad Guardian, there was the Port-of-Spain Gazette "which stood face to face with the Guardian on St. Vincent Street..." Somewhat reminiscent of the Gleaner’s position among Jamaicans is the substance of his observation that:

"It was such an institution among ordinary people that "Gazette" came to be accepted as synonymous with "newspaper." A piece of any newspaper was a piece of the Gazette."

The author also outlined that until its title ‘was changed in 1956 to Trinidad Chronicle and Port-of-Spain Gazette (Established. 1825) it was the longest lasting daily, for it continued daily publication for 64 years’ (before 1892 it had been published as a semi-weekly or weekly). Other dailies included Trinidad News 8 and The Trinidad Times which failed in 1892. Rather than his list of the names, dates and forms of papers, what we would be more indebted to Mathurin for is his identification (by chance or otherwise) of certain associated names and commercial capital. It is permissible and useful to draw extensively from the researcher to the extent that he highlights this notably relevant factor.

'The claim to seniority' [i.e., as a daily], as Mathurin wrote, ‘was made on the very day in 1892 that Philip Rostant’s semi-weekly "Public Opinion" began daily publication. In the following year "Public Opinion" became an evening publication with the title "The Observer" and with Joseph de la Sauvagere as editor, printer and publisher. Like Conrad Frederick Stollmeyer who furnished one of the £200 bonds required by law, de la Sauvagere who was in the French army during the Franco-German war had important roles in Trinidad’s journalistic history.’ In addition, when Patjoe’s "Trinidad News" became a daily, it was at times referred to as the "Daily News" and a contemporary later observed that it had started "under the most favourable auspices, unlimited command of capital and strong support among the merchants". The Daily News collapsed in spite of

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7 Among its schemes, a large middle income development proposed by the company for which ground was broken did not then materialize (early - mid-70s). Possible reasons for the failure include the Government’s entry into the lower middle income market at competitive prices, as well as the emerging economic and financial crisis.

8 It became a daily in the ‘seventies’ - 1870s - and was sometimes referred to as the "Daily News".
its early financial strength, and Reform, another name change for The Observer above, and organ of the Reform Movement, 'turned to weekly publications after the "Mirror", owned by the Mote Brothers and edited by R. R. Moles came on the scene in 1898. However, towards the end of the same year there appeared as a penny daily "The Indian Koh-i-Noor Gazette", owned by the merchant Lallapee. It was an English publication with an Indian edition in Hindustani and seems to have lasted as a daily a little less than four months...'

At the end of the nineteenth century the titles in circulation as dailies were Port-of-Spain Gazette and the Mirror. T. & N. Laughlin sold the Gazette to Lucien Ambard 'who made de la Sauvagere editor and publisher...Ulsterman Laughlin had once been a Frederick Street [in Port-of-Spain] draper. Ambard Senior, son of a later French immigrant, owned the manjack mine at Marabella and had been involved in commerce and in sugar estates and in promotion of one of the telephone companies...'

Mathurin himself noted that in those days financial outlay was of much smaller proportions than today when vast sums are invested, for instance, in computer technology. Print runs too were generally much smaller. Thus, an event such as the second Daily News' (1901) replacement of the old Daily News press by a 'Web perfecting press capable of turning out 6,000 papers an hour' would have been a dramatic one (bear in mind, however, the changing purchasing power of money). 'The paper lasted only two months and six days.' Some names - for example, Restant and Stollmeyer - mentioned above continued to be prominent in the owning class, and as we will see later in management, if not the ownership of newspapers in the late twentieth century corporate sector rather than under a traditional family business structure.

The Guardian (1917) and the Advocate (1895 - company itself incorporated 1908) under their respective companies developed along somewhat similar lines and class arrangements as the Gleaner. Thus, the "Trinidad Guardian had come on the scene, succeeding...the "The Mirror" and acquiring its machinery." And, until 'the Canadian Roy Thomson made his incursion into St. Vincent Street buying out the "Guardian", there had been no absentee ownership of newspapers in Trinidad' (Guardian, 24/11/80: 6). These two newspapers or their publishing houses have had a regional approach, in also focusing on the Eastern Caribbean but which (approach) encountered some setbacks against the current of rising nationalism and cost considerations in the neighbouring territories. Under the Thomson Group, although perceived as 'neutral' or 'objective' regarding local issues, reflecting the primary economic objective, and, not wishing to attract the negative attention of the political leadership in Trinidad, the paper was nevertheless castigated by Prime Minister Eric Williams. Williams, the first Prime Minister of formally independent Trinidad saw the newspaper as a hindrance to the implementation of the People's National Movement's programme (see, e.g., Kurian, 1982).

The threat to Williams' regime and the state in the 1970 uprising would have encouraged an alignment but the Express, on the other hand, was boycotted during the crisis by major local advertisers for failing to offer an outright condemnation of protestors. The Express (Trinidad Express

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Newspapers Ltd. - recently identified as Caribbean Communications Network Ltd./CANN and the Nation, founded on the crest of broad nationalist currents but also drawing from a close relationship with capital have at times been in a fairly problematic position.

The Express (1967), and the Nation (1973) (Nation Publishing) are largely owned/controlled or assisted by newer business strata. 10 In this vein, there is not a great deal that can be said about the Nation or Nation Publishing except to reiterate that like the Express, it issued most concretely in economic terms also through the assistance of more nationalistic business interests - somewhat related to a 'patriotic anti-imperialist' capitalist dimension. However, it was also inspired by journalists and others who saw the need for such a paper to give expression to the tens of thousands of Barbadians whose interests were denied access in the Advocate, and by elements among the long-standing local and allied foreign ruling interests to which the latter publishing complex catered.

The Express grew in 1967 from the closure (via the Thomson/Cecil King transactions) of the Mirror which had been established earlier in the 1960s in Trinidad (see Express, 5/6/88). Journalists were eventually rescued by interested businessmen who saw a gap in the market. According to a Sunday Express editorial:

It was...desire for an independent voice in the community which motivated a group of local journalists and businessmen to start a fully home grown product.

...as our former chairman Mr. Thomas Gatcliffe said in our 20th anniversary supplement last year; "as a newspaper subject neither to foreign control nor to control by any one individual or company, the Express is conscious of the role it is expected to play and it continues to strive for even greater excellence in journalism" (5/6/88: 8).

It is significant that the Express grew from such recent beginnings up through the dust of the old Thomson Mirror to be called by its principals Trinidad's 'top newspaper' (see, e.g., Anniversary Magazine, 5/6/88: 1). But it has gone well beyond that arguable status. It has assisted local and local-regional newspapers in establishing themselves, apparently to a greater extent than any other principal publishing house. I am not alluding to altruism, but simply to levels of the workings of corporate media relationships. Gazing back at history, Harry Sharma, Manager of the Trinidad Express Newspapers' San Fernando 11 Office up to at least 1988, and a former Mirror staff member has explained:

...the Mirror, with its base in London, threw some 256 of us on the breadline in its conclusion of a "deal" with the Guardian's foreign owner, Lord Thomson...[T]he nation's readership had already acquired an appetite for tabloids...

Foreign-owned, the Mirror had no "loyalty or ties" to the people of Trinidad and Tobago, but in its "objective" quest, gave to the nation a technology and art in newspapering, second to none. (Sunday Express, 21st Anniversary Magazine, 5/6/88: 1 - also 12 & 13).

This points to what Blanchard saw in the United States in the 1920s as 'dangerous, ominous trends in the newspaper business'. For him:

10Partly the case too of the Jamaica Record, 1988-, although 'old capital' has been involved at least indirectly through banking sector loans.

11Trinidad's second town.
Newspapers were dying of at an astonishing rate. The institution had become accustomed to the growing phenomenon of chains but the idea of someone buying a newspaper in order to kill it was a new one (1978: 55).

According to Sharma: 'The people knew then as they do today', that a single voice would 'never do for the survival of a truly democratic process...' (Anniversary Magazine, 5/6/88: 12-13). Ironically, the Express was virtually brought to its knees in 1970 by a two-month advertising boycott on 'the part of the Port of Spain business community', largely based on the view that it was too lenient with the Black Power ferment of the period. A quick reading of an extract from comments derived from an interview (2/9/70) with then General Manager, Kenneth Gordon is instructive:

We editorialized daily. We said we could sympathize with people who seemed dispossessed, who felt hopeless. But we also said we condemned violence that was happening around the demonstrations (cited in Lent, 1977: 98).

5.3 Circulation and advertising supports

This is a useful point at which to turn our attention briefly to questions of circulation and advertising which relate closely to the very existence of newspapers and the commercial media at the economic level but have implications for their second major function, the ideological. Clement suggests that unlike 'corporations in the economic world which were differentiated on the basis of control over capital measured in terms of assets and revenue, dominant media complexes must be identified in terms of the control they exercise over the dissemination of information. The best indicator of this is "circulation"' (1975: 287).

Graber, for instance, reminds that, economic pressures 'are even more potent than political pressures in molding news and entertainment.' 'Newspapers and magazines' require sufficient income to cover their production costs. Except for those that are subsidized by individual or group sponsors, publications must raise this income from subscription rates, from advertisers, or from a combination of these sources' (1989: 81). The particular circumstances of most of the financially poorer countries where newspapers exist on any substantial scale in the corporate sector and depend on these supports perhaps require even greater attention to these factors to avert the threat of closure or serious contraction.

A large circulation implies a newspaper’s capacity to capture a large market for advertisers but also the capacity to transmit a political message, for instance, to a wide audience. Coupled with inadequate advertising such a circulation may, however, operate to keep a paper afloat as a publishing company facing financial collapse may be forced to resort to measures such as a price increases. Such a measure, of course, may be constrained by market conditions. Readers’ reluctance to buy at increased prices could be one snag.

Although this factor will not be explored in this section, it is important to bear in mind that advertisers are not equally important to newspapers. Further, as Jhally, referring to the US context states, advertisers are hardly concerned about the cost of running an advertisement in a newspaper; they are concerned with whether it is a good buy' (1989: 75). Large advertisers tend to be far more consequential to newspapers’ survival than small ones and circulation tends to be less important than advertising as a revenue source (see, e.g., Westergaard & Reiter, 1975; Williams, 1976). In the case of this latter factor, exceptions of a generally temporary nature do arise. In
Jamaica, the 1970s economic crisis led partly to lower expenditure on advertising and resulted in the Gleaner Co., for instance, earning more from circulation for the years 1977-1981 at least as Table 5(i) and Appendix 13 illustrate.

Skinner and Houang (1987: 187) suggest that financing for national daily media in Trinidad and Tobago may be 'described by one word - advertising.' For them, this also extended to government-owned broadcast media. They cited early 1980s research which found that 65 per cent to 70 per cent of the pages of the Express and the Guardian consisted of advertisements. Of the remaining space, 10-15 per cent consisted of non-Caribbean news and commentary and corporate releases. The remaining 20 or so per cent of available space 'for local and Caribbean news and analyses' has implications for the extent of coverage of news on which later sections of this thesis is based. Brown (1976), drew on mid-1970s figures for his brief study on mass media and socialist change in Jamaica in the 1970s:

On any given day approximately 64.3% of the Daily Gleaner's pages are devoted to advertisements of one sort or another. The remainder, 35.7% is divided between news, editorials, commentary and entertainment. More precisely, 35.7% of the Gleaner's pages are divided between what the public is made to believe are the central purposes of the newspaper. The Daily News is only better in this regard because it has to compete with the firmly entrenched Daily Gleaner. On any given day it devotes approximately 30% of its pages to advertising' (1977: 206).

Cuthbert (1982: 543) stated: 'Advertising ratios show the daily and Sunday Gleaner ads occupying between 46 percent and 62 percent of space in 1979-80, while average advertising space for the Daily News in 1980 was 35 percent. There is no obvious influence of advertising on editorial policies.'

### Table 5(i): Gleaner Co. - advertising, circulation and turnover (sales revenue), 1975-1989 in $'000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ADVERTISING</th>
<th>CIRCULATION</th>
<th>BOOKS</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL TURNOVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>81943</td>
<td>49251</td>
<td>19971</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>151230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>70952</td>
<td>45643</td>
<td>13079</td>
<td>5065</td>
<td>134739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>59510</td>
<td>40242</td>
<td>16350</td>
<td>2273</td>
<td>118375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>41993</td>
<td>35021</td>
<td>13516</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>92098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>35302</td>
<td>29028</td>
<td>11911</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>78345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>24460</td>
<td>24992</td>
<td>3462</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>53763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>21731</td>
<td>20052</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>42316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>17396</td>
<td>17241</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>35029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>14549</td>
<td>16004</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>51381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>9801</td>
<td>15424</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>25419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>8384</td>
<td>11133</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>20136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>6022</td>
<td>10561</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>16728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>4382</td>
<td>8408</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11821</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gleaner Co. Ltd. - Annual Reports.

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12 Cited from T. Fraser, 'Caribbean Media in Crisis: Trinidad and Tobago, An Analysis', Trinidad and Tobago Review (Carnival, 1983); 14.
In the Caribbean, Britain and elsewhere an almost inevitable gradual rise in the price of newspapers on the newsstands has been a highly conspicuous feature of the crisis-ridden late twentieth century. Increasing production costs, tendencies in the general national economy which impact upon the capacity of business to advertise, the need to maintain profit levels, etc., are among the determining factors. Here and there, newspaper principals who have introduced new printing technologies in their plants in the industrialized countries speak of economies gained but these have not been reflected in reductions or stabilizations in the prices of titles. The reasons for this could be several: increased returns or appropriation to capital, general inflationary pressures in the larger economy affecting costs, specific increases in returns to labour, and so on.

Table 5(ii): Size and cover prices for the major Eastern Caribbean newspapers, for selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>YEAR/ISSUE</th>
<th>NO. OF PAGES</th>
<th>PRICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GUARDIAN</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>.30 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>$1.50 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1.00 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$2.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.00 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVOCATE</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>.30 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.75 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPRESS</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1.00 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$2.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.00 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATION</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>.40 (Midweek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>.50 (Weekend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>24-40</td>
<td>.60 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.60 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1.00 (Sunday &amp; Weekend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.75 (Daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.25 (Sunday)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: (i) Figures relate to the periods of content study (1979 & 1980) and around the period of field work (1988).  
(ii) The Nation became a daily in 1981, according to the information available.

SOURCE: The figures for the various years are from copies of the newspapers themselves.
Owners/directors frequently base price increases of Gleaner Company publications (see Reports) in Jamaica, as do their counterparts for publications in Barbados or Trinidad and elsewhere on increases in the price of newsprint, labour costs and adverse national and international economic trends. Appendix 15 illustrates newsprint imports and consumption in the Caribbean countries for which consistent figures are listed. Increasing the price of a newspaper portends negative consequences for audience size and capacity to purchase, particularly in contexts where rewards for labour, for the most part, will tend to be low; and - somewhat of a contradiction - other competing media channels tend to be widely available (see Appendix 16 [distribution of radio and television receivers]). Such increases have nevertheless appeared consistently. Table 5(i), 5(ii) and 5(iii) are useful here. Together with Appendices 12 and 13 they point to such factors as cover prices, levels of circulation/advertising revenue, and specifically in the case of notes attached to 5(iii), to some factors underlying cost/price increases. The Gleaner's Chairman/Managing Director has explained the problem of increasing newspaper prices:

...in many ways [this] is an unfortunate mix because...if you have to live off your circulation revenue, you have to price the paper so you can live. And in a country that is not rich and doesn't have a large literate population or as large a population [perhaps the reference is to literate population] as it should have, an expensive newspaper is an unfortunate thing (Interview, Clarke, 3/5/88). [Enclosures in squared parenthesis added]

In all this, Jamaica's newspaper publishing industry - dominated by Gleaner publications - has tended to attract the top share of advertising revenue (see Appendix 12). When we view these various factors too, it becomes evident that conditions - economic, political and social which may cater to profitable operation and a stable atmosphere for such operation will not only be desirable but will be sought after by capitalist press owners. As Gitlin states:

...by direct corporate and class interest - the owners and managers of the major media are committed to the maintenance of the going system in its main outlines: committed, that is to say, to private property relations which honor the prerogatives of capital; committed to a national security State...

The media elite want to honor the political-economic system as a whole... (1980: 258)

Westergaard and Resler, in their work on Britain, point out that this small group of privileged have wealth and all its paraphernalia, as well as power which [power] they hold 'less because they actively direct affairs - though many of them do that - than because the anonymous regulation of affairs by principles of property, profit and market is in tune with their interests.' These authors elaborate that the core, 'whether top business executives or rentiers', and whatever divergences of interest there may be among them on this score and others, latent as well as manifest, they have a common stake in one overriding course: to keep the working rules of society capitalist (1975: 346).

13 UNESCO lists only figures for Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago - the main population centres.

14 Appendix 16 can also be read with Appendix 12 (distribution of advertising revenue). The figures in Appendix 12 emphasize for media advertising in Jamaica in the 1980s, very importantly, newspapers' continued entrenched advertising revenue leadership in the market.
Hence, and specifically important to us here, political regimes and arrangements which may not be ideologically sympathetic or which are associated with political and social change or instability are likely to be resisted by this sector.

Table 5(iii): Gleaner publications - initial cover prices for selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Gleaner</td>
<td>15c</td>
<td>30c</td>
<td>35c</td>
<td>45c</td>
<td>50c</td>
<td>$1.20</td>
<td>$1.20</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Gleaner</td>
<td>25c</td>
<td>40c</td>
<td>45c</td>
<td>60c</td>
<td>85c</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.80</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Own</td>
<td>4c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Star</td>
<td>10c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekend Star</td>
<td>20c</td>
<td>35c</td>
<td>40c</td>
<td>50c</td>
<td>70c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Gleaner(NA)</td>
<td>35c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Gleaner(EU)</td>
<td>10p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: (i) Blank spaces apply to unquoted or unavailable figures, and to a lesser extent, to periods of no increases. In terms of number of pages, the Daily Gleaner was running at 32 pages in mid-1991 (the Sunday Gleaner is larger) while the competitor broadsheet, the Daily Record had 10-20 pages (32 on Sunday). One fairly new recent arrival (1980s) among the non-dailies, the fortnightly tabloid Boulevard News had 16 pages for a June, 1991 edition and like the Gleaner then, a noticeably high proportion of advertising. Advertising space was comparatively low in the Record.


ADVERTISING RATES (etc.)

(v) 1980 - increase in rates of approximately 25%. 'The substantial increase in revenue is due to selling prices and advertising changes but there was a net decline in advertising volume.' Rates increase was based on cost increase (Report, 1980: 1).
(vi) 1983 - approximately 15% increase (cost - mainly electricity and transport) (Report: 2).
(vii) In 1987 (not shown) - charges increased (newprint prices, e.g., rose in the year) (Report: 2). The Sunday edition of the newly introduced Record was sold for $1.50 in 1988.
(viii) Cover prices of the Sunday Gleaner, Daily Gleaner, and Weekend Star were increased in Feb. 1989 ('increased labour and materials costs') (1987: 3).
(ix) In 1989, the company's major publications - the Daily Gleaner and Sunday Gleaner - continued to show growth in advertising and circulation. Increase in profits for the year compared to 1988 'was due largely to increased prices for Advertising and Circulation' (1989: 3).

SOURCE: Gleaner Company Reports to 1989. Some newspaper prices were obtained from copies in hand.
Not insignificant in regard to circulation is the point that newspaper readership figures greatly exceed circulation counts which (latter) are generally based on number of copies sold and/or distributed. The average newspaper publisher will be pleased to volunteer information that each copy of the paper is not read merely by the purchaser but, on average, by several others. It has implications for advertising revenue. Thus, the Gleaner Company points out (Report 1986: 4) that the Jamaica All Media Survey (JAMS) conducted in 1986 [by a local firm, Market Research Services], found average readership to be as in Table 5(iv). I combined the 1986 and 1987-1989 figures from that research (see, Daily Gleaner, 15/11/89: 12) and inserted ABC circulation figures to illustrate the incremental process from circulation to readership.

An approximate calculation shows, for instance, that the number of persons who are said to have read each copy of the Daily Gleaner for 1986 was about eight. Interestingly, the Sunday edition worked out to just about four. That relationship is almost similar for the daily and Weekend Star. This is a very involved situation, and discussion of it cannot be accommodated here. The figure offered by publishers and their researchers usually varies around five or six persons per copy as an average. In fact, a much older finding for the Gleaner publications was close to this figure. A brief detour will illustrate this as well as one of the Gleaner Co. efforts to gather advertisers and enhance its public image during the year after Jamaica gained formal independence. The company's Director's Report 15 for 1963 ('The Sixty-seventh Annual Report of the Directors of the Gleaner Company, Limited') stated:

During the year the Gleaner and the Star had a combined total net paid circulation of 37,211,912 copies.

The advertising rates of the Daily Gleaner continued to be calculated at 3d per inch per thousand copies of net paid circulation - a basis which has been in force for some years...

It continues to be true that there is no other way in which an advertiser can put his message in the hands of so many people throughout Jamaica at such low cost...

During the year the Company engaged the independent firm of Caribbean Research Ltd., to make a Readership Survey and obtain facts as to reader habits for the information of Advertising clients. The consequent report has been distributed to clients...

...the Company embarked upon a planned series of institutional advertisements in the Gleaner, designed to build in the public mind a fuller concept of the Company's contribution to the life and progress of the country (1963: 5)

Each copy of the Gleaner was found to have an average readership of 6.8 persons, and the Star, 5.3 persons. It is not clear whether these figures were representative of the positions of the Daily Gleaner combined with the Sunday Gleaner, on the one hand, and the Star and Weekend Star, on the other. Merrill et al (1990: 123), from another context, the USA, found that while 'overall readership' was 'still increasing slightly, per capita newspaper readership - the formal name for market penetration' - was falling. [Emphasis original]16

15 All Gleaner company reports of this sort have been referred to as annual reports in the bibliography to the thesis.

16 The Hulton Readership Survey for British publications (1947: 24) gave the figure for the Daily Mirror as 4.1, the Daily Express, 2.5, and the Sunday Express, 2.8 based on early 1947 circulation figures in a context including many other publications and other mass media. Magazine
Table 5(iv): Circulation and readership compared for Gleaner Publications - in '000 of copies/readers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABC CIRCULATION</th>
<th></th>
<th>ABC CIRCULATION</th>
<th>JAMS READERSHIP</th>
<th></th>
<th>JAMS READERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. Gleaner</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Gleaner</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Star</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Star</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>101.2</td>
<td>107.6</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The initials 'D', 'S', and 'W' refer to Daily, Sunday, and Weekend respectively.

It must be borne in mind that such circulation frequently does not get to remote rural areas, but in some such sections of the Caribbean where literacy rate is low a single reader may relate the headline and content of some stories to interested readers at a local shop in an atmosphere of debate over meanings of content and the consequences of official political and economic or social policy on their well-being.17

Such figures as those arising from JAMS at times attract criticism with further implications. Here, an extensive quotation from Gleaner columnist/pollster and UWI political sociologist Carl Stone is justified:

The more competition we have in the media, the better deal the consumers will get from an enlarged and wider range of choice.

Big corporate power in the media has not always been used on behalf of getting a better deal for consumers. Some years ago...I argued that the big media houses (Gleaner and RJR in particular) were overcharging advertisers. My contention was based on the fact that...[they] based their advertising rates on Don Anderson's market survey data which, in my view, was significantly over-counting newspaper readers and radio listeners due to methodologically weak sampling strategies.

...I was dismissed as being an academic statistical purist who was demanding too high a standard of sampling efficiency from the all media survey.

The big corporate interests (Gleaner and RJR) flexed their muscles against the advertisers in defence of their high advertising rates...

Had my advice been heeded almost ten years ago, the all media survey might have avoided the credibility problems that have now developed for reasons linked very much to the methodological weaknesses...(13/11/90: 21)

16(continued)

per capita readership levels tended to be much higher than for newspapers, especially dailies which are 'short life' publications. At the time of writing, comprehensive information on the overall situation was unavailable, although the most popular daily, the Sun has claimed an approximate readership ratio of around 4:1 for its four-million circulation.

17In all Anglophone/CARICOM countries radio receivers would tend to be comfortably ahead of newspapers in terms of access. However, the newspapers and television would be more proximate. Whereas the UNESCO figures presented in Appendix 16 for television and radio are not as reliable as would be hoped for, other surveys have long pointed to the leadership of radio. Its relatively low cost, mobility of transistorized versions, and its compensatory usefulness for functional illiteracy where this exists account for the extensive reach.
Much of this is self-explanatory, but we ought to be clear that - especially in relation to the Gleaner Company - advertisers and the corporate media have profound overlapping interests and that advertising agencies are primarily mediating technicians, not the advertisers - although some advertising firms are large and have other business interests. Stone seems to have overlooked this point in his column. One is not suggesting a total coalescence because Stone himself sometimes writes critically of the Gleaner Company and corporate capital from the window of his Gleaner column, but it is important to bear this relationship in mind.

Table 5(v-a)/5(v-b) and the elaboration of the tendency in Appendix 14 point to circulation figures for major newspaper houses in the Anglophone Caribbean. The figures are based on those listed with the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC). The Daily News was listed in name only with the ABC for some years and circulation figures for the publication were not. The figures in themselves seem small by comparison with the millions for some individual newspapers in the larger capitalist/industrialized countries but if the ratio of these 'major' papers outlined below to the population of their respective countries were tallied against the corresponding ratio for the industrialized countries the situation would be put in its proper perspective. This is not an exercise for this thesis but note, for instance, that the late 1970s - 1980s Daily Express/Trinidad had a circulation/population ratio several times higher than that of the New York Times, the New York Daily News, and the Washington Post combined, or those of Britain's Daily Express and The Times, and would not be much in arrears when compared to the daily Sun: was ahead of Le Monde and Le Figaro of France combined. The Daily Gleaner fares well in this comparison, and even the Advocate-News' declining circulation would not leave that paper in marked arrears. The Sunday editions of the Caribbean papers would be even more dominant. Of course, some papers such as the New York Times tend to be city, rather than national newspapers. As Press and Verberg state, America is only beginning to have national newspapers, and nationally distributed newspapers such as USA Today and The Wall Street Journal 'still reach only a small percentage of the population' (1988: 58). Let us move on, because even though other angles of this diversion could be explored these cannot be accommodated.

Markets in the various Caribbean countries have apparently not reached saturation point; this seems especially so in the case of the more populous which have several weekly, fortnightly, monthly and other publications. Jamaica's perennial Gleaner Company has added various new publications; and other firms for their part, have introduced smaller-scale non-dailies - financially insecure though they have tended to be in the 1980s - particularly through the efforts of journalists and others displaced during the economic crisis years and political polarization of the PNP/Manley regime of 1972-80 as well as under the subsequent JLP administration. These newer papers tend to cover community affairs and, to some extent, perceived traditionally excluded views. A summary news feature by a former Gleaner reporter, published in a regional monthly is useful:

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18Guyana is excluded because of the nature of state involvement in the industry and unavailability of figures. The tenuous nature of the corporate capitalist sector takes with those factors were - with potential additional cost to fieldwork - among core factors in Guyana's newspaper publishing industry being excluded from central consideration in the present study. In the case of the Jamaica Daily News', figures were also unavailable but it also came under government control from the late 1970s.

19Fitzroy Nation. At the time of the fieldwork for this thesis, he was the Inter-Press Service (IPS) (Footnote continued)
Almost overnight, Jamaica's print media landscape, long dominated by the Daily Gleaner, a ponderous broadsheet, and its afternoon companion, the Star, has been enlivened by an explosion of small publications. Started and sustained in most instances more by goodwill than strong capital resources, the small publications have shown surprising resilience. Consistent though unspectacular journalism has enabled them to secure widespread support from an information-thirsty public tired of the island's one-newspaper monopoly...(Caribbean Contact, Dec. 1987: 5).

Circulation itself is sometimes fickle. Sports 'N' Arts, a fortnightly tabloid illustrates this. 'Vigorous, if sometimes superficial journalism has pushed the paper's circulation to an average of 12,000 today, and its size averages 14 pages.' When the paper published a front page story on an alleged threat to a popular radio disc jockey's life circulation rose to 20,000. This is not unusual for newspapers generally.

While they have demonstrated this 'resilience', these non-dailies (e.g., Twin City Sun, Western Mirror, Sports 'N' Arts, and Boulevard News) have the ever present problem of finance. 'Advertising agencies, locked into what one new-wave publisher calls "the Gleaner Syndrome", are either indifferent to the small publications, barely tolerant, or openly hostile.' Part of the result in these dynamics, seems to arise in some of the author's other comments:

Twin City Sun apart, the new-wave publications have been content to report the news while avoiding the strong and vigorous editorial positions which would probably give them legitimacy. Washy-washy editorials abound and the papers have generally avoided using strong columnists, perhaps for fear of further antagonizing advertisers. While generally prospects look good, the small publishers fear that the emergence of a new national daily newspaper could knock their already inadequate advertising revenue out of their mouths... (Caribbean Contact, Dec. 1987: 5).

Quite apart from these, a rival daily, the Record and a saucy tabloid sister, the Enquirer were introduced by the newly formed Jamaica Record Ltd., in 1988 and 1989 respectively. Stone has noted:

The new impact of both the Record and the Enquirer newspapers has been to increase newspaper readership, rather than to bite into Gleaner and Star readership and revenue. In other words, the new competition has enlarged the market rather divided up the existing market.

...The new competition has, on the contrary, promoted new and more aggressive marketing, leading to increased audience and readership interest. (The Weekly Gleaner, 12/9/89: 15).

The Gleaner Company was able to state that in 1988 it experienced 'another year of growth in advertising and circulation and achieved its budgeted profit despite the advent of a new competitor - The Jamaica Record - on July 24, and hurricane Gilbert on September 12' (Report 1988: 5). Further constraints were minimized as the company 'continued to enjoy a harmonious relationship with its employees throughout the Union/Management negotiations which commenced in June 1988' (1988: 4).

19 (continued) correspondent in Jamaica and continued working with the agency, in Europe at the start of the 1990s.

20 See also Chief Executive, Market Research Services, (Daily Gleaner, 15/11/89: 12), noting too, prior complacency on the Gleaner Co.'s part.
In late 1989 the *Enquirer*, based on its sauciness and sensationalism, was banned in the neighbouring Cayman Islands. According to a story appearing in the *Caribbean Times* (13/10/89: 8, apparently from CANA - see also, *Daily Gleaner*, 15/11/89: 12), in spite of various criticisms:

> the paper continues to enjoy wide public support as indicated by a recent media survey which showed that 500,000 [507,000] Jamaicans read the paper which comes out every Friday [apparent reference to The *Weekend Enquirer*]. [Bracketed information added]

The 1989 survey estimated the *Record's* readership (not circulation) at 127,000 for the daily paper and 155,000 for the *Sunday Record*, but it was said that there were no audited circulation figures for the company's publications (*Daily Gleaner*, 15/11/89: 12).

Table 5(v-a): Major newspapers/systems in the Caribbean (not including Guyana) 1976 - 1982 (July - Dec. average unless otherwise stated)

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**NOTES:**

* 1980 figures for Jamaica are for Jan.-June. Others were absent.
* ABC lists this as well as the *Weekly Gleaner* and *Merry-Go-Round* as magazines. Here, they are classified as newspapers.
* - First return, January-June, 1980.

Stone writes that, the *Gleaner* 'has been pressured into taking its readership more seriously' with changes in 'style and presentation', with more attention to human interest items, the dramatic and sensational, and more investigative material to match the competition. It is also useful to bear in mind as we enter into a brief discussion of broadcasting, his observation that the [recent] start of a new radio station has also been accompanied by a 'massive advertising campaign' on the
part of existing stations to hang on to market shares. Stone feels that competition for audiences has increased the quality of some content genres, that the marketing strategy seems to have been to grab the upper-income strata, and that competition should extend to television where the state-operated Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) monopoly had ‘gone on long enough...’ He proceeds: ‘Let us...get some early action in the area of television.’ The commentary lacks several considerations. We can dismiss the omissions because detailed as his column was, it may not have allowed him enough space to lay more emphasis on any implications of increased competition in the changing media climate for democracy (particularly regarding lower strata groups, access, broad questions relating to consumption, and so on).

Table 5(v-b): Major newspapers/systems in the Caribbean (not including Guyana) 1983 - 1990 (July-Dec. average unless otherwise stated)

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NOTES: (i) The figures for the Trinidad Express Newspapers for 1988 are listed in the ABC Review as ‘Not reported’.
(ii) Circulation figures for the Daily Gleaner and the Daily Star for 1984 and 1986 tend to show some stagnation or even decline but the company’s annual report informed of a readership increase in both cases of ‘approximately 24%’ (1986: 4).
(iii) *Jn.-Jne figure. ** A new evening tabloid, in the Advocate group, which would suggest a group revival after the Advocate’s decline in the market against the Nation during the 1980s. A look at the Advocate itself suggests that, if not in terms of circulation, it might be doing well financially (or its backers) as colour pictures have been introduced and the size of the daily paper has increased substantially compared with 1988.

5.4 The emergence of broadcasting

The newspaper press does not exist in isolation as a major channel of mass communication. It is in this light that broadcasting and its development are considered. A few questions need to be answered in this relation. What circumstances or set of circumstances conditioned the emergence of broadcasting in the Caribbean? What elements within the various countries were central in introducing broadcast media? What was the place of governments/the state in this arrangement? What role did the local oligarchy occupy? In what capacity has the broad audience - and they have been mainly the poor - entered the arrangement? Rather than attempting to answer them individually it will be a general examination as the available information and the concerns are so convoluted and interrelated as to make it quite difficult to approach in any other way. Nevertheless, there will be instances when it will be possible to isolate certain factors.

What circumstances conditioned the development of broadcasting in the Caribbean? Broadly, it can be said that they have been economic, political, and socio-cultural. At the economic level one set of factors is related to the development of the technology elsewhere, its cost and the capacity of the new environment to receive the facility. Another set may be said to relate to the particular juncture at which new broadcast media (radio and television) intervened. The latter situation takes into account recurring economic crises.

The countries were undoubtedly short on prerequisites such as generating capacity and appropriate staff in the early days. Besides, local capital resources to enter new, but the potentially viable media market may have been present but not in sufficient quantities to make for earlier introduction or rapid advance, especially when the risk would have been greater. Imperial capital itself was only beginning its more decisive acceleration into overseas investment early in the 20th century when experimentation with radio first seemed a viable proposition.

Adorian noted in the preface to Commercial Broadcasting in the West Indies (CBWI) that nearly a million of 'Her Majesty's loyal subjects in the West Indies' now 'hear a broadcasting service where a few years ago only a few thousand could benefit from this amenity' (p.x). That figure has reached millions as increasing numbers of radio sets in particular, especially of the transistorized variety, but also television sets, have been marketed. Radio has long had the largest audience in the Caribbean (Appendix 16 partly illustrates this status.).

Adorian also reiterated that broadcasting 'is an expensive business', that 'pre-war services were mainly left in the hands of a small band of amateur enthusiasts' and their efforts meant restrictions in both the number of hours of broadcasting and 'material content' of programmes. Broadcasting in a true sense began in the Caribbean more than a decade after it had been established in the industrialized countries. However, low-power transmissions were done in the then British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1926 and from 1927 continuing to 1931 at the rate of two hours per week when 'the economic situation' permitted. (CBWI: 11 & 12).

Little is known of the ‘amateur enthusiasts’ referred to above but one or two snippets illustrate that they were at least connected with local capital which seemed to have had a significant place prior to the more conspicuous entry of the Rediffusion Group under the facilitating arm of the metropolitan power and local administrations. The group of ‘enthusiasts’ in British Guiana who successfully broadcast commentaries of MCC cricket matches in 1935 set the stage for the amalgamation in 1938 of two commercially operated stations, VP3MR and VP3BG to form the locally financed British Guiana United Broadcasting Company Ltd. (see CBWI: 11).

Jamaica’s case is marginally clearer as far as the early years are concerned and to the extent that data in hand allow. According to The Handbook of Broadcasting Services in the Colonies, the ‘pioneer of broadcasting in Jamaica was a wealthy planter, Mr. John F. Griman, who for many years had been a well known amateur operator’ (1956: 49). The first regular programme on this station, then ZQI, was broadcast in November, 1939. From half-an-hour broadcast time, this increased to four hours. According to the Handbook that represented the company’s position until the Jamaica Broadcasting Company Ltd. took over the Government station in May, 1950. The Jamaica Broadcasting Company Ltd. was a commercial venture operating Radio Jamaica. ‘The company is a limited liability concern, a subsidiary of Broadcasting Relay Service (Overseas) Ltd., of London.’ A staff of 174 was employed and broadcast time was 17 hours. In this arrangement a Government Broadcasting Authority maintained liaison between the company and Government (p.49).

The Barbados service - Radio Distribution (Barbados) Ltd. - was started in 1935 by a retired Commander Mansfield Robinson who had arrived in Barbados from England in 1934. In the late 1940s, as the information goes, the company received technical assistance from Broadcast Relay Service Ltd., ‘went into voluntary liquidation on 1st of February, 1951 and a new subsidiary, Barbados Rediffusion Service Ltd. took over.’ This company was a subsidiary of Broadcast Relay (Handbook: 8). Similarly, from beginnings in Trinidad (pages iv & 116) in 1935, one finds that Radio Trinidad - owned and operated by the Broadcasting Company Ltd. - was a subsidiary of the same parent company above. The Windward Islands Broadcasting Service of Grenada, for instance - started in 1954 - was Government operated and non-commercial.

What is apparent is that local capital did play a part in those early days but was soon directly displaced primarily by transnational capital. Thus, the Rediffusion Group (subsidiary of Broadcast Relay) expanded its reach to various sections of the empire including the Caribbean, through West Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Far East. As stated in CBWI regarding the 1954 situation in the Caribbean, the Group then had ‘an interest in four broadcasting stations in flourishing operation in the West Indies area.’ Moreover, private enterprise had thereby ‘taken from the heavily laden shoulders of Government Finances and Administrations throughout the area the burden of providing an essential service’ (p.13) and broadcasting was in the hands of Commercial Companies which have made no secret of ‘the fact that their business is run for profit’ but are concerned about ‘the communities they serve’ (p.15).

Essentially then, to reiterate this early phase was dominated by transnational capital out of Britain with any presence of local capital, from the bare evidence available, being weak and

22Presumably this relates to the felt effects, in Guyana, of the major capitalist crisis of the 1930s and specific local conditions.
ephemeral. The arrangement manifested itself in a number of ways. Thus, for instance, whereas governments were themselves allocated time slots, stipulated BBC time under licences far exceeded the time allocated for government programming.

Politically, the process was broadly facilitated by the Colonial Office in collaboration with increasingly self-governing local administrations. The working classes as prime movers in the mass struggle within this nationalist ferment, although not playing a central role in the major formal decision-making process, were the ‘units’ in ever-increasing audience counts. They were catered for, to the extent they were perceived to represent a potential market not only for goods but also for ideas/information. A statement associated with Norman Manley - leader of the PNP from the 1930s to 1960s - points not only to radio’s reach but also of local political elites’ sympathy with the new medium:

If one wants to reach the people of Jamaica to-day there is no doubt that the best means is to get on the air, when you can be sure of the largest possible audience (CBWI: xi).

The period from the 1960s to the 1980s provides a contextually different and varied situation which will not be entered into in detail but require a few comments. For most territories, formal independence in the 1960s and 1970s did not bring immediate and dramatic changes in ownership and control or in programme content. Commercial television was introduced, as a new medium, for the Caribbean and retained within state control, sustaining not unproblematically, the policy line of the government of the day.

Nationalist governments moved to strengthen holdings in broadcast media, emphasizing the general dichotomy, of the press as under private ownership and broadcast media under the state umbrella. The situation was, however, far from a simple and straightforward arrangement. In Jamaica, the JBC radio and television involved Thomson Television International (TTI) - participation until 1970. TTI was a participant in the development programme. In Barbados, TTI also acquired an interest in the Government’s Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) as well as in Trinidad and Tobago (Radio 610 - National Broadcasting Company, and Trinidad and Tobago Television [TTT]) with the Government, Columbia Broadcasting Company, and Rediffusion.

Some broadcasting facilities remained in private hands. Thus, Radio Trinidad (see, e.g., McAl Annual Report 1989) is a sister subsidiary with Trinidad Publishing under the parent, Trinidad conglomerate McElraine Alstons (of which more will be said in the next chapter). Controlling interest was acquired from the Thomson Group in the 1970s. Nation Publishing in Barbados has had Rediffusion services, relinquished by transnational owners.

Radio is well established throughout the Anglophone Caribbean and the broader region but, among later media, television is still a problem factor in some instances. The experiment with television in post-revolutionary Grenada has been attended by serious imponderables. About a fortnight prior to the Grenada leg of the fieldwork for this study the local TV station went off the air, and for some time before that local newscasts were not presented. Reports at the time were not conclusive but there were technical and financial problems and Discovery Foundation ("Discovery

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23 TV was introduced in 1963, a year after formal political independence was granted.
TV") was in talks with the Grenada Government but the areas of discussion were not clear. One factor that came out was that the government was "exploring other options" (Grenadian Voice, 2/7/88: 1). That situation has been overcome. The new Grenada Broadcasting Corporation now houses Radio Grenada and Grenada Television under the recent Grenada Broadcasting Act. However, according to the Chairman, George Grant the corporation was scheduled to meet its own financial obligations beginning after the end of 1991 (Interview/ Combroad, 1991: 13).

The PNP Government of the 1970s, in pursuing its principle of gaining control over key national resources, targeted Radio Jamaica as a facility to be removed from foreign control. This was a notable if not necessarily radical (except in so far as it brought in a new structure of ownership and to some extent, control) manoeuvre. In the 1977 move, the Government displaced British Electric Traction (BET) (the Rediffusion parent) which held 70 per cent of the equity and outlined the decision of placing the organization in the hands of "people-based" groups. The state participated by holding approximately a quarter of the equity and workers, another quarter. Implementation of this decision in its most concrete form took place in 1980, the year the PNP lost the General Election.

The direction of the broadcast media as well as others have been closely tied with the media policies of various governments. Radio Jamaica Ltd. (RJR), through its Chairman pointed to what was referred to as a "major flaw" in a 1990 Ministry Paper which followed the July 1989 Government policy document. RJR stressed that in Ministry Paper No.25 on Electronic Media Policy tabled in Parliament, "Government plans for the divestment of the 25.1 per cent of the ordinary share capital of Radio Jamaica Ltd. which it has held for nearly 10 years received no mention whatever." It called on the Government "to rectify the omission". It was concerned about the other Paper tabled at the time as emphasized in the company's statement published in the Weekly Gleaner (26/6/90: 10) that the JBC would benefit from the revenue of privately owned media and other taxpayers, and that the Corporation would gain a competitive advantage. In part, the statement elaborated:

24 The company operating the station was heavily indebted and operating an overdraft of $1 million with the Grenada Bank of Commerce. A financial consultant earlier employed by the company stated that it had potential but needed an injection of approximately $2 million to pay off debts and put it on its feet. He added that cash flow had been poor, and that the US parent company, T. S. Industries Ltd., had suffered losses on the stock market and was unable to put up any further funding (Grenadian Voice, 2/7/88: 1). Financial and technical problems are, of course, not unusual even in the larger countries. The JLP Government of the 1980s stipulated that the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (radio & TV) would have to increasingly fund its own operations and that government funding would be accordingly reduced.

25 Grant states in this interview that the station lacks proper equipment and production skills, and normally operates 105 hours weekly of which 98-99 per cent consists of foreign programming (see 1991: 12-15).

26 Discussions of possible divestment introduced during that regime was reactivated under the JLP Government of the 1970s. Final divestment of the state-held quarter of the equity took place in late 1991. On Monday, December 9 [1991], the Government offered its 2,865,580 shares in RJR to the public. By the time the offer closed on December 13, subscribers had applied for 12.3 million shares" (Weekly Gleaner, 7/1/92: 17).

27 Ministry Paper No.27 - Restructuring the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) was also tabled in 1990.
...it would give an outrageously unfair strategic and competitive advantage to the Corporation which after 31 years of commercial operation, including a 27-year television monopoly, can apparently still only survive through subsidies.

It is instructive that Radio Jamaica Ltd., the leading radio broadcasting company in Jamaica, jointly with the Gleaner Company, the largest newspaper publisher were the lead investors (with 20 per cent each) in NEW TV Company, which tendered one of the applications among six to the Broadcasting Commission for television and radio licences (four for TV and two for radio) in mid-1990 (Weekly Gleaner, 28/8/90: 10). Radio Jamaica, and the Gleaner were the largest shareholders (Weekly Gleaner, 9/10/90: 7). The details of this particular scenario are useful to our examination of the political economy of the media in the Caribbean and can be entered here prior to a more focused discussion of concentration in the next chapter.

In one of the two sessions on September 25, 1990 in which the Broadcasting Commission held hearings for licence applications heated exchanges were reported between CVM TV and NEW TV. A spokesman for CVM TV, Lennie Little-White argued that his organization would be the 'alternative to cartelization of the media', and that the composition of NEW TV's shareholders, a news combine 'monopolistic and dangerous to democracy' could develop. Among CVM TV's points, was that 50 per cent of programming would be local.

Radio Jamaica's Managing Director, Lester Spaulding pointed to the possibility for greater public access through NEW TV which he stated was consortium serving some 750,000 investors or the broadest base of ownership of all the applicants. The number of investors mentioned here would, of course, overwhelming include assumed membership of organizations included in the broad-based groups to which Radio Jamaica had been divested in the PNP Government's 1970s initiatives. Another CVM TV representative responded that:

[The shareholders of NEW TV are all companies with either interlocking directorships with the Gleaner as companies or as individuals or companies with strong business ties with the controlling Gleaner group (Weekly Gleaner, 9/10/90: 7).]

The representative (Abe Dabdoub) further stressed in his statement that RJR would have no voice in the NEW TV company as the Gleaner would be dominant, and: 'Oliver Clarke will most likely be the director of the NEW TV...and that is too much power for any one man' (9/10/90: 7). 28 CVM TV eventually won in the licence contest (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 20/11/90: 25). The group's expected starting date December of 1991 for the new station has been affected by liquidation of a member (Apex Film and Video Ltd.) of the consortium (Weekly Gleaner, 27/8/91: 9), the general economic climate in Jamaica, and the related falling rate of exchange for the Jamaican dollar in relation to major world currencies. This last factor is particularly emphasized when it is taken into account that US$2.6 million (J$49.5 million approx. in Nov., 1991) worth of equipment was expected from the USA in February, 1992 so that transmission could start on March 1 (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 19/11/91: 19).

Whereas there has been some privatization of production services, for example, in relation to television in Trinidad and Jamaica in the 1980s, state ownership of broadcast facilities

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28 Clarke is Chairman and Managing Director of the Gleaner Company; and was one of the three chairmen of the Caribbean News Agency thus far; and Chairman of the large Jamaica National Building Society (JNBS).
remained the dominant feature. The Gleaner Company had campaigned for a share in the television and wider broadcasting stakes from at least as far back as 1962. As Managing Director S. G. Fletcher stated in the company’s 56th Annual Report, the company sought to participate in

the operation of Television in Jamaica but the government opted for a commercial monopoly under Government - [a] type of operation completely contrary to the Company’s philosophy of private enterprise (1962: 7).

The company therefore declined Government's invitation to become 'a member of the consortium of managing agents who would lend to government at interest' the necessary capital and offer advice for a commission. In Trinidad and Barbados, similarly, the major newspaper publishing houses have long expressed an interest in acquiring additional broadcasting resources (as we illustrate in the next chapter, some already have). The concern over governments' embrace of most broadcasting assets then is one of the factors which link regional press. Writing in the Barbados Advocate late in the 1970s PNP administration, a columnist, 'E. L. C.' - under "Topic for Today" - remarked, regarding the Gleaner’s persistent requests:

Mr. Oliver Clarke [Managing Director/Gleaner] must be joking... He should really know better than to write to Michael Manley asking for a piece of the Jamaican broadcasting cake.

...Mr. Manley would not be in the least averse to taking over the papers in Jamaica so as to give his government total control of what the public in Jamaica may hear and read.

Nor, let me be fair, is Mr. Manley any different from Socialist politicians, including so-called Democratic Socialist politicians in many other countries... (14/3/79: 3)

In fact, since the PNP assumed power again in 1989 some of the regional stations (i.e., regions within Jamaica) have been privatized in what has been largely a continuation of JLP media policy.

Kenneth Gordon, who has had connections with Trinidad Express Newspapers (which will be illustrated in the next chapter) and now Chief Executive Officer of Caribbean Communications Network (CCN), is among the principals in a new radio station launched in Trinidad in 1991. According to the Caribbean Times, he explained (prior to the launch) that the main thrust would be to exploit the immediacy of radio and link the Caribbean as it has never been linked before. 'Prime Radio 106.1 FM is the first station to be launched since the government’s approval' of more than twenty radio, television and community station licences earlier. General Manager Richard Henderson said the station’s capacity would allow for reception in Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent and other islands; and its extensive Caribbean connections would give it the benefit of programme exchanges particularly with sister stations, the Voice of Barbados and Radio Jamaica (18/6/91: 8).

This station appears to be a realization of a 1990 joint venture proposal by Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. and Teleproduction House for a national radio station licence. The government had also agreed to establish a telecommunications authority with responsibility for monitoring programme content and ensuring that the stations comply with the terms of their licences (see, e.g., Caribbean Times, 17/7/90: 8).

Whereas the ownership side of broadcast media and snippets of their development have been outlined it is necessary to bear in mind also the type and nature of content which many Caribbean and 'Third World' commentators have described as a situation defined by overwhelming foreign input.
Moreover, while focusing on the 'traditional' mass media, it is also necessary to note the pervasion of newer developments - particularly in the MDCs - which have helped to shape the context in which newspapers operate. Further, as scholars and casual observers note, an increased potential exists to tune out of the local context \(^{29}\) and even further into the wants of advanced capitalism - a factor which would tend to have negative implications for non-capitalist efforts at change. For instance, estimates of the number of television sets in Jamaica at the end of the 1980s put the figure at 462,000 but many 'have never been tuned to JBC [the JBC TV station] since they serve a growing VCR market (now estimated at close to 200,000 sets) and a growing satellite-dish market (14,000 units islandwide)'  

(Market Research Services/Gleaner, 15/11/89: 12). The 1990 survey put the number of satellite dishes at 17,847 (Caribbean Times, 29/11/90: 9 - from JAMPRESS, Jamaica's national news agency) in spite of the havoc wreaked by the 1988 hurricane. The introduction of cable television was being considered by the PNP Government. Some observers place emphasis on structural factors such as the expense of television acquisition and maintenance, the limitations on utility of even transistor radio sets in mountainous terrain because of transmission problems as well as the price of batteries and the like, not to mention the cost of satellite dishes which may tend to undermine the spread of such electronic media. These factors may intrinsically work in favour of newspaper publishing but as we saw in an earlier example circulation of newspapers to distant (and scattered) communities - particularly rural populations - can also have a negative impact on publishing economies and anticipated profit margins.

5.5 The dialect, and popular arts in political communication

Any consideration of the role of the press in the Caribbean and the potential for reaching an enlarged potential readership in the Caribbean must account for the place of the dialect, and associated transmission channels, the popular arts. In many of the countries the literacy rate is comparatively low and newspapers are frequently displaced by radio. Moreover, it is necessary to be abreast of the particular political culture in which the party mass meeting represents a central form of the perceived democratic political process in which people hear of the policies and programmes of incumbent administrations or aspirants to power. Indeed, casual calculations of potential success at general elections have been sometimes based partly on attendance at such meetings but crowd size may not be a very useful indicator of imminent victory or demise. Whatever the situation, the political meeting is often cited as a channel of mass communication partly related to, and sustained by the people's oral cultural traditions.

The dialect is founded on a base of standard English with the incorporation of African and occasionally, Spanish, East Indian, and later Rastafarian derivations evolved from cross-cultural influences under the colonial process. Deprived and disenfranchised masses were cut off from formal education and the possibility of developing original language forms due to various levels of detachment from their substantive cultural roots and specific class-based strictures. Standard English - the official language - and formal education became the preserves of the owning/ruling class and the emerging middle strata and, by exclusion, a means of identifying the lower strata. In West

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29 See, e.g., Hosein (1976), Brown (1976), about the dominance of foreign programming and formats; "A time for Dialogue"/Nation, 1989/90 regarding those factors, uninterpreted foreign reports, and of tuning out of the Caribbean.
Africa, where several countries have had related experience under colonialism, much of this explanation would hold. The same could be said of, say, Angola and the Portuguese, and of Haiti regarding French but perhaps less appropriate to Senegal (also French).

The fact that many Caribbean citizens could be described as bi-lingual and the working people broadly are more comfortable with the dialect means that use of the dialect is of primary value in the political communication process especially if we take into account the rate of literacy for some of the countries. Politicians and artists as well as others appreciate this. The platform and also in music and plays, social and political commentary utilize this form of address quite liberally, and not infrequently it is adapted for broadcast media, if less to the newspaper press. Particular genres such as press cartoons, and local radio and television soap operas under formal political independence have long incorporated the dialect.

Calypsonians in Trinidad and elsewhere in the eastern Caribbean and reggae artistes in Jamaica are known to call for accountability from political representatives through their lyrics. However, it is not just commentary aimed at politicians but also at nuances in the immediate system and beyond. Moreover, as one columnist noted in the Trinidad Guardian: ‘On...Government programmes [assumed to be broadcast media slots], calypsoes are often used when considered appropriate, to sanction positions taken in the programmes’ (18/3/79: 12). Poets (including dub-poets) are utilized and sometimes consciously enter the arena not only because of the content of their statements but frequently they arise as representatives of the disadvantaged classes and as such offer a visible channel of demonstrated empathy with the needs of the labouring classes. ‘Dub poets’ normally use the dialect or broadly, the expression of ‘the masses’, and largely tend to emphasize themes revolving around mass concerns in Jamaica, the Caribbean, and deprivation in the centres of advanced capitalism.

Jamaican music and the lyrics evolved through ‘ska’ and ‘rock steady’ in the 1960s. One observer notes that it was the Jamaican middle class ‘who could read and could buy newspapers and those who had radios to listen to’ who first heard of the success of ska in England where large numbers of Jamaicans had gone in the post-War years. However, ‘political electioneering’ was another important way in which the class ‘came to hear of the ska and its variations’. Opposition forces identified ‘the anti-government sentiment in the songs sung by ghetto youth and exploited it’ (Brodber, mimeo, 1986: 53-54). Nationalist sentiments and global developments facilitated such use, and later, whatever survival possibilities and potential for change the PNP’s broad alliance held.

In the 1960s, the ‘Rude Boy’ - generally shanty town youth taking reprisals against a repressive state apparatus most visibly identifiable in the police, and against society - were being called on by singers, for instance, the ‘Wailers’ to ‘Simmer down [down], control yuh temper...’ These comprised what Fanon (1967) would have viewed as the most revolutionary group in such societies, and which Lacey (1977) saw as the most crucial players in the engine of change in Jamaica’s late 1960s context. This position seems to have been partly consolidated by a factor which Brodber identifies, namely, that ‘the political position of the singers seems to have been changed’ by

30 Of course, literacy rates vary from a high in Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago which stand among the highest in the world to much lower rates.
that time in that they were 'no longer neutral and seemed closer to the "Rude Boy" than before...They [were] now speaking to all of Jamaica and denouncing the regime' [JLP] as manifested in, for instance, the opening line: 'See it deh [there] now, ev'ryt'ing crash' (Brodber, mimeo: 49). As one analyst states the 'central ideological concern of Bob Marley's songs is indeed radical social change. The existing social order, metaphorically expressed in Rastafarian iconography as Babylon...must be chanted down' (Cooper, 1986/87: 4). Much of this can be further identified in a close examination of some of the late Marley's songs. For instance, on the 'Uprising' album (cassette), the song 'Coming in from the cold' rhetorically stresses:

Would you let the system make you ill your brother man?
No dread, no!

The lyrics of ' Exodus' on the Legend album (cassette) state:

Cover your eyes and look within
Are you satisfied with the life yuh living
We know where we are going
We know where we are from
We leaving Babylon, yuh!
We going to our father's land
...Movement of Jah people
...Most people think great God will come from the sky
Take away everything and make everybody feel high
But if you know what life is worth
You will look for yours on earth
And now you see the light
You should stand up for your rights...
Get up stand up
Don't give up the fight...

Marley seemed to concretely identify, at least in a limited way, with the PNP broad policy orientation when he performed at a public meeting early December, 1976. Of course, even in song he has stated emphatically that Rastafarians (himself included) do not take sides in politics. He was shot and injured on the occasion. At a major 'peace concert' in 1978 with other prominent musicians he sealed the joining of hands between Prime Minister Manley and Opposition Leader Seaga in a commitment against politically motivated and escalating gang warfare.

Manley and the PNP's class alliance of 1972 utilized popular motifs extensively in the particular ferment of the times in an attempt to consolidate the alliance. Junior Byles' lines 'Better will come one day' expressed the hopes and aspirations of deprived and shanty town dwellers. That line over and above the lyrics of the entire song helped to shape the crescendo guiding the PNP into the seat of power. For the 1976 general election the campaign song - as distinct from those traditionally used - was a popular reggae piece with the lyrics drawing heavily from PNP policies, programmes and achievements. Thus,

Lick dem wid di impac' programme

repeated for the Cuban-built schools, the land lease programme for small farmers, free education and so on, enunciated for the Opposition JLP and the electorate the PNP's accomplishments during its first 1970s administration. This Impact Employment Programme was a major extended interim

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21 The then trio of Bunny 'Wailer'/Livingstone, Bob Marley, and Peter 'Tosh'/McIntosh.
measure to cope with high unemployment among the poor. It was later discontinued by a combination of local opposition pressure which suggested in part suggesting that distribution of benefits was politically inspired, and the IMF and its major controllers who felt that the programme did not justify its existence.

The essential inference for us here is how significantly the dialect used in song or verse could shape political communication and access to political power, and how the different classes featured in the change process. The context of the times demanded close identification with the working people and their needs perhaps even more so than the post-February 1989 General Election following further reversals for the Jamaican working classes under the Seaga-led JLP of the 1980s.

As has been noted, dialect use frequently echoes from the political platform, and not only from politicians. Personalities such as Jamaica’s first lady of verse, Louise Bennett have helped to popularize its acceptability even to some extent among the ruling class and the aspiring middle class.

In Grenada, at a St. George’s Parish Council meeting (Grenada) on August 24, 1981 Brother Cudjoe Chris de Riggs presented in dialect verse ‘Jookootoo I’ which states in part:

Jookootoo I who wet me parts March 13th ‘79
and hide like hell for days...
But is two years since the
Revo come
and ah still could drink we rum
Dey ’en close de church
De ‘en take one sheep
ah ha me wuk
an’ a still could sleep
Me son gone and study engineer
ah getting free milk and house repair
Is only now I seeing this Revo good for de poor
an a dam sorry it didn’t come before
De Revo run me Fadder, is true
But me Godfadder treating me better.

Politicians, bureaucrats and many of the working people attended that meeting. The language is not remote from the syntax of standard English and regional peculiarities within places such as Britain and the U.S.A. and should be fairly easily understood. It was, however, intended for home consumption and the message is clear: Whereas the above poet [viewed as identified with the workers] was initially fearful and apprehensive about the Revolution he soon embraced it because, not only did it not result in the removal of any of his property and comforts but his social condition and that of those close to him had improved in several respects - ‘an a dam sorry it didn’t come before.’

32 Several possible translations exist for the above line but basically it meant: Show them (the Opposition, who would dare to challenge us with a hope of winning) the benefits of the Impact Employment Programme, etc.

33 See, e.g., Bennett, 1966 - particularly section on politics, 115-176; also Martin, 1980.
The threat of foreign military intervention - specifically anticipated to be U.S.-led - was expressed in 'Mercenaries', also presented by the poet at the gathering:

...They come,  
Wid rifles rattling  
And a dismal mission to carry out  
Look at dem,  
The same ole devils  
Who been after we skin  
Since Moses was a little boy....  
Let dem come, we go bury dem in de sea...

Thus the Revolution must be, and would be protected.

The political and social commentary in calypso which utilizes dialect and other forms has been a notable feature of this variant of Caribbean music which is at once revered but also chastised by politicians who may be called upon to account for their questionable leadership. Rohlehr points out that the language of calypso may at one time express 'urban gang conflict' and at another, flay 'a politician for corruption or incompetence' and the political calypso,

emerged out of this background of conflict as a medium articulating class struggle as well as a vehicle for transmitting images of self and potentially different from the images which had traditionally been transmitted by the prevailing order (1985: 2).

Under colonial and neo-colonial administrations, not only have books, pamphlets, and certain performances been censored but so have calypso records offering political and social commentary.

Among political calypsos, Maestro's "To Sir With Love" (1974) recognized Prime Minister Eric Williams as leader, but castigated Williams 'from the point of view of a disgruntled proletarian.' Others supported this with a view of Williams as remote from the people. Further, Williams and his government's performance in CARICOM came up for denunciation in Chalkdust's "Three Blind Mice", in which the Prime Minister was presented as 'an arrogant comprador Godfather, falsely secure' in the position:

Tell Burnham and Manley I got oil  
Let Barrow kiss me tall, oil don't spoil.

As Rohlehr further explains from this, the 'blindness which Williams points out in his CARICOM partners, who he accuses of supporting Venezuelan hegemony in the Caribbean Basin, is at least equal to his own in feeling that he could afford to treat them with contempt' (1985: 7). The business sector has also had to reckon with the sharp rhetoric of calypso. Other calypsos, for instance,

34 In Jamaica, under the JLP in the late 1960s, and post-revolutionary Grenada under Blaize in the late 1980s some types of literature were banned. In the latter case, literature intended for the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), for instance, was banned and political rally invitees deburred.

35 Burnham and Barrow were Prime Ministers of Guyana and Barbados respectively. Both died in the 1980s.

36 Recall, e.g., Jamaica's bauxite agreement with Venezuela and Mexico (1970s) which failed to materialize.
appealed for strong action from government to curb black marketeers and rapacious or profiteering businessmen, and there are the patriotic ones which appeared at the time of formal political independence or its anniversary.

Rohlehr strikes an important chord when he mentions opposition politics and also the broadcast media's place:

The political calypso as an alternative forum for opposition politics was even more necessary in the light of the impotence of the official opposition party. While it is impossible to measure what impact political calypsoes have on people's consciousness, it is certain that their importance has been recognized. They receive very little airplay; the managers of radio stations act as unofficial censors who, apprehensive of dangers which may occur to their jobs on government controlled media, are careful not to transmit to the public any but the safest sort of opinion. This absence of exposure probably affects the sale of records, and makes protest singers unsafe business risks. It is, therefore, a powerful method of control and containment (1985: 12).

As implied above there are also problems associated with the dialect which are partly related to its origin, content, and class location. Alleyne, in observations made of early 1960s Jamaica felt that the 'language situation...dooms persons without Standard English skills to almost complete and blind submission to decisions made from above' and that it 'limits leaders who might arise among the masses to mere intermediate roles' (1963: 28-29). He drew from examples such as the framing of the Independence Constitution, suggesting that legalistic jargon made comprehension difficult for even persons with Standard English skills. Significantly, he also noted an apparent correlation between education or "sophistication" and gullibility. "The lower the degree of education and "sophistication", the greater the degree of gullibility, would seem to be a general pattern; but precise tests are necessary in order to confirm this' (1963: 33).

Alleyne may very well be correct in both instances. In relation to the first, we would then be able to infer partly that ruling class control and its accommodation by state mechanisms and the political directorate would be facilitated by lack of 'sophistication' and intermediaries who siphon mass media content to the masses. The newspaper press (although, in a general sense, having less utility to the less literate lower strata) and the mass media as a whole would have greater impact on them. The problem is that the situation is not static and literacy rates as well as political 'sophistication' near the end of the 20th century can be described as generally above what they were around the 1960s. The spread of communications technology and wider accessibility of media, travel and other factors even with the associated difficulties such as inherent capitalist over-consumption and individualism, have not left the people unscathed. Even at this later juncture they do not participate at a nearly acceptable level in the political process but are in receipt of more information. Furthermore, they are at least highly conscious of the landscape of power available to them at general election time in a dominant two-party, two-term arrangement as well as of the state of their economic well-being at such times and how they could bring pressure to bear on privileged sectors and extract greater benefits. Ironically, at the level of economics they, like capitalists or ruling class interests seek economic stability and betterment though these latter may nevertheless more immediately and sharply value political stability for economic position and social status. However, qualitatively, and

37 Bear in mind attention to simplicity in news and information presentation as a general journalistic approach, and the presence, but perhaps decreasing value of the phenomenon called the 'opinion leader'.
more specifically the demands are different.

The effort in this section has been one of attempting to illustrate that effective political communication and political success have, and have had to embrace the dialect and associated channels - for example, music forms such as ska, reggae, calypso as well as poetry through which popular expression can be transmitted. These channels themselves, are also pervasive outside of day-to-day speech particularly of the lower strata. They and their messages too help to define the nature of information output, and to affect the role of the various classes and groups.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter seated the Caribbean press in its broad historical, political, and social context and process and showed that it derived from a certain class basis to the extent (in the case of major commercial press) of being rooted in the dominant economic and social power structure which has been in some ways not entirely apart from the realm of politics. Within the colonial period, as we saw, some units of the early press arose within the particular dynamics of the relations of production under colonialism, and the uneven flow of merchant capital. We even saw some degree of competition between sectors of capital - though this has not amounted to fundamental conflict significant enough to raise questions about the essential and fundamental unity between the sectors. Further, in relation to newspapers, the discussion and evidence dwelt somewhat on the basis of newspaper economy particularly as founded within circulation and advertising revenue. In one instance, it was illustrated that the relative standing of these two factors as sources of revenue need not be a constant, as in the case of the Gleaner in Jamaica during the 1970s economic crisis. In all this, it was broadly suggested that the historical process, and the dynamics of the political process and the general economic climate have helped to fashion the newspaper press, and particularly, the major press which has been the principal concern here, as it is for the thesis as a whole.

One of the other tasks set for this chapter was that of considering the relative importance and presence of other mass media channels and significant, but less formal communication channels with some reference to political communication. As can be seen, newspaper publishing is only one sector of the communications industry, although a quite central one, and although the focus is on that sector an understanding of the Caribbean context requires at least appreciation of these various other channels and sub-channels, formal and informal. This brief entry has been an effort to fill that need.

The passing attention to the other media and other areas of the communications industry helped to seat the press in some sort of perspective in terms of hinging it within the social structure and the political context as well as pointing to a relationship with the state, and to generally assess its relative strength in the market for ideas and support/collaboration vis-a-vis these other media or channels, particularly broadcasting. Although broadcast media are not central to the thesis, the advent of these media and particularly, radio pointed to the entry of transnational capital in the media and its ties with the colonial structure, government, and the fairly weak but emerging local capital. The major Caribbean press itself, was all but acquired by two major British transnationals in the continued structurally determined and actively inspired unfolding of monopoly capitalism. In the next chapter the discussion will primarily attend to the more recent context, its form and dynamics.
CHAPTER SIX

THE PRESS AND CORPORATE CONCENTRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter accounted for much of the scaffolding of, and historical aspects of the mass mediation process itself partly in terms of outlining elements of the economic, class, and political buttresses and constraints. It accounted particularly for the study's focal point, the press but also for other media. Whereas there will be some overlap, the core emphasis in this chapter will be marked by a heightened focus on recent and current reality.

It will broadly examine some elements of the nature of capitalist concentration in the Anglophone Caribbean from the point of view of the press. The examination is informed by the view that, largely, the process and network are structurally determined but to some degree, also actively pursued. In short it aims to:

- inquire into the extent of concentration within the newspaper press, and the media in general in so far as these wider aspects impinge on a consideration of the press;
- identify factors which account for this concentration which at times involves not only the press but also closely related and larger corporate enterprises; and
- identify contextual factors - economic, political, etc. - which may contribute to shaping the agenda or enhancing the growth of corporate capitalism, and also manifestations of the active interests of the capitalists themselves.

A more specific objective, and interrelated as the above are, is to identify this concentration both at the local and local-regional levels through general ownership ties where possible, and through formal arrangements such as interlocking directorships and less formal indicators. Whereas the approach is for the most part at a macro- and general level, it should nevertheless be useful as this aspect of the analysis of the press in the Anglophone Caribbean in any detailed way has been bypassed in available or existing research.

Thus far, in this study, we have at least implied what is meant by concentration. More specifically, however, it is taken to describe that process and the situation in which relatively few companies own an industry - in this case, the communications, and even more centrally, the newspaper publishing industry. The process is a dynamic one and produces instances in which some companies, taken individually, own different types of mass communication resources and sometimes, additionally, other types of resources under the same umbrella, producing what has been referred to a conglomeration. The nature of these factors will arise, particularly in relation to the Caribbean as we proceed through this chapter. Concentration in the communications industry has a number of implications on which it is hoped that some light will be shed based on the pursuit of the objectives listed above. Among these implications are:
- the possible subordination of the requirement for providing news and information to that of profit-making, etc.;

- the narrowing of the range of outlets and of views (on which we touched in the previous chapter) partly because of the high cost of entry to the industry and the commitment to cost-saving; and

- the related danger that the views aired may come to be those in keeping with the reinforcement of the existing order of society (with all its structured inequalities of power and access to resources).

It is possible that when the press becomes entangled in the broader corporate network the possibilities of this tendency are increased. We had a limited encounter in the previous chapter with the tendency for the Caribbean press/media to be involved with this wider network, and - through the work of other researchers - of the emphasis on editorial material vis-a-vis advertising, and so on. This chapter continues, as stated above and as implied in the discussion thus far, with the bases of concentration, and its potentialities particularly as these related to the press.

In a somewhat related finding worth mentioning, Baer et al (1974) were probably dissatisfied when they observed from the USA that:

...the research relating media ownership to economic and content performance is neither extensive nor deep. The results to date provide meager evidence on the benefits and harm from media ownership concentration. In large part, this is because measuring the effects of ownership is a difficult research task. To yield valid, generalizable results, studies must control for many other variables that are likely to have far stronger effects than ownership - market size, circulation and audience shares, competitors in the market, and so forth...(1974: 143)

6.2 Corporate concentration and corporate control - the momentum

A point of importance in the approach relating to ownership should be stressed at the outset. Reference in this aspect will largely be at a macro-level. By this is meant, that at times detailed accounting of shareholdings will not be presented partly because of their inaccessibility and partly because ownership is frequently disguised in various trusts and non-operational holding companies which makes the task of detailed presentation precarious. Wherever possible, however, relevant information of this sort will be presented. Moreover, the concern is centrally with concentration within the communications industry rather than concentration in general, but dealing with concentration in the former without establishing a relationship with the larger process in a limited way at least (which is what can be accommodated here) seems a near impossible task of isolation and would in any event be inadequate. Smythe argued that: ‘Although the mass media began the mass production of information, they are linked through interlocking business organization and a complex of largely managed, i.e., oligopolistic, markets with a broader base of information production and exchange’ (1980: 5).

Weber noted the process of concentration and its implications. Lenin, and Marx and his partner, Engels also observed its emergence in their very substantial contributions to the explanation and understanding of the development and expansion of capitalism and of social change. According to Lenin: ‘The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises represent one of the most characteristic features of capitalism.’ For him too, ‘monopoly had become a fact’ (1959: 281/ excerpts in Grimes & Horwitz). Lenin also noted the emerging tentacles of finance-capital, and this can be borne in mind in relation to the
"finance-capital" model which is listed among others later when the question of interlocking directorships are discussed more closely.

"The industrial and landowning bourgeoisie", Gramsci observed in his native land, Italy "possesses thousands and thousands of newspapers and printing-presses: all the paper mills are at its disposal. The proletarians can only print very few newspapers with their own resources. The acts of destruction which have occurred, and the threats which rain down on printing works which accept orders from the working-class parties, make the inferiority of the propertyless class even more grotesque" (1978: 35).

Raymond Williams, in his book The Long Revolution, concluded the chapter on 'The Growth of the Popular Press' deprecatingly:

Is it all to come to this, in the end, that the long history of the press in Britain should reach its consumation in a declining number of newspapers, in ownership by a few very large groups, and in the acceptance (varied between social groups but evident in all) of the worst kinds of journalism? (1965: 236).

Had Williams survived to the present time he would have been no happier if his sentiments of concern continued to be similarly placed.

In Canada, the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media two decades ago, observed that: "...in monopoly situations, journalistic enterprise is seldom encouraged. The shareholders are the gainers as a result. The public are the losers" (Vol.1, 1970: 65). The Committee felt that the 'country should no longer tolerate a situation where the public interest in so vital a field as information is dependent on the greed or goodwill of an extremely privileged group of businessmen' (1970: 67). It expressed the view that concentration had 'proceeded to the point where some form of intervention by the state' was 'desirable and necessary' (1970: 68). Recently, Canada has been described as the country with 'the most concentrated newspaper ownership of any major Western country' (Hackett, 1991: 65). This observer also cited the Kent Commission's report of 1981 which stated that two of the 12 companies which own 88 of Canada's 117 daily newspapers accounted for three-fifths of English-language circulation (1991: 65).

Graber (1989) has suggested that the American public seems to be more uneasy about the concentration of ownership in fewer hands than about control of media resources by private enterprise. However, she adds: 'Social reformers...are more concerned about business control, claiming that it caters to the lowest levels of taste.' Among types of business/media organizations, she writes of 'independents' in which case individuals or corporations run a single media venture and nothing else. The 'increasingly common' multiple owners are individuals or corporations who own several media of the same type (such as radio and television stations, newspapers). Even more common is the trend towards crossmedia ownership where several types of media such as newspapers and television stations, or newspapers and radio stations are under a single parent. Another pattern involves conglomerates in which case individuals or corporations own media enterprises along with other types of business (1989: 36-42).

Salvador Allende, the President of Chile until the coup in 1973, noted that
The tremendous strength of the mass media in the hands of powerful national and international economic sectors hinders the electoral struggle of the popular movements, even when they are a majority (cited in Catalan, 1988: 52).

What are some of the primary factors behind concentration of capital? As the Canadian Senate Committee noted: 'The most pervasive benefit of group ownership... is that groups tend to be profitable' (1970: 69). 'Why all this buying and selling?' asks Merrill and his colleagues. 'From the chains' perspective, good newspapers make good profits. Publishers who have sold out say that their decision was based on an economic survival of the fittest. They cite the attractively high purchase prices paid by chains along with the desire to escape heavy government inheritance taxes' (Merrill et al., 1990: 118).

An excerpt from the late Robert Maxwell's statement is useful:

'It's service to others that has motivated me throughout this decade [1980s]; that and power. I enjoy power. [Emphasis added]... Having the Mirror has given me a megaphone for halting the retreat of Britain - a decline that's been going on for so long the natives don't realize how far we've been left behind (The Correspondent Magazine [Britain], 29/10/89: 8).

In acquiring Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) in Britain, Maxwell - on becoming one of the foremost media owners on the world stage - explained: 'I certainly hope to make the papers more efficient and thereby more profitable...' (14/7/84: 1). Additionally, it seems evident from interviews and direct statements by the high profile Maxwell himself that the power and/or control he referred to was, for him, one to be exercised both internally in terms of his own organizations, on the one hand, and externally across the broader national and global corporate network as well as within the political realm, on the other.2

6.3 Locating the Caribbean press in corporate concentration: boundaries and bases

The commercial and agro-commercial capitalist strata which began their evolution from the early export-market-oriented agrarian productive base expanded with local, but also notable input from emerging global MNCs. Moreover, as we have observed, the colonial and post-colonial states at times facilitated both local and foreign capitalist expansion. The 1970s to early 1980s period on

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1Maxwell died early November 1991 amid speculations of spying for the Israelis and possible suicide. The Editor of the leading Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) title, the Daily Mirror was dismissed only days before having been himself implicated concerning the spying allegation. Maxwell's sons assumed the leading roles in the enterprises (MGN, MCC, plus family businesses) upon their father's death. Bankers, receivers, and the Serious Fraud Office moved in at different stages in what was referred to in the media as the greatest scandal in British corporate history - as workers' pension funds, for instance, were found to have been used to finance Maxwell's private companies and engage in the illegal activity of propping up MGN's share prices (partly through use of such funds). At year end and the start of 1992 the various UK big banks (led by National Westminster, Barclay's, and Midland) were assessing their potential losses centring on at least hundreds of millions in loans to the Maxwell empire, and other company failures against the background of a deep continuing recession rather than in terms of the much publicized emphasis a couple years earlier on 'Third World bad debts'. British businesses, twin brothers David and Frederick Barclay who have interests in shipping and hotels (see The European, 3-5/1/92: 1 & 8, 10-12/1/92: 1) acquired one of the Maxwell newspapers, The European (introduced to capitalize on liberalization in Eastern Europe) at the start of 1992 as the crisis surrounding the companies continued.

2He had himself served as a Labour Party MP in Britain, and he stated that his MGN newspapers would continue as the lone 'voice of the sensible left' (Daily Mirror, 14/7/84: 1).
which this study is centrally based grew to be one of almost entirely local and local-regional ownership of the communications industry. This has undoubtedly had roots in the restructuring of capital itself but also in nationalist sentiments and officially implemented measures with regard to corporate enterprise and specifically, culturally, production.

A sketch of the development of the Trinidad-based McEnearney Alstons (McAl) conglomerate is a useful starting point for preliminary insights on which to set the basis for an explanation and understanding of how, historically, concentration and conglomeration have proceeded. A word on conglomeration is appropriate. Observers point out that the typical organization of global capitalism is the multinational corporation (MNC). But beyond producing and marketing commodities in several countries, they unite under a single central authority or parent, ‘divisions and subsidiaries producing disparate commodities and services’ (Ross, 1990: 200).

Further:

The global conglomerate is designed for survival under the competitive conditions of the new era. Its ability to “scan” the globe for investment possibilities makes possible rational assignment of resources, and ruthless pursuit of the exact combination of local policies, labor conditions, transport considerations, and so forth, for the production of any given commodity or part.

The global firm and the conglomerate are well-adapted to conditions of class struggle on a world scale. “Multi-sourcing” for example, allows a firm to avoid the consequences of labor difficulties at any one site. Conglomeration, for another example, prevents labor organized in a given industrial sector from jeopardizing the profit flow of a highly diversified corporate structure (1990: 200).

Of course, McEnearney Alstons is not a global conglomerate, but rather a regional version of this phenomenon. More specifically, it is not a media conglomerate but a general conglomerate with media interests. However, the tendencies are similar to those of the global conglomerate where scale comes to the fore in a more pronounced way.

The source of our observations regarding McAl, at this stage, will be mainly the organization’s 100th Anniversary Focus 1881-1981 (hereafter, Anniversary Focus; see also, Annual Report Alstons 1989: 1-2). Alstons began in 1881 when George R. Alston ‘established this firm in a one door business...trading in, buying and exporting local products, the main trade being in cocoa’ (Focus 1881-1981: 2). Horizontal and vertical integration (to be explained later) meant that by 1920, George Alston & Co., was already involved in shipping, merchandising and estate agencies. In 1930, for instance, Alstons in association with George F. Huggins & Co.3 ‘inaugurated the Trinidad Manufacturing & Refining Co. to produce for the first time, in Trinidad, refined edible coconut oil’, and in 1936 acquired ‘major interests in Trinidad Clay Products Ltd.’ (p.3) ‘In 1938, the Trinidad Match Factory was incorporated with the Alstons Group retaining 51 per cent of the shares, and Bryant & May Ltd., in conjunction with Swedish Match, holding the rest’ (p.7).

In 1947 Alstons & Co. became what is described as a public company with authorized capital of TT$5 million and subscribed capital of $3 million. In 1962-1963, the company invested in Trinidad and Tobago Insurance Ltd. (TATIL) which was a consortium of companies including T. Geddes Grant Ltd., the Insurance Company of Jamaica Ltd., and Caribbean Development Company

3 Later, we will encounter this business which has had interests in Grenada, for instance, more closely.
Ltd. In 1969 the merger with Charles McEnearney Group of Companies produced the large conglomerate which became fairly centrally involved in the communications industry of the 1970s-1980s and later. Chairman Ralph Gibson announced on January 9, 1976 that McEnearney then held 97.5 per cent of Alstons’ ordinary shares.

...Alstons is now, not only one of great diversification and one of the largest employers in this country, but also an outstanding example of entrepreneurship and success of the free enterprise system (Anniversary Focus: 2).

Gibson recognized the ‘solid foundations’ established by his predecessors and saw the McEnearney Alstons group of companies as,

da dynamic conglomerate which touches the lives of all citizens in one way or another, and is well poised to take advantage of the favourable economic climate now prevailing (Anniversary Focus: 1).

That ‘prevailing climate’ was in 1981. Capitalists, in seeking a favourable economic and political climate normally express a corporate mission. For McEnearney Alstons Group it was: ‘To be the best in the industries in which we operate, to provide our corporate people with fair conditions of employment and our stockholders with a reasonable return on their investment and to operate in a manner which recognizes national aspirations’ (McAl Focus, 1st Quarter 1988: 1).

Recall that oil-producing Trinidad and Tobago had a very buoyant economy in the 1970s and early 1980s and was easily the most solvent of the Anglophone Caribbean economies. The 1970s crisis in capitalism was largely overcome by some countries through the levelling off of commodity prices as well as new investment, and political strategies. The United States brought oil reserves in Alaska - previously being kept in reserve or uneconomic to mine - on to the market; Britain introduced North Sea oil; and Mexico emerged with vast reserves but at the recession end of the price spiral. By then several Middle Eastern countries had vastly increased financial reserves. In the Caribbean archipelago, Barbados too brought into use by the 1980s, off-shore oil supplies to restrain balance of payments problems. MNCs such as Exxon, for instance, took up their posts at the top of ‘Fortune 500’s’ world’s corporate listings. The situation was problematic for some countries such as Iran and Iraq. Iran had partly arranged the oil-led economic crisis with price increases it mandated during early 1970s conflict with the United States. An escalated political crisis between the two especially after the Iran Revolution and a hostage crisis led to the U.S. government’s freezing of Iran’s assets in the USA, amounting in billions of dollars. The evidence suggests that in the subsequent eight-year war between Iraq and Iran the U.S. and NATO allies tangibly and ideologically supported Iraq, and commandeered seats in the official boxes as both those oil producing countries mutually destroyed each other’s economic bases. In 1991 NATO led the challenge to destroy Iraq/Saddam Hussien and inadvertently or otherwise Kuwait’s oil production.

Falling oil prices on the world market and hence falling revenues reduced countries such as Trinidad to genuflection in the late 1980s within the IMF debt trap which had also claimed Jamaica, Grenada, later Guyana in the post-Burnham period of liberalization, and Barbados at the start of the 1990s. It is also necessary to note, for instance, how relatively massive oil revenues were spent, in what sections of the economy and which strata benefited to explain factors such as the large rise in unemployment among the masses, and, even some pressures for the business sector. The general effects were far and wide. McEnearney Alstons recorded a loss of $42.9 million in 1985 after deduction of certain items and ANSA Investments Ltd. placed a bid in 1986 ‘for the control of’ the
conglomerate. Subsequently, the two groups merged. The crisis probably emerged from the general economic situation led by the decline of the stimulant of oil revenue in the economy. As a conglomerate the factors were probably of the sort which Utton implies:

The indictment...of very large firms for inefficiency rests on four grounds, (a) they will suffer from decreasing returns to scale, (b) they will be unable to control their cost levels even if they really want to, (c) they generate a socially suboptimal allocation of resources, and (d) their innovation performance will be poor (1982: 5).

On the other hand, Mills stated earlier, that 'the relationship of corporate size to efficiency' was 'quite unknown; moreover, the scale of the modern corporation is usually due more to financial and managerial amalgamations than to technical efficiency' (1956: 124). In a sense, to the extent that Mills' point is correct, it represents a glancing, if small blow to managerialism in terms of questioning the capacity of the new "experts". The revitalization of the McAL conglomerate through an injection of capital by ANSA Investments in the mid-1980s (of which more will be said later), may, of course, raise questions about the validity of some of the considerations mentioned by Utton.

On the other hand, such observations may imply spectacles focused on the micro-economic level of specific details of the company/firm and an inadequate scan of the wider economics of a corporate sector or the national/global economy. Nevertheless, the expansion of, and/or problems of the large corporations during, say, the 1970s to the present time point to the relevance of such analysis.

Communications industry giants patented in Western Europe, Japan, North America, and Australia have been most publicized for their expansive activities in various areas of the industry. Book publishing, newspapers, radio and television, film, satellite and cable technology, the music industry were gobbled up or shed in what could be described as pitched battles - sometimes restrained by state regulations such as limitations on cross-media ownership (which Fininvest of Italy [newspapers and television] battled with and lost) or, citizenship/ownership controls. In the USA, Time Incorporated and Warner Communications, citing 'the threat of foreign competition', announced early 1989 'a friendly merger' that would 'create the world's largest media and entertainment conglomerate, worth $18 billion' (Guardian [Britain], 6/3/89: 13). Warner itself was reported to have been a takeover target of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in 1983. Japan's Matsushita acquired MCA movie studio business for US$6.59 billion - the largest acquisition for 1990 in the USA and the biggest Japanese takeover up to then of a US concern (Wall Street Journal, 31/12/90: 8 & 1). Liberalization also made Eastern Europe attractive. Media Moguls, a recent book by Tunstall and Palmer, with other contributions has some useful notes on recent trends in the major markets (Tunstall & Palmer, 1991).

Even as they expand, capitalists in the communications industry, as are their counterparts elsewhere, are constrained by such state regulations as cited above but perhaps more profoundly across the range of liberal capitalist societies by the prevailing economic climate and also political considerations. In 1991, against the background of a continuing economic recession affecting the United States and Britain as well as several other countries, Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) of Britain floated some of its shares as a means of raising finance yet the company (see, e.g., Independent on Sunday [Business on Sunday section, 24/2/91: 6]) almost simultaneously acquired the

4The suggestion that News Corporation's Rupert Murdoch acquired U.S. citizenship in a flash in the 1980s to enable him to acquire more communications resources in that country has been fairly well publicized.
distressed New York Daily News \(^5\) (Wall Street Journal, 6/3/91: 7 & Guardian [Britain], 26/3/91: 21). Pointing to part of the reason behind the sell-off, Maxwell stated: Even I can't be everywhere all the time' (Independent on Sunday/Supplement, 24/2/91: 6). MGN was also facing legal pressure after its alleged unauthorized sale of 10 percent of its 12 per cent holding in France’s TFI (television) (Wall Street Journal, 18/2/91: 5). Some of the subsequent developments were outlined and otherwise footnoted earlier in this chapter. Fininvest, with a large debt burden at the end of 1990, planned to float a part of the group, but an upturn in business was reported for early 1991 (Wall Street Journal, 13/3/91: 9). K-III Holdings of the U.S.A. bought several of U.S. held publications from debt-laden News Corporation for $650 million (Advertising Age, 29/4/91: 1 & 53), not including TV Times (The Guardian [Britain], 4/11/91: 27). News Corporation arranged a restructuring of its US$7.4 billion ($3.9 billion) debts in 1991 but under a demanding loan repayment plan (see, e.g., Financial Times, 3/1/91: 15 /The Independent[Britain], 2/1/91: 19 & 3/1/91: 25 /The Guardian, 4/11/91: 27). Making a profit, and the rate of profit are especially central for capitalists. IBM ranked No.4 among the USA’s top 500 corporations in 1989 and 1990 and No.1 in terms of total profits for 1990 (just over US$6 billion) \(^6\) (Fortune, 22/4/91) but IBM planned to make 14,000 of its workers worldwide redundant as the economic recession deepened (The Independent, 29/3/91: 23).

This departure to refer to the wider global scenarios is relevant in illustrating the Caribbean process, and in some respects their similarities. In this regard, attention is drawn both to the nature of concentration and also the factors which inspire or constrain the process as well as, more centrally, to point to the place of the press/media within these dynamics. The flow of pie charts, histograms, and so on, or concern from scholars examining media and/or press concentration and conglomeration in major capitalist centres is frequently pronounced. The pie is said to be shared between ‘x’ number (few) of large companies operating nationally or globally, and so on. One of the factors we need to bear in mind in proceeding through this chapter is that in the dynamics of the capitalist Caribbean (and with specific reference to the Anglophone sector) the major newspaper publishing pie and market, with fewer units, tend to be dominated by an even smaller number of key brokers of wealth and power.

The surge of monopoly capital swept up several newspapers/publishing houses across the Caribbean particularly in the 1960s. Local-regional capital re-entered, through various routes and forms, to reclaim lost ground later.

Table 6(i) and 6(ii) point to the corporate status of various publishing firms and the pre-eminence of local and local-regional firms rather than TNCs from the advanced capitalist centres.

\(^5\) A publication/company then having chronic financial and industrial relations problems.

\(^6\) However, profit as a % of sales ($69 billion) at 8.7% of sales ranked the corporation at No.72.

Table 6(i): Corporate newspaper ownership in the Anglophone Caribbean (established or recent major papers at the time of starting the study)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER COMPANY</th>
<th>YEAR OF INCORPORATION/PUBLICATION</th>
<th>PARENT COMPANY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gleaner Co. Communications Corp. of Ja.</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Gleaner Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad Publishing Co.</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>McAl/ (formerly Thomson)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad Express Newspapers (Caribbean Communications Network)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Trinidad Express N'papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate Co.</td>
<td>1895-1908</td>
<td>McAl/ (formerly Thomson)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**
(i) The CCJ (Daily News) was incorporated in 1972 and the newspaper was first published in 1973. The Advocate Company was incorporated in 1895 but the Advocate newspaper itself began publication in 1908.
(ii) The Express newspapers have been published by Caribbean Communications Network Ltd. since the start of the 1990s. At the time of writing I assumed that this new organization subsumed Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. to account for the organizations larger role in the Caribbean media industry.

**SOURCE:** Compiled from editions of the papers, and company reports.

The McAL experience itself demonstrates to a considerable extent the degree to which local and local-regional capital has absorbed foreign-owned (major) media and established a definite and considerable space in the economies. Nevertheless, foreign capital within or outside of joint ventures continues to have a conspicuous presence. The foundation of this insertion of local capital was also predicated upon pillars other than the specific dynamic of capital itself - in some cases by an apparent overarching role by the political sphere and the state. Nationalist politicians moved to secure key foreign enterprises or impressed upon the owners/principals to 'go public'. The bauxite companies in Jamaica and Guyana, and banking enterprises in Trinidad are examples of 1970s nationalization ventures of varying degrees. Some nationalizations were undertaken as rescue operations while others, as we have observed were carried out within the general framework of gaining control of 'the commanding heights' of the economy.

Kurian records how Trinidad and Tobago inherited a press modelled on Fleet Street and dominated from 1917 by the Trinidad Guardian. Under the Eric Williams [PNM's first Prime Minister], the Guardian which had been 'the major influence molding public opinion and defending the...status quo...stood in the way of rallying mass support behind his party' and:

By the mid-1970s Thomson realized that he could not continue to provoke the government, and sold two-thirds of the stock in his Trinidad Publishing Company to a local entrepreneur, Charles McEnearney. In 1976 he sold a further 10 percent to the employees. There was, however, no government interference or pressure in the transaction and the government never acquired any of the stock (1982: 879).

In the early 1980s McAl similarly acquired a 33 per cent - later increased to 44 per cent and then reduced - holding in the Advocate Company publishers of the Barbados Advocate which is dealt with elsewhere in this chapter.

Trinidad's Third Five-Year Plan in Trinidad from 1969 aimed at promoting a positive national identity. Government's policy towards the mass media barred foreign enterprise from
establishing new facilities or acquiring existing locally-owned ones. In addition, transfers of ownership could not be undertaken without government’s permission, and ownership of broadcast media was to remain with government. The Trinidad government subsequently purchased Thomson’s holdings in radio 610 and Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT). However, official guidelines stipulated that management of broadcasting should remain under independent control rather than in the hands of political parties (see, e.g., Kurian: 881-882). The general situation with capital appears to be considerably different from the time when Carrington observed^that the industrialization by invitation policy rested on dependence, and local capital was ‘quantitatively and strategically insignificant’ (1971: 149). Indeed, the fabric of that whole arrangement as we saw in an earlier chapter, also embraced concessions (including tax holidays) to local ‘infant’ industries, and laid the basis for a notable strengthening and consolidation of local and local-regional capital within this protectionist policy.

The Gleaner Company never came under foreign ownership, and has been owned predominantly by local capitalists but a 1978 debenture stock issue brought additional investors (see Appendix 11), with the result that the company has hundreds of shareholders including the familiar names of the various traditional major owning class families, and new small shareholders. The largest holdings are held in various bank trusts or little known holding companies, details of which I could not isolate for this study. A relatively large percentage of shares was associated with the name of the Chairman/Managing Director, for instance, in the 1980s. As we saw the Gleaner grew from the status of a family company in the nineteenth century.

In the case of Communication Corporation of Jamaica (CCJ - publishers of the Daily News), on its launch in 1973, of the 2,210,000 ordinary shares listed, 910,000 had been issued and fully paid up; one million were being released in that issue; and the balance of 300,000 were listed as reserved for the proposed incentive and share purchase plans for employees. A 10-year loan of $420,000 from the Inter-American Development Bank was secured through the public sector Jamaica Development Bank. NCC had an investment of $315,000 in CCJ in 1972 and 1973, and later bought up unissued equity to become the dominant shareholder over Desnoes & Geddes, before receivership and the PNP Government’s rescue operation in 1977/78, and demise in 1983.

In 1977, the PNP government in Jamaica removed the privately-owned and more popular of the two national radio stations (Radio Jamaica/RJR) - regarded as a key asset - from predominantly foreign ownership. Privatization and liberalization^ have further enhanced the place of local and local-regional capital. Indeed, it is this ‘internal’ dimension of the local and, local-regional contexts which has suffered from neglect in dependency-type studies.

^ Privatization in the present discussion means the transfer or sale of public or state assets to individual members of the private realm, most commonly by the issue of shares. Liberalization can be taken generally as wider than, and embracing privatization. It includes within this wider ambit the withdrawal or slackening of regulations or measures restricting corporate (mainly relevant to the present discussion) or other activity, and so on. In the previous chapter, we observed some of the manifestations of these concepts/measures in touching on broadcasting in particular.

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8 Based on 1958-59 figures.
9 Privatization in the present discussion means the transfer or sale of public or state assets to individual members of the public and/or commercial corporate bodies in the 'private' realm, most commonly by the issue of shares. Liberalization can be taken generally as wider than, and embracing privatization. It includes within this wider ambit the withdrawal or slackening of regulations or measures restricting corporate (mainly relevant to the present discussion) or other activity, and so on. In the previous chapter, we observed some of the manifestations of these concepts/measures in touching on broadcasting in particular.
Much work has been carried out in the Caribbean with regard to the concentration of capital in particular countries (e.g., Brown, 1976/77; Reid, 1977; Barrow & Greene, 1979; Hinken, 1984; and Parris 1981, 1985). These works have tended to focus on the local context (national) rather than an integrative local-regional perspective. Among this body of work, Barrow and Greene, in using 1977 data to investigate the concentration of local ownership and control by businessmen in Barbados, observed a continued large foreign presence in the economy but argued that the Government and local capital were to some degree either acquiring some equity or taking over enterprises (or planning to do so). ‘Local ownership’, which these researchers illustrated through laboriously gathered information, ‘is concentrated primarily in the sectors of agriculture (mainly sugar), distribution, the manufacture of food and beverages, construction services and property investment’ (1979: 28).

Brown examined the Jamaican media context in his brief 1976/77 article and noted the negative implications for economic and social transformation. Reid who has been referred to in earlier sections used a somewhat pure ‘instrumentalism’ in a fairly rigorous treatise of the Jamaican context. Parris weaves a bit of the ideological/material in short pieces on Trinidad press (1981) and the country’s corporate sector as a whole (1985).

Harold Hoyte, Editor of the Barbados Nation noted two forms of ownership of the media attempted in the ‘transfer of power from overseas to home’ - ‘a form of public ownership’ and private ownership. This model has been unsatisfactory because, for instance, in Guyana all the media have been controlled by the Government. ‘Government ownership is not public ownership’ as political bosses ‘do violence to the principle of right to information and right to truth because of the self-interest of politicians and their survival.’ In the second model of ownership:

the media house is really an extension of commercial activity and the guy up the hill who runs the rice mill also runs the printing press. Unfortunately, during some years the rice does badly and the press does well and so he cuts back on the quality of rice to enhance the overall profit; in another year the press does badly and the rice does well, so he cuts back on the quality of the paper to restore his financial balance.

This is not a desirable alternative when the wider interest of the country is part of what is affected by these cutbacks.

This is one of the ugly features of newspaper ownership in Western society, particularly in the United States. The difference is that their society has built-in and long-established defences to take care of resultant problems.

(Hoyte/"A Time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 37)

Edmunds and Felton, in a survey to determine management needs, found the size composition of Eastern Caribbean businesses to be bimodal. They cited 'large businesses and micro-businesses, but very few in the size range of 10 to 50 employees' (1990: 94). These observers, financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), carried out face-to-face interviews of 134 business people. ‘Interviewees included 81 owners or managing directors of large businesses; 21 directors of chambers of commerce, industry associations, trade groups or labor unions; 15 government officials; 17 professors of management.' The interviewees explained that plantations, commerce, tourism and manufacturing were controlled by traditional elite and by multi-national corporations while micro-businesses were controlled by emerging entrepreneurs (p.94). Historical factors were cited by respondents among the underlying explanations. Barriers to entry and growth related to greater access to financial resources on the part of elites or the latter’s management knowledge were inhibiting factors (p.95). Additionally, as
summarized by these researchers:

The growing sophistication of local economies threatens the grip of the traditional elite. In addition, emerging entrepreneurs have the alternative of seeking to improve their position through the political process (1990: 96).

6.4 Press Concentration and Conglomeration - Local and Local-regional

The discussion here will help to illustrate the consolidation of the major Caribbean press, the unity of capital and some implications for power and influence which would bear on the character of its response and 'intervention' in political and social processes. The pressures on capital are also noted.

To immediately infer from the specifics of concentration per se that the more media-specific corporate sector, or the sector in general imposes constraints on cultural output as well as on political, economic and the larger social outcome (by virtue of its embrace of large-scale resources and potential for symbolic representation) requires considerable evidence which is difficult to assemble in almost any context. It is proposed, however, to illustrate that there is some capacity/potential inclination - not only because media organizations or media are involved but also by virtue of their position within the larger expanse of capital. This location and that of their station within the complex dialectic 'no change stagnancy' or even 'change' may influence not only how people perceive the world but also what they can materially derive from it. At least we should be able to imply, through our efforts, an agreement with Jacobs' findings:

...when greater amounts of assets became concentrated in the hands of fewer firms... their ability to gain political influence was considerably enhanced (1988: 872).

Jacobs' longitudinal study is based on data about government and business relations in the U.S.A. over thirty years.

TABLE 6(ii): Local and local-regional newspaper ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPERS</th>
<th>OWNERSHIP</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gleaner</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily News</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>Foreign -&gt; Local-regional</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Foreign -&gt; Local-regional</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The dates indicate years of introduction for the first four newspapers and the rise of local-regional ownership for the last two listed. The first four papers were in local hands from the outset even though NCC had close connections with ITT (an overseas based TNC) in early years.

Seymour-Ure (1991), for instance, recognizes that the processes of concentration and monopolization are dynamic. Thus, in examining the British press he suggests that the 'distinctive features of concentration, conglomeration and internationalization as they developed in the 1980s can be described as scope, scale, management, balance and volatility'. Furthermore, by 1990, 'the conglomerates...had a much higher range' compared to 1945 and before' (1991: 108). Whereas
Murdock and Golding, among observers, distinguish, for example, between two levels of 'integration' ('horizontal' and 'vertical') in their 'dimensions of concentration' (1974: 213-223), this distinction will not be made in the present study particularly in view of the 'fineness' and perhaps consequent inappropriateness to the less advanced capitalist process in the section of the Caribbean on which the study focuses. The distinction where possible will thus be between 'integration', 'diversification', and 'internationalization' which are clearly interrelated. These will partly embrace what I will refer to as formal corporate relationships which also account for director interlocks. The term is used to mean direct and indirect relationships/linkages primarily at the levels of ownership and interlocking directorships. Informal corporate identifies more casual relationships/assistance (e.g., 'gifts' from one publishing company to another) whereas associational addresses channels through which media principals/allocation bosses meet beyond the company boardroom context to address media issues or general affairs. We will return to these latter categories more specifically in a later section of this chapter.

Integration arises through mergers and takeovers within various aspects of a particular industry. For our own purposes in the first instance this will be the publishing sector of the communication industry. Integration facilitates gains through economies of scale and general financial well-being. The structure of the organizations identified as key to the analysis necessitates an approach not only from the media organizations but also from at least one media-owning conglomerate (McAl) which we considered in broad corporate terms earlier.

Tables 6(iii), 6(iv), 6(v) are fairly self-explanatory and are a useful basis for launching into the specific examples of the particular features which are being addressed here. Table 6(iii) illustrates the range of the companies' business; Table 6(iv), points to the relative size (in sales/turnover terms) of the various companies/conglomerates and their expansion over the years. These sales figures point to a number of factors: for instance, the effects of general economic change, the effects of mergers/takeovers, rationalization; and the relative prominence of these organizations in the national economies and other regional economies. Thus, the combined revenue of only a few of the very largest companies (if we also note the Jamaican companies itemized later in this chapter) would amount to the Jamaican, or Trinidad government's annual revenues. The sales revenue of each of the largest would exceed, for instance, the Grenada government's annual revenues. This factor has implications for power relations, points to the relative strength of the corporate capitalist structure in the region, and suggests that if business is bad for the companies business may also be bad for the country(ies) among other things. Table 6(v) directs our attention most specifically to the communications business. The newspaper companies or their parents (where these occur) newspaper publishing and other communications business such as broadcasting are illustrated. In reading Table 6(iv) it is necessary to bear in mind other factors such as the relative changes in value of national currencies. The Jamaican dollar which was approximately on par with

10. Servaes notes that 'concentration operates in at least three directions: horizontal, vertical and diagonal' as he stresses the growing trend toward the horizontal type in Belgium, and the 'alarming' degree and nature of concentration in that country (see, Journalism Quarterly, Summer 1989: 367-369). He does not explain the diagonal dimension of concentration (or for that matter, any of these other concepts in a brief article).

11. Particularly by way of late 1970s-1980s crisis-led devaluations. See Appendix 2 for some currency (Footnote continued)
the U.S. dollar, about two-thirds of the pound sterling\textsuperscript{12} and larger than the Trinidad and Tobago dollar in the mid-1970s was a considerably reduced fraction of all by the early 1980s. In the mid-1980s the pound fell to approximately a U.S. dollar at one stage but rose later against a massive U.S. budgetary deficit - the Jamaican dollar, being pegged to the U.S. dollar, followed the graph (see Appendix 2).

The Gleaner Company took over United Printers Ltd. in a long process originating in the 1950s. For instance, the position in 1962 was as follows:

During the year the Company accepted shares in United Printers Ltd. in settlement of the balances of £73,651 owing by that Company...The company now therefore holds the controlling majority of shares in United Printers Ltd., which is currently operating at a modest profit... (66th Annual Report [1962], 19/4/63: 6).

United Printers,\textsuperscript{13} listed as a wholly-owned subsidiary in 1986 and 1987 (Report 1986: 4; Report 1987: 10) was formed in 1958 to take over the commercial printing equipment and operations of Printers Ltd. and the Gleaner Company (62nd Annual Report [1958], 24/4/59: 1). At that time, Gleaner representatives on the United Printers' board of directors were N. N. Ashenheim (Gleaner Chairman, and member of a long-standing principal owning family), E. W. Abrahams (Gleaner Director), and S. G. Fletcher (then Managing Director of the Gleaner, deceased/1989).

At least six of the eight Gleaner Company directors for 1958, including the three named here, were directly members of the core of Jamaica's capitalist ruling class, who have been partly embraced in recent decades as members of Jamaica's '21 families'.\textsuperscript{14} Another (Colonel M. R. DeCordova) from a previous Gleaner owning family himself resigned in 1979 having 'served for over 40 years but who, for reasons of ill health, was unable to continue' (Report 1979 [82nd annual report]: 7). The other (Vincent Aguilar) was from a comfortable business class family.

Diversification occurs when a company enters into other areas of the communication industry, through mergers and takeovers, but I would add, and acquisition of equity. Hence, newspaper publishers may move into other areas to alleviate the effects of economic downturns in another area(s) of the industry, or in fact outside of the communication industry. The Trinidad Publishing Company (publisher of the Guardian and sister papers), within the McEnearney Alstons parentage from the 1970s has been associated with broadcasting through Radio Trinidad. It's parent, McEnearney Alstons acquired 100 per cent interest in Rediffusion (West Indies) Ltd., the holding

\textsuperscript{11}(continued) exchange rates.

\textsuperscript{12}Britain's economy suffered from payments crises in the mid-1970s stage of the extended global crisis.

\textsuperscript{13}Name changed to Popular Printers Ltd. (see Report 1979: 2-3).

\textsuperscript{14}The so-called '21 families' a long-standing group of wealthy and highly placed families who have dominated corporate capitalism in Jamaica [Some of their businesses have subsidiaries further afield.] through ownership, directorships, kinship relations, 'associational' and other more informal arrangements. Some observers would probably view them as a diminutive version of America's [the USA's] '60' alluded to by, e.g., Mills (1956), and others.
Table 6(iii): Principal media owning companies, by number of quoted subsidiary and associated companies, and location (selected years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CO.</th>
<th>SUBSIDIARIES/ASSOCIATES</th>
<th>LOCATION (1970s-80s)</th>
<th>NATURE OF ACTIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NCC</td>
<td>7 1 2 2 2</td>
<td>Jamaica, (Barbados-1980s)</td>
<td>Manufs./distrib. of baked commodities, animal feeds and broiler products, housing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D&amp;G</td>
<td>6 5 2 2 2</td>
<td>Jamaica.</td>
<td>Manufs./distrib. of soft drinks, beer &amp; wines, food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McAL</td>
<td>23/7 na 28/6 29/4 na</td>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago, Barbados, St. Kitts, USA.</td>
<td>Manufs. &amp; distribs. of general foods, animal foods; motor vehicle assemblers; travel, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N&amp;M</td>
<td>46/15 45/15 26/10 19/na na</td>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados, Grenada, Suriname, Guyana, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, Martinique, USA.</td>
<td>Manufacturers &amp; distributors of food (supermarkets); brews; building materials, industrial gases; motor vehicle assemblers, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:
(i) McAL listed among subsidiaries St. Kitts Breweries and Caribbean Development Co. (parent of St. Kitts Brews.) in which it held 74.2% and 37.5% equity respectively in 1980, and 37.8% each in 1983. 48.3% was the holding in another.
(ii) Equity held in the associated companies (which included the Advocate Co. in 1986 & 1989 figs. - at 44%, & 33% respectively) ranged from 32.6% - 44% in 1983, and 8.8% - 30% in 1986.
(iii) NCC's Barbados subsidiary which was started in 1973 became financially unviable some years later and was closed. In the early days the second subsidiary was CCJ/Daily News. The increase in subsidiaries to 7 for 1989 listings includes, for instance, what appears to have been the division of National Baking into two parts - Baking Enterprises (1988) Ltd. and National Baking Co. (1989) Ltd. D&G's subsidiaries were consistently D&G Wines and Foods of Jamaica (Export) Ltd. Among items accounting for the increase to 5 and then 6 subsidiaries were the major acquisition of beverage manufacturer Guinness Jamaica Ltd. through horizontal integration/merger, further related movement into fruits by way of Jamfruit Exporters Ltd., and internally through D&G Provident Society Ltd. Three subsidiaries were listed for 1984.
(iv) In some reports, a list of 'Investments' has also been outlined as additional holdings besides subsidiaries/associates have been omitted from above counts.
(v) Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. is excluded from the table partly because data was inaccessible but several of its interests are accounted for in the substantive discussions in this chapter.
(vi) In 1974, 9 N&M subsidiaries were 100% owned; in the 5 others listed N&M held from 50% to 60% of equity. Several other 'Investments' were listed.

SOURCE:
company for Rediffusion (Trinidad) Ltd., the business of which is centred on the rental of commercial music systems, and Trinidad Broadcasting Company Ltd. (radio) in 1989 (see Annual Report, 1989: 9 & 38) for approximately TT$9 million.

Nation Publishing has owned radio broadcasting facilities arising from the old Rediffusion base which was built up during the colonial era. The company also publishes a magazine, the New Bajan - to be distinguished from The Bajan (& South Caribbean) which was distinctly right-wing and deeply opposed to progressive regional political and social currents including the Grenada Revolution. An extract from an editorial in the The Bajan (Trevor Gale, then Editor) is illustrative:

In Grenada self-appointed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, having assumed office at the point of a gun, deliberately picked a quarrel with the mighty United States...[He] arms his troops with Cuban/Russian arms, sends some to be trained in Cuba and the Cubans to train others in Grenada... (May 1981: 2).

The Editor, was listed in 1984 Corporate Affairs office (Barbados) figures as a small shareholder in the Advocate Company (publisher of the conservative Advocate-News) whereas Personalities Caribbean 1982-83 showed his father as having been Managing Director of that company from 1926-1961.

Table 6(v): Companies, turnover/sales, ( & profits) - J$ & TT$'000s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GLNR</td>
<td>151230</td>
<td>118375</td>
<td>92098</td>
<td>43316</td>
<td>25419</td>
<td>12871</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24022</td>
<td>16396</td>
<td>6944</td>
<td>3980</td>
<td>5539</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCC</td>
<td>345800</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>116959</td>
<td>73811</td>
<td>49973</td>
<td>48326</td>
<td>27907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18900</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>6636</td>
<td>7380</td>
<td>5546</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D&amp;G</td>
<td>907200</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>568193</td>
<td>210941</td>
<td>127918</td>
<td>63624</td>
<td>39904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46300</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>43320</td>
<td>11443</td>
<td>2943</td>
<td>3747</td>
<td>2966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McAL</td>
<td>670722</td>
<td>681852</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>863616</td>
<td>743000</td>
<td>9222000</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34100</td>
<td>29900</td>
<td>28300</td>
<td>47568</td>
<td>43011</td>
<td>36783</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N&amp;M</td>
<td>942930</td>
<td>1032704</td>
<td>1123289</td>
<td>1205634</td>
<td>840742</td>
<td>449003</td>
<td>89900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28962</td>
<td>20323</td>
<td>68187</td>
<td>52545</td>
<td>38345</td>
<td>4549</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Profits listed are prior to deduction of tax and extraordinary items. One or two figures have been rounded off. @ Loss.

Figures for Jamaican companies (GLNR, NCC, D&G) are in J$, and for Trinidad (McAL, N&M), in TT$. 1989 figures for Jamaican co.s (except Gleom) quoted in US$ in CANABUSINESS and have been multiplied by seven(7), the approx. average rate of exchange for the J$ in 1989. See Appendix 2 for exchange rates vs US$.


15See the previous chapter.

16This publication was found to be very useful at this point of the analysis. The 1977/78 and 1982/83 editions were available, but I was unable to acquire a later issue during the writing-up process. It was being prepared during when I went on fieldwork in 1988. The dislocation caused by hurricane 'Gilbert' in September that year might have affected preparations even further.
It is interesting to note that Nation Publishing also operates a travel agency, in some sense a parallel to the Thomson empire's Thomson Travel. Trinidad Express Newspapers (publishers of the Express and associate papers) diversified into book publishing and distribution. It publishes *Caribbean Affairs*, a journal emphasizing social commentary with a slant towards academia (see, e.g., Vol.1, 1988), and in 1987, for instance, launched a new book by Michael Manley (the Opposition Leader in Jamaica) (see, e.g., *Daily Express*, 29/8/87: 1). It is also known that Neal & Massey has had some form of interest in Express Newspapers but concrete evidence of shareholding has only become available through N&M's 1989 *Annual Report*, and then the total seems quite small.

Internationalization involves investment in media overseas, international sales (or publications, programming, etc.) or foreign ownership of local and/or local-regional media. This is not only aimed at enhancing the company's financial/profit position but also the opening of markets elsewhere, factors which are interrelated. Indeed, far from being purely determined by the logic of capital, at the other extreme it may even resemble a casual ball game between media-owning combatants on a national or global football field, and football is fairly big business in Europe. The local and local-regional media groups had not necessarily branched out on that limb of advanced capitalism at the time of writing although their sponsorship of sporting events is not unknown. For the Gleaner Company, the *Jamaica Weekly Gleaner*, launched in 1951 was:

A synopsis of news from home published weekly for Jamaicans overseas. It has a circulation of 17,000 in the United Kingdom and approximately 14,000 in North America. An overseas edition of the Weekend Star has a circulation of approximately 4,000 in New York and Canada (Gleaner 150th Anniv. Issue, 31/3/84: 1).

A version of the Gleaner’s afternoon paper published in Jamaica, the Star was offered in the U.K. early in the second half of the 1980s but was withdrawn fairly soon, apparently by 1987, presumably for economic reasons (based on low circulation and advertising). The anniversary brochure, *The Gleaner family of Publications* (1984) is even more explicit in its terse appeal to advertisers, regarding the North American Edition:

Printed in Toronto and distributed to areas of Jamaican and West Indian concentration throughout North America. Attractive to advertisers seeking markets in West Indian centres in U.S.A. and Canada for indigenous products and also to local firms in trading with the constant stream of Jamaicans visiting home from the nearby continent (1984: 10).

The paper is also referred to as the ‘main regular link with home, generating a large number of readers per copy’ and as a ‘prime advertising medium to reach Jamaicans in the U.K.’ (p.10 - UK Edition)

Let us further examine very briefly the circumstances of the Jamaican *Weekly Gleaner* which was itself printed in Britain from 1964 (Interview, Mitchell/Manager, London, April 1985; *Sixty-seventh Annual Report* [1963]). The Gleaner Co. (UK) Ltd. was incorporated as a separate company in 1987 ‘to streamline the operations of the Jamaican *Weekly Gleaner*’ (Report 1987: 10).
Table 6(v): Newspapers, publishing and parent companies, and other publishing house business, 1970s - 1980s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPAPER</th>
<th>CO.</th>
<th>PARENT</th>
<th>SUBSIDS. (&amp; ASSOCS.)</th>
<th>OTHER CO. BUSINESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily News</td>
<td>CCJ/Daily News</td>
<td>CANA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>CANA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other publishing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>McAL/ etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other publishing, book/stationery shop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Barbados Radiffusion Services, Nation Travel.</td>
<td>Other broadcasting, newspaper publishing for other Eastern Caribbean countries (EC News), magazine publishing, commercial printing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: A- Associated companies. Recall that McAl acquired most of Thomson's interest in Trinidad Publishing Company (mid-1970s) and in the Advocate Company (early 1980s Advocate Co., 44% early 1980s, 33% for 1988 & 1989). Jamaica Popular Investment Company Ltd. Jamaica Joint Venture Investment Company Ltd. A fairly new publication, Barbados TV Week is listed as a publication of Caribbean Communications Network (formerly Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd.), Caribbean Week, circulated throughout the Caribbean is another recent addition. When Communications Corporation of Jamaica (CCJ - publishers of Daily News) went into receivership in 1978 a new company called the Daily News Ltd. was formed with substantial government financial support through the Jamaica Development Bank. An ownership structure similar to Radio Jamaica’s was considered but not implemented.

SOURCE: Annual reports, copies of newspapers, and a multiplicity of other dispersed sources.

In the post-World War II labour crisis which faced British industry, tens of thousands of people from the then Caribbean colonies - part of the hinterland providing a 'reserve army of labour' - migrated to Britain under a new 1948 British Nationality Act 18 to attract labour to assist in

18 This piece of legislation being a political response to capitalist restructuring, and based partly on the opportunism facilitated by the specific historical relationship under colonialism. It created a (Footnote continued)
the motherland’s reconstruction process. Out of this, a larger immigrant and then a settler population grew, with papers such as the Jamaican Weekly Gleaner thereby compelled to constantly review and at times carry out minor or major changes in their content in keeping with qualitative changes in the audience in the post-immigration era. Centralization of operations in areas of large scale presence of this settler population such as Brixton has also been part of the Gleaner Co. (UK) Ltd.’s structural adjustment.

The Gleaner parent company offers at least one other example of internationalization - the Jamaica Exports & Investment, a bi-monthly, started from February 1979 and viewed by the company as:

The Gleaner Company's cost effective overseas 'salesman' for Jamaican products and international attractions...Directed at potential investors and traders...[and] distributed where they are - CARICOM territories (5,000); U.S.A. (7,700); Canada (4,300); U.K. (4,000) and Europe (4,000) (The Gleaner family of Publications (1984: 11).

These factors enhance the view that the primary purpose, in a general sense, of newspaper publishing is economic, but that alongside this capitalists do appreciate that power over symbolic representation which they may dominate has value in sustaining the consent to maintain a favourable political and social climate.

Internationalization is also evidenced in the case of other major regional publishing companies. Nation Publishing publishes the EC News, a weekly for Eastern Caribbean countries (Interview, Gilkes, 22/6/88; also EC News itself, e.g., 20-21/5/88) with the front-page sales pitch 'Linking the Islands of the Eastern Caribbean'. The Trinidad Express Newspaper’s files were unavailable and could not be located during a visit to the office of the registrar of companies in Trinidad in mid-1988 and the desired information was largely inaccessible after later attempts. A subsequent mailed request for information attracted no response. However, a former editor stated that Express Newspapers also owned shares in the Nation (Nation Publishing) - to which, as will be observed later, it was also linked at the level of directorship. Kurian, in the World Press Encyclopaedia (Vol.II, 1982: 881) substantiates this by pointing out that the 'Express has a 25 per cent share of equity in the Nation, Torchlight and Voice of St. Lucia and a smaller one in the Jamaica Daily News' (see also In Nobody's Backyard/Bishop, 1984: 142). Kurian also notes that 'Gordon' correspondingly served on all four Boards, but that the 'Express does not interfere in the editorial policies of these newspapers.' It is easy to agree with the suggestion that Express Newspapers’ did not interfere in editorial matters but the network has considerable and complex implications for the press vis-a-vis the local-regional transformation process which will unfold as our discussion develops.

The Gleaner had repelled a takeover bid by the Cecil King group in 1960. Marjority interest in the Guardian/Trinidad Publishing which held interests in Radio (now Radio Trinidad) was acquired from the Thomson Group in the 1970s by Trinidad-based parents, McEnearney Alstons, one of the largest regional conglomerates. In 1989, McAl welcomed Radio Trinidad, 'this important new Company to our Group and looked forward to a long and profitable association with an

19. Kenneth Gordon - Trinidad Express Newspapers’ (TENs’) Managing Director to 1986 when he took up a cabinet post in the Trinidad and Tobago Government, and listed in 1991 as chief executive of Caribbean Communications Network, TEN’s apparent replacement.
enterprise that has continuously sustained its position as market leader' (1989: 25). It became wholly owned. As well as smaller newspaper interests in smaller Caribbean countries, the Thomson group had acquired the Trinidad Guardian, Sunday Guardian, and Evening News (all under the same company) in one of its spates of acquisition in 1961 when it also took over other papers in Ireland, Canada, Africa (South Africa, Malawi, Rhodesia, etc.), and Australia (see, e.g., Braddon, 1965: 286).

In his 1980 report, McEnearney Alston's Chairman, Ralph Gibson noted that a fire had caused cessation of publication of the Guardian from April to November, 1980 but that as 'this report goes to print it is gratifying to note that the company has returned to a profit position in 1981' (Report & Accounts 1980: 6). In 1983, his successor, Conrad O'Brien, in announcing acquisition of the Advocate Company, had been able to point out that 'Trinidad Publishing...did not quite achieve its budgeted targets, but' that 'the final results were 'still very satisfactory':

I am pleased to advise that McEnearney Alstons (Barbados) Limited recently purchased The Advocate Company Limited, Publishers of the Barbados Advocate and the Sunday Advocate Newspapers, from Thomson West Indies Holdings. I bid a warm welcome to the Directors and staff of this Company (Report & Accounts 1983: 5).

Purchase of the equity in the Advocate Co. for $8.5 million Barbadian dollars was completed in early 1984 (1983: 22). As we can observe such a takeover is generally complete - equity, premises, personnel. However, the path may be paved with cobblestones and it is useful to stray briefly beyond the Caribbean context. When a large communications TNC such as News Corporation acquired certain newspapers in the 1980s, not all newsmen and operatives in those organizations appreciated proprietor Rupert Murdoch's penchant for sex, violence, and sensation in his papers. An occasional resignation was a consequence. In 1989, News International's (a subsidiary based in Britain) takeover of Collins Publishers (see, e.g. Financial Times, 7/1/89: 1) sparked resignation threats from at least two of the publishers' professional writers and a top Board level representative, ostensibly because of New International's/Murdoch's assessed orientation. One national television news report even implied that the contents of the bible were threatened as Collins published a version of the venerable text. Some reports mentioned but hardly emphasized that Murdoch's organization, prior to the takeover, owned approximately 40 per cent of the equity in Collins. A useful note is Hirsch's observation from the look-out point of 'the economic and organizational settings of several cultural industries' that 'changes in ownership' played 'a role subsidiary to each industry's market structure' (1987: 579).

Earlier, we passed over the concept and reality of 'consolidation'. It is appropriate to return to this question. In general this may be taken in the context of the communications industry to mean, securing the basis for continuation and survival. For a company, and specifically a communications company or over-arching conglomerate it may be inclusive of integration, diversification, and internationalization and specific evidence of their realization. It also encompasses the somewhat less defined expansion to cater to specific interest groups or catering to more specific needs of another section of the market by publishing additional newspapers. The Gleaner Company has published several papers other than its daily editions, several of which have been mentioned above. The Tourist Guide is among such publications. The Children's Own (a circulation leader)

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t20 Controlling interest, for a £403 million approx. bid.
which caters to the 4-11 age group, reaches into remote households. A favourite with advertisers interested in grooming young customers of the future, while capturing the attention of parents (The Gleaner family of Publications, 1984: 15). [Emphasis mine]

Express Newspapers launched a weekend edition of the Express in 1988 (see, e.g., Weekend Star, 3/6/88: 14); and, as we have seen, Nation Publishing has the EC News, and so on. But as illustrated, there are other outlets too, and forms of consolidation. Having shared interests, capitalists are frequently together in elite social clubs and other groups.

6.5 The press and interlocking directorships

Studies concerned with ownership and control, and interlocking directorships which have proliferated particularly in the United States but also in Western Europe, for instance, have tended to focus on the upper levels of corporate ownership and board-level management. Inadequate data availability has plagued some efforts. Studies which deal with mass media primarily are less common. It is particularly the media with which this study is concerned but, as implied in earlier discussion, examination of the media cannot be adequately carried out without drawing wider contextual or social factors into the picture. In Chapter Four, we explored some of the literature and broad considerations on the issue of ownership and control. The arguments were not entirely settled but the overall picture has been one in which 'managerialists' were found wanting both in terms of the arguments and the data which they presented.

Neo-Marxists and some critical scholars, to recall, stress the effective presence of ownership while 'managerialists' saw owners as being, or having been displaced by expert managers and others who exercised autonomy. Dahrendorf, for instance, saw that in the two sets of roles the incumbents were increasingly moving apart in their outlook on, and attitudes toward society in general and toward the enterprise in particular (1959: 46). Galbraith adds that: 'Corporate size, the passage of time and the dispersal of stock ownership do not disfranchise the stock owner. Rather, he can vote but his vote is valueless' (1967: 80).

Whereas managerialism has been a major distraction of the discussion of ownership and control, in the discussions of interlocking directorships it seems to definitively inform only one of several models which attempt to make inferences about the significance of interlocking directorships. Scott asserts that the 'exercise of power in a joint stock company is always a matter of "control" rather than of "ownership" per se' (1990: 351). He has summarized from the literature what he sees as five

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21. Tourism, surpassed a declined bauxite industry as Jamaica’s principal foreign exchange earner in the 1980s and retained this position even at the end of the decade (over US$600 million in 1989 and even more for 1990 when a new record level for tourist arrivals was also set). That sort of context would provide fairly fruitful foundation for a publication of that focus. At any rate, the tourism sector has been of long-standing importance to the economy.

22. In the discussion of corporate concentration the term 'interlock' is used to describe the situation in which a director of one firm is also a director of one or more others. Directors may specifically be executive or non-executive, chairman, etc. Interlock involving a director implies a multiple, and s/he is sometimes referred to as a multiple director. In a somewhat tautological vein, it can be added that two or more firms may be linked by one or more multiple directors.
models: the finance-capital, co-ordination and control, resource dependence, managerial, and class cohesion models (1985: see 6-12). The discussion about these models which follows immediately draws mainly from that source.

The finance-capital model suggests that the concentration of banks with industry results in a monopolized form of money capital. Groups of companies within this embrace are viewed as pursuing 'a relatively autonomous corporate strategy through the co-ordinated actions of the constituent elements. A tendency towards cartelization of the entire national economy has been suggested. At another level and internationally the shift into finance capital is viewed as anarchically competitive between closely knit national networks, or as an unstable closely related international arrangement. Multiple directors should be both financial and non-financial rather than inclining to a single type of organization. According to the 'co-ordination and control model', the economy is a structure of co-ordinated groups of companies in competition with each other. A bank control, and a family control model are variants. Banks seek representation of the boards of the companies which they wish to control. The interlock is both an expression and an actualization of this control. Banks become centrally placed in the network of interlocks, and 'interlocks are seen as directional indicators of the flow of power.' The interests of the various corporations are subordinated by the bank to a broad policy geared at maximizing its own interests. This position and impressionistic concrete evidence seems to have moved, for instance, from Galbraith's assessment of the post-Great Depression period (1929-1930s). For him, as 'a symbol of economic power', as the banker:

...passed into the shadows his place was taken by the giant industrial corporation. The substitute was much more plausible. The association of power with the banker had always depended on the somewhat tenuous belief in a "money trust" - on the notion that the means for financing the initiation and expansion of business enterprises was concentrated in the hands of a few men. The ancestry of this idea was in Marx's doctrine of finance capital...' (Galbraith, 1957: 108)

Galbraith's analysis appears to lack an inquiry into relationships and inclines towards treating the two types of organizations as self-contained entities. True, the Great Depression witnessed many banks collapsing. To arrive at a conclusion which implies that banks were quite entirely cut off from even the 'giant industrial corporations' emerging seems a trifle misplaced.

In the case of the family control variant of the finance-capital model, the suggestion is that interest groups will revolve around the shareholding and influence of a specific family rather than being bank-centred. 23

Large organizations depend on each other for access to crucial resources (although this is perhaps less so in the case of conglomerates. Consequently they endeavour to cement relationships to guide interdependence). According to Scott, the interlocks may be an indication of a "no competition" liaison or a coalition aimed at facilitating joint action, and it is assumed that the number of interlocks between two enterprises is an indication of the strength of the relation.' For him the model implies, in the international sphere, that control over capital and technological resources by MNCs renders them independent of local banking and industrial firms. 'Multinationals will create alliances within their home economy but have no need to ally their foreign subsidiaries with local firms' (1985: 9). Clearly, such an assumption without elaboration is predicated upon the purely

23 Zeitlin's accumulated works (1989) on this topic and wider considerations is useful.
economic and social considerations and neglects certain political realities which fall outside of core capitalist countries. State-led political measures sometimes based on nationalist currents and even with the support of the 'patriotic anti-imperialist bourgeoisie' may require that MNCs market some of their equity (which frequently would be taken up mainly by local firms), be nationalized/localized if they refuse, enter into joint ventures, and so on.

In the managerial model, insider directors run the big businesses and outsiders are subject to the manipulation of the former. Hence, links between boards have little or no bearing on the control over corporate strategy. Outside directors are recruited primarily to 'enhance the "environmental scan" of the enterprise and to enhance its prestige.' Relevant business and political information is thereby gathered. The class-cohesion model is somewhat at variance with that. Directors in this model come from an upper class and interlocks express and assist cohesion of this class. Common educational background, club membership, and director activity in charitable and educational arrangements buttress this pattern of privilege which extends beyond the comparative informality of company board meetings. The important feature of this is supposed to be an 'inner circle' (identified with the work of Useem - e.g., 1979 & 1984) or corporate core of top directors account for the major accumulation and flow of information.

'Compared to the theory of insider control', Norich argues, 'theories of proprietary control imply a far greater degree of centralization of economic power and a more pronounced hierarchy within the very top ranks of the capitalist class.' He conducted empirical analyses of data on the leading 300 U.S. industrial corporations in 1964. 'These analyses suggest that a substantial proprietary interest affects not only the pattern of a corporation's director interlocks with other firms, but also its dividend payout ratio' (1980: 83).

Norich's conclusions were 'somewhat qualified' (1980: 102) but he suggested among them that:

If the pattern of interlocks and dividend payout rate are valid indicators of the locus of control...then so-called insiders do not control these leading industrial corporations. Control is rather exercised by a dominant owning family or, in their absence, by other proprietary interests, often by financial institutions or principal owning families acting through them (1980: 103).

Useem, in The Inner Circle, focuses on the USA and the UK, and argues that, implanted in 'intercorporate networks through shared ownership and directorship of large companies in both countries', a 'politically active group of directors and top managers gives coherence and direction to the politics of business.' This 'inner circle' - as distinct from most directors whose concerns hardly extend beyond the immediate welfare of their own firms - comprises 'the few whose positions make them sensitive to the welfare of a wide range of firms' and 'they have come to exercise a voice on behalf of the entire business community' (1984: 3). In his earlier observations on the USA, he was somewhat cautious about reading too far into the organizing role:

The inner group, however, does not appear to have assumed a class organizing function. This problem remains to be solved by the state or some other institution (1979: 121).

However, in the later work (1984), he suggests that the 1970s and early 1980s were a time of unprecedented growth in corporate political activities. He traced this to the fall of company profits in
both the USA and Britain, to increased regulation in the USA and labour’s challenge to management in Britain. Further:

Both the emergence of the inner circle and the degree to which it has come to define the political interests of the entire business community are unforeseen consequences of far-reaching transformation of the ways in which large corporations and the business communities are organized (1980: 4).

Useem suggests that ‘family capitalism’ which reached its zenith at the end of the nineteenth century, and ‘managerial capitalism’ which was ascendant during the first half of the twentieth were both ‘yielding...to institutional capitalism’ (see also Scott, 1990: 365-366). In this context, ‘consciousness of a generalized corporate outlook shapes the content of corporate political action’ (1984: 4-5). The firm ‘remains a primary unit of action, but the transcorporate network becomes a quasi-autonomous actor in its own right. Company management is now less than fully in charge; classwide issues do intrude into company decisions; and competition is less pitched’ (1984: 195-196).

Scott found that the business class in Britain remained a propertied class but that its personal wealth was ‘buttressed by the complex structure of “institutional” ownership’ which had come to encompass ‘so much of the economy’ (1982: 186. See also 1990: 365-366). For him transformations in the state and the economy have been both ‘causes and consequences of the rise and decline of the various upper classes which have played their part in British social development. The future of today’s upper class is dependent upon the prospects of the contemporary political economy...’ (1982: 186)

With regard to the “inner circle”, it would appear that what Useem has been observing is a more conspicuous crystallization of a fairly long-standing situation. The leaders of the largest organizations - even in backward capitalism - have long had a leading “presence” in the corporate economy itself and to some extent in the political sphere or in terms of a “political voice”. This arises partly by virtue of size and perhaps integration in an economy, and it seems a normal trend for this to be emphasized in economic crises and/or politico-social currents which have a bearing on their welfare or business activity. Indeed, C. Wright Mills (1956) observed:

What is significant about this managerial reorganization of the propertied class is that by means of it the narrow industrial and profit interests of specific firms and industries and families have been translated into the broader economic and political interests of a more genuinely class type (1956: 147)

Useem also argued that a ‘social foundation’ also existed in tandem with the ‘economic foundation’ for a classwide aggregation of corporate interests. The logic of this social aspect was not reducible to the economic aspect. The network of interlocking directorships is perhaps the most single element. ‘This network is constituted of those company directors who simultaneously serve on the boards of two or more large companies.’ Three qualities of the interlocking directorate enhance its effectiveness in aggregating ‘pan-corporate political concerns’:

- most members are full-time senior managers of large corporations;
- the network encompasses nearly all important companies; and
Scott (1979), among others conclude usefully that 'the structure of the network of interlocking directorships is not a consciously intended product of the actions of those who recruit directors. And, if this is the case, it cannot be held that the centrality of banks in the network is a result of self-interested bankers seeking to consolidate their power over industry. While conspiracies no doubt occur, complex structures and their historical development are never intentional consequences of such conspiracies. Interlocking directorships must be explained in other terms, and to do this it is necessary to understand the real significance of interlocks' (1979: 99). Scott argues that the 'consequence of establishing director links between companies is to produce a system of communication with a definite structure. The flow of information through the system is determined by its structure, and the construction of corporate strategy is influenced by the information available to corporate management' (1979: 100).

Whereas this study recognizes the analytical implications of making out a case for the distinction between owners, and managers (top) - who in the view of this writer share broadly similar fundamental interests - the emphasis for us in this chapter is largely on top financial/economic direction ('allocative'/ 'strategic' control). The aim is to examine some of the dynamics which operate in this sphere and how they are shaped. The specific journalistic processing and management cohorts ('operational'), on the other, who are not always sharply separable from the top levels will be addressed with the latter in a more specific sense in the next chapter. Professional and press management corps sometimes reside among owners in the decision making rooms, and owners are sometimes direct participants in day-to-day production of news and information. Partly because of this incidence of overlap, and partly out of the necessity - in view of the objectives of both the chapter and the study as a whole - some of the overlaps and interrelationships have to be addressed in this chapter.

The reference to the various models through which the significance of corporate interlocks may be assessed offers a useful contextual flavour to the discussion. However, even though a class cohesion model would not be entirely inappropriate none of the models has been specifically applied in our examination which follows for reasons such as the exploratory nature of the study and the state of the accessible data.

Concentration in the communications industry and extension into the broader corporate domain in the Caribbean will account for much of the discussion which follows. Ownership overlaps and director interlocks have been dealt with in a large number of academic works but these works have largely attended to the wider corporate sector rather than to the communications industry. But, a few observers have had time to glance at the area of communication. 'Overlap' of media 'elite' and corporate 'elite', Clement found in relation to Canada was 'extensive, almost one half of the members are exactly the same people.' Of 105 members of the media elite for whom biographical data were accessible, 51 were simultaneously members of the economic elite. Thus, '49 per cent of the media elite are also members of the executive or hold directorships in one of the 113 dominant corporations in the economic sector and, at the same time, hold one of these positions in one of the dominant media complexes.' Further, 'those not overlapped resemble the economic elite.'

The conclusion must be that the economic and media elite are simply two sides of the same upper class; between them they hold two of the key sources of power - economic and ideological - in Canadian society and form the corporate elite (1975: 325).
6.6 Some specifics of corporate networks in the Caribbean

Here we can return to some of the work done on the Caribbean, which will lead us into some of the evidence gathered for the present study. The examination of the features of concentration earlier has, of course, even if only in a minimal way, pre-empted the discussion in this section partly because of the difficulty of dissecting much of the data. Reid (1977), analysed the annual reports of forty-two companies listed on the Jamaica stock exchange. The 'twenty-one family groupings' accounted for 125 of the 219 directorships and nearly 70 per cent of the chairmen in the corporate economy in 1973 (see, e.g., p.24). In the present study it has been emphasized that, for a number of reasons, local capital has asserted itself, particularly in the 'post-colonial' period, and interestingly, Reid observed that:

although 10 of the corporate enterprises are majority-owned by foreign interests... in them policy is almost exclusively controlled by local directors from the family groupings (1977: 28).

It is more than tempting to infer that this helps to illustrate the fundamental unity of different sectors of capital, and the fading of the lines between national capitalists - most importantly 'the patriotic anti-imperialist' fraction - and foreign capital. For Reid too the domination of strategic sections of the economy 'by small ethnic familial elites' implied 'their continued usurping of the political process and retention of a diffuse but nonetheless real political power' (1977: 36).

Barrow and Greene identified 428 directorships held by Barbadians among 75 larger local companies. A total of 34 families with directorships in three or more larger companies were identified. Between them 'the families hold 202 of the total of 428 directorships in the larger local companies.' Admitting that their information was 'difficult to obtain and 'incomplete', on the basis of data about intermarriage, they note extensive further linkages which enhance consolidation by this elite (1979: e.g., 30).

Parris, after taking subsidiaries, into account derived that 28 rather than 39 separate companies traded on the Trinidad and Tobago Stock Exchange as at August 31, 1982. Twenty-three directors were members of more than two Boards; seven were members of three or more Boards; and three were members of four Boards. Calibrated along ethnic/racial lines 'the corporate elite in Trinidad and Tobago, though being multi-ethnic, is dominated by those of Caucasian extraction' (1985: 105) - a factor which for us here would imply in part a considerable residue of the long-standing historical social structure. Parris also found that 'unlike the larger industrialized country in which banks appear to be the most interlocked companies, in Trinidad and Tobago it is the conglomerates' that were most interlocked. However, 'if the Board of the leading conglomerate

24 They elaborated on the problem of data collection, '...there is a lack of empirical evidence concerning elite ownership and control which relates to the secrecy and confidential nature of relevant data...in the account we now present there are several gaps still to be filled. In Barbados there is as yet no stock exchange [One now operates from the new central bank premises built in the 1980s.] and, though the sale of shares by public auction occurs, this is a recent innovation involving only one or two of the larger companies. Information concerning the names of larger landowners and firms paying high rates of company tax remains confidential. Attempts to obtain the necessary information from various individual companies proved fruitless in most cases...The law [Company Law] remains outdated, requiring only minimal disclosure of information concerning financial and other aspects and providing few restrictions on corporate activity...'(1979: 24)
which I assume here to be Neal & Massy Holdings] is analysed, one finds directors of four of the leading banks in the country. More specifically interesting to the present study is Parris' findings on the 'directorships of the two daily newspapers' [i.e., the Guardian and the Express]:

Six of the directors of these two newspaper companies are directors of four of the largest banks. Three are directors of the two largest conglomerates and two are directors of local stockbroking firms (1985: 106-107; see also, Parris, 1981).

In the case of Trinidad and Guyana, Hintzen (1985) has traversed some of these factors, but he emphasizes the penetration of international capital. A 1987, mainly country study of the Caribbean media, edited by Brown and Sanatan is also interspersed with snippets of related information. In the report of a conference of journalists held in Jamaica in December 1989, Harold Hoyte (referred to earlier) raised the question of the dangers of concentration and argued a way forward for a press which would serve the people as a whole ("A time for Dialogue", 1989/90).

Table 6(vi): Gleaner Co., number of directors, directors belonging to long-standing owning/ruling class ('old capital') for selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DIRECTORS</th>
<th>'OLD CAPITAL'</th>
<th>CHAIRMANSHP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ashenheim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 (3 A'heims)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Clarke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: The directors listed from 1979 include Honorary Chairman, Leslie Ashenheim who had retired from that post after serving up to the age of 80. Leslie Ashenheim died on April 20, 1990 in his 91st year and by then had been a member of Gleaner's Board 'for some 50 years during which time he served as Chairman from 1967 to 1979, when he gave up the position but remained as Honorary Chairman (Weekly Gleaner, 1/5/90: 9). Oliver Clarke, according to the company records seems to be a significant shareholder in the company; a member of a long-standing major land-owning family; has a long record of service with the large Jamaica National Building Society of which he was chairman in the 1980s and into the 1990s; and was a director of the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association from 1984.


In the case of concentration and conglomerations which have been entered into above we have tended to examine the broad period of the 1970s and also well into the 1980s. If we bear in mind the perpetual unity and the resilience of local owning class and historical underpinnings it will be evident that analysis of interlocks for a single year has definite uses but may not account for any shifts in structure. Thus, when Reid (1977) viewed 1973 data (1969-1973) for the broad corporate sector in Jamaica, he was limited in what he could state about
emerging tendencies.

An examination of the Gleaner Company from 1979 - 1986 illustrates that there was no change in the proportion of 'old capital' among directors (5/12) (see Table 6(vi) and significantly, the resilience prevails partly as some directors retire in rotation, 'being eligible, offer themselves for re-election' (e.g., Report 1983: 4; 1987: 4; 1989). This rose to 6/12 for 1987 with the addition of J. M. Matalon; fell in 1988 (4/11) with the exit of F. L. Myers, and 1991 (4/11). In general, over the years the reduction in the percentage of old capital both in terms of numbers and percentage has been minimal and in any event if other Board members are closely examined, although they may not have come from the original so-called '21 families', some are well placed financially and have ties with the inner group well beyond those exhibited within the confines of the Gleaner Company.

Long-standing Director, T. H. Donaldson resigned in November 1989 in keeping with the Articles of Association which sets the age limit of directors at seventy-five. Professor Gerald Laylor of the University of the West Indies accepted the invitation to join the Board in March 1990 (Report 1989: 5). Myers and E. W. Abrahams retired on the age limit criterion effective April 14, 1988 and former Editor, Hector Wynter resigned 'due to his involvement with a new radio station' (Report 1988: 5) which will be touched on later. Wynter was the JLP's 'shadow' Minister of Information from at least as early as 1990 and continued in this portfolio in 1991. Of course, he was also a party representative many years earlier. Abrahams was recalled from his portfolio as a consultant to the board (one also held by former Editor, T. E. Sealy) to take up the post of Honorary Chairman left vacant upon the death of Leslie Ashenheim in April, 1990. A brief article with a photograph of Eric Abrahams in the Weekly Gleaner of October 23, 1990 read in part:

The Gleaner Company Limited announced on Thursday, October 11, that Eric W. Abrahams...had been invited to the Board of Directors and had accepted the post of honorary chairman of the company.

Mr. Abrahams was called to the Board in January 1945 and served continuously up to April 1988 when he resigned in accordance with the age limit stipulated by the Articles of Association. The Company, however, continued to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Abrahams's vast experience in financial matters as he accepted the position of special consultant to the Board (23/10/90: 6).

The totals for 'old capital' listed in the table include only those persons who have been members of certain ruling families identified among Jamaica's '21', for instance, by Reid (1977). Relationship by marriage, for instance is excluded in this specific calculation. It is also necessary to bear in mind here that even though there is a notable durability of such families among Jamaica's owning class, to view the arrangement as permanently sealed and not having had some fringe changes is to misunderstand or neglect the realities (though such change has not been truly fundamental) in Jamaica's class structure. Some families within the traditional owning strata have become relatively more or less financially powerful, for instance, among their peers while some which were external to these strata have risen relatively.

At least 20 of the directorships in various corporate concerns were accounted for by the five 'old capital' directors. Table 6(vii) points to this, and more comprehensively, to other more specific sector attachments. The figures exclude directorships/partnerships in law firms, a link (such partnerships) which has been a long-standing tradition in some of the families represented. It is interesting to note that one Gleaner director, T. H. Donaldson held the chairmanship of the statutory
National Sugar Company, a directorship of the Sugar Industry Authority, and directorships in key commodity organizations, namely Alcan Jamaica Ltd. (bauxite/alumina) and Jamaica Flour Mills.

Table 6(vii): Gleaner Co., by directors 1982/83-1983, number of corporate directorships, sector, and top positions on boards of directors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIRECTOR</th>
<th>DIRECTORSHIPS INCLUDING GLEANER</th>
<th>SECTOR EXCL.GL'NER</th>
<th>NO. OF DIR'SHIPS &amp; RANK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Ashenheim*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1c (Honorary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. F. Clarke</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>b, i, 1s</td>
<td>2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. G. Ashenheim*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1b</td>
<td>1c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. W. Abrahams*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4b, 1b, 21</td>
<td>4c (4c, 1vc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. H. Donaldson</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1b</td>
<td>4c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. W. Facey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. J. Iss*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. L. Myers*</td>
<td>7 (Gl. Finance)</td>
<td>3i</td>
<td>2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. S. Roberts</td>
<td>1 (Gl. Editor)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. E. Sealy</td>
<td>1 (F/Gl. Editor)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. M. Thwaites</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1b, 21</td>
<td>4b, 2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. L. Wynter</td>
<td>1 (Gl. Editor)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: b - bank; bs - building society; cc - cultural (media, theatre); i - insurance company; s - savings ('National Savings Com.' - see Annual Returns 1984). / c - chairman; vc - vice-chairman; p - president; * - 'old capital'.

All directors excepting Abrahams accounted for one corporate 'cultural' directorship. He accounted for one at the Gleaner, and three others in cinema. Facey was chairman of the National Gallery but this is not identified as corporate.

The Issa family which has large interests in tourism/hotels in Jamaica began investing in that sector in Cuba under start-of-the-1990s limited liberalization (partly the result of a need for hard currency, especially following problems in the then Soviet Union).


We need not outline in detail points of contact outside the Gleaner's boardroom and that of major corporate sector firms. However, without tending to be anecdotal, an illustration is in order. Legal firms continue the network. The Gleaner Company's Vice-Chairman, R. G. Ashenheim continued as a partner in the firm of attorneys serving the company, Milholland, Ashenheim and Stone. Stone appeared among the names of the owning '21 families' cited by Reid (1977) and others as controlling the corporate economy. Frank Myers continued to be a partner in the legal firm of Myers, Fletcher, and Gordon.25

The structure has not fundamentally changed over the years as various documentary sources illustrate, and a glimpse at later figures - mainly 1986 - would hold useful pointers. We selected the ten top companies in the corporate economy on a turnover/sales index. To these the three

25. Fletcher being another in the list of those families, and S. G. Fletcher having served from 1948 to 1971 as Managing Director of the Gleaner Company (see for this latter, e.g., Gleaner Anniversary Issue, 1984).
largest banks and the largest insurance company listed on the stock exchange were added using the same sales/turnover criterion. The total of fourteen and their respective turnover figures are outlined in Table 6(viii). The intention was to identify how, through interlocking directorships, the Gleaner Company was situated in this uppermost section of the corporate economy in Jamaica and even with (only briefly at this stage) enterprises based elsewhere in the Caribbean. Figure 6(i) is a diagramatic representation of the linkages.

Table 6(viii): Jamaica’s largest corporate enterprises with which the Gleaner has interlocked directly/indirectly or overlapped (based on complete 1986 data, but other years added for indications of growth)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial/Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Grace Kennedy &amp; Co.</td>
<td>63624</td>
<td>127938</td>
<td>586193</td>
<td>907200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Desnoes &amp; Geddes (D&amp;G)</td>
<td>170310</td>
<td>101144</td>
<td>533370</td>
<td>1041600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Industrial Commercial Developments (ICD)</td>
<td>56136</td>
<td>133035</td>
<td>486409</td>
<td>1135400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Seprod Group</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>352288</td>
<td>521500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Carreras Group</td>
<td>22206</td>
<td>31188</td>
<td>246731</td>
<td>153300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jamaica Flour Mills</td>
<td>51228</td>
<td>65777</td>
<td>240320</td>
<td>na/Lasc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Wray &amp; Nephew</td>
<td>30900</td>
<td>60227</td>
<td>211215</td>
<td>784000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lascelles DeMercado &amp; Co.</td>
<td>48326</td>
<td>49973</td>
<td>116959</td>
<td>347500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. National Continental Corp. (NCC)</td>
<td>500770</td>
<td>788200</td>
<td>500770</td>
<td>788200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Banks</td>
<td>69117</td>
<td>421229</td>
<td>775600</td>
<td>325500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. National Commercial Bank (NCB)</td>
<td>18212</td>
<td>42359</td>
<td>114719</td>
<td>307300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Bank of Nova Scotia (Jamaica) Ltd.</td>
<td>13529</td>
<td>29817</td>
<td>140463</td>
<td>325500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mutual Security Bank (MSB)</td>
<td>18212</td>
<td>42359</td>
<td>114719</td>
<td>307300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial - Insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Life of Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The order of company names in the table are based on 1986 figures which were the most complete in hand in the late 1980s and available mainly from a single publication. Bear in mind that the order would be different if a different variable such as ‘assets’ were used. The banks would appear much larger than most of the other companies, and the order among those companies themselves would have changed. The NCC was not among the ten largest companies but was included because of earlier connections with the press (namely, CCJ/Daily News).


Mutual Life Assurance Society, one of the two largest insurance companies was not listed.
NOTE: Life of Jamaica (LOJ) was taken to include the Jamaica Citizens Bank Ltd. (JCB), an LOJ subsidiary (see, e.g., Stock Exchange Yearbook 1986: 23 & 1989). The turnover/sales figures were, however, not combined; the JCB's turnover for 1986 was $100,252,000 (46) and over twice that for 1989. Lasselles in 1985/86 owned approximately 51% of the alcohol/beverages manufacturers Wray & Nephew (WN) ordinary shares and added WN's several subsidiaries to its list. Wray & Nephew was, thereafter cited among Lasselles subsidiaries, and disappears as a separate entity from the 1989 reckonings above. With the exit of the WN, the Caribbean Cement Co. (CCC) was inserted as a company of considerable centrality and size in the economy. The Gleaner interlocks directly with that company, notably through the Gleaner's Chairman and Managing Director in 1989 information. Recall its (Carib Cement) acquisition by the state through the 1970s-1980 PNP Government. As can be observed the structure has shifted but not fundamentally. Among movements, the Jamaica Flour Mills, for instance, ceased to be directly interlocked with the Gleaner Co. in 1989 listings as the relevant connecting director, was retired from the Gleaner although he continued with the Flour Mills. As of 1989 the Gleaner Co. also became directly interlocked with NCB (which continued to be partly state-owned) through the recruitment to its board of Mrs. M. T. A. Payne, NCB's Deputy Managing Director, and to another large bank, the Bank of Nova Scotia Jamaica Ltd. (BNSJ) as the Gleaner's long-standing Vice-Chairman, attorney R. G. Ashenheim appeared among the list of BNSJ directors.

A survey carried out by Market Research Services (Jamaica) in 1988 identified the rankings for some of the companies listed in Table 6(ix) on the basis of respondents' views about companies which were most concerned about Jamaica's development (see Money Index, 19/4/88: cover page).

Table 6(ix): Survey findings on companies concerned about Jamaica's development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPANY</th>
<th>% RESPONDENTS CITE AS MOST CONCERNED ABOUT JA'S DEV'MENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desnoes &amp; Geddes (D&amp;G)</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace Kennedy</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life of Jamaica (LOJ)</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Jamaica (RJR)</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Co. of the West Indies (ICWI)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleaner Co.</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Wray &amp; Nephew</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: ICWI is listed on the stock exchange and is interlocked at some levels (e.g., directorships) with some of the listed companies. J. Wray & Nephew is a long-standing company best known for its manufacture of alcoholic beverages and was owned prior to, and during the core period of emphasis in the present study by Ashenheim family group, long-standing principals in the ownership and direction of the Gleaner Company.

Public sector companies were also excluded from Table 6(viii) and Telecommunications Corporation of Jamaica Ltd. (TOJ), for instance, was ranked first in terms of assets in the Anglophone Caribbean for 1989 according to listings in CANABUSINESS 1990. Grace Kennedy fell to seventh place; Barbados Shipping & Trading which ranked third in sales, fell to eighth; Neal & Massy, number two in sales, disappeared from the top ten in assets as did ICD of Jamaica and Trinidad-based McAl, as well as T. Geddes Grant. Angostura whose Group Chairman was listed as a member of Neal & Massy Holdings for 1989 entered the assets top ten at number six but was absent from the top ten (sales).

The September, 1991 edition of CANABUSINESS (see Weekly Gleaner, 15/10/91: 24) again placed Grace Kennedy & Co. at the top of the sales list (US$261.3 million) comfortably ahead of Neal & Massy in second place while TOJ headed the assets/market value list for 1990 (US$166.72). Grace fell to 13th place in terms of market value. The rankings according to market value are shown in Table 6(x).

Using assets as the index, most non-bank firms would fall remotely behind banks. The largest of Jamaica's banks, NCB recorded assets for the first quarter of 1991 of approx. $7 billion and the smaller Jamaica Citizens Bank (see LOJ), $3 billion for the first six months (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 27/8/91: 12 & 25). Jamaica National Building Society (its Chairman, Oliver Clarke [also Gleaner Chairman] stated in 1991) is Jamaica's leading building society with 17

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As an adjunct to this, it would be interesting to identify how Jamaicans and people in the Caribbean broadly view corporate big business. Galambos, in a not too dated study of the USA concluded that: 'For most Americans, antitrust exists only as a chapter in history, an episode they study while preparing themselves for a bureaucratic career in a society steeped in the values of the corporate culture' (1975: 268).
branches and an asset base of $1.4 billion (Weekly Gleaner, 9/4/91: 8).

The processes of concentration, consolidation and expansion have continued apace. The Grace Kennedy Group - formed in 1922 - comprised 76 companies/subsidiaries as new figures suggest (see, e.g., Financial Times advert./feature on Jamaica, 12/2/90: 17). The 1989 figures calculated from $US (x7) quoted in CANABUSINESS (9/90) placed Grace in first place in terms of total sales/turnover ahead of Neil & Massy, in second place among Anglophone Caribbean conglomerates/companies (in terms of assets, the placings of these and other companies show notable variation). Grace recorded a pre-tax profit of approximately $121 million in 1990 (5% over 1989) on an increased sales total of $1,968 million (18.3% increase in sales compared to 1989) (Weekly Gleaner, 23/7/91: 24).

As will be seen later, Lascelles by further absorption of Wray & Nephew (96 per cent, up from 51 per cent), and other activity had almost tripled its sales by 1988 and by mid-1989 came under threat in a takeover bid from a consortium led by former PM, Seaga's firm, and subsequently by NCB (more on this later). In the financial year ended March 31, 1991 turnover amounted to $625.3 million and profits after tax increased over the previous year to $102.7 million. Indeed, this is one of the major conglomerates operating locally with a significant foreign shareholding; Lascelles' largest shareholder at the time of writing was Rothmans International (see Caribbean Week, 30/11-13/12, 1991: 32).

Table 6(a): Ranking of major CARICOM companies, by market value in US$millions, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARENT BASE</th>
<th>COMPANY</th>
<th>MARKET VALUE US$m.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>TOJ</td>
<td>166.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>BET Ltd.</td>
<td>85.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Carreras</td>
<td>77.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Desnoes &amp; Geddes</td>
<td>76.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>McAl</td>
<td>70.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Lascelles de Mercado</td>
<td>63.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>Angostura</td>
<td>58.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>West Indies Tobacco</td>
<td>56.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>Neil &amp; Massy</td>
<td>54.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>Trinidad Cement</td>
<td>47.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>Geddes Grant</td>
<td>43.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>BS &amp; T*</td>
<td>41.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Grace Kennedy &amp; Co.</td>
<td>39.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>BL &amp; P**</td>
<td>37.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica Banana Prods.</td>
<td>30.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:  
* Barbados External Communications.  
** Barbados Shipping & Trading.  
*** Barbados Light & Power.  

SOURCE: See, the Weekly Gleaner, 15/10/91: 24.

TOJ has been the holding company for the Jamaica Telephone Company (JTC) and the Jamaica International Telecommunications Ltd. (JAMINTEL). The PNP administration of the 1970s had sought to place certain key enterprises under public control or in local hands - to repeat - has been actively engaged in liberalization and privatization under its newer regime from 1989. It has a keen eye on foreign exchange earnings, and has apparently internalized the concept of - private
management/ownership = efficiency. Thus, following upon the JLP Government’s initiatives that process continued, and amid protest from the public/private sector and even the JLP Opposition the PNP regime sold 20 per cent of the TOJ equity to Cable and Wireless in 1989 (another Weekly Gleaner report [4/12/90: 12] states March, 1990) and a further 20 per cent in 1990, giving the British MNC a total of 79 per cent of the holding in the corporation.\(^2\) Public shareholders after the 1990 deal held 21 per cent. Prior to the 1990 sale, the Minister of Public Utilities stated that TOJ’s monopoly of telephone service would continue because of the conditions of the licence, and that ‘if we finally sell we are very interested in getting foreign exchange’ to meet the country’s commitments. He also mentioned that Cable and Wireless’ intention to invest millions of dollars, meant that it required a certain market share if it were to undertake such investment (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 20/11/90: 6). The 20 per cent holding sold in late 1990 went for US$42 million (J$336 million). TOJ had the highest profit of any company operating in Jamaica for 1989/90 - $225 million (Weekly Gleaner, 4/12/90: 12 /see also 20/11/90: 6).

TOJ’s Chairman continuing into the 1990s was Mayer Matalon, the leading member of one of the principal owning families listed among the traditional ‘21 families’. Not unimportantly, TOJ was reported in October, 1990 as having made a list ditch ‘move to challenge in court the right of its shareholders to bring an action against it, concerning the purchase of lands owned by the family of its chairman, Mayer Matalon...The plaintiffs say the land was bought for almost twice the price at which it was assessed by the majority of assessors consulted, and that the directors failed to disclose, in the prospectus offering the shares for sale, that the purchase was contemplated and was being negotiated’ (Weekly Gleaner, 16/10/90: 7).

Whereas an intricate interlock in directorships has existed with relatively minor modifications over the years (a comprehensive work based on 1973 data was carried out by Reid, 1977), a brief sketch of the latest year for which fairly complete information on the selected companies was available (1986) and information which was later acquired was drawn up to provide some insight into the situation.\(^2\) This later information is supplied partly based on my view that long-run data covering several years is much more valuable than short-term, as the former can illustrate not only a prevailing situation at a given moment in time, but, importantly, trends.

The Gleaner Company interlocked directly with several of the major corporate organizations (and quite notably, the banking sector).\(^3\) It interlocked with Grace Kennedy &

\(^2\) per cent held + 40. In 1990, the umbrella Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) had supported Government plans to privatize the Jamaica Public Service Company (JPSCo. - electricity) in 1990 but opposed the idea of rates control under private control as such strictures would encourage ‘inefficiency’ and ‘underdevelopment’ (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 13/3/90: 5).

\(^3\) Information for 1989, acquired at the start of the 1990s following initial refinement of this thesis has been incorporated where possible.

c.e.g., Grace Kennedy & Co., Jamaica’s top company in terms of sales and a notable Caribbean transnational: the JBPA; the Jamaica Flour Mills; and the Bank of Nova Scotia (Jamaica) Ltd. (1986 data). Grace Kennedy is prominent among the nine Jamaican companies listed in the Latin American & Caribbean top 200 companies for 1990 (Trinidad had 14, with the conglomerate Neal & Massy following the Trinidad oil companies in terms of turnover/sales.) (See for this 200 listing, South, No.121, April 1991).
Company through its Chairman, Oliver Clarke and J. J. Issa; ICD through J. M. Matalon; JBPA through Oliver Clarke; NCB Group through M. T. A. Payne; and MSB through its (i.e., Gleaner’s) Deputy Chairman, R. G. Ashenheim (Stock Exchange Year-book 1989; also see 1986). The Bank of Nova Scotia was not only the Gleaner’s principal banker. The BNSJ Annual Report 1987 listed among its twelve board members, two Gleaner board members together with three other members of prominent long-standing owning families under the chairmanship of, and with other representatives of overseas investors. Directors also included the president of a notable local insurance company not listed on the stock exchange (Island Life), Oliver E. Jones (see, e.g., Stock Exchange Year-book 1986). Available data for 1989 showed the Gleaner Co. directly interlocked with Island Life through J. J. Issa.

It is interesting to note that although the Gleaner’s Board for 1986 year did not interlock directly with National Commercial Bank (NCB), and the ICD - the core company of the Matalons, one of Jamaica’s principal owning groups - for 1986, this was soon 'rectified'. Recruits to the Board in 1987 included the NCB’s Deputy Managing Director (Augusta Payne), and J. M. Matalon who also appeared the respective Boards in data for 1989 (see, e.g., Report 1987: 4; Stock Exchange Year-book 1986: 20 & 1989: 41, 49, 75). Note also that there were indirect linkages with NCC and D&G, former principal shareholders in the CCJ/Daily News.

Other primary, and secondary or indirect interlocks (linkages through the various companies listed above and others) were several, and in cases included more than one member of the same family grouping. It is interesting to note also that Mutual (Security) Bank (MSB), the third largest of the banks listed on the stock exchange, included among its directors, the Gleaner’s Vice Chairman (R. G. Ashenheim); A. M. Thwaites, another Gleaner Director from prominent middle-class origins (not among 1989 Gleaner or MSB directors); the Managing Director of Seprod (John Harrison) - one of the several key commodity producers in the economy, and crucial in the political economy of shortages in the 1970s; D & G’s Vice President, Michael A. Vicens; and significantly, the Managing Director (Roy Collister) of T. Geddes Grant Ltd., one of the largest


32 Formerly Barclays Bank, this is the largest commercial bank in Jamaica and was nationalized/localized in the 1970s under the PNP and put on the market in November 1986 under the conservative/liberal-conservative JLP Government’s privatization ventures. In 1991 it was proposed to place the Government’s retained 49 per cent (30 million shares) on the market but this issue was subsequently postponed in the light of controversy over the Government’s offer of six million shares (or 20 per cent of the retained portion rather than 10 per cent) to the bank’s employees who had already been offered 10 per cent in the original first public sale. According to reports, the bank’s management had sought and obtained existing shareholders’ permission to petition Parliament to alter NCB Group’s memorandum and articles of association. The management asked shareholders to support a resolution to lift the 7.5 per cent restriction on individual holdings and for Government to sell its 49 per cent holding because these factors depressed the value of existing shares, and prevented the free trade in shares (See, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 9/4/91: 21). Against this pressure, and quite in keeping with the PNP government’s increasingly laissez-faire approach, Parliament passed a bill in late 1991 ‘to alter the memorandum and articles of association to remove the current restriction of 7.5 per cent’ (Weekly Gleaner, 15/10/91: 25 & 5/11/91: 6).

33 An ICD Director among the total of eight Matalon family members up to 1989 listings on the ICD Board, as well as other principal members of the major capitalist strata of Jamaica’s ruling class, and at least one representative of international capital.
Trinidad-based conglomerates (established at the start of the 20th century) with subsidiaries in Jamaica, Grenada, Barbados, and Guyana (see, e.g., Stock Exchange Year-book 1986: 25; T. Geddes Grant Ltd. Annual Report 1986: 3). Specifically, the 1989 MSB 10-person board continued with Ashenheim as chairman; Collister, Harrison, Vicens, as well as Dhiri Tanna (a long-standing director of parent Neal and Massy Holdings/representing Jamaican subsidiaries, etc.); and Gloria Knight, chair of the state sector’s (Jamaica’s) Urban Development Corporation (UDC) and more recently in the 1990s, President of Mutual Life Assurance Society. Board composition suggests a Jamaica-Trinidad venture.

T. Geddes Grant’s five listed bankers included Mutual (Security) Bank. Geddes Grant had ownership interlocks with McAl, and with Geo F. Huggins (which has large interests in Grenada) which the Editor of the Grenadian Voice (Interview, 7/88) listed with the TNC Courts (with a wide network of branches throughout the Caribbean) - the furniture and appliance group - as the largest advertisers in Grenada. Geddes Grant’s wide-ranging activities include, for example, agro-industry, sale of motor vehicle and electronic equipment, insurance, and the manufacture and distribution of building products - to name a few.

The Board of Directors of the Trafalgar Development Bank included the Gleaner’s Chairman/Managing Director (Oliver Clarke) as Chairman, another Gleaner Director (M. W. Facey), and the Managing Director of T. Geddes Grant Ltd. (Roy Collister), on a 12-man Board which included representatives of international capital (see, e.g., Year-book 1986: 31).

Noteworthy is the presence in 1989 of the Gleaner Company’s Chairman on the Caribbean Cement Company’s Board, which also included two other members of Jamaica’s core owning class. These two others would perhaps be viewed within moderate PNP circles and some ‘old-style’ radical left analysts as ‘patriotic’ and/or ‘anti-imperialist’ members of the ‘bourgeoisie’. Recall the discussion in Chapter Two regarding the crucial place of the company in the crisis economy of the late 1970s, the then PNP administration’s move to shift it out of the control of not so ‘patriotic’ members of the ‘oligarchy’, and production problems (see Appendix 5, on gypsum).

It is clear from the documentary evidence that beyond the Gleaner Co., the major ruling/owning class of capitalists in Jamaica continues to be closely integrated at the level of interlocks. The principals of major companies listed on the stock exchange and others generally exhibit more than just a liberal sprinkling of their members across various Boards. An update of Reid’s 1970s work (Reid, 1977) with the use of 1989 data - the latest comprehensive information available at the time of writing would not fundamentally alter his findings.

Not insignificant is the information that Edward Seaga, Leader of the Opposition JLP and Prime Minister until 1989 was along with Hugh Hart of the Hart family, of the original ‘21’ and an attorney-at-law, Malcolm McDonald headed a group which placed a bid at mid-year 1989 to take over 51 per cent of Lascelles deMercado and Co. Ltd. According to The Gleaner (UK - Midland and Northern Edition), the offer dated June 9 was made through Premium Investment Banking Ltd. (owned by Seaga) which advanced the offer acting as lead banker of a syndicate on behalf of Avant

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34 An associate company of the Gleaner Co., not diagrammatically represented in Figure 6(i).
Investments Ltd. (owned by the above three men). The process of concentration of capital and what could be referred to as the sustained consolidatory and integrative momentum of the owning class is constantly active. The Gleaner reported Mr. Seaga as saying that the offer was:

not an offer to the public as such. If the required control was not obtained, then it may be necessary to go to smaller shareholders with a public offer (20/6/89: 1 - UK Edition).

Seaga has occasionally stated that he accumulated a considerable amount of money through business during his years in Opposition in the 1970s. The Gleaner, reminded that the Lascelles Group owned 96 per cent of Wray and Nephew. Gross revenue for the Lascelles Group in 1988 was $611 million and after tax profit, $53.3 million. A Gleaner (UK)(18/7/89: 1) report stated that a later takeover bid came from the National Commercial Bank [recall that this was mainly privatized by the JLP Government under Seaga's leadership]. According to the paper:

In a letter dated July 7 to the shareholders of Lascelles, Mr. George Ashenheim [from a principal Gleaner family], chairman of the Lascelles board, informed shareholders that arrangements had been made to enable NCB Group Ltd. to purchase "...a substantial portion of the Preference Stock Capital of the company."

Whereas it is acceptable that capital through its own dynamic operates to restrict what the capitalist(s) can do, and limit the entry of prospective media and other investors to the arena, the mere fragments of this network outlined above makes it hardly surprising that the participating owner and founding editor of the Jamaica Record (established 1988) is said to have experienced severe imponderables in the quest to obtain financing to start the paper - an amount of $15 million (including a $3 million printing press) (see, e.g., Money Index, 28/6/88: cover page). This was apparently increased as Managing Director and founding Executive Editor, Mark Ricketts stated that the venture cost $20 million 'and was the largest manufacturing activity started in Jamaica' in 1988.

In Chapter Four, we referred to the factor of doors being closed to potential entrants/voices to the media marketplace, a situation which concomitantly tends to reinforce the position of established groups - partly through 'the logic of cost' (see, e.g., Murdock & Golding, 1977: 37). As emphasized, that process led from the economic level is important to any analysis which is to make sense of the realities which affect the communications industry and its various forms of output. However, in the particular situation of the Caribbean, taking into account physical size and the relatively close proximity of actors at certain levels of the societies and centrally at this stage of our discussion, in the "negotiation" for scarce resources, it is necessary to be very attentive to actors and agency. As the Record's executive stated:

the problems I encountered starting The Jamaica Record [were] such a cruel joke played by financial institutions that it deserves an article by itself (The Jamaica Record, 2/4/89: 5A).

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35 Former JLP Minister of Mining, Energy and Tourism as well as former Director of the Jamaica Flour Mills.

36 The link with right conservative - now perhaps, mainly liberal-conservative - upper echelons of the political sphere should not be minimized.

37 This company accounted for a major segment of the holdings of the Ashenheim family which has retained a continuing place in control of the Gleaner empire.
Bearing in mind, however, that other factors such as the chronic financial crisis and eventual failure of the Daily News within a national economic crisis - and a world crisis - for much of its existence might have operated to heighten or further entrench scepticism about such ventures. High interests and inflation made many businesses risky affairs, not excluding the late 1980s. We hear too of the perennial Gleaner's readiness 'to welcome competition but when it appears, set out to kill it' (Editorial Manager Fred Seal Coon, cited in Lent, 1977: 97); that the paper continued to be opposed to 'the foundation of another daily' (H. S. Burns, 1940s reprint in Press & Radio 1968: 7). Gleaner Editor for many years, Theodore Sealy felt that 'nearly every failure' was 'due to the emotional concentration on destroying the "Gleaner" and not in running a paper' but he himself in the same interview in PAJ News (55th Anniversary Issue) pointed to basic economic considerations underlying the failure of some competitors (see Chapter Five). One of two colleague journalists in casual conversation with me in Jamaica in 1988 stressed that any attempt to produce 'another Gleaner' would fail. Those who promoted the Record seem to have appreciated this. As academic and Gleaner columnist, Carl Stone wrote more than a year after its establishment:

The big difference between the Record and the Daily News and earlier challenges to the Gleaner has been the fact that the new newspaper has not tried to copy the Gleaner but is setting its own journalistic style (The Weekly Gleaner, 12/9/89: 15).

There is, of course, more to its early survival base than that, as we saw in the previous chapter. Moreover, conflict between the Record and the Matlons [a local capitalist family], for example, has been used to project the new paper with a populist anti-Establishment image. A reading of a recent issue of the paper does not contradict these assessments. The continuing economic recession in the 1990s must be a serious test for the Record's durability.

The Record's founder also stated that he encountered severe difficulties attempting to start his own brokerage business because of the walls of resistance placed in his path centrally by Geddes Grant's then long-standing Managing Director, Roy Collister and his sympathizers. Ricketts had resigned as manager of Security Brokers, a subsidiary of T. Geddes Grant, and also Deputy Chairman of the Stock Exchange Council (Jamaica). According to Ricketts:

I had some problems with Council members because they wanted to make the council a closed shop affair. I wanted the council to be opened to new members...

At the Council meeting considering my application, Collister objected to my application and eventually the Council reached the rather perverse situation where Collister's representative was allowed to object to my application and still vote (The Jamaica Record, 2/4/89: 5A).

Economic and financial crisis and national balance of payments problems prevailed and communications businesses felt the impact too, as we have observed, but even the Gleaner Co., was not entirely averse to assisting its ailing competitor (Daily News) with supplies of newsprint while itself facing considerable pressure. In fact, the Gleaner's Editor, Hector Wynter in reporting to the mid-year meeting of the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) in Trinidad at mid-March, 1979 referred to limited press freedom in Jamaica. At the meeting of some 150 regional publishers and editors, Wynter stated in part:

The Gleaner's import licence application to purchase 3,000 tons of newsprint needed by it for its next six months operations was slashed without reason by two-thirds.

Subsequent to this the government has indicated that its import policy allows it to give the Gleaner two thousand tons at any one time. As at the date of writing this report, the
additional import licence for the second 1,000 tons has not been approved (CANA, 19/3/79 - in Daily Gleaner, 20/3/79: 1)

It was also a time when the Gleaner Company itself was engaged with the PNP administration in recriminations and one in which former ‘anti-imperialist capitalists’ returned to their roots.

In cementing links Express Newspapers ostensibly operated somewhat differently from the Gleaner Company in accepting or requesting directorships or equity in exchange for crisis time or setting-up assistance offered to other (some financially weak) Caribbean media. It definitely appears that the prevailing circumstances would have had considerable impact on the nature of co-operation between media houses.

Although ownership structure could not be explored in a detailed way for this study, it is useful to note that almost all Gleaner Co. Directors (former Editor Theodore Sealy, a rare exception) or relevant family groups and companies are listed shareholders, or ‘handlers’. Indeed, on the sort of evidence presented here and elsewhere in this study, it is clear that apart from concentration which is part of a general economic process helping to emphasize capital and director interlock (notably among long-standing major owning strata), a definite dynamic also exists in the actions of the owning strata (partly demonstrated in recruitment) to consolidate their position.

6.7 Board level hierarchy and its dynamics and basis: some specifics - Jamaica

An interesting note here, which raises questions regarding managerial thesis and ‘theories of society’ in relation to power and control at upper corporate levels concerns how appointed directors and even owners are dismissed or removed from boards of directors. When Levy (1950: 696) explained that ‘the removal of a director is a very difficult business’ he was not incorrect even in the circumstances of North America and Western Europe in which he founded his mainly legalistic arguments. ‘Directors’, he stated, are always in a position to obtain a substantial number of proxies and to use them to defeat the motion...‘ but, ‘it is a matter of necessity that there should be a power to remove them without any limitation as to reasonable grounds.’ Further, ‘loss of confidence must be sufficient grounds.’

38 At least through its most prominent representative, Kenneth Gordon.

39 Of course, there are other considerations. In the early 1990s, the Gleaner Co. appointed to its board Harold Hoyte, editor-in-chief of the Barbados Nation and board member of the parent company, Nation Publishing, having also appointed in 1992 a new Editor of Gleaner Publications (Kem Allen) who rose through the ranks in the editorial department. Some observers view Hoyte’s appointment as one aimed at overseeing the new Editor and the editorial sphere on behalf of the Board. At the time of writing, I was not aware of any overarching financial transactions between Nation Publishing and the Gleaner Co. This particular link between the Gleaner and Nation has considerable implications also for our discussions in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

40 These include the need or absence of need for further solidarity between sections of capital.

41 Say, in the case of banks, in which cases the trust listings were not altogether clear (details, Gleaner Co. Annual Returns, 20/5/87 and earlier - Registrar of Companies, Kingston/Jamaica).
Levy's analysis falls into the managerialist school to the extent that he focuses on the resilience of directors and he apparently discounted or neglected the power of major corporate owners exercising allocative (or strategic) control to remove them. The distinction between owners and managers is, of course, a fine one but it is useful to bear in mind, as would be argued in this study, that ideological differences between such upper level strata are highly superficial, negligible or non-existent. Additionally, the managerialist assumption that managers have tended to own few shares as they arrived to unseat owner/manager types with the dramatic expansion of the corporate economy, is overrated as regards its analytical value.

Our observation from bits of available evidence is that dismissal is rare, particularly with reference to the newspaper systems which are the subject of this study. Nevertheless, they do occur. Principal owners, for instance, retire but their kins replace them or they remain with honorary status. The year in which the Editor of the Gleaner Publications, Hector Wynter joined the Gleaner's Board 'under Article 94 of the Articles of Association' (1979: 7), Hon. L. E. Ashenheim (of Gleaner's owner-director echelon) retired from the post of Chairman 'having attained the age of 80 years...Directors invited him to occupy a new position of Honorary Chairman for life, which he graciously accepted and to facilitate which, the Articles of Association of the Company were appropriately amended.' Mr. Oliver F. Clarke was appointed Chairman in addition to his office as Managing Director' (Report 1979: 7). That year:

The Board also regretfully accepted the resignation of Col. M. DeCordova, who...served on the Board for over 40 years but who, for reasons of ill health, was unable to continue (1979: 7).

Recall that the deCordova family in 1833 started deCordova's Advertising Sheet. A year later - from 1834 - The Gleaner and Weekly Compendium of News was added as a Saturday publication, and after three months this latter was changed to the Gleaner. Two years later the advertising sheet was merged with the Gleaner and a four-page paper was published every day except Sunday (see, e.g., Daily Gleaner, Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 2; also Gleaner and Weekly Compendium of News, 13/9/1834). Hon. Leslie Ashenheim, was the son of the late Lewis Ashenheim who had married a deCordova. In 1944, Leslie Ashenheim himself married the daughter of the late Alfred Myers (see, e.g., Personalities Caribbean 1982-1983). In this last lineage came Frank L. Myers, long-standing Gleaner Co. Director. The 1987 annual Report is useful (as are earlier ones) in explaining the tenure of directors:

After long and careful thought the Board is recommending a change to the Company's Articles of Association at the upcoming Annual General Meeting which will place an age limit of 75 years on any serving Director...

Dr. T. E. Sealy resigned from the Board on August 31, 1987 and was appointed the Gleaner's first Editor Emeritus...

The Directors record with deep regret the death of Mr. A. M. Thwaites in October 1987...In October 1987, Mr. J. M. Matalon and Mrs. M. T. A. Payne were called to the Board.

They are assumed to be managers in this case as against major owners.

By 1990 Leslie Ashenheim had died and long-serving (over 40 years) Board member, Abrahams was recalled because of his experience and knowledge.
In view of the impending change in the Company's Articles of Association, Messrs. E. W. Abrahams and F. L. Myers have tendered their resignation from the Board effective April 14, 1988...

Thwaites and Myers (themselves listed among shareholders) had been themselves 'reappointed to the Board to fill casual vacancies' as their previous term of office as representatives of the [1978] Debenture Stockholders had ended (also 150th Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 3).

Within the Board, as perhaps is the case with boards of directors of all major companies there is an apparent and perhaps real hierarchy of power. The details are not clear but it would appear that such power was in evidence in changing the articles of association to allow for Neville Ashenheim's honorary chairmanship and to limit the age for active service to 75 years. It definitely appears, however, that circumstances - namely old age, old age/ill health, and the need to effectively manage the business of the company from this upper level - could have enjoyed paramountcy in guiding the Board (and AGM) as a whole to that decision. A certain unity born out of necessity and inability to act otherwise in the interest of the company arose in the background of fundamental unity on major imperatives.

A consortium of Mutual Life (ML) and Jamaica National Building Society (JNBS) acquired an additional 39 per cent of Jamaica's largest bank in March 1992 for $520 million to raise their shareholding to 42 per cent. In this new deal the consortium gained the right to appoint four directors on the 12-member board of directors. Members of the existing board at the time offered to resign in order to allow for the new arrangement. 'Already, with $10 billion in total assets NCB is Jamaica's largest bank. But the combination of the new major shareholders and NCB Group Limited has transformed the institution into the largest financial conglomerate in the Caribbean.' The new board members were expected to include Oliver Clarke, longstanding Chairman and Managing Director of the Gleaner Co. and Chairman of JNBS (see Weekly Gleaner, 17/3/92: 29).

Dismissals, as noted earlier are rare. However, in the fairly newly incorporated Jamaica Record Ltd., dissatisfaction over the company's financial management led to the dismissal of Mark Ricketts, the founding editor and managing director on November 29, 1989. A Weekly Gleaner report quoted Ricketts as stating:

They asked me to resign as managing director, but said I could stay on as chairman. I refused and they fired me (12/12/89: 8).

When the Jamaica Record's Managing Director and founding Executive Editor was being transferred from one directorship, his action of taking some equipment which he owned in the company, workers' support, and other factors largely denied his relegation (although he was relieved of specific financial management responsibility). Separate reports in the Weekly Gleaner taken together point to a decision made by the financial backers some of whom sat on the board of directors of Jamaica Record Ltd. On November 30 workers staged what was read as a brief stoppage over delay in payment of their wages and expressed solidarity with the dismissed editor/director (12/12/89: 10 & 12). Ricketts himself - on the evidence from the Registrar of Companies published in the Weekly Gleaner - was at least a small shareholder. It was also reported that after his dismissal on the specific Wednesday, the founding editor/managing director 'returned to the company and claimed control' on the weekend after a new chairman and a new managing director were appointed. The Weekly Gleaner reported that 'production of the newspaper was halted by Mr. Ricketts' removal of certain equipment
belonging to him' after he was 'sacked' (12/12/89: 10). Resolution of the conflict seems to have been rapid. As the Weekly Gleaner reported, on the decision of a 5th December shareholders' meeting Ricketts took up the posts of executive chairman and executive editor. The post of managing director was taken up by another director who would be responsible for financial management. The report pointed to the jubilant response of Record staffers upon Ricketts' reinstatement (see Weekly Gleaner, 19/12/89: 8).

Later reports point to the financial insecurity faced in the marketplace by new media houses such as this. Thus, the Jamaica Record Co. Ltd. 'was put into receivership on Thursday, December 28 after it failed to answer a banker's demand to pay up $2 million on a loan.' The Weekly Gleaner report (9/1/90: 6) listed several banks to which the company owned millions of dollars, as well as $7 million to a Canadian company for newsprint. One bank's commitment can be cited here:

> Mutual Security Bank's involvement relates directly to the importation of a new printing press which had been on the wharf of Port Bustamante in Kingston for more than four weeks...It has been reported that the bank has seized the press as an asset (9/1/90: 6).

Ricketts' resumption of leadership within the company further pointed to the dramatic cluster of processes which impinged on the company's financial crisis and the struggle for control:

> I had to bare my chest like Bustamante,' Mr. Mark Ricketts said on Friday, December 29, as he regained control of the troubled Jamaica Record newspaper after paying up the $2 million owed to the bank, CIBC Jamaica Ltd. (9/1/90: 6).

According to one of the Weekly Gleaner's reports, Mr. Ricketts who was chairman and managing director (in 1988), stated in 1988, without divulging the source of the company's financial backing, that it was based on private individual financing and investments (9/1/90: 6).

Ricketts was subsequently forced out of the company and copies of the Record from early 1991 have not listed him among principals. Whether he continues to be a shareholder of any magnitude was unclear at the time of writing. Whereas the late 1989 scenario illustrates the nature of board-level readjustments, it also points to possible alliances beyond. Thus, we see the arrangement between editorial and other staff, on the one hand, with top editorial management and the top policy-making level, on the other. In another sort of alliance beyond the Caribbean, most of Eddie Shah's staff 'closed ranks around him' when that British newspaper owner endeavoured to introduce new technology into the heart of the British newspaper industry in the early 1980s. In that case only eight employees were in the National Graphical Association (NGA) 44 'and the rest, mainly advertising, administrative and management staff, had a strong bond with the Messenger and its chairman' (Goodhart & Wintour: 1986: 5). The momentum of concentration and the British Monopolies and Mergers Commission operated to remove his company from a place on the centre stage of newspaper publishing or notable newspaper publishing as the company was absorbed by the immensely larger News International (subsidiary of Murdoch's News Corporation).

44 A right conservative trade union.
6.3 Board level hierarchy and its dynamics and basis: some specifics - focus from the Eastern Caribbean

The approach to the Eastern Caribbean context will, of necessity, be somewhat different as information was less complete in some cases but also because of some variations in corporate structure. For instance, although reports of parents such as the McEnearney Alstons conglomerate were accessible from library files at the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies, the reports of individual companies were either not formally published or not readily available. The Gleaner Co., on the other hand has, for many years, had an annual Report in fairly detailed brochure/booklet form for many years. Trinidad Publishing is part of large parent conglomerate which circumscribes the lines along which it can be examined. Others too have their peculiarities as implied earlier.

In spite of this dearth of formally structured and easily accessible information, as we have indicated earlier some work has been done on the corporate sector but not with a media-centred approach. However, patchy references have been made. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, in quoting research done by the Media Workers Association of Grenada mentioned the Trinidad Guardian and the Express:

These papers which proudly boast their independence, in fact speak with the same voice and the interests of the same class. Jointly, there are eighteen directors on the boards of these two newspapers. Of the ten about whom information exists, they have interlocking directorships in 47 other companies, including national, regional and multi-national business corporations such as insurance and stockbroking companies and several banks, namely the Bank of Commerce, the Royal Bank of Canada, Barclays and the locally-owned National Commercial (In Nobody’s Backyard, 1984: 141).

Again, reference is made to gaping information. Even in the industrialized Western countries a scarcity/inaccessibility problem exists (see, e.g., Zeitlin, 1989) although it would definitely appear to be less marked.

Let us take, firstly, Trinidad Publishing, publishers of the Guardian as subsumed in McEnearney Alstons Report & Accounts/Annual Reports, examining some of the features of interlocking directorships within the parent conglomerate using the publishing company as the starting point. Up to the 1980s McEnearney Alstons conglomerate held 76.2% / 76.5% of the equity in the company (see, e.g., Report & Accounts, 1983: 26; see also 1986) in which it had acquired majority holdings from Thomson in 1975. The 1989 Annual Report shows it to be wholly owned (100%) (1989: 9).

Table 6(xi) gives a breakdown of the directors and directorships of Trinidad Publishing within the parent organization. The table is fairly self-explanatory when viewed along with the attached notes. However, one or two observations are in order. The Board of Directors of Trinidad Publishing remained unchanged for 1980 vs. 1983 except that one of the nine 1980 directors was not listed for 1983. Among 1983 Trinidad Publishing directors, one, McAl’s Chairman and Chief Executive Conrad O’Brien held four chairmanships as well as seven other directorships (including Trinidad Publishing) within the McAl conglomerate. Conyers (long-standing General Manager and later Managing Director) held one chairmanship and two other directorial seats (excluding Trinidad Publishing). He continued to be a member of the parent Board at the end of the 1980s. Victor
Mouttet (who took over as Chairman after the death of Stollmeyer \(^{45}\) in 1989) continued on the Board as did long-standing members, Conyers and J. F. Pocock in 1988 and 1989. O’Brien had held only two chairmanships in 1980 when he was also a member of the parent Board. Louis Rostant, another director held three chairmanships in 1983 listings. Chongsing, the Editor-in-Chief and listed among directors until 1988, was absent from the list in 1989. A reduced list of directors for 1988 and 1989 (7 and 6 respectively) included some of the older hands but also some new blood. Stollmeyer, Conyers, Chongsing, Mouttet, Pocock and K. Narinesingh were among the seasoned campaigners left in 1988 while in 1989 Pocock and Narinesingh were absent.

Conyers and Mouttet remained on the parent Board of Directors, membership of which is included in our calculations in the table along with any membership of listed holding company boards. Mouttet continued to hold (1988 & 1989) the chairmanship of a subsidiary insurance company, and Conyers held one other directorship in 1988 and two in 1989 in other subsidiaries of the conglomerate. Other Trinidad Publishing Board members held only that single directorship (on Trinidad Publishing’s board) within the conglomerate.

Table 6(xi): Trinidad Publishing, directors, directorships held in McEnearney Alstons, number of subsidiaries and associates, and total number of directorships, for selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF DIRECTORS</th>
<th>D’S/HIPS HELD</th>
<th>NO. OF SUBSIDS./ASSOCIATES</th>
<th>TOTAL MCAL D/DIRCTORSHIPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21 (21,1)</td>
<td>29 (+4)</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21 (21)</td>
<td>28 (+6)</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11 (11)</td>
<td>21 (+8)</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11 (11)</td>
<td>23 (+7)</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: (i) The figures in brackets following no. of subsidiaries/associates represent the no. of ‘associated’ companies which are additional to the total for subsidiaries. The change in the no. of associates involved, for instance, the fact that Stokes & Bynoe - Barbados, which was listed as a subsidiary in 1980 with 60% holding was listed as an ‘associated’ company in 1983 with 44% of the equity in McAl’s hands, etc.

(ii) Directors/directorships for 1988 & 1989 include those held in the parent company, McEnearney Alstons Ltd, and intermediate holding companies. They do not include those the Barbados associates (These are not listed in the annual reports for those years.).

(iii) 1 - insurance company, f - finance company.

(iv) Shareholding in Trinidad Publishing remained the same in approx. percentage terms for the early years after the 1975 acquisition at 76.5%, until 1989 when it was listed as wholly owned (100%).


\(^{45}\) Stollmeyer, also a well known West Indies cricketer from the 1930s to 1950s, died in 1989 after being shot in a robbery attempt at his Trinidad home (see, e.g. The Weekly Gleaner, 29/8/89: 3; Caribbean Times, 22/9/89: 39 - sports page lead; McAl Annual Report 1989).
It was noted briefly, in dealing more specifically with Jamaica, that data about recruitment of directors was limited although considerable information exists about subjective reasons for leaving a Board of Directors, retiring temporarily or otherwise. Shifts or rotation of directors is a normal tendency in corporate affairs although some directors seem very resilient in retaining their seats for extended periods. In earlier discussion on Jamaica, the point of the rarity of dismissals was raised. It is not unknown as we have observed. Even as the fieldwork programme for the present study was just about completed a prominent case was being shaped. A director and chief executive (also editor-in-chief of the Advocate newspaper) of the Advocate Company in Barbados was dismissed in 1988 by the parent conglomerate’s (McAL’s) principals claiming ‘bad faith, unethical conduct and conflicts of interest...’ In 1991, a court awarded damages to the dismissed director amounting to $267,714 Barbados dollars for wrongful dismissal, after the director sued the newspaper and the conglomerate. He had worked with ‘the Advocate for 44 years and had been a director of the company when he was forced out’ (Voice [Britain], 29/10/91: 10).

General economic, financial, and management and other factors which shape corporate consolidation or survival needs have also affected McAL’s world. We saw, for instance, the 1986 merger with Anthony Sabga’s ANSA Group which had expressed an interest in acquiring the then embattled McAL. McAL’s Chief Executive, Joseph Esau retired in April, 1990 after serving the Group for just over three years. He served during ‘a tumultuous time’. The ‘most significant highlights’ of that period were ‘the capital infusion by the ANSA Group and the financial restructuring of the McAL Group.’ According to Esau, in handing over to the successor who was scheduled to assumed office in May, 1990:

...the foremost responsibility of an executive is to ensure that he or she is surrounded by persons of competence, who have the freedom to get on with the job and the desire to win...

...my successor is Richard Jackman...Richard has had a notable track record and I have every confidence that he will take our Group to even greater triumphs...(1989: 27).

Crisis and merger ushered in one Chief Executive and the mantle was being handed over to a successor with perceived proven managerial skills. Sabga, the Chairman himself, in his review, touched on Jackman’s recruitment and progress with the Group. He ‘joined the Group in September 1988 as a non-executive Director...and in August 1989 was promoted to the Parent Board’ (p.18). The outgoing Chief Executive Officer was not going far. He accepted the offer to continue with the Group as Deputy Chairman ‘with a particular focus on international financial and strategic matters’ (p.27).

It is useful to touch on the path of a few other individuals to elaborate on the general picture. Eustace Seignoret resigned from the Parent Board in 1989, and ‘agreed to continue serving on the McEnearney Alstons Foundation and Rediffusion (West Indies) Ltd. Board.’ We ‘shall continue to enjoy the benefit of his expertise.’ The Group’s Financial Controller since 1988 (Colin Murray) was appointed to the Parent Board in March 1990 and his confirmation was to be recommended at the 1990 AGM. Ray Dieffenthaller, and Jeff Stollmeyer (who we encountered in earlier discussion) died. The former founded a company which became a McAL subsidiary in 1983. Sabga described him as ‘not only a business colleague but also a personal friend of long standing’ (p.19).
In the case of Neal and Massy, changing economic conditions stimulated the beginning of ‘an extensive restructuring process’ in 1988. This development indicated how the composition of Boards or their decision-making can be shaped by broader contextual factors. To quote in detail:

The Group is moving into a new phase, and we need even stronger management on the ground and more effective management co-ordination, people who can focus on new activities and new ideas...[W]e also want to increase shareholder representation on the Board.

...The Neal & Massy Holdings Board will now consist largely of non-executive directors, who will give greater attention to the strategic direction and policies of the Group. Then there will be an Executive Board responsible for day-to-day operations. This two-tiered structure will give us greater flexibility and greater resources, and will increase our strength both conceptually and in the field (Annual Report 1988: 4).

Similarly, in his 1989 report McAl’s Chief Executive Officer explained: ‘Our Corporate Services and Human Resource functions have deepened involvement in strategic planning, marketing, corporate communications and human resource development, and have catalysed the evolution of McAl’s new management culture’ (1989: 26). Some training programmes had been completed and others were underway.

McAl’s Chairman, Anthony Sabga welcomed William Kelsick of the St. Kitts brewing subsidiary to the parent Board from 1989 with the comment that his ‘experience brings to us an invaluable CARICOM viewpoint and should help us to broaden our present Board’s perspective towards the region as a whole (1988: 5). Chief Executive, Joseph Esau emphasized some factors outlined by the Chairman and mentioned in addition, costs and ‘lower levels of disposable income in 1988’ which left ‘many loyal consumers’ experiencing ‘difficulty buying our products’ (1988: 8).

Group Chairman, Anthony Sabga explained that the year 1989 was ‘successful in expanding’ through ‘acquisitions and mergers’. Rediffusion (West Indies) Ltd., which has an enviable track record of public service and profitability, was acquired during the year for the sum of $9 Million...I am delighted that a majority of the serving Directors has accepted our invitation to continue in office...Francis M. Lewis has been appointed as the sole McAl Director (1989: 18).

The Chairman also explained that in order to cope with the ‘new market reality’ of the dramatic decline in new motor vehicles sales for 1989 compared to the peak in 1983, ‘we negotiated the merger of McEnearney Motors Limited and H. E. Robinson & Company Limited, to create a new Company, McEnearney Robinson Ltd.’ The Chairman also reported a ‘positive response...from major financial organizations to the $100 Million Bond Issue for the Group’s refinancing of its borrowings...’ (1989: 18).

The new streamlined Board for Trinidad Publishing, falling from nine members in 1980 to six in 1989 is probably partly the result of pressures of the above sort. The company showed increased profitability for 1989 (29% improvement after tax) as we noted.

The Advocate is somewhat less amenable to analysis at this time as published data were less accessible. We saw earlier that McAl’s Chairman, in his 1983 annual report welcomed the Advocate Company’s directors and staff to the local/local-regional parent group on acquisition of Thomson interests. It is useful to bear in mind, however, that in spite of this acquisition, McAl listed it among ‘associated companies’ for 1986, having 44 per cent of the equity (Report & Accounts...
The 10-man board of directors for 1979 included overseas personnel, listed under Canada (4) and England (Roy Thomson - 1) and Barbadians. The 1980 board of nine directors included five Canadians (including Kenneth Roy Thomson, and four Barbadians). For 1983, the list of board members was not available but the eight members for 1984 remained unchanged in 1985 and were drawn from Trinidad, the parent location (2) and Barbados, the operational base (6). The 1986 Board was reduced by one compared to 1985. The name absent for 1986 was a member of the Goddard family (Phillip Goddard) whose 'corporate empire' Barrow and Greene noted as ‘the most cited “rags-to-riches” story’, accounting for 43 of the 202 directorships held by 34 families in the total of 428 directorships in the larger local [Barbados] companies in 1977 (see Barrow and Greene, 1978: 30-36). Goddard Enterprises Ltd. was the second largest company based on sales figures in Barbados during the 1980s (see, e.g., Performance '87: 17).

Taking the 1986 listings in McEnearney Alstons' Report and Accounts as a starting point, the long-standing General Manager, later Managing Director to 1988 of Trinidad Publishing/the Guardian (Mark Conyers) (see Report & Accounts /Annual Report(s), 1980, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1989; also Corporate Affairs) was among the directors at least from 1984 to 1986 (from available data). The other Trinidad representative (Conrad O'Brien) listed for the years 1984 and 1985 was a member of the McEnearney Alstons Board for many years, including membership of the board of one subsidiary, Trinidad Publishing (see, e.g., Report & Accounts /Annual Report(s); also Personalities Caribbean 1977-1978 & 1982-1983). The Editor-in-Chief and Chief Executive (Neville Grosvenor) - who held the positions for several years - remained the same. The other Barbados representatives do not appear in McAl reports nor in Personalities Caribbean for the available years, but may hold other directorships in Barbados-based and/or other companies apart from the Advocate Company. Thus, not only has the Advocate and the Guardian and their publishing companies been drawn together under the umbrella of the new parent conglomerate but direct linkages have arisen at management level in the broad process of capitalist concentration and conglomeraration at the local and local-regional levels.

The Nation's News Editor at the time of the 1988 interviews explained that probably because of the success enjoyed over the past fifteen years (i.e. from inception in 1973), the Board of Directors remained substantially unchanged. The Chairman, the Managing Director, and the 'main key people’ had remained almost unchanged (Interview, Gilkes, 22/6/88).

46 The change was prior to 1988. Chairman Anthony Sabga stated in the 1988 report: ‘As I reported in last year's review, our shareholding in McEnearney Alstons (Barbados) Ltd. was diluted from 44% to 33% by the issue by its Directors of 2.1 million new shares to new shareholders, without prior notice to us. Negotiations on this matter have not proceeded amicably and the issue is now the subject of litigation in court, to protect our Group's investment’ (1988: 5). The Barbados operations 'investment' has four companies under its umbrella including the Advocate Co. (e.g., 1988: 43).

47 e.g., B$193,122,000 in 1986, and B$159,825,000 in 1983. In a British television series on the Caribbean presented by Stuart Hall in 1991, a member of the family mentioned with illustrations how, in just 50 odd years, it had grown from the tatters of poverty to own a corporation with an income of over £60 million.
The Express newspaper, published by Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd., and the Nation, published by the Nation Publishing Co., although differing somewhat in the ideological sphere, are informed to some extent by similar positions at other levels. Consulting various sources which had information about Express Newspapers, it was possible to identify four directors for the early 1980s, three of whose names also appeared in late 1970s reckonings. Directors listed on a 1988 letter-head included some who were listed in Personalities Caribbean 1977-1978 and/or 1982-1983 but not clearly identified as Trinidad Express directors, and others who did not appear in these publications. With little accessible information on these latter - even though some of them were significant figures in the early years of the Express - they are excluded from the framework of directorships in Table 6(xii).

Table 6(xii): Trinidad Express directors 1982-1983 and 1977-1978 directorships held, and location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECTORS</th>
<th>DIRECTORSHIPS</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FINANCIAL</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>1. T. A. Gatcliffe 6 1sb</td>
<td>5 (1cc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. K. Gordon 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (3cc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. N. Lau 8 1b 1lb 1lsb</td>
<td>5 (2cc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 C. Mack 9</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>8 (1cc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL 27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22 (1cc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>1. I. A. Gatcliffe 6 1sb</td>
<td>5 (1cc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. K. Gordon 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (3cc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. N. Lau 7 1c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 (2cc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL 17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15 (1cc)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: b - bank, c - chairman, cc - cultural (e.g. Caribbean News Agency [CANA], & Carib Theatre Co. as well as Express Newspapers for Gordon and Radio Trinidad Rediffusion, and Express for Lau), sb - stockbrokers.


The Managing Director after the mid-1980s and also Editor-in-Chief of Express Newspapers was Owen Baptiste. Gatcliffe and Lau were in the years represented in Table 6(xii) at least, directors of West Indies Stockbrokers Ltd. Lau and Mack held directorships in important banking institutions (Bank of Commerce Trust Company, Royal Bank of Trinidad and Tobago) while Lau held a directorship in the Guyana Mutual Fire Insurance Co. (listed also as Guyana and Trinidad Mutual Fire Insurance Co.).

It can be derived from Table 6(xii) that four directors held 27 directorships in 1982-1983 listings which also included several designated here as 'cultural', a factor which would have implications for the nature of cultural output and the views available for consumption in the society. Gatcliffe appeared later in the 1980s as Chairman and Lau as Deputy Chairman on an 11-man Board, whereas, based on the 1988 letter-head, Gatcliffe remained a director while Lau assumed the chairmanship of the board. The board did not include Kenneth Gordon as he had joined the NAR Government as a Cabinet Minister after the 1986 elections and held the position of Minister of...
Industry, Tourism and Enterprise after a Cabinet reshuffle in March 1989 (see, e.g., Caribbean Times, 10/3/89: 9) and up to the start of 1990 (Minister of Industry, Enterprise and Tourism). After relinquishing the political post he renewed his attachment with Express Newspapers (under the name Caribbean Communications Network) as Chief Executive.

The interlock between the two top conglomerates (and indeed, perhaps at least three of the top ones as we will see later) is clear when we consider that Gatcliffe and Lau appeared during the 1970s - 1980s as directors of Neal and Massy Holdings (see annual report(s)) whereas Mack was Chairman of the Allum Supermarket chain, a wholly-owned subsidiary of McEnearney Abotts (see, Report & Accounts 1980: 22; 1983: 23). Gatcliffe appeared on the Board of Rediffusion (West Indies) Ltd., after it was newly acquired by McAl in 1989 (Annual Report 1989: 14). He has been a quite consistent Board member of counterpart conglomerate, Neal & Massy Holdings (see, e.g., Annual Reports 1988: 21 & 1989: 38). In 1989 he was listed as Chairman of the Angostura Group (1989: 38). Available 1980 and 1983 data listed him with the same portfolio but in 1980 the Group was referred to as Angostura Bitters. McAl interlocks further with Neal & Massy. G. R. Inglefield, Chairman of McAl subsidiary Hardware and Oilfield Equipment Co. (67.3% equity 1988 and 1989), and appearing also in earlier years in the conglomerate, has been a member of the Neal & Massy parent Board. In 1989 he was listed among Board members as Chairman of N.E.M. (West Indies) Insurance Ltd. (Annual Reports, McAl, and N&M, 1988 & 1989).

It is not unimportant also that Neal and Massy’s Chairman, Sidney Knox was on the editorial advisory board of a new journal (Caribbean Affairs - referred to in passing earlier) published by Express Newspapers through its wholly-owned subsidiary, Imprint Caribbean Ltd. Express’ Editor-in-Chief, Owen Baptiste was listed as Editor and Harold Hoyte, Editor-in-Chief of the Barbados Nation, a member of the Board (see Caribbean Affairs, January-March 1988). The Trinidad Cookbook, an Imprint Caribbean publication was further advertised as available at all HiLo Food Stores which have been a listed Neal and Massy subsidiary (see various N & M annual reports).

The question of how directors are recruited and depart from Boards of Directors has not been gone into in much detail in this section but much information of the ‘behind-the-scenes’ machinations is frequently quite inaccessible. Boards, nevertheless, change. We have seen that Stollmeyer, for instance, had an unfortunate end and was replaced so that business proceeded as usual. It was also noted that when mergers or takeovers occur, the process involves almost a complete embrace - employees, directors, fixed capital - the lot. There are, of course, imperfections which may involve resignations of persons who prefer not to be transferred to another parent or cases in which the new owners may prefer not to have particular directors. The data is patchy and hard to extricate but these things do occur. In his review of 1989, Chairman Sydney Knox of Neal & Massy (which has interests in Trinidad Express Newspapers and interlocks with it) reported that one of the Group’s Executive Directors, Roger Gibbon resigned in October, 1989. The reference is brief. Apart from the sentence mentioning the name and the time of resignation, the rest was as follows:

48 Assumed to be the Trinidad supermarket chain under the HiLo tag (the and not unrelated name is also to be found in Jamaica).
I wish to convey my gratitude to Mr. Gibbon for 24 years of dedicated service, and, on behalf of the Group, I extend to him our very best wishes for his continued success (Annual Report 1989: 9).

An extract from the Grenada context is in order as we continue this examination of general contextual factors, constraints, ownership, control and action. Let us take the Torchlight, among smaller papers. Two directors listed in Personalities Caribbean 1977-1978 held a total of eight directorships in commercial and agro-commercial (sugar estate, factory) enterprises (including Grenada Publishers Ltd., publishers of the Torchlight). One (Donstan M. Cromwell) held five of these directorships and the other (Charles A. McIntyre), three. Additionally, the latter was a member of the Advisory Committee of Barclays Bank International Ltd. Listings in Personalities Caribbean 1982-1983 showed their titles to have been maintained except for directorships in Grenada Publishers (lost with the closure of the Torchlight). PAJ News, in its contact with the Torchlight learnt that Cromwell, the Chief Executive, held 7,642 shares (22 per cent), and Express Newspapers 4,608 (13 per cent) as the major shareholders (October, 1979: 5) in Grenada Publishers.

6.9 More on linkages, constraints, alliances - local and local-regional

The explanation of the structure and nature of concentration and conglomerate earlier, illustrated some of the essential links between the Caribbean press as well as some explanation of how capital is constrained, and how it would itself help to determine the political and social change process. The task for this section has been made easier by the attention to some local and even related local-regional factors above. This structure and unity with considerable secondary and tertiary level transformations has existed even before the Fourth Imperial Press Conference of 1930 when principals of the Gleaner, Trinidad Guardian, the Nassau Guardian and the like met with other Empire colonial capitalist counterparts in London (see Conference Report, 1930) to consider the realities of newspaper economics and the threats to, and between, colonies.

Here, it is useful to introduce more formally, a framework within which to structure the outline and explanation. Recall that the terms formal corporate, informal corporate, associational relationships were outlined earlier. In relation to what I have termed 'associational', Max Weber made a useful comment in his discussion of what he referred to as parties:

Whereas the genuine place of classes is within the economic order, the place of status groups is within the social order...From within these spheres, classes and status groups influence one another and the legal order and are in turn influenced by it. In principle, parties may exist in a social club as well as in a state...[I]t is always directed toward a goal which is striven for in a planned manner...(1968: 938)

The concern here is with non-boardroom congregations and not those which are necessarily political to the core per se but which may consciously or unconsciously have a political impact or influence. Part of the 'goal' which is 'striven' for as far as Weber perhaps sees 'the social club', for instance, is probably centred on the extent to which such bodies (and the present discussion is mainly concerned with the capitalist /ruling class) would unite broader interests around a core of kinship relations, common class backgrounds, property and wealth and so on and exclude those who fall outside their stipulated or implied categories.

The scope of this committee was not known at the time of writing.
We should bear in mind that whereas the three categories mentioned above (formal corporate, informal corporate, and associational) may be viewed as analytically separable, they are inevitably interrelated.

The approach will be mainly to address the publishing companies and the related companies together rather than proceeding from each since clearly, from our expressed standpoint there is a close interrelationship, overlap and interlock (at least in some instances). Earlier, we entered into considerable detail about the relationship between Trinidad Publishing/the Guardian, and Advocate Company/the Advocate, under the parentage of Trinidad-based conglomerate, McAl mainly at the generally local level and this will not be fully retraced although we will have reason to make at least diagramatic reference. Company policy (i.e. parent policy) undoubtedly determines to some extent the direction of publishing company operations and the degree to which specific editorial policy can apply. This is clear from any reading of any McAl annual report which is generously interspersed with references to the performance of subsidiaries and the national economic, even political climate in local-regional countries where subsidiaries reside. Trinidad Publishing sometimes comes up for mention in terms of whether it has ‘returned’ to a profit position or the completion of installation of computer technology, and so on. Thus, Trinidad Publishing showed a ‘29% improvement in profit after tax’ for the 1989 financial year (Annual Report 1989: 26, & 21).

Most of the organizations, of course diversified out of newspaper publication and some such as the Gleaner have added to their list of publications (although crises at times, have necessiated a reduction in this list) to cater to various special interest groups such as tourists (The Tourist Guide) and business (Jamaica Exports & Investments) - a tendency which could be listed as diversification, and broadly, consolidation, to capture relatively big-spending audiences and thereby increase profits. It is difficult to assess the various organizations on the basis of how they have contracted or expanded in particular years, and while some attempt is made to present information in a structured way, the commitment is rather to present the situation particularly as obtained in the key 1970s and early 1980s generally but also to a lesser extent, for other periods as well.

In all this the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) cooperative which has had twelve members among media houses including government media (generally broadcasting) is generally a non-profit organization (e.g., Interview, Clarke, 5/88) as the principals of most news agencies usually claim. However, as noted elsewhere (see Caribbean Times, 8/5/87) CANA showed a modest profit of some B$156,000 in 1986, and Reuters metamorphosed and matured into a fully-fledged transnational media conglomerate. Central here, nevertheless is the fact that CANA has presented a significant arena for further consolidation as a corporate as well as associational base of Caribbean press principals and capital because, as I argued with Musa (Martin & Musa, 1987), Caribbean Governments and their media had not only been forced into a back seat in the CANA cooperative by the force of events and processes relating to the counter-thrust of the Western economic–free press’ lobby but there had also been an element of voluntary retreat.

50. These do not include Nation Publishing, as it was not one of the original members of the CPBA - one of the groups engaged in the formation of the news agency (see, e.g., CANA Memorandum; 1983 brochure; Saunders, 1978).

51. This is even though they held as much as 46 per cent of the equity in the final distribution.
It will suffice to point out that under the original settlement in the mid-1970s, the
distribution of CANA share ownership left privately-owned media with 54 per cent and
government-owned organizations with 46. After initial hesitation over its opposition to the
participation of Governments and Government-owned media, the Gleaner Company 'overcame its
reservations' (see, e.g., Cuthbert, 1981; also interview of Chairman, 1988) and in 1977 took up its
reserved shareholding. By the 1980s its share of the equity had increased to 14.3 per cent (see, e.g.,
Daily Gleaner, 150th Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 3) after changes including the absence from
membership of the Daily News in Jamaica, and the Guyana Government’s withdrawal as owners of
equity and subscribers, a position maintained through its broadcasting organizations. Dunn (1988)
pointed to the redistribution of share ownership and the fall in the number of owners from 15 to 12.
This rearrangement appears to have placed the news agency even more definitely in the hands of the
private sector and of the press in particular which overwhelmingly accounts for the ownership of
communication resources in that sector.

The initially Government-spearheaded CANA enterprise does not only represent a
phenomenal outgrowth of the cultural strand in the nationalist struggle and consolidation of press
unity but also a considerable boost to the economics of news production in a sprawling archipelago.
This involvement in CANA itself represents the process in internationalization and diversification for
the various territories, and for Barbados where the agency is incorporated - even an element of
integration, if we consider the specifics of news production and editing as centralized there. Recall
that CANA also has a radio service which was added started later, and its financial services
information output was inspired by the demands of the business sector and services' money making
potential.

CANA principals were somewhat ruffled in 1991 over a proposal being considered by
Caribbean Community (CARICOM) governments 'to establish a separate regional news and
information network parallel to CANA's.' General Manager Richard Henderson stated that the
governments led by St. Lucia and Jamaica had started efforts to adopt a Latin American government
network (ASIN - Latin American National Information System). He expressed concern at the
'unnecessary duplication of expensive telecommunications circuitry and systems' and stressed that
CANA had always offered CARICOM governments concessional rates for the wire service... The
'Guyana government and regional media representatives' also had 'strong objections.' CARICOM
Information Ministers meeting early in the year in Jamaica urged CANA to collaborate with ASIN to
provide regional and extra-regional news service and a greater flow of government news and
information (CANA/Weekly Gleaner, 9/4/91: 16). A fairly long-standing relationship exists with
ASIN in that JAMPRESS, the small Jamaica Government news agency within the Jamaica
Information Service (then Agency for Public Information), for instance, originated as part of ASIN -
a 10-member (countries) organization exchanging information as part of an attempt to implement the
new international information order (NIIO).

The question of wider cooperation with the larger Caribbean beyond CARICOM and
further, within Latin America has come up for serious discussion in recent times and the matter of
greater flow of official information seems to be, at least in part, a factor in that objective. The
private media shareholders of CANA would perhaps be less concerned about those long-term
objectives and more in favour of maintaining the immediate lubricant from their own CANA network.
The agency has matured into a useful link between local-regional corporate media organizations, the
broader corporate sector, and even beyond.

Nation Publishing has remained outside CANA, not having been a member of the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association. Interestingly too, the regional news agency had only two Board chairmen between its inception in 1976 and the start of the 1990s - Express Newspapers' Managing Director, Kenneth Gordon, firstly and the Chairman/Managing Director of the Gleaner Company, Oliver Clarke both of whom we met in earlier analysis. Corporate bosses and/or their companies networking through CANA via shareholdings and/or directorships account for formal corporate involvement.

Express Newspapers, under Gordon's direction saw considerable possibilities at least at the economic level from investing in, or assisting other newspaper publishers who might have required such assistance. The exact package for the Jamaica Daily News is unclear. However, the CCJ/Daily News' 12-member Board from 1973 included not only six members (five directly among Jamaica's then 'twenty-one families') and the publication's first Editor, but also 'Company Director' Roy Boyke of Trinidad Express Newspapers (see, 1973 Daily News launch brochure). The Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. also accounted for one of Nation Publishing's directors (Gordon) who relinquished the post on assuming political office in 1986 (data, Registrar General’s Office, Trinidad, 1988). It owned equity in the Grenada Torchlight, the closure of which by the PRG in 1979 removed any modicum of ‘sympathy’ which the principals might have had for the Revolution. As Maurice Bishop stated in a 1982 speech to the first conference of journalists from the Caribbean area, 17th April, 1982: ‘Ken Gordon...of the Trinidad Express, is also a transnational media magnate, with a part ownership in the St. Lucian Voice, the Barbados Nation, and the late, but not lamented, Torchlight, which he used as a base of slanderous and destabilizing operations here in Grenada’ (cited in Searle, 1984: 142).

Stabroek News in Guyana where newspapers and broadcast media have long been under tighter strictures than in the other three Anglophone Caribbean MDCs, has been the result of efforts by ‘private businessmen and professionals’ (see, e.g., Westindian Digest, June 1987: 34). The Caribbean Times (2/1/87: 24) recorded among those attending the launching ceremony, representatives of the Express (Ken Gordon), Gleaner (J. C. Proute), Advocate (Neville Grosvenor), the Guardian (Mark Couyers), Nation (Harold Hoyte - Editor-in-Chief), CANA (Harry Mayers) and an unnamed ‘representative of the Washington-based foundation that is part-financing the venture.’ Guyana’s Senior Minister of Information and Public Service, Yvonne Harewood-Beau representing the republic’s President referred to the paper as “a welcome addition to our national life.” Stabroek News’ emergence represents a liberalization in the PNC Government’s ownership policy and the new increased opening of the economic arena (note, e.g., acceptance of IMF arrangements in the late 1980s) in the aftermath of the President Burnham era of what the administration and sympathizers viewed as cooperative socialism. Thus, Stabroek News was a joint

52 In the early 1990s a third chairman was appointed to succeed Clarke.

53 Evidently from CANA.

54 General Manager from inception to 1989.
effort by various Caribbean organizations combined with US capital. A relevant summary of the shift comes from Mike James, who at the time of writing was Coordinator of the Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC) (Jamaica office) and Caribbean Contact columnist. He is also a former assistant editor of the Catholic Standard and CANA correspondent in Guyana and formerly Assistant Editor of the Catholic Standard and CANA correspondent in Guyana:

In recent years there has been some relaxation in government monopoly in the national media with the granting of permission for the bi-weekly, privately owned Stabroek News to appear; and the removal of some of the restrictions on the access to newsprint for the Stabroek News, the Roman Catholic weekly Catholic Standard and the Opposition People’s Progressive Party (PPP) Mirror. However, along with this, the government has moved to restrict public access to information by its passage of the Public Corporation Act, which imposes harsh penalties on employees of state corporations for unauthorized disclosure of information.

The Guyana Human Rights Association...[has] said that the dismissals of employees, such as a manager of the state-owned Textile Mill and the Head of the Guyana Fire Service, involved their disclosure of routine information to Stabroek News (“A time for Dialogue”, 1989/90: 26).

The nature of the Trinidad Express' involvement in the new Guyana newspaper at least at one level, can be seen from the fact that in the early formative stages Express Newspapers undertook printing of Stabroek News after which copies were flown to Guyana. At the time of writing it was not clear whether Stabroek News had obtained its own presses. More recently, the Express gave the Catholic Standard of Guyana newsprint subsequent to which the Guyana Government decided not to grant the Standard an import licence for receipt of the newsprint. According to the Standard’s account, the newsprint arrived in the country unknown to the Standard and before it could apply for a licence: ‘The Express - like so many of our friends and well-wishers - want our paper to continue and may be excused for not complying with [regulations] which they were not familiar’ (CANA, 19/8/89 - in Weekly Gleaner/September). Nation Publishing which publishes the Barbados Nation and sister organs was among other participating publishers. The nature of its contribution is partly explained by Editor Anthony Gilkes:

We were involved in helping them to set up ...based on our experience... We also had technical staff... who helped to train their people... (Interview, 22/6/88)

What we have evidenced here is an example of the formal corporate with insertions of the informal. Whereas the example does not fall directly within the periods of the 1972-80 FNP administration and the Grenada Revolution, like others which have, and will be mentioned, it usefully points to the capitalist process at work. A special note on the wall of Nation Publishing’s reception area reads:

This panel made of Trinidad stone, is dedicated to our friends at the Trinidad Express in appreciation of their encouragement and... assistance in these first years.

September 1977

As will be observed later, one of the off-shoots was that Express' General Manager/Managing Director became a member of Nation Publishing's Board of Directors and held these positions in Trinidad and Barbados until he became a Trinidad and Tobago Cabinet Minister in 1986 under the centre-right NAR Government. This is related to inter-corporate unity - particularly relevant at the level of the press for us here - locally-regionally and what Reid (1977) saw as retention of a diffuse but real political power on the part of the corporate capitalist interests in his analysis of Jamaica.
Figure 6(ii): Ownership and directorship interlocks between Caribbean publishing houses and related companies, 1970s-1980s

NOTE: CANA was deliberately omitted because it would have rendered the network somewhat more intricate. It must be borne in mind at the same time that it would make for a more comprehensive and emphatic statement.

SOURCE: Various annual reports, etc.

The direct formal corporate relationships between the major newspapers and their respective companies at the local-regional level have not been by any means exhausted as yet. Figure 6(ii), which will be returned to later, demarcates at least the bare bones of the broad relationships in taking into account direct and indirect formal corporate arrangements concerning ownership, and directorships and so on, mentioned earlier, but omitting associational arrangements. Bear in mind that the complex of information covers different years and several years during the 1970s-1980s.

Trinidad Publishing (the Guardian), as explained earlier, shared directorships with its 'cousin' publishing house, the Advocate Company (Advocate-News) at least from the time of parent McEnearney Alstons' acquisition of the latter, but even prior to the 1983 acquisition McAl was closely linked with these organizations, and indeed, both were simultaneously under Thomson parentage. The Board of Trinidad Publishing included as Chairman, J. B. Stollmeyer (at least for 1978 through to 1989 from available data) of landed and commercial interests and a director of T. Geddes Grant Ltd. 55

55 It is one of the largest Trinidad conglomerates, and was started in 1901 (advert., Trinidad and Tobago Yearbook 1955: 5).
This is a useful juncture at which to pause over a question which has been implicitly substantiated in much of our discussion in this chapter and elsewhere in this study. Theoretically and in reality, capitalists are keenly interested in profits, profit levels, and the general climate which may adversely affect the rate or extent of returns on investment. Perceived or demonstrable instability in the national, regional, or global economy is generally greeted with displeasure but frequently also, at least subjectively, with a modicum of hope. Capitalists are hardly interested in achieving a profit for its own sake. It is part of the essence of survival and expansion of businesses which engages the capitalist and in which the capitalist owner or representative will be actively involved. Political upheavals and social unrest which may be good news for the news-hungry journalist are bad news for the capitalist entrepreneur. Shortage of foreign exchange which determines whether vital raw materials (e.g., as newsprint) can be purchased, political or social policy initiatives which restrict 'free enterprise' impact upon businesses in various ways and attract the capitalist's wrath.

Geddes Grant itself offers a window but the publishing houses and/or conglomerates with specific and substantial media holdings (those for which data are available) are most relevant to us. It has been abundantly illustrated that Caribbean newspaper publishing houses (and some other media) are closely integrated within the wider local and local-regional corporate network. This situation of press within corporate exposes it to similar constraints or repercussions, and to other constraints more specific to the nature of its operations and of cultural production. It is useful to bear in mind, of course, that loss-making newspapers or newspaper houses existing within larger companies or conglomerates may nevertheless survive for many years within the protective embrace of such parent organizations.

T. Geddes Grant had 48 subsidiaries and associated companies in 1983 (Trinidad base, 17; Jamaica, 14; Grenada, 3; Barbados, 5; Guyana, 2; St. Vincent, 1; and the United Kingdom, 6). Mergers and restructuring held the figure at 47 in 1986 as the company further consolidated its position from its origin as 'Commission Merchants and Manufacturers Agents'. The 1978 Annual Report noted that despite devaluations of the Jamaican dollar and the fact that several companies went into receivership or liquidation as a result of being 'unable to survive the economic turmoil', the Jamaican subsidiaries/associates 'produced a very substantial increase in profits' (1978: 7-8). Huggins Grenada did well - in fact, 'highly satisfactory with both sales and profits rising to record levels...Our Buyrite Supermarket operation also reported record sales and profits.' That was during the twilight of the Gairy/GULP era. It is instructive to note that the Editor/Publisher of the Voice joined Geo F. Huggins in 1956 and became a director in 1966, maintaining that position through the 1970s, and for much of that time held a second directorship in Buyrite Discount Ltd. and Subsidiaries (see, e.g., Personaliies Caribbean 1977-78). 56

The 1983 picture for Jamaica was substantially unchanged in overall terms as regards profits for Jamaica compared to 1978. Neal & Massy's itself, through its 1977 annual report pronounced a different picture of Jamaica around the late 1970s: 'The serious economic situation in Jamaica has adversely affected our operations there' and 'losses were incurred' (1977: 8). Geddes Grant reported on 1982 performance: 'at the attributable level, the profits of our Jamaican

56Arrested in 1981 for counter-revolutionary activity, he admits opposition to the PRG, and states that given the opportunity this would have been vested through the Voice during the regime's tenure (Interview, 7/88).
companies almost doubled' (Annual Report: 12) but for Grenada, the situation was mixed and ominous. The company's Chairman, C. Allan Forbes noted that throughout the year,

the political climate continued to depress not only the tourist industry, but the economy in general. Consequently, Geo F. Huggins & Co. (Grenada) Limited suffered a sharp decline in its operating profits. Fortunately, this decline was sharply offset by increased profits from our supermarket, Boyrite Discount, and a significant increase in our share of the earnings of our associate company in the flour milling field, Caribbean Agro Industries Limited.

Following the U.S.-led intervention, the political climate has changed dramatically, and the economic assistance pledged to Grenada by the U.S.A. together with the keen interest shown by prospective investors in tourism and other fields, augers well for Grenada's economic future...I wish to express, on behalf of the Geddes Grant Group, our appreciation to our management and staff who, throughout the ordeal, did their utmost to protect the interest of the Group (1983: 12).

During 1983 the process of concentration saw an arrangement with the conglomerate which owns Trinidad Publishing/the Guardian and the Advocate Company/Advocate-News. Joint investments and mergers are frequent phenomena linking several companies and particularly conglomerates. McEnearney Alstons Chairman announced (Report 1983):

...during the course of the year, McEnearney Alstons Insurance Brokers Ltd. was appointed Insurance Broker for Geddes Grant/Huggins Group of Companies, and this group acquired a shareholding in the equity of McEnearney Alstons Insurance Brokers Limited. Mr. J. R. Gammon...of the Geddes Grant/Huggins Group was appointed to the Board of Directors (Report & Accounts 1983: 5).

Geddes Grant's Grenada group had 'a satisfactory' 1986. The company, however, lamented the introduction of V.A.T. which contributed to reduction in sales and margins, and 'the strength of the yen' which 'had a negative effect on sales in our Motor Division."

As we have seen, capitalists are affected and consciously respond to movements within the broader economic and political contexts. Geddes Grant Group stated that in 1986 the Grenadian economy benefited from higher activity in construction, increased cruise ship arrivals and record export prices for nutmeg and cocoa. Moreover, national industrial and commercial capital is not consistently hostile to foreign capital - perhaps especially after capital has been under attack:

With a number of foreign investors proposing to locate manufacturing plants in Grenada in 1987, prospects both for the economy as a whole and our Grenada Group in particular look good (Annual Report, 1986: 8). Further, in 'what must be the sharpest decline in the economy ever experienced, our performance here in Trinidad and Tobago improved significantly in the year to 30th September, 1986' and Group sales increased 30% over the previous year to T$647,448,000 and profit, 79.5% to T$22,469,000 before deduction of Tax and Exceptional Item.' In Jamaica 'profits were more than double those of the previous year.'

The Gleaner advised in one annual report that: 'The profitability of our Group largely depends on the state of the economy. The Government and the International Monetary Fund...have recently concluded a new agreement which includes measures designed to cut back on the heavy demand for foreign currency. The Jamaican dollar has been further devalued...and interest rates will likely rise. These measures will have the effect of depressing business activity' (Annual Report 1989: 5).
The report over the signature of Chairman and Managing Director Oliver Clarke also referred to the introduction, in March 1989, of cost-cutting new inking technology which improved the print quality of the company's publications (p.5). Overall, it was a positive year, with profits increased to $19.4 million on a Group turnover of $151.2 million 'due largely to increased prices for Advertising and Circulation' (p.3) (see previous chapter). In addition, no industrial stoppages occurred. 'There was therefore a nil cost for industrial action for 1989' (p.4).

The theme is generally similar if we take Neal and Massy's annual report. The fact that the same year (1989) is the one we take into account is not the crucial factor but rather that factor is the unity of themes. True, capitalists are not identical in terms of their experiences, or ideological outlook even though the differences are to be seen as marginal rather than fundamental. Pages 3-7 of Neal and Massy's 1989 Annual Report were occupied by details of an interview (similar format in 1988) of, and accompanying photograph of Chairman and Chief Executive, W. S. Knox. It is an interview about the performance of the national economy (Trinidad's) in the fiscal year 1989:

There are clear signs that the national economy is now pointed in the right direction...We are still a long way from recovery, but this was the year when signs of recovery really began to emerge in earnest (1989: 3).

He was 'satisfied with the Group's 1989 performance, profits having increased from $16 million in 1988 to $29 million in 1989, and many operating companies within the Group had reported 'substantially improved results.' Thus:

This is very encouraging, and it shows that our policies in the last few years, the years of real difficulty, were the right ones...Now we are beginning to reap the benefits. I am confident that the Neal & Massy Group will return to the levels of profitability it enjoyed in the past (1989: 4).

The 'two-fold strategy for 1990' included, on the one hand, consolidation - 'reduce our total debt', tighter revenue control, 'dispose of unprofitable investments', 'aggressive marketing' - and on the other, be in readiness for 'the increased consumer demand and private sector investment that will accompany the return of dynamism and growth in the national economy' (p.6). He referred to the need for improved infrastructure which has suffered negatively from 'firm control on public expenditure in recent years', the need for the issue of the Aliens Landholding Act to be 'swiftly resolved', and for the 'Government...to continue its deliberate plan to deal with crime' (p.6). Gone is the age of the heartless capitalist. The programme for national recovery also has to have 'a human face. The poor and the underprivileged in our society have taken a great deal of strain during the 1980's and there needs to be continued commitment to caring for them' (p.7). Competitor McEnnery Alstons seems to have more than matched that altruism with a range of community, self-help and other projects to which it had contributed and would be 'expanding the activities' of its 'charitable Foundation in the year ahead' (1989: 19).

McAL's Group Chairman Anthony Sabga stated that he was pleased about 1989 results 'within the context of low levels of national economic activity during the year...The Board of

57 In earlier discussion we came across some of the sorts of constraints affecting the Gleaner in earlier years and will not trace those.

58 Apparently an internal interview. The interviewer is not identified.
Directors recommends a dividend of $0.10 per ordinary stock unit which would be paid in 1990, 'if approved by stockholders at the Annual General Meeting' (1989: 16). The Chairman also referred to deteriorating national infrastructure, and looked forward to legislation to replace the Alien's (Landholding) Ordinance which needed 'urgent review...if foreign capital is to be effectively attracted' (1989: 16). A report from outgoing (April, 1990) Group Chief Executive Joseph Esau centred on the 'significant operating Companies' within the Group (1989: 21). Earlier, we encountered Radio Trinidad with which McAl hoped for 'a long and profitable association' (p.25).

The low level of economic activity combined with a further devaluation in 1988 and limited foreign exchange, affected all our operations' (Chairman’s Review, Annual Report 1988: 3).

In that report that Chairman also welcomed the Government’s agreement with the IMF and elaborated:

We feel that this development was necessary to circumvent a major foreign exchange crisis, further unemployment and economic collapse...Ultimately, the effect of opening up the economy will be good for all citizens and for the free-enterprise system which rewards hard work and initiative...

The settlement of long outstanding disputes shows a new realism by our management and unions...Success...has not been uniform as several unions appear to have a historical or ideological distrust of participation (1988: 3; see also 1989: 27/Esau).

To continue with our discussion of the local-regional context I wish to return to T. Geddes Grant (TGG) and Jamaica Mutual to further illustrate some of the other specific dynamics which underpin the basic relationships as illustrated partly in Figure 6(ii) for the broad Anglophone Caribbean. Financial institutions, as amply illustrated, have an important place within the momentum and action within the broader economic and political factors which help to structure corporate policy making, planning and direction.

Let us take another key member of the Board of T. Geddes Grant Ltd., Roy Collister, the Managing Director (again, at least from 1978 - also president of CAIC, 1989) who we met earlier - and here we enter into secondary linkages or indirect interlocks vis-a-vis the publishing houses. The validity of charting links/interlocks over several years is somewhat emphasized by the fact that five of the nine Royal Bank Jamaica Ltd. directors for 1974 were on the bank's Board in 1984, 1986 and 1987. These saw the bank's transition from Royal Bank of Canada (RBC) to Royal Bank Jamaica (RBJ) and to Mutual Security Bank (MSB). The earlier transition to RBJ in 1971 (see, e.g., Annual Report, 1987) appears to have been a response to a JLP-inspired 'Jamaicanization' policy. Interlocked on the Board through key members were TGG (through its Managing Director, Roy Collister), the Gleaner (R. G. Ashenheim), Desnoes and Geddes, and others attached to the RBC. (see, Annual Report 1987; Stock Market Review 1974-1984; Stock Exchange Year-book 1986).

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59 He resigned in the early 1990s when majority holdings in TGG were acquired by one of the other major conglomerates.

60 11 members comprised the Board in 1984 and 1986, and 10 in 1987.

61 One of the two largest shareholders in CCI/Daily News of the 1970s.
In 1987, MSB's 10-member Board included as Chairman, the Gleaner Company's continuing Vice-Chairman, R. G. Ashenheim as well as a Desnoes & Geddes director (M. A. Vicens); the President of Mutual Life; and a director (and chairman of at least two subsidiaries) of Trinidad-based Neal and Massy Holdings in the 1980s (Annual Report). Earlier, we saw that the situation had not changed fundamentally for 1989. Neal and Massy's perennial Chairman, Sidney Knox, like other corporate principals, has favoured the type of political climate notably sympathetic to business. Thus:

...with the advent of the Seaga government and with the results of the elections in some governments in the eastern Caribbean, I believe that the climate has never been better for private sector involvement (Interview, Daily Gleaner, 21/3/82).

Neal and Massy interlocks directly with Trinidad Express Newspapers which itself, as we have seen, has interlocked with Nation Publishing and CCI/Daily News (from 1973), and held equity in the Grenada Publishers (Torchlight).

If we advance another step and examine the Board of Mutual Life (referred to above) for 1987 (Mutual Affair, Vol.1, Dec. 1987: 3), the increasing mutuality of the corporate arrangement in the Anglophone Caribbean becomes clearer, and this is in spite of the suggestion that "we're going to go on, year after year, isolating ourselves and not treating fellow Caribbean companies or people as they should be treated in terms of investment in our country" (Neal & Massy's Chairman, Knox, Gleaner interview, 21/3/82; see also McAl Annual Report 1989: 3). This veteran corporate executive, as head of the large regional conglomerate and employer of 9,000 workers then, was referring to Trinidad and he did not feel that this was deliberate government policy but was rather based on outdated laws. A change was on the horizon. Speaking in Jamaica on September 20, 1989, Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister A. N. R. Robinson told reporters that the Alien and Landholding Act had been discussed at CARICOM summit level and was up for priority consideration. The liberalization effort would enable Caribbean nationals to purchase shares in new public companies in Trinidad (see, e.g., The Weekly Gleaner, 10/10/89: 20). The law was later changed.

The complex direct interlocks on the 15-member Mutual Life Board (17, if Chairman and President are added) included, among other organizations, the Gleaner Company, Neal and Massy/Trinidad Express Newspapers, the Kaiser Bauxite Company and the Jamaica Banana Producers Association among others, and the public sector Urban Development Corporation (Jamaica).

62 To note again: Jamaica Mutual Life Assurance Society - advertised as the largest insurance company in the Caribbean for some time in the 1970s. Current placings were not clear at the time of writing but the comparatively youthful Life of Jamaica (incorporated November, 1969) has expanded rapidly over the years. In 1990, for instance, an LOJ subsidiary (Global Life) entered into an agreement to purchase the Caribbean/Atlantic operations of the Canadian-owned Manufacturers Life Insurance Company. The new acquisition has branches in the Bahamas, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Puerto Rico, and Barbados. LOJ's equity investment was given as US$15 million (J$105 million) (Weekly Gleaner, 26/6/90: 7). Cf. Daily Nation, 12/6/90.

63 According to McAl's Chairman, Anthony Sabga: 'There is a need to expedite the long awaited review of the Company Ordinance and amendment of the Alien Landholding Act' (1989: 3).
Among many other direct and indirect interlocks, NCC, the principal corporate owner of CCI/Daily News of the 1970s, was represented (P. H. O. Rousseau) on the four-man Board of Neal and Massy (Jamaica) Ltd. in 1974 along with the Neal and Massy Chairman (W. S. Knox) and another representative of the conglomerate’s Board (K. S. Gittens) (Neal & Massy, Annual Report 1974). Jack Ashenheim of the Gleaner and of the Caribbean Cement Company of the 1970’s Ashenheim family was listed as a director of Trinidad and Tobago Insurance Ltd. (data 1980, 1983, 1986), a subsidiary of McEnearney Alstons (58.8% - 1983, 1986). The connection here has had a history dating back to 1963, as we saw earlier, when Alstons 'joined forces' with T. Geddes Grant Ltd., the Insurance Company of Jamaica Ltd. (ICJ), Caribbean Development Company Ltd., Spencer J. Kirton Ltd., and Wilson and Johnson Ltd. (see, e.g., McAl Focus, 100th Anniversary Issue). Victor Stollmeyer, a relative of J. B. Stollmeyer of the Board of Trinidad Publishing and like him, a member of the T. Geddes Grant Board (from data, at least 1970s-1980s) was appointed President of the McEnearney Alstons Foundation in 1980 (see, e.g., Report & Accounts 1980: 6).

Listed among ICJ Board members with Ashenheim was J. D. Sellier, a director of McEnearney Alstons Ltd. and whose firm J. D. Sellier and Co. was listed as company solicitors for both McEnearney Alstons and Neal and Massy64 (see, e.g., Neal & Massy Holdings, Report & Accounts [various]). It is instructive to note also that the Board for 1980 included among the seven members, R. G. Rostant, simultaneously a director of Trinidad Publishing, publishers of the Guardian and sister publications. These three men remained directors in 1983 but by 1986 both Sellier and Rostant, directors of the parent conglomerate relinquished these directorships but were widely spread throughout various other subsidiaries. Others with Ashenheim continuing, included Victor Mouttet (a member of the McAL parent Board), as Chairman, and simultaneously, also a director of Trinidad Publishing.

We have to bear in mind that such interlocks and relationships do not simply and only arise because company decision-makers desire extensions of their network - although this is a part of the process - but because cost/efficiency-based factors such as the need to maximize management resources and information, as well as political and social realities condition these relationships, policy making and direction. The TGG Group, for example, restructured the management of sections of its Jamaica Group for better results, and major companies have expanded to preserve profit margins. Moreover, although, as the Neal and Massy top executive indicated above, there are barriers, and the experience of goods being delayed at local-regional ports would imply discontinuities, the CARICOM agreement has facilitated concentration.

Corporate concentration has meant concentration in cultural resources, particularly the newspaper press, but recall that Nation Publishing, and Trinidad Publishing (through its parent, McAL), for instance, have had considerable interests in broadcasting. Additionally, the resistance of several governments to press owners’ demands for a share in broadcasting has been largely denied until the late 1980s onwards. Manifestations of privatization and liberalization through divestment moves in Jamaica and Trinidad make the situation more open for greater concentration of media resources even though caveats sometimes stress limitations on ownership. A radio station was started in Jamaica, for instance, and in 1990 a licence for a new TV station was granted a continuation of

64 In the case of Neal and Massy, 1 of 3 legal firms in 1974; and the only one in 1986.
ILP initiatives under the PNP and the general pressures of broader global privatization and liberalization currents.

Informal corporate relationships abound but, as will be evident, there is some difficulty here and there of drawing a defined conceptual separation from formal corporate relationships. Both the Gleaner and Trinidad Express provided assistance (nature not explained) to the counter-revolutionary Grenada Voice 'which is an independently run newspaper, to restart its operations, after being closed down during the Bishop regime' (Gleaner Report 1983: 5; also interview, Pierre, 1988). Prior to that at least, the Gleaner's role 'in trying to protect and encourage press freedom and basic human rights within the Caribbean area' was noted:

The petition against the Government of Grenada signed on 22nd November, 1982, on behalf of your company and certain other leading newspapers within the region, before the Inter American Commission continues. Whilst Prime Minister Maurice Bishop did not hold free elections, he did release certain political prisoners. Your Company has editorially and otherwise condemned the brutal assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and will continue to pressure the new regime to hold an early election (Report, 1983: 4; see also 1984: 3).

The notion of newspapers as "watchdogs" for the public is clear. Of course, the question could always be asked: What public? However, that is not for specific discussion here, and much of the answer would be implied in this study.

Nation Publishing also, at least in informal corporate terms, assisted the Stabroek News in its starting up process, as we saw. The Gleaner, in the main crisis years of the Daily News' existence is known to have loaned newspaper even as the Gleaner's financial position was not at its healthiest during the national and broader global economic crisis.

6.10 Consolidation through associational linkages

Having addressed some of the elements of formal corporate and informal corporate arrangements, let us now consider briefly the horizons of the associational. A scan of Personalities Caribbean 1977-1978 and 1982-1983 further showed owning strata and major managers (non-journalists) as also together in the range of elite clubs from the 'yacht' clubs to the 'country' and 'golf' through to 'polo' and 'tennis'. Whereas these have a certain ruling/upper or upper middle 'classiness' about them (viewed from the angle of membership), the likes of the Lions, Jaycees and Rotary exhibit more of an aspiring middle class aura and tended to be far less frequently listed than the other type of clubs. This meeting point exists for Jamaica, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados and casual attention to other Anglophone Caribbean countries suggest that they too embraced counterparts of these bodies. Personalities Caribbean 1982-83, provided for elite clubs (the first group - golf, etc.), thirty-nine appearances among eleven of the Gleaner's twelve directors (including the honorary chairman) who were listed in the 1983 annual report. The Editor-in-Chief who retired from that post in 1977 after half-a-century's service to the company and who later joined the board - the twelfth director - was not shown to be a member of any of the elite clubs. His successor who joined the board while serving as editor was represented. A few were also members of masonic lodges. In the case of Trinidad Publishing, for instance, only five of the total of eight

65The Gleaner lost out to another tender.
directors could be located in the journal and four of these accounted for 12 memberships in such clubs; one, the editor, had no listing. Among those who held memberships, the Managing Director held seven, and the rest were distributed on the basis of two, two, and one. Membership in specifically economic associational groupings (e.g., local chambers of commerce, employers' groups, and umbrellas versions of these and others) were commonly in evidence among board level principals' memberships (excluding editors who were represented on boards). Let us take the listings for the same year and extract certain key executives - four in number (a chairman/managing director, and three managing directors) - in the three principal media markets central in this study. Outside of core corporate directorships two were directors of CANA; all were members of the CPBA - ranging from President to Management Committee member; and all were members of two or more 'corporate' clubs which included:

Barbados Employers' Confederation
Building Societies Association of Jamaica
Employers' Consultative Association (Trinidad)
Incorporated Chambers of Commerce of the West Indies
Jr Chamber of Commerce
Private Sector Organization of Jamaica
Trinidad Chamber of Commerce
Trinidad Manufacturers' Association

Other memberships - cultural - listed included the Commonwealth Press Union (CPU) (2), Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) (2), World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) and Caribbean Press Council (CPC). The four corporate/publishing executives also accounted for fourteen memberships in elite clubs, distributed as follows: seven, three, two, and two. Certain elite or originally elite educational institutions also came into the picture but an examination of these could not be accommodated here.

More specifically interesting for this study is that several associations have been formed local-regionally, regionally, hemispherically, and globally to represent media interests and generally, as forums for discussion among media officials. In some cases membership includes principals of the media houses whereas in other cases, the members may be the media houses themselves.

Major Caribbean media principals were members of the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association (CPBA) which has met at intervals and has included among its directors, the Board members of media houses. At a November 1974 meeting in St. Lucia members welcomed, for the first time, an editor, J. C. Proute of the Daily News (also a director then) to the management committee. The CPBA was formed in 1970 to address issues of 'press freedom' but later became involved as well in the formation of CANA and limited eventual CANA membership and shareholding to the original members of the Association (see, e.g., CANA Memorandum). As we observed earlier, to date CANA had only two chairmen in a decade and a half of existence up to the start of the 1990s when a third replaced the second. Both of the two first chairmen, corporate owner/executives

66 This was related to a resolution to rename the body Caribbean Publishing and Broadcasting Association 'to give scope for broader representation within the media.' Kenneth Gordon [Express] was unanimously re-elected president; Tom Sherman [Gleaner] was re-elected vice-president; and among other elections to the management committee were Mark Cowper [Trinidad Publishing/Guardian], and Neville Grosvenor [Advocate] (Advocate News, 18/11/74: 1).
(Kenneth Gordon and Oliver Clarke) have, at other times held key posts in the various associational bodies.

The Caribbean Press Council has had membership among media principals and their organizations as have the decades-old CPU, and the IAPA. The IAPA, for instance, has a very sweeping role as its alleged objectives tend to indicate. In part the organization states among its lofty objectives:

...to guard the freedom of the press in the Americas, to promote and maintain the dignity, rights and responsibilities of the profession of journalism; to foster a wider knowledge and greater interchange among the peoples of the Americas (South America, Central America and the Caribbean 1986; see also Encyclopaedia of Associations 1984: 1217).

Cable News Network (CNN), Atlanta-based (USA) and dominant in Eastern Caribbean television content was admitted as an associate member of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) in 1988 (CANA/Sunday Express, 26/6/88: 69). The activities of the WPFC, based in the United States, also embraced the Caribbean. As one newspaper editor stated, the Managing Director of Trinidad Express Newspapers became the chief WPFC spokesperson in the Caribbean, and his counterpart at the Gleaner Co. also 'joined the bandwagon.' The Anglophone Caribbean corporate media sector has had all these organizations and others through which they ostensibly and allegedly seek to protect and advance 'press freedom', but the evidence suggests that the alleged mission is founded in more fundamental desires - to sustain a stable and desirable political and social climate for the preservation of economic interests and power.

Bear in mind that many individual directors or companies continued to be members of the usual chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, employers' federations, an even larger umbrella for Jamaica such as the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ), and further afield, a Caribbean Employers' Federation and the Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce (CAIC). Service clubs such as the Rotary, Jaycees and Kiwanis proliferating from the USA in their various local, regional and international chapters are also ever present. When the then Gleaner Editor, Dudley Stokes gave the 'key-note address' at the weekly luncheon meeting of the Kiwanis Club of Kingston representatives of the Gleaner Co., the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC), Radio Jamaica Ltd., and the Jamaica Information Service 'were presented with plaques in appreciation of their contribution to freedom of speech in Jamaica' (Weekly Gleaner, 1/9/87: 21). Although this last link seems tenuous, it appears to contribute to the process of consolidation.

Journalists' organizations in the region tend to be far less cohesive than publishers' and corporate executives' - a factor not unrelated to the tendency for capitalists to be more united than the working class.⁶⁷ Even when working journalists effected a 'coup' to displace executive level editors and subsequently broadened the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ) from the late 1970s (by effecting a mild electoral 'coup') to include a wider range of cultural (beyond 'writers') workers, the Association itself was subsequently highly polarized, in a sense the epitome of the polarization nationally. In the aftermath of the PNP/Manley demise and the 1983 invasion of Grenada the left itself apparently lost cohesion locally and local-regionally - a factor symptomatic of the larger global

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⁶⁷ This is not to state that journalists are even for the most part working class.
tendency. The vibrant press association in Jamaica of the late 1970s to the early 1980s declined around the mid-1980s and attempts at its revitalization in the late 1980s apparently met with some success by the end of the 1980s to the start of the 1990s in a somewhat modified political context. An association in Grenada had an elected executive (president being editor/publisher, the Grenadian Voice) but was not then meeting but it had at least a nominal existence at least to 1991. St. Lucia started an association in the 1980s and Trinidad and Tobago, starting from an association that faded in the 1970s attempted a regrouping later. A member of the Media Association of Trinidad and Tobago (MATT) stated in his Sunday Express column:

> MATT, if its doing anything, has taken up the baton dropped by JATT [assumed to be the Journalists Association of Trinidad and Tobago] and is pounding the turf in another lap of the marathon trek to build a solid community organisation for journalists and related media people. In the four years since we held the inaugural meeting, we haven’t succeeded in building MATT into such an organisation (8/9/91: 8). [Enclosures in squared brackets added.]

The Barbados Association of Journalists (BAJ) continued to be active as late 1980s and start of the 1990s (see, e.g., CANA report, Weekly Gleaner, 14/11/89: 20, etc.). A Caribbean umbrella group, CAMWORK, was initiated in the 1980s and indications are that it has maintained a considerable momentum in its activity.

6.11 Press, media, politics

The press is not only structured by broad political and economic factors but also operates through processes of mediation, legitimation and reproduction and through these impact upon, as it is itself affected by the course of events and processes. Its principals are also embraced by parties, politicians and the state to participate centrally at times in the management of change such as there is. Often such recruitment and participation derive from the key role played by economic sector principals. We saw earlier that the Managing Director (also a major shareholder) of Express Newspapers, for instance, assumed a Cabinet post from the end of 1986.

In earlier discussion, the continuity of certain major families in the corporate sector as well as in state sector organizations in one of the case countries, Jamaica was noted. The process continues and is facilitated by governments and the state. The PNP government under Michael Manley of the 1970s, not only ‘bent over backwards’ to the ‘patriotic’ sections of capital but to other sections as well, and as has been argued elsewhere in this thesis the actions of capitalist interests within general constraints were a prime factor in the demise of that administration in 1980. Both the Daily News and the Gleaner publications benefited directly from PNP Government loan initiatives in the early 1970s.

The PNP having being returned to power under Michael Manley as Prime Minister, appointed initially for one year, a new Board for the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). 68

68 St. Lucia’s association of journalists, formed in the 1980s, was among those which continued to be active in the early 1990s.

69 Then the country’s only television station (a licence was granted in 1990 for another), and a radio station.
Among the ten members were two members of traditional ruling class families and a key JLP operative of the 1970s (see, e.g., JIS News Update, week ending 17/2/89). As we can observe the new government’s approach to the media has helped to preserve the position of major capitalist interests and, in large measure, amounts a continuation JLP policies.

Manley said that the Government would ‘retain the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation’s (JBC’s) main radio and television stations, but’ would ‘proceed with the sale of the three regional stations - Radio West, Radio Central and Radio North East’ (JIS News Update, weeks ending 30/6/89 & 7/7/89: 7). In addressing the board of directors of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce on September 19, 1989, Manley is reported to have stated that a principal reason why he did not wish to divest the JBC was based upon a desire to counter the influx of foreign soap operas (The Weekly Gleaner, 3/10/89: 18). Minister of Information and Culture Paul Robertson told the Senate on September 29, regarding the Government’s news and media policy, that divestment of the JBC would be ultra vires, and that there would be a refund on downpayment already made on Radio One by the New Radio Company of Jamaica.70 (The Weekly Gleaner, 10/10/89: 10).

A September 5, 1989 report from JAMPRESS (the national news agency) stated that one Jamaica’s regional (local) radio stations. Radio West, had been acquired by Western Broadcasting Service (WBS), a company which is backed by Montego Bay (the second city) businessmen. Under its licences, WBS will have the option to broadcast nationally after four years (see, The Weekly Gleaner, 17/10/89: 17). The decision to divest the three internal regional radio stations under the JBC had originated under the JLP Government in the late 1980s and by the end of the 1980s, in addition to the two major long-standing national stations - Radio Jamaica and JBC - there were KLAS Radio, Radio WAVE, and Radio IRIE, FM stations centred in towns outside of Kingston (see, e.g. Weekly Gleaner, 20/11/90: 25).

In his statement, Manley was also reported as stating that steps had been taken ‘to ensure that JBC-TV and radio’ (the public sector national network) ‘would become truly national entities’ without ‘partisan political control or manipulation...’ (JIS News Update). Like the JLP, the PNP administration set limits on ownership, and according to Robertson:

We...have no objection to owners of radio investing in TV, subject to the 10% limit... (The Weekly Gleaner, 10/10/89: 10).

Additionally, he stated, the Government had no objection to owners of the print media investing in the electronic media, providing that it was a minority non-controlling interest.

In Barbados, reports which also told of Prime Minister Sandiford’s pledge not to privatize government-owned Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation’s (CBC’s) radio and television facilities in Barbados (Caribbean Times, 27/10/89: 6). In 1990, a poll conducted for Nation Publishing Company found that over 50 per cent of 1,015 respondents supported the retention of state ownership of seven enterprises, including CBC. However, taken by itself CBC’s privatization was favoured by 41 per cent. The University of the West Indies researcher, Patrick Emmanuel who carried out the poll concluded that: ‘The general level of support for state enterprises suggests that

70 Owned by an 11-company syndicate including REPS Ltd., headed by Hector Wynter, Gleaner Editor until the mid-1980s.
there is no strong ideological opposition to the notion of state ownership. Nevertheless, Opposition parties in Barbados have said that they would privatize loss-making state enterprises if they won the general elections which were expected in 1991 (Caribbean Times, 13/11/90: 8). These parties generally expressed this same commitment in policy documents dating from at least the mid-1980s, as I found when examining these during fieldwork in 1988.

Grenada’s Press Association President Leslie Pierre (Editor/Publisher of the Grenadian Voice), in 1990 stated that he welcomed with reservation, the passage of legislation transferring responsibility for the publicly owned media resources (radio and television) in Grenada from central government to a proposed statutory body (Caribbean Times, 20/11/90: 9). This government action could be a structured and gradual approach to media liberalization/privatization and Pierre might have perceived it as such.

Beyond the media, Eli Matalon, a Cabinet Minister in the first Manley administration of 1972-1976 and a member of one of the leading capitalist families, was appointed to the post of Executive Chairman of a state sector body, the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica (PETROJAM) following the February elections of 1989 (see, e.g.. The Voice [Britain], 30/5/89: 9). The leading member of that family and the ICD conglomerate, Mayer Matalon, as we saw in earlier discussion continued as TOJ Chairman into the 1990s, and so on. This is, of course, quite compatible with the programme of retreat from the ‘Democratic Socialist’ commitments of the 1970s but more a factor in maintaining liaison with long-standing pro-PNP capitalists.

If politically/ideologically moderate governments and the state frequently reinforce or consolidate the corporate sector’s position (sometimes based on objective structural realities and subjective human agency) it is not that this process is independent of the direct requests of capitalists concerned about the needs of their businesses. We implied this earlier in dealing with Neal and Massy. McEnearney Alison’s Chairman, in the 1983 Report & Accounts, anticipated ‘difficult’ years ahead for business in Trinidad and Tobago, and cautioned that in order to avoid ‘serious economic decline, the Government must increasingly involve the private sector in concerted efforts to create the right climate for investment and to raise productivity’ and:

One most important aspect of Government action must be to reduce its recurrent expenditure and substantial losses in the Public Utilities and State Enterprises, even if it means the closure of some and the turning over of others to the Private Sector (Report & Accounts 1983: 6).

A long-standing director of Express Newspapers and Neal and Massy Holdings, Neil Lau as a former president of the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce desired among developments in the Chamber’s future: ‘that the Chamber be involved with influencing and advising the Government on the direction the country should take...’ (cited in anniversary supplement: 10a - in Caribbean People, June 1979 & early 1990s media reports). The Gleaner Co. has consistently pressed (see, e.g.. Report 1962, & 1987) its demands over the years for a share of the television and broadcasting cake in Jamaica but without direct tangible success, as we have observed, just like counterparts in Trinidad, and Barbados.

71 Matalon resigned in late 1991 over special customs duties exemptions granted to Shell (West Indies), one of the major petroleum marketing companies operating in Jamaica. A Cabinet reshuffle also took place in the political crisis arising from the waivers.
The relationship between the media and the state need not be that direct in all its echelons. As we noted earlier, the Gleaner publishes a newspaper for school children which by the company's own admission is a 'favourite with advertisers interested in grooming young customers of the future, while capturing the attention of parents' (Gleaner family of Publications, 1984: 15). This would tie in snugly with Dallas Smythe's (1980) view that the media's main function under capitalism is to prepare and present the audience to capitalist advertisers (see, also, e.g., Jhally, 1989). Smythe's alignment, as we observed, is useful but there are problems with that sort of assumption which will become clearer in later discussion but for the moment we must resist the temptation to elaborate.

The consolidation and the engagement of successive political administrations for the requirements of capital are far from unclear. Capitalists do not need to manage political affairs themselves but they will be at least receptive to the 'proper' climate which they frequently demand or work towards, or which is prepared for them. An observation by Mattelart about France, is relevant. 'Banished from the editorial offices, politics is today making its entry at the top through boards of directors.' Further, '...despite resistance, they [TNC's] demand to take over the functions of the state for themselves, placing communications strategies at the centre of political demand' (1984: 59). Moreover:

Previously, firms saw themselves as the standard bearers of an apoliticism which delegated all social functions to the invisible hand of the market. Today, the privatisation process is...transforming them into pressure groups with new social responsibilities and political concerns (1984: 60).

'During the Gleaner's 150th anniversary celebrations in 1984, the Managing Director...wanted to do something substantial for the country.' A school textbooks project was discussed with the then Minister of Education 'and the project was started with the assistance of other private sector firms and international lending agencies' (Weekly Gleaner, 11/11/86: 25). The news item continued, quoting the Minister:

...all I had to do after that was to encourage the international agencies to help and Mr. Clarke did the rest. The funds you give to the Primary Textbook project will create for us in the next five or six years not 53% of our children leaving Primary Schools unable to read and write but I hope 5% or less.

In the Gleaner's Report 1984, the Chairman and Managing Director (Mr. Clarke), stated that in 1984,

the Company developed a contract with the Ministry...to print and distribute 2.6 million text books [2.7 million listed in continued programme - 1987 Report] for pupils of 784 Primary and All Age schools...for the 1984/85 school year (1984: 2). [Inclusions in squared parenthesis added]

The programme continued in place at the start of the 1990s.

In Trinidad, the new private sector CNN TV6 which was scheduled for launching in mid-September 1991 had as part of its agenda the development, 'along with the television unit of the Ministry of Education, a series of children's education programmes, to be aired during school hours' (13/9/91: 2). These arrangements remind us of Murdock's observation: 'Far from replacing the pursuit of profit as Berle and Means had hoped...corporate excursions into social responsibility have become a way of pursuing this goal more efficiently in an unstable social and political climate'
Indeed, it is part of the framework which makes broad class alliances in which capitalists tend to be central seem feasible and which allow for the invocation of the 'patriotic capitalist.' Of course, even a designation such as this latter is quite unstable to the extent that it is real. For instance, the Gleaner principals would not necessarily have been examples of 'patriotic capitalists' under the 1970s PNP regime but, not unexpectedly, might well have found form in this category under the subsequent post-1980 JLP and PNP administrations.

We saw above the enlarged presence of the Leader of the Opposition JLP in Jamaica - a long-standing top politician in the country and region - within the corporate capitalist sector in the country. As several examples which have been outlined earlier suggest this link between the spheres has not been unusual locally or local-regionally. Indeed, the continuity is almost assured, as Manley, for instance, returning to power after the February general election of 1989 is reported to have said that he no longer believed that the state should interfere in areas better suited for the private sector. More pointedly:

I believe in a dynamic state...But I no longer believe that the state does best if it interferes in production (The Voice [Britain], 1/8/89: 9).

Recall also the facilitation of local and local-regional capital by the Trinidad government in the 1960s as restrictions were imposed on foreign corporate capital, and indirectly or otherwise, facilitated McAl's acquisition of Trinidad Publishing and indeed, perhaps even laid the basis for the later acquisition of substantial interests in the Advocate Company in Barbados. Moreover, in spite of the various governments' adherence to a policy of retaining control major broadcasting interests, sections of service and production have been increasingly privatized, particularly during the 1980s liberalization measures and trends.

This is not to cite press principals, journalists, and government or the state as accomplices. Individual politicians are sometimes critical of the press, and this sort of relationship tends to be mutual. The Media Association of Jamaica (MAJ), the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ), and the management of KLAS (a new radio station), in separate statements called on the PNP Government to clarify its position on press freedom, after a Junior Minister (but also Opposition spokesmen to a lesser extent) was said to have come out with statements which were threatening to the media. The Junior Minister’s statement was viewed as an attack on a prominent KLAS talk show host (9/4/91: 6). The relationship as we have seen and will observe in later discussion is quite problematic. Contentious issues arise from time to time. Jamaica's Minister of Agriculture, for instance, in closing the sectoral debate in Parliament 'strongly criticised a cartoon "in a daily newspaper," which "was a part of the current campaign to discredit Parliamentarians"' (Weekly Gleaner, 27/8/91: 8). The Minister was defending the PNP Government against criticism of salary increases for members of Parliament.

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72 Evidently, the Daily Gleaner, as at least one relevant to the issue appeared in reproductions in the Weekly Gleaner (UK).
6.12 Conclusion

This chapter has been one of the most important empirical bedrocks of the study. It seated the Anglophone Caribbean press particularly, and linked communication media, to some extent, within the major corporate capitalist sector, both in terms of ownership on a general level, and interlocking directorships which themselves are a feature of capitalist concentration and conglomereration. Newspaper publishing houses were found to be linked at various levels by participation or parent company participation in ownership, through director interlocks (directly or otherwise), and other less formal arrangements. Part of the network of different levels of cohesion was structured through formal and informal corporate, as well as associational relationships which were produced by crises or needs of various sorts as well as the result of moves by particular companies or leading executives.

Mergers, acquisitions, new directorships and indices such as profit margins (in which capitalists were keenly interested) were largely the result of the economic climate which was marked by crisis for at least some of the period under consideration. The local-regional context was also influenced by the fluctuating economic situation, and, in the case of Trinidad which had considerably increased oil wealth, recession set in during the early 1980s. The shape and direction of the corporate sector were affected, as corporate principals themselves explained in considerable detail, over and above the excerpts which could be accommodated here. The experiences of McAl and Neal & Massy of Trinidad, and the Gleaner of Jamaica which have publishing interests of varying extents have illustrated the impact and/or the potential and actual determinations of the prevailing economic context.

Importantly, it was also observed that the climate within which the press has become concentrated in local and local-regional corporate embrace has been facilitated by the nationalist drive under post-colonial ferment, and by related liberalization and privatization trends. Thus, for instance, McAl was able to acquire majority interest in Trinidad Publishing (publisher of the Guardian, etc.) as Trinidad’s PNM government introduced a development plan which redefined and limited foreign MNC ownership, and so on. In addition, we observed that not only were the commercial press and the media broadly being facilitated in such ways but state support arose in other forms. The Gleaner Co.’s textbook programme is a case in point which has considerable implications for ideological consolidation within the system.

Much of the data illustrate that wider corporate activities related to profits, management, and so on affected the operation of the press. Although on the question of control (and ownership), the study is mainly concerned with the contradictions between owners/executives, on the one hand, and journalists, on the other, the related question of dynamics within the former category was useful to our general understanding. Among the findings, for instance, notable continuity in directorships, and a fairly resolute presence of corporate owning class families in the case of the Gleaner Co. illustrated partly (when combined with other information) that even in large organizations in less advanced capitalism, ownership or an owning class has not been replaced or reduced to 'secondariness' as 'managerialists' would prefer to believe. On a few limited observations, it

73 Some observers have suggested that in large measure, oil revenues were badly administered.
appeared meanwhile that journalists were less cohesive as a group when compared with the capitalist strata.

Also evident in the data was the fact that corporate firms or principals with interests in newspaper publishing were keenly interested in the political climate, particularly as this affected the business climate, and indeed — although not in large numbers — there was evidence of class representation in, and/or relationship with the state or governmental sector. Indeed, even in these comparatively small outcrops of capitalist development such as the section of the Caribbean with which the study is centrally concerned, Useem’s assumptions about a dominant inner circle does not appear to be far-fetched. Indeed, there is perhaps more to that concept than even the author identified with it might have assumed. For instance, a ‘politically active group of directors’ may be equally evident or perhaps more evident outside of core capitalism in the North as a result of sharper political polarization and/or the more severe impact of an economic crisis (which seems to have greater incidence in poorer countries) — factors which produce leaders to defend capitalist interests and ‘advise’ government. Furthermore, such class leadership may demonstrate a tendency to heighten with increased political-ideological polarization and economic crisis. Indeed, Useem’s active group may be only the ‘softer’ end of class struggle.

It is clear that newspaper publishing of the nature that we have closely examined in the Caribbean is big business, and this implies among other factors difficulty of entry or even barriers for potential new entrants. The problem of entry and/or survival has been presented in the instance of a few newspaper publishing firms mentioned or highlighted in the study, a factor which could positively contribute — through mediating and sustaining a very narrow range of views — to reinforcing existing political and social arrangements. It is not, of course, being suggested that new entrants would necessarily and significantly broaden the range of views but that there could be a potential for widening the range and further, by a sort of multiplier effect, open other possibilities for progressive and notable political and social change.

Note, e.g., the Jamaica Record Ltd. and the response of traditional/existing capital; also the participation of newer rising business strata in introducing the Express from the ruins of the Mirror left by the King and Thomson MNCs.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MANAGEMENT OF NEWS AND OPINION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the social production of news in the Caribbean context with a view to illustrating the factors which shape the process, and the active process of negotiation which it also entails. Some critical observers account for this, as we have observed in earlier discussion. Among liberal scholars on the fringe of the critical sphere, Gerbner has pointed out, for instance, that: ‘Any enterprise may appear relatively ‘free’ from the point of view of those who run it. But in a more general sense, all mass production including that of messages, is ‘managed’; selective suppression is the other side of the mass communication coin’ (1969: 242). Of course, to the extent that this study - arising as it does from a different camp to Gerbner’s - accepts such a postulate, the caveat that much of that production as well as the management itself are structurally undercoated must be added.

The course to be pursued is charted particularly through the eyes of journalists (including some operational controllers as a general category) as well as policy level principals (allocative or strategic controllers), and supporting documentary evidence. Although the focus of the thesis is on the two case countries and the periods as outlined elsewhere, the thrust in this chapter is a general one to illustrate the sorts of constraints or pressures, and action which circumscribe cultural production in the Anglophone Caribbean context, because, central to the overall effort is an attempt to throw some light on the role of the press in this broader domain.

A reiteration of some of the categories of factors which affect news and information production is a useful starting point. To itemize: broad economic conditions of a national or international scale; financial considerations which may impose limitations on staffing levels and the configuration of events and perhaps processes which can be covered; other internal forces such as differences in interpretation of what is news, the application of organizational or news policy, general day-to-day ‘transgressions’ such as industrial action; external forces such limitations on access to news, relationships with larger parent organizations, advertisers, and politics and/or the state directly or through particular entrenched mechanisms. On the other hand, it is also subject to intervention, and interrelated conflictual relationships. All these define the mediation process and the ways in which issues centring on political and social issues are constructed for popular consumption.

Interviewees were newspaper principals (economic), top editors, and reporters. Interviews were carried out in the Caribbean in April to July, 1988 excepting one which was done earlier in England (26/2/88). Altogether, twenty-five (25) interviews of newspaper proprietors and managers, and journalists were done for two case countries (Jamaica and Grenada) plus Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados in which some of the major newspaper publishing houses in the Anglophone Caribbean are situated. The burden of this chapter is not specifically what journalists and executives

1 See Appendix 10.
thought of the PNP regime and the popular insurrection in Grenada *per se* but how news production has been fashioned in the particular context of the Anglophone Caribbean with special emphasis on relevance to political and social transformation. This, of course, takes into account the historical context, and broad conceptual and theoretical formulations outlined in Chapter Four.

7.2 Journalists, operational framework, ‘press freedom’ and the news

The approach which the journalist takes to the task of information gathering and production, his framework of understandings (say, an overarching ideology or culture), the deadlines he has to cope with, and so on are crucial factors to be looked at in arriving at an adequate understanding of the news and opinion production process and results. These will help to illustrate how explanations of response to the Manley regime and its demise, and to the Grenada insurrection were derived.

How output is shaped is partly implied by the specific social organization of news producers and production tasks. The structure may include various combinations of editors-in-chief, editors, executive editors, managing editors, associate editors, news editors, and subeditors, on the one hand. On the other hand, exist chief reporters, senior reporters, reporters, junior reporters, trainee reporters and also specialist reporters such as political reporters, industrial relations reporters, crime reporters, and education reporters who assemble most of the material which is finally processed in the newsroom for the final artifact. Frequently, staff reporters are supported by correspondents and ‘stringers’ - indeed, some firms seeking to appropriate higher profits or balance their books locate significant economies in a ratio slanting heavily in the direction of part-time staff or freelancers. George John (former Editor of Trinidad *Express* Newspapers) found a predominance of part-timers when he first started in the job as Editor at Trinidad *Express* (Interview, London, 26/2/88).

One interviewee outlined how he entered the Gleaner as assistant to the Editor-in-Chief and proceeded to be Executive Editor, and then Editor from the 1970s, and also how the newsroom was structured. A 'lot of editors' were in place but there seemed to be 'no line of command'. When he took over he abolished the title of editor-in-chief. 'It seems to me that it was better to have a line of command':

...there was no "number two". So I said, no! no! no! If I weren't in there must be somebody to act for me. [What I did] was to create a structure where I had a managing editor who was "number two". I had an executive editor who was "number three". I started out by calling them both associate editors - one was senior and the other was "number two"...An executive editor was the man who ran the Gleaner; then I had an assistant editor who ran the *Star*; and I had another assistant editor sitting at the news desk...[It is] very important to set up a hierarchical situation in an organization... (Interview, Wynter, 25/5/88)
Table 7(i): Newspaper editorial and other staff, by company and categories - 1988 (& 1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF STAFF</th>
<th>ADVOCATE</th>
<th>EXPRESS</th>
<th>GLEANER</th>
<th>NATION*</th>
<th>TRINIDAD PUBLISHING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subeditors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporters</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-office®</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freelancers</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference+</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/Secy.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (Edit’l) (Co.)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: @ Gleaner Western Bureau (located in Montego Bay to serve western parishes) - editorial staff.
+ Reference library.
* The figures for editorial staff are approximations as given by the News Editor (Interview, 22/6/88).
- Gleaner editors include various titles. Note a slight discrepancy (100 & 102) in the figures for Gleaner editorial staff in the two tables shown.
- Trinidad Express, and Trinidad Publishing figures were given January, 1990. Kurian in the World Press Encyclopaedia points out that the Guardian "in one of its largest expansion plans ever, has sunk TT$16.8 million ($US57 million) on new equipment designed to displace 100 workers" from 'a staff of over 500' (1982: 881).
- The McAl 1988 and 1989 Annual Reports show that Trinidad Publishing’s staff total has had no significant change (e.g., for 1988 it was 208). 'The company’s permanent staff totals 208, but it also works with a number of freelance reporters and photographers and guest columnists' (1988: 20). The permanent staff for 1989 was 209 (1989: 14).
- Permanent staff numbers or categories for earlier dates were unavailable for the various newspapers/companies.

SOURCE: The newspaper companies.

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²In 1988 the McAl conglomerate had 2,539 employees, not including McAl Barbados, McEnearney Motors (a new company), and the ‘small’ head office staff. Trinidad Publishing was among major employers then as in 1989. The complement for 1989 was 2,844 including McAl (Barbados) (374), but excluding the ‘small’ head office staff, and that at McEnearney Motors which was the subject of a merger forced by decline in the new vehicle sales. Alstons Building Enterprises (ABEL) had ‘heavy losses’ and began to operate a marketing company and a profit was forecasted for 1990 (1989: 21). ABEL as it was structured had more than an 80% reduction in its staff for 1988 (252) compared to 1989 (49). Alstons Marketing’s was reduced from 340 to 164 but CDC’s rose by 160, among other adjustments. (Total figures compiled from Annual Report(s) 1988 & 1989).
Some broad categories of journalists and their recent distribution in the organizations are illustrated in Table 7(i) while Table 7(ii) provides a Gleaner Company structure (see also Appendix 18) of the various participant categories which impact to different extents and in somewhat varying ways in the sifting and production of the news. Data for the 1970s and early 1980s were difficult to obtain, and those in Table 7(ii) are offered as illustrative of the nature of categories. For most of the organizations and major newspapers specifically, they are reductions on, say, 1970s figures which were profoundly characterized by structural displacements particularly as a result of the introduction of new technologies.

The Gleaner's staff categories illustrated in Table 7(ii) reflect the organization's restructuring after retrenchments based on the economic climate of the 1970s and the shift into new technology from 1975 (see, e.g., Gleaner 150th Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 3). According to Dunn, as 'a result of the introduction of computer technology at the Gleaner, starting in 1975, there has been a reduction in the staffing of the company from 860 in 1975 to some 430 presently, a phenomenal reduction of 50% in just over ten years' (1986: 19). It seems that computer technology has been responsible for most of this but the reduction would also involve other impositions arising through broad economic conditions and related structural factors.

On editor who we met above recalled that, apart from restructuring the editorial section's hierarchy in his 'tutorship', there was another factor of concern:

...the Gleaner was - the Managing Director...told us...when he took over in '77... - over-staffed. So we went through three bouts of redundancies. My job was the painful job to decide who to make redundant. Each time we offered one or two redundancies some of the best people offered to take it...Then you had to make some people redundant whom you didn't want to but you just had to do it. So we had to trim down the place and reorganize it. And, I am not sure if we did better than before...Again, in my time...we moved from the hot metal system to the cold type...And I went on courses abroad...Then in 1980 we brought in the computer, inside the editorial department...So that, we haven't done too badly...[T]he staff salaries are higher - but smaller staff. We moved down from 800 staff to just over 400... (Interview, Wynter, 25/5/88).

The Daily News, suffering from some withdrawal on the part of the major early capitalist proprietors, also engaged in a retrenchment programme. Towards the end of the 1970s the Trinidad Guardian was at the centre of a major strike over wages and working conditions, and after a fire destroyed its premises (see, e.g. McAl Focus, Sept./Oct. 1984: 2) it emerged with a staff reflecting the change to new technology and later modernized premises. After the fire of April 27, 1980 limited production resumed from November 23, 1980 and it was 'gratifying to note that the company...returned to a profit position in 1981' (Chairman's/Ralph Gibson's statement, McEnearney Alstons, Report & Accounts 1980: 6). McAL Focus (1984: 2) stated that by 1984 Trinidad Publishing had even replaced the old computer system (used for three years) by a new, larger system 'supplied by McEnearney Business Machines Ltd. It is envisaged that this system will see the Guardian through to its final stages of computerization.' In addition, a new five-storey building for

3 Appendix 17 shows how CCI, publisher of the Daily News fitted into NCC's corporate structure.

4 Some retraining and consequent redeployment was carried out mainly for those who opted to remain with the Gleaner company. In fact, at the time too the cost of redundancies in monetary pay-outs, particularly for the longest serving persons helped to shape the company's decision to retain some of these persons.
Trinidad Publishing was opened in 1984 (Report & Accounts 1983: 5). All major newspapers and even some of the smaller ones (e.g., The Grenadian Voice) had by the 1980s replaced the old typewriter with desk-top monitors under computer technology, a factor which some students of news production suggest, has helped to increase the independence of the news reporter vis-a-vis the editor.

Table 7(ii): Gleaner Company staff, by department - 1988

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEPARTMENT</th>
<th>TOTAL STAFF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration &amp; Accounts</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camera</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Processing</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo Sections</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation &amp; Processing</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressroom &amp; General Plant</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stores</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>429</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Staff level represents the situation after much injection of new technology from mid-1970s.


The structural shifts and their management manifested themselves simultaneously or at other times in the industrialized capitalist countries and elsewhere. According to the Deputy Editor of the Guardian newspaper in Britain:

The Conservative Government’s labour legislation enabled the industry to get away from the traditional union-management stranglehold; the City [London’s financial centre] had decided newspapers could be an attractive investment with high cash flow and a potentially attractive cost-revenue structure; advertising was booming; a spirit of entrepreneurship spread out to embrace journalists as well as managers...

Six years on...[the roll call of failures is deeply depressing for anybody who believes that new ideas and publications keep the press on its toes and spur old established titles into giving readers a better service (Guardian, 16/9/91: 23). Enclosures in brackets added]

Most of the respondents in the Caribbean had a long history of working in the mass media, and particularly newspapers. Some had been in broadcasting (news) and were drawn into newspapers. Others had worked with several of the major newspaper houses within individual countries or within the Caribbean during the course of their careers. One senior journalist, a former editor of the Daily News (who had been out of print journalism for several years stated):

...I had to start from scratch...In order that I could get orientation...I wrote stories; I wrote editorials; I wrote feature articles - all in order to get myself attuned to produce the newspaper...then everyday I used to read proofs. I used to go and set type...I even

\[5\] In 1988 the organization appeared to have borne the transition and disruptions quite well.
delivered the paper a few times... (Interview, Proute, 26/4/88)

Immediately before and for several years that Editor (the Daily News' founding editor) had worked as News Editor, Radio Jamaica (News). Later, from the second half of the 1970s he held senior editorial positions at the Gleaner Co. up to the time of this interview when he was Managing Editor. He had also worked with other newspapers including the Barbados Advocate in the 1950s, covering federal politics, and had 'got an invitation' to work for the Trinidad Guardian in a media career which started with the Barbados Recorder in 1948.

In order to increase our understanding of how journalists are likely to contribute to the reinforcement, reproduction and legitimation of embedded political formulas and the existing structure of society, it is necessary to look at the ideas and approaches they bring to bear on their daily task. Let us take the concept of 'freedom of the press' which is frequently invoked, and which we touched on in relation to the liberal-pluralist position in Chapter Four. Of course, in dealing with this, we are right at the heart of journalists' protection of their prerogatives and 'autonomy'. Journalists stress the need for freedom of the press as a general rule in societies such as those in the Anglophone Caribbean in relation to political/state incursions (the traditional demarcation), proximate allocative principals, and other factors. It is not that they can and do ignore organizational and other strictures in general but that they do have this factor of press freedom and other crucial defining elements which assist them to inform 'the public' in liberal-democratic society. This path, to the extent that it exists at all, as we will observe, has to be negotiated and carved out. In this, as well as in later sections, this element of 'freedom of the press' as well as others will arise.

One journalist noted: 'the whole question of freedom of the press implies for me freedom by the editor to publish as he deems fit...If he is publishing things that are of little public interest he will soon know because the paper...will go down or his bosses might get rid of him.' The editor 'must be able' to arrive at decisions 'independent of outside pressure' with assistance from his senior editors, and sometimes his junior staff...because the freedom of the press is an extension of the right of the individual, nothing more and nothing less than that.' This view also stresses a 'Fourth Estate' position: 'I believe that if the laws of libel were changed people in public life who somehow or other become involved in corrupt practices would be minded to walk the straight and narrow path...' In another case, we could identify a variant of 'social responsibility' category and an implication of the problem of access. For this editor, '...freedom of the press does not mean freedom' of a particular paper 'to publish what it wants. It is more a matter of freedom of the people out there who are our readers...to be reflected in the paper in a truthful and accurate way...'. This interviewee saw his paper as providing 'a service for the country'. And, he added that 'Generally...we follow the western liberal mode, in the idea of a free press' but he saw this as naturally being limited by the state and businessmen. Most news professionals interviewed were generally opposed to the imposition of any limitations on the right to print. Thus, the News Editor at the Advocate stated:

...I don't think that a government minister or anybody should be saying that you can't print this because it is sensitive to the national interest...I believe that as long as the information is factual and correct, you can print it...I think the press has a right to be constantly analysing, not only the Government but [also] the Opposition and all things that are [unjust] and wrong in society...In other words, the press has a role to look at the

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5He went off on pre-retirement leave March 1990 to return to the newsroom as a training officer (Weekly Gleaner, 13/3/90: 5).
distribution of wealth and so forth, trying to get a better society (Interview, Smith, 21/6/88).

This journalist was supported by others with regard to the desire for unfettered independence to publish but in his case some concern is expressed, for instance, about the distribution of material resources in society. Following up on earlier comments, we can note a brief extract from the words of a former editor of Gleaner publications, Hector Wynter. He felt that "anyone who believes in freedom must also accept responsibility...I am responsible for the freedom of others which means that I have to regulate and discipline myself." Further, the "same principles that guide the media in one country must be the same that guide in another...I [do not] believe that the media should have any particular national objective. Once you have an objective like that then you inhibit the free flow of news from the rulers to the ruled, from the ruled to the rulers' and 'you are destroying the fundamental of press freedom, and of...people's right to know' (Interview, 25/5/88).

What we have derived from these last two journalists is broadly a desire for a largely unfettered press, but with somewhat differing orientations.

A Grenadian Voice journalist felt that 'the press should be able to get and present information on any issue, at any time to the general public without any interference whatsoever, so long as they are presenting facts, and so long as those facts are...of genuine interest to the public' and vital to the public's decision-making (Interview, Elaine Pounder, 2/7/88). Some other respondents tend to be more specific, and define the situation in terms of their concrete relations within their organization and so on. Thus, Canute James, a former editor^ of the Daily News said that what 'we called freedom was that which was written into the conditions of employment...and we were free not to violate the policy...'. In his elaboration, we find more to explain this:

One of the things which one never allowed to happen was for the paper...to be seen as representing or being representative of any particular sector or section, or interest group to the detriment of others...The business community was supported by the paper but it wasn't that the paper's position was to support the business community against anything else. Government's social programmes were supported...and government's financial programmes, where they cut expenditure on social programmes were attacked... (Interview, 30/5/88)

Assessments of a radical tendency were a small minority in the answers obtained. One journalist - a former Sub-Editor (retrenched with others in the late 1970s) at the Gleaner, News Editor at the Daily News^ offered in a fairly detailed outline noting that 'the concept of freedom of the press is a very dynamic one' and that:

when looking at press freedom, we also have to look at, obviously 'freedom for whom' and that sort of thing, but, we also have to look at the whole role of the press...What is

^At the time of the interview, a director.

^He is also a former chief reporter and a president - in the late 1970s - of the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ). At the time of the interview he was a correspondent for institutions including the Financial Times of Britain.

^He was the President of the Press Association of Jamaica from the late 1970s to early 1980s, and when I interviewed him in 1988, he was a proprietor and editor of a small community newspaper in Kingston, the Boulevard News.
the press about?...Is it here...being another economic activity? Is it there to serve? Is it there to assist in the whole development process? - which is the view I subscribe to, that...the press is there to facilitate and to serve...as a tool of development. And so, freedom of the press is really linked to the freedom of the people in all its phases, and the media can be said to be free or contributing to press freedom to the extent that [they facilitate] this...broader freedom of the country and the people in the country... (Interview, Brodie, 14/7/88)

It is interesting to draw from this to see the paths of some strands along this line of thought. Thus, 'the question of private ownership of the media has been a burning issue, for a long time, in Jamaica...' and 'the objection to private ownership is based on how private ownership behaves.' If the Gleaner which held a press monopoly, 'had conducted itself in a way which reflected the views and aspirations of the majority of the Jamaican people, basically for a better life, instead [of], as it still does, primarily...the views and aspirations of the ruling class in the country, then there would be no problem with the Gleaner.' This journalist also believed in a plurality of media as did many others, but qualitative variations existed. Not divergent is the general view:

There is no absolute freedom...Every society places limits on what is acceptable and what is not...Press freedom in a given society varies, depending upon the conditions and the moment in time...

In other words, at all stages, press freedom has to be looked at in terms of the stage of development of the country, the stage of development of its internal political process... (Interview, 8/7/88)

A former Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) Current Affairs department worker, this interviewee was dismissed when the JLP won the 1980 general election. He worked in the Grenada media during the years of the Revolution, and of particular interest here, at the Free West Indian. For him, plurality 'in the press is a good thing...What we need to look at is how one arrives at plurality, and the point I’m making is that the United States [for example] arrived at plurality...via the avenue of...repression of the counter-revolutionary press...’ This is not, of course, to support the U.S.A., although there are ‘many aspects of the Western press’ which are ‘laudable and which need to be copied, if possible’, but to illustrate what happens ‘in the dynamic of a revolutionary situation...’ Another Jamaican colleague who served in Grenada during the revolutionary years, gives us further insights into part of what will be called here the primary frame of reference in which journalists shape their explanations:

I was coming from a grounding in Western thinking on journalism and...while I am not uncritical of Western media...my feeling is that there are ways you can amend it to let it work (Interview, Smilde, 17/6/88).

Golding has suggested, with some validity as we saw somewhat in Chapters Four and Five, that ‘media professionalism is an ideology that has been transferred in parallel to the transfer of technology and as part of the general stream of cultural dependence’ and professionalization ‘has been, in effect, integration into a global culture of media practices and objectives as developed in the media of the advanced industrialized societies’ (1977: 292-293). The last interviewee explained that closing the Grenada Torchlight was an error, an opinion which he said that he had outlined to PRG officials prior to the closure. In an article, he wrote: ‘As a journalist, it is my first instinct to oppose the closure of any publication by government decree’ (PAJ News, Oct. 1979: 7).

10 I.e., not the specific frame in which a story/event is cast - secondary, but, the background of socialization and understanding that journalists bring to bear on their general interpretation of their work.
A further step from this stage of presenting findings from our interviews is to provide some sort of sketch of other factors which structure the process of organization and production of news and information in the publishing houses examined with particular reference to the major newspapers. Very importantly, it will also be necessary to address in this particular sub-section, some of the specifics of the relationship between journalists, on the one hand, and between journalists/editorial and top policy-makers, on the other against the background of factors which help to shape those relations.

7.3 Journalists and colleagues in negotiation

The various factors being addressed are closely interrelated, and cannot therefore be easily or arbitrarily separated for the convenience of analysis. Hence, at times points may be raised which, to the casual observer, may seem more appropriate elsewhere. It is also necessary to avoid dissecting journalists' or interviewees' arguments lest we transform the intended meanings.

Already, in a very general way, the fact that the journalists interviewed have, for the most part, had a long and wide range of experience, has been alluded to and partly illustrated. In addition, it is necessary to bear in mind that journalists tend to have different levels of control over the news and opinion-making process as far as the internal phase [internal to the news organization] is concerned. However, within the organizational hierarchy, higher formal status does not automatically mean less susceptibility to constraints and/or the possession of greater power and control. As we saw earlier, some top journalists or editorial personnel also reside at the policy-making level, being members of boards of directors, and so on. Further, some journalists structure the work of others in newsroom operations. These and other factors such as the constraints and action arising through organizational policy, and policy-makers are necessary items for an agenda which seeks an appreciation of the negotiation process.

Let us look at the relationship between journalists. And, here it is useful to bear in mind that top professionals can sometimes affect the work of others fairly profoundly, responding to pressures from above or to ensure the survival of the organization. Beyond the Caribbean, take, for instance, the suspension of 22 journalists at the Chronicle and Echo in Northampton, England in early 1991. They were suspended by the editor after 'they walked out in protest at the suspension of two of their colleagues who have not paid their poll tax.' The suspension came after their employer was instructed by the Northampton Borough Council to deduct the sum owed from their salaries, following the issue of a liability order by the courts. 'Chronicle and Echo editor Clive Hutchby told the two that their non-payment jeopardised the newspaper's reputation for impartiality' (Journalist's Week, 3/1/91: 1). A grossly anti-social tax, the poll tax required approximately equal payments from rich and poor alike. Britain's worst riots of the twentieth century took place as protestors assembled in central London in March, 1990. The Conservative Party appeared likely to lose the impending general election, partly because of unpopularity of the tax. Indeed, the tax was one of a complex of factors which served to relieve Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of her job late 1990 although the question of links with the EEC seemed to have been the immediate spark. Chronicle and Echo journalists were suspended for something which was not directly related to their performance as journalists but factors external to that process. This sort of experience also has negative implications for social change in liberal-democratic societies, and can be extrapolated to the Caribbean context.
Let us return to the Caribbean situation and skirt certain specifics such as the detailed processing of news at the level of editing a reporter’s copy, or related banding together as reinforcement against policy-level constraints on, and intervention in news-making. In Jamaica, it is somewhat unusual for any long-standing media worker not to have worked at the Gleaner Company or not to be destined for a job there. It has been frequently and fondly cited by journalists in Jamaica as the ‘university’ of journalism. In Trinidad, the Guardian seems to attract a similar sort of veneration. One Express journalist, the Political Reporter/Acting News Editor, suggested that the Guardian of Trinidad would be ‘a much better place’ for a new recruit ‘to get a grounding in’ journalism. ‘But when you get...any bit of experience, you don’t want to stay there.’ The destination should be somewhere such as the Express which ‘I would like to think...is a very young and vibrant newspaper...Somewhere’ it writes in a different kind of style...’ Providing on-the-job guidance to the novice is part of the role of the experienced journalist:

My style is that I...try and do it once or twice, couple times, sit them down here and rewrite some or rewrite the whole story... (Interview, Johnson, 27/6/88)

The Express exhibited no formal regulations on style. In any news organization, tutoring of the new recruit is a usual process which helps to reinforce the style and broad ethos of the organization and/or its news-staff, and perhaps by extension trained news personnel of broadly similar professional orientation. Although the process is a dialectic one in which the trainee negotiates the terms on which s/he becomes engaged in the production process, established professionals and style seem to exert a more overarching role in shaping the relationship. One recalls a note on New York Times’ now deceased obituarist, Alden Whitman: ‘If he had a fault as an obituarist, it was that he was so scrupulous in keeping to Times objective style that it could be hard to tell whether the subject was a goodie or a baddie’ (The Guardian [Britain], 17/9/90: 39). Whitman had been a member of the Communist Party in the U.S.A. before life at the Times. The high regard for some news organizations as appropriate arenas for certain tasks (e.g. training) than newer, more recently established ones also has implications for the perpetuation of the types of views/ideological positions propagated or adhered to by such ‘traditional’ newspapers. The Advocate accompanies the Gleaner and Guardian in this category. In chapters Four and Five notes on their historical and class bases would tend to support this.

To return briefly to the orientation of recruits and the editing process, we can draw firstly from the Nation. The News Editor stressed, for instance,

...we don’t allow a rewrite editor to touch anybody’s story without consultation. In other words, he is not at liberty, although he is a senior person to just sit down and decide that...a reporter who just came to work six weeks ago...doesn’t know what he is doing, so he just sits down and reshapes... (Interview, Gilkes, 22/6/88)

Such restrictions do not relate to grammatical or factual errors. Even in this case, the reporter’s prerogatives are implied. A former long-standing Editor of a Gleaner publication (the Star), provides

11 It is useful to note in passing that that news editor resigned some time after I had interviewed to establish a public relations firm. His replacement, a long-time cricket commentator (Tony Cozier), was editor of the Sunday Sun (the Nation’s Sunday edition), and had years of experience as a sub-editor/sports editor with the more conservative Trinidad Guardian and its sister afternoon paper, the Evening News and as managing editor of the Barbados Daily News (see, e.g., Caribbean Times, 22/9/89; 9).
An editor might set out all kinds of agenda for development, but it is ultimately the practitioner on the street who determines what our audience reads, hears and sees. The whole answer to who covers what comes back to one word - professionalism ("A time for Dialogue"/Glouden, 1989/90: 45).

On interviewee explained that many staffers at the Express tended to be relatively young. Most subeditors had served for a long time but reporters had only been around for three, five, eight years. "...we had a policy here for sometime of hiring university graduates, to try to lift the level of the tone of the paper. We have done so but it requires training, and there is...constant in-house training going on here. People come to me all the time for consultation - how to do this, how to do that, that kind of thing; and that's a large part of my job, making sure that the editorial end of the paper is sustained (Interview, Pantin, 27/6/88).

Most senior journalists grew up in the system from being juniors under the scrutinizing eyes and editing or reporting skill of more practised and accomplished seniors who they encountered through the stages of social mobility in the newsroom. It is this sort of home grown senior or top journalist in Jamaica who, to some extent, were generally found to be more sceptical of the skills of new and aspiring media professionals partly trained at the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communications and such formal training (see, e.g., CARIMAC course paper by Martin et al, 1982).

If, as we can infer, to a certain extent prospective news professionals or novices are moulded into forms required by organizations and by senior news professionals who have themselves grown up through the process, why should there be conflict between journalists? Indeed, to what extent is there conflict per se or conflict as far as the relations of production in this subsidiary/secondary sphere is concerned?

Let us take the first question. Novices or recruits enter the journalistic field because that job was the only job available at the time of leaving school or they were otherwise attracted. A former Parliamentary Reporter for the Gleaner, and at the time of the interview, Executive Editor stated:

I was a youngster just out of school...Questions of what the Gleaner's policy might be hardly mattered to me at that age...Gradually when you become more and more wedded to journalism as a profession, you start thinking about these things. Now, one of the things you come to appreciate, especially for somebody who's been so long with the Gleaner is the sort of role that the Gleaner plays in society. Its place as an institution in society...gives you some feeling of pride and delight at being part of a venerable organization...You know, if you didn't, you wouldn't stay (see also, Weekly Gleaner, 3/6/92: 10 on his appointment as Editor of Gleaner publications).

That professional joined the Gleaner as a trainee journalist in 1952 under the company's first programme of recruitment from high schools. Indeed, he did leave the Gleaner Co., and not without significance as a reading of some sections of the previous chapter would suggest, on a one-year Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) scholarship. He remained in the USA for five years, subsequently returning to be a reporter covering 'labour and politics and then...Parliament

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12 This is corroborated by a former Editor who stated that at about the time that he joined the paper the "staff was very very badly paid and they were losing staff" (Interview, John, 26/2/88).
and industrial relations.'

In some cases, initiatives are in place in the organizations to prepare potential recruits by stipulating that they write preliminary pieces or undergo other training before being hired on a full-time basis. However, other routes exist, not fundamentally different ones, through which the potential recruit may enter. Thus, the Chief Executive who was also the Editor-in-Chief of the Barbados Advocate at the time of the interview, was impressed by the manner of a journalist at a function covered at his school, and:

When I left school, I came...to the [newspaper] and never got back out (Interview, Grosvenor, 21/6/88).

The News Editor of the Barbados Nation stated that he:

...fell in love immediately with journalism...I got so involved with journalism, it just became a part of me and I became a part of [it] (Interview, Gilkes, 22/6/88).

His was a process which started from 1961. The day before he was scheduled to leave school he met a friend who worked at the Advocate. It was then the only daily newspaper, a common situation in small countries. When this potential recruit asked the editor about a vacancy, the editor 'was impressed with what I had to tell him' so work started the day after leaving school. If we recall the assumptions of one reporter that the established Guardian of Trinidad was a good starting ground for a trainee and the somewhat similar place of the Advocate in Barbados (and this latter's eclipse by the Nation in the market for circulation, again one need not question the shift from one to the other. He was joining a new publication in 1973, one which evolved into a daily. The small context with limited employment opportunities had to allow for other opportunities. The Managing Editor (Interview, Best, 21/6/88) who had got a positive response from the Advocate as soon as he left college had (by the time of the interview) served thirty-four years with the paper. These foregoing are only some examples, and research elsewhere offers a wide range.

The brief instances here then, indicate some aspects, not only of how novices enter and develop as news professionals but also, to some extent, how they develop allegiance to their organizations. If those organizations and their principals have particular stances on politics and social change, there are implications that such professionals assist the newspaper consciously or unconsciously to maintain their outlook and in countering efforts at significant transformation. The second question raised above is partly answered here in that fundamental differences as far as news practice is concerned would appear to be ironed out in this progression within the media house and media. However, more specifically, at this time, it is necessary to address the first question outlined above. Why should there be conflict, and, is such conflict really fundamental?

Many recruits mature and grow to understand the validity of the editor's status and idiosyncrasies in newsroom task/role structure. Compromise and consolation arise from seeing their story in the paper - add to this a by-line - and not only the editor's pen but conditioning, by mixing with seniors and absorbing from them over the years may strengthen allegiance to an organization (for a note on this, see, e.g. Breed, 1960). With increasing deftness, and concern over deadlines - because it is important for the paper to reach the market but also that one's story, perhaps an important front page item or a specific opinion piece the process becomes routine, a frequently enjoyable and satisfying one.
The whole process of organizing cultural production to meet deadlines and to fill space in the paper is a fairly structured one. Outside of this though related to staff hierarchy which we have touched on thus far, are factors such as meetings and editorial policy. Generally, meetings would tend to raise similar sorts of questions about newspaper production and departmental staff concerns. Considerations of frequency of meetings, the composition of persons in attendance and timing, tend to vary but between organizations the difference would be more quantitative rather than qualitative.

One editor stated:

I meet with my editors every morning at 9.30 and we discuss the paper - what we did yesterday and how the paper looks today; what did the opposition do; and we also discuss what we plan to do for the day, sometimes for the week depending on...what’s happening here...Then they go out and they assign the reporters and the reporters go out and they do their work, and at 4.30 - it’s now 5.00 p.m. I have changed it to five...we meet to find out what we have done for the day and whether we have what will be our front page lead...

If, during the course of the day, there are queries...about a particular angle and so forth, they [would] come to me with it and I would look at it and if it’s cool, I pass it; if it’s not, kill it, or edit it out... (Interview, Pantin, Express, 27/6/88)

As we observe then, there was an editors’ meeting but some editors did meet reporters at another level, that of assigning stories to be covered. Of course, these meetings are not departmental meetings per se in that they are immediately attended only by news professionals generally. A former editor of the Express had comments about constraints on production:

The paper is now much better organized. There is an editor-in-chief. Then the daily newspaper has its own editor; the Sunday newspaper has its own editor; and the Sun newspaper has its own editor. I was editor of all of them... And working on all of them at the same time (Interview, John, 26/2/88 - at the time of the interview, Editor/Weekly Gleaner, England).

He continued: ‘We had a chief editor and a chief reporter who did politics, but we also had one freelancer. The previous editor...used to do some political reporting as well as...cover parliament...[and] writing a Sunday column which he still writes...He was the founding editor...But those were the days when as editor I used to write a weekly column for the paper which I stopped when I went to work for the government as the Prime Minister’s Press Secretary.’

The Guardian’s Editor noted that,

...We don’t have too much specialization...We have meetings of editors...We have very firm discussions among editors... (Interview, Chongsing, 26/6/88)

A top editor explained that in the Gleaner’s editorial department, there were meetings each day attended ‘by various editors in the department who have specific responsibilities.’ Such meetings examine ‘the flow of news for the day and determine the top of the news for tomorrow’s paper’, and ‘all the people who are concerned with news flow for the day attend that meeting’ at which the editor presides (Interview, Allen, 2/5/88). This editor, for instance, had some broad ‘responsibility for the publications.’ An assistant editor had specific responsibility for the Gleaner, and a chief sub-editor had responsibility for his sub-editors. The chief sub also had as part of his role, to read copy, assign copy and plan pages. The news coming in would be collated by the news editor who was in charge of the reporters. Such copy passed through preliminary editing and eventually on to the chief sub. But on the way to the chief sub it would be handled by an assistant editor who made selection for say,
The chief sub would be in charge of sub-editors who plan individual pages, correct the copy, assign headlines and so on. This is a general outline, with other subsidiary processes at work (Interview, Allen, 2/5/88). The editor did not normally intervene in the minutiae of day-to-day operations but did so, when appropriate.

Some authors of new technology and effect on news and reporters' autonomy have suggested that the reporters' autonomy has been enhanced, in that such professionals now have an increased opportunity to bypass the editor and the sometimes attendant disagreements – a factor touched on in earlier discussion. Indeed, whereas such technological advance expedites the processing, if not the making of news, it is doubtful that in the case of newspapers (and bearing in mind, say, the processing structure of the Gleaner’s editorial department) that the assumptions by such authors have any considerable validity. However, any such assumptions may hold some value in the case of radio, and where satellite technology is in use – e.g., television, in which case long-standing correspondents (trusted and nurtured in an organization or medium) call in an important story close to broadcast time. Of course, the newspaper reporter can ‘arrive late’ with his story when fewer editors/sub-editors are around (having left for the day), but the possibility of ‘escape’ seems somewhat narrowed.

One editor who we met earlier pointed out that negotiation over content and the way in which reports were written was ‘normal in any newspaper...’ (Interview, Allen, 2/5/88). A news editor noted a story that was current around the time of the interview. It involved Barbados and Trinidad businessmen [see, e.g., Nation, 22/6/88: 1] who had set up a company which subsequently collapsed at considerable cost to many people, some of whom were said to have invested all their life savings. The government had set up an inquiry. ‘Almost every other day there is a clash between us over – why you really carried this front page story as the lead story, as opposed to something else...’ (Interview, Gilkes, Nation, 22/6/88) Disputes of this nature would tend to arise at the evening group meeting of editors (including the Editor-in-Chief who was also Managing Director in 1988).

The emphasis in the thesis is on major publishing houses. However, as explained it was useful and indeed, necessary to consider the Grenadian Voice. It is not unusual for small non-dailies to have exhibit overlaps between strategic control (ownership) and operational control. Thus, the proprietor of the Voice as editor presided at meetings with his small staff. According to one member of staff, a subeditor/reporter, meetings were held at least once per week. It was difficult to recall a case when anyone was told, ‘‘No, don’t work on that.’’ When a story was handed in and the stance ‘is not’ or ‘may not be what the editor would like, again once it’s facts, and...once the presentation is fair’, no problem arises. ‘Let me put it this way. No reporter that I know of has written a story and then have the political tone or tenor of that story changed or be cut by the editor’ (Interview, Pounder, Voice, 2/7/88). On the subject of negotiation, she added:

...Sometimes it gets hot and heavy but when it’s finished, its finished...even though there might not be a point of agreement. Nevertheless, our views are aired; his [editor’s] views are aired...There hasn’t been much shift in terms of him coming over to our side or our going over to his side...Very often, if we can present the proper justification then the article or story, or whatever it is, is [published].

An interesting case concerns the Free West Indian the PRG’s newspaper or the newspaper of the Revolution, so to speak. A somewhat junior reporter/photographer who had then done some work for the paper before joining the staff in 1981 was assigned to cover the Reagan visit to Barbados in
1982. He was prepared to 'just write what happened on the trip':

I wrote that but they wanted me to write something additional...[That is, instead] of writing a basic...factual story, write a comment then...and I just didn't want to do it. (Interview, Clouden, Free West Indian, 30/6/88).

The reporter (then new to the craft) elaborated in the interview that he 'didn't want to write [about]...politics.' The editor's view, he explained, was that apart from a basic story or account, there should have been an accompanying interpretative or analytical piece. It is not a question of having disagreed with the orientation of his newspaper or Government policy then, but the reporter did not think he 'had the knowledge...to write a commentary...or analysis on world affairs in regard to Reagan' at early stage of his career. Incidentally, the Editor/Manager then was one of the interviewees in this study. Another person who occupied this position, but in this instance commenting on a period outside his own editorship (actually that of a news editor now deceased) stated:

She, as news editor was in a constant shovel and dialogue with those people in the newspaper, in the editorial department who were as much political people as they were journalists. And there was this constant hassle as to the...content of the paper, which was good for the paper... (Interview, Smilde, Free West Indian, etc., 17/6/88)

Newspaper policy, its interpretation and enforcement are a factor of considerable note in terms of how journalists and policy makers (where these are separate) come to terms on the form and content of the cultural product. Of course, journalists having imbibed and/or helped to shape policy, written or unwritten, hardly need to be reminded by their seniors or policy-makers of the importance of general adherence and the consequences of transgression.

Written policies were unusual among the Caribbean newspapers which came within the scope of the interviews. The Gleaner's was clearly stated for the company as a whole as observed in an earlier chapter. Broad guidelines existed. The Trinidad Publishing (Guardian, etc.) points to the need to implement policy 'without fear or favour' and claimed the 'full support' of its parent conglomerate, McAl 'not to interfere or influence editorial policy which is set by the Board' (McAl, Annual Report 1989: 32).

It is quite appropriate at this stage to examine cultural production further and the potential for structuring the commodity or symbolic output by extending this relationship further to read: journalists, policy and policymakers. This should aid our understanding of constraints upon output, the power equation in the newsroom and the news organization as well as the identification of some specific examples of constraints on the production process and the nature of the product. In all this, I would advocate that life in the media organization as it manifests itself between journalists and major policymakers borders more on unity rather than on fundamental hostility between autonomous camps.

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13 The Daily News' broad policy was published in its first issue and in its launch brochure.
7.4 Journalists, more on policy; and policymakers

Political/ideological tendencies in major commercial Anglophone Caribbean newspapers tend to be determined by company and editorial policies, written or unwritten and other fairly subdued inflows rather than by overt stated commitment to a specific political party or government. Such guidelines help to shape the production process and allow for dynamic relationships and action within certain negotiable parameters. Again this is a very key area in the analysis in terms of illustrating the extent to which executives, on the one hand, and operational personnel (journalists) exercise control over the production process against the background of constraints. This will return us to arguments elaborated on in chapters Four and Six, but in this chapter the question is addressed more in line with the production process centering on cultural production rather than at the more general level of capitalist production and management. Let us take the general question of policy briefly. A short extract from the Gleaner’s policy (which is quite comprehensive, but general) will suffice as a starting point:

The outlook of The Gleaner is a national one. It does not serve private ends...It seeks to record to inform, and to entertain; and promote and encourage the best advancement and progress for Jamaica and all its people.

Gleaner policy is founded in the philosophy that human progress springs from the effort and enterprise of individuals exerted singly or in groups; and in the conviction that there is no system of Government or human relationship which provides any effective and satisfactory substitute for the hard work and ingenuity of individuals competitively applied (Gleaner Policy Handbook, 3 & 8; Gleaner 150th Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 10).

Further, the ‘Gleaner newspapers are governed by a written statement of policy, compiled for the guidance of editors and writers, and amended from time to time according to the requirements of the period’ (Anniversary Issue: 10). However, ‘its basic principles remain the same’ (The Daily Gleaner - Gleaner Policy Handbook: 2). We can infer an ideologically fairly conservative position from this outline. Whereas it refers to company policy rather than detailed editorial policy, its implications for the breadth and nature of the editorial content expected from the Gleaner Company’s various organs seem broadly clear. A more precise editorial policy statement appeared in the first issue of the Gleaner (The Kingston Gleaner and Weekly Compendium of News) in 1834, during the colonial era:

A compendium of Foreign news will form a leading feature in our columns, and party politics being unknown to us, we will give in all matters relative to the politics of England, or of Europe generally, the best written opinions of the English Whig and Tory Editors, by which means our readers will become better acquainted with the real state of European affairs than if we confined ourselves to any particular party.

Every occurrence which may transpire in this our island, will command our serious attention, and we will conceive ourselves never better employed in our vocation, than in the detail of every locality likely to be of interest to our readers (The Gleaner, Sept. 13, 1834). [Emphasis original]

Senior policymakers and staffers at allocative and operational levels elaborated in the 1988 interviews. The Chairman/Managing Director stated, in 1988:

...at the end of the day...private sector media [are] selling...services of dissemination of news, opinion, entertainment - a variety of things, and I think there has to be one head

14 Introduction by H. L. Wynter, Editor, 31/12/84; a review done 12/83.
to a business...I think the head of an editorial department should be answerable to whoever is the senior executive of the company...And, in the time that I've certainly been here at the Gleaner,...although I have been in charge of editorial in the position of Managing Director, I have enjoyed a relationship with editors where it is very exceptional for me to actually get involved or even be consulted about editorial matters (Interview, Chairman/Gleaner, 3/5/88).

These extracts point to ways in which policy guidelines and adherence to them, and perhaps selection and training of employees help to structure production and inform relationships. Of course, this is far from suggesting that the social production of news is anything like conflict-free, or that action does not arise, even if, as accepted in this study, such action is generally subordinate and related to broader structurally determined factors. The hand of forthrightness of some interventionist proprietors/executives of commercial newspapers is a useful diversion. When Maxwell of Maxwell Communications Corporation (MCC) acquired the Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) of Britain in 1984, he stated: 'This newspaper will go on investigating injustices, opposing privilege and standing alone among the popular dailies as the voice of the sensible left' (Daily Mirror, 14/7/84: 1). Moreover: 'The political opinion of the newspapers will be set by me as long as I am chairman' (Independent on Sunday/Supplement, 24/2/91: 6). This has been the sort of situation which has prompted Curran to refer to the 'new generation of interventionist proprietors, most notably Murdoch and Maxwell' as having emerged as 'a formative force' (1990: 131. Also Curran & Seaton, 1988).

The climate has not changed fundamentally in Curran's sphere of reference as the 1990s proceed with Maxwell's absence from that arena.

Regarding the Gleaner's orientation, one editor explained:

It has had this private sector bent. It has always said...it is in favour of more private sector than state management...It's basically a conservative paper... (Interview, Allen, Gleaner, 2/5/88)

The Jamaica Daily News - started in 1973 - had an editorial policy the formulation of which its founding editor 'had a lot to do with' and 'wanted to preserve it.' Indeed, it was 'drafted by me and discussed with the Board, with not too many adjustments.' This editor 'wanted to ensure that the paper would deal with the issues not so much on a partisan political level, [but] independently, and express its views as strongly as it could. Frequently, policy and intentions are outlined in the first edition of a newspaper. The Daily News' 'Statement of Purpose' concluded:

In its editorial policy, the paper will be committed to giving a balanced and objective view of the issues. It will strive to draw sound conclusions from the facts available.

It will also provide a forum in its editorial columns for all shades of opinion within the society (Daily News, 31/5/73: 1)

The Chief Executive (also Editor-in-Chief) of the Advocate Company explained:

...We don't have a written policy. Our policy is to support the free enterprise system, and try...to retain democracy. Any incursions which can be construed as undermining the democratic process [would be opposed] (Interview, Grosvenor, Advocate-News, 21/6/88).

In addition, the executive elaborated, if 'I see a paper and something is wrong with it...I will get into

15 The Mirror has been the second largest circulation daily in Britain for several years since it was surpassed by the Sun.
detail, whether it is editorial, whether it is advertising, whether it is not produced properly, whether it is not made up properly. ' The Guardian's Editor, and Board member of Trinidad Publishing at the time of interview, speaking somewhat from the allocative level, stated: 'We more or less give the editors their own [heads]...This often leads to a certain amount of confusion. You obviously want the editors to take some initiative in responding to...problems...We do go in together with the senior writers...on a week-to-week basis in the case of the [daily paper. But for] our evening paper there is very little interaction there.'

The foregoing gives us some perspective on the relationship between editorial management at the operational level, and the allocative level for major Anglophone Caribbean press. More specifically it informs us of some constraints on the production process. Furthermore, even if Board level managers do not directly impose their will on day-to-day production, from the organizational standpoint they do reinforce or issue reminders of the parameters within which production takes place and the sorts views which emerge. Indeed, as indicated in the previous Chapter Five, some papers exhibited a close interlock or overlap between editorial and upper top policy level management, a situation which was particularly conspicuous at the level of editor as board member and clearly far from a token or worker representative appointment. The Editors-in-Chief of the Express, Advocate, and the Nation were all board members of the respective companies. The Editor of the Guardian was a board member, and the two long-serving editors of the Gleaner for almost the entire period from mid-century to 198417 (Interviews, 25/5/88, 17/7/88, etc.) eventually became board members, the latter during his tenure as Editor. In Theodore Sealy's case, he attended board meetings but without having a vote, his presence being to explain editorial matters. By the time of the interview in 1988, in retirement, he had been a member of the Gleaner's Board18 for sometime as Editor Emeritus, in which capacity he contributed to decision-making (Interview, Sealy, 15/7/88). The Editor of the Express for the period 1976-82 was not a board member (Interview, John, 26/2/88), unlike his successor. This seems to have been based on the former Editor's high level connection with the PNM as Prime Minister Eric Williams' Press Secretary. Bear in mind that the PNM was not a favourite with all top Trinidad Express Newspapers' policymakers). Tremayne, in a study of newspaper publishing houses in Scotland noted that 'while an editor still has a high degree of control over the content of his newspaper, his influence within the organization has fallen. One of the newspapers in this study denoted its editor within the hierarchy by withdrawing his entitlement to become a member of the board on appointment...' (1980: 131). Tremayne's research partly illustrates the increasing encroachment of commercial interests. Indeed, this appeared to be also the case in the Caribbean but the separation is hardly fundamental. As the instance of the Express above seems to suggest, political-ideological factors might have been preponderantly at work although, clearly, these cannot be separated from a desire to have a favoured financial/economic climate through political arrangements which most facilitate these and ensure stability.

16 Taken to mean a degree of autonomous decision making power.

17 Sealy for more than 20 years, and Wynter from 1976 to 1984.

18 He resigned in 1987 (see, e.g. Gleaner Co., Report 1987).
In the case of smaller newspapers in the Caribbean the proximity of the publisher/editor type of allocative controller is evidently not vastly different in terms of the degree to which this presence contributes to shaping cultural production. The Editor/Publisher and Chairman of the Board of the Grenadian Voice, stated:

We have got a board but they don't interfere [in day-to-day operations]...The only reason I have other people is because I was obliged to when [setting up] the paper...There was PRG law that...no one individual can have more than four per cent in such a company...Until I am called to books, I'll publish it the way I think, because it was my concept... (Interview, Pierre, 2/7/88).

We can recall through one of his subeditors quoted earlier, that the editor/publisher's views were sometimes questioned. He himself allowed some latitude for critical assessment of editorial direction.

Executives/owners or allocative decision-makers in the Caribbean and elsewhere have not abandoned intervention and whereas it could be accepted that such intervention is infrequent - perhaps even ad hoc - the present analysis has to reject any suggestion that publishers and executives leave news writing and production to editorial department as a way of life. It is not that this factor is central burden of the discussion and evidence in this chapter but it is usefully borne in mind as part of a dynamic political economy. It is a matter of what shapes the capitalist's actions, but also how the capitalist (not necessarily as a result of 'knee-jerks' inspired by economic, political, or social constraints) impacts directly and immediately upon the production of culture. Two global media owners are useful in elaborating on this question. Take an extract from Charles Wintour's 1989 book, excerpts of which appeared in the Guardian [Britain] (4/9/89: 23). Commenting on Robert Maxwell of Maxwell Corporation, Wintour argues:

The fact that the yacht was linked to his office by fax and telephone, with direct lines to at least four merchant banks as well as another link to the Daily Mirror so that the publisher could see a proof of the front page just as soon as the editor, indicated that so far delegation was notional rather than actual.

Maxwell also handled virtually 'all important negotiations, whether with trade unions or printers or computer manufacturers' (Guardian, 4/9/89: 23). Sources were reminding even immediately following Maxwell's death early November, 1991 that he often dictated editorial articles. David Montgomery, Editor of Rupert Murdoch's News International's Today newspaper and former Editor of the Maxwell's Mirror has stated:

I've only seen Mr Murdoch once since he took over Today [1987] and...I know that he doesn't discuss the editorial with the editor. When I was at...the Mirror writing leaders for Mr. Maxwell, wherever he was in the world...the leaders would be read to him so that he could make changes if he wanted to' (BBC-2, "The Late Show", 17/10/90: 11.20 p.m.);

Perhaps Today, being a quite small fish in the Murdoch's News Corporation or it's subsidiary (News International), attracted appropriate attention. In fact, Murdoch has more than implied his approach: "...if I get bored or having nothing else to do on a Saturday or a Sunday I can pick up the phone and make a nuisance of myself...What I enjoy most is spending time with the editors. For instance Andrew Neil [Sunday Times' Editor] came to supper last night for two or three hours...I went to the reporters' room twice at the Sun yesterday, once with Kelvin [Mackenzie, the editor], just chatting. You get a feel for it; a bit washes on to them, and a bit washes on to you. You add a bit of excitement to it." [Enclosures in brackets original, excepting that mentioning the Sunday Times]
Charles Wilson, editor of The Times from 1985 until early 1990 stressed that Murdoch's 'technique is to appoint an editor and let him get on with it. If this is not working - and Rupert will see this sooner than most - then he will give a little guidance. And if that does not work, he'll change the editor...' (Interiety, July/Aug. 1990: 45). Much of this is self-explanatory, and as can be appreciated, much of any ground lost by owners of media empires at the level of capacity to keep in touch with their papers is partly retrieved by sophisticated tentacled new technologies. Murdoch had expressed an interest in media and particularly in newspapers early in his life, and developed along those lines. He told Tuccille, one of his biographers, in 1989:

I sensed the excitement and power...Not raw power, but the ability to influence at least the agenda of what was going on...I've always been much more interested in the content of our newspapers [His father was also a major newspaper owner in Australia],...political positions day to day, the thrill of communicating with people through words than I am in the pure business aspects... (Tuccille, 1990: 11-12)

Conrad Black, the Canadian businessman who in the late 1980s acquired the very profitable (partly due to the shift out of Fleet Street and into new technology) Daily Telegraph of Britain in a series of moves planned to merge the Daily and Sunday Telegraph in October 1989 with the loss of about 40 jobs (journalists) (The Independent, 11/10/89: 21). According to the Guardian [Britain] (9/10/89: 17): 'Black is now ensconced in London, as an active editor in chief, very far from the absentee proprietor he once appeared to be.' Furthermore, 'once he got control of the Telegraph, Black began to install his own men', and additionally, all 'this year Conrad Black has been buying shares in United Newspapers', the company which owns the Express papers [another British newspaper group]. In the meantime, Black's top editor resigned to take up a top job with News International in 1990 after selling a portion of the millions of pounds worth of shares he held in the Telegraph.

A summary comment on the relationship between editorial operations and top policymaking was offered by the Managing Editor of the Barbados Advocate who framed his explanation initially within the structure of the game of cricket:

...If the skipper tells you, well, he wants runs, surely, he still can't tell you which ball to hit for four...! Whatever they do, there is the individual judgement that has to be exercised...Where they have made it known that they are taking this particular stance, well, then, you might be duty bound to say OK, I will give that first call...I like a middle-of-the-road [position]. The truth is that when you are in the middle...the traffic coming from both sides might knock you over. But at least it gives you the freedom at a certain point to throw your weight in a particular direction if you can see...I might survive this...' (Interview, Best, 21/6/88)

This outline provides us with a number of strands of how the construction of 'social reality' is structured and managed. Policymakers, did not have a free hand in decision-making, excepting perhaps to a more noticeable extent where a prescribed policy was laid down. But, it is useful to bear in mind that our 'skipper' could have demanded 'runs', translated into beating the competition (say, the Nation in Barbados) to a big story and sales at the news stands which latter, as we have seen, have further implications. Indeed, while not ideal but nevertheless providing an example, a story out of parliament of some significance was current in the Barbados papers at the time of the interviews. The Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief explained that a Government Minister made a speech

\[^{19}\text{The latter, was then in financial trouble, though the reasons were not only financial, but also editorial.}\]
in parliament relating to the award of a contract, and the Opposition replied. 'We only carried a kind of summary' of the Minister's delivery whereas 'the Nation carried it...almost verbatim...'. On seeing the two papers, 'I asked who was in parliament...and what happened...The editor is working on that [who, what happened, etc.] for me.'

Interview, Neville Grosvenor, 21/6/88). The result of the editor's 'work' or investigation was not available at the time of the Barbados leg of the fieldwork. The instruction to the Managing Editor to investigate, while not in itself alarming, was at least ominous, even though the Chief Executive heard that the Nation's reporter had allegedly sneaked a cassette recorder into parliament, and parliament itself was examining this 'transgression'. The task of separating constraints/pressure from direct action, as our discussion has tried to explain is difficult, and as stressed the task is not just to argue from one side or the other but to recognize and illustrate a dynamic dialectical process in which both sides come to bear on the structuring, management and processing of the cultural product. Gans (1980), in his research suggests that: 'Corporate news executives "sit" outside the news organization.'

He explains too that they differ in terms of responsibility and power. Furthermore, in terms of story selection and production their role is 'intermittent.' In their role as executives, their power is almost unlimited and they can suggest, select and veto stories whenever they choose. However, as they have other duties and because 'they are expected to abide by the corporate division of labor (and when they are non-journalists, by the informal rules which give autonomy to journalists), they do not exercise their power on a day-to-day basis. Perhaps because they do not do so, the journalists pay close attention to their periodic suggestions, and at times, they overreact.' Corporate executives play four roles, namely: they exert power through budget and major personnel decisions; corporate and news executives act to protect the commercial and political interests of the firm; they make "policy" (most times, 'executives make policy by ruling on individual stories, but these rulings do not necessarily set a precedent'); news (not corporate) executives supervise, meeting briefly with top producers daily, and with top editors weekly, in order to keep abreast of story selection (1980: 94-95).

If we return briefly to the lengthy comments of our editor above who had spent all his years up to 1988 at the paper, we may agree that on his subjective assessment, his was a 'middle-of-the-road' position. This would commit him to somewhat to a modus operandi hardly at variance with that appreciated by his policy level business class seniors or those within the wider Caribbean.

The Advocate's News Editor who outlined some directions in which Barbados media should be going, noted:

I have a lot of differences, tremendous differences. I think it is a stroke of fate that I am still here. As a matter of fact my position here is different to [that of] people in similar positions in media houses in Barbados...I am not firmly part of management, so that I am not in on planning and discussions and so forth...Any instructions are passed down to me...Through the Managing Editor.

...But then again the lines of communication here are blurred...We don't have a lot of communication here. I have a different concept, a different belief, a different approach to journalism, to the production of the whole paper than...my bosses have (Interview, Smith, 21/6/88).

Disagreements between editorial and top allocative levels, and professionals (operational) could

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20 Who is culpable? What happened?, etc.
escalate above the more mundane context. A dispute between the Daily News editor over what was viewed as management’s interference in the running of the editorial department sparked a protracted conflict in which journalists at the News gained considerable active support from other professionals across the spectrum of news organizations in Jamaica and consolidated to some extent through the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ). The then Daily News Editor\(^2\) stated that there was no direct connection between himself and the Board. ‘The policy was established when the paper was founded...and my job really was to - as far as the editorial content was concerned...work within that policy framework...My link with the Board in terms of administrative and editorial matters was through the Managing Director’ (Interview, 30/5/88).

The specifics of the 1977 conflict are lengthy and quite circuitous and space will not allow us to note the entire range of developments for the interested reader. An extract from the interview with the then Editor will assist. It is appropriate before taking an excerpt from him, to state that an attempt was made to interview both the then Chairman\(^2\) as well as the then Managing Director. The former (Karl Hendrickson) was inaccessible and the latter (Uptal Ganguli) had left for Britain where he had worked for the other major corporate shareholder associated with the Daily News in the 1970s, Desnoes and Geddes of Jamaica for a couple of years in his early post-News days.\(^2\) The conflict was rooted in the fact that:

the Managing Director of the time took upon himself the role of the editor, and started to attempt to make editorial decisions which were, (a) the prerogative of the Editor and, (b) which were outside the policy framework which one had agreed to work with...[This] was resolved to a degree by the findings of a commission of enquiry...

...I think the commission of enquiry ended up supporting the editorial integrity...by simply saying...that’s the policy of the paper which was laid down; that these were professional journalists who had accepted a job under those conditions; and that, as long as they didn’t violate that policy, the Managing Director or any other member of the administration at that level had no right to interfere (Interview, James, 30/5/88).

The writer himself was a media worker\(^2\) at the time of the crisis. Senior editorial personnel at, and immediately before that time, provide corroborating support. James’ comment that his ‘problem was with the Managing Director who couldn’t keep his hands off the paper, and that is what led to the problem...which brought about the dispute.’ James was dismissed on the 25th August at which time Daily News workers immediately demanded [his] reinstatement...and began a work to rule to back this demand.’ As a result of these developments the News was not published on the following Friday. In the midst of this the Gleaner Company’s management ‘prematurely sent on leave’ the Editor of its afternoon paper (the Star), Barbara Glouden who had, 21Causie James who was the journalist at the centre of the conflict. He was also president of the PAJ at the time.

22He was also Chairman of the parent company (National Continental Corporation - NCC) which had majority interest in the Daily News/CCJ when it was in corporate hands in the 1970s.

23Telephone conversation with officer at D & G, 31/5/88.

24As an Information Officer with the Agency for Public Information (API). That name for the government’s information agency was introduced under the PNP regime of the 1970s. When the JLP was returned to power in 1980, the old name - the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) - was re-introduced (in 1981).
Glouden herself alluded to part of the reason later: 'I lost a job once because the owners of the newspaper wanted bare-breasted ladies in the paper. I disagreed. They are still running the pictures, and I still don't have the job, but I have my conviction. I have to fight the battle in other ways, especially as tits are considered okay for public viewing: more so if you throw in a breast-feeding campaign...' ("A time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 45). PAJ action including meetings, and demonstrations at the three principal corporate controlled media houses of that period (CCJ/Daily News, Gleaner, Radio Jamaica) was jointly supported, for instance, by the PNP Youth Organization, the Workers’ Liberation League (WLL - WPJ from 1978) as well as some members of the broader population. Thus, for example, on August 29, scores of communication workers marched to the Daily News premises.

The Star’s Editor was not reinstated. The Daily News’ Editor was later reinstated at least partly because of the deliberations of the Commission of Enquiry established by the Ministry of Labour. The Commission was presided over by the Chief Justice, the Ombudsman-designate, and a Jamaica Development Bank economist who sought to determine whether professional journalists at the News, on the one hand, should have controlled editorial policy, as against such control being embraced by owners and their business representatives, on the other. It is useful to note that all this was taking place within the onset of a deepening economic crisis for Jamaica, a climate of withdrawal by CCJ’s capitalist interests in 1977/78, and in the aftermath of one of the major post-new technology Gleaner lay-offs and emerging industrial unrest among media workers.

The founding Editor of the Daily News (1973-76), J. C. Proute, was a member of the CCJ Board and actually held his editorial post while being the Board’s day-to-day policymaking representative in the period of ‘interregnum’ between one executive/managing director and the next. About the circumstances which brought about his resignation, he spoke of the Managing Director’s involvement over a political issue. More generally, Proute explained that,

the Chairman couldn’t keep his hands off...He kept interfering...and he was the principal shareholder, and I understand that. When he was invited to manage the place, I said...you are going to have to learn to keep your hands off the paper. And he said sometime that he didn’t realize what sort of power he was giving me...And I said, I will only edit it for you if I can operate within these kinds of parameters... (Interview, 26/4/88)

That Editor resigned from the job. Later, when the Daily News was on a perhaps arguably more precipitous wane based on chronic under-funding with the prevailing national/global economic crisis, another Editor (from 1981 - Carl Wint) who had reported on Politics and Parliament and had served as the Editor of the paper’s Sunday edition for some time, took office. He explained that during the 1977 crisis the General Manager (or Managing Director) had questioned the use of two columnists.

25 Former chief editor, JBC News and vice president, PAJ.
26 Recall also Trinidad Publishing’s later staff reduction based on installation of new technology.
27 The is Upthal Ganguli who was at the centre of the principal editorial conflict in 1977.
and the then editor explained that he saw nothing wrong with allowing access to a range of views. The General Manager responded that he had no money to pay the columnist who then said that he would have written the column free of charge:

It came right down to the question of who controlled the newsroom.

Where you have a good strong editorial and a good strong management, there are going to be problems...(Interview, 25/4/88):

This Editor himself had a far less than incident-free tenure. By that time Jamaica, as will be recalled was being governed by the conservative and strongly pro-U.S.A. JLP government. The Editor stated that one night after he had closed the paper, the then Chairman (Arnold Foot) telephoned and ordered a substitution for the page-one lead. It happened twice. In one instance, Lucille Mail, a former head of the government's information agency (API - under a PNP administration) was appointed to a senior post at the United Nations. Reagan was also on a visit to Jamaica. The Editor accorded parallel treatment to the two stories on page-one. Before printing, the Reagan story, on the Chairman's orders, was emphasized to take precedence over the other (Interview, 25/4/88).

We have already encountered some elements of the concrete material factors and ideas which underpin and structure decision-making and control. The above case of journalists' response to what they perceived at a moment in time to be overpowering tentacled intransigence on the part of such policymakers was, in a general sense, quite unusual, and the relationship between journalists and management was largely less than fundamentally antagonistic.

One Managing Editor as we have seen, preferred a middle-of-the-road stance (Interview, Best, Advocate, 21/6/88). An Executive Editor stated: 'If I didn't agree with them [Gleaner's policies] I would leave...[or] be fired! (Interview, Allen, 2/5/88). An earlier mentioned Executive Editor, then Editor-in-Chief explained that: 'Inevitably there were conflicts...I made it quite clear that I am subject to the Managing Director for all matters of administration...[But] If the editor yields editorial authority to another person, what he is doing is moving away from tradition...' (Interview, 25/5/88). On one occasion, the then Chairman of the Board (Leslie Ashenheim) 'rang me' expressing disagreement with an editorial I had written. 'He said, "what are you going to do about it?" I said, "nothing. You are free like any other citizen to write a letter to the editor...The Board does not instruct the editor as to what to write..." And, he agreed that it would

The Gleaner Company recently redeployed its Editor, Dudley Stokes. According to a Weekly Gleaner report, his appointment to the post of Manager (Human Resources Development), was announced by Board Chairman Oliver Clarke. 'Dr. Stokes expressed his desire to relinquish the position of Editor of The Gleaner Publications so as to concentrate fully on developing the new Human Resources Development department' but 'until a successor to the position of Editor is identified Dr. Stokes will fill the positions of Editor, Gleaner Publications and Human Resources Development Manager' (31/12/91: 6). Significantly, our Executive Editor mentioned above was later selected from a field of applicants as Editor of Gleaner publications, effective March 1, 1992 to replace Stokes (Weekly Gleaner, 3/6/92: 10). Allen's appointment makes him the first 'insider' to be take on the post after Theodore Sealy's retirement in the 1970s. Allen had been employed at the Gleaner Co. from 1952 - employment broken only by studies (see footnote in an earlier chapter).

278

28. Tending to the far left ideologically.

29. The Gleaner Company recently redeployed its Editor, Dudley Stokes. According to a Weekly Gleaner report, his appointment to the post of Manager (Human Resources Development), was announced by Board Chairman Oliver Clarke. 'Dr. Stokes expressed his desire to relinquish the position of Editor of The Gleaner Publications so as to concentrate fully on developing the new Human Resources Development department' but 'until a successor to the position of Editor is identified Dr. Stokes will fill the positions of Editor, Gleaner Publications and Human Resources Development Manager' (31/12/91: 6). Significantly, our Executive Editor mentioned above was later selected from a field of applicants as Editor of Gleaner publications, effective March 1, 1992 to replace Stokes (Weekly Gleaner, 3/6/92: 10). Allen's appointment makes him the first 'insider' to be take on the post after Theodore Sealy's retirement in the 1970s. Allen had been employed at the Gleaner Co. from 1952 - employment broken only by studies (see footnote in an earlier chapter).

30. Until the second half of the 1970s.
help to demonstrate to the country that it is not the Board that instructs the editor [on] what to write' (Interview, Wynter).

On the surface of it, this last scenario would seem to support a view that the editor - while constrained by various factors - had a great deal of autonomy and control vis-a-vis Board level policymakers or publishers. Some contextualizing will at least call any such assumption into question. Bear in mind also factors raised in earlier discussions. Firstly, that Editor-in-Chief, prior to joining the Gleaner publications, had been placed in the hierarchy of the JLP before the 1972 general election defeat. Secondly, shortly after he became Editor in 1976 the publishing house, he was called to the Board in 1979 (Gleaner Co., Report 1979: 7). Thirdly, that same Editor-in-Chief (retired in 1984), in the 1980s was listed as a shareholder in the company (Registrar of Companies, Kingston, 1988). Finally, the 'letter to the editor' eventually written by the Chairman, took precedence over all other letters published for the day. It was a detailed 'lead' letter and was accompanied by a photograph, a thrust in presentation not frequently accorded to other letter writers. Although the interviewee could not recall the topic and time of the incident, the evidence seems to point to a March, 1977 Leslie Ashenheim letter in which the first paragraph read as follows:

A new and horrendous threat to our liberties has now appeared on the horizon. We are apparently to be deprived of our freedom to dissent - especially our freedom to dissent from Government doctrine and policy, and still more especially to dissent through any of the public media (Daily Gleaner, 16/3/77: 8 /Editorial Page).

The letter was in opposition to the PNP Government’s plans to nationalize Radio Jamaica (RJR), the radio station with easily the larger audience when compared with the state-owned Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC), thereby removing it from the arms of the transnational British Electric Traction (70 per cent). Ashenheim called on Government to abandon the plans. In the previous month (Daily Gleaner, 1/2/77: 1) the only front-page story with a red headline was from the Opposition conservative JLP spokesman on Information who was critical of the plans: 'If this should be allowed to happen then both national radio stations as well as our only television station would be in the hands of the same political gang and another step toward one party rule would be successfully completed.' That politician virtually anticipated the historical direction of the country’s politics but, ironically, under JLP one-party rule from 1983 to 1989.

A note from the Editor and Editor-in-Chief who had served until the mid-1970s but who

31. An ongoing crisis in the party in 1990 in which more liberal members of the JLP - the so-called "Gang of Five" - were expelled after they expressed dissatisfaction with Seaga’s leadership led, by October to the appointment of a shadow cabinet in which Wynter was awarded the portfolio of information and culture (see, Caribbean Times, 30/10/90: 8).

32. When interviewed in 1988 he couldn’t immediately recall. He stated: ‘I think I was called in ‘77 or ‘78. But I’ve been on the Board now for almost ten years.’

33. The PNP’s colour has been orange, but red [e.g., of the WPJ] symbolizes socialism/communism was the colour highlighting the Daily Gleaner’s front page stories announcing the Feb. 1989 PNP General Election victory.

34. Recall the PNP’s official absence from Parliament during the period.
was not a Board member during his tenure but rather at the operational level (as a general statement)
of a salaried employee a salaried employee, is useful. The 'Director would say at some time:
"Sealy, what stand will you take on so and so tomorrow?" I said, read it tomorrow.' Sealy saw
Board members as 'not much' of a problem. 'I regard them as sources of knowledge and as a result
there was little conflict. They had a lot of knowledge of general affairs which I found very useful.'
Indeed, as he related:

you know that the Board had the last say on important issues] but I can't remember any
instance when we differed sharply (Interview, Sealy, 15/7/88).

The evidence hardly presents any basis for such difference, and this is barely adjusted by his view
that journalists have to 'insulate' and 'isolate' themselves in order to function properly (Sealy in Daily
News, 9/1/75: 2).

The News Editor of the Advocate-News explained that the paper would cover the Rotary
Club, and that reporters were mindful of not covering club events 'because...[they] would be
offending the president, ...[the] boss', who is a member of this 'prestige social organization'
(Interview, Smith, 21/6/88). This is a form of what could be termed self-censorship for
compatibility, which conceptually and in reality is far from uncommon to newsrooms, although the
subject may vary. Nevertheless, one Express News Editor stated that,

The Board never interferes directly in editorial affairs. That would be considered a
terrible thing to do. All kinds of feathers would get ruffled, you know. If they have
something to say [they would] say it to the Chief Executive and then he would deal with it
as he chooses to... (Interview, Pantin, 27/6/88)

It is useful to recall an example of how this supposed autonomy is situated and structured within the
broader economic and political context and company/conglomerate policy. In a recent McAl annual
report, the newly appointed Managing Director of Trinidad Publishing (publishers of the Guardian,
etc.), Alwin Chow stated in part:

I've brought to this job my knowledge of computers, a background in accountancy, a
knowledge of the political and economic climate in Trinidad and Tobago - all vital if I am
to transform this organisation and its people into a unit that embraces emerging
technology - while at the same time satisfying the corporate goals of independent news
coverage and profitability.

...We must ensure editorial independence of these newspapers. We must make sure that
policy is implemented without fear or favour (1989: 32).

According to the report, the Managing Director had the 'full and publicly stated support of the McAl
Group not to interfere or influence editorial policy, which is set by the Board.35 This illustration
points to a considerable range of the factors which help to structure the form of news and information
and its ideological hue.

Board members need not frequently and directly issue instructions on the direction and
details of news coverage as there are other ways in which output may be structured satisfactorily for
them. Again, we must bear in mind that not all directors have executive responsibility and conscious
intervention beyond Board level discussion would normally only directly involve the managing/

35 This Board seems to be that of Trinidad Publishing rather than that of parent conglomerate, McAl.
executive or a person acting for him/her. The Express - to resume where we left off - by its stance on various issues has illustrated this. The interviewee himself assisted by informing that he believed ‘the former General Manager here, Mr. Ken Gordon who is now a Government Minister... [who] spent seventeen years here... worked out that policy...’ Management itself, as seen, apart from inscribing its will in policies or in operational details at times, is hardly averse to even delete staff it perceives as antagonistic over and above necessary measures imposed by constraints of technological change.

Policy sometimes seems to relate more to the broader outside context than to internal specific details of relations between professionals and policymakers/publishers, with the separation probably less discreet in the case of small newspapers. Extracts from the small Grenadian Voice’s policy are useful:

The Grenadian Voice has been born of the express wish of countless citizens, in every stratum of life in our community, for an independent newspaper as a symbol of freedom of expression...

The policy of this paper is to practice the highest standard of journalism, to encourage and promote freedom of expression in a free Grenada..., to support those policies and programmes of Government which, in our opinion, are beneficial to the nation and the people as a whole but to be ready to counsel caution or offer criticism when we differ from Government (20/11/83: 5).

Broadly, this sub-section has covered a central area of the news production process which has pointed to some of the constraints on the process, as well as illustrated the broadly subordinate intervention factor which has somehow helped to stress fairly definitely the prior control and power of policy makers. Indeed, however, this is not a simple matter of insertion but in some cases has to be studiously tested and worked out. Furthermore, imposition is not even necessary at times because journalists more so than executives know their bounds, and accept them in line with a sort of rights and responsibilities structure. The discussion here must also advance to consider some factors which are sometimes perceived as being external to the news production process and to control within, and of, the news organization. Firstly, let us examine constraints and action issuing from dependence on advertising.

7.5 Journalists, advertising, and news production

Generally, as has been evidenced, and more specifically in terms of the Caribbean, advertising is the major source of revenue for commercial media organizations under capitalist relations of production. In the case of commercially run media, some observers may view as a maxim the comment that advertising needs media and media need advertising. Those who have a message to

36 The incidence of top editors being Board members or being invited to some Board meetings, as we have seen, is not uncommon in the Caribbean.

37 He resigned as a Minister under the NAR three years later.

38 This is an extract from one of the three editorials reproduced from June 1981 editions of the Voice, publication of the paper having been stopped by the PRG in that month.
transmit or a commodity for sale find the press and the media broadly, exceedingly useful for rapid dissemination; and media principals, frequently major appropriators themselves seek such revenue to sustain profitable production.

Advertising is not the only source of revenue. Circulation revenues have in cases exceeded advertising as observed in the case of the Gleaner Co. in the profound local (and global) capitalist economic crisis in the 1970s. Such a reversal of configuration in the case of a major established publishing outfit is a near certain indicator of a broader economic crisis, although competitors and other factors could account for that situation. An advertising boycott could achieve a similar result, and this is not unproblematic because lower advertising levels normally translate into constrictions on funding, with almost certain multiplier consequences manifestated in staff reductions, limitations on news and information coverage, and the whole array of pressures. The Gleaner Co. displayed these factors ‘variously’ and ‘severally’ during the crisis of the late 1970s but mainly because of the broad national economic and financial crisis - a situation in which public relations and advertising are often early targets for cuts among capitalist enterprises - and even the advent of cost-saving new technology did not rapidly offset the crisis for the organization. Advertising having re-asserted itself in the 1980s, the Gleaner Co. moved smoothly into a somewhat satisfactory profit position. One commentator noted:

Gleaner reported $12 million profit [for 1987] up strongly from $2.7 million in 1986...After Tax profits for 1988 is now estimated at $17 - $18 million for earnings of approximately $1.30 per share...

The 1987 results continue the profit recovery and growth which commenced in the early 80's.

Corporate reports indicate that 1988 has started out well and the amount of adverts and size of the Gleaner supports this, notwithstanding price increases for both the paper and advertising rates. With a strong and growing advertising market, profit is set to continue on a growth path. The Company's publications have some lousy journalistic qualities but the guys at the top certainly know how to squeeze the dollars to the bottom line. A definite buy for any portfolio (Money Index, 19/4/88: 12).

Advertising receipts are a key determining factor for the success and survival of commercially run newspapers, and may quite specifically affect their capacity to carry out news coverage or broader editorial responsibilities. The Press Association of Jamaica's (PAJ's) President, 41 in speaking on 'The Jamaican Economic Climate and the Press', stated mid-1991 that after consulting several media managers the prevailing situation was in crisis all round as a result of the general problems affecting the nation's economy. He stated that media houses were distressed by what were expected to be cuts in income from advertising. The association's head also explained that the state of the Jamaican economy and especially the shortage of foreign exchange were damaging the Jamaican media's ability to cover news, provide information, and provide Jamaican programmes and even to keep staff (Daily Gleaner, 13/6/91: 17).

39 The CCJ/Daily News was only a serious competitor for advertising in the early to mid-1970s.

40 See Appendices 12 and 13.

41 Franklin McKnight.
That major advertisers form part of the capitalist power structure and comprise a key determining element upon editorial direction and the cultural and symbolic product itself is not necessarily a direct and 'active' factor. However, it is one which may be conditioned by the general economic context which may engender the 'reaction' of reducing expenditure on publicity/advertising and affect published material and views.

Liberal-pluralist social or mass media researchers (e.g., Seiden, 1974: 178) point out, for instance, that newspaper 'revenues are derived from numerous merchants none of whose expenditures are critical for the survival of today's newspaper giants'. Indeed, the newspaper giants were even larger at the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s, although some were the subject of takeovers and near collapse in the economic recession of that period. Seiden here recognizes that advertisers are not merely advertising companies per se, although such companies are frequently very large and powerful transnational organizations. Where he becomes evidently reckless relates to a perceptible neglect of questions such as the extent to which his 'newspaper giants' are separate from his 'merchants' both as fellow large-scale commodity producers or perhaps units of major conglomerates/transnationals or more fundamentally, unified at the level of class background and interests.

Miliband (1969: 206-207), a neo-Marxist scholar notes that a 'source of conformist and conservative pressure upon newspapers and other media' is 'that exercised directly or indirectly, by capitalist interests, not as owners, but as advertisers.' [emphasis added] He apparently doubts that large advertisers exert any considerable 'direct political influence' on the commercial media. 'It is only occasionally that such advertisers are able, or probably even try, to dictate the contents and policies of the media of which they are the customers. But their custom is nevertheless of crucial importance to the financial viability, which means the existence of newspapers and, in some but not all instances, of magazines, commercial radio and television. That fact may do no more than enhance [emphasis original] a general disposition on the part of these media to show exceptional care in dealing with such powerful and valuable interests' (1973: 207). Wintour, in his book Pressures on the Press generally stood in harmony with this position and it is difficult to discredit. He felt that it would be ridiculous to pretend that a newspaper which was highly dependent on advertising would not have its editorial policies somehow influenced by the source of all the associated funds. He felt that a clear distinction must be drawn between various types of influence and that, 'in general advertising influence was negligible' and that even where it was not, it was indeed 'harmless' (1972: 35-36). That is also an assessment from Britain. Of course, the significant factors about intervention are nature, timing, and consequences where we can at all distinguish between action and structural process.

In small societies such as those in the Anglophone Caribbean, the situation varies somewhat from that in the large centres of advanced capitalism. The withdrawal of advertising by one large advertiser in a small country, even if temporary, can cause serious tremors in a newspaper's financial situation. The large advertiser and the advertising agent who will provide the display advertisements loom closer than in the larger, more populous and financially wealthier industrialized societies. Barbara Glouden (see above) implied this, let us say, 'particularity' in the Caribbean and perhaps of smaller societies existing within the liberal-democratic tradition:

If we want to look at why things or issues are not covered, especially in this part of the world, consider the power of who pays: the power of the advertisers.
Why the plethora of beauty contests in Jamaica? Because beauty contests bring in advertising. Why the coverage of social functions? Because the directors of companies who are major advertisers put on social functions and expect coverage. People in the Kingston ghetto of Trench Town don’t put on social functions; they put on curry goat feeds. Nobody covers those. But what if there was news there? ("A Time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 45).

That observer was then addressing primarily professionalism, but also the issue of women in the media. What we wish to note here is her reference to ‘especially this part of the world’, and also the important question of access - the what, who, when, why, where and how of those issues and/or events which remain in the news net and those who do not, or never even got close to the net.

To present examples of journalists’ experiences in the Caribbean, is not to argue that advertising automatically, distinctly and directly constrain or influence journalistic production, the news and opinion production process, or have particular power over news organizations but that the experiences (and, sometimes who the advertisers are), at a minimum level, do place considerable limitations on the process. This occurs both at the level of the structural thrust of broad economic considerations, and at that of the less consistent but nevertheless important level of human agency.

The entry of advertising and advertisers is sometimes indirect and relates to firm-level factors, the larger prevailing economic context, the political climate, and so on. In certain cases a newspaper in crisis acting to preserve an important source of advertising may publish a story(ies) perceived as likely to enhance the advertiser’s interest. Thus, an inadequately post-corporate-capitalist-owned, Government-funded Daily News in the late 1970s PNP years, with the liquidator and receiver hovering, at the door might have found this necessary on more than one occasion. Managing Director, Maurice Garrison who stated that he did not attend editorial departmental meetings unless invited, pointed out:

There was one occasion when I had to take a unilateral decision to ensure that a land service thing was covered. [The] person was a major advertiser...The editor would not have understood the implications...It was the Advertising Manager and myself who decided (Interview, 27/4/88).

The matter was nevertheless discussed with the Editor. This reminds of what Petrusenko (1976: 51) said in The Monopoly Press: 'Every American journalist knows that his newspaper’s stand on many issues is determined by the advertisement department, which is closely linked with business circles and well aware of their positions, opinions and interests.' Cleverley somehow endorses this:

...if the assumption is made that at least part of the objectives of a newspaper is to make profit, then the role of the editorial department within that must be to attract and keep the loyalty of readers - the right kind of readers...The critical role that editorial plays in building and maintaining circulation is universally recognised in Fleet Street to the extent that the most exposed person in a situation of declining circulation is usually the editor, assuming he cannot successfully get rid of the buck either downwards to his department heads or upwards to the board or the proprietor (1976: 56).

Barron, writing from the USA in the early 1970s thought that ‘the contemporary passion of the daily press’ was ‘not with ideas but with profit.’ He felt that desire to protect local merchants was often one of protecting newspaper advertising revenue. 'The fact that the local merchant may be

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42 Former centre of Britain’s newspaper industry in Central London which was replaced by Wapping in East London on the defeat of the print unions and the insertion of new media technology in the 1980s.
involved in a controversy suffused with social and political issues seems irrelevant against profit-loss considerations (1973: 21). The Daily News was generally under-funded from the outset when two of Jamaica's major corporate enterprises were in the forefront as owners. A Chief Reporter who also later served as Editor stated:

They got into this business of running a newspaper and the operation as a commercial undertaking was not properly financed. There was a desperate shortage after the second year...of operating capital...[For] example in the editorial department we always had to be cutting the budget...Staff weren't paid sufficient, for a start. There was not enough equipment, material...we couldn't give reporters expenses to do their job, for example to take their contacts to lunch...Interview, James, 30/5/88).

The Daily News' founding Editor substantiates this: 'It had inadequate working capital...' In addition, when one Executive Director left (mid-70s), he (the founding Editor) 'was asked to take over within a week...Within three days of my taking it over, the three newsprint suppliers in Canada 'phoned...to say they were cutting off our newsprint supplies because we owed them money...The second week I was there the bank manager called me in...' Those were some of the constraints under which cultural production occurred and the sorts of circumstances which probably gave advertisers leverage and made it even more incumbent that advertising contracts were maintained. On the other hand, advertisers, having an awareness of the Daily News' financially insecurity might have taken advantage of the situation.

On one occasion, when one of the major shareholders was launching a new brand of beer on the Jamaican market, photographs were presented [public relations style] by the company's advertising representative, 'and I refused to use them.' This representative accompanied by the then Vice Chairman of CCJ/Daily News and a Director of NCC, the major shareholder, came to the Editor and 'said, "I see you [are] not publishing" our copy. 'I said, if you send it in that way, it will not be published...,' (Interview, Proute, 26/4/88). Particular differences, real or imagined, exist between the public relations practitioner's or advertising man's craft, on the one hand, and that of the journalist, on the other. For instance, the 'objectivity', 'balance' and 'impartiality' associated with the core journalistic fraternity have little or no place in public relations practitioner's culture although if he needs to have his organization's interests advanced by channelling information through the journalist it is incumbent upon him to take account of the latter's mode. The public relations practitioner generally, at least, has to be seen as committed to serving the interests of his company or organization. However, undoubtedly there may be an internal "behind-the-scenes" ironing out of any disagreements before his news release is dispatched to the mass media and other sections of the circuit. One commentator notes that 'public relations practitioners acknowledge that journalists have veto power in the game of information exchange because they determine the fate of the message.' However, there are also limits to which journalists can oppose public relations (PR) practitioners 'because in some areas where the source monopolizes information the public relations practitioner can punish recalcitrant journalists by refusing information or disclosing it to others' (Charron, 1989: 50-51). Quite apart from that, however, as Schiller (1986) offers: 'As new alloys are forged in the crucible of commercial culture...[b]oundaries between news, entertainment, public relations and advertising, always fluid historically, are now becoming almost invisible' (1986: 21). Furthermore, public relations agencies are utilizing the new communications technologies to achieve a 'whole new level of penetration' through their own wire services (1986: 27). Schiller is broadly referring to the USA but there are aspects, particularly with regard to the first extract here which could apply to other contexts, including some backward capitalist areas. But if we go yet further, our example of conflict
over the presentation of the PR information may point to the less than fundamental separation between journalism and public relations. Speaking reflexively as one who has worked in press and in PR, and done some relevant research (see, e.g., Martin, 1978), one is in a position to state definitively that journalists (printed and broadcast media) in Jamaica sometimes expressed impatience at the way in which Government news releases (PR) were sometimes written. As part of the reason for this, rewriting can be a thankless task when deadlines have to be met. Thus, an editor would be impatient with releases staring him in the face with introductions such as 'The Government will...'; 'The Minister said...' and so on rather than, for instance, 'Higher revenue from the bauxite levy will be part of the outcome of a new agreement to be signed shortly between the Government and the bauxite companies...'; etc.

On at least one other occasion the company intervening in the case cited in the penultimate paragraph above is said to have threatened to withdraw advertising over the content of a story, but according to an editor interviewed for this study, he did not think that in the end the advertising was withdrawn (Interview, James, 30/5/88; also referred to, Interview, Brodie, 14/7/88). More decisively, the principals of a firm which distributed a type of 1970s motorcycle, most notoriously identified as popular with urban gangs, 'pulled their $90,000^4^5^6 worth of advertising out of the Daily News' when the name of the bike was mentioned in a story arising from an incident involving the police and a cyclist. 'But within a week they were back. And I believe that one can't allow advertisers, or business people or politicians or members of the public to edit your paper for you' (Interview, Proute, 26/4/88; also "A time for Dialogue", 1989: 62). In a 1989 article, he elaborated:

Many blatant examples of efforts to exert undue influence on editorial decisions may be attributed to that powerful group, advertisers.

As we all know, the revenue of a newspaper or a radio or television station comes mainly from advertising though, in the case of a newspaper circulation contributes too. This means that there are always advertisers who seek to apply pressure on the media if they feel that a story has not been properly treated or that no story should have been written about them at all.

There are many instances, in my experience, of advertisers or advertising agencies feeling annoyed about something which was published and then pulling their advertising (Proute,"A time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 62).

The cases sketched immediately here do not involve inaccurate reporting but more unease on the part of company principals that they stood to lose business. An extract from research done in the U.S.A. is in order here. Let us look at corporate response to the question: How do you respond to inaccurate reporting of your company's affairs? In the case of 36 of 89 companies listed there was recourse through a 'Letter to the Editor and/or Specific Reporter'; 16 took the route of 'Phone or Verbal Contact with Editor and/or Reporter'; 14 adopted the approach 'Shrug it Off as Typical Media

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43 Of course, many government information officers tended to have a grounding in 'core' journalism, and wrote accordingly and stylistically appropriately.

44 Operated by a well known owning family, represented, for instance, on the Gleaner Company's Board of Directors.

45 The J$ was then larger than the US$ (approximately J$0.91 = US$1.00).
Behavior'; and among others, 11 took to 'Personally Visit Editor and/or Reporter' (Lerbinger, 1977: 83). Corporate bosses would not necessarily make all approaches themselves. In the Caribbean and many other places, advertising agencies and public relations representatives would sometimes make at least initial contacts. Particularly relevant to the discussion above is the information that sixteen cases had recourse to 'Phone or Verbal Contact with Editor and/or Reporter.'

The importance of advertising and advertiser pressure arose from several interviews. The Trinidad Guardian's Editor stated; 'We normally take a line. If you don't like it, fine' (Interview, Chongsing, 26/6/88). Notes on Trinidad Publishing, publishers of the Guardian in parent McAl's 1989 Annual Report read in part that the company:

Suffered boycotts from certain advertisers but...weathered this adversity without compromise to its editorial policies and in fact improved profitability despite significant revenue loss (1989: 26).

The News Editor of the Express, The Guardian's immediate and primary competitor newspaper stressed:

Advertisers...generally don't throw their weight around but we do run into the occasional difficult person...In a small economy like this, you always are treading on very fine lines between being an independent newspaper and giving in to pressure from the advertising community. It is something that I would say, sometimes we lose it, sometimes we win it...It's a "too-ing and fro-ing" (Interview, Pantin, 27/6/88).

In Barbados, the News Editor of the Advocate-News felt that:

The advertiser has more control over the press in this part of the world, in Barbados for sure, than perhaps the politicians...(Interview, Smith, 21/6/88)

More concretely, he stated that during the year, around the time of the Barbados Day celebrations,

an advertising agency...said, look, we did not see enough of our press releases in the paper...and next year, don't look for any advertising in your paper, from us (Interview).

In another instance, he outlined that 'a reporter wanted to write about some problem at a hotel. On calling...one of the real estate people...involved in the dispute, the realtor said, "look, I give you a lot of advertising...in addition to which, my attorney is connected to your paper," and so we never carried [it]...' Capitalists compete among themselves, but then it is necessary to constantly bear in mind their fundamental unity. More specifically, advertisers may be large shareholders in the very communication firms which are affected by their expenditure or lack of it.

According to the Nation's News Editor (at the time of interview): 'We do lose accounts, because we take a stance that the advertiser might feel is not in his best interest' but some do return because of the paper's comparatively large circulation. '...there is a big supermarket chain...which spends a lot of money with us and at some point in time we had occasion to record some...internal fraud that was going on there...They withdrew their account' (Interview, Gilkes, 22/6/88). The basis of this withdrawal hardly detracts from a fundamental class unity. Displaced profit from perceived unfavourable publicity may simply represent a transfer to the plate of another major

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46 Also a Board member of the publishers, Trinidad Publishing Company.
appropriator, local, local-regional, or global/international.

The Editor/Publisher of the very small weekly, Grenadian Voice stated: 'I would rather see the newspaper fold up than to have to tow anybody's line...'. The paper gets some advertising from 'agencies abroad...that represent companies that have interests locally...'. For instance, BWIA (British West Indian Airways - of Trinidad, publicly owned) advertising is channelled through McCann Erickson (a global TNC) and Berger (TNC, best known for paints) from Corbin Compton (advertising agency). Locally, the 'biggest companies for advertising now are Courts\(^\text{47}\) and Huggins...-' (this latter, of Trinidad parentage) (Interview, Pierre, 2/7/88).

In all this, we ought not to derive altogether contentious differences between journalists and advertisers. Journalists appreciate the usefulness of advertising and related circulation figures to the commercial press. Top executives and owners who are frequently advertisers themselves - apart from broad class interest - maintain a close relationship with agents of those who advertise in their newspapers or the major advertisers themselves. The Gleaner Company, for instance, has trophy and award presentations for various concerns. Thus, the Chairman/Managing Director presented the 'Top Billing Award' in the form of a large trophy\(^\text{48}\) to Moo Young/Butler Associates on March 19, 1991 as that advertising firm had won the award for 1990. The firm had placed $7 million in advertising with Gleaner Publications in 1990. Perhaps partly because of the pressure of living up to the requirements of the trophy, and the declining value of the free floating Jamaican dollar as well as its own business imperatives, Moo Young/Butler received the trophy again in 1992 for an 85 per cent increase in advertising placed with Gleaner Publications ($13 million) in 1991 compared to 1990 (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 14/4/92: 11). Journalists are not advertising department managers or workers and would tend to guard their professionalism and autonomy, and press freedom as they see it.

7.6 The Caribbean News Agency and cultural production

It would be careless to exclude some reference to the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) from an examination of journalists and cultural production in the Caribbean. Its news gatherers and processors are responsible for much information output locally and local-regionally as well as even further afield. As we saw in an earlier chapter, it is also a peculiar cooperative which has much to do with the management of information disseminated by the mass media and the economics of news processing. A brief interchange with a few of CANA's professionals and reference to an occasional subscriber or other interested parties will assist us to understand more about the framework of understandings and ideology as well as the facilitation and reinforcement of the workings of capital.

News professionals sometimes talk of being very 'autonomous'. The news correspondent perhaps has a certain peculiarity in this respect. The CANA Kingston correspondent qualified this statement by pointing out that such autonomy operated 'in the sense that you don’t get

\(^{47}\) A TNC - dealer, notably in furniture and appliances which has created and found a market in many countries of the Anglophone Caribbean. It has outlets in several of the countries.

\(^{48}\) Apparently to be kept for the year.
It is assumed that I understand news; I appreciate what is going to be news...for Jamaica and for the Caribbean, and...in an international context also... (Interview, Defreitas, CANA, 3/5/88)

But, the agency has operational guidelines, 'and you see if you go outside of that, somebody is going to tell you, I'm sure.' It is necessary to further situate such 'autonomy' into a broader context. The news correspondent in the CANA case is quite often based in a distant land as a self-contained unit in so far as news gathering and unit management is concerned but final processing of copy is a head office responsibility. Furthermore, correspondents often have their station in an established media house, for example the Glenner in Jamaica, and in Trinidad and Tobago, the Express. Correspondents at these bases denied that this location had any impact on their decision-making even though they had to monitor other media to keep abreast of news developments and arrive at their output for the day or week. The Trinidad and Tobago correspondent was very decisive: 'Not at all...I answer to my editors in Barbados' (Interview, Ransom, 27/6/88). In addition, the Kingston correspondent as a specific case had worked part-time as a recruit, at times between studies before becoming a full-time agency professional, allowing for the development of specific news-writing techniques and for becoming fully conversant with established policy guidelines.

Correspondents do have considerable autonomy, as exemplified in the fact that they do not frequently meet, being spacially distant and thereby conditioned by the physical difficulty of meeting with a sort of regularity evident in the editorial department of a newspaper or broadcasting organization. The Trinidad and Tobago correspondent who joined the agency on a part-time basis from 1985 but became full-time from 1986, said she could only think of two occasions on which 'they've been able to get most of us together in a room' (Interview, 27/6/88). However, technological advance ensures that along with general editorial policy, centralization of editorial attention in the Barbados headquarters for CANA files or Caracas/New York for Reuter-CANA, correspondents have far less of what could be called in-house 'freedom' than this autonomy would suggest. External factors relating to sources, resources, context, and so on help to structure how correspondents go about their work.

The CANA Chief Editor with eleven years service by 1988 (having joined in 1977), pointed out that policy guidelines existed but,

We don't have any directives from the Board...I don't get a call from the Chairman which says, 'Why don't you cover so and so? Why didn't you cover that?'...Nothing like that (Interview, Simpson, 21/6/88).

This editor admitted, however, that he attended Board meetings 'when they' wanted 'explanations on anything.'

As newspaper and broadcast chiefs are largely part and parcel of the CANA structural and operational policy framework it is not surprising that they do relate to each other about CANA's

49 Location of the headquarters. Coming from the margins of the school which felt that governments were devils, Cuthbert (1981) wondered whether location in Barbados where the company was incorporated would have inspired government interference and affected the agency's autonomy. Musa and I argued in 1987 that the agency was in 'safe' capitalist hands.
activities in intervals between Board meetings. Thus, the Advocate’s Chief Executive explained that ‘Probably because CANA is located in Barbados...I am one of the resident directors’ so there was a degree of interaction between himself and the agency’s General Manager/Editor-in-Chief (Interview, Grosvenor, 21/6/88). The Gleaner’s Chairman/Managing Director in referring to CANA as ‘a support for the media’, pointed out that ‘the Gleaner benefits and instead of having to appoint stringers in every country we are able to buy a regional news service through one entity...’ (Interview, Clarke, 3/5/88)

CANA will come up again for discussion in the next chapter but for the time being, the data thus far has illustrated that it is not simply an autonomous agency holding the flag of ‘freedom of the press’ high and channelling ‘useful’ information throughout the region and beyond. It is indeed part of the structure and direction of the press and media in the region, and its output could reflect that background.

7.7 Journalists, the press, and capital, politics and the state

How do journalists and company allocative controllers - with special reference to our area of interest - attend to constraints which some may see as an ever present hazard on the horizon? Necessarily, what, are some of the constraints, especially those which emanate from politics and the state? What is the nature of such constraints, and/or human agency?

I start from the standpoint that relationships between media and the state and politics will not necessarily be founded upon antipathy, nor will they necessarily be in reverence to the state apparatus and its representatives but frameworks in which journalists will invoke their desire for professional ‘independence’. It is necessary to recognize that journalists have ‘beats’ which embrace contact with politicians and state in which mutually satisfactory relationships may exist without too many frustrations. The fact that such relationships exist, however, should not be taken to mean that journalists covering beat stories are automatically transformed into public relations practitioners for a governments or politicians. Journalists eventually have to return to base to answer to seniors, some of whom are frequently very wary of politicians generally and like colleague reporters, often imbibe the ideology that politicians and the state are the enemy incarnate, to be watched on behalf of ‘the people’ - this last composite necessarily embodying different interpretations. Not far removed from the newsroom too, is usually at least one allocative decision-maker who may prefer to have a window on processes in the newsroom. On the other hand, we should be aware that a reporter may be removed by his/her bosses from a beat after being assessed as having harassed the politician heading that beat, following the relevant telephone call to the editor or another principal(s). Left-wing politicians are quite another matter in relationships with the liberal press.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that there are points of mutual agreement between journalists and allocative decision-makers who very often share the scepticism of government/state as was discussed in Chapter Four. Immediately, this suggests a level of unity between journalists and policymakers/publishers, some of the ground of which we have already covered in terms of liberal notions of ‘freedom of the press’, and positions on organizational means and ends relating to specific journalistic practice. Indeed, the level of antagonism between press interests, on the one hand, and government and the state, on the other should not be seen as fundamental in the case of the
The discussion thus far, has tended to embrace the theme that there is a close proximity of positions, partly based on a largely symmetrical perception of how society should be shaped, and at a more specific level, agreement on the idea of the press as the 'watchdog' for the people and an essential 'fourth' arm of 'liberal democracy', and so on. Schooled for decades on the alleged value of gradual movement towards self-government, and structured management of affairs through the political apparatus as it exists, and in the immutability of society, most journalists - a part of society - perhaps struggle dearly for what they have come to embrace. It is likely that journalists rise to the call of holding arrangements as they are, as they join the categories of those receiving long service awards and as they become increasingly favoured by allocative controllers. The potential for unity may become the reality of unity. Both too, are sometimes incorporated by both conservative, liberal, and even radical political arrangements in, sometimes broad-based alliances - consortia whose final destinations are fairly predictable.

To enter into the specifics of our discussion, this present section will be broken down into two areas. Firstly, there will be a general look at journalists' and policymakers' understanding and view of state or governmental 'impositions' or intervention. Secondly, we will consider more specifically, references to the particular case examples (regimes, and to a lesser extent, countries) both in terms of identified external (governmental/politician/state restrictions) and of the internal negotiation over what should be done, to the extent that this arises and the direct response.

### 7.7.1 Understanding positions: the press and government/state

Burke's finding, in a 1981 Ph.d thesis done in the U.S.A., that CANA "stringers" "tend to self-censor their political news, so as not to antagonize leaders..." (Thesis, 1981; Dissertation Abstracts, 1982) is fairly specific to the CANA context but it is undoubtedly relevant to a larger understanding of Caribbean media environment. We have seen in earlier discussion that journalists attest to considerable autonomy but are not simply free to write what they wish, and necessarily operate within organizational and production constraints, as well as against more definitively external factors impacting upon cultural output and general performance. Several journalists and policymakers among those interviewed pointed to state and political constraints or regulations which partly determined the lines of their work. Here, we consider some of these. Included at some stage will be references to CANA, and to the government and small publications50 which are quite specifically relevant.

News production in the press and by media organizations as a whole are affected by official regulations such as laws outlawing libel and slander, and Official Secrets acts debar the release of specific government information. In terms of libel for instance, the Gleaner had to pay thousands of pounds in libel damages to the General Secretary of the Workers Party of Jamaica approximately a decade ago, and in the early 1980s found itself in a similar position after one of its columnists had libelled Michael Manley during his term in office as Prime Minister (see Appendix 11). In 1991, the financially faltering Jamaica Record was ordered to pay damages ($100,000) to a

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50 Specifically in the case of Grenada.
We have observed through much of this study that the historical factors associated with colonialism affected nature of capital accumulation, the development of the class structure and the political framework, and the insertion of the press and media as a whole. Within the baggage of the colonial experience came laws affecting information and related ideas of freedom of the press. Having been tied to Britain, the relevant laws or regulations are thus sourced and generally continue to prevail. The British laws on information are heavily criticized by its journalists and are known to be noticeably more rigid than, for instance, those of the USA. This has been the heritage although the laws may not tend to be as stringently applied in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Seditious libel and blasphemous libel are common law offences in Jamaica, and a law on obscenity in the various countries forbids the publication of obscene matter. A law of contempt in Jamaica has two dimensions - contempt of court and contempt of Parliament. The contempt of court aspect includes words or acts tending to obstruct the administration of justice, or any relevant act in writing. In this case - contempt of court - the publication in a newspaper of material abusive of a judge with reference to his conduct as a judge or publication of information abusing anyone appearing before that court is also considered an offence. Contempt of Parliament arises from interference with parliamentary privilege, and ‘words or acts which cast aspersions on the dignity of either House. Publishing a false or scandalous libel about either House attracts punishment by a specified fine or imprisonment. The press can also be prevented from attending specified sittings of either chamber.

The official Secrets Act - passed by the British Parliament - and also imposed on the then colonies continue to prevail without any amendments in the various CARICOM countries, and it limits the sorts of information which can be disclosed by civil servants. Further, a Censorship (Press and Postal) Act empowers the Governor General in times of emergency to issue a proclamation banning the publication of ‘all information with respect to troops, ships, aircraft, or war materials, etc...or to any measures taken for or connected with the defence of the Commonwealth...’ In the case of Guyana 'Article 12 of the Constitution...promises certain freedoms for the press' but it specifically states that the government has the right to enact laws restricting press freedoms that are ‘reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health...’ As in the case of the other countries the colonial continuities are marked. Moreover:

Because of the size of Guyana and the decline of privately owned media, control of the Guyanese press is not difficult. [T]he Ministry of Information and Culture is central in any attempt at press control. Most control of remaining private media is through self-censorship, and those newspapers that do not censor themselves find it impossible to obtain newsprint or equipment for printing. Moreover, with the 1972 Amendment to the Defamation Act expounding liability to individual publishers and printers for corporate acts, printing houses must now be responsible for the content of whatever is printed at their facilities...

After the Working People's Alliance newspaper, Dayclean, was seized by Guyanese Customs in 1974, a government order gave a cabinet minister retroactive power to seize...

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51 Perhaps the further handing down of the idea of civil service ‘neutrality’ partly contributes to maintaining the sanctity of this law.

or ban printed material that 'is prejudicial to the defence of Guyana, public safety or to public order' (Smeyak, 1982: 425).

Guyana probably exhibits most actual stringency among the Anglophone Caribbean although among other countries, the Outlet in Antigua, for instance, has had a fairly stormy existence as a continuing critic of the government there.

None of the countries has a press council to monitor the press, not that this would be meaningful if the British case is taken into account. The Caribbean Press Council (CPC) is nevertheless in place. The theme of self-censorship arises in several writings and in research about the press in the region and to the extent that this is the reality it is another factor which would reinforce journalists potential inclination to play a safe and cautious game within well known boundaries. There are several aspects to this particular issue. For instance, to overstep the bounds may mean financial loss against libel damages, lost revenue through restrictions on newsprint and/or advertising for sometimes precariously balanced newspapers; and to the extent that such restriction is also self-imposed it may become internalized and further reinforce attitudes of resistance to political and social change. In all this, however, observers should not fall into the trap of thinking that journalists and/or publishers are altogether powerless to respond or that governments do not face constraints on the degree to which they can implement punitive measures.

Trinidad and Tobago has been listed as the only country in the Caribbean with specific guarantees on freedom of the press. The guarantees were inspired by former Prime Minister Eric Williams who 'never interfered in the actual running of opposition newspapers or favoured their takeover' unlike several other Caribbean leaders:

At the same time he used legal means to curb the natural exuberance of the Trinidad press. Frequently he would bring libel suits against opposition newspapers, or invoke the application of certain obscure censorship laws...After the Black Power revolt in April 1970, the Emergency Powers Regulation Act went into effect for seven months to limit publicity given to the leaders of the revolt, and the government was empowered to control and censor media content and even to ban publication...In 1971 a new sedition law was enacted that some journalists found objectionable.

Beyond these sporadic instances, there has been no institutionalized state control over the Trinidadian media (Kurian, 1982: 881).

Williams is said to have been tolerant of abuses of press freedom, but he 'made it his policy to ignore the press as he chose. He never held press conferences and rarely spoke to newsmen.' The press also found other members of Williams' cabinet illusive. 'But although it was both common and acceptable for government officials to castigate the media, little effort was made to carry out the threats. The tension between the administration and the press did contribute to a degree of self-censorship and a nagging fear of reprisals, however, which inhibited journalistic initiative' (Kurian, 1982: 881).

One News Editor, in stating that his organization was 'perhaps the most

53Marxist-Leninist in orientation.

54The membership of the Press Complaints Commission (which replaced the Press Council) at the outbreak of the 1990s is staffed overwhelmingly by members of the media houses among other considerations. The Press Council itself might not have been missed if it never existed.
independent...media house existing in the Caribbean', emphasized that it had 'maintained a policy in
which we are free to criticize, free to praise...whether it's one political party or the other, whether
it's religion, whether it's the business sector...' (Interview, Gilkes, Nation, 22/6/88). However, he
added a cautionary note, in outlining that, 'because of [an] antiquated law of libel which, in
Barbados dates back to...the 19th century, we are still bound almost hand and foot...by
certain...restrictions which probably don't exist...in most other countries...' The paper nevertheless,
tried to 'maintain the highest standard possible, of journalism.'

The Barbados Advocate’s Managing Editor offered that:

...There is always freedom, of course freedom with restraints within the law...and the
responsibility that it demands...In fact, sometimes the greatest challenge to freedom is
the responsibility in which it must be exercised...(Interview, Best, 21/6/88)

This editor found that ‘in the Caribbean politicians are basically insecure...It is when they are exposed
to what they consider...are unfair pressures which they feel the press exert on them. Then they
become...difficult...I don’t think that this would be any different in a bigger country.’ He felt,
however, that politicians in their reaction had to be aware of public opinion:

I think what newspapers must always do is to [publicize] their case [so] that public
sympathy will be with them. Even if the politician risked to behave [aggressively] he
could suffer in the long run...

Various strands of explanation are raised here. Yes, the laws are there, and
responsibility imposes certain courses of action. The state and the political realm do impose
restrictions but politicians have to tread cautiously in view of the potential backlash of public opinion.
But, the press too can appeal to public sympathy and indeed, should take this course to establish its
‘rightness’. Like several other journalists and top policy level executives, this last interviewee
reiterated what many Caribbean social scientists have noted within other strands of analysis.
According to him:

In a society like ours where government provides so...many jobs...you have a body of
opinion that remains very silent and very content to tow the line for want of not rocking
the boat...It can become a threat to democracy...(Best, 21/6/88)

‘Rocking’ ‘the boat’ is not necessarily desired except where there are threats or apparent fundamental
threats to existing social order. We noted earlier from one major policy-maker/edifice that his
organization stood unabashedly for the free enterprise system, and that ‘incursions which could be
construed as undermining the democratic process’ would be opposed (Interview, Grosvenor,
21/6/88). As is self-evident, that ‘democratic process’ demands the free enterprise system and the
two, embraced within liberal-pluralist interpretations of the organization of society. This sort of
consonance and irreplaceability has wide acceptance for reasons, many of which have already been
raised.

Opposing government ownership of, and restrictions on the daily operation of the media,
as well as critical of how the private sector used the media in Barbados to advance ‘their own
interests’, one journalist suggested that the CBC, for instance, should be divested to broad-based
ownership in the society but that private sector groups should be excluded from participation in the
ownership. He believed in government intervention at critical periods where minorities may have too
strong a hand in ownership of the country’s resources. In identifying an example of private sector use
of their media to further their interests, the journalist noted that the *Nation* wished to own a television station,

and so whether it is in their editorials, or...through the columnists who review television and radio programmes, are always backing the point that government should grant a television licence (Interview, Smith, *Advocate*, 21/6/88).

This specific 'interest' (a television station) and the 'lobbying' for its attainment reminds of the Jamaica and Trinidad situations where the *Gleaner* Company, and Trinidad Publishing Company respectively, have campaigned through political administrations of liberal or conservative orientations but had not met with the success desired, in this quest at horizontal integration. After all, in these countries, as largely throughout the Caribbean, the tendency has been for the state to own broadcasting facilities which tend to operate in general sympathy with the regime of the day. In the first week of the new revolutionary regime in Grenada in 1979, *Gleaner* Publications' Editor, Hector Wynter attended the *IAPA* meeting in Trinidad. He informed the meeting that the Government of Jamaica owned most of the broadcast media and planned to establish community radio stations but refused the *Gleaner* Company permission to establish a commercial radio station\(^{35}\) (*CANA* - 19/3/79; *Daily Gleaner*, 20/3/79: 1). Recall though that privatization and liberalization measures in the late 1980s to 1990s have somewhat modified the overall ownership structure in the Anglophone Caribbean MDCs particularly north of Guyana.

To return to the question of state and political intervention or pressures, our last editor above only endorsed intervention at critical moments, but, as one news professional stated (outlined in more detail earlier):

> I don't think that a government minister or anybody should be saying that you can't print this because it is sensitive to the national interest or you shouldn't do this... (Interview, Smith, 21/6/88).

In this he has a great deal of support from counterparts in larger newspaper houses, as well as in organizations less central to the study. For example, in the case of *CANA*, one correspondent was advised by seniors to be cautious on such things as news of devaluation which could have serious consequences for the country's economy (Interview, Ransom, *CANA*/Trinidad, 27/6/88). Again, a Grenadian *Voice* subeditor felt that people should receive the full range of information necessary for effective decision-making (Interview, Pounder, 2/7/88).

Take the case of Board member and former Editor of the *Gleaner*. He argued, as noted earlier:

> I do not believe that the medium should have any particular national objective.

> You say, alright, the national objective might be, in Jamaica...to foster pluralism in such a way that news which might be injurious to the national interest may not be carried then you are destroying the fundamental of press freedom, and of...people's right to know (Interview, Wynter, 25/5/88).

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\(^{35}\) Such as that of Radio Jamaica under PNP/Manley administration.

\(^{36}\) According to the *Gleaner*, 'in view of the foreign exchange implication'.
James (Interview, 30/5/88), past Chief Reporter and Editor of the Daily News, in pointing out that government was opposed or supported by the paper as appropriate, explained that:

The newspaper was vilified at the same time by both leading political parties...for its stand because apparently...there was a mindset that a newspaper was either one or the other...I think a lot of people, especially politicians were confused because they couldn’t understand how it is that a government or a party would do or say one thing and that would be supported; and another week they would do or say something else and that would be attacked...

A colleague reporter on Parliament and politics - later Editor of the newspaper - reiterated some of the possible explanation for the apparent confusion. He reiterated that news about the title’s introduction had come from a PNP Government Minister and hence people thought it would be pro-government or a government paper (Interview, Wint, 25/4/88). This invokes thoughts of the somewhat misguided stance some writers take regarding the status of the regional and national news agencies following Third World governments’ leadership role in presenting the case for such agencies (see, e.g., Righter, 1978). The Managing Director up until receivership also stated that when he occupied that post, ‘there was a perception that the Daily News was a government [PNP] newspaper’. This perception, he saw as being largely that of the Opposition JLP (Interview, Garrison, 27/4/88).

As will be recalled, the Daily News’ founding Editor wished to ensure that the paper ‘would deal with issues not so much on a partisan political level, [but] independently, and express its views as strongly as it could’ (Interview, Proute, 26/4/88). The Daily News’ major competitor for its duration, the Gleaner, ‘very broadly’ walked ‘the narrow line between both parties...attempting consciously to do this sort of thing...’ (Interview, Allen, Gleaner, 2/5/88). The Gleaner Company’s Chairman and Managing Director was a fairly central actor in the concern over government’s participation in the CANA cooperative.

One Editor among the interviewees wanted to run a ‘straight ship’, that is, ‘not concerned with political parties but with how politics was organized and operated’, but if government deserved praise, that was in order. ‘If it didn’t, attack...’ (Interview, John, Trinidad Express, 26/2/88). It is useful to bear in mind that the Government during his tenancy at the editor’s desk was the People’s National Movement (PNM), a centrist/moderate or mildly left-of centre nationalist set-up which held power up to 1986 when a broad coalition saw to its demise with a vast majority at the general election. One strand of its policy entailed piece-meal nationalization, frequently based on necessity to save an industry, partly under a state capitalist orientation. The News Editor for approximately two years up to 1988, returning after breaking his service (previously a reporter), spoke of giving the government ‘hell’ and that the government often returned the favour when necessary. This represents a cue from some of our other interviewees above, and he also added in like explanation that the newspaper played “a very important role in informing the government of developments in society which the average politician may not have time to be aware of...” (Interview, Pantin, Express, 27/6/88).

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57 At the time of the interview in 1988 he was a general correspondent, and continued in that role.

58 He was Editor for six years, from 1976-82.
7.7.2 Journalists/policymakers vs. the state/government

Bringing the state apparatus or political pressure to bear to reinforce the 'liberal-democratic' framework and the existing order under capitalism is not new in the Caribbean, as was suggested in the previous chapter. We must also bear in mind that frequently such presence amounts to a 'reaction' to unfolding changes in the socio-political process, sometimes relating to, or arising from shifts in economic trends and relations. In the Caribbean, this ranges from local censorship through to the banning of overseas publications and journalists. The left has met hostility and exclusion in these capitalist-oriented societies as it has from the early days in the large Western capitalist countries. Thus, a Daily Worker correspondent, Arthur Clegg of Britain was refused permission to land in the then British Guiana (Commons Hansard, 28/3/1953: 378) - a colony - during the year when that country elected a communist administration soon to be neutralized by Britain. The Soviet Weekly, a left-wing publication was around that time banned nearing the eve of formal political independence in Malaya, the Gold Coast, St. Vincent, and Trinidad (Commons Hansard, 20/10/53: 252). This type of official constraint and action has not been unfamiliar even within periods after formal independence as we have noted elsewhere.

The framework of operation and beliefs which separate but at times, indeed bind journalists and policymakers, sometimes places them in conflict with the state and public officials. Of course, the notion of the 'free press' in the Western liberal tradition also implies, and has a foundation in capitalist free enterprise, and its political-ideological and social framework. It is useful to draw on the specific examples of the Caribbean journalists and press principals to arrive at some understanding of the impact on cultural production and indeed, the potential for variation of perspective among the different groups. This may allow us some useful insights into the press as a deterrent to significant political and social change.

A former Editor (1976-80) of the now defunct Daily News spoke of 'active' political constraint during the latter part of his term when the Government (then the PNP) directly financed (owned) or under-financed the paper:

There were times when...the person who was then Minister of Information spoke to me...about a story, and I told him that if he had anything else to say about it he should speak to the Chairman of the Board or members of the Board or Managing Director because I reported to them...(James, Interview, 30/5/88).

To a certain extent, that Editor stated, he saw no difference between attempted government or private sector impositions. His stance was that, having adhered to editorial policy, the only time one could justifiably say that 'we had done anything wrong was when we violated that policy':

That was one's position all the way through, regardless of who owned the paper...I saw letters of complaint from the Government. I saw letters of complaint from the Opposition...some of which were sent to the editor as letters to be published, which were published...but one was never really worried (Interview).

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59 The last two - then Caribbean colonies.

60 e.g., journalists reinforcing their position as claimants to the right to judge news values, and an adherence to liberal notions of the press touched on earlier.
A senior journalist applied in this case then, his preferred prerogative of functioning somewhat unfettered within established policy, a policy which, as we observed earlier, was drafted by the paper's founding Editor under major capitalist owners with some adjustment by the Board. But, reference to the major policymakers was related to other factors and has other implications. At a specific level, for instance, the Editor\(^61\) regarded allocative controllers as final arbiters, a factor which further informs us about the seat of power\(^62\) and the sort of primary nature of, say, 'allocative impositions' as well as the extent to which the editorial level embraces the ingredients of this relationship. Somewhat more adrift is the possibility that the relationship with politicians at the level of news may only marginally circumscribe the journalists' output; although as has been noted, journalists do at times tailor their views to mitigate potential or real hostility from politicians.

Some reporters have generally treated the politicians' attentions - at any rate, some types of attentions - as normal and almost casually dismiss this as one of the ordinary hazards of news gathering and production. For one Executive Editor,

> If you work in any newspaper office you have to keep contact, certainly at my level, with members of whatever government is in power, and from time to time they express disagreement about particular stories (Interview, Allen, Gleaner, 2/5/88).

We can recall that in the late 1970s the PNP and allied progressive elements led a march (with the Prime Minister, Manley at the helm) to the Gleaner Company to protest against negative treatment of the Government and party. The party leadership also called for, and attended a meeting at the Gleaner Company with principals including Board level representatives to discuss differences and approaches (see Appendix 11).

The general crisis in world capitalism which escalated in the 1970s had a profound impact on the less advanced countries such as Jamaica - particularly with regard to certain important raw materials and other basic goods - and served to heighten the conflict between the various strata and interest groups. The shortage of particular raw materials and broader balance of payments problems helped to define the approach of local capital and its response, and affected Government's policy lines. As one example, the Gleaner Company as well as the Daily News (CCJ) experienced uncertainties in the supply of newsprint, an imported commodity. The situation was even more complex than the current Chairman/Managing Director\(^63\) explained, but this will suffice against the background of earlier discussion:

> ...I think the Gleaner was under pressure in the 'seventies and especially because it was not doing well financially, it had to cut the resources it would put out and that was a problem. I think there were elements in the Government in the 'seventies in Jamaica which were hostile to the Gleaner...There was concern our advertising would be cut, our newsprint supply would be cut. As you know, from time to time circulation boycotts were encouraged. It's fortunate that none of these, either were very seriously implemented or had a very serious impact on us...I would say that during the 'eighties...certainly there has been none of that pressure... (Interview, Clarke, 3/5/88).
The PNP wished to know the name of the author of an article which was critical of Cuban doctors, many of whom worked in Jamaica under the regime. A former Editor in explaining that potential libel cases were one of the reasons 'why I was never in favour of using by-lines', explained that in this particular case, as Editor, he assumed responsibility. A persistent request to reveal the name of the author produced a similar stance on his part: 'I am responsible'. An attorney who was also a Government Minister, and who 'was at the time doing the interrogation' was instrumental in having a parliamentary committee set up to question editorial staffers to identify the writer of the article. One Gleaner response was:

We sent to international organizations to send representatives, and to have an injunction before the High Court; so they chickened out, because one of their spies in my department told them what we were planning...(Interview, Wynter, 25/5/88).

The conservative JLP which assumed office in 1980 'complained about bad treatment by the Gleaner' (Wynter, 25/5/88), and up to 1988 were still unyielding over the Gleaner's quarter-century-long request to start a new television station (Interview, Clarke, 3/5/88; "Public Eye", JBC, 14/4/88). As observed in earlier discussion, the Gleaner Co. jointly with Radio Jamaica as the prime movers in a cartel for a television licence in 1990 failed again, as another bidder won the day. At least one application by the Gleaner Company for a licence to operate a radio station was also rejected during the 1970s PNP administration. JLP refusals need not mean that the JLP was opposed to the Gleaner and vice versa, at any but superficial levels, as they have long camped together as consistent advocates of the 'free enterprise' system and the status quo. Nevertheless, we need not trivialize the fact that the Gleaner regarded the acquisition of a licence as very important for economic reasons, but perhaps also (and not unrelated) for consolidating its ideological leverage and power.

Governments or the state in many parts of the world tend to be predominant retainers of broadcast media. In Jamaica, the PNP administration in 1977-1980 restructured the ownership of the privately-owned Radio Jamaica (see, e.g., PAJ News, Sept. 1977, 5 & Oct. 1979, 25-27) and maintained a minority ownership of approximately 25 per cent for the state. This public sector equity was retained under the subsequent JLP administration. However, certain branches (Jamaica - regional radio) and services were actively privatized by the JLP in the late 1980s and continued by the PNP from 1989 onwards. In addition, as far back as in 1985, Prime Minister Edward Seaga had outlined a media policy which included 'divestment' of the JBC and 'selling' of RJR shares still held (The Weekly Gleaner (UK), 13/9/85: 9). The JLP government came to power stating that the JBC had to become self-financing and cease to be a drain on the public purse. Elsewhere, the lease of TV channels 9 and 14 in Trinidad was awaited in 1988 (Trinidad Guardian, 26/6/88: 1). But, later licences were awarded for new television and radio stations. For instance, in 1991 CNN-TV6 was testing reception quality, and so on for a 15th of September launch. The location of transmitters is crucial against the background of distance and terrain, as well as perhaps the quality of the technology itself, and some viewers and potential viewers were complaining about the quality of reception or its absence during the testing period (Sunday Express, 8/9/91: 3). In Barbados, the Government stressed in late 1989 that the CBC was not for sale (i.e., the main operations).

At the action level, the occasional interventions by politicians do take place. The Editor who was in charge until the paper ceased publication, explained that a letter from the then Prime Minister accused the paper of 'creating mischief'. The gist in part is that PM Seaga had made his

64 He was also continuing member of the Board of Directors when interviewed.
presentation to the Budget Debate to which the Opposition spokesman on Finance (Seymour Mullings) later replied. Seaga questioned why the Opposition speaker's contribution had been used as lead story. Secondly, an incorrect figure had appeared in the report on Seaga's presentation written by the reporter who had got the story from another source. Thirdly, the letter objected to a statement written by a columnist. Carl Wint, the Editor, showed the letter to the then Daily News Chairman who was not keen to be a party to a response. 'So I wrote the letter and sent him a copy,' The Editor's letter outlined policy matters, and answers to the specific questions raised in the PM's letter (Interview, Wint, 25/4/88).

The Grenada insurrection and revolution perhaps attracted more attention at their high points from regional media and immediate neighbours than Jamaica did during the 1972-80 period. Neighbouring political and other elites such as business sector principals felt threatened by the proximity of a Government which had come to power by unconstitutional means. Among primary bases for this fear were the belief that the example could be repeated in their countries, and that Grenada might be used as a base for communist invasion of their territories or for general 'left' subversive activities.

One Editor had a petrol bomb thrown at his house. The police inferred that the job might have been that of elements disenchanted with the Express's opposition to the Revolution (Interview, John, 26/2/88). The Express carried a short story the following day on its front page, but without an explanation because the editor feared any escalation - indeed a constraint on the news production process. The newspaper's generally oppositional stance was perhaps exacerbated after the PRG, in 1979, closed the Torchlight in which the Express was a stockholder, as outlined in a previous chapter. The former Editor mentioned here, in referring further to examples of political constraints generally, saw them as normal - perhaps even trivial - disturbances not to be pursued:

Politicians do all kinds of things. You don't take them on! (Interview, 26/2/88)

During the PNM administration, one particular politician used to telephone the Editor whenever an editorial affecting him and his Ministry was written. For the Editor, this became a routine. Of course, this particular Editor, prior to joining the Express had had (while working at the Trinidad Mirror) a good relationship with the Prime Minister and then 'went to work for him' as press secretary. On another occasion, a PNM MP wrote to the General Manager [who later became the Industry Minister when the PNM lost the 1986 election] 'complaining about the Government-owned bank, alleging misuse of foreign currency', and he [the Editor] was called to the GM's office and informed that he had to publish a story about it. He [the Editor] said he had to speak to the person against whom the allegations had been made. This was done and a story written.

Of course, the fact that the General Manager instructed that a story be written could have been based on several reasons. For instance, unfavourable publicity about a company nationalized by the PNM Government would perhaps imply problems with the policies of a

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65 Seaga had, at the point of coincidence, spoken for the second time.

66 Jamaica is approximately a thousand or more miles from each of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean countries, which themselves are much closer to each other (see map).
Government to which he (the General Manager) was opposed. Another factor could have been an interest in maintaining 'balance' and 'objectivity' in news output, or the particular commitment with which the politician emphasized the need to air such information to the public. Moreover, the particular politician might have had his own motives which are difficult to isolate. The General Manager's conspicuous sympathy to the business class and capital would perhaps have inclined him towards protecting that sector unless competing interests within the class made it contingent to act otherwise at a superficial level.

Some journalists and other interviewees volunteered the Grenada insurrection, revolution and invasion as the most outstanding issue in news coverage in recent Caribbean developments, and made passing comments about Jamaica of the 1970s. Some of the references were general. Thus, the Trinidad Guardian's Editor commenting on his newspaper's stand on the Grenada situation, stated:

...We took a strong line on what we thought should be done...[even against] our own government (Interview, Chongsing, 26/6/88).

It seems fairly clear from what journalists and policymakers/publishers (allocative decision-makers) offered in partly unsolicited responses about, say, Grenada of 1979 and 1983 (insurrection and invasion) that there were points which allowed for considerable negotiation between those two levels within publishing houses regarding what could be reported and how. Indeed, whereas considerations such as national security arose to contribute to the structuring of the production process, deeply enshrined concepts of news and news values (geographical/social proximity at one level and timeliness, and so on), and the related competitive urge seeped from some journalists. Personal commitment was sometimes interlocked with these. One Managing Editor stated:

If you were living in Barbados and you had friends or relatives in Grenada and you were hearing the sort of situations which were coming out [Oct., 1983]...I believe...Jamaica [far away] is more aware of what violence is. You are not accustomed to being shot down and suddenly, you hear this is in Grenada [near] - you have friends there, you have relatives there. Your first instinct is to put it right...All this talk about sovereignty...! [I]n a Caribbean context where, even in colonialism, to hear a shot fired was a big thing...[Most] shots that were ever fired were at a parade ground! (Interview, Best, Advocate, 21/6/88).

'Journalistic news values', according to Seymour-Ure, 'tend to stress elite individuals, negative events, human interest and topics that are culturally proximate' (1974: 46). Associated with the cultural proximity in this case is also a geographical proximity. At the time of the emerging conflict in 1983 the News Editor was very concerned that his paper should get in on the act early or be beaten to the story by the Nation, its major competitor. The Managing Editor was away and vacillation meant that 'by the time...they were apparently coming around to understanding what was happening, the airport was closed. As a result the Nation was able to beat everybody hands down.' For him too:

As far as I am concerned it was a news event, and my [aim] was to get somebody there...It was a question of covering the thing...It goes back to the question of press freedom, and this might be a question of internal press freedom (Interview, Smith, Advocate-News, 21/6/88).

That News Editor who experienced a sense of loss over some evidence of lethargy on the part of his paper, is a journalist who, as noted earlier, explained that he thought it was 'a stroke of fate' that he was allowed to continue as a journalist with the paper as he had had 'a lot of differences, tremendous
differences' with his seniors and others. This sort of commitment implies that a journalist need not even agree with policymakers/publishers on some basic issues about how his newspaper should be run or on the shape of political and social arrangements (as earlier quoted comments would suggest) to have a commitment to his organization, its policy, and efficiency. The matter of being "first with the news" and being professional in its production sometimes supersedes the orientation of content in political/ideological terms. Furthermore, to prioritize the same aspects of a story across several newspapers,\(^{67}\) for journalists, is often perceived as a sign of uniformity in professional competence. Indeed, the task of principals in keeping journalists 'in line', if there is a task at all, is facilitated.

The Political Reporter/Acting News Editor of the Express gave the assurance that the paper 'virtually supported the intervention...the military invasion...' and 'covering the situation, I wrote an article in the paper in which I condemned the invasion, condemned the United States, and those governments in the region which had supported it, and that was carried in the Sunday Express in October 1983...' (Interview, Johnson, Express, 27/6/88). He explained why he could have taken a position opposed to the paper's:

I think that is one of the strengths of the Express. If somebody is deemed to be a senior writer, you could almost...virtually take your position on anything...Once you reason it well, argue it well, it could be diametrically opposed to the editorial position of the paper...

In Grenada itself, as we observed, the Torchlight was closed because of what the PRG viewed as counter-revolutionary tendencies (e.g., Bishop - speech, in Searle, 1984). No interviews of former Torchlight staff were done because, for one reason or another, they were not available. It is useful to report on the other two newspapers which were sharply highlighted as antagonistic forces. Observers suggest that the Torchlight became increasingly critical of the insurrection/revolution. This implies that it was less critical at the outset (insurrection). The closure was ordered in the same year as the insurrection and the start of the revolution. Associated with the closure was a People's Law which specified that no individual should own more than four (4) per cent of the equity in any newspaper company. The Grenadian Voice published one issue and attempted a second at which time the Government intervened to prevent further publication of this counter-revolutionary paper. Publication was resumed in post-revolutionary Grenada (first of new issues - Nov., 1983).\(^{68}\) The Editor/Publisher explained:

I got into the media because, as a citizen I did not approve of the closing down of the Torchlight newspaper by the People's Revolutionary Government...

At the beginning anyway we were not going to be critical...And although our first issue was totally innocuous, deliberately - except in the editorial...we were saying that...we would be prepared to support those actions of government that we thought to be in the best interest of the country and people, but where we had a different view of what was being done, we would be prepared to counsel caution...But, I don't think...I was feeling any of the hierarchy of the Government...because they knew precisely where I stood, in opposition to...them...And, as I expected they shut the paper down...(Interview, Pierre, 2/7/88).

Explaining that he always seemed to be 'in opposition to governments', this Editor/Publisher added:

\(^{67}\) e.g., similarity in headlines and/or story material which they choose to highlight.

\(^{68}\) Several other newspapers were in publication in the late 1980s and later.
I think it's clear...that we are anti-Gairy, we are anti-NJM in any of its metamorphoses, that is, whether it is MBPM or NJM or whatever they are. I'm anti-those, and after that we are totally independent. By that I mean we will do nothing to promote them.'

In the case of the Free West Indian (the West Indian of the Gairy era), it was generally expected that as a government newspaper, the structure, nature and content of production would be overwhelmingly conditioned or controlled by the need to follow the path of the Revolution. One former reporter/photographer explained that the Prime Minister was unhappy about how a point was made in a particular story about an electricity plan for Carriacou to link the three-island grouping, but that the Prime Minister did not contact the reporter and spoke, instead, to the editor (Interview, Clouden, 30/6/88). One former Editor/Manager noted that 'there were times when the Government would directly intervene', and:

I remember that...when I was editor and...the security forces discovered an attempt to overthrow the government...and on that issue the government virtually took over...I was told what was to go into the paper. Now this is a period of national crisis. One doesn't argue...Aside from that...I was left pretty free. I remember publishing things which...[displeased] the government...In fact, frankly, I found more political interference with my work at the JBC [Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation] under the JLP than I found working in the information service of the PRG...(Interview, Smilde, 17/6/88)

Referring to his tenure at the Free West Indian as 'one of extreme independence' and the newsroom as having 'operated with relative autonomy in relation to the Government', another former Editor/Manager stated:

...a consensus...developed over a number of years within the newsroom...of varied opinions, but with consensus around general support for the government. And...this was not based...on an employment policy, but on...growing commonalities of position...out of common experiences... (Interview, Meeks, 8/7/88)

Indeed, 'my greatest problem was that there was too much autonomy, in that I was often asked to take decisions regarding editorial content and direction which were based purely on my own political judgement...I would imagine that the Government was...strung for trained personnel...[And] there was a degree of confidence placed in persons who it felt were technically capable, and politically...compatible' (Interview, 8/7/88). This interviewee did point out, however, that 'there were many incidences of persons lower in the ranks of the party...who were unhappy with particular stories which we carried...' This was the case of a government-owned paper. With regard to the question of autonomy it is useful to bear in mind that several persons in the privately-owned papers claimed some degree of sustained autonomy at the editorial level. In this regard it is acceptable that one of the central pillars buttressing this was a mutual confidence between journalists, on the one hand, and allocative principals, on the other, on commitment to their organization and its goals. Of course, that is not a stable, consistent situation but a position which is subject to adjustment, sometimes through the negotiation process.

The Caribbean News Agency (CANA), has considerable links with major newspapers as well as broadcast media and Governments in the region but also further afield (Reuters, and e.g. overseas subscriber newspapers, etc. in Britain and the USA). The question of potential official

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69 The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, a post-revolutionary political organization.
constraints, for example, by locating the headquarters in Barbados (see, e.g., Cuthbert, 1981), and of capital (Martin & Musa, 1987) has already been touched on. Let us take an example of official constraints and action through the interview of the Chief Editor in Barbados.

The incident is specifically related to the handling of the Grenada invasion issue. The Chief Editor felt that CANA 'should function independently of any sort of government anywhere in the world' but nevertheless that the agency should also play a 'developmental role'. For him CANA treated important events/issues 'as we treat everything else...I went to Grenada myself' when the coup occurred to 'ensure even-handed reporting.' He was also the person manning the desk at the time of the invasion - four-and-a-half years later. 'We depend a lot on the integrity of the people at the other end...'. During the 1983 invasion period the Government's (Barbados') Chief Information Officer 'came to me' explaining what would happen, and stating that, "It is in the interest of security. We need your cooperation." At the time: 'We protested...We knew what he was telling us because some things, we had already reported through our man on the spot...We didn't consider the' intervention of the Information Officer 'to be interference per se...’ the Chief Editor elaborated by pointing out that there must be some measure of responsibility on the part of CANA, and that, at any rate, 'We had said all we wanted up to that point' (Interview, Simpson, 21/6/88).

Let us briefly turn our attentions elsewhere. The incidence of major policymakers/executives/publishers attempting to impose their will - not so much a 'political will', but a will in the interest of a particular political party or set of political arrangements or objectives - on the production of culture is hardly uncommon. The inclination to cast such interventions aside as unsystematic and as necessarily [perhaps even always] subordinated to 'non-active', structural determinants is to trifle with a phenomenon which might have declined in the post-Beaverbrook or post-Hearst type of environment of the advanced corporate West as well as the growth of the large corporation, but it is at least "up and about" in much of the Caribbean communications environment. Examinations of this factor have been generally subsumed in discussions about disintegration of the small family business giving way to corporate enterprise, and it has not generally been subjected to systematic analysis. It is a fine distinction at this level which further emphasizes the misplaced separation in the radical approaches, especially when they convene at or near the material level. Thus, we resume at the position that while capitalist owners may directly or indirectly exert their will upon the gatherers and refiners of news and opinion, these gatherers and refiners, as we have seen frequently need little or no prodding, subtle or overt, to perform the desires of publishers. The cultural producers perform their task against a background of various constraints, organizational and internal, but also external, and, the element of agency appears to arise fairly consistently with the high tide in economic and political stakes, and at another level, in the closetted atmosphere of the small publishing house where allocative and operational aspects would more noticeably overlap.

A few examples will illustrate what I am trying to state at this stage of the discussion. One former Editor explained that there was increasing interference in editorial matters a few months after he assumed the Editor's post. The General Manager (a major shareholder) 'was always opposed to the PNM' (the then Government). For instance, in 'the 1981 election' he 'wanted Karl Hudson-Philips and the ONR [a right of centre arrangement] to win by all means. And, he did everything to steer the newspaper in that direction while I was doing everything to steer the newspaper on to the PNM [centrist/nationalist] but straight. But both newspapers opposed the PNM...As a matter of fact, the Guardian was very much against the PNM. Came out with a...poll to show that
the PNM was going to be beaten...We didn’t’ (Interview, John, Express, 26/2/88). More specifically, the General Manager

invited all the political party leaders to come to the office with various aides and so on and they would talk to us - editor, news editor, and so on...about their election programmes...Panday of the ULF came. Karl Hudson-Philips of the ONR came...The Government didn't come. So on the Sunday we had these interviews...And we didn’t have anything about the Government at all, about the PNM. Now, I thought that...was damn foolishness. So I myself went out the Thursday night and covered a Chambers’ [George Chambers was PM until the 1986 election defeat] meeting and put it on another page in the paper.

The former Editor also pointed out that the Guardian covered the same meeting and ‘buried it deep inside the paper and had on the front page that the PNM was going to lose the election. The PNM won handsomely.

But I knew from that moment that my tenure at the Express was over...So I played cool...The election was September ‘eighty-one and by February ‘eighty-two I retired. There was no clashing [in 1976]...I was able to run the paper as I wanted, but not in ‘eighty-one. You see, in ‘seventy-six nobody expected the PNM to lose...(Interview, 26/2/88).

Bear in mind that in the 1970s the PNM was still very much in ascendancy under long-time revered Prime Minister Eric Williams, and in spite of high inflation, the economy was extremely buoyant with flowing oil revenues^*^ but by the 1980s a trough began to set in. Recall that the Editor above had worked for Prime Minister Eric Williams (with whom he, as stated, got on very well) prior to joining the Express. His exit from the Express largely informs us as to where ultimate power lies in the internal negotiation process in the press. 'I knew from that moment that my term at the Express was over.' This was clearly not an altogether voluntary move. It is also necessary to bear in mind that newspaper publishers are not a sole power in themselves but have to be placed in their social class and other capitalist community interest alignments which frequently bear strongly on how they act/react or make particular decisions.

John himself, while serving as editor wrote columns under two pseudonyms Robert P. Ingram and Holden Caulfield. In a 1991 interview published in the Sunday Express, he summarized his exit from the Trinidad Express Newspapers (now as stated, Caribbean Communications Network Ltd.) as follows: 'The Express and I became incompatible and I left, not entirely voluntarily, but I left' (8/9/91: 2). He had a journalism/media career - dating from the early 1930s - mainly with Caribbean newspapers before retiring recently.

Let us take another newspaper, the Daily News and its senior editorial staff and their interaction with allocative decision-makers. The founding Editor (1973-76), it will be recalled, informed us that ‘the Chairman could not keep his hands off’ the newspaper, a factor which would have strained the Editor’s patience regarding the ‘need to maintain independence of the paper, to keep

^*^It could afford to extend substantial loans to other CARICOM countries.

^71^His career includes: sports writer with Trinidad Publishing Co. from age 16; journalist with several newspapers (e.g., Gleaner Co., including Editor of the Weekly Gleaner (UK)); press officer for a Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago (Eric Williams); lecturer in journalism at the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication, University of the West Indies; and general manager of the Dominica Broadcasting Corporation.
it apolitical yet deal with political issues.' What accelerated a train of events leading to his parting with the Daily News involved circumstances occurring at the time that a new Managing Director was appointed:

And then ‘seventy-six came, and I think this was the worst thing that has ever happened to me - when it was suggested to me that Mr. Seaga and the JLP [would win] the 1976 election, and they would wish to see the paper taken in that direction, which I interpreted to mean they wanted the paper to take on a political stance that I could not, ever do...having written the kind of policy that was written for the Daily News and...the sort of journalist I am myself, because I don’t wish to owe any allegiance or have any obligation to a politician, or businessman (Interview, Proute, 26/4/88).

Where or from whom did the suggestion that the paper take a definite partisan political line rather than maintain some sort of balance, arise?

...from a certain member of the Board, and eventually when I did resign, I resigned over: The Managing Director who had gone down to Tobago with me for a meeting of the Caribbean Publishers’ and Broadcasters’ Association came back a couple of days ahead of me and he had gone through the papers and then came into my office and said - "Look, the same thing we have been talking about. Why is this JLP story not on Page One? Why this? Why that?" I said...[viewed in some quarters as an expletive but can be found in most commonly circulated dictionaries] off! And we were at that time getting ready to cover the December 15 elections of 1976. I finished it, wrapped up the story, and by the 20th he had my resignation because I really couldn’t live with that sort of situation. And I resigned, and I was fortunate enough to get a job at the Gleaner (Interview, 26/4/88).

He retired from that last position at the Gleaner and was retained in retirement to train new recruits. At a primary level, this was the consequence of allocative control, although there was in a sense, an overlap - in that both men could be classified as allocative controllers but the editor also resided at the operational level or straddled both, in this case the consequence being at the expense of the professional journalist element at the operational level. However, we have to note - and this is worthy of elaboration here - the constraints under which the new General Manager (or Managing Director) acted and indeed the Editor himself. The experience of Daily News editors is noteworthy.

It will be recalled that Wint (former Parliamentary/Political Reporter and later Editor of the Daily News) explained how a front page had been rearranged by the Chairman to give priority to a story about right conservative U.S. President, Reagan after he [the Editor] had left for the night. The News Editor at the time who had been earlier made redundant by the Gleaner during the 1970s introduction of computer technology, also explained:

After the Seaga Government won elections in ‘eighty, I detected a fear on the part of administrators, the Board, a fear which led them to the view that if they wanted the Government to continue funding the Daily News they would have to make concessions in their approach... They decided that...all the writers who were perceived, and who were in fact left-leaning, seen as anti-government were removed - on the false premise that this would...encourage the Government of the day to shore up the depleted resources of the company...No such thing! (Interview, Brodie, 14/7/88)

Recall also that the PNP Government had facilitated the principal Daily News owners indirectly by guaranteeing a starting-up Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) loan of $420,000 through a state

72 He earlier worked as a reporter for the Gleaner.

73 Then president of the Press Association of Jamaica, Clarence Brodie.

CCJ's draft accounts for 1975 showed an accumulated deficit of $1.4 million, and an excess of current liabilities over assets of $800,337 (NCC Annual Report, 1975). By 1974, NCC, the principal shareholder had held over 50 per cent of the equity after the public failed to take up all of the 45.2 per cent placed on the market. In January 1978 a receiver was appointed to manage the company's operation, and a creditors' meeting in August of the same year resolved that the company should be put into liquidation (see, NCC Annual Report 1977; Daily News/CCJ share issue brochure, 1973). That was the point of withdrawal of corporate capital from direct participation. As mentioned earlier, Government financial input preserved the title for some time under the new company, Daily News Ltd. from 1978 (see Appendix 11).

It is of signal interest that the Government which had facilitated corporate capitalists in the start-up process later relieved them of the loss-making enterprise. One reason offered for the Government support was the need to save workers' jobs. A middle-of-the-road liberal paper almost folded mainly through economic factors but also, perhaps, political ones. This period and the Daily News' financial crisis itself implied the fracture of a tenuous class alliance, with the 'patriotic anti-imperialist bourgeoisie' defecting. Their class interests would be served under the banner of the Gleaner as had been the case over the years, albeit not unproblematically. Of course, those were years of deepening economic crisis which impacted negatively upon some sections of capital - even including the Gleaner Company as advertising revenue declined - but more severely on the Jamaican poor. The JLP Government which took office from October 1980 could hardly have been expected to be committed to the Daily News' survival and rejected a purchase offer by the workers as the newspaper neared its demise, during the first of the JLP's two terms in administration.

One former Editor stated that 'I didn't believe in socialism - well, under Michael Manley.' Further, speaking of himself and the principals of the Gleaner of which he was Editor for many years until the mid-1970s, he stated:

We were all opposed to autocratic government and communist movements, and were generally agreed on the sort of country we wanted Jamaica to be (Interview, Sealy, Gleaner, 13/7/88).

Several others stressed a sort of middle-of-the-road commitment, more in keeping with long-held journalistic 'ideology' rather than in keeping with ideas of how society was, or might be shaped. Further this last comment also illustrates the problematic, but considerable unity or "singleness" of purpose/objective at least between the uppermost levels of the journalistic fraternity and corporate management. Indeed, during Sealy's tenure at the Gleaner which started from 1927, Michael deCordova, the son of a former owner of the Daily Gleaner and who married the daughter of the Ashenheim family - long prominent among Gleaner Company principals - held some significant posts. Under the colonial regime he served on many committees during the World War II years, but more importantly for us during that second quarter of the 20th century he was 'Journalist, Managing Editor, and Managing Director of the Gleaner; Honorary President of the Jamaica Press Association...Chairman, West Indies Delegation of Journalists, to Great Britain (World War II) 1942, on invitation of the British Council...Secretary of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce...' (Who's Who Jamaica 1941-46: 172). In the previous chapter we saw some of the considerable extent of the capitalist infrastructure in its not inconceivable sophistication of later years.
7.8 Conclusion

At the outset of this chapter, we noted that cultural production regarding the newspapers selected was constrained by various factors. In this regard, the data substantiated this in terms of pointing to organizational/editorial policy factors which were broadly shared by operational controllers/journalists but also appreciated to some extent by allocative decision-makers. Journalists, nevertheless, drew from a belief in their 'autonomy' which they generally seemed to guard. Other related factors which journalists took to their tasks such as a belief in 'freedom of the press' also conditioned their work. The outlines of 'press freedom', with rare exceptions, tended to exist within the fold of the liberal-pluralist frameworks which were stressed in Chapter Four. Without jumping to the conclusion that they directly affected the mediation process, it was also found that broad economic factors impacted upon the publishing houses.

The internal process is one of negotiation over control and practices at various levels, but also one of imposition and incorporation against a background of the constraints arising from factors internal to the organization, factors related to the larger corporate sector, and to the broader economic and political arrangements. Specifically, in terms of politics, we saw some evidence of the impact of political pressure (direct and indirect) with a desire to maintain, or advance the interests of political arrangements which were perceived as favouring a stable economic climate for capital. The relationships with politicians, governments and the state appeared notably problematic especially in the context of fairly widely shared traditional/liberal press ideology embracing scepticism about governments. State strictures in the form of libel laws appeared to be important in determining the news and information output.

Indeed, the effort in this chapter, as in much of the earlier discussion, has been to illustrate that the social construction of 'reality' is determined by organizational factors, journalistic beliefs, and so on, but also by broader structural and other factors/forces outside the specific immediacy of the newsroom.

While, as a general rule, the idea of intervention was not viewed as the major determining factor in news output, it was felt that this process was nevertheless important enough to attract serious mention. Major concern was with the presence of capitalists or executives, although politicians were also noted. Enough evidence, it seems, arose to suggest a definable area of 'intervention' in the processing of the news/information product, and further to support the writer's view that it is not the frequency of intervention which is crucial but its nature, timing, and consequences. The relatively small size of the communities seemed to exacerbate such a tendency as indeed it does at the level of wider constraints, but the evidence for this last factor is fairly limited.

One factor which was not specifically enquired into was the element of journalists' class position, subjective or objective, and the implications of this for their ideological position and treatment of news. They have been listed by many scholars as middle class, and this attribution is arguably acceptable for the Caribbean, when taken in a general sense. Numerous scholars have raised this issue by examining indices such as income, educational background, and training, and concluded that broadly, journalists are comparatively badly paid. This assessment has come even from the U.S.A. This is not to deny that some individual journalists are fairly highly paid. For decades, the vast majority of journalists learned their trade entirely on the job. However, apart from
at least a sprinkling of overseas fellowships, for nearly two decades the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication has had a programme which emphasizes media techniques, and training broadly has received a considerable boost, albeit one which media principals seem to continue to hold in lower esteem than on-the-job training. The absence of formal negotiating bases such as a trade union organizations, and the consequent disregard by 'the owners and managers of big media' is one area which is sometimes highlighted by journalists. One long-standing journalist in Jamaica suggests some of the evidence of this neglect:

...Training has been formalised, institutionalised and standardised, within a period of rather less than two decades. Consequently, journalism has moved from being a craft learned through apprenticeship to being a profession with full formal training and widely recognised certification.

...Professionals with training and talent have, in accordance with the rules of the marketplace, migrated to other and more lucrative opportunities, such as public relations and advertising ("A time for Dialogue"/ Reynolds, 1989/90: 64).

The empirical evidence provided in this chapter seems to broadly suggest that process of news and information production and the factors which guide or shape that process would be less than amenable to the political and social transformation process. The situation, nevertheless, is not always clear.
CHAPTER EIGHT


8.1 Introduction

Specific responses to particular policy measures and programmes were proposed or implemented during the 1972-1980 PNP regime in Jamaica. By 1980, and particularly during the period from the de-linking from IMF prescriptions in February-March and the extended political campaign marked by large-scale gun-violence, the primary issues cited by many observers and emphasized in the media as the main pillars on which the election would be decided were the economy and its management, and perceived political-ideological tendency (i.e., socialism/communism, or relationship with Cuba and the Communist Bloc). In assessing press approach, it was felt that the selection of a 'high point' might be most useful as this would bring out the local-regional approach. This was based on the correct assumption that media outside of the local (national) environment would operate in tandem with media's inclination to be drawn to the dramatic and current, and would give prominence in coverage at such points (particularly priority front-page and editorial treatment). As Alleyne has stated regarding Jamaica, but which seems applicable to many other countries: 'at election time, the party machineries and the communication media are turned into full gear...' (1963: 24)

A week around the election day was selected (October 28 - November 3, election day being October 30). As an alternative to 'high-point' selection, periods of several months or years could have been selected but in addressing two case countries, two periods, and Caribbean-wide press rather than just the local, and bearing in mind cost and availability factors for newspapers, a team of researchers would have been required and the general results would hardly vary, if at all (See Appendix 10).

The idea of bias in the specific selection of periods and newspapers could be raised. However, one can categorically state that value-free research is an ideal, and observers can only be sensibly critical about the degree to which such a factor would appear to permeate research. To term it somewhat crudely, a researcher's structure of socialization cannot be shelved only to be retrieved at the end of the research programme. It would be quite clearly reckless as well to view structural constraints as having no determining potential.

Broadly, an unsympathetic press (not from the standpoint of conspiracy) was assumed\(^1\). The more entrenched local-regional corporate press, we feel, would have been in favour, and even actively engaged in discrediting the PNP administration. This would be consistent with constraints on news and information production as well as the insertion of power; \(^2\) and the corporate sector's concern over profits and stability as well as the increased unity in opposition of the different

\(^1\) But bear in mind that the Nation in adopting a nationalist but also progressive stance, in some respects, was separable from this general tendency.
'fractions' of capital, as heightened and conditioned by economic crisis and impinging political-ideological perceptions.

Chapter Four entered into some detail on the concepts of news, news values, the news frame and importancy, if briefly, ideological reproduction and legitimation, and the broader theme of mediation. At a more specific level we examined what is 'news' per se and its production. The journalist's password, 'objectivity', is often cited for news coverage but the defining last words in the editorial boundaries normally informs the reader that except for the views expressed in these columns (editorial column/s) those expressed on this page are not necessarily those of the newspaper. The so-called 'objectivity' in news which is frequently invoked, and its distinct separation from opinion within the publications is not so much of an allegation in the case of Caribbean daily newspapers as in some other political contexts and countries. Of course, we also have to bear in mind that weekly newspapers, for instance, are somewhat different as are papers which are projected as journals of opinion. Additionally, as another example, 'political news' may attract more commitment from journalists and publishers, and distinctions which are often seen as existing between news and opinion become less evident. In this, and the next chapter we will come closer to an understanding of the Caribbean press situation, partly through an examination of how, by way of the selected genres, they represented or mediated the specific political, social and economic dynamics of the period.

In selecting the front page news, the present study is largely supported by Hughes. In an American-based study, Hughes points out that to 'the news editor the front page is a show window where he puts his best wares, arranging them advantageously for purposes of exhibition, in the hope of attracting readers' (1981: 32) and news is not just 'printed on the front page; it must "make" the front page by being more important and being more exciting to the readers than any other', but that this is relative (1981: 43). Moreover:

With editorials and the advertising restricted, in most dailies, to the inside, everything on the front page belongs in one or other of two categories: advertising of the news or the news itself...The news is, after all, the commodity which the editor offers for sale, and he determines by a drastic process of selection what samples of it he shall put on display. Because his newspaper is marketed on the street in competition with others, his decisions for the front page are fateful (1981: 43).

The front page tends to be consistently the main news page of a commercial newspaper.

In carrying out this qualitative content analysis it also seemed necessary to look beyond just 'straight news' coverage in order to arrive more concretely or definitively at emphases, and more clearly, views associated with, and contained in such emphases. Concern with the editorial page centred on the editorial article(s) but it was appropriate to examine, at least at a secondary level and perhaps less depth, other 'sub-genres' of editorial pages such as relevant columnists' contributions and letters to the editor - in so far as they appeared on the editorial page, and not on what some newspaper observers refer to as the 'op-ed' page, even though as Defleur and Dennis have reiterated:

Nowhere is the opinion function...more evident than on editorial and op-ed (opposite the editorials) pages (1981: 116).

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2 This was discussed generally in Chapter 4, and highlighted empirically in Chapter 7.
A preliminary examination suggested that even the front page and the editorial (or editorial page) would present a workload of considerable proportions, and that to stray consistently from this itinerary would not only have seriously postponed completion of the study but would not necessarily offer significant further enlightenment. Additionally, the approach to this content study primarily treated the lead or the principal front-page story about Jamaica while referring in a less indepth way to others. An additional caveat was that at the level of the content study, the Daily News was omitted from ‘par’ consideration with other newspapers because for the period selected for study the newspaper was no longer in private ownership having gone into liquidation in 1978 and thereafter kept alive by a PNP Government rescue effort. Moreover, the paper, in terms of circulation, had lost its place as a primary sustaining source of views available to the public. However, we must not fail to bear in mind that even approaching its twilight (and perhaps partly because of this) the Daily News remained a centre of activist ferment within the media environment and the larger socio-political context as well as a symbol, at least, of the financial crisis affecting sections of the communications industry at the time.

8.2 Informing the public: news about the election

The volume of stories arising around the October 1980 general election and in the period on which the study focuses (October 28 - November 3) required a selective process. The lead article, as far as this concerned the specific political situation of the period, was selected as the central unit for consideration among news stories but other front-page items would be touched on where relevant and necessary. The Guardian was treated separately as it was not published during the period because of repairs and modernization after a fire in April, 1980. It resumed partial publication in the fourth week of November and some insight will be given some insights into its treatment arising as it did belatedly.4

What approached saturation coverage5 in the first week of Grenada insurrection in 1979 could be viewed as characterizing the Gleaner’s coverage of the political context in Jamaica around the election period. The Gleaner was at home in that the reality of the political situation was centred in Jamaica, its home base. Table 8(1) summarizes the quantitative situation.

The lead story of October 28 - a fairly detailed four-column-wide piece was headed6

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3 Here as in the case of Grenada, in the next chapter.

4 Copies of papers from the 24th onwards, but with the exception of the 25th, were available at the National Newspaper Library in England (where some of the editions of the papers in this study were viewed). The hesitant re-start to publication might have been partly responsible for missing copies - the 23rd and 25th - at least in terms of below normal circulation levels. Any request to Trinidad Publishing itself for these and other back copies would not, apparently, have been met with more success, at least in the short-term. When directed to the circulation department for some specific issues, employees' overwhelming priority of getting the paper out to distribution outlets and the constant buzz of activity, sealed the issue to the point of my assumption that the pursuit of such copies did not merit the very long-term delay in the hope of obtaining them.

5 See, e.g., Trenneman and McQuail, 1961; Seymour-Ure, 1974, etc. for a note on this.
'Electoral Office on lookout for imposters'. The item took the form of a series of choppy paragraphs in what might have been a rapidly constructed lead in a situation where several important stories were 'breaking' but none (apparently as far as the editors were concerned) authoritatively asserted itself as a definite lead. Take the first paragraph of two sentences:

The GLEANER understands that the Electoral Office has plans which will foil the attempts of those who may be planning to operate a bogus system. The GLEANER understands that a certain number of people are being given 'classes' by unscrupulous party instructors into how to beat the system.

The story emphasized the mechanics of the voting system particularly as it was structured to deter fraud. Whereas that story would not, by itself, stand as an indication of conscious bias against the PNP administration (identified with socialism/communism) and in favour of the anticipated victor, the JLP (ideologically right of centre and deeply committed to the free enterprise system), a peep at other principal items on the page offered more enlightenment.

Table 8(i): Number of front-page stories on, or referring to Jamaica's political situation 28/10/80 - 3/11/80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY/DATE</th>
<th>GLEANER</th>
<th>GUARDIAN</th>
<th>EXPRESS</th>
<th>ADVOCATE</th>
<th>NATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tues., 28/10/80</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wed., 29/10</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs., 30/10</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri., 31/10</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat., 1/11</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun., 2/11</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., 3/11</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>38 (10)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: (i) Figures in brackets are for items not regarded as standard news, and would not include a simple listing of the content of each paper. Only the Gleaner had such items on its front page for the period. An example is the information guide 'ELECTION SPOT ’80'.

(ii) A Photograph and its caption, for instance, were together counted as a separate item when not directly associated with a news story.

(iii) The Guardian was not published for the period. Stories on page one for the week of resumption comprised - starting on the 24th (although production re-start was 23rd) (3 - 1 included under 'shorts'); 25th (paper unavailable); 26th (1); 27th (1); 28th (1 - "shorts"); 29th (2); 30th (1).

The Electoral Office story was directly buttressed by three other major items. One was a large laterally adjacent picture showing three men, two in military uniforms and holding rifles, as 'Jamaica Defence Force personnel'. They were apparently looking at an object identified as 'a hand grenade...thrown by terrorists at the JLP's coordinating campaign office...in Kingston, on Sunday.
night [26th], but it did not go off.' Under that item and marginally adjoining the lead story was a story headed 'STATEMENT BY SMALL SPARKS AIR JAM. STRIKE.' Hugh Small, the then Minister of Finance, and Member of Parliament for Eastern Kingston and Port Royal (an area which includes the Norman Manley International Airport) was quoted by the Gleaner as having stated that sabotage was taling place within the airline. The report paraphrased a workers’ comment pointing out that the Minister’s statement was ‘inaccurate and malicious’ (para.4). The newspaper directly quoted Small’s apology in the last six paragraphs which in part stated:

I apologise to patriotic managers and workers who have been offended (final para.).

Small also explained that ‘I was speaking about the major work places in my constituency...and mentioned the Flour Mill, the Cement Company and the Airport. In the course of my reference to the Airport I stated that there was inefficiency and sabotage at Air Jamaica.’ All these, as we observed were key organizations in the economy - Flour Mill (part of staple diet), Cement Company (construction), and Air Jamaica (major carrier for tourism sector).

Another story advised through its headline: ‘NEW POLL SHOWS J.L.P. SHOULD WIN 42 TO 45 SEATS says Carl Stone’. The JLP did even better than predicted, ending up with 51 seats to the PNP’s nine in the 60-member House of Representatives. Whereas, this could be classified under a sort of ‘reporting the “facts” heading in the newspaper’s role, a ‘bandwagon effect’ where a party which is indicated to be leading in the polls attracts increasing support because people wish to be on the perceived winning side, could have been at work. That is not all. The other major item was virtually an extension of the lead story: ‘JLP sees plan for bogus voting on a massive scale’. Located directly below the poll story, it was constructed from a news release issued by the JLP’s General Secretary Bruce Golding and was an accusation against the PNP which ‘proposes to carry out this...plan on a massive scale in Thursday’s election’.

Another story told of a ‘Proposed polling station razed by fire’ (headline) as ‘the sequel to a rampage by PNP supporters’ (para.2). Two other items dealt with crime, another was a count-down to the elections and a sales item for the Gleaner Company’s ‘Election 1980’ (a publication about the developments) for 50c; and one pointed to the proposed closure of schools for the day. The only other (apart from advertisements) comprised a bold-bordered rectangular inset with the outline of a clock and stated: ‘PRAY AT NOON TODAY! FOR OUR ELECTION AND SECURITY OFFICERS’.

Other newspapers offered no front-page coverage for the 28th. The Daily Gleaner of October 29 had nine items of news and information on page one. One item was a picture and caption about Governor-General Florizel Glasspole and Mrs. Glasspole hosting a ‘Miss Jamaica’ beauty queen at their residence, and another addressed talks of a potential merger between Air Jamaica and

^Where words were originally in capital letters, I endeavoured to retain them in order to present as close a picture of news output as could be accommodated in the two chapters which focus on content - 8 & 9.

^It was also then the second or third most important foreign exchange earner, and displaced bauxite to become number one from the 1980s when the market for the latter declined (not unrelated to the North American parent MNCs reduced emphasis on Jamaica following the IBA’s challenge from the mid-1970s).
the Trinidad Airline (BWIA). All seven other items were founded on the prevailing political situation. One of these was a campaigning ‘PAGE ONE EDITORIAL’ and will be treated in our discussion of editorial content. The other six stories are somewhat insightful. The lead story was headlined ‘Arms shipment seized at MoBay Airport’ with the secondary heading ‘Parties row over find’. It referred to the ‘discovery’ of ‘a bag with 10 automatic rifles, 10 silencers and 12,000 cartridges for the guns’ which led to the suspension of two light plane pilots and Trans-Jamaica (the inland air service) flights on the 28th. The suspect aircraft was said to have arrived from Florida, U.S.A. where it had been taken for repairs.

Regarding this last story, the plane was said to have been owned by a Montego Bay businessman. The PNP itself - through a statement from its then General Secretary, D. K. Duncan - and quoted in the story stated that it was ‘owned by a known JLP activist in N. W. St. James’ whose ‘plane was involved in the sky writing advertising campaign of the JLP...’ The Gleaner also offered the JLP’s response in succeeding paragraphs, noting, for instance, a signed statement by General Secretary’s Bruce Golding which denied that the JLP had any link with the arms cache. The newspaper could hardly be said to have strayed from the concepts of ‘impartiality’, ‘objectivity’ and ‘balance’ in the treatment of this arms find issue, and the article may have hung marginally in favour of the PNP if we combine the official police input with the prior reporting of the PNP’s position and the almost inescapable bit of information which linked a JLP activist to the find. Indeed, in spite of it being a ‘good’ story - perhaps an unassailable lead story - editorial prerogative could have reduced its importance/prominence by placing it elsewhere on the front page and continuing vastly more of the text on to page 22. The entire article could have been placed elsewhere or large segments of it ‘killed’. To its eternal credit at the level of ‘good news sense’ and commitment to some of the frequently repeated canons of the liberal journalistic code the Gleaner offered what might have been the evident lead as the lead, based on stories selected and ‘maturing’ for the day.

The No.2 lead (top right corner of the page) ‘Police get another chance to vote today’ addressed the details in place to allow for the Security Forces to complete the casting of their votes, a process which had started the previous Saturday. Two of the other stories dealt with violent deaths. One was clearly related to the existing political turmoil and through its headline, stated: ‘Gunmen kill 55 in 12 days since McGann’s death’. The story dealt with other statistics which suggested, for example, that ‘attacks’ against the JLP were three times as high as those against the PNP for the year. Readers can derive their own impressions. The article offered further reinforcement, unsupportive of the PNP:

Joint Military Police operations began at the end of July, and Operation ‘Crime Stop’ began on August 15. The effect was a reduction ['gun killings'], but following a Communist and PNP-led criticism of the Forces, escalation occurred in September.

The page one advocacy editorial picked up on that particular point and we will return to this briefly in later discussion.

9 This is in the sense that no other story seemed important enough that day from a journalistic point of view to displace it as lead.

10 Roy McGann, a PNP candidate for a constituency in the parish of St. Andrew was shot on October 14 and reports at the time did not clearly locate responsibility for the attack.
Among the other two pieces, one highlighted the ideological polarization: 'Rev. Hart sees elections as key to Castro’s plan'. Philip Hart was a major Church figure in the country, the Rector of the Kingston Parish Church. He was addressing the Rotary Club of Montego Bay and so on, as the *Gleaner* informed the reader in paraphrased paragraphs one and two. A short extract is useful:

Undoubtedly, the outcome of the imminent general election is of great importance to the Cuban government as a key-card in the implementation of Castro's general plan for the Hemisphere. (see para. 2)

By reproducing Hart's comments, the argument against the PNP and its chosen path (disintegrating as this path was at the time) would not have been weakened. The Rotary Club itself houses in Jamaica and elsewhere in a capitalist context, some of the most rabid cohorts of the ideological ‘right’.

The final item was a sort of public information snippet, advising the public to ‘Keep your ENUMERATION CERTIFICATE safely’ and so on. This itself had general usefulness and a service value for the public but could hardly be perceived as entirely innocuous in that by reproducing such information the newspaper consciously or otherwise helped to consolidate a strong JLP position going into the election.

Whereas the *Express* published no election story on its front page on the 28th, in the previous edition (27th) its second - from CANA-Reuters - of a total of two front-page stories was headlined ‘Cuba giving guns to PNP says Seaga’. The *Express* of October 29 in its second most prominent story echoed the *Gleaner*’s position in terms of the anticipated JLP victory: ‘Latest poll says it’s Seaga’ (headline). This approximated the Daily *Gleaner* story cited above, but for the *Express* it was taken from the CANA wire. The lead story focused on a Trinidad murder case, and among the other four news items of the six on the page was another story about the election, headlined ‘Bottles hold up Manley’s tour’. The last named story pointed to brief interruptions of Manley’s campaign tour in a western parish of Jamaica involving bottle-throwing, stone-throwing, and brief gunfire (this last when men said to have been wearing JLP tea-shirts fired shots with the police returning the fire - no one was hurt). It was a CANA story also carried by the Nation (Mid-Week edition) of the 29th under the headline ‘Stone-throwing on final days’ as it began coverage during election week. Differences exist in the two presentations. Apart from prior variations, the *Express* story omitted two background paragraphs appearing and the end of the Nation’s piece about other stages in the four-day tour. This sort of truncation of a story is, however, well within the prerogative of an editor and also has to do with the exigencies of varying newspaper space and the assessed relative importance of a story in the news net. The differences although fairly minimal, partly undermine the view that editors are hardly free to modify wire service copy (or hardly tend to) except for superficial design features to suit the particular ‘house style’. Indeed, we already observed in the case of at least one newspaper that seniors are not allowed to wantonly fragment even a novice’s story. Wire service copy is also viewed as material from professionals on location who are closer to the ‘facts’. Besides, it is very convenient in a busy newsroom and in the case of a story which is developing, allowing for, for instance, the mitigation of time constraints.

Apart from six one- or two-sentence ‘shorts’ or mini-items, the Nation’s items included

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11 The lead was about elections to the Tobago House of Assembly.
the 'Stone-throwing' story touched on above. The four other stories about the imminent election in Jamaica included the lead story. Headlined 'FEVERPITCH' (lower secondary heading: 'Pundits say Manley, polls say Seaga'), the lead was basically a piece of interpretive reporting which drew on various facets of the political situation. Paragraph one stated:

Just under one million Jamaicans will go to the polls tomorrow at the end of a bitter, violence-filled election campaign.

It suggested that Manley's PNP had been given a slight edge over Seaga's JLP to achieve a historical third term in a close election (paras. 3 & 4). However, it noted the most recent opinion poll giving the JLP a clear majority and the previous one by the same pollster (paras. 5 & 6) (as referred to in the Daily Gleaner's story of the 28th). It completed the comprehensive piece pointing to 'sources' as saying that food and foreign exchange shortages had led to 'disenchantment among voters', and quoted Seaga as stating that he had an 'extremely good chance' but would not support unconstitutional action if Manley won in a free, fair poll. A picture of Manley accompanied.

Directly under the Manley picture and adjacent to the lead story was one headlined 'PNP ACCUSED OF WRECKING THE ECONOMY'. The accusation was Seaga's and referred to 'mismanagement' which had led to an increased debt burden. Also adjacent to the lead story (but on the right-hand side of the page) was a CANA story headlined 'Killer gangs in the camps'. Again, this was a Seaga story and drew heavily from the Opposition Leader on his statements about security and political violence but nevertheless referred to his comment that there were gangs 'operating on their behalf, but not necessarily on the instructions of the political directorate' of the two major parties (para. 1). It also cited the discovery of weapons at the Montego Bay international airport (paras. 2 & 3), but dealt with this in more detail in another story (CANA's) at the foot of the page.

The Nation's coverage was extensive and illustrated as the other papers did, that the election was the most important news story for the period. The coverage on October 29, if anything, was not conspicuously biased in favour of one party or the other, although it tended to give a greater ear to Seaga. This slant arose partly from reproducing CANA items and partly from the predominant media-amplified and electoral trend in favour of the JLP.

It is important to note that the stories are seen here not only as information and coverage about an event (the general election and the occurrences associated with it) but also as a definitely concrete ideological stream which unwittingly or consciously tended to undermine the regime. But this was not just any ordinary period. It was associated with 'Democratic Socialism' which had few genuine friends among the privileged sector and even fewer among core big business in that sector.

8.2.1 Jamaicans go to the polls today - October 30

The Nation was not published on general election day but its Weekend edition appeared again the following day, and the Guardian did not appear until late November. The major commercial newspapers for the day were therefore the Daily Gleaner, the Express and the Advocate-News.

The Daily Gleaner's lead story was an array of detail dominated by Jamaica's electoral
history from 1944, but it also explained the arrangements for the day in a piece punctuated by the cross-heads: 'TIGHT SECURITY', '127 CANDIDATES' (60 each for the PNP & JLP, and seven independents), and 'THE VIOLENCE'. Headlined 'Jamaica goes to the polls today' (secondary heading - 990,367 on voters lists), the first paragraph noted:

Jamaica goes to the polls today - for the fifth time since independence, and the ninth time since adult suffrage was granted in 1944 - to elect a government for a five-year term.

Elsewhere, apart from the bare essence of political history, it found a place to note that 'as the economic crisis deepened' Prime Minister Manley announced that elections would be held 'when the new electoral machinery was in place' (para.11). More pointed and outlined in the preceding paragraph (para.10) was the observation:

partial electoral reform came after repeated charges from the Opposition JLP that there had been unprecedented widescale bogus voting and other malpractices in the 1976 general election. In the resultant campaign for reforms, the Opposition JLP boycotted by-elections.

No references were made in the article to PNP charges but the last paragraph (No.21) returned to this issue by noting in its last sentence that the election of a PNP member in the general election 'was nullified by a Court action brought by the losing JLP candidate, when large scale election frauds were exposed.'

The Express found little space on its front-page for the day's election. A short two-paragraph piece from CANA headed 'SUNDOWN SHOWDOWN' dramatized political violence in the jargon of the Hollywood western. Again, it was the JLP Opposition Leader who was portrayed as beleaguered:

Body guards with Edward Seaga traded shots with gunmen... at sundown as the Jamaican Opposition leader and a group of visiting journalists were near a political hotspot called 'Nannyville' [a poorer district of Kingston] (para.1).

The Advocate-News headlined its lead, and only front-page story about the elections, 'Jamaicans go to the polls today' (secondary heading - '13 more die in pre-election violence'). This was sourced CANA and UPI but whether the news agencies worked jointly or information provided by one wire was grafted on to that from the other is not clear, but the former seems to have been the case. From the start, the story was dominated by the element of political violence, and in this drew from the Montego Bay find and Manley’s related comments as well as other factors. The final paragraph drew from the positions of both leaders:

Accusing Manley of trying to create another Cuba and attacking him for his friendship with Fidel Castro, Seaga says Jamaicans must choose between freedom and communism. Manley says the choice is between a new economic system that will bring prosperity to all or domination by the rich and imperialists.

The Daily Gleaner’s other election day stories included a short piece below the lead headlined 'API man on arms charge'. It mentioned that the man had been arrested along with two

12Sub-heads dividing sections of text.

(Footnote continued)
others and would appear in court the following Monday. There was no reference to a car in the first
and the other two paragraphs of the story but the last informed the reader:

The Gleaner learnt that the car...was rented in the name of the PNP.

It is in subtle references of this sort that we can identify the inadequacy of Berelson’s definition about
the manifest content of communication. Five other items dealt with violence or security arrangements
under the following headlines:

‘Security forces prepared for terrorists’
‘Gunmen strike in Falmouth’
‘Special arrangements made for security’
‘Pilot, crew member released in arms case’
‘14 KILLED ACROSS THE ISLAND’

The item about the release of the pilot and crew member focused on denial by the plane’s owner, that
he had anything to do with ‘any transaction after the keys were passed over to the pilot.’
Trans-Jamaica flights also returned to normal. Of the other election items on the page one was the
continuing apparent ‘public service’ spot which emphasized as its last piece of advice - ‘VOTE EARLY
TODAY: EVERY VOTE COUNTS!’ The gloss is one of apparent lack of commitment except to
advise the electorate to exercise ‘your democratic rights’. However, the tendency of the principal
reports which we have examined, the newspaper’s history and background and the nature of the news
gathering process would suggest that other interpretations would be well founded. Indeed, this
particular ‘public service’ piece could arguably be viewed as campaigning, partisan campaigning.
The other item was a large picture and caption adjacent to the lead story showing security forces
personnel bulldozing rubble which had blocked roads in some areas.

8.2.2 The victor and the victim

On Friday, October 31 victory for the JLP was generally announced by the various
newspapers. The Daily Gleaner’s lead story banner headlined ‘JLP WINS IN LANDSLIDE’
(secondary heading - ‘MASSIVE TURNOUT OF VOTERS IN THE GENERAL ELECTION’, and
secondary heading - ‘Could win 50 seats: 10 Ministers defeated’) came before the issue was sealed:

Confirming pre-election predictions that it would win the 1980 general election by a wide
margin, the Jamaica Labour Party swept to power yesterday.

At press time last night, with the preliminary count not completed, indications were that
the JLP would win by a landslide. Of the 60 seats in the House of Representatives, the
J.L.P. had won 20 and was leading in 20, pointing to a final count of some 50 seats
(paras.1 & 2).

The story recounted seats lost and gained, the country’s electoral history, political violence, and so
on. The one cross-head in the story ‘JLP makes history’ was actually followed by a paragraph which
stated: ‘Mr. Small’s defeat made history, being the first time that this traditional P.N.P. seat of East
Kingston was lost by the party.’ Perhaps this fairly minor transposition was in keeping with a trend,
in part, to speak for the JLP.

13(continued)

An employee of the Agency for Public Information - which was the then name for the
Government’s central information office.
The Express informed the reader in its only story about the election on the front page: 'JLP poised for landslide victory'. This was a 'press time' report from CANA which mentioned that the JLP was leading in 42 seats and the PNP in six, and also pointed to a few of the decided seats. The lead story with a banner headline was about a technocrat's resignation from the PNM Government in Trinidad. Bernard Primus resigned as chairman from organizations including the Trinidad-Tesoro Petroleum Corporation and the National Gas Company, and as deputy chairman of the National Energy Corporation. The story also noted: 'Mr. Primus remains on a number of private boards, including Furness Trinidad Ltd. and Fujiko Caribbean Ltd., for both of which he is chairman. Fujiko is involved in a multi-million contract for the Government on the Caroni-Arena project.' That has been a useful diversion, from which aspects of the links between capital and the state and how the capitalist element manages to consolidate its resources and position can be observed.

The Advocate-News of the 31st largely neglected the election story as far as front page treatment was concerned in that the one story about the issue, among the total of twelve on various subjects spread across the page was relatively insignificantly placed near the bottom right-hand corner. It was an early CANA story (inferred from the content of the second paragraph) which stated that the JLP was leading in 18 constituencies and the ruling Peoples National Party (PNP) of Prime Minister Manley in eight in the very early stages of the count in 26 constituencies.

Part of the explanation for the Nation's gradual displacement of the Advocate-News rests on its strong 'first with the news' 'hegemony' in the Barbados (newspaper) press context and perhaps the sharpness of the then and continuing editorial/management team and their bases in marginally metamorphosed business strata. The Weekend Nation not only had a man reporting from Kingston (Albert Brandford). Importantly, the falling circulation, and not then evident (and probable) reduction in advertising revenue,14 which might have limited the Advocate's capacity to cover the range of news preferred and contributed to a sacrifice of depth. It told the reader more decisively than any of the other major papers that day, of the margin of victory in its page-one lead. The Nation's headline, and secondary headings told much of the story: 'SEAGA TAKES OVER' (secondary headings 'Jamaica sings the "Manley Farewell"', and 'JLP: 51 seats, PNP: 9 seats'). The first paragraph stated that 'Gunfire echoed in the streets of Kingston early this morning' as the PNP 'was voted out' and the JLP 'swept to the polls yesterday.' The second, without qualification, stated that:

More than half of the more than one million voters rejected Michael Manley's economic mismanagement, socialist policies and flirtation with the left, and gave Seaga's JLP a landslide victory...

No evidence in the story apart from that was apparent to suggest that the Nation was going beyond 'normal' and 'efficient' journalistic coverage. The slanting in the lead story shifted into interpretation or editorialized without taking the specific form of an editorial article, and reproduced the views of

14 The Advocate has probably been kept afloat (comfortably or uncomfortably so) by the fact that it still has a strong basis in traditional big capitalist support and has as its parent a large conglomerate, McAl. There was no indication at the time of the fieldwork in 1988 or in any bits of material which emerged later suggesting that the newspaper or the Advocate Company (holding company - McInternary Alstons (Barbados) Ltd.) was in danger of imminent collapse. In an earlier chapter, a recent legal wrangle between McAl and others over equity in the Advocate Co. was cited. A new tabloid, the Weekend Investigator which emerged at the end of the 1980s is said to be published by the Advocate Co. and ABC figures point to quite good circulation. This has probably helped the Advocate Co. to confront the rise of Nation Publishing’s titles.
elements strongly opposed to the PNP regime. Surely, this study readily accepts that the reference to 'economic mismanagement' and 'flirtation with the left' do not necessarily imply malicious intent or conscious bias, but is perhaps more a pointer to the context of the period as well as the origins and processing of the story.

Flowing out from Jamaica, the context was partly a tide of crisis and an aura of the JLP’s impending victory. The themes of opposition to 'Democratic Socialism' and perceived possible communism readily issued from opposition politicians, the *Gleaner* (as we will largely observe by the end of this chapter), and through some currents of regional and foreign statements. Whereas the *Advocate* laboured under the constraint of depending mainly on CANA for its news, the *Nation* savoured its ascendency but its coverage from the embroiled election atmosphere with the overflow of anti-PNP sentiments from the new victors and their 'primary definers' (see, e.g., Hall et al., 1978), seemed to have been largely a reproduction of prevailing currents. The 'first-with-the-news' commitment meant more rapid processing and the convenient usage of floating and readily accessible assumptions/linguistic constructs about the political situation.

The entire front page of the *Nation* was devoted to Jamaica’s general election when local or other significant local-regional stories might have been ‘breaking’. The emphasis on the political situation somehow emphasizes what Lent (1977) loosely referred to as a preoccupation with politics on the part of the Caribbean press, but more importantly for us here, it reinforced the reality of the designation, local-regional and the particular political and social developments as occurring more or less at home, and closely ‘concerning us all’.

The *Nation*’s precision with the latest general election results in the lead story appears to have been based mainly on its commitment, as stated above, and on an apparently structured and established later hour of going to the press (at least during those days when it was not yet a daily). Recall our earlier observations in other chapters about its class alignment.

The *Gleaner* and the *Nation* were the only papers in this section of the study which published other front-page stories for the day. Both adorned the page with news photographs, a genre which is useful in symbolic representation and supportive of a journalistic pet phrase that a good photograph is worth a thousand words. The *Gleaner* published a large inset photograph (bust) of Seaga - ‘EDWARD SEAGA...Prime Minister-elect’ - centred in the top section of the page, and another picture with three plain clothes policemen with ‘Guns at the ready’ as Seaga’s walk-about in a poorer district of Kingston was interrupted by gunfire. The caption also explained that Seaga, in the background, was being ‘hustled to safety by his security men’. The *Nation* had three (bust) photographs. On the left of the lead story at the top of the page was that of ‘Manley the vanquished’; on the right, the much larger one of ‘Seaga the victorious’; and at the bottom was a small one of ‘Patterson...defeated’, according to the captions.  

‘OVERWHELMING MANDATE - SEAGA’ was the headline for the Gleaner’s second lead which quoted and paraphrased Seaga’s statements about plans to restore the economy, comments

15 P. J. Patterson was Deputy Prime Minister in the then PNP regime, and continued in this role after the PNP was returned to power in 1989. He became Prime Minister on Michael Manley’s resignation in March 1992.
on foreign policy including the implied intention to remove Cuban Ambassador Ulises Estrada, and his declaration that the victory was a victory against communism. Another story under the photograph of the JLP leader ‘Starting with a prayer’ referred to his arrival home and a request that the rector of his local church be called in order that ‘he could meet with him to pray’ (para.2). Another (boxed and of approximately similar size) noted through its headline: ‘CARL STONE PROVEN RIGHT’.

This was based on the observation that the Gleaner’s pollster was again correct after his 1976 success. Bordering the second photograph (based on Seaga’s walk-about) were two stories. A smaller one, headlined ‘Policeman slain’ referred to the shooting of the policeman as gunmen fired on a police station in downtown Kingston. The larger stated ‘MANLEY CONCEDES DEFEAT’. This was an acceptance that ‘The people have voted’ and was repeated in the Nation in less detail under the headline ‘Manley concedes’. The Nation’s three other stories pointed out, through headlines, ‘Nothing to fight about now’ (Seaga stating that as the election was over, he expected the violence to subside - CANA); ‘The Ministers who were losers’ (e.g. Small and Patterson named above - CANA); and CUBAN ENVOY TO GO (Seaga would ask the Ambassador to go as soon as he was sworn in as Prime Minister).

Altogether the Gleaner published six stories (plus two photographs) and the Nation, five (plus three photographs) all of which dealt with the political event and closely relevant factors. In other words, all items related to the political situation and the variables which defined the respective positions.

8.2.3 Assessing the response

The Gleaner, in its banner headline on November 1 stated: ‘JLP wins 51 seats, PNP 9’. The secondary heading noted: ‘Seaga sworn today as PM’. Those were fairly self-explanatory. Other information included in the story pointed to the possibility that the JLP could gain another seat at the expense of former PNP National Security Minister, Dudley Thompson over whom the JLP candidate ‘was reported to have established a lead.’ Additionally, the PNP was to pursue a magisterial recount in the case of one constituency of which the two candidates reported that the electoral proceedings had been ‘plagued by violence.’

The first of two Jamaica stories on the Express front page was the second lead: ‘Seaga and Manley in Cuba row’. The CANA story was accompanied by a passport-size picture of each of the two principal political figures in the election. The ‘row’ was over the JLP’s and Seaga’s plan to remove the Cuban Ambassador to which Manley was recorded as having responded that ‘such an action would be “vindictive, vicious, and I hope, not typical.”’ To the extent that it explained that the JLP was expected to win 50 of the 60 seats contested, the story was slightly dated. Additionally, it mentioned Mr. Seaga’s meeting on the previous day (31st) with the heads of the security forces and with government departments. Another story reproduced from CANA what was referred to in the headline as the ‘WAR ON COPS IN JAMAICA’. The story outlined details of attacks on police stations before mentioning cases in which others were shot by the police, and in one case by a farmer. Another one-sentence piece on the page for Saturday headed ‘Seaga - a view from POS’ [Port of Spain, capital of Trinidad and Tobago] informed the reader of ‘only one of the many good things in the “Sunday Express”’.

The Advocate-News published only a fairly inconspicuous single column story of
approximately seven inches about the election under the headline ‘Democracy still alive, says Forde’ among its 12 front page stories on various other subjects. Henry Forde, the Barbados Foreign Minister was commenting on the situation through the state-owned Radio Barbados. Forde did not believe that the Caribbean was "moving away from parliamentary democracy" and that "the defeat was another swing from the left in the Caribbean. Some of Forde’s comments threw some useful light on elements of official and other views in the Caribbean:

Though political analysts tend to see regional political parties in terms of ‘left’ and ‘right’, he said that when one examined the policies of most of the parties in the region, that "basically no matter what the rhetoric they all seem to be looking towards a system of democracy with an accent on the welfare state. Even those who term themselves capitalists seem to have a large measure of this type of politics and I think that trend is irreversible in the Caribbean."

Let us return to the Gleaner which published several stories other than its lead. A large photograph in the top centre of the page captioned ‘MANLEY IN DEFEAT...’ showed Mrs. Manley and party officials at PNP headquarters on election night. The picture was bordered by the lead story, the second lead (‘US welcomes Seaga victory’), and another story (‘Manley: Will not accept vindictiveness’). This last story was linked with the picture. By that day the final results were unknown but the implications were that the PNP was evidently defeated. The headline emphasis was drawn from the third paragraph: ‘“I want the world to know that we will not accept any policy that is based on vindictiveness, on vengeance or on anything of the kind.”’ At the press conference, Mr Manley made several general comments, but apart from this particular one cited above he is reported to have stated:

Maybe what I did was to challenge the power of the western economic structure...and for this I will remain unrepentant and unreconstructed...

The Washington story from CANA-Reuter (Oct. 31) drew from several officials. One U.S. State Department representative responded: ‘We warmly welcome this further demonstration of democracy in this hemisphere.’ He also added (and we must be sceptical of this) that Washington maintained ‘a strictly neutral stance in this election’ (paras. 2 & 3). Another official (in this instance unnamed) ‘disagreed’ that ‘the leftist victory in Grenada’ was ‘the wave of the future’ (paras. 5 & 6).

A fourth detailed story ‘ISLANDWIDE CELEBRATIONS’ told the reader that the ‘massive victory...sparked off a spate of celebrations throughout the island; a fifth and shorter one stated: ‘Gunmen kill 3’. ‘Duncan challenges the results’ was the headline for a story in which the PNP’s General Secretary D. K. Duncan was shown to have criticized those who managed the elections (e.g., the Electoral Advisory Committee, and the Security Forces), and, for instance the JLP for waging what he viewed as a campaign of terrorism and jointly with ‘certain reactionary forces’, setting ‘itself against the constitutionally-elected Government.’ Duncan also referred to the JLP’s emerging reign as ‘this bourgeois democratic stage’ and that as a member of the party he was committed to continue to fight for ‘proletarian democracy’.

Apart from advertisements and a boxed notice about an election feature to be published in the Sunday Gleaner, the other item on the front-page offered ‘What’s inside the Sunday Gleaner’.
Extracts from columnists which would appear at length on the op-ed and other pages were among those items listed. The column did not appear on the principal editorial page and therefore it is useful to note the extracts as well as other reference to election-related content as follows:

DElIVERANCE!

Says MORRIS CARGILL: “Deliverance at last is here.” On Thursday the people of Jamaica by the largest vote in any Jamaican election put a dramatic end to eight years of the worst government in the history of this country...not only in terms of management and corruption, but the most evil.”

NOT YET DELIVERED....

“There can be no praise too great for the security forces who have over these last few months played a central role in the preservation of democracy. Deliverance from the ugly monster called violence must now come quickly”...FRANKLYN MCKNIGHT

Other highlights

. The power of prayer
. Let us praise the people
. What future for JBC TV?

And in the

SUNDAY MAGAZINE

......

. DETENTE - It won’t make the Russians "good guys", says RICHARD NIXON.

Ninth of a 12-part serialisation of his book "The Real War".

Broadly, these items clearly do not suggest regret at the demise of the PNP and its political and social programmes. In some quarters too, they may be viewed as normal ‘election-type’ coverage. However, in their combined orientation they are markedly attenuated towards ideological confrontation and far from a purely 'objective' presentation of news and information. It is not, of course, being suggested that we should expect 'impartiality', 'objectivity', and 'balance' in commentaries. Rather, bias is more characteristic. News per se, on the other hand, should be inclined towards these elements of the journalistic code.

The Sunday Gleaner’s front-page lead of the 2nd November highlighted the swearing in of the new Prime Minister, Edward Seaga. The main headline stated: ‘SEAGA SWORN IN AS PM’. The secondary headlines pointed to the content of the leading four paragraphs of the story: ‘Glasspole continues as GG’, ‘Shearer Deputy Prime Minister’, ‘Will also be Finance Minister’ (i.e., Seaga). A large supporting photograph and caption pointed to Seaga with a bible and the Governor General standing beside him.

Later paragraphs in the story which was continued on page two drew from Seaga’s statement in pointing out a $155 million gap in the foreign exchange budget; the request he made to the Cuban Government to withdraw its ambassador to Jamaica; that he expected good opposition from the PNP but knew that the victory was a vote against Communist ideas; he paid tribute to the security forces and requested that the Churches name the next Sunday a National Day of Prayer, and so on. Basically, he was constructing the starting point and the legitimacy of the new regime.

The Express published one news story on its front page that day. A large headline and a picture of a PNM MP who had lost his seat because of absence from seven consecutive sittings of the Trinidad House of Representatives were conspicuous. The only indication of Jamaica’s election on that page was a note that a comment would appear on the editorial page. Surprisingly, the Sunday Sun (Nov. 2 - Sunday version of the Nation) did not publish front-page material on the
election and we will therefore have to await editorial page discussion later in this chapter. However,
the Sunday Advocate-News led its front-page with: 'Edward Seaga sworn in as Prime Minister'
(secondary heading - 'Hugh Shearer named as deputy'). The CANA story emphasized the swearing
in and Seaga's comments about Jamaica's economic crisis, and almost the entire second half of the
story addressed the new Prime Minister's act of asking for the withdrawal of the Cuban Ambassador
as well as the events leading up to the decision. The CANA correspondent's contribution was an
enlivened reconstruction:

The ambassador had been close to the administration of Michael Manley whose People's
National Party (PNP) was resoundingly whipped at the General Election last Thursday.

The Estrada affair had boiled over into the streets of Kingston after the then Opposition
Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) accused him of interfering in Jamaica's internal affairs.

Although only the front page and editorial page came into our reckoning, it is useful to note briefly,
extracts from one or two of the five CANA-derived election stories on page three of that day. The lead
story on that page stated, through its headline JLP studies role of president', and the first paragraph
informed us that 'Edward Seaga has plans to turn Jamaica into a republic, but not the kind that
Michael Manley had in mind.' Seaga, according to CANA, would have preferred a president who
stood somewhere between the executive type and the figure-head in order to avoid concentration of
power in the hands of the political directorate. Three other stories were headlined (i) 'Banker:
Jamaica has to return to IMF', (ii) 'US welcomes JLP victory', and (iii) 'Gunmen attack police
stations'. Quite graphic and indicative of how capitalists enter the news, is CANA's opening
paragraph to its fifth but third most detailed story under the heading 'PSOJ pledges to help rebuild
economy':

Jamaica's powerful private sector, elated over the defeat of Michael Manley's
government, last night told of plans to help restore vigour and vitality to the island's
beleaguered economy (2/11/80: 3).

Other Sunday Gleaner election stories were generally self-explanatory via their
headlines: 'Shooting suspends vote count' (parish of St. Andrew): '59 violent deaths last week'
[including '37...by terrorist gunmen, 11 by the security forces...)]; 'Sayings of the week'. 'Sayings
of the week' included four comments. The first from Seaga at the time of victory of October 30 was
that: "No PNP member should fear the JLP's victory because it was our intention and purpose to
bring into the mainstream of the public life of this country all the people of Jamaica." Manley's
statement of the same date warning against "vindictiveness" was referred to above. The third
'saying' was from Mrs. Seaga (wife of the new Prime Minister) on October 29: "We have a
responsibility to our children to see that a society is created in which they can grow up to be proud
citizens and contribute to the development of our country." A Seventh Day Adventist pastor, Rev.
H. S. Walters, on October 30 completed the number by pointing an accusing finger at the PNP: "If
the democratic socialism which our Prime Minister [then Manley] speaks about must work, then he
should ask the Communists in his party to form their own party."

A 'WHAT'S INSIDE' column included at the top of its listings a note on the souvenir
package about the 1980 election and a picture of Seaga hugged by his mother captioned 'FOR A
WINNER.....', brief extracts from columnists and other information. Apart from two stories, one
telling that there were '21 in race for US president' and the other that the president of the
Inter-American Development Bank had gained a third term, advertisements from well known
transnational labels Berger (paints, etc.) and Kentucky Fried Chicken as well as a local-regional
transnational, Geddes Grant were the other principal adornments of the page.

On the final day of coverage for the period the Daily Gleaner led with the story 'With
malice toward none - Seaga' accompanied by a photograph of Seaga and his immediate family. The
text of the story was from the Prime Minister's first address after he was sworn in. The early
paragraphs read as follows:

THE PRIME MINISTER, THE HON. EDWARD SEAGA in an address at his swearing in at
Kings House on Saturday promised the nation 'principled government'.
Mr. Seaga said his government hoped to offer a 'principled creative government and a
government of sanity with conviction and credibility.'

He quoted Abraham Lincoln's words: 'With malice towards none, with
charity for all, with firmness in the right, as
God gives us to see the right.' He said those
words 'epitomized and symbolized' the
mission of the Jamaican Labour Party of which
he is the leader and the role of his
government... (paras. 1-3)

'We hope to offer a government of sanity.
We hope to offer a Government that knows
where it is going...

'We hope to offer a government that
will not have hostile relations with the
international fora of the world,
'Ve have no quarrel with our security
forces...
'Ve have no quarrel with people who seek
to invest and by investment to create
employment opportunities and by the creation
of employment opportunities to bring
prosperity to the poor.
'We seek to establish a Government that
can operate in a manner that will have a
broad spectrum of support at all times...
'(paras. 5-10)

The story thus outlined the policy prescriptions of the JLP and implied a shift from perceived PNP
failures but to some extent outlined elements which would have come from any statesman-like
presentation. That story was supplemented by a large photograph of the Seaga family 'ascending the
steps to Kings House', which in itself was of supportive symbolic value.

Daily Gleaner stories included the second lead, 'Five lulled - 3 by gunmen' - one of the
types of stories where ordinary citizens and civilians are mentioned specifically. Another story had a
similar ring - 'Gunmen rampage in the city looting, arson in rural areas' (continued on page 11) and
in the comprehensive coverage made two brief references to PNP and JLP 'supporters' being
mentioned as antagonists, one reference in the case of each party. Other stories were headlined as
follows:

'Message of solidarity from Venezuela' [President's message to
PM]
'Castro asked to recall Estrada'
'Trade gap widens'
'Seaga visits Jamaica House' [Office of the PM]
'Hopes Seaga can check economic slide before it is irreversible
- Advocate' [an editorial which comes up for later discussion]

Other briefs directed readers to information elsewhere.

The Express avoided the story in front-page treatment again on November 3
emphasizing, in particular, A. N. R. Robinson's [later, Trinidad's Prime Minister from 1986]
resignation from the Democratic Action Congress (DAC) but also carrying an item about members of
a teachers' union on a work-to-rule, and an elaborate exhibit from a costume parade. The
Advocate-News omitted the story from both the editorial and front pages.
8.2.4 The Guardian recovers

Recall that the Guardian was off the streets from April 27 because of a fire at Trinidad Publishing’s premises and the installation of sections of the long contemplated new computer technology. Resumption came on Sunday, 23rd November when there was ‘partial publication’ (McAl, Annual Report 1980: 6). Journalist and author, Owen Mathurin observed in the issue of the 24th:

The resumption of publication of the "Trinidad Guardian" is an event of outstanding importance because the daily newspaper is such a vital institution in the life of a nation. More so a newspaper of record such as the "Guardian" has been and will continue to be...

Of course, we could have been worse off: if another daily did not exist we could have been experiencing the sorry plight of the English-speaking States to the North of us - Barbados excepted - none of which can sustain a daily newspaper (24/11/80: 6 - editorial page).

Editor-in-Chief (Sunday Guardian) Therese Mills recalls the Saturday night:

It was Saturday night and people were lining up in the street...not queuing for food, or for water, but for another staple of the Trinidadian diet - the Sunday Guardian (McAl, Annual Report 1989: 43).

Managing Director Mark Conyers in the same report (p.43) explained: ‘we immediately regained our leadership in the market.’ In spite of the Guardian’s absence, a few short items did appear during the week about the elections or related factors and these will attract an correspondingly brief summary here.

No editorial page references appeared for the week under study. On the 24th, two ‘shorts’ under the heading ‘Here and there’, and drawn from CANA, told the reader of ‘Five more people killed in Jamaica’ (including popular entertainer ‘General Echo’), and that ‘Shearer Acts’ [Deputy PM acts as PM] (as PM Seaga visits the United States). A third CANA story - more detailed - explained that ‘a return to the jacket and tie’ was ‘part of the new order being implemented by Prime Minister Edward Seaga’ as dress for his officials.

The only item on page one on the 26th dealt with a Gleaner editorial calling the new JLP Government to attend to several items of ‘unfinished business’ left by the previous administration - an item which will be dealt with later under editorials. The single front-page story on November 27 (CANA-Reuter), ‘Support police to stop crime call made in Ja.’, referred to the new Minister of National Security’s appeal for public and private support for the police in the fight against crime. The Minister was also quoted expressing concern over the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation’s (JBC’s) coverage of a recent demonstration against the security forces. The PNP and its then General Secretary D. K. Duncan came up for mention, in that the Minister’s call was said to have come in response to Duncan’s request for the extension of the Suppression of Crimes Act to the following January to allow a parliamentary committee to examine the successes and failures of the Act since it was put in place in 1974.

The one front-page story on November 28 came again under ‘HERE AND THERE’ from CANA under the headline ‘Truce collapses’. It informed the reader that a ‘proposed truce between supporters’ of the ‘rival’ PNP and the ruling JLP in the constituency of West St. Andrew ‘fell through
yesterday, when PNP supporters stayed away from the expected meeting place. The other paragraph explained that the PNP's Dudley Thompson had been declared winner of the seat but that on the recount the JLP's Owen Stephenson had in fact displaced him. On the following day, two short CANA-derived items appeared. A one-paragraph piece, 'Jamaican $' mentioned improvement in the country's balance of payments for the first six months of 1980 compared to the corresponding period of 1979. The second, 'Manley home' reported Manley's statement that he had no plans to leave Jamaica permanently following a report that he was a candidate for an International Development Research Centre fellowship. Manley was referred to as stating that no job could induce him to settle overseas.

On the final day of the first week of entering the market again (30th), a one-paragraph CANA-derived item under shorts mentioned shooting deaths in Jamaica - three by the security forces and two by gunmen - but there was no indication that the motives were political.

All indications suggest that the Guardian did not really pick up on its arrears in election news coverage lost by its absence around the immediate election period. It basically began from events occurring at resumption or those which were the subject of continuing coverage at its re-introduction. The 'staleness' or lack of 'newness' of election day and week coverage, for instance, lessened the possibility of this happening but 'comment' treatment which arises a posteriori and which is also habituated in the case of non-daily publications as a rule, was not neglected. No editorial articles appeared but, three columnists contributed during the week and these will be dealt with later under editorials.

8.3 'Our view' - editorial positions

The time lapse between news stories and editorial articles will tend to be short and, indeed, frequently an editorial article about a front page or major story will be published on the same day as that story. Such a factor could be based on the fact that editorial writers are largely internal to an organization and the process generally relies more on opinions and less on detailed research. Features and commentaries are frequently at a greater 'distance' from 'hard news' in terms of time lapse. Indeed, the process may be invigorated and even shortened - not only in the Caribbean, but generally - by crisis situations and major events (such as the political situations of 1980 Jamaica, and Grenada of March 1979 which is dealt with in the next chapter).

If Jamaica's 1980 general election spurred less front page news coverage than the Grenada coup in the major publications, the difference in the extent of editorial comment was less marked even with the general absence of the Guardian because in this case the difference was somewhat compensated for by the Gleaner's presence within the immediate environment. As we have observed, bias in news may be largely unwitting but editorial articles and commentaries, or letters to the editor are clearly different genres/channels at this level in that they transmit a view - the newspaper's, the columnist's, the letter writer's and sometimes even (particularly in the case of editorials) claim to represent the public's view.

16 Appendix 20 summarizes and assesses editorial articles written about the election. See also Appendix 23 for the dates of publication and the numbers published.
Hall and his colleagues have noted two types of editorials. One is the general type in which the press speaks "its own mind, to say what it thinks, but expressed in its public idiom." In a second type it "claims to speak for the public." According to these authors:

...This form of articulating what the vast majority of the public are supposed to think, this enlisting of public legitimacy for views which the newspaper itself is expressing, represents the media at its most active campaigning role - the point where the media shape and structure public opinion. This kind of editorial usually takes the form either of support for some countervailing action which has been taken, or, even more frequently, of a demand that strong action should be taken - because the majority demand it (see, Hall et al, 1978: 63). [Emphasis original]

Indeed, the process at times operates very subtly and may vary with the specifics of contexts and/or prevailing issues. On the other hand, the campaigning stance may also be quite unrestrained. The essential point to understand is that when the term editorial arises it is hardly wrapped in any pretensions of 'objectivity' as in news per se. What we are talking about is the newspaper's view; that of the editorial writer who may or may not be a member of the staff but who is sympathetic to the paper's general stance; views which may be projected as the general view - as we noted above - and so on.

Thus, the shift from hard news to the editorial article as well as the other opinion columns and 'letters to the editor' amounts to a considerable leap in the progression from the implicit to the explicit in views or orientation from so-called 'facts' to opinion. On the one hand, is the genre which, against various constraints and apparently minimal active 'slanting' arises as 'news', and on the other, is unabashed opinion - "we are against that", "the government ought to", "we believe we speak for the overwhelming majority when we", and similar ways of framing or aligning comments. This leap, however, is not as straight-forward as it would appear. Balance and impartiality, to the extent that they are vastly separable may be secondary in the opinion pieces. However, if we take 'objectivity' in its broad - but especially journalistic sense - opinion writers do frequently present their version of 'the facts', weighing the pros and cons (in a manner of expression, 'balancing'), or seeming to be objective but then they crucially bring down the hammer in favour of their preferred stance. Thus, in examining election-based editorial articles - the central item of emphasis among opinion pieces, a somewhat crude categorization based on these assumptions which also apply to the next chapter can be partly illustrated by Figure 8(i) (see also Appendix 20).

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17 With suitable alignments by the editor's pen if the author fails to adhere to policy.
Table 8(ii): Headlines for editorial articles on Jamaica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>HEADLINES</th>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28/10/80</td>
<td>The Electoral Office</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fearing fear</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/10/80</td>
<td>Give them transport!</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COL still rising</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamaicans must decide tomorrow</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/10/80</td>
<td>May the true will be expressed</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Will history repeat itself</td>
<td>Express</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/10/80</td>
<td>For a new beginning</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We wish Mr. Seaga the best</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/11/80</td>
<td>Foreign exchange need</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seaga faces tough task</td>
<td>Advocate-News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/11/80</td>
<td>Public spirit</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manley - a true patriot</td>
<td>Express</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lesson from Jamaica</td>
<td>Advocate-News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manley's mistakes</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/11/80</td>
<td>The Task Ahead</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Jamaica, sixteen editorials appeared in the four (the fifth, the Guardian off the newsstands) of the selected newspapers which were in production at the time. Ten seemed to be opposed⁰ (to the PNP). Of these, two were cited described as 'critical' in that they were largely unyielding in their criticism of the PNP administration. Another (for a total of eleven) could be added, partly by default in that the Nation wrote in fulsome praise of the new JLP administration and Seaga, its leader, without notable reference to the PNP. Eight of the ten above constituted the 'campaigning' sort and at another level one exhibited some 'balance' and 'objectivity' in inclining towards a sort of news sense but shifted towards more than implicit bias. The other five articles could be described as having been 'uncommitted' - the sort of 'assessing the challenges for the future' type (the Express published one, the Nation, two). Of course, this is a basically narrow plane of categorization - generally for or against the PNP at that juncture, although in arriving at the classification, mention of PNP policy measures and/or general orientation were accounted for. They are best viewed against the background of data and discussions in other chapters. As we proceed, the picture will necessarily become more comprehensive.

Headlines for the respective editorial articles, and editorial articles and other items are accounted for in Tables 8(ii) and 8(iii).

The Daily Gleaner of October 28 published three editorial articles, two of which (the first and third) addressed the political situation in Jamaica. The first of these two articles, 'THE ELECTORAL OFFICE', noted the 'splendid work' done 'by the new Electoral Advisory Committee and the Director of Elections and staff on Nomination Day.' The article added that 'the unfortunate

⁰Here, 'oppositional' has been inverted simply to mean opposition to the PNP, what it stands for, or 'Democratic Socialism' rather than 'oppositional' to the system or social order.
death of a former M.P. [party unstated, but PNP] and police corporal on October 14 had 'caused us all to overlook' that work (para.1) and offered one case of the care taken: In Southwest St. Andrew 'arrangements were made for the JLP candidate to arrive in a V150 vehicle to avoid any confrontation' (para.2). The suggestion is one of a beleaguered JLP candidate having to arrive for nomination in an armoured vehicle because of the danger from PNP instigated violence.

Table 8(iii): Number of editorial articles (and others on page), by paper, 28/10/80 - 3/11/80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GLEANER</th>
<th>GUARDIAN</th>
<th>EXPRESS</th>
<th>ADVOCATE</th>
<th>NATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tues., 28/10/80</td>
<td>2 (10)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wed., 29/10/80</td>
<td>2 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs., 30/10/80</td>
<td>1 (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri., 31/10/80</td>
<td>1 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat., 1/11/80</td>
<td>1 (7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun., 2/11/80</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., 3/11/80</td>
<td>1 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>9 (46)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>2 (5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 (2)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 (1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16 (54)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**
(i) Numbers in brackets refer to other items such as general commentaries, cartoons (particularly the former). The Gleaner consistently had three columnists' contributions on its editorial page, plus several letters and to a lesser extent, cartoons. The other papers had commentaries and the Express, noticeably had a occasional cartoon.

(ii) In the case of the Guardian there were two columns on the editorial page (page 6) for the week of the November 24 - 30. Both appeared on the 27th.

The editorial went on to further commend Returning Officers and Election Clerks and appealed to those presiding officers who had "withdrawn because of threats...to consider returning to their jobs" (para.3). For the Gleaner 'free' and 'fair' elections required 'efficient objective election officers' and the 'country will be indebted to' the various functionaries in the specific electoral institutions if 'Election Day on Thursday goes smoothly' (para.4). Further:

It is for the voters, and for the Security Forces to show by their own courage and determination that they will not be deterred by the violent ones from expressing their will (final para - para.5).

That editorial sought to garner and encourage electoral personnel and the Security Forces specifically, but also the electorate, to work towards a successful election. The second was somewhat different but by virtue of its subject indicated (as in the case of the other, through its JLP example) a bias in favour of the ideologically ('right') conservative JLP Opposition. 'Fearing fear', as it was headlined, drew on the leader of a local singing group, Stanley Beckford of Stanley and the Turbines, in pointing out that 'the mark of a civilised society' was that artistes 'are left free to practise their art...' It was 'symptomatic of the barbarity into which Jamaica seems to be rapidly sinking that a singer could have been threatened because he was believed to have composed a song in favour of one
of the parties' (para. 1). According to the editorial the singer complained that he had been threatened by supporters of the People’s National Party who believe him to be the author of a JLP song “Papa Seaga is our Leader.” As it happens, neither Beckford nor his group are responsible for the song...

We believe this to be most unfortunate and symptomatic of the society. Yet in deploring the use by louts of threats against citizens, let us remind our people that what is most to be feared is fear itself (last 3 paras. - paras. 2 & 4).

The Gleaner’s comment here is self-explanatory even as it speaks of ‘our people’ but we fear that even in that sort of situation such a term may denote not the people in general but those within the narrower parameters set by the paper. None of the other major newspapers published an editorial on that day.

Other items on the Gleaner’s editorial page for that day attract a comment. One prominent and regular columnist of the time (Wilmot Perkins) drew from a criticism said to have originated from the PNP that the JLP was fascist. He extrapolated from the archetypal (Italy/Mussolini) and the ‘companion classic’ (Hitler/Germany) to illustrate especially in relation to the public political and information network that if anyone or any of the two major political parties in Jamaica fitted that designation it would, ‘I suggest’, be ‘hardly Edward Seaga’ or the JLP, but (by the clear implication in his argument) Manley and the PNP. Whereas that columnist was demonstrably camped on the ideological ‘right’ of the ‘liberal-democratic’, it is hardly in order for us to view him as having been non-critical of the JLP. In 1988, he classified the JLP administration as an ‘enemy of press freedom’ partly because of its stipulation that broadcasting resources that the regime planned to divest were based on the Government of Jamaica’s sovereign right to air waves (see Money Index, 28/6/88: 38). That the JLP’s fortunes were on the wane at the time, and also some journalists’ embrace of what Siebert and his colleagues’ (1956) would have referred to as the libertarian position, may partly explain that journalist’s dilemma.

Another columnist, under the title of ‘Cattle and grasshopper’ found form in the backwaters of ‘Edmund Burke’s thoughts’, and in the Soviet-Afghan relationship and ‘the heroic workers of Poland’s shipyards’ to address concepts such as ‘freedom, justice and democracy.’ A small extract is useful:

Believe me, Jamaicans we do not need the guns and bombs of the leftists to crush the plan of their Cuban masters who wish to impose their concept of development, a recipe for brutal subjugation, upon a poor but decent and honest nation.

A considerable debate developed around that time about the Church and its relationship to politics and whether the Church should at all interfere in politics through discussion or otherwise. Some letters reflected the situation. The long leading letter by a pastor (Rev. Ashley Smith) in defending the Jamaica Council of Churches’ involvement ‘to help preserve some sanity in our national politics’ criticized another Gleaner columnist who in his contribution of October 8 had

19 A full-time reporter, Balford Henry.

20 Late in the 1980s the Tory, Margaret Thatcher in Britain was also praising these workers while systematically undermining the union movement and any demands of workers at home in Britain - Reagan in the USA too was hardly averse to this.
argued against the group's activities. The letter - ‘Politics and the JCC’, dated October 10, stated in part that people such as that columnist:

often miss glorious opportunities to be participants in the creation of a world that is more in keeping with what Christians refer to as the Kingdom of God. By this is meant, situations are healthier because justice is really done, more and more is used in the creation of a better life for all, and less and less in the preservation of that which increases the surpluses of the few and the wants of the many.

The Council of Churches evolved to display that sort of profile. Committed members of the clergy of one persuasion or another were increasingly in evidence in the political-ideological polarization of those years. To have given most prominence to that letter also had to do with the status of the letter writer and less to the Gleaner’s commitment to ‘balance’. A parallel letter - and second among those listed - under the heading ‘Evangelicals and politics’ and written by ‘CONCERNED PASTOR’ criticized Cuba and the Soviet Union for what was seen as a poor record and informed readers that Seaga ‘surely represents our only hope for a return to a true and stable democracy and genuine parliamentary government.’ Three others commented on the Church and politics. Among them one urged people ‘not to be afraid to exercise their democratic right to vote for the party of their choice. The three other letters among the total of eight were critical of the PNP. One writer wanted to ‘retard and beat back these communist usurpers, who are now seeking a "third term”’ but a ‘vote for the JLP and Nationalism is a vote for "Freedom", economic and political independence.’ Another from a Montreal, Canada address concluded that his dream will be realized when my fellow well-thinking and home-loving Jamaicans will have swept the P.N.P. into political oblivion on a tidal wave of votes leaving Jamaicans to become a loving coalescent people in their paradise under the tropical sun.

The last lambasted a group which he felt brought politics among spectators at a game of football between two rural secondary schools, one of which wore green [associated with the JLP] and the other, red: ‘Apparently, some PNP supporters accompanied the school in red and displayed their stupidity by wanting to bring politics into a football game.’

Of the two immediately relevant editorial articles published in the Daily Gleaner of October 29, one addressed Jamaica’s prevailing political situation. Indeed, that appearing on the editorial page - another campaigning piece - focused on economics with political implications but also on politics specifically. Headlined ‘COL STILL RISING’, it addressed the rise in the cost of living with particular reference to the rise in some price categories, ‘due largely to the chronic shortage of basic consumer items...’ (paras. 1-3) The editorial had little praise for the Government and the Prime Minister:

The Prime Minister, Mr. Manley, has hardly missed an opportunity to blame the international economic system for the plight of consumers, yet the Government has done precious little to effectively stem the acceleration and get inflation back to a more acceptable level...In agriculture, for example, the crisis is more critical than ever with the shortage of essential inputs...It is also sad that Mr. Manley, caught up in electioneering, has not given the portfolio the attention it badly needed since taking it

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21 Pen name - Colin Gregory.

22 One was a Page One Editorial, and the other was one of two on the editorial page. The third was about political turmoil in Sri Lanka.
over earlier this year. But perhaps what the Prime Minister had in mind was the election
and not agriculture (last para - 4).

The PNP administration was indeed largely held within the strait-jacket of a deep economic and
political crisis locally, part of a larger global crisis but also emphasized by the specific active
mediation of local and international capitalist institutions. However, to view the Gleaner’s position
here as merely a representation of what was in Jamaica at the time would be to misunderstand the
history of the newspaper. The article itself, was a critical piece but had nothing in terms of
recommendations to offer, probably anticipating the PNP’s defeat. It dwelt on its principal
scapegoats - the Government and the Prime Minister and related issues - high cost of living, ‘the
plight of consumers’, the ‘apparent general...dejection of farmers’, the Government’s and the Prime
Minister’s negligence as it perceived them, and so on.

The other editorial article, ‘Give them transport!’ demanded that the security forces be
provided with better equipment against the background of the increasing number of people who were
being ‘killed by criminals’ and the need to ensure free and fair elections. According to the editorial,
the Police and the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF) had kept the rate in check, but it rose again, and it
is ‘our view that this escalation came during a vigorous communist and PNP campaign against the
Security Forces.’ The Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) had helped in various way, the
article mentioned.

One very lengthy contributed article - ‘The Communist threat to Jamaica’ by a former
Senior Jamaica Defence Force (JDF) Captain turned life underwriter issued grave warnings in his
article (accompanied by a photograph) adjacent to the editorial. A cartoon bordered jointly by that
article, the editorial, and the regular column by the Gleaner’s pollster (who apparently voted
consistently with the front-runners in his polls over the years), was contributed by the company’s
cartoonist who by then had served the Gleaner publications for decades (deceased late 1980s). The
image of a man (labelled ‘JAMAICA’) was shown commending (in Jamaican dialect) another - an
apparently skilled technician (Opposition Leader Edward Seaga) working on a motor car engine -
‘Mass Eddie, de motor sound good!’ Mass Eddie was surrounded by a tool kit, water and oil
containers and the car had two labels - ‘J.L.P. DELIVERANCE IS NEAR’ and ‘DOWN WITH
COMMUNISM.’ Partly visible but standing behind a wall was the image of a person (more than just
apparently, Michael Manley).

Stone, in a delicately ‘objective’ column, wrote on various issues such as the danger of
violence, the polls, the problem of reviving the economy, and concluded on the note that local
community and national leaders in particular should set ‘the right examples and place the future of
our country and our children above partisan interests once the electoral contest is over.’ While he
wrote under the heading ‘RESTORING PEACE’, a fellow columnist (‘Colin Gregory’) contributed
his views under ‘Don’t be afraid, cast your vote’. That fellow columnist informed the reader that a
friend had told him of ‘two old ladies living next door who said they would not vote, as they were
afraid:

But that is not all. My friend’s helper said that she, too would not be voting because she
had been threatened, that if she did go out and vote she would be killed. This wasn’t a

23 Rupert Wilmot.
vague statement about conditions, but a serious threat made by persons who support the party in power and the WPJ.

The columnist provided no evidence about the allegation of a threat by the party supporters but presented the information as factual. His friend’s threat to kill the helper if that helper did not go out and vote was however presented as ‘idle’. However, even if we discount this latter threat as trivial, that friend might have exhorted in other ways: threat of dismissal; and based on class position, offering to take the helper in her (the friend’s) car to the polling station as the helper’s polling division would probably have been in a different district. As the columnist stated too, in talking to one person only he ‘learned of three votes lost to the JLP.’ He continued:

I used to vote for the PNP...[but] I learned that the beautiful beguiling dreams of equality and brotherly love don’t put bread in empty stomachs and you can’t share out what you haven’t got and frightening away the little local money there is and the plentiful foreign one, is no way in which to build up a nation.

In his analysis too, the PNP and the left was represented as violent aggressors and the JLP as beleaguered. As we can further observe, capitalist and the ruling class need not be consistently high-profile spokespersons. Their interests are often well catered for indirectly. They can depend on the reliability of representatives such as our columnist and his friend to prop up existing social arrangements and the facilitative political framework.

The other items on the page were an advert by a large local building society (the Victoria Mutual) and two letters under ‘Voice of the People’ (a symbolically useful replacement for ‘Letters to the Editor’ at the time). The lead letter was headed ‘DISTRESSED’ and came from a minister of religion writing from a London (England) address. He was ‘deeply distressed about the continuous deterioration’ of his ‘homeland...’ Intended or otherwise, the conclusion was tailored as though delivered by a established JLP campaigner:

When the wicked rule the people mourn, but when the righteous rule the people rejoice. By our prayers I believe Jamaicans shall experience a better tomorrow, for what is impossible to men, God can make possible. He is able to raise up a deliverer for the Jamaican people. [Our emphasis]

‘Tomorrow’ was indeed election day, ‘deliverance’ (by the JLP) was the key word in the JLP’s sloganeering of which the idea of the ‘wicked’ ruler (the PNP leadership highlighted in the personality of Manley) was a central thematic element.

The PNP and ‘Democratic Socialism’ had no friends on the page. The other letter, in this case from a Kingston letter writer, ‘No Bastards’, in part criticized as ‘distasteful’ what he listed as a PNP advertisement about the Status of Children Act which it had legislated.

The only other newspaper in our group to publish an editorial on October 29 was the Nation (Mid-Week). ‘JAMAICANS MUST DECIDE TOMORROW’ was a very general uncommitted piece which recounted party positions, the bases the electorate might have used in voting decisions, and so on. In terms of its attitude to the specific political situation and the political parties, it is difficult to arrive at whether the article was slanted in favour of one or the other party or a particular result. The conclusion partly illustrates this:

24 Especially if a ‘live-out’ helper - i.e. not living in employer’s home.
We trust that whatever the outcome, a concerted effort will be made from Friday morning to return Jamaica to its former pre-eminence in this region.

The editorial took the form of what could very generally be viewed as a type of 'election day editorial', one which speaks for, and to the nation, and appeals for calm, unity and reminds that the national interest is paramount over and beyond partisan differences and the like. Of course, the next publication of the Nation (Weekend edition) would have been on the 31st, the day after the election (unlike the Gleaner). The other item on the page (apart from a specifically irrelevant cartoon) was a column discussing Washington's disagreement with Grenada [under the PRG] over the latter's choice of ambassador to Washington. The writer offered a general analysis of diplomatic etiquette against a background of what he viewed as insufficient information about the situation.

8.3.1 Election Day - '...go out today and vote'

The first and longest of three editorials in the Daily Gleaner on Election Day (October 30) and the one addressing the political/election situation conducted its discussion under the headline 'MAY THE TRUE WILL BE EXPRESSED'. Whereas the election results might have been by then a forgone conclusion in favour of the JLP and this headline might have implied support for that result, the editorial was not necessarily the archetypal 'election day editorial'. It was indeed a 'campaigning' editorial but in the manner of being concerned that the electoral process should go well without interference and in spite of certain unnamed elements especially against a background of what it saw as the potential for 'intimidation' and the creation of 'false results.' It concluded:

We urge all voters to go out today and vote, and thus answer boldly the violent ones, and those who would wish to destroy our precious democratic system.

That 'answer' for the Gleaner, based on what we observed earlier, evidently points most directly to the political gunman and his kind but also to the PNP and the left.

At least two other items - the cartoon, and one commentary by a regular columnist appealed for early voting, and the columnist concluded by advocating a vote for the JLP. Another columnist under the heading 'Bedtime stories and sanity' did not speak for 'socialists' or the PNP, and the third analysed generally how the party symbol had come to displace the individual candidate in elections - for him, a 'sad fact.' Two of four letters came from JLP sympathizers (one, a JLP candidate). Of the other two, one centred on electoral arrangements and the other was a 'God-guided' appeal from a USA-based letter writer for peace in 'our beloved Jamaica.'

The other newspaper with an editorial on Election Day was the Express with the single editorial under the headline: 'Will history repeat itself?' That history was the consistent two-term tradition which we referred to in earlier discussions. Up to then, as the Express reminded, neither the PNP nor the JLP had broken that tradition 'in the 36 years since they contested their first election' (para.1). The editorial 'balanced' between what, in terms of general policies and alignments, the PNP or the JLP would pursue if either won (paras.3-7), criticized the 'mindless violence which has

25 Cameron Tudor.

26 Dawn Ritch.
accompanied the campaign' (para. 8) but felt that both leaders ‘must share the blame for allowing such things to happen’ (see paras. 9-13). It concluded on the note that whichever way the election went, ‘Trinidad and Tobago will hope that Jamaica will be given an opportunity to develop its whole society in peace and tranquility’ (para. 16). A dramatic cartoon linked with the editorial article showed a gloved hand clasping a hand gun with what was implied to be blood flowing from its nozzle and the inscription ‘VOTE JLP/VOTE PNP’ on the glove.

The Express’ editorial page was completed by a lengthy CANA news feature written from Kingston. It weighed up the prospects but focused on the violence: ‘Fear holds sway after bloody campaigning.’ The article seemed to give marginally more voice to Seaga and in one paragraph stated:

It was worthy of note argues Mr. Seaga, that it was his party, not the PNP, which had strongly condemned the March 13, 1979, first revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean when Maurice Bishop’s New Jewel Movement resorted to the gun to seize power from Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy in Grenada.

As we can observe further, the Grenada situation was brought into the political debate in the Caribbean, and that process impacted upon and helped to shape local and local-regional perceptions of the PNP and ‘Democratic Socialism’.

8.3.2 A ‘new’ beginning - assessing the results

The Daily Gleaner’s editorial of October 31 was an effusive mix of ‘the people have voted for a new beginning’ (in fact the headline was ‘FOR A NEW BEGINNING’). For the Gleaner, the people appeared ‘to have said an emphatic no to further socialism’, no to Cuba’s interference, no to mismanagement of the economy and the like (paras. 2 & 7). According to the editorial:

They look now to Mr. Seaga and the JLP to heal the wounds of divisiveness, which the communists and some in the PNP had fostered and promoted (para. 5)...

We congratulate Mr. Seaga and the JLP and all those who have won seats in our Parliament. May they restore Parliament to its primacy and vibrancy (last para. - 9).

The PNP, then, was identified with several negatives and the people were at a disadvantage under its regime. Moreover, attempts at change were characterized generally as divisiveness instigated and perpetrated by the left, and it is implied that where, for instance, grass-roots democracy might have been initiated to involve the people further in the political process, this might have contributed to any displacement of the ‘primacy’ of Parliament. Indeed, one of the conscious efforts at political change which the PNP made was to engage ordinary people in the discussion and national decision making. Designations such as socialism were presented in culmination as illegitimate and discredited in the eyes of the people. Two regular columnists (one a full-time member of staff) contributed to attempts to discredit the PNP and the left. Under ‘Where honour is due’, the freelance columnist (Wilmot

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27 The handling of the eventual invasion arose as an issue even later, for instance, in presidential election campaigning in the USA in 1988.

28 Another commented on the presidency and the PNC in Guyana.
Perkins) continued his tirade against the PNP and its leadership. The other (Vincent Tulloch), under the heading ‘RUSSIA’S IMPERIALISM’ concluded that Reagan was probably ‘just the man to put the brakes on Russian expansionism. They clearly need some brakes.’ A third columnist (Bill Virtue), under the heading ‘A new approach to political action’ was critical of both the PNP and the JLP for the economic situation and political considerations - the PNP for its errors, and the JLP for not grasping the nettle when opportunities arose, so to speak: ‘The PNP Government failed miserably but the Opposition failed as well...’ (last para).

The Nation’s editorial of October 31 through its headline ‘WE WISH MR SEAGA THE BEST’ tells much of the nature of the response. It was a congratulatory piece and seemed to express the sigh of relief which it associated with the Jamaican people. While viewing the ‘bitter electoral campaign’ (para.1), it stated more:

We warmly congratulate Mr. Edward Seaga and his Jamaica Labour Party on their well earned victory in yesterday’s historic election.

The result of the election, is perhaps, more than anything else, a commentary by the Jamaican people on the economic mismanagement... (paras.3-4)

This ‘mismanagement’ was not explained. For instance, the role of major capitalists in utilizing and being central actors in the decision making process over how earnings from bauxite should be spent, was never explored by users of the term. Analysis in the newspapers did not examine capital flight in a detailed way, and so on. The piece continued that the JLP had ‘played no small part in the development of Jamaica...It is likely...that Mr. Seaga will add a dose of conservatism to the Jamaican political recipe. The psephologists have already produced empirical evidence that ordinary people in Jamaica are not interested in ideology...The electorate have reposed their confidence in the Jamaica Labour Party and Mr. Seaga. Jamaica deserves a chance and we suspect that under Mr. Edward Seaga [it] will have that chance’ (paras.14-16).

The first editorial of two (one relevant) in the Gleaner of November 1 addressed the question of ‘FOREIGN EXCHANGE NEED’ but was highly political in nature. For instance, the first paragraph mentioned:

Now that the Jamaican electorate have spoken in the most unmistakable terms, one of the enormous tasks facing the new J.L.P. Government is to commence a re-building of the economy.

For this task the JLP was viewed as well fitted, particularly in terms of ‘the position enunciated’ with regard to the relationship with the IMF (paras. 2 & 3). Furthermore the JLP differed from the PNP administration in having ‘a number of options open to it. In other words, a J.L.P. Government negotiating from a position of strength, should be better placed to insist on terms and conditions less burdensome than what now obtains, whether it be from the I.M.F. or any of the other options’ (para.5). The editorial was committed to recall some of what it assessed to have been the failures of the PNP administration in the management of the economy, and provide for the poor:

...It is going to require the most astute management of the economy - something which the P.N.P. Government did not appear to relish. The early boast that the Manley Government would improve the lot of the poor was only a pretence, as the bitter
experience has shown. For not only are the poor much worse off but the well-being of the country has been devastated, which will make the rebuilding task extremely difficult. But if foreign capital can be mobilised to propel the economic growth, there is hope (final para. - 7)

Various contradictions exist here if we bear in mind much of what has been said in earlier discussion about the Gleaner Co. and its location in the local and local-regional corporate sector. Here is a newspaper which was, and has been, largely negative in its treatment of a generally progressive PNP Government and its political, as well as social programmes and economic foundations, making scant allowance for structural constraints beyond the PNP’s control. That newspaper, saw a vitally important role for foreign capital but strangely commented about the lot of the poor as though that was one of the fundamental concerns of the paper and its principals. Surely, this sort of opportunism is not uncommon in newspapers but Gleaner principals, like capitalists generally are not unaware that the well-being of the working class is inextricably tied up with the nature of the survival of capitalists and the ruling class as a whole. There, we enter the territory of the process of incorporation of the working class(s) into the stream of the dominant ideology.

We cannot consistently survey the range of letters published by the newspaper during the period in question and this is not stipulated in the brief for this study but some references to commentaries and other items will be useful here. A single item by the paper’s cartoonist showed one boxer (Manley) lying on his back and another (Seaga) standing in readiness. The accompanying words were simply read: ‘1980 CHAMPIONSHIP’. A pastor (Rev. Dr. H. B. Swaby) stated his view under the appropriate heading ‘Call for unity to the people of Jamaica’. Another columnist (Dawn Ritch) gave her views under the headline ‘THE TRUE VICTORS’. An extract is useful from that same columnist who, like several others advocated a JLP victory in earlier contributions:

It is not really necessary for foreign reporters to try to understand the quiet and peaceful determination of Jamaicans which removed a corrupt and Marxist government by the ballot and not the bullet. Nor to understand that the true victors in yesterday’s elections were the Jamaican people [as voters]...and the civil servants [as operatives of the electoral machinery]...(para.11)

The Jamaican electorate made sure that earning money will no longer be regarded as a venal sin in this country, punishable by exile or excommunication...(para.14).

Identifying the Manley government as Marxist amounted more to fabrication than a realistic assessment but it further highlights the stumbling block that efforts of political and social transformation will encounter from channels such as the Gleaner newspaper.

30 The other columnist on the page, *a former adviser to Prime Minister Michael Manley* outlined his sympathies under the headline ‘NO MEAN COUNTRY’. He wrote of the now ‘terrifying responsibility’ which the new JLP government now had, praised those who had done their work to make the election possible (the Security Forces, the Electoral Office, etc.), and informed readers:

It is going to be the duty of those hundreds of thousands of people who so magnificently proved their right to a decent life on Thursday to make the lives of the evil few a miserable business whenever they try to revive their evil practices. (penultimate para.)

30 John Hearne - see Appendix 11.
That columnist's 'evil few' were not clearly identifiable but that can be inferred.

The Advocate-News was the other newspaper with an editorial on November 1. Partly continuing the theme expressed in the Gleaner's editorial and by the above columnist, the Advocate-News emphasized that Seaga as leader of the new JLP administration had 'a mammoth task to reconstruct the economy of the country following the disastrous performance of the Michael Manley administration' (para.1). Manley's administration was 'coloured by left-leaning policies in which he had glorified Marxist ideology and expressed admiration for Cuba and the Soviet Union.'

It cited problems of bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, the emergence of 'a privileged class'. The very detailed editorial, the only one published by the Advocate-News for that day, noted that foreign investment, so vital to the development of the economy of Third World countries, began to dry up. Established foreign backed firms folded up, others which might have planned to enter the country had second thoughts (para.6).

Analysts such as Brutents, who we met in earlier discussion have often pointed to the weakness or fragility of the national capitalists and this would be partly substantiated by this concern over the declining presence of foreign investment. However, we have to bear in mind the minor contradictions - nationalist 'patriotic' capital in many of the less economically advanced countries, at one level, does object to the encroachment of foreign capital depending on the terms of entry but in an economic crisis or under politically strained situations that difference tends to evaporate.

The capitalist strata have had alliances with other groups, as we have noted particularly in other chapters. The Advocate-News - recall that the Advocate Company is a subsidiary of one of the largest conglomerates in the Anglophone Caribbean, McAl - in the November 1 issue also pointed to unemployment, the loss of professionals, political polarization under the PNP/Manley administration and referred as some other papers did, to Manley's plan for socio-economic restructuring 'for the masses':

but the burdens of inflation, short supply of basics, unemployment, hopelessness, and deprivation fell most heavily on them. For, when the chips are down, it is the people at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder who are inescapably trapped. They have no contacts to get out as the professionals and well to do have (para.7).

An underlying assumption here was probably that the 'people at the bottom' would do better under an arrangement which allowed unfettered capitalist accumulation. Simultaneously, we should not see the commentary in the Advocate-News purely as strategically useful or opportunistic verbiage. The language of unity and a politically transmitted class alliance has been a common theme not only in relation to the Jamaica under Manley and the Caribbean but also in many developing countries. It has been sometimes appropriated by owning classes as a politically useful part of their hegemonic kits. When 'popular capitalism' was evidenced in Jamaica under the JLP/Seaga, for instance, in the selling of state resources, or by Knox (Chairman, Neal & Massy Holdings) who wished that all 9,000 of his company's employees would one day own shares in the company no serious change in class relationships was envisaged but really a strengthening of the ideological mechanisms to reinforce

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31 It is not clear to whom the newspaper was referring but it would be a profound surprise if the major owning class was intended. But then, perhaps the word 'emergence' would be inappropriate.
ruling class control.

Whereas the *Express* published no editorial or commentary in its November 1 issue, a large cartoon showed Manley (casually attired) running like a scared hare and an explosive (fuse lit, and labelled 'SEAGA') rolling behind, at his heels. The image of Seaga (face and hand shown) watching the proceedings with interest and commitment completed the cartoon. Through such symbolic representation, Manley was at least portrayed as near to obliteration.

Of the two Sunday *Gleaner* editorials of November 2, one is relevant to our analysis. Titled 'PUBLIC SPIRIT', it speculated about whether much public spirit existed in Jamaica and concluded that prior to the General Election 'this quality seemed sadly lacking.' The editorial noted that 'differences of opinion and different political parties and of course different classes exist in every nation but they do [not] preclude a basic unity...' (paras. 1 & 2). Newspapers such as the *Gleaner* - itself subject to work stoppages on occasion - and their capitalist principals do not generally exude sympathy towards trade unions and their members' needs. In the case of news in a specific sense and front page news which we have looked at (not in relation to trade unions) the negative coverage might be unintended. In editorials and commentaries in which definite views tend to be expressed any question of unwitting bias has to be sidelined.

The article noted:

There have been times when supporters of political parties or Trade Unions [made] little attempt to cooperate with their leaders and do not hesitate to harass them or make demands on the general society which can only bring added disaster to the economy, if indeed they can be met at all.

A very real basis to these continual demands on a bankrupt Treasury and business community is the existence of differential returns to the worker in the same or different industries. If a proper basis of remuneration had been worked out there would be no justification and no need - for the continued industrial disturbances which only aggravate the chaos in which the society has floundered (paras. 5 & 6).

But beyond the pressures of trade union membership on the Treasury and the business community which the paper identified, it failed to mention the differential returns to the workers, on the one hand, and the owners and/or managers of capital or organizations, on the other. Under the PNP administration, whereas channels such as the *Gleaner* continued to view workers as 'irrational', 'unpatriotic' and 'greedy', social policy efforts under the administration, however inconsistent, helped to raise the workers' stakes but such improvement was neutralized partly by the chronic economic crisis.

The article concluded in anticipation of 'a new beginning' with 'a new administration' that would 'do much for public spirit'; there were 'certainly better times ahead'; and unity 'of purpose and an end to strife should follow the people's will at the polls' (final para. - 7).

Columnists reinforced some of the themes expressed in the editorial in so far as they raised them. Under the title 'The impressive JLP victory', one regular columnist (the *Gleaner's* pollster), delved into psephology regarding results from constituencies, the polls, and also had time

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32The other addressed the question of conservation and the environment.
for what he saw as the negative impact of the publicly owned radio and television apparatus (JBC) 'as the main PNP propaganda weapon' (another unnamed columnist under the headline 'Electronic land' concurred in this latter view). He also felt that 'Eddie Seaga' was 'the man history' would 'record as having saved our two-party system', and in this respect he was together with the 'Electronic land' columnist who noted:

We have watched Mr. Seaga make it to the position of respect and trust he now occupies in national thinking and we thank him most particularly for the obstinacy and grit with which he held on there till the P.N.P. had to agree to electoral reform and an early election.

The virulence of some columnists towards the PNP and its version of 'Democratic Socialism' and what it could have implemented from that package is clear. Under 'HOPE RESTORED', one columnist (John Hearne), informed readers:

Any man [Seaga] who can hold an increasing ruthless, an increasingly communist, increasingly spendthrift government of 47 to account for four years, with only twelve elected colleagues to back him up, is obviously not a man to be taken lightly.

Here, frequently at its sharpest, is the manifestation of the ideological role of the press. The specialist columnist, not a full-time member of staff, sometimes employed by the newspaper because of his/her sympathetic ideological stance. 'Objectivity', 'impartiality' and 'balance' are exorcised from the newsman's dictionary. This is the field of rational discussion, of opinion, but also of recklessness which is escalated at times of notable ideological polarization - 1980 being one of the most profound examples of this experience in Jamaica's history. The last columnist quoted above (Hearne) and the Gleaner apologized to Manley later for printing libellous and unfounded information after they lost a libel suit in the post-1980 era (see Appendix 11). The 'devil-may-care' attitude of a columnist who is employed purely in that capacity does not tend to arise in the case of full-time staff (reporter/editor) who may contribute a column. Full-time staff tend to be more subdued, as the author of this study has observed in his experience as a journalist.

The Express in its November 2 editorial - 'Manley - a true patriot' - was a mix of congratulations for Seaga and the JLP; a hope for an end to violence; and some praise for Manley in that he, unlike previous leaders, attempted to deal with the class differences and related hostility from the poor 'as well as his conviction that the people should have the right to choose.' The paper, in this latter regard contrasted Manley's behaviour to that of others:

At a time when the disgusting examples of people like Bishop [Grenada] and Burnham [Guyana] make a mockery of some of the more basic human rights, Manley's behaviour has given new hope to Caribbean politics (penultimate para. - 12).

In praising Manley thus for having made a contribution and for his statesmanship (last para. - 13), the Express on that occasion and in that respect differed from the Gleaner's generally hostile stance perhaps based on genuine appreciation and/or the satisfaction at seeing the PNP's/Manley's departure. However, that is only half of the Express' story. The editorial - one of the campaigning oppositional types vis-a-vis the PNP's efforts - on the other hand stated:

33 Recall that the JLP chose to call a snap election in 1983 and bypassed a commitment to revise the electoral list which included the dead, people who had migrated, and omitted many more thousands of youth who had attained voting age.
Those, including this newspaper, who are concerned over the threat of Cuba and totalitarian rule were hoping that he would lose... (para.4)

The only other item on the page was a column/commentary with an associated photograph ("THE SEAGAS - 1976 family portrait"). Titled 'SEAGA - THE RUTHLESS; SEAGA - THE MAN' the item was listed as having been written by G. R. John. Pointing out that he was probably the first newsman to interview Seaga as a young politician and member of the Jamaica Legislative Council (Upper House) in 1959 he addressed some factors in Jamaica's politics and identified some contradictions in Seaga's position. For instance, his 'colour, race, class, association with the JLP and right-wing opinion' might have categorized him as a 'reactionary' but his research into marginalized culture and work with the 'underprivileged' would have done otherwise. John's piece was a 'balanced' presentation, speaking well of Seaga's 'unquestioned ability' as an administrator and his strength of character. Furthermore: 'Seaga may indeed be ruthless in politics. But there is also no doubt he knows his Jamaica and his Jamaicans.'

The Sunday Advocate-News of November 2, under 'Lessons from Jamaica' saw that the main lesson for Barbados was the 'monster' of violence which rose 'through the first act of political violence and thrive because the party bosses and the society were not concerned enough about it to kill it off' (para.1). The power of the vote was nevertheless still strong and fortunately came in time because 'it was feared that Mr. Manley would have used the situation to call another state of emergency and postpone elections indefinitely' (para.2).

The 'tragedy of Michael Manley and Jamaica', the editorial stated, was that he followed 'in the footsteps of an illustrious father who had done a great deal for the advancement of his country' (para.3). Michael Manley came to power with broad-based support but the 'euphoria that surrounded the heroic image soon evaporated' as he 'showed that he was unable to grasp what Jamaica really needed to realise its full potential.' This was not an editorial which praised Manley for 'statemanship' and the like while preferring to see his departure, because of the perceived dangers of his political alignments. It was generally unsympathetic:

...It is amazing how quickly with half-baked socialist policies he nullified the potential of one of the best endowed countries in the Caribbean by practically killing the bauxite industry, debilitating a vigorous agriculture, hamstringing an active commercial sector...

Mr. Manley also forged intimate links with Fidel Castro's Cuba and seemed to be a great admirer of that communist dictator's ideology and policies. Naturally, the foreign investors who had helped to infuse vigour into Jamaica's economy pulled up stakes...

With the rhetoric of the rights of the masses Mr. Manley succeeded in polarizing the community both along partisan and class lines... (paras.5-7)

Thus, Manley had 'succeeded' in one respect - that of polarizing the community (which led to more violence). The Advocate-News, and the other major papers contributed to delegitimizing the cause of social and political change in displaying this general approach.

The editorial expressed the hope of preventing Jamaica's 'disaster from overtaking us' (last para. - 8). The Advocate-News, then, was concerned about economic stability and well-being...
and political direction and, to a great extent, the threat to the social order in so far as that seemed imminent.

Other relevant articles on the editorial page for that day was a commentary by a Neville Martindale, and a letter to the editor by a female contributor. Under the headline ‘Seaga faced with two massive problems’, Martindale identified 'economic reconstruction and building community togetherness.' He devoted a few paragraphs to a discussion of democracy, noted that a one party state was unsuitable for Jamaica based on its history, and that it was 'good to see democracy surviving in Jamaica with two strong political parties...'. He wondered about the future of the relationship between Jamaica, Cuba and Grenada (allocating a few paragraphs to the Jamaica/Grenada relationship under the PNP), noting that under the PNP Jamaica was the first country that 'immediately and unconditionally pledged its full support for the Grenada revolution.'

The letter 'Truth about Cuba' saw Cuba as a satellite state of Russia financially, militarily, and politically dependent on Russia, and further that if Grenada were to ‘succumb to Cuban interference then the Russians will have won yet another sphere of influence, without a shot being fired.’ It admonished:

Wait for Grenada - now another Russian Puppet - to get its International Airport, paid for by Russian money - why?...

The Sunday Sun (Nation) focused on ‘Manley’s mistakes’ (headline). The editorial expressed the view that the 'staggering...election results' were expected to attract the normal comments from left and right, the right proclaiming the people’s ‘rejection of socialism’ and the left ‘their traditional bogeys such as “imperialism”, the International Monetary Fund and “CIA destabilisation” for the loss of their leading standard-bearer in the Commonwealth Caribbean’ (paras. 1 & 2). According to the editorial, the factors which influenced the Jamaican voter, were far more basic as their standard of living (‘from top to bottom’) declined and ‘Mr. Manley’s policies patently failed to check the decline’ (paras. 3 & 4). Similarly, the international reputations (Manley - Third World; Patterson - ACP-EEC) mattered little ‘to the Jamaican voter for whom jobs had become scarcer and scarcer, money tighter and tighter and basic commodities shorter and shorter. ’ Then there was the violence (paras. 5 & 6). The paper felt that Seaga now faced a massive task of exploiting Jamaica’s potential and ‘putting the country back on its feet again’ (last para. - 7). Essentially then, in the Sunday Sun’s assessment, the people had voted against an undesirable political/ ideological, social and economic situation and process (the cause being overwhelmingly that of one man, Michael Manley). It was now Seaga’s task to put the nation right.

The other item about Jamaica on the page was a column titled ‘SUN personality of the week: Edward Seaga’ which was really a fairly detailed biography of Seaga for a sort of “Who is Who” publication but it expanded in one or two paragraphs and a short extract is enlightening:

His political inheritance is a strife-torn country with a bankrupt economy and ideological conflict that pushed the Caribbean to the brink of civil war...

...He has always been concerned about the down-trodden, and his flair for philanthropy has reached way beyond the realms of routine charity (paras. 2 & 4).

Both here and in the editorial the Sunday Sun failed to identify possible, more fundamental reasons for the crisis in Jamaica, and tended to view Seaga almost as the ‘average’ JLP supporter would - a
reverend harbinger of 'deliverance' (the JLP's 1980 slogan).

The only newspaper with an editorial on November 3 was the Gleaner: 'THE TASK AHEAD' had four lengthy paragraphs. It developed on the emphasis in its front page story, the swearing in of Seaga as Prime Minister and 'a most arduous task...of reconstructing and stabilising an economy feeling the cumulative effect of over eight years of deterioration'\(^{35}\) (para.1). Difficulties were involved, for instance, 'the pace at which the schisms in the society can be bridged' [setting things back on a normal footing]. The editorial, of the 'campaigning' type, suggested that if the new government could 'harness the available skills and entrepreneurship this could provide the impetus to recovery.' The 'politics of deliberate confrontation which had become an integral part of Mr. Manley's Government virtually sapped the people's initiative and productive effort...' Government should reassure investors of the welcome which awaits them in the country. And in this regard we note the commendable move by the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica to establish immediate dialogue with overseas investors interested in joint venture projects. This is an area of investment which the Government will have to pursue with great vigour for the country needs the resources, the technology and the skill that this will bring (final para. 4).

The second, and other editorial for the day, 'After Callaghan', noted the resignation of James Callaghan (Labour Prime Minister in Britain) and explained that this was a 'reflection of the general ideological struggle between rival factions' in the party. This editorial should not be dismissed lightly as it implicitly represented a part of the armour of programmed delegitimation of projects of socialist transformation and specifically, the Jamaican situation.\(^{36}\)

Three contributions by columnists appeared - one from a regular contributor (Carl Stone). The first, by Paul Gordon, 'Votes could be record high', examined the statistical results of the election, the shifts in voter allegiance, questions of who should be assigned portfolio positions in the JLP government, and so on. Under 'LIBERATING THE MEDIA', Stone noted that one 'of the political legacies inherited by the new JLP government from the Manley regime is a government owned mass media empire contaminated by political partisanship and a mass media system demeaned by cheap and petty partisan politics.' The uninitiated would probably accept - to the extent that the allegation was well founded - that such handling of the public media was peculiar to a PNP administration. More recently in 1988 (while the writer of the present study was in Jamaica), for instance, the JBC under a JLP administration conspicuously minimized access in various forms to the PNP Opposition. However, as time passed and it became clear that the PNP's lead among the electorate was virtually unassailable an occasional picture and a story began to appear, perhaps through conscious allocative and operational management initiated efforts at self-preservation.

Stone defended the Gleaner's 'vigilance' and noted the context under the PNP which threatened press freedom, and this partly through the activities of the left in the Press Association of

\(^{35}\) A stock response to the Manley administration by detractors has been that the PNP and Manley presided over 'eight years' of ruin and decline.

\(^{36}\) We would strongly hesitate to suggest that Callaghan was a progressive politician, interested in any form of structural change but currents in the British Labour Party are known to have been well ahead of him and his wing of the party.
Jamaica. He concluded that if the PNP had won a third term, the charge would have been 'to bury press freedom at the Gleaner' but:

Fortunately, the people have spoken and have scored a blow for political freedoms in this country, because where there is no press freedom there can be no political freedom.

Another columnist (Jennifer Ffrench) under 'In need of PNP Opposition', castigated PNP General Secretary D. K. Duncan for "his performance on radio" on election night when he 'was angry with the whole world'. However, that contributor felt the PNP should 're-examine its policies, admit its mistakes and regroup its forces' to form an effective opposition: 'The Westminster model of government needs it, and Jamaica will need it."

A cartoon (with images of John Drinkall [then U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica], Manley [two-headed] & Duncan) portrayed the PNP negatively. Two letters also appeared on the page. The first, 'General Election', was apparently the only one written after the election results were known. The writer noted that the PNP's loss meant that 'the population of Jamaica' had 'been freed from the progressive lowering of their living conditions which resulted from the selfish and inconsiderate policies pursued by the PNP Government.' Whereas Seaga and his associates escaped relatively unscathed from his pen, the writer drew extensively from former British politician, Winston Churchill to point out that politicians were servants of the people. The other letter writer expressed a need for an end to violence and appealed for unity.

The Express, which had offered no front-page coverage and no editorial article for November 3, had one comment for that day. Under 'MEDICAL OPINION BY D. R. GOLDSON', headlined 'Jamaica's progress halted at a most crucial stage', the piece was accompanied by a picture of Seaga. The columnist examined the Jamaican economic, political and social reality and chastised, for instance, Jamaica's middle-class as 'a cultural and economic parasite out of touch with the national reality.' The conclusion was: 'Manley has lost, the Jamaican middle class - and even most Jamaicans - may be more comfortable for a while, but the real progress of his people and the rest of us had been halted at a most crucial stage.'

Recall that the Guardian was not published for some months until late November. In the absence of any editorial article the only two references on the editorial page (page 6) were noteworthy. Both appeared on the 27th. One had a Kingston dateline of the 26th and was headlined 'JAMAICA RUNS OUT OF CASH'. The author, Peter Deeley drew conclusions after the 'passion and rhetoric of Jamaica's elections have died away - if not the sound of gunfire...'

In further observing that Mr. Manley had built bridges with the socialist left, Deeley noted in his last paragraphs that

... Seaga's victory robs Cuba of one of its main allies, leaving the Revolutionary Socialist Government in the eastern Caribbean island of Grenada totally isolated.

Caribbean moderates, like Barbados and Trinidad, will welcome a return to less extremist policies in their northern neighbour. Mr. Maurice Bishop...is mourning the loss of a fellow ideologue in Mr. Manley.

The other column (with a Washington dateline - the 26th) titled 'US COMING TO THEIR RESCUE...' implied the need for a rescue after perceived mismanagement and pointed to the alliance
with a more amenable JLP under Edward Seaga. It touched on the IMF’s relationship and the crisis in the economy, and noted that Mr. Manley’s leftward steps were also believed to have been responsible for the flight of both domestic and foreign capital, which is now expected to return.” As a CANA story pointed out:

This expected turn of events was reflected by a visit of U.S. business executives to Kingston sponsored by Caribbean Action, a Washington-based U.S. businessmen’s group. The visitors were reported to have been “tremendously impressed by the spirit of confidence of Jamaican businessmen” with whom they held talks.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has taken us on a guided tour of the pivot of the ideological role of the press. It traversed various areas of the structure of news which point to the reproduction of the views of the dominant and powerful and in cases, specifically into the views of powerful forces against significant political and social change under some aspects of the PNP’s ‘Democratic Socialism’. At the specific level of "news", the views generally, and the papers’ and their class base were not always evident. The reproduction of front-page ‘facts’ in opinions and comment on the editorial page presented a clearer picture of the newspapers’ stance. In some instances, newspapers came out unequivocally and undisguised in ranging against the structures and policies and newer foreign policy alignments under the PNP/Manley Government (Cuba, Eastern Europe).

At times, democracy and long esteemed institutions (e.g., Westminster Model) were seen as threatened by a perceived advance of the Left. With the qualified exception of the Nation, the newspapers tended to delegitimate the PNP’s/Manley’s political arrangements and socialism as threatening, and in the case of the Gleaner - on its home ground - the challenge from that paper was frequently and unrelentingly overt and in favour of the conservative and more strongly free enterprise-oriented JLP. One would, however, hesitate to suggest that in the findings here Gleaner news and opinion invoked the picture of the gangrenous CIA-sponsored El Mercurio in Allende’s Chile of the early 1970s. On the other hand, as a direct observer in the process at home in the 1970s/1980 such a likeness was evident but that was based on a more complete view of imagery including opposition party advertisements, and other genres.

The Express, in one editorial even admitted that it had wanted the PNP and Manley to lose the 1980 general election. The evidence has not pointed to a wantonly antagonistic Express, but one which allowed some support for the PNP and its leading figure, Michael Manley against a broader background of disenchantment with the administration’s perceived policy initiatives to manage the reconstruction process which the paper deemed was required. The Nation did not demonstrate overt regret over the defeat, and seemed fairly satisfied with the new JLP administration.

The question of isolating capital within the general oppositional (to the PNP/’Democratic Socialism’) or critical stance of the newspapers has not been an easy task or one which was centrally attempted. Capitalist elements, as we noted, are not always conspicuous for directly expressing their views in the press. They need not carry out that task themselves, as we have seen. Their newspapers, the journalists and columnists they hire, the views reproduced or favoured in the theme of the economy, stability and familiar long-standing political and social arrangements make such direct expression unnecessary but allow its insertion at times. Indeed, the views of many major
politicians even among less conservative groups do indirectly or otherwise, buttress their position.

The crisis in the economy gave considerable substance to the implied view that not only was 'Democratic Socialism' not good but the very ideas which formed its basis were themselves anti-social. Apart from representing the negative tendencies in the economy as a central crisis for business and for even the poor, the crisis was represented - though not at all times explicitly - as a failure of creeping 'socialism'/communism' under the PNP, which had to be stopped and was the fault of the administration. The call for people to exercise their 'democratic' rights and go out and vote was perhaps stronger than ever before in the Jamaican political 'reality' as mediated by the press. Significantly, as argued in a previous chapter, political and social change attempted by the PNP/Manley Government which had increasingly lost whatever little sympathy it had from the local-regional press as a group and the related corporate/ruling elements was truncated at the point of even further change at the complex crisis which contextualized the break with the IMF in 1980 (and a revamped swing to the left).

It is necessary to bear in mind in all this, that the idea of a newspaper press bent on bulldozing from its path anything to do with the PNP /'Democratic Socialism/' Manley can hardly be said to have been a decisive tendency in the hard news; an assumption of the prevalence of that marauding tendency is much more tenable when editorials and commentaries enter the picture. Worthy of reiteration is that the papers even spoke sympathetically in the twilight and demise of the PNP/Manley regime of the hapless poor - a contradiction, and evidence of mediation in line with a broader potential process of incorporation which may dispel challenges to the prevailing order of society.

37 Note, e.g., the Opposition Leader in Jamaica, and the comment of a Barbados Government official after the election that democracy lives in Jamaica.
9.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, mediation of the less dramatic sequel under a 1972-80 PNP administration guided the discussion. Here, emphasis is drawn particularly to the insurrection and the setting up of the formal structure of the revolutionary government and even at that stage, the outset of the truncation and dismantling of a more capsular and radical political and social process under a PRG/NJM arrangement led by Maurice Bishop.

The first week (the first seven days) of newspaper coverage of the March, 1979 Grenada coup was selected for examination. This period was inclusive of March 14-20, the 14th being the day after the coup and the day on which the major newspapers' coverage first reached the market. As in the case of Jamaica and the PNP's demise, examination was confined to the front page and the editorial page of each newspaper as a means of restricting a mammoth task to manageable proportions, bearing in mind the several newspapers to be accounted for. The examination of sparse coverage over a longer period would probably mitigate against the shaping of an understanding of a local-regional process which assists in reproducing the existing institutional structure and reinforcing the anti-change lobby.

In earlier discussion we saw that the colonial period and connections helped to define the political structures and process as well as the social arrangement (which would not only be dominant but acceptable as the norm from which deviations would be difficult). It was also suggested that mass-mediated information would tend to reproduce existing structures and resist change, not predominantly because of personal preferences or manipulation on the part of information managers, processors and definers - although this is very important - but because of the way in which information is created, gathered and processed and, the built-in cultural/professional networks.

Observers have commented about attention to the insurrection and the revolutionary process itself, but the research or assessments of the coverage of the insurrection or how it was portrayed has been very minimal in this partnership. Although his comment is about the time of the 1983 invasion, freelance writer Morris Thompson, a former Newsday, a former Newsday Latin America bureau chief who covered the invasion in that portfolio, is useful:

Overnight, in the U.S. view, the previously dangerous radical Maurice Bishop was transformed into a moderate...Caribbean governments quickly fell into step with the new line ("A Time for Dialogue", 1989/90: 14).

According to Thompson, when the U.S. network television journalists 'finally got to Grenada, they were so far afield culturally that some hired interpreters.'

1 A U.S. publication.
A major arena of confrontation between U.S. propagandists and the PRG was the new airport being established, in the U.S. view - for military purposes. Morris states that, importantly, ‘few journalists knew or communicated to their audiences the plausible justification of need for the facility proffered by the Grenadian government itself: that the island’s tiny, unlighted, unexpandable, crosswind-plagued old airport crippled unemployment-plagued, poverty-stricken Grenada’s quest for vital tourist dollars’ (p.18). Indeed,

...we failed collectively as journalists in our duty to provide independent, informed and balanced accounts of Grenada’s trauma (1989/90: 17)

Here, all sorts of questions arise: The ‘primary definers’ (Hall et al, 1978, etc.) and journalists as links in the structure of purveyor of the official view partly by virtue of the constraints within which they operate - dependence on particular sources, limitations on time and the need to get the big story early or first, and so on.2 The ‘official’ or ‘dominant’ view of Grenada in crisis in 1983 or at the insurrection in 1979 was far from diametrically opposed to that of the generally no so conspicuous (at the level of appearance in news) owning/capitalist class. Further, there are questions about who sets the agenda, and more specifically the media’s agenda setting role, in structuring and representing the raw material which enter their precincts.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, in a collection of his speeches - In Nobody’s Backyard (Searle, 1984) - outlined research done by the Media Workers Association in Grenada. The association carried out a content analysis of selected Anglophone Caribbean newspapers for a 19-month period from June 1980 to December 1981. The newspapers were the Trinidad Guardian, Trinidad Express, Vincentian, Voice of St. Lucia, Dominica Chronicle, Barbados Advocate, Barbados Nation, as well as ‘occasional copies’ of the Jamaica Gleaner and the Trinidad Bomb:

...these papers carried some 1,570 articles on Grenada during this period...Some 60% of these were editorial or other comment and the remaining 40% was ‘straight’ news. About 60%...were negative towards the Grenada Revolution being either downright lies or subtle and not so subtle distortions. Furthermore 95% of the PRG’s rebuttals to many of these scandalous and libellous articles were never published (1984: 142).

For Bishop: ‘Words are weapons, and the vested interest in the Caribbean media are pointing them not only at us in Grenada, but at any oppressed or scrutinizing group that begin to stand up for a new and better life’ (p.143).

Cuthbert (Encounter 85), in addressing newspaper coverage of the invasion of Grenada found that:

With the exception of the Nation newspaper in Barbados, which had far more stories than any other paper and included many voices of opposition to the invasion, Caribbean media, particularly the Gleaner of Jamaica, Advocate of Barbados and Guardian of Trinidad, were overwhelmingly positive and played down criticism of the invasion. They had a tendency to stereotype all opposition as leftist, thus leaving readers with the view

2Thompson, in the December, 1989 conference paper at the international conference of journalists in Jamaica stressed the importance of doing their ‘homework’, among other lessons to be learnt from the Grenada crisis. Journalists, of course, face a serious contradiction in this respect in that they are being challenged to produce more informed, independent and balanced accounts against the background of limited resources, deadlines, beating the competition. Frequently, as a consequence they therefore rely on easy-to-access ‘informed’ or ‘knowledgeable’ sources and simply get on with the job.
that anyone opposed to the invasion was a communist or communist sympathizer when, in fact, opposition came from non-leftist governments in the Caribbean such as Trinidad, Belize and the Bahamas, and from most of Europe and Latin America (Encounter [Conference] 85: 105/ also 1987).

That content analysis examined the daily and Sunday editions of five newspapers (add Sunday Sun to Nation) from ‘October 15, when reporting of Bishop’s detention began, to November 20, when relative normality had returned’ (p.95). Cuthbert concluded that Caribbean media organizations ‘often reflected the attitude of the invaders and ignored or stereotyped negative feedback on the invasion’ in ‘contrast to the voices of opposition.’ Further, the ‘long-term significance for Caribbean sovereignty of inviting superpower intervention was rarely addressed’ (p.107). Indeed, although the global economic and political-ideological landscape has shifted somewhat since the time of that analysis, perhaps it was not too early to appreciate how the reception of a friendly ‘Uncle Sam’ would be in keeping with closer regional cooperation, the need to maintain ties with a Britain drifting away ‘from us’ into Europe, and the political contradiction implied in some requesting that Jamaica, for instance, seek to become another state of the U.S., against the possibility of an increasing number of nation states.

The power interests behind Trinidad and Tobago’s two major dailies (the Guardian and Express) and the confrontation with the revolutionary government, and the manner in which these interests in conjunction with their international and domestic supporters sought to propagate chaos in Grenada and the Grenada government’s response, were the substance of a brief treatise by Parris (1981: 28-39). Parris concludes that the essential actors in the confrontation were to be found in the private sector and the state. The issues centred on the role of the state in relation to property interests, the concepts of ‘freedom of the press’ and ‘free expression’ (1981: 37).

Recall that we began with the broad position that the Caribbean’s major privately-owned press would not be overly pre-disposed to programmes of significant transformation (with particular reference to the political and social factors). The programmes, particularly in the case of the PNP/Manley regime of the 1970s to 1980, were not necessarily consistently pursued. In this chapter, our attention is on the Grenada context and the nature of media coverage about the insurrection and the immediate emerging framework of broad official policy taken as a whole at the macro-level.

The assumptions were broadly:

(i) newspaper content would broadly (bearing in mind the pages under study) tend to be opposed to any significant transformation and most particularly for this study, at the macro-political and social levels;
(ii) they would tend to reproduce and reinforce views opposed to the transformation process, and to delegitimate that process; and
(iii) the positions would be most clearly expressed in editorial articles/pages.

3Newspapers from three other areas - the U.S.A., Canada, and Western Europe were also examined in that study.
9.2 Organizing the agenda: the news as it happens - "welcoming" the insurrection

If we bear in mind the close relationship between CANA and regional media addressed earlier and, among other factors, the geographical proximity of Barbados to Grenada we will probably appreciate why a CANA story about the 1979 coup was the lead story for all the major papers. Apart from minor technicalities of the editing process there was little evidence of differences in the story. That "little evidence", however, will be noted as we proceed. Table 9(i) presents details of the number of front page stories about the situation in Grenada for the week of coverage being studied.

Table 9(i): Number of front page stories on, or referring to Grenada, by paper 14/3/79 - 20/3/79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE/DAY</th>
<th>GLEANER</th>
<th>GUARDIAN</th>
<th>EXPRESS</th>
<th>ADVOCATE</th>
<th>NATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wed., 14/3/79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs., 15/3/79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri., 16/3/79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat., 17/3/79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun., 18/3/79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., 19/3/79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*abs. NNL</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues., 20/3/79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL 109</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: * Abs. NNL - absent from National Newspaper Library in Britain. A mechanical breakdown at Trinidad Publishing the previous Thursday had meant that only 22,000 copies were printed for that day (Thursday) (see, March 18: 1). Whether the paper had been published on the 19th is unclear and this could not be confirmed during any stay in Trinidad. The Express had a large picture with a short caption on the 19th.

The nature of news and news values meant that the Grenada insurrection was an almost automatic lead story. The overthrow of the GULP regime occurred in the early hours of March 13 but the pace at which word of the event emerged and the structural relations which conditioned the newspaper machinery and production to respond resulted in initial coverage beginning from March 14. The Daily Gleaner used the same CANA story as the Trinidad Guardian and the Barbados Advocate with little alteration. The Express published a different story with a CANA dateline but with essential overlaps in content. Paragraphs one and two of the stories for the first three papers read basically as follows:

White flags and improvised symbols of surrender fluttered over several police stations today signalling that a new revolutionary government had taken control of Grenada in the British Caribbean's first ever Military Coup.

The smoothly-executed lightening dawn uprising left one dead, sent the 100,000
population in a state of bewilderment, and the flamboyant ex-Prime Minister, Eric Gairy, now in New York, scrambling for foreign support to crush his opponents (Daily Gleaner, 14/3/79: 1).

The differences in the papers' treatment of the same story could be regarded as superficial but it is useful to identify some details. The Guardian and the Advocate supplied readers with a by-line for the story whereas this was omitted by the Gleaner.

The Gleaner dramatized the event with a main headline 'GRENADA GOVT. FALLS TO REBELS', and secondary headlines which read 'First Military Coup in the British Caribbean', and 'Island with 100,000 in confusion'. Somewhat less committed, the Guardian supplied 'WHITE FLAGS FLY IN GRENADA' with a secondary heading 'Bishop topples Gairy in early morning coup'. The Advocate tended towards brevity if as much crispness with 'GAIRY TOPPLED' elaborated by 'Bishop heads Revolution'. In another CANA story, the Express informed readers under the bold heading 'BISHOP'S NJM IN POWER' that:

Lawyer Maurice Bishop, leader of the Opposition in Grenada, today [13th, CANA] led an armed revolution which toppled Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy from power.

Sir Eric, head of the Grenada government since 1967, became Prime Minister on independence in 1974 and had a three-seat majority in the House after the 1976...election (14/3/79: 1).

Each paper supplemented its lead story with bust photographs of Gairy, and Bishop. In the case of the Express Bishop's was a much smaller clip than Gairy's and was placed below rather than beside Gairy's.

In spite of what was said in the opening paragraphs of the story - the early paragraphs of which were similar for the Gleaner, Guardian, and the Advocate with regard to '100,000 in confusion' - towards the end of the Gleaner's version two short paragraphs told us:

Members of the revolutionary command forces were easily identified by the six-inch square badges of a red circle against a white background worn on their civilian clothing. Wherever they went, many people greeted them with clenched fist salutes. [Emphasis added]

This, at least corresponds with later reports/and observer definitions of the Grenada situation as a 'popular revolution.'

The Express did not publish the same CANA story which the other three papers (Gleaner, Guardian, Advocate) used at least as the first paragraphs of their lead item ('White

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353

4. Trevor Simpson, the CANA Chief Editor.

5. See Appendix 21 for a listing of news headlines.

6. Appearing about the middle of the page 17 continuation.

7. Comments from mainly left-wing and smaller progressive groups and observers in the Caribbean were compressed in a page 17 article titled 'More reactions to Grenada's coup'. These included in order of reference, the Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC), the Communist Party of Jamaica (CPJ), the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WJP), and the right of centre Jamaica United Front (JUF).
flags...'). Whether it was an earlier or later story was difficult to determine. Succeeding paragraphs mentioned Gairy's and his Education Minister's arrival in New York prior to the coup for talks with United Nations (UN) officials, mentioned the death of one man and reported injured, followed by:

The coup has come as a climax to a long and bitter personal and political feud between Sir Eric and Maurice Bishop.

Mr. Bishop is leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM). He has claimed to have suffered severe physical and psychological hurt for which he has openly blamed Sir Eric.

That comprises most of the explanation in a lengthy story but it can be partly understood against the background of such potential constraints as libel action and time - but more important, for instance, was its tendentious and narrow assumption of 'personal and political feud' between the two leading figures as the basis of the overthrow. Except for a paragraph on the 1983 disturbances when Rupert Bishop was killed, it had no place in 16 paragraphs to mention the Grenadian people as a whole and any struggle or hope for democracy or against exploitation under the GULP/Gairy arrangement.

The story was credited to CANA. It is also to be appreciated that the selection of a particular story from the wire service or how it was edited or combined with others largely rested with the newspaper's decision-makers who do not necessarily reside only in the newsroom. What the above extract helps to explain is another theme and part of the news frame within which the press began to structure the delegitimation of the new regime. Bishop's statement on Radio Free Grenada (RFG) which stood adjacent and below on the front page read in part:

This People's government will now be seeking Gairy's extradition so that he may... face trial, including the gross charges, the serious charges of murder, fraud and the trampling of the democratic rights of the people.

The remaining paragraphs in the Express' lead story mentioned that the first news came over RFG, the 'husky voice of an unidentified man claiming to be the commander of the revolutionary forces appealed to the population to keep calm and defend the revolution', police stations were instructed to hoist white flags, the new Revolutionary Government was said to be in full control, the capital (St. George's) was calm and so on.

In terms of sheer efficiency and perspicacity in news gathering terms, the Nation - then only a twice-weekly publication - eclipsed all the other newspapers in this study in that it had News Editor Al Gilkes and photographer Charles Rackett on spot from the very first day of the coup to present the early stories the following day in the Mid-Week Nation (Wed., March 14). However, recall our earlier comments about staff limitations at the immediate competitor Advocate, and, for instance, the Gleaner's geographical distance and the demands of coverage in a highly charged political-ideological situation against a chronic economic crisis in Jamaica at the time.

A brief three-paragraph story headed 'NATION on the spot' explained that they had flown out on a special charter flight arranged (by Gem Travel) for the Barbados media. As we have seen, the other newspapers depended on CANA at least for their early reports, and there is no evidence from the week under discussion that the Gleaner (geographically vastly more distant from Grenada than the others) despatched a team. A financial argument on the part of the Gleaner would

8 A thousand miles away.
not hold up very well as even the crisis-ridden Daily News - excluded from this leg of the thesis - did send a reporter but we must bear in mind, nevertheless, that by then this latter was no longer in the hands of corporate capitalists, but was being partly financed by the PNP administration. Moreover, as we saw among the interviews in the previous chapter, the News Editor of the Advocate-News' expressed disenchantment over the fact that his paper had lost the initiative. Whatever the reasons, CANA - of which the Nation has not been a member - filled the early gap for its members and subscribers.

The Nation's lead story - with the straightforward banner headline 'COUP IN GRENADE' - was a detailed piece by the News Editor with a dateline from the previous day (March 13 - day of the overthrow). The first paragraph referred to the hoisting of "a solitary white cloth" just "before 4.00 p.m.", and the first sentence of the second paragraph read:

As it fluttered in the evening breeze it signalled the end of formal support for Sir Matthew Eric Gairy from loyal police forces in Grenada.

Other paragraphs frequently began in the first person, from the airport where he had landed after a flight in an aircraft which was under the command of a former Battle of Britain pilot. "You could slice the air" and the tranquility betrayed no signs that a revolution had occurred. "There were no less than 100 people manning the headquarters" (i.e., at RFG). Upon "request to interview the newly proclaimed revolutionary leader" he had produced identification "and was treated with utmost courtesy". He was escorted to Bishop by the leader's wife and there at the headquarters he also met the Coards. After lunch, and a look around St. George's he returned to his hotel room and heard the announcement of a curfew from 9.00 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. with citizens requested to be off the streets. The revolutionary forces were to man police stations and reservoirs. In essence, the News Editor's was a bold attempt to present the reality as he observed it. The story was accompanied by a picture of Gairy and one of Bishop - captioned simply "GAIRY", and "BISHOP", respectively - laterally separated by text with Gairy's being smaller, and placed on the left-hand side of the page.

The third story, headlined 'When Gairy passed through', basically outlined how Gairy had travelled via Barbados en route to New York, 'reported to be travelling with an unusually large number of suitcases' and accompanied by his Education Minister and another person listed as Gloria Payne. The matter of the suitcases was not highlighted by the other papers. A fourth story "That Russian ship", served to clarify that the vessel was one of three tourist ships and a Geest^ boat and was expected in Barbados at daybreak that day (March 14). The News Editor filed a report from St. George's denying other reports that the vessel was a Russian warship. Recall the Jamaican case of 1962.

Of the other two items (six on page) on the front page, one was not about Grenada, and the other was a 'Comment' titled 'Lessons from St. George's' which had the features of a front page editorial expressing the newspaper's position and will be treated as such in the later section of this chapter which deals with such items more specifically. A note at the end of the page also referred readers to pages 3, 5, 14, 15, 19, and 25 for more information on the revolution.

The stories represented a crystallization of several of the central news value ingredients

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^British company with banana connections which we met in an earlier chapter.
which would be expected at the ‘break’ of a major political story. Much background emerged regarding the central characters, the recent political calendar for the country, assurances about citizens and opponents, and responses to the situation, among other factors. McCombs and Shaw state: ‘...the political world is reproduced imperfectly by the individual news media. Yet the evidence...that voters tend to share the media’s composite definition of what is important strongly suggests an agenda-setting function of the mass media’ (1981: 127).  

Indeed, to go a step further - and this could apply to the Grenada situation, Hartmann and Husband (1974) in their study of mass media and racism, found that the mediated ‘problem’ image of Black people (then labelled ‘immigrants’) conditioned the impressions of members of the indigenous population who were spatially separated from them (in terms, for instance, of residence and association), and who derived their impressions from the media.

The essence of the themes which arose particularly in editorial commentary began to germinate although not very overtly as it was still early days yet and news would tend to reflect a commitment to professional ideologies. It also pointed to the more technical constraints on the news production process rather than demonstrated a newspaper or its principals’ commitment to a political or social arrangement. Let us briefly touch on the story clusters through which news professionals and their papers/principals endeavored to construct and reconstruct for their home consumers and the larger local-regional market a frame of reference, more specifically a news frame within which the unfolding political and social situation could be understood. Such understanding had to be placed too, not only in the internal politics of Grenada but within a context of ‘we-ness’, a ‘Commonwealth’ Caribbean, broader Caribbean, and even a hemispheric context.

The principal figures in the coup in terms of position and media attention were also the key antagonists - Eric Gairy, the deposed, and Maurice Bishop, who was presented as the usurper. Gairy, as we saw in an earlier chapter was absent from the island at the time of the overthrow, and the latter was assuming control in Grenada.

The front page stories other than leads included one which was published by three papers (Gleaner, Guardian, Advocate-News) informing readers that Sir Eric (in company with his former Education Minister, Dr. Wellington Friday, in New York) was seeking urgent assistance from the United States, Britain and Canada. The Reuters-CANA story in the Gleaner stated that such assistance was ‘to help put down what he said was an attempted coup in his Caribbean holiday island of Grenada.’ The report credited to Reuters-CANA in the Advocate stated with less qualification that such assistance was to put down ‘an attempted coup’. The Guardian also reported that, in an interview carried by the CBC (Barbados), ‘Sir Eric said he wanted British troops to go in to Grenada to restore the democratically, constitutionally elected government.’

The Express notified readers under the heading ‘Guns came in barrels’, and drew from

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10. Within the considerable body of literature on the subject of agenda-setting, see also, e.g., mini-studies by McCombs and colleagues (Wanta et al), Journalism Quarterly, Autumn 1989; and Yagade and Dozier in Spring 1990 issue of the same journal.

11. This latter is problematic because the Revolution soon had to be encaised in the ideology of the ruling strata as lacking in legitimacy, as foreign to “our historical situation”, and more characteristic of the tradition of dictatorial regimes in Latin America (distant).
(former) Education Minister, Wellington Friday that,

...the coup attempt was the work of "a small group of communists called the New Jewel Movement"...armed with submachine guns imported from the United States.

In the case of the Gleaner, Guardian and the Advocate, that particular detail was embodied in the fabric of stories in which they highlighted the matter of the 'Ousted PM...' or 'Sir Eric...' in his appeal for assistance. Under the headline 'All is calm', the Express, from a Reuter-CANA piece, also informed readers that Washington was looking on. The State Department in Washington noted that 'all was reported calm...after an alleged coup...' The Gleaner and the Advocate in other stories mentioned that steps were being taken to convene a CARICOM Foreign Ministers meeting in Barbados (on the 14th) to discuss the situation (in the case of the Advocate, 'to discuss a common approach to the Grenada situation').

Bishop's announcement of the revolutionary takeover was quoted comprehensively in the longest of seven stories on the front page of the Guardian in a CANA report, headed 'New Govt accuses Gairy of murder and fraud', and in the Express, Bishop's statement (excerpts from), on "Radio Free Grenada" (RFG), was outlined at length under the heading 'JOBS AND FAMILIES ARE SAFE GAIRYITES TOLD'. This particular point was 'diminutized' in the Guardian story under a tiny sub-heading as 'Jobs safe'. What appeared in the Gleaner was subsumed as an end piece in the lead story which terminated on page 17. The paper's extract from the CANA report of the broadcast was not only curtailed as compared to the versions in the Guardian and the Express but sections were also paraphrased.

The Guardian mentioned 'Phone, air links cut', and that this occurred as 'the new Revolutionary Council...proclaimed a public holiday...' (13th March). It also offered 'Deputy PM appeals to policemen to surrender' which came in an announcement by Herbert Proudhomme, Gairy's Deputy Prime Minister over RFG. The Express provided under 'Dame Hilda: No Comment', that the Grenadian ex-Governor refused to comment on the situation.

It is significant that some Opposition parties and groups entered the picture. The Guardian, apart from pointing to a 'Solidarity rally in Woodford Square today' (headline) by the United Labour Front noted, in a small but far from innocuous story, the advice of the Trinidad and Tobago Opposition leader, Basdeo Panday. Under 'Take warning says Panday', the paper noted Panday's reiteration in Parliament of a comment - this time placed in the context of the revolutionary overthrown in Grenada - that by alienating large numbers of people from the social, economic, and political process the Trinidad Government was 'laying the foundation for a revolution.'

A response from Jamaica's main Opposition group, the JLP appearing at the centre-right-hand side in the top half of the Gleaner's front page under the bold capitals and ruled headline 'J.L.P. AWAITING GOVT. REACTION' bears lengthy quotation:

The JLP Opposition has noted with interest that the Government of Sir Eric Gairy, the second most charismatic leader [implying that Manley was No. 1] in the English-speaking Caribbean, has been overthrown by a coup led by the Opposition New Jewel Movement...

The Opposition notes that the Grenada Government which has proven to be the most corrupt and brutal Government in the English-speaking Caribbean is the first elected Commonwealth Government in the Caribbean to be overthrown, established a new
The Opposition awaits with interest the reaction of the caretaker PNP Government to these events. [Enclosures added]

This was presented as an immediate emphatic challenge to the PNP administration by a conservative Gleaner for an ideologically conservative right-of-centre JLP. Indeed, there might have been no connection but, the JLP did introduce its own programme of nationwide 'civil disobedience' - a fairly new feature by definition on Jamaica's political scene - six months later (September), as it came across, ostensibly in response to price increases (notably, of petrol). It is significant that there was no evidence in any of the total of eight items on the front page for that first day (4 on front-page and 4 elsewhere) that the Gleaner solicited a statement from the PNP Government. A conspiracy between journalists/executives and politicians or in the specific positioning of stories is not being advanced because we feel, like many other observers (Halloran et al, 1970; Mardock, 1973; Hall, 1982; Musa, 1989, etc.) that what the reader is offered is generally founded overwhelmingly upon the organizational factors and the nature and processing of news. There are instances, however, when other dimensions are added. The selection of 'the Opposition' story rather than two, or one incorporating the perspectives of both major parties - raises questions above and beyond the idea of chasing a 'good' story within limited time constraints and the like, especially in the sort of political-ideological polarization of 1970s Jamaica.

The themes which began appearing were those which pointed to the unusualness of the political event in the Commonwealth Caribbean. These included its proximity in 'our' very midst, what it implied for various groups particularly in the political sphere, the possible need for intervention, outside assistance or a restraining hand, the counter-claims by the new leaders and old, the nature of other countries' relationship (local-regionally, and elsewhere) with the new, as yet not clearly defined regime in Grenada, and so on. The core frame though was that this was an ominous even dangerous precedent which ought to be 'put right' early, particularly through the medium of 'democratic' elections, as we will begin to observe more clearly shortly. The idea of proximity in the case of, and between Jamaica and Grenada had to be emphasized more on the cultural and historical planes rather than at the geographical level. The thousand-mile distance was partly made good by the Gleaner's cartoonist who provided an inset map within the major front page story.

Newspapers utilized their usual techniques in graphics in headlines and elsewhere as has been implied and did not necessarily suggest a designing field day even although this running story could be referred to as, "the story of stories". Sub-headings helped to highlight presentations in places but were not numerous. The Express which borders closest among the five papers (in the content analysis) on the sensationalism of tabloid journalism included a large awkwardly placed sub-heading - '1 SHOT DEAD' - within its lead story which at a glance gave the impression of being a headline for a separate story, whereas it was pointing to the known death toll for the coup up to press time. 'Printer's devil'/error as a constraint in news production at one end of the spectrum, or deliberate action at another, it stood at the head of a series of paragraphs which began with the 1973 protests in Grenada and no other mention of death except that of Rupert Bishop, Maurice Bishop's father.

Sub-headings ('cross-heads'), as we appreciate are there to break the monotony of paragraphs running in long succession. Among their other uses, one would think, are to introduce somewhat graphically another important point in a story and generally draw the reader closer to particular content. The Gleaner, in the only cross-head - '7,000 ARMED MEN' - in the front-page
section of its lead story was a misnomer, perhaps, on the one hand, because of a slip within the journalistic tendency towards sensationalism, and the exigencies of meeting 'deadlines' which guide and define journalistic practice, or, on the other hand, based on the culture which would almost logically seek to delegitimate left-leaning tendencies, governments/movements. At the same time, because the beginning of a news story also tends to summarize news professionals' perceived main points of a story, the position of the sub-heading in this case was not surprising. The paragraph under '7,000 ARMED MEN' actually read:

Bishop said the coup was decided on and planned only yesterday. Some 7,000 armed revolutionaries, most of them young men and women, were said to be involved in the revolt. [Emphasis added] One of the commitments which would be a saddle to Bishop and the NJM/PRG was based on his major first day statement on RFG:

...let me assure the people of Grenada that all democratic freedoms, including freedom of elections, religious and political opinions will be fully restored to the people, the personal property and safety of individuals will be protected, foreign residents are quite safe, and are welcome to remain in Grenada, and we do look forward to continuing friendly relations with those countries with which we now have such relations (The various major newspapers in this study, 14/3/79: 1).

Despite the advance introduced by the insurrection then, the necessity of defending the revolution, and potential errors, would affect the degree to which others could be extended, and so on. Central among the conditions which Bishop outlined as far as political considerations were concerned, was the commitment to 'freedom of elections' on which the government would be consistently harassed locally and locally regionally within liberal democratic political and corporate capitalist circles and their foreign counterparts.

The statement was perhaps a natural response in the prevailing climate, but with a government committed to quite radical change its interpretation of democracy and elections would clearly run counter to the accepted, perceived and traditional assumptions of its antagonists and others. The property clause in Bishop's statement was also to become part of the centre of conflict, as it was in the PNP/Manley's less radical programme of the 1970s. Speaking for the NJM and the Council, the U.S.A. was then among those countries from which 'continuing friendly ties' would be sought, but the leaders would have been aware that this was a difficult proposition especially with a U.S. administration tilting ever closer to the far-right and fascism from the start of the 1980s.

The major press in the Anglophone Caribbean as a whole represents outgrowths of corporate capitalist production, a factor which we examined at length in an earlier chapter. The packaging is an essential component in news because, after all, newspapers must publish some sort of information outside of pure product or service advertising and the like. Indeed, official regulations in some countries across the globe have stipulated a ratio of editorial content to other material. To be first with the news and present it 'comprehensively' as well as presenting the major news prominently is a filip in securing a newspaper's position in the marketplace. Such a marketplace is preferably stable and free from threat.12

12 This is especially with regard to the political considerations, as sometimes the economic can be beaten off under normal and accepted business practice - after all, it is indeed a marketplace in which (Footnote continued)
9.3 Settling down: establishing common lines of approach

Our attention can now be turned to further presentation of news on the insurrection after the first day's 'saturation' coverage on the part of major Anglophone Caribbean newspapers.

On March 15, the second day of the major newspapers' coverage, the Grenada story maintained its prominence in terms of securing the front-page lead in four papers. However, for the Gleaner it was the only item of eight news/information pieces on the page, and was headed 'Jamaica said in favour of Grenada Govt.' with a CANA dateline (March 14) but the headline would hardly have been CANA's. The first paragraph read as follows:

Caribbean Ministers, caught between the principle of non-intervention and a distaste for unconstitutional methods of removing a government, were finding it difficult here [meeting in Barbados] tonight to reach accord on a response to the Grenada situation.

Government ministers from some CARICOM countries were in attendance, but Trinidad had no representative and resistance to recognition by CARICOM had been coming from the Prime Minister of newly independent St. Lucia and Dominica's Foreign Minister. According to the piece the 'view was said to be that there was danger in condoning, or appearing to condone, at the regional level the resort to armed force by the opposition to grab power.'

Jamaica was reportedly 'strongly in favour of recognition' while the Guyana representative expressed his 'administration's known position being that there should be no intervention in the internal affairs of a fellow independent country.' As we saw in an earlier chapter, the PNC itself was brought to power by American and British intervention to remove a Marxist-oriented government under the PPP. The article concluded on a stern note, seeming to reproduce the views of representatives most opposed to the new regime and its manner of accession to power:

One observer...said it was likely a final document tonight will accept the nonintervention principle, condemn the unconstitutionality of such seizure of power and the danger it posed for the English-speaking Caribbean, and call for early elections and a return by Grenada to constitutional rule.

The observer was unidentified. Students of communication and journalists have often recognized a guiding principle among news values that 'bad news is good news' for the mass media. As a journalist, the writer of the present study would also identify the fact that some sympathy existed for the early recognition path and that that question itself was newsworthy, and that for some journalists or organizations hostile to change and tending to reproduce the views of primary news makers/definers (see, e.g., Hall et al, 1978) such sympathy would be seen as 'bad' news. However, 'badness' here seems to have been appropriated early by the camp hostile to the NJM and the new regime within the major press, here in this first instance, in the form of the Gleaner through one of what could be called its 'associated companies' (CANA). It is far from insignificant that the Gleaner, in consciously or unconsciously asserting its home territory's position as primary in news value

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12 (continued)
some sellers survive better.

13 I.e., of the People's National Congress (PNC).
terms in the headline, paradoxically kept Jamaica's position in paragraph eight of the twelve comprising the story.

The other items of news/information outside of direct coverage of Grenada were not germane to this study. However, in some cases, they were relevant to an understanding of a newspaper's position on regimes or political and social change programmes of regimes of a progressive orientation.

The second lead 'JMA calls for facts on the economy' (Jamaica's economy) was almost self-explanatory in terms of major capitalists asserting themselves. A four column picture with children at microphones was captioned 'SINGING "THE INTERNATIONALE"...'. The caption explained how, at some sections of the song the children raised clenched fists at a rally 'organised by the PNP Women[s]' Movement and the Committee of Women for Progress' [the WPJ's women's arm], and that the Prime Minister, Mr. Michael Manley was guest speaker. Immediately under that picture and its caption was a story headlined 'Indoctrination of children causing concern to JLP'. The story did not emerge from the same event as the caption. Adjacent to that story was a Page One Editorial titled in bold 'ACTION NOW!' The editorial noted serious allegations by the JLP, and the BITU [the JLP's trade union base] about corruption in the security forces. Most of the people at the receiving end of related political 'terror', it alleged, were people who 'voted JLP in the last election.' Beside the editorial appeared a story headlined 'MP's driver fined $300 for threatening witness' (incidentally, that MP was a PNP Government representative). Below those two, readers found the 'Jubilee Hospital in a bad state' (said by the paper to be the largest maternity hospital in the English-speaking Caribbean). Cheerfully, another item informed, 'Waterfront men resume work today'. The other item of information apart from advertisements was under 'ACTION STATION', a community service slot, in which - good news - someone's lost property was located at the airport. Such coverage must be understood against the background of the economic, and to some extent, political crisis which increasingly beset local capitalists and the masses but the PNP administration at the time of the decline of support from even among 'patriotic capitalists', middle strata as well as urban and rural proletarian and small farming elements.

The Guardian's front-page coverage of Grenada was more comprehensive. A banner headline for the lead story read 'NEW GRENADA HUNTS SUPPORT', which in a sense could be seen as quite noncommittal although that idea that it 'hunts' may imply from the newspaper's own position that such support was then illusive or, indeed, should not be advanced. The secondary headline 'Radix sent to woo 3rd world nations at UN' completed the headline over a detailed story with a St. George's, Wed. (i.e., 14th) dateline. The story came from CANA as was confirmed from a reading of the Express which used it as the second of two stories on its front page and clearly credited CANA.

Kenrick Radix was the new regime's diplomatic representative to the UN and Washington. The 'new regime rushed Kenrick Radix up to New York via Barbados to try to shore up support at the United Nations among third world countries, particularly non-aligned movement.' The story outlined that the regime had also been attempting to assure CARICOM countries of its...
commitment to regional unity, wished to get the reaction of the Caribbean Council of Churches, and had taken a U.S. and a Canadian representative to view the situation which was "returning to normal." The story drew much detail from statements from Grenada's new leader and a 'revolution's spokesman' to explain events in the country and the efforts to gain support. In the specific case of this story and at this level, the use of the revolution's spokespersons rather than antagonistic opposed forces as primary definers of the news perhaps served to balance out the use of particular words which might have implied desperation on the part of a regime viewed as having questionable legitimacy.

The front page of the Express was dominated by two stories on Grenada, the only stories on that page. The Guardian's lead story approached its treatment more from what was being initiated in Grenada, and the Gleaner prioritized the recognition question from Barbados and headlined Jamaica's then apparent early position. The Express was more insistent. It virtually challenged the Trinidad Government on the recognition issue (main banner headline - "NOT A WORD ON GRENADE") and expressed obvious concern for Gairy in the secondary headline "...and in the US Gairy awaits answers to his cries for help". The first paragraph read:

Government officials up to late last night were reportedly carefully watching the situation in Grenada, but remained silent - not even committing themselves to announcing whether this country had accepted an invitation to attend a Caribbean governments meeting on the matter.

Apart from this oblique commitment the nature of the paper's treatment of the situation varied from, say the Guardian's, in that this latter paper's lead story was the Express' second over which it highlighted 'New Jewel seeks CARICOM, UN support'. An inset picture of Gairy in the Express' lead story was captioned 'SIR ERIC' whereas the inset of Bishop of similar size in the second story attracted 'MAURICE BISHOP' which could raise questions about the legitimacy granted to the latter.

The lead story (Express) mentioned the CARICOM Ministers meeting. However, it devoted about one half of the story to addressing Gairy's activities in the U.S.A. at the time, and to the U.S. State Department's spokesman, Tom Reston's comments about Gairy's requests for assistance as well as to what the Organization of American States (OAS) could have done to assist. 'We are studying the situation in Grenada and consulting with other governments'. The State Department man's position, was consistent with another story from Reston-CANA which appeared in the Express of the previous day. Whether the Express used its own editorial initiative to contact the OAS is not clear, although this seems very likely, but an OAS 'spokesman' was quoted extensively and paraphrased (giving regard to the absolute length of the story and other references) on the possibilities for assistance potentially open to 'Sir Eric' through the organization. However: 'The spokesman ruled out the possibility of OAS military intervention.'

The Advocate's lead story's emphasis - although also concerned with the search for support or the recognition question - was somewhat novel: 'Regime supports regional unity' with the ruled secondary headline 'Bishop's forces in control'. It was, of course, a CANA story with a Trevor Simpson [Chief Editor] by-line, and datelined St. George's, Grenada, Wed. (i.e., 14th - previous day). It was a message from 'revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop...speaking 24 hours after his forces toppled the administration of Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy who he accused of trampling on the people's fundamental rights' (paragraphs 1 & 2). Here and there, Bishop was paraphrased, but direct quotes were extensive. For example:
We look forward to the establishment of friendly relations with all other Caribbean Governments. (para. 6)

The entire process has been an independent one...Reports that we are getting assistance from Cuba are slanderous. (para. 10)

As we noted earlier, the Gleaner had only one front-page story on Grenada on the second day whereas the Express' second story, apart from headline emphasis most significantly, was a repeat of the CANA item which led the Guardian. Briefly, then, we should now look at the Guardian and the Advocate in terms of second stories. Gairy's activities in New York as well as the statement from the State Department's official were housed under the headline 'I am still boss says Gairy' in a Reuter-CANA story in the Guardian and in the Advocate in the same Reuter-CANA body from New York (dateline) under the headline 'Gairy: I'm still Prime Minister'. The first paragraph in each paper read:

Sir Eric Gairy defiantly claimed today that he was still Prime Minister of Grenada even though coup leaders on his Caribbean island say that every pro-Gairy pocket of resistance has surrendered.

As we see the negotiation and assertion of legitimacy continued to be played out both between the primary political antagonists in part and in the broader principal political terrain, on the one hand, and via reproduction and representation through the press, on the other.

Another Guardian story saw 'CARIB GOVTS IN A HUDDLE' as they met in Barbados to discuss the overthrow, whereas the Advocate offered 'Representative of new regime invited to talks'. The story was in reported speech throughout except for a statement by Compton of St. Lucia (opponent of recognition) as he departed prematurely from the meeting. The story reproduced the theme that 'Ministers expressed the hope that there would be free and fair elections.' Both papers also published a CANA story about a telexed message from Antigua's Government to Barbados' Foreign Minister under 'Antigua calls for "summit"' (Guardian) and 'Call for Meeting on Grenada' (Advocate). The 'crisis' was expressed in paragraph three:

The events in Grenada yesterday, March 13, 1979 pose new and serious problems for Caricom as an institution. Seating a Government which attains office by coup d'etat should require unanimous decision by all member governments.

As we see, the conditions for ensuring the credibility and survival of the new government would have several encumbrances, both implicit and explicit. The Guardian had a number of other stories. Not unrelated was the 'Call for Summit to review Caricom treaty' by the President of the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce who wanted 'Caribbean Heads of Government to renegotiate and reaffirm the...agreement' (para. 1). Representatives of the owning class under capitalist arrangements are hardly reported on, and as Gans notes, usually when they are, this has little to do with their economic power (1978: 12). This sentiment was expressed at the apparently coincidental 53rd Board meeting of the Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce (CAIC) next door in Port of Spain, Trinidad. More significant were the last two paragraphs:

The Chamber President pointed out that the presence of representatives at the meeting was proof that the cause of private enterprise was being actively supported, even in countries which had embraced contrary ideologies...

Representatives of Grenada were not at the meeting.

More pointed - even committed - and specific was the immediately adjacent story titled 'CAIC hopeful
on Grenada', and drawn from CANA wire service. Referring to the CAIC group at the meeting, it read (beginning from paragraph one):

Caribbean businessmen...hope that the "situation in Grenada will not get out of hand."

...Mr. Stan Mullings of St. Lucia [a country we encountered above], President of the CAIC, noted that the Grenada delegates were absent...

He added that the Gairy Government was ousted and Grenada was "now probably under a type of military control. It is our sincere hope that the situation will not get out of hand."

Earlier Mr. Jimmy Edghill, President [of CAIC]...said the news of the overthrow was disturbing in the context "that we in the Caribbean are unaccustomed to acts of this nature.

Let us hope that this does not signal the start in the Caribbean of the emulation of the African states whose political life is determined from day to day and from coup to coup..."

This represents part of the framework of delegitimation which included the then, and subsequent consistent calls from the local-regional capitalist class for a return to familiar political arrangements.

The statement from the Leader of the Opposition JLP in Jamaica which was given prominence in the Gleaner story of the previous day (prior to the CAIC statement), and mentioned earlier in our discussion was transmitted by CANA wire service and found its way on to the Guardian's front-page but less conspicuously with the headline 'Seaga: Second most corrupt' and not identifying Gairy. The newspaper offered details under 'St. George's normal again' in paraphrasing Bishop. Another story ('T 'dad told "keep clear"') noted a warning by an Opposition MP (Raffique Shah) to the Trinidad and Tobago Government to avoid any intervention in Grenada on behalf of Gairy. In the most radical statement quoted outside Grenada on a front-page of the major newspapers since the outset of the revolution, Shah in his statement at Woodford Square reportedly stated in part:

We want the Government to know tonight that if it tries to lend support to the dictatorial Government of Gairy, we the people of Trinidad and Tobago will intervene on behalf of Maurice Bishop and his revolutionary forces (para. 4).

This was emphasized in the last paragraph in which the paper paraphrased Shah stating that what took place in Grenada was a lesson to other Caribbean governments "for too long". In yet another item above that, "Trinidad not approached", it was stated that the Trinidad Government had not been approached by any of the parties involved in the Grenada coup (Gairy or Bishop). It further outlined that a 'government source also said yesterday that Government was unaware of any regional meeting of foreign ministers being held in Barbados to discuss the Grenada situation.' Moreover, 'Government had no intention of commenting or interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.' The shortest of the Guardian's eleven stories (including CAIC's call for summit), 'FOUR TO RUN POLICE FORCE' outlined that Bishop had appointed a four-man committee from among policemen to manage the force in Grenada.

The March 16 front-page of the Gleaner saw 'Grenada's coup leaders seize office in

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15O. B. 'Jimmy' Edghill appeared in available company data through the 1980s as a director in McAl subsidiaries. In 1989, for instance, he was a director of Amalgamated Finance Ltd., a McAl service company.
NY'. The first three paragraphs of that story from Reuter-CANA in New York (dated March 15) clarified that it was actually a Grenadian Government office:

Grenada's coup leaders today quietly took over the Caribbean Island's United Nations Mission, tourist office and Consulate General in New York.

Kenrick Radix, co-leader of the bloodless takeover that deposed Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy, strolled into the New York office at lunchtime and said no one would be sacked.

Later reference in the Gleaner story paraphrased Radix mentioning that he was going off to Washington to return to New York the following day 'for a news conference at which he would reveal his government's plans for Sir Eric.' The rest of the article as it continued on page one addressed Gairy's security, his request for assistance and so on, and quoted from 'a two-page statement from him denouncing the [NJM] as a bunch of "terrorists" and said that the movement should not "delude itself that Grenada will remain silent under gunpoint."

The Guardian (crediting Reuter-CANA), emphasized another paragraph in the New York story in its headline 'Staff in New York switches allegiance' but left the structure and arrangement of the body of the story in tact. Whereas the Advocate did not publish the Reuter-CANA story as its lead, it nevertheless appeared on the front-page under a headline which seemed distinctly hostile to the new arrangement in Grenada: 'Now coup reaches offices in New York'. Semiologists would keenly note, and rightly so, that the Guardian used a (bust) picture of Gairy with the first line of the caption reading 'SIR ERIC GAIRY' followed below by the words 'call for prayers'. A bust of approximately the same size of 'Mr. Maurice Bishop' accompanied the lead story but with no message.

The Advocate's lead, 'Coup men look to recognition' and secondary headline 'NJM spokesman disappointed', mentioned (para.1) that 'Recognition of the new revolutionary Government in Grenada is expected within the next 24 hours by some Caribbean countries which last night ended a meeting in Barbados...'

The Express pursued the recognition question in its lead, 'T'DAD SHUNS "PREMATURE" SUMMIT', as did the Gleaner in the second of its two page one stories titled 'SEAGA URGES NO RECOGNITION UNTIL... - a headline in capitals which spanned the same six columns as the lead headline. The Express noted that Trinidad and Tobago were not represented at the Barbados conference which 'a government source said' was ""premature"." According to the Express story, Trinidad's position 'appeared to have found support from Opposition leader in Jamaica, Edward Seaga, who told CANA of his concern for the small number of representatives attending the conference - a factor which was included in the Gleaner's treatment of Seaga's statement. According to the Gleaner report, Seaga said elections must be held within three months, and should be internationally supervised. This would ensure that,

...the principle of armed overthrow of a Government is not accepted in the Commonwealth Caribbean, while reinforcing the electoral system as the only recognized basis of selecting a government...

The Express' story also made reference to a report that the 'Jamaica [delegation] threatened to walk out of the Barbados meeting over the refusal to permit flights from Grenada.' It clarified that the Barbados Government said that to permit flights "would imply recognition of the government at a time
when the question was being debated.' A coalescence of the 'right' in the Caribbean began to be
further consolidated and its stance on the insurrection was being mediated, represented and
reproduced by the press.

The unity of interests between a vacillating and not supportive PNM Trinidad and Tobago
Government, a hostile JLP Opposition in Jamaica, and the oppositional stances of Barbados, St.
Lucia, Dominica, and Antigua were well advanced by the major press. However, the situations
were not identical even within this assessed uniformity. The Gleaner, in promoting the JLP
Opposition's stance as the 'correct' approach implicitly and explicitly, was in contrast at the level of
party to the Trinidad context in which the Express appeared to be sympathetic to Trinidad and Tobago
Government's position of shunning what was being portrayed as a 'premature' summit and so on.
However, we must not be misled into seeing the Express as sympathetic to the PNM Government per
as. As outlined earlier (see, e.g., interview comments, John, 26/2/88), the Express Newspapers'
principals were not overly fond of the PNM. The NAR Government which ousted the PNM in 1986
had, from the very outset, and at the end of the 1980s, a major Express shareholder and Managing
Director as a senior Cabinet Minister (recall our discussion in earlier chapters. Indeed, according to
the then Editor (Interview, 26/2/88), the person who later became Prime Minister under the NAR
was surreptitiously engaged as a columnist by that Managing Director, without the Editor being
informed of his name. 16

The Guardian avoided the recognition question as a general position in its lead story and
focused instead on the CCC's decision to send a team to Grenada 'to assess the situation there' under
the heading 'CCC sending TEAM TO GRENAADA' with a secondary headline 'Churchmen hail
"rights" pledge by new regime'. It noted that the CCC's General Secretary had cabled Maurice
Bishop and expressed the hope that the Revolutionary Government would ""succeed in establishing in
Grenada, a new era of peace, justice and brotherhood." (para.2) In this sense, news values were
less than identical among papers in that whereas the Grenada story had continuing pre-eminence in
all the major newspapers, the 'angle' varied. This change of angle, however, does not necessarily
indicate a change of orientation with regard to stance on the overthrow. Indeed, the Guardian
justuxtaposed a story 'No cause for alarm says GG' (i.e., Governor General Paul Scoon of Grenada);
the Express offered 'LET'S LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH HOPE - G-G' as it quoted the GG's
assurances extensively and referred also to the assurances of calm by a Trinidad and Tobago Roman
Catholic priest, who was then a prison chaplain in Grenada (story by its political reporter, Keith
Smith); the Advocate-News, like the Guardian drawing on CANA, headed its story 'No need for
alarm' from Scoon who went on radio to assure both nationals and foreigners.

Mention of recognition came in the Guardian in a story which emphasized 'NJM sends
man to Barbados' - an aspect of the situation on which the paper (on the surface of it) was technically
out-performed by the Advocate-News. The latter newspaper included this information in its lead story
accompanied by a photograph with George Louison (Grenada's representative at the Barbados
meeting) in company with others in Barbados.

The Express referred to Louison's arrival somewhere around the middle of a composite

16 When I interviewed him the Editor stated that he later discovered the identity of the columnist.
story, rather than what could be referred to as a 'uni-focal' story. However, the Guardian's story quoted verbatim, the details of a communique from the meeting including that 'there would be no outside interference', the leaders should hold 'free and fair elections...without delay,' and that 'due regard be paid to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens of Grenada.'

Among other stories, the Express' (through apparently, its political reporter - news editor, 1988) headed 'PROVISIONAL GOVT SOON SAYS BISHOP', stated that a new provisional government would be named on that day (16th) or by the weekend, as the newspaper learnt in a 'telephone interview yesterday' with Maurice Bishop. The paper quoted Bishop extensively in a story which by virtue of the position of the interviewee and timing would - in newspaper terminology - represent a considerable 'scoop'. Among the answers to questions was that answer given in response to a request for 'a time frame for elections': 'It's extremely difficult to do that at the moment.' According to the paper, Bishop also stated that: 'We are socialists. We will follow the same policy we have been putting forward over the years...[and] The only right we intend to abolish is the right to exploit.' If we take into account most factors here, it is reasonable to say that the paper - although not prioritizing this story on page one as the lead by granting ppride of place to the recognition question nevertheless, on the outline of Bishop's position could not be described as having been explicitly hostile to the regime and its policies as far as the interview story itself was concerned.

Other stories within the 'saturation' coverage included, for instance, one in the Guardian ('Take warning Guyana warned') which informed the reader about the then, clearly popular Revolution, and a warning from a Guyana Opposition parliamentarian to the PNC Government to take heed of the Grenada situation, and even another case around that time, the downfall of the Shah of Iran. The Advocate-News had several little stories as outlined in headlines below:

- 'It's a matter for Grenadians' [with picture - Barbados Oppos. leader]
- 'New regime will not give up easily to intervention' [NJM's Louison in Barbados]
- 'LIAT stops flights to Grenada' [Antigua-based airline plying Eastern Caribbean] - according to the Advocate, 'action believed to be in keeping with the strong position the Antiguan Government has taken against the...revolutionary Government'
- 'Canada says "no" to Gairy' [request for assistance - Reuter-CANA]
- 'Mrs Gairy makes appeal' [appeal to constituents to back revolution - while being held by the revolutionary government]
- 'On-and-off ban holds up plane [Barbados ban on Grenada]

The Nation's front-page (Weekend - March 16) coverage varied from the others in main emphasis. It was dominated by the banner headline 'MESSAGE TO MY PEOPLE' with the secondary headline 'From Sir Eric to all Grenada' and an accompaniment of four photographs. The headline subordinated a very short text which read in part (first paragraph): 'Yesterday evening a package was delivered by hand to The Editor of THE NATION.' It was said to be from Gairy who asked the Nation to 'pass it on to the people.' The message, the item stated, was placed on pages 16 and 17. Even in this simple and unwitting form of reproduction the paper was contributing to restoring/maintaining Gairy's image, rather than subordinating his presence to that of the new leader(s) and his comments about plans for Grenada'a people. There was a small inset picture of

17 On this it appeared to have been in the opposition camp.

18 If we extend this to later in the week.
'Gairy' adjacent to the text and one of 'Bishop' inset in brief lines which pointed to information about Grenada on other pages. The other two photographs showed, in the first case, 'A solitary member of the revolutionary Army' with a background group of people at the top of the page, and the second, under the major headline a group of men said to be in protective custody, two of whom were identified in handcuffs as the head of the prison (Francis Jones) under Gairy’s regime and a well known member of the Mongoose Gang (‘Spreeman’).

The only other story on page one was a full one-column piece which continued on page 28, ‘The formula that failed’ under the by-line of the editor of the newspaper, Harold Hoyte. It outlined the stipulations of the proposed “constitutional formula” for ‘the immediate legal transfer of power’ which came out of the Barbados conference and its failure to materialize.

In the two editions of the Nation referred to here - the only ones during that period examined - there was no clear evidence on which the News Editor’s explanation in an interview (21/6/88) that the newspaper supported Bishop from the very start could be strongly questioned. Such a stance would be related to several factors including the policy factors and background associated with the Nation, an understanding of Gairy’s predatory reign, and in a much more limited sense the matter of being on the spot early as a news gatherer to observe the smoothness of the transition.

On day four of coverage (day five of the NJM’s overthrow) the Gleaner headed a CANA story (dated 16th) ‘Regional talks on Grenada stalemated’ - a headline which emerged in paragraph 4. Its lead paragraph was a better summary:

Grenada’s Revolutionary Command today named a cabinet of non-military personnel, talked of plans for social and economic reconstruction and had its first formal discussions with representatives of western powers.

In the story, which concluded on page 15, the final paragraph on page one informed readers that:

In Barbados last night, American Ambassador Frank Ortiz emerged from a brief meeting... with St. Lucia Prime Minister John Compton, and told questioning reporters Washington was closely observing the Grenada situation and was awaiting a Caribbean community lead.

We have no access to what might have been discussed between the U.S. Ambassador and St. Lucia’s Prime Minister but it would perhaps make interesting reading.

‘14-MEMBER GOVT IN GRENADE’ followed by the secondary headline Bishop expects early recognition’ headed the Guardian’s front-page lead of March 17 which came, as did several other items on the page ‘From Errol Pilgrim, Guardian Staffer reporting from Grenada’ (datelined March 16). The story essentially dealt with the new provisional government, mentioning that: ‘Two businessmen, a businesswoman, a planter and a private practitioner are among a 14-member provisional government that has been set up to administer the affairs of Grenada.’ It supported that statement by pointing out that the press conference at which Bishop made the announcement had come after a meeting with U.S., Canadian and British representatives.

The Advocate-News, in another CANA story followed the logic of drawing its headline from among the primary news value considerations which would be expressed in the who, why, when, where, how (and to whom) of the ‘normal’ newspaper story’s introduction and headed its
piece 'New Cabinet for Grenada named' with the secondary headline 'Preparation for elections'. The implication of elections 'soon' was substantiated in paragraph 5 in which the Command's announcement is paraphrased noting that one of the government's first responsibilities would be to undertake proper enumeration of voters to allow for free and fair elections as soon as possible.

The discussion so far has not really attended to the possibility that even slight meanderings might have taken place in the NJM's commitment to its political and general programme against the background hesitance among some local-regional governments and the 'proximate' economic and/or political powers (U.S.A., Britain, Canada). A factor which emerges as somewhat unusual is the virtual absence of mention of the Soviet Union or Cuba in front page coverage in those crucial early days. The potential reasons are numerous. We will note one or two as a guide to possible explanations. The large amount of information about the dramatic events in the immediate context (the overthrow), as well as the historical position of major liberal democracies and capitalism - Britain, the U.S.A., and Canada is one consideration. A second, and related factor is the nature of the links with these favoured powers and the need to 'set the situation right quickly' which sustained the focus for that early period within the 'accepted' frame of reference.

To return to the Advocate-News' lead story, it is noteworthy that it gave considerable 'paraphrased' space to statements by one of the Cabinet members in the new Provisional Government, Bernard Coard, later to become Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

It is frequently in headlines and what a newspaper emphasizes in its selection within a background of primary news values that evidence to inform an enquiry about that newspaper's stance or orientation can be found. Thus, the Express did not stress 'stalemated' talks or 'New Cabinet named' as in the case of the other two papers but in a banner heading noted 'BISHOP'S PLEDGE: I will not export revolution' by its reporter, Keith Smith:

Grenada's revolutionary government has pledged to other Caribbean governments that it would not encourage subversive activities in their territories (para.1).

That pledge, it stated, came at Maurice Bishop's first press conference on the 16th. The list of new Cabinet members was offered in paragraph three, after which readers saw Mrs. Gairy's appeal which the Advocate-News and Guardian had published on the previous day; Bishop's hope for recognition from Trinidad and Tobago, the USA, Britain and Canada; reference to measures to shore up the economy - price controls, price inspectors, tightening up on release of cheques at the Treasury; and talks being held with the police force.

Other front-page stories in March 17 editions of the various papers included 'Jamaica opposes interference' a story by-lined Gleaner Political Reporter and outlining sentiments expressed in Manley's statement at a World Peace Council seminar in Kingston the previous day. Paraphrased for the most part, the statement had Mr. Manley emphasizing that the Government was 'strongly opposed to outside interference.'

'SPEAKER BLOCKS DEBATE ON GRENA DA OVERTHROW' was among the Guardian's other stories of March 17. In essence, it expressed strictures to Opposition Leader Panday's stated view that 'our own government should at its earliest opportunity announce recognition of a Caricom partner with whom we have ties.' The Express published that story under the headline
'Delay will look like weakness - Panday'. It also appeared in the Advocate-News in a less conspicuous inch-and-a-half column space under the heading 'Recognition call', somewhat understandably as its news value, based on geographical considerations would diminish a smaller Trinidad story in another country, Barbados. Much more detailed, for instance, in the Advocate-News was the story about the Barbados Minister of External Affairs - 'Forde: Recognition of new Grenada gov't not crucial'. It quoted Forde stating at a press conference two evenings before (15th) that: 'The Grenada situation will be resolved for Barbados, Grenada and for Caricom when we get back on full constitutional path with fair and free elections and whoever wins those elections must therefore be the Government and subject itself at regular intervals to an election.'

In two other stories from reporter Pilgrim, the Guardian informed readers of 'UFO ITEMS FOUND AT GAIRY'S HOME', and of an 'Arms cache at Richmond Hill' prison near St. George's. The latter was involved in the Gairy Government's deals with Chile. Another spoke of the newly imposed economic strictures under the revolutionary government - 'Retail prices frozen'. Yet another referred to the St. Vincent Cabinet's suspension of flights into and out of St. Vincent and the Grenadines under the headline 'Derek Knight on mystery trip'. Knight was Chairman of the Inter-Island Air Services (IAS) and a Cabinet Minister under the deposed Government. He had been listed with Gairy, according to a document published by the Torchlight and other sources, among the new government's most wanted people. Advocate-News carried this story from CANA (with a by-line, Mike Findlay) under a headline with a different emphasis, 'IAS flights from St. Vincent halted'. The other Grenada story - also carried by the Advocate-News under the headline 'Bishop gets support' (CANA story) - appearing titled 'Rejoicing in NY' (CANA story) - appearing titled 'Rejoicing in NY' was given little attention in a one paragraph from Reuter-CANA, and referred to some 500 New York-based Grenadians who staged a demonstration outside the UN headquarters in favour of the NJM.

In other stories, the Advocate-News gave some prominence under the headline 'Grenada is a special case' to the assurance from George Louison, a representative of the Revolutionary Government, that

'We do not see our revolution as a basis for other left wing groups in the Caribbean attempting the same thing. We see Grenada as a very special and unique case...'

Another Advocate-News story adjacent to the Louison piece explained that 'Radix wants swap' (Reuter-CANA, NY - 16th), referring to Radix's statement in New York that Grenada's new Government would be happy to extradite several American criminals from the Gairy period in exchange for Gairy himself. Other stories included: 'Comment on revolution' (that there would be a comment on Grenada in the Sunday Advocate-News, opinion expressed by Leonard St. Hil); 'Flights resumed' (LIAT resumed flights between Barbados and Grenada from the previous day); 'Permit revoked' (Barbados revokes work permit of Grenadian-born LIAT pilot); and 'To give report' (CANA, credited in this last) (Jamaica's representative at Barbados talks to give report to the Jamaica Cabinet). These latter have been largely categorized as "shorts".

Of the two shorter of four front page Express stories, one - 'Burroughs: Security stays normal' - had Trinidad's Police Commissioner denying that security had been increased in that country in the aftermath of the coup in Grenada. In the other item, the paper sought a comment from the Government on Grenada (unstated but assumed to be on recognition) - 'No word yet from Govt'. It quoted a Ministry of external Affairs spokesman as having stated (16th) that the Government
continues to evaluate the situation and has no statement to issue at this time.'

The Sunday Gleaner’s lead story ‘Jamaica’s stand on Tuesday’ summed up the expectations from Jamaica’s officials. Indeed, whereas the top left hand corner of the front-page was appropriated for a story on CARICOM businessmen and the top right taken by another Grenada story, the central location of the story on Jamaica’s stance in juxtaposition to these and the priority of its larger headline were among factors on which we based the assumption that it was the lead. The story was founded upon a statement from the Prime Minister’s Office, all or part of which was directly quoted in three paragraphs. In part, the statement noted that a Cabinet sub-committee and other officials had met on the previous day (17th) ‘to further review the situation in Grenada’ and received a full report from the Minister who represented the Jamaican Government at the Barbados meeting. More crucial for our analysis a meeting scheduled to be held in Antigua on March 20 between the Associated States as well as formally independent St. Lucia, and Dominica would affect the timing - perhaps even the nature - of Jamaica’s announcement:

In light of the forthcoming meeting in Antigua it was decided that the Government of Jamaica would withhold any announcement in relation to the new Government of Grenada until the evening of Tuesday, March 20.

These other countries, of course were among the most stridently opposed to, or perhaps, more overtly sceptical of the revolutionary Government. In fact, only two governments which appeared amenable to acceptance or rapid recognition - the PNP in Jamaica, and the PNC in Guyana - both of which were nationalist and in some respects then tended to be progressive or left-leaning - although there had been increasing question marks around the PNC. These two were, as we saw, joined by some opposition spokesmen.

The Guardian led with the story which we identified as the Gleaner’s second story on Grenada, but No.3 on the Gleaner’s front-page (after ‘CARICOM: businessmen...’). The Guardian’s piece was titled ‘BISHOP: JUST A MATTER OF TIME’ (which was the approximate caption of an accompanying [bust] picture of Bishop in the Gleaner story) whereas the Gleaner’s was headed ‘Recognition of Carib forthcoming’ with a balled secondary heading ‘BISHOP ON COUP IN GRENADE’. The same CANA story with only minor editing differences between the various papers appeared in the Advocate-News under ‘Recognition only a matter of time’. That statement essentially transmitted the hope Bishop expressed and CANA quoted him fairly extensively. The second paragraph of the CANA story also explained that ‘Sir Eric Gairy’s...appeals to the U.S., U.K., and Canada for troops had failed.’ The Express departed from what appears to have been the generally reinforced assumption of many of these papers - that news and news pages ought to be about ‘the facts’ whereas analysis and interpretation should be reserved for the editorial and other appropriate pages. Editorializing encountered in news was relatively minimal. The front-page, with the exception of a small approximately five-inch inset headline ‘Radix - the first envoy’ (also on front page of the Guardian, and in the March 19 edition of the Advocate-News as the second of two stories)(CANA in all cases), was occupied by one story in fairly graphic tabloid style. The headline ‘Bishop sees support, but...[secondary headline]...IT WILL TAKE TIME’ [main headline] with a laterally juxtaposed picture (by Hubert Alexander) of Bishop and his wife Angella at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Army, RFG accounted for approximately 70 per cent of the page’s news space. The small CANA story, and the text to this major item, apparently written by the paper’s reporter out of Grenadas (inferred from the dateline) accounted for the rest.
The first paragraph of the story in the Express read 'Grenada’s revolutionary government still hasn’t been recognised by any country.' The third - more evidently editorializing and prophetic - assured: 'It now seems likely that if there’s to be Caricom recognition, such will come individually...and in stages.' Basically, it recounted various happenings including developments from meetings before drawing, via direct quotes from Bishop, observations about recognition, mentioned in the other newspapers’ CANA story. The fairly graphic statement ‘it is only a matter of time’ found itself at mid-story at the end of paragraph seven and again, as the very last words in the story. The paper apparently departed from the others in much of its later coverage in that it did not seem to have depended very largely on CANA coverage out of Grenada (at any rate, on its front page). There is no evidence that its own summary of the lead of the 18th was engrafted upon extracts from the principal CANA story. Of course, by then relative financial stability of the Express within the context of a Trinidad setting in the comforts of the oil boom would have been assured. Moreover, its efforts to establish itself as ‘the No.1 newspaper’ in Trinidad would have had to embrace efforts to beat the major competitor (the Guardian) with perhaps the quality and authenticity of its reporting (preferably through on-the-spot coverage). Recall that the Guardian also dispatched a reporter to Grenada.

Other stories on that fifth day included, in the Guardian ‘Why Caribbean plan failed’ (which had been carried in the Weekend Nation of March 16), ‘Jamaica Cabinet to get report’ which was preempted by the Sunday Gleaner’s report above, and ‘Civil servants pledge loyalty’ which announced the support of the Civil Service Association in Grenada for the revolutionary government. Others included ‘Coup seen as WI disaster’ which told of the view expressed in an editorial in the Labour Spokesman, the arm of the ruling Labour Party in St. Kitts - 'the Grenada coup is a terrible disaster for the Caribbean.' ‘Ban on flights lifted’ referred to St. Vincent’s Government’s lifting of the ban on IAS flights, and UWI forum to be held on Tuesday referred to a discussion forum to be held by the University of the West Indies’ Student’s Guild at the Trinidad campus. These several other stories were CANA contributions.

In the Sunday Advocate-News other stories included one in which the Opposition Democratic Labour Party (DLP) in Barbados criticized the Government there for not recognizing the new Grenada Government, and the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for not broadcasting statements made by the Opposition Leader. The article quoted a statement from the DLP which read in part:

The DLP believes that recognition should not be an issue at this stage and cannot understand why the Barbados Government should appear to be afraid to recognize the new regime.

Another, ‘Gairy placed order for arms’, referred to evidence unearthed that the deposed Prime Minister had placed ‘a mass arms order to an Anglo-American firm and may only have been awaiting delivery’ as stated by ‘NJM sources’ (CANA, March 17). A quite detailed story under the leading ‘ECCM Ministers to discuss Grenada coup’ and written by the paper’s reporter addressed and editorialized somewhat about the ‘likely’ meeting in Antigua the following Tuesday. The story also

19. The exact criteria were not identified in mention of the Advertising Agencies Association’s report in the newspaper’s 1988 anniversary issue.

(Footnote continued)
focused on the opposition of this group toward the new regime, and outlined the view expressed in the Labour Spokesman's editorial article. The last story noted that Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados, in reacting to a statement by the DLP, stated (March 17) 'that his Government was in contact with Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana, as well as the heads of Government of Britain, the United States and other Caribbean countries in an effort to coordinate a policy on this (Grenada) issue.' Paragraph two, the last, advised that DLP that the Prime Minister would not be 'hurried by the "opportunistic vapourings of the" DLP.

It is useful to touch briefly on the Gleaner's second story 'CARICOM: businessmen want urgent meeting' which referred to a call made specifically by the President of the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ), Carlton Alexander at the centenary celebrations of the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Port of Spain, and reported by CANA. Also carried in part in the Sunday Guardian, the story quoted Alexander as calling for an 'urgent meeting of heads of government in the region' (para.5). Earlier in the story it was noted that he "took the opportunity to urge Caricom member governments to adopt a mixed-economy system' which would help in solving some of the problems associated with regional trade. This is raised to somehow illustrate the background of the 'patriotic capitalists', a category in which Alexander could have placed for sometime in the 1970s. However, analysis based on that concept would be quite problematic regarding the last stages of the PNP/Manley regime when even these capitalists dissented but also when the administration had only returned belatedly to prioritize the needs of the labouring masses in Jamaica. Although the so-called 'op-ed' page was not part of the portfolio of this study, it is noteworthy that a story on page 13, of the Sunday Guardian (March 18) indicated private sector support in the CANA story headlined 'GRENADA CHAMBER BACKS NJM'. A statement said to have been issued by Mr. Geoffrey Thompson, President of the Chamber of Commerce read in part:

I do believe that the new government is sincere in its intention to hold free and fair elections as soon as possible. If that is the case, then I am confident that the democratic process will ensure that the views of all sectional interests, including the commercial sector, will be truly and fully represented...

I do not anticipate any worrying changes in the methods and patterns of business...

That illustrates to some extent the private sector expectations which, as we observed in an earlier chapter, were not unfounded in that the methods and patterns of business were not fundamentally shifted by the new regime. However, later in the revolutionary programme the business sector did not view the situation as having lived up to its expectations, and this was complicated by the fact that 'free and fair elections' were not held.

By the 19th, the sixth day of coverage of the Grenada situation the story had not receded entirely from the front pages of the various newspapers. However, only one newspaper retained it as the lead item. The Guardian of the 19th could not be located for examination. The Advocate-News

20 (continued)
20 ECCM - Eastern Caribbean Common Market countries were then Dominica, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Vincent and St. Kitts.

21 Recall that the Nation then, 1979, was only published on Wednesday's and Fridays - 14th and 16th March.
headed its lead story 'Bishop: Aim is to create more jobs' with a ruled secondary heading - 'Priorities outlined'. Bishop was responding to newsmen's queries and generally elaborated on plans for the economy in terms of aspects to be emphasized. However, he was asked by CANA about the failure of the attempt to put the Government on a constitutional footing (in a suggested plan from the Barbados meeting), and explained in essence that two key Cabinet Ministers under the Gairy regime laid down too many demands for their cooperation. That option was therefore abandoned. On the surface of it, this story could be viewed as a relatively innocuous one in terms of Advocate-News treatment. However, the fact of the CANA correspondent putting the question about constitutionality raises the possibility of the news agency and the newspaper which gave such prominence to its story participating by force of events and by inclination, in reproducing the 'unconstitutionality' frame and thereby contributing to delegitimation of the NJM takeover. The 'Radix named envoy' story which appeared in some other papers on the previous day was the only other story about the Grenada coup. The Gleaner's only Grenada story on the front page (continuation on page 13) with the headline 'Grenada's new leader aims to lower cost of living and increase jobs', was, for several of its earlier paragraphs almost identical to the Advocate-News'. The differences, although apparently small, were not insignificant. In paragraphs 1-8 in which structure and content were fairly uniform, the five references to the new Prime Minister's name stopped at 'Bishop' and in the first instance, 'Maurice Bishop' whereas three references to the former Prime Minister took the form of 'Sir Eric Gairy' in one instance and 'Sir Eric' and 'Gairy' in the other two. The Advocate-News, by comparison, had an almost clean slate on 'politeness' with the appropriate 'Mr/s' and 'Sir/s' - the only exception being the 'Maurice Bishop' at the very start of the text.

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The Grenada story - located around the centre of the lower half of the page, was subordinated for the day to a number of other stories by virtue of this positioning, but particularly by the Gleaner's lead story headlined 'Senga sees crawling peg Communism here' (main heading) with the ruled secondary headline 'THIRD ROUTE TO COMMUNISM ESTABLISHED'. The Gleaner, in that lead story highlighted the views of the JLP's Leader which projected the governing PNP as sliding into 'Communism' and 'totalitarianism'. The detailed story broken graphically by sub-headings 'MARRIAGE', 'LIKE CASTRO', 'POLITICAL FORCE' and 'SIGNPOSTS' - by direct quotations from Seaga's speech, for instance - saw a 'marriage' between the PNP and one of Jamaica's communist parties (the WPJ). Reference has been drawn partly to illustrate the Gleaner's position and in a more minute way to point to how the JLP Opposition Leader was treated. An initial reference - the very start of the first sentence - stated 'Opposition Leader Edward Seaga' while the seven other mentions of the JLP Leader by name on page one referred to 'Mr. Seaga'. The first reference might be seen as universally acceptable in journalistic circles and is therefore not in question. The others, could be viewed against 'Bishop' in the Grenada story. The latter could be taken as one of the indices on which the Gleaner, through a sub-editor, chief sub or the editor, withdrew legitimacy from an unfavoured leader and/or the set of arrangements with which that leader was identified. It is useful to bear in mind too that a fairly widely accepted practice in 'liberal' journalism is that of removing an arrested man's or woman's title of Mr. or Miss/Mrs. sometimes at the point of first report, and then assuredly upon conviction of a crime in all subsequent references.

Let us return to the other sections of the Grenada stories of the Gleaner and Advocate-News. Briefly, whereas the Advocate-News credited CANA, the Gleaner credited Reuter-CANA. This probably explains why the two stories varied in content after paragraph eight.
The Advocate-News continued by outlining reasons given by Bishop in response to a CANA query for the failure of 'a Caribbean plan for constitutionalising the Grenada coup' while the Gleaner broke into the detail that 'A number of West Indian newspapers have commented editorially on the Grenada situation', and added various quotations.

Recall that the Nation did not appear again for the rest of the period under consideration. Grenada did not, however, disappear from the front-page. There were three stories on the page. The Grenada item - the fourth in terms of news comprised a large photograph of two men with rifles and one apparently long-haired. The caption, headed 'ON PATROL', read:

This 'dread lock' (at right), a member of Maurice Bishop's revolutionary army, on patrol in St. George's.

An associated note referred the reader to pages 2, 3, and 18. The second man was not identified as anything. Indeed, the caption informed the reader of one person in the picture - no one else. What 'elevated' the 'dread lock' was his status as a 'dread lock', a symbol of the protest variant of the Rastafarian cult (with origins in Jamaica) embodying resistance to the dominant culture and ruling class oppression of the masses. Some strands of conservative opinion in the Caribbean, which have on occasion been expressed in some of the major newspapers, view the cult as aberrant, if not despicable. A strident Guardian editorial, referred to later in this chapter, confirms this. Beyond the general constraints of the news production process, one possible interpretation or a part of the meaning of the specific identification of this 'dread lock' could have been related to an 'active' desire on the part of the Express or its editorial principals to represent or label - through the category of the 'dreadlock' - the insurrection and the revolutionary process in Grenada as an undesirable process.

Hartley's note that news photographs 'play a crucial role in the construction of meanings for a story - partly because of their apparently "unarguable" rendition of the world' (1982: 181) comes to mind. Hall (1973b), working closely with Barthes' (1973) analysis, notes that: 'News photos witness to the actuality of the event they represent...Photographs of people...also support this function of grounding and witnessing...Choosing "this moment of an event" rather than another', 'this person rather than that', 'this angle rather than any other, indeed the selection of this photographed incident to represent a whole complex chain of events and meaning, is a highly ideological procedure' (1973b: 241). Hall further explains:

But, by appearing literally to reproduce the event as it really happened, news photos suppress their selective/ interpretive/ ideological function. They seek a warrant in that ever pre-given, neutral structure, which is beyond question, beyond interpretation: the 'real world'. At this level, news photos not only support the credibility of the newspaper as an accurate medium. They also guarantee and underwrite its objectivity (that is, the neutralize its ideological function). This 'ideology of objectivity' itself derives from one of the most profound myths in the liberal ideology: the absolute distinction between fact and value, the distinction which appears as a common-sense 'rule' in newspaper practice as 'the distinction between facts and interpretation': the empiricist illusion, the utopia of

22Shifting news values for the Express displaced the leading position of the Grenada story - with a front-page lead by reporter Ric Mentus dealing with 'GOVT, BANKS HEADING FOR SHOWDOWN' concerning the Government's criticism of banks over their somewhat liberal lending policies for 'consumer-oriented projects' - the Government desiring more to go to the productive sector.

23The picture was by Hubert Alexander, apparently the newspaper's photographer, or a freelancer.

The selection of the 'dreadlock' in the Grenada overthrow was in part conscious ideological structuring, the 'dreadlock' in reality having political-ideological, economic and social significance. Moreover, the later closure (Oct. 1979) of the Grenada Torchlight (Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. having been one of the owners) was partly sparked by the newspaper's highlighting what its agents perceived to have been a conflict between the PRG and some rastafarians.

The final day of coverage in the period under study saw two stories given fair prominence on the Gleaner's front page under the headlines 'US says no to Gairy' and 'Jagan disappointed with Caribbean govs.', with the first story (Reuter-CANA) directly above the latter. The first was a negative answer from the US State Department to Gairy regarding his request for military aid, supported by other background information such as the Revolutionary's Government's wish to have Gairy extradited. The second was a paraphrased and detailed story from Guyana's Marxist People's Political Party (PPP) Opposition Leader, Cheddi Jagan expressing disappointment about the lethargy of Caribbean governments in failing to come out with a statement in support of the Revolutionary Government.

The Guardian published four front-page stories but temporarily, at least, the Grenada story was subordinated by another lead.^^

The story on the Grenada Chamber of Commerce's support was in essence dealt with earlier in a page 13 story of the Guardian of the 18th. In the case of the Guardian it was written by reporter Pilgrim from Grenada and headlined 'Grenada chamber gives nod'. Adjacent to that story was 'US says "no" to Gairy' from Reuter-CANA in Washington and headed by a picture of 'Sir Eric Gairy'. Of the other two stories, one headlined 'GYANA READY TO RECOGNIZE BISHOP' was placed lower on the page. Whereas that was a CANA story, the other - of approximately three column inches - further down (and by Pilgrim) was about a 'Victory rally in Market Square', St. George's, Grenada that day and organized by the Revolutionary Government.

The Advocate-News of March 20 did not entirely neglect the Grenada story but its importance for the front page was minimized. A six-inch story informed of a 'CCL meeting today' in reference to an emergency meeting of the Barbados-based Caribbean Congress of Labour (a regional trade union forum) in Barbados which would 'look specifically at the situation in Grenada, including a request for recognition by the new Revolutionary Government under Maurice Bishop.' A slightly smaller item at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the page was titled 'Forde to attend WISA meeting'. WISA - the West Indies Associated States - is a group of smaller Eastern Caribbean states which would hold its meeting on the 20th, as stated earlier, and Forde was Barbados' Foreign Minister. The story concluded on the note that a Department of External Affairs' 'spokesman told journalists that Sir Eric Gairy's ...Party (GULP)...would attempt to sit as the official representatives of Grenada' and that informed sources expected Derek Knight [on the NJM's 'most wanted' list] to arrive for the meeting. All this can be viewed as the components of a fairly 'innocuous' and 'objective' story, and a local Cabinet Minister (Forde) attending a meeting, of that nature, and at

^^The substance of this replacement lead revolved around criticism of the Trinidad Government by poultry processors and hatchery owners for a poultry glut on the market: 'GOVT HIT FOR POULTRY GLUT'.

24
that time, in a Barbados national newspaper. Indeed, and on the other hand, following on earlier assessments in our analysis it also points to some extent at the further consolidation of what had been crystallizing as a camp opposed to the Revolutionary Government. It is a process from which the press cannot be seriously viewed as having been detached, but the press' participation as we have noted, was one, not only of reproducing the views of the powerful and wealthy (people and institutions) but acting also as conscious purveyors of views/policy positions preferred by newspaper principals (this latter less overt in news) and thereby delegitimizing new and significant attempts at political and social transformation.

Almost 60 per cent of the Express' March 20 front-page was devoted to the Grenada situation in two stories, the lead story and that involving a comment from the Grenada Chamber of Commerce. The banner lead headline and secondary heading accounted for just over half of the total column inches allocated to Grenada and read 'JAMAICA, GUYANA POISED... (secondary heading) RECOGNITION ANY DAY NOW'. The story was essentially a composite of rehashed materials and snippets of new material based on Jamaica's and Guyana's expected announcement following the WISA meeting with CANA being credited for obtaining information about when the Guyana announcement was likely to be made. It was largely an interpretive piece rather than one of evident advocacy. The second and shorter story 'Hands off, warns G'da Chamber' from Keith Smith (political reporter) outlined a strong statement issued by an extra-ordinary meeting of the Chamber and stating, in part, that it was

categorically opposed to any form of intervention into Grenada's internal affairs [on the part of both] Caribbean neighbours and the world community...

This sort of commitment was strongly qualified by the statement through the Express, which related that it 'remained a non-political, non-partisan organization' and,

...as is our custom, we should cooperate with the government of Grenada in measures designed to promote social and economic justice.

It is not clear what might have been the parameters of such justice.

In the next section - in dealing with editorial articles, and to a lesser extent ancilliary items - we enter into what can be fairly categorically as the views of the newspapers and their principals.

9.4 'Where we stand': editorials and the editorial page

The editorial column contains 'our' views and it is in such a column that we are likely to find a newspaper's commitment. Who reads the editorial column is also a very important factor. Surveys have shown that it does not necessarily have a wide readership, or as wide a readership as news pages. However, more important and fundamental at this level of analysis is the class and/or status, or social-structural position of the audience rather than its absolute numerical strength. In a sense this is a parallel of the arguments touched on in Chapter Five about wealthy advertisers and the less consequential in newspaper economics, and readership of a 'quality' newspaper rather than the

25 See Appendix 22 for a summary of editorial articles and tendency. See also Appendix 23 for the dates and the numbers of editorial articles published.
'popular' gossipy/saucy type, although the picture is not necessarily as tidy as it is on paper.

Editorials generally present for us a clearer pointer to the stance of a newspaper than straight news items as we emphasized in Chapter Eight. Of course, it is unnecessary to dispute that at certain junctures of heightened political-ideological polarization and in particular instances the demarcation between editorials and other genres (features, commentary, etc.), on the one hand and news, on the other, are likely to be increasingly blurred. Editorialized or interpretive news, advocacy journalism, and the nuances of the weekly paper (e.g., arriving later than dailies with the news), work to reduce the gap whereas the general editorial in tending to be less overtly committed may contribute to that process of narrowing differences in evident commitment. Nevertheless, editorials admittedly project the newspaper's views in at least a broad sense whereas other items on the editorial page (and op-ed page) may or may not represent such views - a factor which is often clarified by papers in a small separate note within the column.

Table 9(ii): Headlines for editorial articles on Grenada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEADLINE</th>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14/3/79 The coup has arrived</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/3/79 The coup on our doorstep</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/3/79 A dangerous precedent</td>
<td>Express</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/3/79 Cause of anxiety for Caribbean</td>
<td>Advocate-News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/3/79 Lessons from St. George’s</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/3/79 Bishop has abundance of goodwill</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/3/79 Grenada coup and its implications</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18/3/79 No tears for Gairy, no cheers for Bishop</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/3/79 WI islands must learn a lesson from Grenada</td>
<td>Express</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/3/79 ECCM to face up to Grenada coup</td>
<td>Advocate-News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/3/79 The PNP and Communism</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Addressing the question of editorial articles is made somewhat simpler than in the handling of news by virtue of such variations as well as, at least, the subjective admittance and location of what are specifically their views by newspapers and their principals. The primary assumption here was that the newspapers would have, for the most part challenged the NJM and Bishop from the point of view of being generally opposed to the manner of accession to power and/or the implications (the break with parliamentary democracy - Will there be elections? etc.). Table 9(ii) offers some details of the timing of publication of editorials. Altogether, eleven editorial items were published - two in each paper, excepting the Advocate which carried three. The papers operated uniformly on the first day of coverage in that they all published an editorial article. Based on the discussion in the previous chapter, and at a narrower level of analysis than will be evidenced in the broader ensuing discussion, there were eleven editorials on Grenada of which nine were opposed to the PRG. Of these, five were 'campaigning' and four took the 'balancing' if not 'objectivity' route to condemning the regime. The two exceptions were from the Nation. One of these was 'cautiously supportive' and the other, 'critically supportive'. It will be recalled from extracts of interviews in Chapter Seven that at least one interviewee admitted that the Nation supported the Revolutionary Government from the outset. As a general rule, headlines as listed in Table 9(ii) are brief when

26 Recall also that the Guardian of the 19th is absent from calculations.
compared with those for straight news.

Newspaper editorials, as a general rule, are often based on or derived from the lead or most prominent news/front-page story of the day. The number of editorial articles and dates are outlined in Table 9(iii). The Gleaner merely informed the reader in its headline that 'The coup has arrived'. By itself and without further examination of the content and the perception of what coup d'états represented, the headline would be of limited ideological significance. In the summary, however the paper continued to inform the reader that the Gairy government had been 'accused' of 'corruption...Governmental terror...and other misdeeds' but that he might have lost in the next elections. 'Mr. Bishop and his colleagues were impatient.' Moreover, 'we' believe in democracy, and 'deeply regret the coup, or the more picturesque "golpe" of Latin America...for this is the method of Communist or right-wing dictatorships.'

In no uncertain terms the newspaper also informed the PNP Government what it had to do, and must sacrifice a friendship if necessary:

The Jamaican Government which has been overt in its friendship to the New Jewel Movement, will have to choose between that friendship, and what must be a principled objection to the unconstitutional overthrow of a lawfully elected Government, and the right of a people to determine their own form and style of Government. It is an unenviable dilemma.

That last-paragraph conclusion was fairly self-explanatory in telling us where the Gleaner and its principals stood with regard to the prevailing political arrangements and pointed, along with the general orientation in the article, to a tendency opposed to the NJM and the sort of administration it seemed likely to establish.

To reiterate, articles apart from editorials addressing the specific issue at hand, were not intended to be core elements in the study but it is useful to glance at them in passing. The second of the two editorial articles - this one not about Grenada - decried those who the paper viewed as 'pro-Moscow Communists' through its headline 'Stop the brainwashing!' for having 'captured' certain words of the English language (e.g., imperialism) and 'polluted' them. It expressed concern that "Dr. Trevor Munroe’s" small group of Communists had 'infiltrated the electronic and printed media' and that 'increasingly the subversion of our own style of democracy is being carried out almost with our apathetic consent.' It also called on the PNP Government to demonstrate its 'claimed' 'non-Communist' stance by stopping the 'shameless indoctrination of our young by the Communists. It is time that Dr. Munroe and his group are told clearly that the Jamaican people did not vote to be anti-U.S.A., and to be pro-Russian Communist.'

The Gleaner has generally advised at the end of its editorial columns, in standard wording for each issue:

OPINIONS on this page, except for those in the editorials above, do not necessarily reflect the views of the GLEANER.

27 General Secretary, WPJ.
Sometimes, a clear coincidence exists between views expressed in a newspaper's editorial columns and those in other items on the editorial page. This was not unusual in the case of major Caribbean newspapers in this study. In one column, 'Of this and that - by Colin Gregory', the author pointed out that the Government had turned down the Gleaner Company's application to operate a radio station. Some of his comments are worth quoting at length:

You should realize that in Jamaica it is only the few who get information or news from the printed word; for the vast majority this has to be by word of mouth, either from the neighbour or from the radio. So, can you imagine the present government - well, let's call them the party in power because they aim more at keeping that power rather than governing...

When we think of his 'few' we also have to bear in mind that the Gleaner Company usually multiplies listed circulation by five or six to arrive at readership levels. However, the central point here is that a newspaper's stance on issues, in this case, political and social arrangements as expressed in editorial columns is generally likely to find considerable support from other content on the pages. At critical junctures the unity of the editorial page content is at least potentially increased.

Table 9(iii): Number of editorial articles (and other items) making direct reference to developments in Grenada, by paper, 14/3/79 - 20/3/79.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wed., 14/3/79</th>
<th>GLEANER</th>
<th>GUARDIAN</th>
<th>EXPRESS</th>
<th>ADVOCATE</th>
<th>NATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thurs., 15/3/79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri., 16/3/79</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat., 17/3/79</td>
<td>- (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun., 18/3/79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., 19/3/79</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (1)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues., 20/3/79</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (6)</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>11 (16)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The Guardian for the 19th was unavailable, and it is not clear that it was published on that day.

The Guardian informed readers through its headline for the editorial of the 14th, of 'The coup at our doorstep'. Noting that 'Sir Eric' had 'flatly refused to heed the warnings of the West Indian Press, this newspaper among them, that he should mend his ways', the editorial referred to his 'excesses' but in somewhat bizarre contradiction stated that he had 'unquestionably received an electoral mandate to rule.' [Emphasis added] However, the appeal which he said he had made to the United Kingdom and the United States 'to send troops to restore democracy...would represent a return...
to colonial servitude' (paras. 3-7). 'The future is frightening and clouded' (para. 8), and one

must be left with the distinct fear that the West Indian family has entered the age of the
coup - not a heart-warming prospect.
Sir Eric...has told interviewers that his opponents have never intended to come to power
by the ballot.
This charge is one that, whatever happens, the new regime will have to work to disprove
to the world, if it truly desires the respect of free men anywhere (paras. 14-16 - last
three paras.).

Seeping through the editorial is a disapproval not only of the manner of change but of the fact that the
sort of stability and democracy 'we' have been used to, was disrupted - it would have been better to
retain Gairy, even though 'for a decade' he had flatly refused to heed warnings from the Press. For
the Guardian the new arrangements had dangerous implications.

Consistent with what the Chief Executive stated in the 1988 interview about a belief in the
free enterprise system, immediately below the editorial the Guardian published an article about a
Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce (CAIC) meeting to be held that day as a part of the
highlights of the centenary of the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce.
Immediately below that was an advertisement about three times the size of the article. The
advertisement by McEnearney Business Machines invited applications for sales staff. At the top of
the page, occupying the largest proportion of column inches and placed laterally adjacent to the
editorial was an article headlined 'Caribbean business code needed'. It contained the final part of the
text of a talk given on March 6 by the CAIC's past president.

The Express, in unison with the its older counterparts above called the new situation in
Grenada, through its headline, 'A dangerous precedent'. It stated much the same but its style was
emphatic. It wanted no misunderstanding:

Let us make our position perfectly clear.
We are against armed revolution. We do not support the violent overthrow of any
democratically elected government, anywhere in the world and particularly in the
Commonwealth Caribbean. (paras. 1-2).

The editorial expressed the hope that the region's first coup would be 'an isolated case' and that this
phenomenon would not 'assume epidemic proportions in a region noted for its political stability'
(para. 11). As the editorial stated, there was 'no substitute for democracy, for open government,
for involving the people in the political process, for governing according to the rules'; and 'Bishop
might well understand...that he, too, is vulnerable to determined attack...' (paras. 12-13, 15-16).
The warning in the short one-sentence concluding paragraph (para. 17) pointed to the Express as
seeing the new regime with a wrong footing and a precarious future, when added to Bishop's
assumed 'vulnerability': 'That is not the way to run a country in good or bad times.'

The Express further adorned its editorial page with a large, cartoon to the right-hand
side of the editorial and this centred on a distressed and tearful Gairy seated in a symbolic
representation of a UFO with a Martian travelling partner, and military artillery aimed at the object.

29 Like Trinidad Publishing (publishers of the Guardian), a sister subsidiary of the parent
conglomerate, McEnearney Alstons.
The brief caption read ‘Beep! Beep! UFO 1 to Mars. It’s okay: Eric’s safe and sound.’ While holding up Gairy to ridicule in this sense, it illustrated some degree of aggression towards him, a factor implied in the editorial. In the first of five brief columns (‘AROUND THE TOWN’) by Holden Caulfield^*^ between March 14 and 20, two of which skirted the Grenada political situation, pointed to some editorial autonomy although, as we learnt in an earlier chapter, this editor himself was not free of Board level prescriptions. His last two paragraphs read: ‘I was one who would not have minded if the Williams dream of a Trinidad Tobago-Grenada unitary state had come true after the break up of the West Indies Federation.[para 1] But like most things of the kind, this was a politician’s ploy. Grenada had to go it alone and throw up Gairy.’ An earlier paragraph indicated the circumscription of whatever autonomy he would have had in part to ‘transgress’ beyond his paper’s position on the revolution, and legal considerations. He alerted his ‘one or two readers’ that he had ‘no advance knowledge, no whisper in the ear, no suggestion, no communication even hinting that armed revolution was about to take place.’ Indeed, the reference to Gairy and the Federation was perhaps deliberately oblique as an avenue through which to avoid any internal conflict from ‘the powers that be’.

‘Cause of anxiety for Caribbean’ was the headline with which the Advocate-News led the reader into its treatise of what its writer(s) evidently perceived as a drama, from a first paragraph which had a fairly familiar ring:

The dramatic early morning overthrow of the Gairy Administration in Grenada, can be taken as a warning to us all.

Like the other newspapers, the Advocate-News referred to Gairy’s ‘excesses’ but in some respects had more breadth than the others. Whereas the other papers emphasized the sub-region (‘Commonwealth Caribbean’ - the local-regional in this study - that newspaper went beyond merely the idea of the first coup to mention that it was ‘the third revolution in the islands’, the others being the Toussaint L’Ouverture-led effort which ‘broke the power of the French in Haiti, and the later overthrow of ‘the unpopular Batista regime’ in Cuba under the leadership of Fidel Castro (para. 4).

With all that, the Grenada situation was one which invoked ‘mixed feelings’ because the reports suggested that ‘it was the Official Opposition in Parliament that revolted to overthrow a legally constituted Government’ (para. 5).

The editorial also followed up on the early 1970s unrest in Grenada. It drew parallels between the absence of Gairy at the time of the coup with the situations of NKrumah (Ghana), Gowon (Nigeria), and Obote (Uganda), and expressed the view that the ‘presence of the established leader would have provided a rallying point and circumstances might have eventuated differently’ (para. 12). It pointed, for instance to the poverty, inflation and unemployment in which Grenada and some of the other islands were enmeshed. Importantly, it was concerned about the overthrow of the ‘legally constituted Government’, and noted that along with the social and economic crisis that:

...Furthermore, the Caribbean territories suffer from the ‘monkey see, monkey do’ syndrome. Whatever fad or reaction springs up in one territory the temptation to copy is strong...It is this we must guard against (last para.).

30. The pen name for the then Editor, George John as he mentioned when I interviewed him on the 26/2/88.
It was in this sort of context that the new regime in Grenada was to be viewed as inappropriate. The Advocate-News utilized more words to arrive at basically the same conclusion and recall that this was against a background of being slower off the mark than the Nation in getting to the location.31

The editorial on the relevant page of the Nation of the 14th addressed the problem of the 'super test' but more specifically published a cartoon, similarly placed as in the Advocate-News but with an immaculately dressed Gairy of quite relaxed countenance enjoying a cocktail while seated in sumptuous surroundings - perhaps in New York - which we infer from the sketch of skyscrapers in the background. A waiter enters to present what appears to be a bill on the tray with the note '13th March 1979 To Sir Eric Gairy'. The waiter asks 'Mr. Gairy, did you know that your government has been overthrown?' [Emphasis original]. Reply: 'By what? A U.F.O.? There is ridicule of Gairy and an indication of the sort of lifestyle with which he was associated.

The brief front-page comment itself - treated as the Grenada editorial - pointed to Gairy's 'faults' while stating in essence that there had been an overthrow, identifying the key personalities and location (paras. 1-3). The Nation appeared to be no supporter of Gairy but would apparently have been more comfortable with a less catastrophic change of circumstances. After those introductory paragraphs, it chose to be cautious:

Whatever may have been his faults - and there were many and grievous - the events of yesterday have opened a new and chilling chapter in the history of the English-speaking Caribbean.

It would not be fair to say that the gun has replaced the ballot box in Grenada, for free and fair elections have been promised.

Irresponsible elements in some islands may now interpret this event as a signal to challenge the democratic process. This would be most unfortunate.

As the coming hours the rest of the Caribbean will be watching the events in the Isle of Spice with more than passing interest. There will be lessons in it for all of us (paras. 4-9).

After the first day, the Grenada story lost its place in the editorial columns. Intolerable. Caribbean newspapers do exhibit experiences of this sort but it not part of the brief of this thesis to enrich the point with examples.

On March 15, the Express published a cartoon on the editorial page with Gairy kneeling in prayer as ever devoted to his UFOs. A threatening or accusing finger is pointed at him. A book with what appeared to read 'Gairy UFO' was in front of him. The editorial column was essentially expressing the importance of the Chamber of Commerce and the business sector on the occasion of the Trinidad and Tobago's Chamber's centenary. The newspaper's support for that sector was acutely summed up in the concluding paragraph:

The years ahead are not going to be easy for anybody. But the business community is ideally placed to play its part in the creation of a Trinidad and Tobago national ethic.

Among other papers, the Advocate-News kept the story alive as far as editorial page

31Moreover, the Kensington Oval in Barbados was the scene of the 'disgusting and unusual demonstration of missile throwing that halted play twice in four days in the recently abandoned Super Test' [cricket] (editorial, March 15: 4 - not about Grenada).
treatment was concerned. There were two items. A detailed, and perhaps hastily written column (author not identified) under the title 'The bitter feud that led to revolution' was the largest item (in terms of column inches) on the page. It was accompanied by photographs of Gairy (top) and Bishop (below), the headline was drawn from the first few paragraphs, which referred to the killing of Bishop's father and the physical hostility meted out to Maurice Bishop himself.

A more ideologically significant pointer was a prominent letter on the same page headlined 'The door is wide open for Cuba' from a letter writer identified and situated as 'Candida Cange, United States of America'. In the first paragraph the writer referred to 18 new MIG-23 aircraft being given to Cuba by the Soviets '...93 miles off United States shores. But Cuba is much closer to the shores of Barbados and much more vulnerable, since the United States[s'] Naval Base is being dismantled...'. The penultimate and last paragraphs stated in part that '[o]ur God-given freedom is very precious...It behoves everyone of us, no matter where we are, to take preventive measures and take our forewarning seriously.'

The _Gleaner_ itself substantiated our own assessment of views in editorials somewhat, by providing a composite piece spanning the top of its foreign page (page 7) of March 15 with a headline to match in terms of expanse: 'Carib. editors regret method used to topple Gairy's Govt.' The first segment in the 'composite' had a Port-of-Spain dateline and included the Guardian and Express, whereas the others were from Bridgetown (Barbados) - Advocate-News and _Nation_, and St. John's (Antigua) respectively. All segments were from CANA. The last is interesting. It was from the opposition Leader who felt that the overthrow had 'not only removed a clever and long-time performer from the political stage', according to CANA, but also had 'a dangerous dimension in the politics of the Commonwealth Caribbean'.

The next editorial column in any of the major papers was that in the _Nation_ of March 16: 'BISHOP HAS ABUNDANCE OF GOODWILL'. This could be viewed as a balanced but supportive piece. The reference in the headline concerned mainly what the paper perceived as goodwill for the new Leader, Maurice Bishop 'not only in the Caribbean, but in the outside world' (para. 1). The article pointed to some of the sources of such goodwill, and of recognition:

'It is this newspaper[s'] view that there is a case for recognition of the new regime; but the only difficulty relates to timing. From all reports, it seems that there has been no local resistance to the coup...(par. 8).

The _Nation_ thus, in a very pragmatic sense cleared the way for existence of an NJM administration. However, that clearing of the path did not represent an open cheque, but a cautious assessment of the realities. For the _Nation_ too, Bishop should 'immediately abandon the brash talk of his salad days.' He should also 'rethink his theoretical concepts of five years ago for village councils and the like' and his 'first task' was 'to co-operate with his many well-wishers at home and abroad in an effort to give acceptable status to his administration.' Moreover:

'The young leader must also adopt a pragmatic approach to the problems of Grenada. There must be fundamental changes, but the changes must not be so sudden as to dissipate the goodwill...

...His public utterances have been a model of good sense and growing maturity. If he continues as he has begun, he will win the support, admiration and respect of good men everywhere.
This was a cautiously supportive editorial and one which argued for gradualism. If we were to accept the categorization of editorial articles into about two types noted by Hall and his colleagues (1978), we would have to see this as a third type or the composite type which not only expressed the newspaper’s view but spoke for the nation (Grenada and Grenadians), for region, and in doing so was exhortive and prescriptive in terms of a perceived correct path for political and social change.

Apart from the editorial, the Nation published a column - PURELY POLITICAL - by Albert Braudford who wrote under the headline ‘TIMELY WARNING’. The ‘lessons-for-us’ theme arising from the papers was pursued within various countries in the local-regional arena and the sort of potential for a repeat of the Grenada overthrow concerned many ruling elements. The first two paragraphs stated: ‘There is general agreement that Tuesday’s events in Grenada hold important political lessons for all concerned in the rest of the Caribbean. Perhaps, the most important of these is a direct warning to the leaders of oppressive governments who seek to govern by might rather than right...’ Even though the ring of the article would tend to suggest support of the Grenada process, in effect closer reading raised scepticism.

Whereas only the Nation published an editorial about Grenada on March 16, the Advocate-News published a leading letter on that day which is significant. Headlined ‘As Grenada goes, so goes the rest of the Caribbean’, the letter emphasized the newspaper’s expressed concern in its March 14 editorial about the ‘strong’ temptation to copy (repeated in the March 15 editorial - e.g., ‘Barbadians are noted copyists’ - on the disturbance/unrest at the Oval in Barbados. The letters column in a newspaper supposedly represents the people’s views, but this is problematic as we noted in the discussion in an earlier chapter. The specific letter attracting our attention here was the lead letter, which had a headline in larger type than the editorial’s, and was at least twice as long as any of the other five letters for the day and half as long as the parallel and immediately adjacent editorial. The first paragraph left little doubt as to the author’s commitment:

Like him or not, Sir Eric Gairy was elected by a democratic process while his revolutionary opponent, Maurice Bishop has never been able to muster a voting majority for his Communist-leaning “New Jewel Movement.” Thus the present take-over by the Cuban-trained Moscow led NJM does not in any way reflect the democratic process which we in the Caribbean have been so proud [of] for so many years. (para. 1).

The writer, identified only as ‘Commentator’, implied in succeeding paragraphs that major Western powers were neglecting their responsibility if they failed to offer security against the threat. The writer could have been anyone from Gairy (who stopped over in Barbados on his way to New York, and based on rapidity with which the letter - not a news story - got into print, March 16) to anyone of like views in Barbados. In the last paragraph of the piece, a possible solution to the problem as that writer saw it, was outlined in the concluding paragraph:

The only hope to prevent more such “coup d’état[”] or revolutions is to field an effective Caribbean Task Force of trained counter-revolutionaries. But when will this happen?... (paras. 7).

We must move on. The idea of a task force was conscientiously pursued both in the revolutionary years and subsequently by the US ruling class and allies in the Caribbean.

The next in our list of editorials was also published by the Advocate-News (March 17). Following what appears to have been a general tendency, the newspaper again had one long and
detailed editorial piece - 'Grenada coup and its implications'. The paper continued to be perplexed at the implications and felt that an NJM government ‘could well find its greatest challenge not in the steps it took to seize power, but rather in controlling the course of the revolution’ (para. 1). Whereas we could view that as somewhat prescient, we see the two factors as inextricably intertwined, and, that it would be a near futile exercise to attempt to project the ascendancy of one over the other. There was, the paper felt, a basis for discomfort, even though commentators ‘might seek to reassure many that the case of Grenada is not common to the region’, and that ‘no string of governments’ would be ‘knocked over.’ There was ‘no Eric Gairy’ in Trinidad ‘and yet we seem to forget how close a rebellion there nearly succeeded some nine years ago’ (paras. 3-4). The build-up in these comments and the tone echoed the style and sentiments of the Advocate’s Managing Editor on which we were alerted in a previous chapter.

Recognition too ‘is not...a big issue’ (recall the official position of the Barbados Government);

What will matter more is the direction the revolution will take in Grenada. Are we going to have people’s trials? And if so what, if any role, could the West Indies Associated Supreme Court be expected to play in these?

Furthermore, could this Court function effectively in an atmosphere where people have not yet put down their guns? When will the country get back to the ballot box?

...The severest tests of the revolution lie ahead (last three paras. - 9-11).

That editorial was ‘cautiously balanced’ at the journalistic level and ‘oppositional’ (i.e., to the overthrow) at the political-ideological level, and took the over-arching ‘dangerous-precedent never mind Gairy’s faults’ sort of stance common to four of the newspapers in this study. In sum, the editorial appeared to state that ‘we’ ourselves were vulnerable, and this arrangement should be set right, and a prompt return to the ballot box would be appropriately reassuring.

The Guardian and the Express returned to the editorial page debate with editorials on March 18. The Guardian through its headline had ‘No tears for Gairy, no cheers for Bishop’. Whatever implied ‘balance’ might be derived from that headline, was gradually dissipated in reading further and this particular piece was classified as ‘campaigning’ (journalistic level), and ‘oppositional’ (political level). The editorial was emphatic as it stated that the Speaker of the of the Trinidad and Tobago Parliament ‘was absolutely right in rejecting the plea’ of the Leader of the Opposition for ‘debate on the Grenada situation, especially as the plea contained a request that the...Government “at its earliest opportunity announce its recognition” of the new regime...’ (para. 1). No government had yet recognized the new regime and there was ‘little wonder’ (paras. 2-3):

Popinjay, boon companion of common criminals, and prodigal with public funds he may be, but Sir Eric Gairy, nevertheless, was de jure and by popular support the Prime Minister of Grenada. He had not denied the Opposition freedom of movement or outlawed them; he had no political prisoners in the island’s jail” (para. 4).

Again, it is clear from this that the revolution immediately faced serious problems of legitimation and survival. Recall that the Guardian and its principals have had a secure footing in capital and existing arrangements as discussed in an earlier chapter. It was shedding ‘no tears’ for Gairy, neither did it have any ‘cheers’ for Bishop: ‘We weep instead for beautiful Grenada’, was the more populist ring (para. 6). Mr. Bishop’s spokesmen have ‘winged’ to Barbados and New York ‘stressing [? - blurred] the undying commitment of the regime to the law and the Constitution and articulating to Grenadians
at home or abroad...absolute tenure of office and full human rights' which 'we shall wait to see' (paras. 10-11).

Before the Trinidad Government could confer recognition, at least, it would have to wait until there is overwhelming proof that a democratic and functioning government with deep respect for the law and the Constitution and an ironclad case against Sir Eric is at work in Grenada (para. 16 - final).

Perhaps the Guardian here, moreso than any of the other papers thus far examined through editorials, epitomizes 'the West Indian Press' to which reference was made in an earlier editorial. We have for a decade appealed to Sir Eric 'to mend his ways' and he has 'flatly refused.' The Gairy dictatorship here thus seemed preferable to what the paper presented as this new lawlessness and uncertainty.

The Guardian published a second editorial headlined 'Away with that cult of filth', the first two paragraphs of which read:

We utterly reject the suggestion that the Rasta cult is offering any sound model to the rest of the people in the West Indies about unity.

What most of the supposed members of this loose mass of bedraggled malcontents and petty criminals may be offering is a threat to public health, much unpredictable violence, and other crimes, plus the risk that hard-working taxpayers will someday soon be called upon to support thousands of evil-smelling drug-dazed hoboes permanently.

The was touched on earlier. As a resistance movement of considerable social/cultural significance with a global presence, the Rastafarian cult has not been, generally speaking, a politically radical movement per se but it represents a serious critique of what is viewed in its canons as an oppressive system of ruling class domination with partly through the state.

In its editorial of the 18th, the Express advised that 'WI islands must learn a lesson from Grenada' (headline). It warned of dangers and was prescriptive. The editorial was strong in condemning 'the odious Gairy' but extolled the 'correctness of this attitude' of delayed recognition (para. 4). It even drew from UWI academic Gordon Lewis in a book published more than a decade earlier, and in which he had advised that for small territories such as Grenada, to 'go it alone' without guarantees of economic aid and military security would land them into a Haitian position (para. 6-8). It continued;

Mr Bishop has made the ritual promise of free and fair elections. But this has been the language of nearly every coupmaker this century and one quickly forgotten once the realities of holding on to power surface (para. 11).

That statement was emphasized by the sub-heading 'RITUAL PROMISE' placed between paragraphs eight and nine. Another cross-head 'CLASSIC EXAMPLE' guided the reader to the observation that 'Grenada's situation was a classic example of what happens when things fall apart, and a similar fate may be in store for many of these territories (Eastern Caribbean) unless they agree' to join together in a political and economic union 'of their own construction.' Failing this they could become prey to some 'strongarmed, strongwilled individual who rule as he pleases until somebody else comes along and throws him out' (paras. 18-19). That was part of the Express' simple 'lesson' in explaining that 'it would be idle to regard the Grenada situation as a confrontation or conflict between a sinner named
Gairy and a saint named Bishop' (para. 17). The editorial, in this sense, rose above the the sentiment expressed in a column in another paper and discussed earlier - the highly simplistic view implying that a feud between two men was the foundation of the overthrow. It is not, of course, being suggested that the Express was in any way sympathetic to the new regime.

The double-column editorial was supplemented by a detailed opinion piece occupying the other four columns (the rest of the page), and extending on to the next page (page 5). It embraced pictures of Gairy and Bishop. A banner headline 'CARIBBEAN DILEMMA' and the secondary headline 'Nobody thought it could happen here' guided the reader to the position of CARICOM leaders, 'faced with their most challenging political dilemma' since the organization was introduced 'five and a half years ago.' That dilemma was how to react to the Grenada situation (para. 1), no constitutional criteria having been laid down, and so on. The columnist (Talbot Butler), later in the body of the article addressed the home situation (i.e., of the Express):

...Trinidad and Tobago would be well advised to proceed with extreme caution in the matter [recognition]; mistakes made in the past in being too eager to deal with non-constitutional governments in the outside world must not be repeated right in our own backyard.

Like most other people, this writer had little time for Sir Eric...

On the other hand, Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party - GULP has always been, and was on the last occasion (December, 1976), elected into office constitutionally.

Two other editorials entered our calculations and they will be addressed in turn. They appeared in the Advocate-News of March 19, and the Daily Gleaner of March 20 respectively.

The Advocate-News' 'ECCM to face up to Grenada coup' (headline, and referring to the meeting scheduled for March 20) pondered how, ministers of the Eastern Caribbean Common Market, realizing 'their own vulnerability' would react to the NJM which 'has been categorised as a radical group'. The paper felt that the number of people banned from entering the various territories would probably lengthen, as the actions of governments had even bordered 'on the ridiculous at times.' The editorial saw the juncture as one in which 'We are now entering a phase...motivated by increased fear...' A 'type of hypocrisy' had 'caught up with the region' and had 'now placed it on the horns of a dilemma':

For having failed to be as vocal as they might have been against Gairy, the Caribbean Governments, even if minded to do so, cannot now give the impression of coming down heavily on the Bishop regime for the use of force in toppling Gairy. And still if no issue is made of the illegal action it might well be taken that force is in order when a Government proves problematic to a number of its citizens. With the number of problems facing certain Caribbean Governments it is a bitter pill to swallow, and a possible fate not comfortable to contemplate (para. 8 - the final para.).

Four letters appeared on the Advocate-News' editorial page on March 19. Two taken individually occupied several times the column inches of the others combined. The largest and leading was from GEMINI news service and addressed the question of politics and oil in the Middle East. More specifically interesting was the second largest, headed 'Comp cause for concern' which echoed much of what went earlier, for instance: 'It is not the removal of Sir Eric Gairy from power, desirable as this was, but the means by which it was done which was frightening' (para. 4). '...a dissident group' could achieve this in Barbados, and so on, and therefore as regards recognition:
...we would be well advised to move slowly and cautiously. To do otherwise may well be helping to establish a most undesirable precedent whose subsequent repetition we may all live to regret (final para.).

That piece was from a writer identified as Leonard Shorey. One of the smaller letters referred to a photograph of Ralph Gonsalves (Caribbean academic and politician) in the Advocate-News of March 10 'picketing the Embassy of Red China in Barbados with a placard reading, "CHINESE GO HOME, LEAVE VIETNAM." The author, 'BORED BAJAN', felt that the Socialist Doctor [emphasis original] in our midst 'should set an example by going home to [neighbouring] St. Vincent.

It is evident that an editorial page is not simply an editorial article and considerably more may be presumed through the selection of the article or otherwise to express a newspaper's position.

The Daily Gleaner's editorial of March 20 - 'THE PNP AND COMMUNISM' - was not specifically about the Grenada situation but, in reproducing and amplifying the Opposition JLP representatives' view that 'Communism is indeed being put in place by the present PNP Government' (para. 2) made passing reference to Grenada. According to the Gleaner, the PNP should live up to its stated opposition to Communism, as exhibited, for instance by the 1952 expulsion of leftists from the party (para. 1), and 'restate without equivocation' this stand for 'the majority of the members still believe the party to be anti-Communist here, and to be non-aligned in the purest sense abroad' (para. 6 - last). The paper also stated that it was 'not convinced that the PNP Government, was "putting Communism in place" but that it seemed that the administration lacked 'the will to deal effectively with those of its supporters who wish to sell us to the Soviet-Cuban axis' (para. 5):

With regard to the Grenada coup, the New Jewel Movement is close to the Communists who have hailed its overthrow of the lawfully elected Government of Mr. Gairy, and already we note that Jamaica has not been averse at the Barbados conference to following the Communist line of early recognition (para. 4).

Thus, Grenada and the overthrow were viewed as part of the fold within which 'we' could find ourselves if the PNP Government did not unequivocally isolate what those behind the editorial perceived as the communist threat.

A detailed letter - the most lengthy item on the page (also continued on page 14) and the privileged letter for that day - was headlined 'Gairy no angel, but...' and contributed 'By L. Quynor, A Grenadian in a Letter to the Editor'. There were accompanying pictures of Bishop and Gairy. That letter writer who was absent from 'the Spice Island since 1950 except for occasional visits' (para. 4) overwhelmed comments on Grenada's social and political history with fulsome praise of Gairy. He was clearly not a Bishop admirer, even inclining to crudely misrepresent the leader of the revolution, and perhaps enthusiastically by the Gleaner's as a timely piece with appropriate ideological sentiments:

Mr. Maurice Bishop, Barrister-at-Law, a rabble rouser with a knack for not sticking to the truth, jumped on the bandwagon of the so-called People's Revolutionary Movement, a non-people's revolution, taking unto himself the title of Head of State. The situation was tailor made for him and he embraced it as though he had won an Oscar for his Caribbean political role over the past six years or more (para. 2).

For the writer, Gairy had not imprisoned any opposition member illegally but 'within hours of the supposed coup, Mr Bishop and his lieutenants saw it fit to put the Chief of Police into protective
custody along with members of the Gairy Government...’ Thus, ‘politicians should sit up and start thinking because’ the ‘fool stunt’ by ‘Bishop and his lieutenants...may be pulled again and again’ by others.

Adjacent to that letter and the editorial was a piece by one of the Gleaner’s regular columnists - David D’Costa. ‘Breaking Mr. Manley’s umbrella’, as it was headlined, essentially repeated the theme expressed in the editorial. We cannot display the entire piece here. A snippet or two from the introductory and concluding paragraphs will have to suffice:

Now that the linkages between the PNP and the Communists (both domestic and foreign) have become utterly plain, they seem to be furnishing the JLP with an issue that captures ALL ends of that Party... (para. 1).

In the final analysis, spectator-societies don’t DO anything at all. But rather terrible things get done to them. In this case there are very few people prepared to believe, here or abroad, that the Party is merely playing backgammon in the bedroom with a few close friends. This fact effectively dooms any significant level of investment or productive-will. It dooms the efforts of the IMF to engineer a recovery. [Emphasis original]

Thus, societies such as Jamaica got things ‘done to them’, if people did not do something (say, at the next elections in Jamaica - 1980) to obliterate this threat the future, life would be very unwholesome. Some reference to Grenada was implicit.

The discussion has not elaborated on the incidence of prominent personalities and the neglect on the part of the media in identifying individuals or ordinary citizens. News stories were hardly different from editorials, and the “dread lock” referred to in the Express is an example of the limited ways in which the occasional individual from among the lower strata does enter the media and the news, apart from a number in a crowd. The editorials themselves overwhelmingly embraced prominent political figures - current or past - with the occasional professional person.

Whereas all references to leaders and principals in stories were not counted, in general extracts we have referred to a few by the way but the overall situation allows ready sympathy with Stuart Hall’s view - in commenting on the British media - that ‘there isn’t...an ounce of democratic instinct or blood in the media as a system...[T]he media image of politics is...of strong figures who are going in a certain direction and the people, rather passively, rising in support of them’ (‘The Divided Kingdom’, Channel 4 [Britain], 1988). Reference to the general populace never (in any of the items appearing in this content study) resulted in the mention of the name of the ‘ordinary’ civilian or his/her views. All references came through political, or economic principals (these latter to a lesser extent). This, of course, has to do with established news production routines and journalists’ perception of political leaders, principals in industry and so on as well as certain locations (e.g., parliament, chamber of commerce meeting) as ready and likely sources of important news (see, e.g., Epstein, 1973 & 1975). However, this is only one side of the coin. Not unrelated, the neglect of the people at large as sources (except, in negative references - the ‘dreadlock’ and the like) has much to do with a historically and organizationally conditioned and reinforced acceptance of the status quo. The vein which runs through the press has a certain uniformity. Oso, in a study of the press and industrial relations of Nigeria found that the ‘definitions of reality presented were within the dominant perspective which rarely questioned the existing structure and source of inequality in Nigerian society’ (1986: 386). The Nigerian context is one in which the mass media has been increasingly state-owned, but yet, where a ‘few remaining private newspapers are part of big business
conglomerates owned by four families’ (1986: 248).

9.5 The Torchlight

It is useful to enter into a brief examination of a Grenadian paper - which, although not among major papers, featured prominently in the revolutionary ferment and justifies some attention here. The only editions available from the National Library in St. George’s (at the time of a 1988 visit) for the immediate period around the time of the insurrection in March were those of March 25 and 28.

The front-page of the March 25 edition led with a story headed ‘GOODBYE, SAYS SENATOR KNIGHT’. According to the story, the ex-Minister without portfolio, who was probably the new regime’s most ‘wanted man’ apart from Eric Gairy, had written a ‘good bye letter’. The letter addressed the people directly: ‘People of Grenada, this is Derek Knight.’ Knight mentioned that Gairy was well and safe. He has asked me to say...always his thoughts are with you and especially so through these trying times.

In the letter, Knight also stated that through him ‘Sir Eric has had consultations with his colleagues in the Caribbean and he has asked them to obtain from the New Government assurances that there will be no victimization or political harassment of any of our people, and that free elections will be speedily held.’ He also pointed out that during Gairy’s ‘long political career he has never resorted to violence or force to achieve political office.’

In a sense, the letter, if not the story of which it was the central element was a sympathy appeal for Gairy and his displaced administration - the ‘good’ and considerate who had been ‘torn’ from office by ‘usurers’. The next story, ‘He Headed The List Of ‘Enemies’, was printed out as a large adjacent item, with a photocopied list of 30 names, the last six of which were hand-written. A scripted heading read ‘ERIC MATTHEW GAIRY’ and this was associated in large lettering by ‘MAY GOD HELP ME TO OVERCOME THESE ENEMIES’. Ironically, Derek Knight headed the list of names which included those of lawyers, politicians (including former Education Minister, Wellington Friday who accompanied Gairy to New York as we saw earlier, and Herbert Blaize, the immediate post-revolutionary Prime Minister), planters, businessmen, two press proprietors, a minister of religion, other professionals, and an occasional person less highly placed in the class structure.

Thus, there were two news items on the Torchlight’s front-page (three, if we take the list of names as separate). The only other items were an advertisement by a farm and garden centre which was a part of Huggins, and a notice appealing to people to advertise in the newspaper.

The single editorial on page 4 - ‘WITCHCRAFT IN POLITICS’ - focused on Gairy’s tendency to superstition. The paper noted that this was supported by discoveries at his official residence. It asked the question about Gairy’s indulgences: ‘Why did Gairy indulge in such practices?’ (para.4) It drew answers from a former Communications and Works Minister in an interview with the newspaper. In part, he answered that ‘we were all under the man’s spell and the

32This firm was then the largest or one of the largest advertisers in Grenada, and as we saw in an earlier chapter, a company integrated with major regional conglomerates.
people will now understand why we had to follow’ and Gairy’s motto was ‘play on the ignorance and superstition of the broad masses by assuming a godlike appearance and that shall follow me’ (paras. 4 & 5).

A column adjacent to the editorial [contributor unstated] was titled ‘A HISTORICAL EVENT’. It noted ‘the lightening demise of the GULP Government’, elaborated on ‘democratic ideals’ and their disintegration under GULP (Gairy) in political independence. ‘There was a Parliament - but the loyal opposition of one and then six were jeered, hooted and harassed, their views more often than not rejected.’ Moreover, the Public Service and Police Commissions were ‘emasculated’ for the ‘personalized leadership of the Head of State’, and so on:

No wonder then something had to give...But there was regrettably passivity and an unwillingness to grasp the nettle by most Grenadians. The gap was filled by a group willing to die for freedom...

The new movement has promised us free and fair elections. If they win at the polls they must not fail Grenada... (last 3 paras.).

The next issue of the Torchlight - March 28 - led its front-page with a story about Bishop’s outline of the Revolutionary Government’s policies cited earlier by major local-regional newspapers with especial reference to new constitutional arrangements. It was headlined ‘NEW CONSTITUTION SOON’ with a secondary headline - ‘Bishop spells out policy and programme.’ The story was supported by two photographs of Maurice Bishop addressing a public meeting.

The other front page story - ‘Bar Association Meets’ - mentioned a re-scheduled meeting of the Grenada Bar Association from March 26th to 27th as the Government’s legal advisers were unable to attend. The Huggins advert was repeated on the front-page of the 28th as was BuyRite’s on the editorial page (page 4).

The editorial - ‘Failure To Condemn’ - led with a quotation from J. Edgar Hoover. Paragraph two developed on this failure:

...The Vere Birds of Antigua, the Patrick Johns of Dominica and most surprising of all the John Comptons of St. Lucia (the man who once told us that he will not permit a drop of St. Lucian blood to be shed in defence of Gairy), have all now exposed themselves as having condoned what the Gairy regime inflicted on Grenadians.

The editorial also noted that the Council, like the region, ignored pleas for mercy from Grenadians as they ‘suffered’, and responded that ‘it would be interfering in our domestic affairs. But now this same Council has the gall, the temerity to speak out against the people. A member of the WISA exclusive club was forced out and so the other members must protest’ (para. 4). The concluding paragraph (para. 5) noted that the Council had decided to remove the headquarters of the Appeal Court and that Gairy’s overthrow had lessons for ‘the “Tin Gods” of the small islands...’
The other two items on the page (excluding the BuyRite advertisement) were supportive of the above position and/or the regime. An adjacent cartoon depicted a female fruit vendor and a taxi driver in conversation. The vendor commented in dialect:

Boy de man was holding we down wid he obeah. Me was never one of them, but if a din do what he say he woulda spite me. You en see how a happy now!

The taxi driver’s two-word response in solidarity was ‘Right on sister!’ Basically, the vendor was stating that Gairy had oppressed them/the people through superstition. She was never one of Gairy’s supporters but she would have been abused had she refused to abide by the Gairy dictates. Under the new regime she was happy.

A column contributed by Trevor Emmanuel (a ‘Minister of religion, steel band man’ among the list of enemies on page one of March 25) endorsed the editorial position and added a few points of its own. Emmanuel felt that given ‘free and fair elections as the ordinary means of changing a Government’,

the individual and national self-defence demands that a Government attempting to commit massive electoral fraud and liquidate Opposition be overthrown by armed revolution.

In these extreme circumstances, revolution becomes a positive right and duty. Such is the case with Grenada...

...neutrality is counter-revolutionary.

...the People’s Revolutionary Government (P.R.G.) and the People’s Revolutionary Army (P.R.A.) have brought the beginnings of freedom to Grenada.

The general evidence here is not of an anti-PRG Torchlight at that stage. It would be necessary to examine issues over a longer period around its decline in the PRG’s esteem and the regime’s decision to close down the newspaper in October 1979 to fine-tune the paper’s position and the development of the crisis. Indeed, front and editorial pages of issues of the paper for September and the start of October, 1979 partly explain why the Government took that decisive action. In the official account of the Revolution by the EPICA Task Force, drawing partly from a cited Caribbean Press Council (CPC) report is illustrative:

...The reluctance of the PRG to call elections cooled the bourgeoisie’s initial sympathies for the revolution, which were based on the expectation of a return to liberal electoral politics. More significantly, when the PRG tried to control prices of essential commodities, such as sugar, rice and flour - to aid and protect the poor - the Grenada Chamber of Commerce saw this as a move towards “full-blooded socialist economic strategy” (EPICA Task Force, 1982: 60/ CPC release, 16/11/79: 1).

9.6 Conclusion

Several factors have arisen in this chapter which are worth a few additional comments here. Firstly, and generally, there has been the task of identifying commitment/bias in news treatment and sympathy for particular positions or arrangements over others. This is less than clear in...
several instances, as we have seen. More specifically, there is the matter of how to account for variations in the treatment of the same basic story by different privately-owned newspapers. Among others:

- accounting for the centrality of CANA in regional news coverage
- 'proximate' news [home/local] as against local-regional
- differences in terms of the composite/summary item (i.e., where a story has various aspects/angles' rather than a unit or 'uni-focal' emphasis)
- headlines

Taking all these factors into account, it can nevertheless be safely argued that whereas news in the cases which have been examined here has not always allowed for clear-cut assumptions about the orientation of papers, by considering specifics such as headline use, the source of some stories (CANA and philosophy, as well as time, and distance - note Gleaner's clear dependence on CANA), and general content emphases, arrangement of stories, it is fairly clear that the papers displayed considerable bias in terms of how they treated news out of, or about the Grenada political situation. On occasion, a clear bias in favour of existing political arrangements and the instruments was demonstrated (e.g., in the case of the Express, and by inference, the Gleaner) particularly with regard to Westminster-style parliamentary democracy, and 'free and fair' elections, but on other indices the commitment was rather more implicit or an ostensible 'neutrality' prevailed. 'Slanting' and other nuances helped to shape what was presented as news. A second major consideration involves journalists and news sources and the orientation towards dominant news sources and 'definers'.

Along with other factors, an emphasis on negative news such as that about the recognition question was also observable. Officials and governments which favoured recognition were apparently sought after, thereby reproducing positions favourable to existing arrangements and hostile to political and other change. Even beyond pure media reports, we saw that structural relations played a part in what could be seen as a provision of more ammunition for delegitimizing the change process. The Jamaican Government, for example, would await the Declaration of the March meeting of ECCM/WISA, and Barbados was consulting with regional governments as well as bulwarks of capitalism with which the Anglophone Caribbean is, and has been primarily associated (USA, Britain, Canada).

It is important to note that big business or the capitalist sections of the ruling class in the Caribbean did not come up for mention as frequently as politicians but they did appear, or had their views elicited at crucial junctions as we saw in the case of the chambers of commerce. However, the sorts of frameworks favouring capital were also well represented in newspapers' role in ideological reproduction and incorporation. Recall that, as our evidence in the chapter on interviews with journalists and executives illustrated, a notable degree of 'active' imposition or intervention in the news production process by executives (and political representatives) does occur in the Caribbean context.

Editorial articles need far less qualification than news, because such articles represent the stated views of papers, even if, as sometimes occurs - editorials are not written by staff members. In some cases, as we have seen, newspapers, with the exception of the Nation, quite clearly
informed the reader of where they stood - almost uniformly opposed to the revolutionary process and the absence of Westminster-style elections. Whereas the Nation came out apparently supporting the regime, particularly visibly in the case of editorial articles, it would be fairly safe to suggest that such support was critical. The degree to which the Torchlight was supportive of the overthrow and the revolutionary effort in its early stages was mildly surprising rather than astonishing, bearing in mind the struggles of the broad alliance in the 1970s. It is also worthy of reiteration that a newspaper's position is not necessarily only that which is contained in an editorial on the relevant page. Other columns/commentaries and letters were not a central part of the study's portfolio, but in instances they helped to corroborate (by emphasis) the newspapers' stance.
CHAPTER TEN

MEDIATING CHANGE AND DEMOCRACY

10.1 Summary and findings

This exploratory macro-study largely originated within the view that the major commercial press in the Anglophone Caribbean were closely intertwined and would largely tend to delegitimize the transformation process in the region. The reference was to political and social transformation at a macro-level to represent the composite of programmes and policies advanced by the PNP regime of 1970s-1980 Jamaica and the Grenada insurrection and the immediate regime of 1979. The broad location of the commercial press as seated in corporate capitalist ownership and direction seemed to imply that their role would be determined partly by the constraints of capital and the desires of capitalists or their representatives singly or in groups. This would be a problematic rather than a simple process. There would be other factors which would largely shape the role of the press in mass mediation and delegitimization of the political and social change process the nature of the social production of news and information itself, the institutional and other principles which governed production, and the historical as well as sociological bases of the press in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Basically, some answers were sought to a number of broad questions. What broadly was the extent of capitalist ownership and control of the press in the Anglophone Caribbean? How did the newspaper press in its treatment mediate significant processes of transformation in societies such as those in Caribbean (with Jamaica and Grenada as case studies)?

The study began with a general awareness of the potential difficulties of data collection, particularly in terms of documentary evidence. What would largely be contained in, say, a ‘who-owns-whom’ and a ‘who-is-who’ type publication in North America or Europe was derived from limited versions of these plus hundreds of scraps vital bits of evidence supported by interviews. Many scholars who have done research in, or on, the economically less advanced countries have noted the difficulty of collecting data, and in some cases the need to be aware of the contextual realities (see, e.g., Lent, 1977; Crothert, various works [Caribbean]; Ayu (1984); Oso (1986); Musa (1989) [Nigeria]; Yim (1989) [Korea - ‘semi-periphery’], etc). Even Western researchers, - accustomed to the ‘showrooms of liberal democracy’ - have not had things all to their liking but in that realm the context has apparently shifted at least minimally, since Halloran, for instance, noted that the ‘influence of media managers on what shall be researched has been, and still is extremely powerful’ (1969: 7).

Whereas mass media, in general, and the press, in particular have been awarded centrality in the study, it should be fairly clear from our discussion in various chapters and perhaps most evident in the non-media background chapters on political economy that the press/media and the communications industry represent a part of society rather than a self-contained entity. In appreciation of this, the task could not have been seriously approached without due regard to the larger society or the context of the press as well as its historical reality and bases, and the foundations of the larger process of transformation.
The study has prioritized the internal dynamics of the local and local-regional context (which have been largely neglected in dependency-type studies built on a centre-periphery axis) without neglecting external or international global factors. Centring the analysis at the level of production within what was referred to as a general and dynamic political economy, the study endeavoured to delineate the broad development of social classes in the Caribbean in general, and in the case countries - Jamaica and Grenada - more particularly. That social formation, the modern slave mode/system of production, was integrally related to mercantilist and simultaneously, but largely subsequently, the ascendancy of more comprehensive capitalist development from Europe, and embraced its relationship of domination and subordination/resistance at various levels - with political, social and cultural considerations, for instance, being largely structured or arising from prevailing production and market situations. Under capitalist development in the region, considerable residues of the old system and the basic class configuration as well as the political framework of massive disenfranchisement was retained (the political) until around the mid-twentieth century.

Post-war global nationalist currents and other factors largely shifted political control (in a broad sense) of their destiny to Caribbean nations and this in turn affected economic realities through processes of nationalization and localization which raised the level of internal (local and local-regional) capitalist ownership and control of resources. Class positions became more defined with middle class elements assuming an increasing role - partly assigned - in mediating conflict, markedly at the socio-political level, between the owning/ruling class and the lower strata.

This local and local-regional capital, as was evidenced, asserted itself through the general process of capitalist advance and reproduction, and its specific local and local-regional dynamics. The climate was assisted by specific measures adopted by nationalist political administrations thrust up by anti-colonial struggle alongside, but also within the broad and protracted capitalist crisis in the 20th century, and other, mainly subsidiary considerations. It will be recalled that even though, local and local regional capital was partly displaced at the political level as a result of 'universal adult suffrage', capitalist interests continued to be well represented directly and by mediation - the details of which are dispersed in various chapters. We saw how the ruling classes largely sustained their positions in the general transformation into agro-commercial and industrial capital, in some cases alongside large-scale foreign capital and were jointly encouraged by investment incentives through emerging national governments under the advanced decolonization process, and neo-colonialism.

The substantive discussion began generally, from the stand-point that the press (and media) must be viewed and treated as a part of society as a whole (locally, local-regionally, and globally), a factor which has profound implications for its mode of organization, its generic role, the interests it may serve, the constraints within which it operates at various levels, and so on. It is on this basis that an extensive foundation was established in the early chapters which set the stage for the more specific discussion of the press (and to a lesser extent, the media as a whole) in later chapters.

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land; briefs from local ruling strata politics and British politics; details of merchandise arriving from overseas, departing shipments of sugar, and so on. Later, they were deeply conditioned by the potentialities of an emerging market under backward capitalism marked largely by the separation of workers from the means of production and who thereby became wage labourers. This was, of course, a slow and gradual process involving continued exploitation of labour, and economic problems for the ruling strata at that stage were worsened later by, for example, the removal of protective barriers for British colonial sugar on the British market itself.

Later, the press grew from this commercial background and set of interests to relatively larger units with greater circulation and readership by the time of our focal period - the 1970s to 1980s. In this later period a few dominant units emphasized capitalist advance and eventually an increasing presence of local and local-regional capital in press ownership and arguably, its control. This concentration of ownership ‘internally’ (locally and local-regionally) was established in Chapters Five and Six partly as a means of illustrating the relative strength of such capital.

The emphasis on the commercial press has not led us to lose sight of political and labour newspapers in particular which grew out of the nationalist ferment and the struggle against the structure of inaccessibility to various material resources of an economic, political and/or social nature. Some grew, for instance, in spite of anti-trade union legislation under political apparatus favouring the owning/ruling classes over the masses, and because of, and in spite of limited financially based political franchise and so on. They also grew, even if only to be ephemeral, in spite of economic constraints and opposition from employers, political and other groupings. Thus, labour newspapers arose from the struggles of the 1930s, for instance, and under middle class direction and sought to give expression to the views and interests of the masses as manifested in demands for higher wages as well as better working conditions, and for land. Nationalist and radical nationalist papers also grew up but these were for the most part, of limited reach and circulation when compared with the major papers established by big capital which have presented questions of access.

The findings suggest that the major and dominant newspapers grew from emerging local and largely settler commercial interests. Even though the fundamental unity of capital is taken as a given, evidence of contradictions between sections of capitalist prevailed. The data identified the principal bases on which the commercial newspapers in this study survived as economic units, namely, advertising and circulation. In one case, advertising revenue - usually the predominant source - was subordinated to circulation revenue for the Gleaner Company in some economic crisis years of 1970s in Jamaica. In this regard too, larger prevailing currents in the national and global economies affected newspaper economy and production. Some of this arose through import restrictions, changing currency exchange rates as well as increased labour and materials costs. The Chief Executive of the Gleaner stated, for instance, regarding the temporary subordination of advertising revenue:

...in many ways [this] is an unfortunate mix because...if you have to live off your circulation revenue, you have to price the paper so you can live. And in a country that is not rich and doesn’t have a large literate population or as large a population [perhaps the reference is to literate population] as it should have, an expensive paper is an unfortunate thing (Interview, 3/5/88).

That capitalists were keenly interested in profits is a factor which the data fairly clearly substantiates. Their interest, not only in the prevailing trends in the larger economy and globally,
but also in political direction and programmes was also illustrated particularly in Chapter Six but in a more limited way in Chapters Seven and Five, in that order of importance. The fact that the study has emphasized the ethos of those capitalists with corporate newspaper publishing interests and those linked with these enterprises has illustrated to some degree the potential for determination of news and information output which is part and parcel of the corporate capitalist complex. This is not to suggest a crude link and manipulative intent, even though it would be foolhardy to deny a degree of such intent, it was to illustrate currents which defined the options available to capitalists and to identify such intent which latter was partly strengthened by the exploration of the management of news and opinion in Chapter Seven (which will be touched on briefly below). Recall specific instances such as the comments of the new managing director of Trinidad Publishing stressing that the company should be profitable but needed to maintain its editorial independence about which assurances had been given by the parent conglomerate, and the parent company's reference to the publishing houses' profit position in annual reports.

The Chairman of McEnearney Aistons, parent of Trinidad Publishing and partiy of the Barbados Advocate Company's (publishers of the Advocate, etc.) noted that low level of economic activity, devaluation of the Trinidad dollar in 1988, and limited foreign exchange availability affected the operations of the company. He welcomed the 1988 agreement with the IMF and elaborated:

We feel that this development was necessary to circumvent a major foreign exchange crisis, further unemployment and economic collapse...Ultimately, the effect of opening up the economy will be good for all citizens and for the free-enterprise system which rewards hard work with initiative...

The settlement of long outstanding disputes shows a new realism by our management and unions...Success...has not been uniform as several unions appear to have a historical or ideological distrust of participation (Annual Report, 1988: 3).

Similarly, the Chairman of another Trinidad conglomerate, this time with some interest in Trinidad Express Newspapers Ltd. (now the umbrella Caribbean Communications Network), illustrated capitalist businessmen sympathy for the type of climate favourable to business:

...with the advent of the Seaga government and with the results of the elections in some governments in the eastern Caribbean, I believe that the climate has never been better for private sector involvement (Interview, Daily Gleaner, 21/3/82).

Recall the fairly similar comments by President Reagan of the USA and Prime Minister Seaga of Jamaica when they met shortly after the PNP/Manley defeat. Capitalists, including those in the Anglophone Caribbean are not only constrained by economic and political and social considerations but are interested in these factors.

The data also illustrated relationships between the state/politics, and capitalists. Indirectly, McAL's acquisition of Trinidad Publishing and significant equity in the Barbados Advocate Company, was based partly on moves by the nationalist state in Trinidad of the 1960s and 1970s to reduce foreign ownership. Hence, the global MNC, Thomson, had to reduce its holdings dramatically. The PNP government in Jamaica forced out BET in the 1970s from majority ownership of Radio Jamaica. Further, while within its broad social change programme it was acquiring some of the 'commanding heights of the economy', it also retained representatives of prominent capitalist combines in major decision making roles. Much of this continued and expanded under subsequent JLP and PNP administrations, at the broad national level.
One of the factors which the study pursued in relation to press and corporate concentration was the question of interlocking directorships which pointed to an important and cohesive network linking the publishing houses directly and indirectly with major corporate organizations including banks. This points to some of the factors we have been noting above, in terms of unity of interests within the inequitable context, and implied in part that the exigencies of larger business interests and the right political-ideological climate would tend to flow over into cultural production and the views that emerge.

A subsidiary leg of this aspect of the study was to attempt to illustrate how cost factors limited the entry of new competition to the communications industry, specifically the press and the problem of survival against the background of broad constraints but also specifically in competition with long existing competitors and potential competitors. The cases of the Jamaica Record, and Daily News, and the surviving Nation of Barbados and Trinidad Express are recent examples. The question of keeping out voices of change, or those not in keeping with the long standing consensus has some, but only marginal utility in these cases, but surely many small publications have been sidelined in the market by precarious financial incapacity and the dominant competition.

One of the major considerations of the study revolved around a somewhat more proximate factor in the mediation process, at the point of the production of culture more specifically. In this regard, our interviews of 25 journalists and executives/owners led us into an area which provided concrete evidence of the factors which constrain or guide the process including, and over and above those highlighted in the two immediately preceding chapters (finance, profit motive, etc.). Allegiance to the traditions of Western journalism built up on its free press postulates and codes was largely in place offering considerable implications for hindrance to political and social transformation. Moreover, the negotiation over control of news and information was a large factor which took place within shared views on the part of journalists and capitalists at some levels (e.g., on press freedom from government/state strictures - direct intervention, libel, etc.) but with differences, however superficial at the other levels (e.g., executive intervention where journalists presume 'autonomy', etc.).

The study started with one component being that 'action' elements, although subordinate were not to be blotted out. Chapter Seven, for instance, perhaps more than elsewhere among the central chapters on the press itself cited executive/proprietor intervention as a fact of life (or what may be view as 'pressure on the press'/determinations) which in the case of the Caribbean (and not uncommonly elsewhere). This helped to emphasize the seat of allocative/strategic control over operational control and partly the direction of crucial output such as that relating to the likes of the political and social trends under the 1970s-PNP regime in Jamaica epitomized in the response to regime/party at the 1980 general election, and relating to the 1979 Grenada overthrow and emerging policies. Such intervention, the evidence seems to suggest, points to occurrence especially on the part of policy-level decision makers and at important periods even if not frequently and systematically. Of course, this was at times counterbalanced by journalists' invoking their professional 'autonomy', industrial action at the extreme, and so on. Action of this sort - in part structural - by top decision-makers must be seen against the background of a desire for preferred political arrangements and the associated financial/economic as well as social arrangements.

Central to the examination of these factors was a perception that they would serve to
reproduce and legitimate existing arrangements particularly those favourable to capital and entrenched political approaches and delegitimize significant challenges to these. Whereas the structure of cultural production exhibited notable ‘incongruities’, for instance, in the form of ‘progressive’ journalists who sought or desired change, for various reasons these tended to be subordinated to a somewhat conservative orientation on the part of the major press.

In spite of the study’s emphasis on the press, other competing and associated cultural channels such as, primarily mainstream broadcasting, but also reggae and calypso music, the local dialect - utilized and facilitative in general of mass and political communication - were noted as media through which the support of the masses could be addressed or garnered. These instruments were generated by broad cultural dynamics but also importantly shaped by the struggle for change and as a means of access. In addition, with the introduction of the new communication technologies (although this factor was not closely examined) - video, and satellite technology and so on - the discussion noted the capacity to ‘tune out’ from the local and local-regional contexts and information, and ‘tune into’ the centres of capital in North America and elsewhere. However, as is evident, the press (newspapers) continue to have a large role in the communications industry in the general Caribbean context. At the level of advertising, for instance, the main newspaper outlets in Jamaica as a whole have fairly consistently accounted for the largest share of advertising (figures for other countries were less structured and less accessible for purposes of comparison).

No information was found which could seriously buttress a view that any fundamental disunity of capital existed, and we saw the idea of the ‘patriotic capitalist’ as not unreal but quite tenuous in a significant change process. This is not to suggest that the change processes themselves were altogether consistent.

The qualitative content analysis of the periods around, firstly, the October 1980 defeat of the PNP at the elections and, secondly, the outset of the Grenada Revolution under the NJM/Revolutionary Government focused on both news and editorial comment.

In the case of the Jamaican election period of October/November (election day, Oct. 30), 1980 the Gleaner’s coverage was more extensive and this is hardly surprising as a newspaper will tend to emphasize its national context for reasons including the sheer economic and technological constraints which help to shape cultural production. Other major publications were nonetheless supplied through their own journalists, contributors and/or the CANA network. Although the lines along which news represented the PNP and socialism/‘Democratic Socialism’ were not always clear, the various newspapers, largely and partly by mediation and reproduction of viewpoints opposed to the regime tended to delegitimize the change process as it was structured. These viewpoints advanced themes such as the failure to manage the economy effectively and the PNP’s relationship with socialism/communism and specific countries/regimes which were centrally guided by these approaches (most specifically, neighbouring Cuba, and the Soviet Union).

The Gleaner, for instance, reporting a prominent member of the Jamaican clergy, told readers:

Undoubtedly, the outcome of the imminent general election is of great importance to the Cuban government as a key card in the implementation of Castro’s plan for the Hemisphere.
Even the Nation through its on-the-spot reporter helped to consolidate the prevailing sentiment:

More than half of the more than one million voters rejected Michael Manley's mismanagement, socialist policies and flirtation with the left, and gave Seaga's JLP a landslide victory.....

Of course, the management of the economy, and socialism were primary issues (which housed the range of political, social, and economic factors) on the agenda advanced primarily by groups unsympathetic to the PNP in the run-up to the general election, but these perceived 'negatives' were, in this instance, published as 'the facts'. A reliance on labelling and personalization was somewhat evident in the examples.

Editorials, by and large, offered no surprises in that opinions were expected rather than the frame of 'objectivity' in which news per se is usually couched. This, as we saw, was not necessarily straight forward. Whereas most spoke against the PNP regime and 'socialism' for its perceived 'mismanagement', its role in the creation of crises in local business or dissuading foreign investment and so on, some turned their attention to the nation and democracy on election day, and in instances such as the latter, tended to be less committed to an oppositional stance (i.e., opposed to the regime/policies). The Express clearly stated its posture in at least one of its pieces:

Those, including this newspaper, who are concerned over the threat of Cuba and totalitarian rule were hoping that he [Manley] would lose....

This statement was nevertheless accompanied by some praise for Manley, who unlike some other leaders (as the paper saw it, including Bishop of Grenada), held the 'conviction that the people should have the right to choose...' The Sunday Advocate-News noted, for instance, how with 'the rhetoric of the rights of the masses' he had 'polarized the community both along partisan and class lines...'. In addition, 'with half-baked socialist policies he nullified the potential of one of the best endowed countries in the Caribbean by practically killing the bauxite industry, debilitating a vigorous agriculture, hamstringing an active commercial sector...'

The incoming JLP, on balance, fared better than the PNP in Nation editorials (a mild surprise in itself if one takes into consideration its stated stance but neglects its particular relationship with capital). Some papers too, ironically, and perhaps opportunistically pointed to the fact that the masses or poor had felt the most dire effects of what they saw as the PNP's policy failures. Indeed, that approach might have rested more on the very pervasiveness of such an assumption rather than on a deliberate attempt to denigrate the PNP. Of course, such papers tended to be short on explanations of other factors beyond targetting the PNP and 'socialism'.

The major newspapers and media generally were caught more off balance by the insurrection in Grenada in March 1979. Early reports focused on the drama of the overthrow, and news reports were founded on key personalities and themes which tended to question the legitimacy of the political project and its implications. At times, a clear-cut stance was not always evident, as representatives among the new Revolutionary leadership and other somewhat sympathetic elements were sometimes accessed among views presented. Largely, nevertheless, the views or information presented tended to over-represent themes pointing to the unusualness of the event - 'unconstitutional' removal of an elected government - in the Anglophone Caribbeean, and the implication for this "family" of nations. The core frame was that this was an ominous, even dangerous precedent which
ought to be "put right" early, particularly through 'democratic' elections.

The position on early recognition, or desire for early elections expressed by prominent politicians and others among those distancing themselves were those reproduced most frequently and adorned by presentational features (headlines, cross-heads, etc.) of journalistic craftsmanship. As an example, in Jamaica the JLP Leader, Edward Seaga, was given notable prominence by the Gleaner when he advised that internationally supervised elections should be held within three months which would ensure that the

...principle of armed overthrow of a Government is not accepted in the Caribbean, while reinforcing the electoral system as the only recognized basis of selecting a Government..

On occasion, capitalists were heard directly and on an ad hoc basis as far as news was concerned. Thus, at a CAIC meeting which was taking place at the time in Trinidad, the hope was expressed that the situation would 'not get out of hand', and separately and initially, the Grenada Chamber of Commerce spoke out against external intervention.

Editorials were more explicit, even strident, as anticipated in defining and/or reproducing sentiments delegitimizing the revolutionary effort. Following up on the above news story, for instance, the Gleaner warned Jamaica's PNP administration that it had 'to choose between' its 'friendship' for the NJM 'and what must be a principled objection to the unconstitutional overthrow of a lawfully elected Government...'. In one of the campaigning editorials, the Guardian concluded for the then Trinidad Government (PNM) that before it conferred recognition, at least, it 'would have to wait' for 'overwhelming proof that a democratic and functioning government with deep respect for the law and the Constitution' was established and when there was 'an ironclad case against Sir Gairy.' The Nation was cautiously supportive of the new Grenada regime in its coverage at that juncture.

In all this, the basis of this exploratory study is not to argue that the press reversed the attempts at change in the case countries or possibilities for the Anglophone Caribbean. Critical or radical students of the media have long found that the media do not simply change behaviour in a broad sense. Indeed, more liberal-pluralist scholars have perhaps been foremost in offering evidence to support this. Functionalists such as Merrill and his colleagues, for instance, exemplify the appreciation of this. Thus, among their postulates: 'Media are most powerful in furnishing information and setting agenda for members of the public' and 'least powerful in affecting' their actions (1990: 95). In fact, that 'agenda' factor is of crucial importance in helping us to understand the role of the major commercial press in advancing a limited range of views and information through which citizens may approach decision making in societies which are referred to as democratic. This factor takes us into the next section and a brief discussion of the media and democracy.

What the study has illustrated in large measure is the existence and resilience of capitalist ownership of the major press in the Anglophone Caribbean area which when couple with the official facilitation of this as well as the nature of the news and information production process lends itself to the reproduction, retention, and legitimation of established long existing arrangements. The content analysis of coverage of the 1980 election period in Jamaica, and the 1979 Grenada overthrow as well as other empirical data presented in the more media-specific chapters of the study, and not excluding the foundation chapters on background political economy partly illustrate this. However,
the findings are general in some respects and more exploration would be worthwhile (This will be returned to in section 10.3.).

10.2 The press and 'democracy'

Basic in our starting point in this study has been the profound inequalities of access to resources and power in liberal democratic societies with specific reference to those in the Anglophone Caribbean, not purely as appendages of other larger societies or political systems but arenas which in very large measure exhibit a dynamic of their own. Equally important is the fact of the great concentration of ownership of productive resources, including the cultural resources most clearly identified in the form of newspaper publishing. The implications of this are profound and close to what the study has been about: namely, that the press would broadly tend to represent and reproduce the existing system, partly because of their source/roots in ownership and control as well as various imponderables including that arising from a degree of inevitability of process arising from being an integral part of the system itself.

According to one observer:

At the heart of political communication research must be enquiry into the contribution of information flows and media institutions to the exercise of democracy (Golding, 1990: 98).

Golding usefully cites two sets of barriers which deny audiences as citizens their full citizenship. One is the largely socio-economic, and the other is mediated 'and denies to all the full and adequate range of imagery and information assumed by ideal definitions of citizenship' (1990: 98). He echoes the views of many others including myself when in conclusion he laments that research 'over the past couple of decades' suggests that 'the communications media have failed democracy' (p. 100).

Many observers even as they identify the contradiction between practice and theory are seemingly caught in a web. Thus, Melody in the same volume as Golding, informs the hapless reader that participatory democracy 'requires a citizenry that is both informed and has a continuing opportunity to be heard in the market-place of ideas...In democratic countries, the rights of citizens to be informed and have access to the market-place of ideas have been accepted as an obligation of national governments' (1990: 18). No textbook or perfect example is being sought, but there is a way in which democracy is taken for granted with the incorporation of even the supposedly aware and conscious in tandem with 'It's all we've got' or 'It's the best we've got' which arises from familiar circles.

The whole gamut of the question is probably explored in thousands of volumes and only certain points can be raised here, and in relation to the press in particular, that liberal 'democracy' is fundamentally undemocratic and that the term in this relation is largely a misnomer if we take some of the postulates as advanced through an exploration of even some liberal-pluralist commentators over the years.

In Chapter Four, we saw that the struggle for 'freedom of the press' from government strictures was one which united journalists and businessmen who owned the press against the
representatives of, or those who ostensibly represented 'the people'. Of course, relationships are not that straightforward and overlapping interests render disentanglement very difficult. This will be returned to later but if we tentatively accept that the existing state of things in liberal democracies, and with particular reference to the Caribbean raises profound contradictions between its postulates and its practice, an entry could be made into a brief examination of the concept 'democracy' itself. Democracy in the liberal sense presupposes certain rights for the individual citizen.

Rousseau, writing in the eighteenth century stressed that 'a true democracy' has never existed in 'the strict sense of the term', and there never would be one. For him, it was contrary to 'the natural order that the greater number should govern and the smaller number be governed' (1968: 112).

The classical definition of democracy (drawn from the 18th century), as Schumpeter summarized is to be found in the following: 'the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will' (1976: 250). Of course, as Schumpeter himself points out, there are problems with this, not least among them being the implication that a 'common good' of which rational people would be aware exists; and the 'will' of 'the people'. Further, representation would be through various committees and a cabinet and so on.

According to Schumpeter, in classical theory, selection of representatives is secondary to 'the primary purpose of the democratic arrangement which is to vest the power of deciding political issues in the electorate.' He reversed that situation in seeing the role of the as that of producing a government, or an 'intermediate body which in turn will produce a national executive or government.' Hence:

the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote (1976: 269).

By his definition Schumpeter believed that:

- a reasonably efficient criterion exists by which to distinguish democratic governments from others;
- it allows proper recognition to the question of leadership;
- the theory does not neglect the will of the unemployed, for instance, to receive benefit;
- the theory is no more definite than the concept of competition for leadership, and it presents similar difficulties as the concept of competition in the economic sphere, and in economic life competition is never completely lacking and hardly ever perfect;
- it clarifies the relation that subsists between democracy and individual freedom; a considerable amount of freedom of the press for all;
- it provides for the question of recall, or eviction of a government; and
- it sheds more light on the question of the will of the majority and the will of the people which are

1 Taking it perhaps to the extreme, he suggests that: 'One could hardly imagine that all the people would sit permanently in an assembly to deal with public affairs... ' (1968: 112)
not the same (1976: 269-272).

In general, there are conflicting definitions of the meaning of 'democracy', its extent, and so on. In liberal 'democracy', no less than any other arena, where the concepts of 'democracy' (itself), 'equality' and 'liberty' arise, the definitions are generally centred around the political realm (the state) and relationship with 'the people'.

Jessop suggests, that in general, "democracy" refers to "government by the people". He comments: 'It is a frequently-remarked paradox that democratic institutions should exist in class societies since majority rule seems consistent with minority exploitation. But there is less agreement about the implications of this paradox. For it is uncertain whether it justifies the conclusion that the bourgeois democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism or that capitalism is a necessary condition for the full realization of democracy' (p.55). Of course, as he states his definition raises three issues, namely, the nature of government, the nature of the people, and the nature of the relationship between government and the people (p.55) - which are partly touched on in various aspects of the present discussion.

Liberal postulates tend to allow the individual considerable reign to override others in terms of possession and power of access as a general rule. This is fed basically from ideas such as John Locke's (1948) which were founded upon the 'law of nature', that in a state of perfect freedom men were allowed to order their actions and dispose of their possessions, and so on without asking leave to do so within the bounds of such law. Keynes (1936) felt that there was 'a social and psychological justification for significant inequalities of incomes and wealth, but not for such large disparities as exist today' (see 1936: 122-123).

Positions such as Locke's and Keynes' are largely but not altogether on the other side of observers such as those within the Marxist tradition. As Landy (1946) has explained: 'The first point at which Marxism allegedly departs from the democratic tradition is in the property question. This was the question around which the theory of modern democracy had its origin. And yet here, too, there is a historical continuity despite the difference as is evident from the various theories which the early champions of bourgeois private property advanced against feudal property with a freshness, boldness and energy characteristic of the rise of a new social system' (1946: 161).

Lenin argued that:

Democracy means equality. The great significance of the proletariat's struggle for equality and of equality as a slogan will be clear if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes. But democracy means only formal equality. And as soon as equality is achieved for all members of society in relation to ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labour and wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of advancing further, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'...

Democracy is a form of the state, one of its varieties. Consequently, it, like every state, represents, on the one hand, the organised, systematic use of force against persons; but, on the other hand, it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure of, and to administer, the

\[^2\] 20th century.
Marx, writing with Engels, felt that the anticipated proletarian revolution would introduce a democratic constitution, but existing society could only be transformed gradually, "and be able to abolish private property only when the necessary quantity of the means of production has been created." This proletarian democracy would only be useful if it carried through certain "measures directly attacking private ownership and securing the means of subsistence of the proletariat" (1977: 88-89). Their position was that democracy and capitalist society were incongruous. Equal treatment under an unequal system - to the extent that this is possible - by the state (executive, legislative, security) - meant a defence of those who owned private property.

Gramsci tried to explain how in capitalist society the ruling and propertied operated to sustain the system. Hall and his colleagues summarize some of this argument. "The state...is the key instrument which enlarged the narrow rule of a particular class into a "universal" class leadership and authority over the whole social formation. Its task is to secure the broadening and generalising of class power, while ensuring also the stability and cohesion of the social ensemble. The relative independence of the state (the "relative autonomy" of the political from the economic) is, in capitalist societies, the necessary condition for this "task" of cohesion and unity." Thus, the view of the capitalist state as "the executive committee of the ruling class" is not a particularly helpful one. It pinpoints the essential class nature of the state but it obscures what is specific to the state under capitalism - the basis of its independence. The temptation is to "read" the political level of the state as always and directly expressive, either of the "needs" of the productive forces or of the narrow class interests of one ruling class fraction. This obscures the fact that a fundamental class can exercise power through the mediation, at the political level, of a ruling or "governing" class fraction different from itself" (1978: 204-205).

Democracy essentially implies that people who are vitally affected by any decision which men make, have an effective voice in that decision, according to C. Wright Mills (1970). From this, all such decision-making power should be 'publicly legitimated' and 'the makers' should be 'publicly accountable'. He pointed out, for instance, that the 'social structure of the United States' was not 'an altogether democratic one' and noted that the 'corporate economy is run neither as a set of two meetings nor as a set of powers responsible to those whom their activities affect very seriously. The military machines and increasingly the political state are in the same condition' (1970: 208).

According to Mannheim, '[d]emocratic control of these new power institutions' such as the press and radio 'is vital as their influence is bound to increase with the growth of society. Agencies reaching the masses could be left alone as long as their power was dispersed.' However, public control was now necessary (1965: 134-135). He reiterated and elaborated as follows:

The original meaning and function of the press is to provide information and to help clarify opinion by free discussion. The first aim is not fulfilled unless reliable news presentation is guaranteed, and the second is unwarranted if big business owns the papers and monopolizes opinion or, by indirect advertising influence, allocates undue space and radio time for the propagation of partisan interests. The balance of society cannot be maintained if privileged groups can use the most powerful apparatus for the dissemination of their ideas while the less privileged are deprived of similar means of expression. It is not easy to find a remedy because the size of a newspaper concern often ensures the quality of its news service and the scope of its coverage (1965: 135).
Mannheim's views are broadly on target and may suggest a minimum path through which some modicum of 'democracy' can be fomented or realized through the press. Indeed, from a somewhat different school, Cohen describes democracy as: '...that system of community government in which, by and large, the members of a community participate, or may participate, directly or indirectly, in the making of decisions which affect them all.' This, he admits, requires further refinement but, upon it, he proposed to build a theory of democracy which required as a first step, careful analysis of participation and its dimensions. This would serve two purposes: democracy would be further explained since participation is the key notion in its definition, and secondly, an appreciation of what participation concretely involved would allow for an estimate of its extent in any community (1971: 7).

Cohen, however, is at pains to sideline the possible consequences of economic inequality: 'Even gross inequalities are not an absolute bar to democratic process' but - as he struggles to offer - 'when economic inequalities are gross, the circumstances are not propitious for democracy' (1971: 118).

Garnham (1986: 46) argues that 'the problem with liberal free press theory is not just that the market has produced conditions of oligopoly which undercut the liberal ideal nor that private ownership leads to direct manipulation of political communication, although it does, but that there is a fundamental contradiction between the economic and the political at the level of their value systems and of the social relations which those value systems require and support.' Thus, in the political sphere the individual is viewed as 'a citizen exercising public rights of debate, voting, and so on, within a communally agreed structure of rules and towards communally defined ends.' Further, the value system is basically social and 'the legitimate end of social action is the public good. Within the economic realm, on the other hand, the individual is defined as producer and consumer exercising private rights through purchasing power on the market in pursuit of private interests, his or her actions being co-ordinated by the invisible hand of the market.' For him, this contradiction throws up 'two clashing concepts of human freedom.' In one case, 'human freedom is defined in economic terms as the freedom to pursue private interest without political constraint.' In the second instance, 'the socialist and Marxist traditions define freedom in political terms and advocate political intervention in the workings of the market in order to liberate the majority from its constraints.' For Garnham, the contradiction could only be resolved by the market itself in advanced liberal societies, although there were minimum public services (e.g., provision of health care) which, were they to be jettisoned by governments in such locales, would render them (governments) bereft of anything called democracy.

McQuail concludes on the current media situation that 'there are still threats from concentration, often in new, more international forms, and still extensive needs for an ever-growing supply of high quality information...The demands laid on citizens in democratic societies for making informed choices are greater rather than less in a more complex and interdependent world, and information equality seems as remote as ever' (1991: 141). The problems are, of course, large and resonate around smaller confines such as the Caribbean and the hallowed centres of core capitalism. Scholars such as Schiller (1976, 1989, etc.) and Boyd-Barrett (e.g., 1977) have stressed the permeation of the large corporation with reference to the media and/or its failures regarding social change in less economically advanced countries.

Grenada's Prime Minister under the revolution, Maurice Bishop placed part of the change beyond in the hands of the people or journalists among them. For Bishop: 'It is clear that one of the major challenges that will confront progressive and honest journalists in our region in the
months and years ahead is the urgent task of demonopolizing the Caribbean mass media, particularly
the region’s large newspapers with their myriad corporate and ideological linkages. And growing out
of this effort will be the struggle to democratize the workplaces where journalists labour, i.e., to
provide opportunities to participate in the editorial and management decision-making processes, to set
productivity targets, to organise emulation and grievance committees and to share in the profits of the
media enterprises’ (Searle, In Nobody’s Backyard/1984: 149). To take, for instance, Jessop’s
reiteration of the idea of government ‘by the people’, the journalists here themselves would be part of
the government, and would perhaps be acting in the general interest ('objective' interest) and not
necessarily the minority interests of those who have traditionally dominated the terrain of the major
commercial press and its output, and beyond (e.g., the broader economy, a foothold in the state ideologically with or without a physical presence).

Hoyte, a Caribbean journalist/executive,3 is also similarly specific but implies that the
foundation on which building could commence might have been worse. ‘Had we, for instance,
allowed the print media of the Caribbean to be dominated by the left-over colonial media houses of
metropolitan countries instead of being run by our own people, the post independence period in this
region would definitely not have benefited from some of the new thinking which has led to more local
coverage, more discriminating examination of international hand-outs and increased opportunities for
training’ (1989/90: 36). Further, the ‘transfer of power from overseas did not automatically ensure
the end of ill-informed or irrelevant or sensational reporting. It only meant that those people who
were accountable lived in the midst of the community and could be called upon to give account of their
contribution...’ The ‘basic question is: Whose news? If it is “everybody’s” news, then the matter of
ownership must relate back to the answer. “Everybody’s”.’ He offers a pluralistic approach but not
largely in the general sense of the dominant liberal-pluralist which occupied some of the pages in our
discussion in this study, but ownership which is widely based and takes into account employee
participation.

The present study has partly illustrated the role which the press can play in de-legitimizing
or containing significant processes of political and social change. Cases of media and the buttress of
social interests in which they are encamped operating in this way are common. The background to
the Chilean situation of the 1960s and 1970s is relevant. Under conservative leadership up to 1964,
it is said that the ‘privately owned mass media flourished.’ In 1964, middle-of-the-road Christian
Democrats under Eduardo Frei won the election and they ‘increased state ownership of radio and
television and created schemes to ensure the participation of the poor and less privileged in their
content and operations.’ Under Allende’s leadership between 1970 and 1973, the Socialists
‘attempted a policy of nationalization of the content and state ownership of some media’ (Catalan,
1988: 45-46). The relationship with corporate capitalism and agro-commercial capital can be seen
through radio, for instance. ‘Until 1964 radio ownership was almost exclusively private. The
privately owned copper-mining company and the national agricultural association owned the two
largest chains’ (p.47).

In keeping with themes expressed in the ‘free press’ theories considered in Chapter
Four, Chilean conservative parties who lost control of the government in 1964 believed in an

3 Editor-in-Chief of the Nation.
unregulated marketplace for newspaper owners and so on, and raised questions only about issues of
immorality and advertising abuses. The Christian Democrats ‘changed the old relationship between
political power, economic groups and the mass media. Their policies decreased the control of the
economic and political right wing over the mass media’ (Catalan, 1988: 49).

After a narrow loss to Frei in the 1964 presidential election, Allende had noted that the
‘tremendous strength of the mass media in the hands of the powerful national and international
economic sectors’ hindered ‘the electoral struggle of the popular movements, even when they are a
majority’ (1988: 52).

In its years out of power from 1958 to 1970, the Left had been critical of the mass
media, and felt democratization was a necessary condition for the broad democratization of Chilean
society. It had denounced media links with foreign capital, especially through advertising, and
argued that only those who owned the media had freedom of expression. Later, the Statute of
Constitutional Guarantees which was a political agreement negotiated between the Christian
Democrats and Unidad Popular (Socialists) in order for Salvador Allende to become president,
‘guaranteed the right of all individuals and political parties to publish newspapers and magazines and

As a coalition of left-wing parties, when Unidad Popular gained power in 1970 it did so
under a banner of anti-imperialism, anti-monopoly, and land reform. It ‘did not immediately
present an alternative model of the mass media, although the radical change of media ownership had
been among its objectives.’ It prioritized state expansion of control of industry and agriculture and an
immediate increase in the living standards and political participation of low-income groups. Its
constitutional commitments and opposition from conservatives and the Christian Democrats slowed the
pace of policy initiatives for the media (see p.52). However, it did regulate the culture industries
‘indirectly through import and price controls and increased public ownership of some media’ (p.54).
Unidad Popular had come to power by constitutional means but was the subject of a coup and the
death of Allende in 1973, with US support.4

This section has attempted to outline the question ‘democracy’ and with a view to its
relevance to the press. In general, and without retrace the paths that the arguments have taken, it
seems that liberal ‘democratic’ societies are wanting in ‘democracy’, and that the major Caribbean
press has not acquitted itself particularly well as an arm of ‘democracy’ in terms of its structure, and
offerings in what should be a context of participation. As regards the press, its modus operandi, its
situation, and historical growth secure it in a bind. But it is part of a larger social arrangement over
which it has only limited control and of which it is partly representative. Significant and sustained
transformation requires more than a change in the press or the communications industry, but this
sphere is, nevertheless, crucially important.

4 Congressional reports revealed later that in 1971 the US government appropriated $1.2 million to
buy radio time and newspaper space to support opposition parties in municipal elections and other
activities against the Allende Government. Further, between 1971 and 1972 it authorized $1.7
million to support El Mercurio newspaper and $1.5 to opposition parties and opposition media for the
10.3 Recommendations for further research

Explicit references have been made at various junctures in the study to that fact that research in the economically poor countries or countries such as those in the Caribbean generally, is often an exceedingly difficult enterprise, not least because of the problem of assembling relevant data. There are, too, problems of conceptualization. These two considerations are not, of course, unrelated. It is possible, indeed, that the particular state of flux in such societies and their historical circumstances require not only a cautious application of theoretical formulas and methods but also flexible formulas developed to explain broad social processes and the media in these societies.

This study has not been noted for its attention to press readership in the Caribbean having stressed the production side of the equation, and that (readership/audience) is one of the areas which could be fruitfully explored. To what extent have other mass media channels displaced the press (newspapers) as an outlet for political communication and what are the implications for any decline in the status of the press as a potential tool of capital and ruling interests as well as of the political sphere and the state (which p. sphere and/or state may or may not represent such interests)? What are the implications for such interests? Correspondingly, what new constraints have arisen for the production process? Are audiences being differentiated or disintegrating to the extent that the influence of the media or specific sectors can only be very partial and limited?

The question of ownership and control of the press which was raised to a considerable extent could be further explored as an area in itself in light of the observations in this study with the addition of the broadcast media. Ancillary research could be done in relation to new rising - but apparently small circulation - and apparently resilient press serving community and special interests which seemed to be on the growth trend numerically from the 1980s, and if anything adding to the range of views and information available to citizens.

Transnational media interests have been very considerably displaced by various factors (resistance from local capital, the stipulations of nationalist regimes, competition and fallen profit margins). Enthusiastic researchers could explore further, the specifics of continuities in an inserted presence and the nature of positioning in the marketplace. A significant examination of the local and local-regional advertising industry and media content (e.g., a trend/longitudinal study) would be worthwhile.

The new communication technologies have had considerable impact on the Caribbean press and media generally. For instance, workers in various sectors - traditional 'production' workers (technicians, skilled and semi-skilled), clerical, and professional journalists have lost their jobs but some have been re-employed and retrained. The nature of journalists' and press workers' relationship with capital and executives in the emerging structure requires attention. What constraints have the structure and its multifarious features imposed on the production of news and of culture generally? In terms of the specific area of the relationship between journalists and executives/owners, or between reporters and editors, and executives - has the introduction of the new technologies (desk-top units, printing processes) allowed greater independence at any levels in the news production process? How has any such change been manifested in the capacity of news and the press/media to reproduce the structures of capitalist society and its political face in liberal-pluralist politics?
Policy. Whereas a plurality of media outlets is acceptable here, there is a need for the media to be more consciously brought into the development process in countries such as those focused on in this study. In countries such as Trinidad and Jamaica, notable efforts at privatisation (or dialogue about this) of state-owned media or programming production have been made in the 1980s to the early 1990s. What are the implications of this or the tendency, for any attempt at socialist or fundamental transformation and the objective ‘general interest’ of the region and the nation? To what extent can this trend be avoided bearing in mind the larger trend in capitalism as a whole and the liberalization within the socialist bloc and this bloc’s qualitatively changing relationship with the centres of capital? Should not the governments mobilize the media as a whole or large sections to operate for the development process within popular and progressive policy objectives?

Some authors, in addressing their attention to journalists, have written about ‘development journalism’ particularly in relation to an assumed appropriateness to spheres such as the Caribbean. Ogan and Fair (1984), drawing from Aggarwala (1978), for instance, raise the potential of development journalism insofar as it reports development, and is investigative. According to these observers: ‘Good development-oriented information is available...and it is time that the editors and publishers of Third World newspapers began to avail themselves of those services and to expect their own reporters to write more critically and analytically about development’ (1984: 188). Oso (1986: 255) observes that ‘development journalism shares certain assumptions about society with the liberal/social responsibility theory of the press’ and usefully, he concludes on its shortcomings in that issues such as ‘power, inequality and class are not part of the two models and analysis’ based upon either of them (see also, Musa, 1989 for a note on this).

These are only a few of the potential questions and considerations which could (indeed, should) attract research. To the extent that such areas and questions are attempted, and where appropriate, incorporated into the change process the hope that real change will occur cannot be a forlorn one. History has not always presented the foundations for hope, but ever so often there is a glimmer.
APPENDIX C-1: Map of Grenada showing urban areas, main routes, parish boundaries, and other features
APPENDIX 1: Physical area, population, and date of formal political independence/political status of Angophone Caribbean countries (CARICOM) - selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>AREA (1986 IN SQ. KM.)</th>
<th>POPULATION 1970</th>
<th>POPULATION 1980</th>
<th>POPULATION 1986 (est.)</th>
<th>Year of Independence/Political Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>65,525</td>
<td>65,525 (’70)</td>
<td>81,000</td>
<td>1981 (4 Barbuda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>237,761</td>
<td>252,029</td>
<td>254,000</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>70,513</td>
<td>74,625 (’81)</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>93,858</td>
<td>98,000*</td>
<td>113,000</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>214,829</td>
<td>701,885</td>
<td>758,619</td>
<td>971,000</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>10,990</td>
<td>1,848,512</td>
<td>2,205,507 (’82)</td>
<td>2,372,000</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>11,698</td>
<td>12,932</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Dependency/Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts-Nevis/Anguilla</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>64,000+</td>
<td>64,000</td>
<td>47,000</td>
<td>1983 (St. Kitts-Nevis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>5,130</td>
<td>940,719</td>
<td>1,079,791</td>
<td>1,204,000</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>100,893</td>
<td>115,153</td>
<td>132,000</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent &amp; Grenadines</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>87,305</td>
<td>97,914</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,210,911</td>
<td>4,802,258</td>
<td>5,356,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Figures for 1970 and 1980 are census figures. Years stated in brackets for some countries are the years of most recent census around that time. 1986 figures are UN estimates.

*The 1981 UN estimate was 108,000.

+ Including nationals living abroad; by 1986, recent census policy.

+ ' Provisional figures'. The fall in figures later explains the fact that Anguilla broke away from the three-country grouping (St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla) with the intention of seeking a separate independent nationhood which was a principal point on the tiny country's political agenda in the late 1980s.

$ For the 1980 and 1986 calculations, St. Vincent and the Grenadines are now included in the West Indies. The Bahamas became politically independent in 1973 (pop. over 200,000) and it is not a member of CARICOM, but it is, for instance, a member of the British Commonwealth.

APPENDIX 2: Currency exchange rates for selected Caribbean countries, and two major world currencies vs the US$, for selected years

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BARBADOS</td>
<td>$2.06</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. CARIBBEAN</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMAICAN</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>10.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR. &amp; TOBAGO</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADIAN</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>$2.34</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.65</td>
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**JP & EC£ (other years)**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J$</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC£</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** The 1991 rate for the Jamaican dollar presented in the table is a mid-year figure. By early October, the exchange rate was approximately J$18.80 to the US$ (and J$92 to the £ Sterling) partly as a result of initiatives by the PHG Government in Jamaica to neutralize the 'black market' in currency dealing and stabilize the exchange rate of the J$. By January, 1992 the rounded exchange rates were US$ = J$21; £ Sterling = 35; and Canadian$ = 16 (see, e.g., Weekly Gleaner, 1/10/91; 1, 7/1/92: 1). Further decline (e.g., £1 = J$45) occurred in 1992 before measures were taken to control what seemed to be an unending slide and one which was accompanied by a decline in the PHG administration's ratings. Relate this to rising prices and the poor and the situation becomes clearer. Lamentations of the not unrelated brutal IMF stipulations have even come from hard core, well heeled local capitalists (e.g., John Issa who has been a Gleaner board member) (see, e.g., various copies of the Weekly Gleaner, 1992).

APPENDIX 3: The organisational structure of the multi-class party (the People's National Party - PNP/Jamaica)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party leader (HM) - Professional/Union Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officers of the Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*7 Professionals, 1 Big Planter, 1 Small Businessman, 2 Working Class - Trade Unionists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Professionals, Worker Aristocracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC - National Executive Comm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Professionals, Small Businessmen, Planters, Big Businessmen, Own-Account Workers, Trade Unionists (Youth and Woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC - Regional Executive Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Semi-professionals, Small &amp; Middle Peasants, Self-Employed, Small Businessmen, Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituency Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Small, Middle Peasants, Artisans, Semi-Professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Casually Employed Workers, Small Peasants, Unemployed &amp; Lumpenproletariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976: 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979 (early) 2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept., 1979: 1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line of effective decision making - Limited upward mobility from disarticulation within, the articulation from top mass base v via charismatic leader

NOTE: Party groups are of two types - 'Provisional' and 'Recognised'. All groups begin as provisional and at that stage each have a membership of at least six persons. The provisional group becomes recognised by being active for at least three months, and if it has a 'financial membership' of at least 12 persons (Excerpts from party constitution, Rising Sun, Vol.1, No.5, Political Education Supplement: II)

APPENDIX 4: Production of bauxite and alumina in millions of tonnes, 1974 – 1980

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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica Bauxite</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica Alumina</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia Alumina</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total Bauxite</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>100.50</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: (1) Bauxite refers to the ore, and alumina to the intermediate stage between bauxite and aluminium.

(ii) There are slight discrepancies in figures between different issues of World Mineral Statistics but these discrepancies are not very significant.

(iii) There have been positive reports of an upturn in the market for Jamaican bauxite/alumina and in production as the 1980s began, and Jamaica was reporting revenue increases compared with the depression years of the 1980s when tourism eventually took bauxite as the principal foreign exchange earner. Investment has also been noticeable. In 1991, a conveyor line for only one of Jamaica’s bauxite mining complexes was completed at a cost of US$50 million (Weekly Gleaner, 22/10/91: 6). Alumina is a higher stage of production than bauxite in the continuum — bauxite → alumina → aluminium → aircraft and motor vehicle parts, pots and pans — and has a higher value-added component with the implication that the less alumina produced the lower will be the proportion of revenue derived from mining.

SOURCE: Constructed from World Mineral Statistics

YIELD: (a) Bauxite; (b) Alumina

45
### APPENDIX 5: Production of gypsum in Jamaica (Caribbean Cement Co.), 1974-1988, and 1988 tonnes

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>233,517</td>
<td>239,579</td>
<td>240,963</td>
<td>214,824</td>
<td>132,403</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>145,500</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** At least one figure was estimated. The downward movement in production was also acutely reflected in exports, listed as 219,439 tons for 1974 but a mere tenth of that for the 1979 low of 21,062 tons.

### APPENDIX 6: Jamaica’s Gross Domestic Product by kind of activity, in current prices - selected items & years

(Millions of Jamaican dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agriculture, hunting, forestry &amp; fishing</th>
<th>Mining &amp; quarrying</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Wholesale &amp; ret. trade &amp; restaurants &amp; hotels</th>
<th>Transport, storage &amp; communication</th>
<th>Finance, insurance, real estate &amp; business services</th>
<th>TOTAL INDUSTRIES (including unlisted items - factor values)</th>
<th>GDP (including unlisted items)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>387.4</td>
<td>471.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>128.1</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>519.5</td>
<td>656.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>159.9</td>
<td>128.1</td>
<td>115.1</td>
<td>180.8</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>1084.8</td>
<td>1052.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>106.5</td>
<td>159.9</td>
<td>241.8</td>
<td>152.1</td>
<td>330.4</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>1311.5</td>
<td>1438.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>162.6</td>
<td>197.0</td>
<td>286.8</td>
<td>235.1</td>
<td>330.4</td>
<td>137.0</td>
<td>198.7</td>
<td>1946.0</td>
<td>2169.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>202.0</td>
<td>220.8</td>
<td>443.7</td>
<td>215.4</td>
<td>457.9</td>
<td>158.9</td>
<td>297.9</td>
<td>2326.0</td>
<td>2614.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>226.3</td>
<td>235.3</td>
<td>490.0</td>
<td>211.9</td>
<td>572.0</td>
<td>173.6</td>
<td>361.5</td>
<td>2356.4</td>
<td>2715.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>243.0</td>
<td>308.0</td>
<td>544.1</td>
<td>181.2</td>
<td>527.9</td>
<td>192.1</td>
<td>391.1</td>
<td>2384.5</td>
<td>2988.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>263.0</td>
<td>622.5</td>
<td>681.6</td>
<td>210.5</td>
<td>850.5</td>
<td>250.9</td>
<td>413.9</td>
<td>3768.7</td>
<td>4289.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>320.0</td>
<td>678.0</td>
<td>721.2</td>
<td>269.4</td>
<td>1013.2</td>
<td>252.3</td>
<td>534.8</td>
<td>605.6</td>
<td>4730.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>392.2</td>
<td>283.7</td>
<td>1398.5</td>
<td>597.7</td>
<td>1543.0</td>
<td>417.7</td>
<td>605.6</td>
<td>1216.1</td>
<td>6993.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>450.5</td>
<td>1467.3</td>
<td>3749.5</td>
<td>2019.6</td>
<td>4322.2</td>
<td>1407.5</td>
<td>2558.7</td>
<td>6257.4</td>
<td>18441.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### APPENDIX 7: Returns for Jamaica’s main traditional exports, for selected years

(In millions of Jamaican Dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Alumina</th>
<th>Bauxite</th>
<th>Sugar</th>
<th>ALL EXPORTS</th>
<th>Petroleum Imports</th>
<th>ALL IMPORTS, (cif)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>113.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>155.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>253.1</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>206.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>284.8</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>437.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>300.2</td>
<td>360.0</td>
<td>489.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>315.7</td>
<td>133.2</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>604.0</td>
<td>572.8</td>
<td>850.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>274.9</td>
<td>113.7</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>698.6</td>
<td>572.8</td>
<td>829.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>243.3</td>
<td>145.9</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>1142.5</td>
<td>574.0</td>
<td>781.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>563.8</td>
<td>215.2</td>
<td>92.5</td>
<td>1445.8</td>
<td>545.1</td>
<td>1260.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>670.2</td>
<td>263.5</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>1715.0</td>
<td>545.1</td>
<td>1755.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>957.2</td>
<td>353.5</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>1735.1</td>
<td>683.4</td>
<td>2086.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1047.1</td>
<td>306.3</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>1389.1</td>
<td>872.4</td>
<td>2623.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>681.4</td>
<td>239.6</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>5571.2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2502.5</td>
<td>722.3</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>5571.2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 8: Grenada’s Gross Domestic Product by kind of activity, in current prices – selected items and years
(In millions of Eastern Caribbean Dollars [EC$])

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, hunting, forestry &amp; fishing</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining &amp; quarrying</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale &amp; retail trade, restaurants &amp; hotels</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage &amp; communication</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real estate and business services</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL INDUSTRIES (GDP including unlisted items) – in factor values</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>146.5</td>
<td>158.0</td>
<td>171.4</td>
<td>171.5</td>
<td>275.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP (including unlisted items)</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>202.0</td>
<td>216.7</td>
<td>239.4</td>
<td>252.9</td>
<td>406.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Figures for Grenada for all years were not all quoted in the sources used. In other words, the figures for some years which might have been selected were absent from the sources.


APPENDIX 9: Returns for Grenada’s main exports (crops) for selected years
(In millions of Eastern Caribbean Dollars [EC$])

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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nutmeg</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>12.68</td>
<td>16.01</td>
<td>10.74</td>
<td>12.41</td>
<td>12.51</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>8.61</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>19.57</td>
<td>27.07</td>
<td>17.96</td>
<td>19.07</td>
<td>12.48</td>
<td>16.21</td>
<td>10.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td>8.81</td>
<td>10.46</td>
<td>10.53</td>
<td>10.03</td>
<td>8.90</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>11.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL EXPORTS</td>
<td>7.16</td>
<td>10.87</td>
<td>12.08</td>
<td>10.53</td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>39.12</td>
<td>39.45</td>
<td>45.67</td>
<td>58.48</td>
<td>45.81</td>
<td>51.36</td>
<td>50.09</td>
<td>51.09</td>
<td>86.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL IMPORTS (CIF)</td>
<td>14.83</td>
<td>19.08</td>
<td>44.63</td>
<td>42.81</td>
<td>37.08</td>
<td>66.25</td>
<td>84.76</td>
<td>96.27</td>
<td>117.69</td>
<td>133.28</td>
<td>146.71</td>
<td>150.88</td>
<td>150.21</td>
<td>239.17</td>
<td></td>
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OUTLINES OF METHODOLOGY

The study, from the point of view of fieldwork and data base envisaged three main pillars. These were a document study, interviews of journalists, and a content analysis. It was felt that together, in an integrated way, they would substantiate the objectives of this exploratory study which aims broadly to examine the role of the media in the political and social change process (See Introduction to the main body of the thesis for an outline of the specific factors to be considered.).

I - THE DOCUMENT STUDY

The objective behind the document study was to make a general assessment of concentration in the Anglophone Caribbean's newspaper publishing sector of the communications industry and the factors which have conditioned this process. Further to this it aimed to assess the extent to which the dynamics of this corporate element within the wider corporate terrain and economy (local, regional, and broader global) affected the social production of news and information. The following represents some of the general categories of information which was sought:-

NEWS PERSONNEL AND MANAGERS
1. Newsroom staff - numbers
2. Membership in professional bodies
3. Membership in regional bodies (Caribbean Press Council, Federation of Latin American Journalists, Media Workers' Association of Grenada)
4. Occupational areas (news) - numbers/proportions
5. Specific appointments in certain organizations - e.g., the chief executives of Jamaica's Gleaner Company, and Trinidad Express Newspapers as Chairmen of the Caribbean News Agency (CANA), and link with government, etc.

MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS
1. History
2. Policy statements
3. Staff complement (mainly editorial staff)
4. Organizational structure/chart - and newsroom specifically
5. Circulation figures
6. Advertising policy and charges
7. Data on the importance of advertising vs. circulation as revenue sources
8. Ownership structure (family/public, etc.)
9. Annual reports, company financial statements

RELATIONSHIPS/AFFILIATIONS OF MEDIA ORGANIZATION
1. Parent organizations and/or newspaper publishing firms
2. Other organizations with interests in the communications industry with particular reference to the press
3. Details of mergers, takeovers, staff changes based on economic climate and introduction of new technology, etc.
4. Organizational membership in bodies such as: Inter-American Press Association (IAPA),
Caribbean Publishers' and Broadcasters' Assn. (CPBA), Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU), Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA)

ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH STATE/GOVERNMENT
1. Financial interest - part ownership
2. Libel case pending/settled
3. Compulsory programme or space allocation
4. Licensing regulations, newsprint strictures, etc.
5. Government media policy, etc.
6. Incidents of direct action by state/government/party - e.g., popular demonstration, or assistance
7. Representation on management team/board of directors

GENERAL FACTORS IN THE SPHERES OF ECONOMICS, POLITICS, ETC.
1. Balance of payments and other crises
2. Relevant regional economic and other relationships
3. General economic and other conditions relating to the broader context which might have a bearing on the press

II - INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured or Unstructured interviews of news professionals and key managers. These persons are those who for the most part would not only be senior, and political/parliamentary reporters, for instance, tend to be senior journalists who interpret government political, social, economic and other policies for consumption by the mass public. It was felt that the interviews would assist in isolating, at the subjective level, factors among those which determine the news and information process and output, and the location of decision-making power/power (including intervention) within the news organization. These factors would be both internal and external to the organization, and related to journalistic approaches.

Journalists (core categories):
(i) The specialist political/parliamentary reporter - or reporters whose main task is political reporting (including the generalist in a small paper/newsroom where specialization may be limited);
(ii) The news editor or 'political' editor (whoever has more specific responsibility in this area);
(iii) The editor (who in a small organization may have more of the day-to-day editing, etc.);
(iv) The Caribbean News Agency (CANA) correspondent for the specific countries listed for inquiry (as well as General Manager or Editor).

(Journalists should generally have been with their organizations or in the media dating from the period under discussion, or have had responsibility to report on politics in another organization for which they may have worked earlier.) However, even later recruited professionals and managers may be useful in pointing to present and future barriers to transformation. Hence, whereas these others will not be central to the general commitments of this outline, they will not be deliberately excluded.

Executives:
(i) The General Manager/Managing or Executive Director - who is in charge of ongoing executive 'strategic' control on behalf of a Board of Directors (or who, in a small concern
may also be the proprietor); (ii) The Editor (where this role tends to be considerably removed from that of the ’working journalist’).

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDES

The question guides include the sorts of information it was hoped would be extracted from professionals, and secondly, executives (e.g. editor in large organization & a manager or managing director). They are not intended for distribution. [The questions, as emphasized amount to a guide rather than a representation of the exact wording of the ones to be asked, and are to be viewed as among those which may be accounted for by the research. Hopefully, the responses will clear up some of the answers required about the social production of news in the Anglophone Caribbean press. The pattern of the interviews will vary, for instance, to the extent that interviewees request regular set questions rather than be left to talk at will.]

QUESTION GUIDE FOR JOURNALISTS

1. Name of media organization
2. Country
3. Post of media professional (including specialization, if any)
4. Period of service in this capacity
5. Length of time with organization
6. Length of time in journalism

II. NEWS PRODUCTION (Reporters, Editors, Sub-editors)
7. Could you say what factors attracted you to
   (a) journalism,
   (b) this particular organization,
   (c) previous organization (if media), and the most important reasons for leaving?
8. (If a full-time journalist) Did you work for the organization(s) in any other capacity priority to joining as a full-time member of staff?
9. Do you know of any established editorial policy guidelines which the organization has for news, particularly political news? If so, how did you learn of these guidelines?
10. How would you rank the level of autonomy which you have, if any in deciding the published content of stories on which you report?
11. Has such autonomy, if any, varied over the years, especially in relation to political news coverage?
12. Is there a policy of verification/checking upwards (even to the Manager/Director) in the case of important stories (especially those on politics)?
13. Do you have direct contact with the Manager/Director, whether in terms of supervision or at the level of, say, ‘editorial’ meetings held to decide what will be covered on particular days or weeks (and also to decide on perhaps the ‘angle’ to take)?
14. (If a reporter) Is your editor distant or ever present to offer advice or directives on what to cover, when, and ‘angle’ to adopt?
15. (If you have a specific ‘beat’/portfolio) Do you for the most part structure your stories (i.e., in a way anticipate developments) and then make contact with beat sources, or do you mainly await
their call/contact and then design your stories around such information as you may receive?

17. Do you find that stories from other sources (e.g. wire services - CANA in particular and e.g., Reuters, AP,UPI,AFP) which you may wish to incorporate into your own vary largely from your own in terms of style, content, stance and may therefore have to be adjusted? Is there any example which comes to mind?

18. Are you or were you at anytime a CANA correspondent?

19. (If a reporter/sub-editor) Have you ever had a conflict with your editor or managing director (general manager, Board member) about your interpretation of, or the content of a story? If so what was the nature of the material and how was the conflict resolved? Are such conflicts thrashed out/resolved on a one-to-one basis (daily, weekly, monthly meetings, or in other ways and through other channels?

20. In discussion of the workings of the mass media and journalists, reference is often made to elements such as 'objectivity', 'impartiality' and 'balance'. Do you generally apply these guiding principles in your work?

21. In your work do you often have discussions with other beat journalists from competing organizations about the 'angle' or stance to adopt for particular stories? If not, do you sometimes 'exchange notes'?

ORGANIZATION'S STANCE AND EXTERNAL FACTORS

22. Do you agree with most policies of the organization relating to your work (i.e., news)?

23. Would you say that your organization has a particular political/ideological stance? If so, what is its alignment or to which party does it incline?

24. Do you think that this affects the way in which the news and comment are slanted, especially in relation to political news and your role?

25. Do you see your political/ideological position as generally coinciding with your organization's?

26. If you see much coincidence, was the fact that the organization's stance approximated your own an important deciding factor in applying for or accepting a job within it?

27. Do you frequently come in contact with politicians and civil servants (bureaucrats) in collecting news? Have you found them generally cooperative/uncooperative?

28. What of advertisers - do you come in direct contact with them or by telephone? Your organization derives some of its income from advertising and what it writes somehow relates to advertisers. Would you say that they have influenced what you write or write about? Could you give any examples?

29. Are there any recent political and social developments which you can recall that in your view impacted upon news coverage? How did you or your organization gather news?

(JAMAICA AND GRENADA [NOTE: Questions arising from these guidelines will only be asked if interviewees initiate discussion by citing these cases.])

30. What would you say you recall most easily in the case of the PNP of Jamaica during the period (1972-1980), and of Grenada (1979-1983)?

31. Was there a particular policy(ies) which you disliked in the case of Jamaica; Grenada? Did you admire one or more?

32. Did you, at any time during the Manley or Bishop administrations, or at any other time visit Jamaica or Grenada?

33. What do you think of the manner in which the NJM gained power in 1979?

34. Were you keen on having early elections in Grenada very soon after the new administration
35. Were there any times at which you did or did not sympathize with either or both administrations? Why?
36. As a political reporter (or journalist), what was your approach to writing stories on the administration(s), if you did?
37. Do you have any specific views on, for example, military cooperation and other relationships with countries such as the USA, the Soviet Union, Britain, and Cuba?

GENERAL
38. Did you at any stage feel that the media (and your organization) as they operated in the Anglophone Caribbean were in any way threatened or enhanced by either the PNP regime of the 1970s and/or the Grenada insurrection.
39. If (a) threatened and/or (b) enhanced, how did you respond in the performance of your work, and more broadly?
40. Was there any occasion on which you had a conflict with with your editor/manager about coverage of any issue relating to either or both the PNP/Manley (Jamaica) and NJM/PRG/Bishop (Grenada) regimes? If so, could you elaborate?
41. Are you a member of a journalist organization?
42. Where would you place yourself in the general hierarchy of the newsroom/ editorial dept. - e.g. on decision-making in relation to the editor (if not the editor) and cub reporter?
43. Do you, or do you not aspire to head the newsroom (e.g., as editor, if not already an editor), or even the organization?
44. If you do, what changes, if any would you make in news treatment or in the relationship between the newsroom and the organization as a whole, and in terms of the any impact or pressure from external forces (e.g., advertisers, news agencies, politicians, state) with regard to decision-making?

QUESTION GUIDE FOR EXECUTIVES
1. What would you say is the most important objective of your news organization?
2. Does your organization have a specific policy (written or unwritten) on news? If so, could you briefly outline this?
3. Do you yourself participate directly in deciding on a daily, weekly, monthly basis (e.g., editorial meetings) or otherwise what the major issues/events which should be covered are and the emphasis in coverage?
4. From time to time there are reports about news organizations (and more specifically newsrooms) claiming editorial independence or demanding it from company managers/boards of directors, etc. Sometimes the demand is for non-interference from government, and perhaps advertisers, even by 'non-editorial' management. Could you comment on the specific relationships and position with regard to your organization?
5. If your newsroom (or media organization) has a parent organization, in what ways do the policies and requirements of the parent affect, or are related to the operation of the news organization/ department?
6. Is news policy, for instance, guided by the demands of the parent organization?
7. How is news output, for instance, guided by, e.g., a need to make a profit, the presence of large advertisers, and broad financial and political constraints?

8. If you seek or promote editorial autonomy/independence, to what extent do you think this has been achieved?

9. (If an editor) What, in summary, would you say is your role in news production?

10. Would you say that generally your organization has a particular political/ideological stance or tends to favour a particular political party? If yes, would you care to name the party?

JAMAICA AND GRENADA [NOTE: Specific questions based on these guidelines will only be asked if interviewees initiate discussion by citing these cases.]

11. Did your organization or news department have a particular approach to (a) the PNP administration of the 1970s-80 and (b) the Grenadian insurrection/Revolution?

12. Were there any specific policies, relationships (e.g., external), or inclinations which you (a) disliked, or (b) admired?

13. In your view, did either or both approaches/regimes have a particular stance to the media (or indeed, to an entire parent organization of which your news organization is a part/subsidiary) or any group in society? If so, did you find it acceptable or unacceptable?

14. If you found it against your liking, did you consciously pay closer attention, for instance, to how political news or news focusing on political and social programmes of the regimes was treated?

15. Would you say that, if you strongly opposed the attitude of either or both those governments to the mass media, that your news department and management became somewhat closer in an attempt to address the threat?

16. Was there any variation of your attitude to the specific regimes from one time to another. For instance, initial support - later opposition, Initial opposition - later support?

17. What of the 1983 intervention/invasion in Grenada, and the defeat of the PNP in Jamaica at the 1980 polls? How do you feel about these?

18. What are your organization’s main sources of news about the Caribbean?

19. The administrations which we referred to above (PNP/Manley, PRG/Bishop) were removed from office. How do/did you feel about the immediate successors to those administrations?

III. THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Two periods were selected - one for each case country. For Jamaica/the People’s National Party (PNP), a week around the 1980 election (October 28 - November 3, three days before + the election day itself + three days after) when it suffered defeat at the hands of the JLP were selected. This was arrived at because, although the election period was a high point, it was felt that a longer off-peak period would involve a noticeably more sparse distribution of items, considerable more resources than the study could accommodate and would probably be no more fruitful, and perhaps less so. A similar rationale obtains for the Grenada insurrection in which case the period selected spanned the period from the first press reports in the major press (March 14, 1979) until March 20. Having assessed the burden of the workload, several newspapers being involved, and considering that a newspaper’s main news stories tend to be primarily on its front page, and the primary opinion page being the editorial page, those were selected.

While, I was hopeful of identifying relevant variables in keeping with the press, and political and social change (e.g., foreign policy, political ideology - particularly intrusion of
'socialism'/'communism' and the perceived 'communist threat' or 'Cuban presence',
democratization, agrarian reform, housing, etc.), the option of using the entire article as the unit
of analysis was taken. Moreover, rather than a micro-approach identifying every reference to a
particular policy or programme, a macro-approach which examines the article as a whole and places
it within the context of the overall change process identified with the regime is adopted.

Five major newspapers - selected on the basis of circulation, continuity, frequency of
publication (although initially the Nation was not a daily) and availability of copies were selected.
These were the Gleaner (Jamaica), Guardian and Express (Trinidad), and the Advocate and Nation
(Barbados). The Jamaica Daily News listed below was a major newspaper in the 1970s but emerged
and declined in that decade and circulation figures declined and such figures were inaccessible.
Moreover, its status as a largely government-financed newspaper removed it substantially from some
aspects of the calculations for this study which emphasizes corporate 'private sector' newspapers. The
Grenadian Torchlight and Voice are smaller circulation newspapers and would not be considered
major in terms of the Anglophone Caribbean taken as a whole. However, as in the case of the Daily
News, it was felt that some reference ought to be made to them although they would not attract the
same degree of attention in the study. Thus, the Torchlight attracts more attention in the content
analysis than the Daily News as the Torchlight continued in private hands until it was closed in late
1979 and the focus of the content analysis for Grenada was March, 1979; the Daily News attracts
more attention at the level of corporate ownership and dynamics based on its status as a major
publishing venture in that sphere in the 1970s. It should be mentioned as well that reference in the
content analysis to any of the major newspapers includes daily and Sunday editions, and in the case
of the Nation the editions which existed during the period selected for the content analysis. Further,
references to Advocate-News and the Advocate point to the same newspaper: unless otherwise
specified the Advocate, Express, Gleaner, Guardian, and Nation refer to any edition (whether
Daily, Sunday, Midweek, Weekend, etc.).

Case countries
1. Jamaica - Gleaner, (Daily News)
2. Grenada - (Torchlight, Grenadian Voice)

Other
3. Barbados - Nation, Advocate
4. Trinidad & Tobago - Guardian, Express

Obviously the selection of the newspapers/media and countries to include in the study
could be a contentious issue. However, on the question of bias - which is dealt with elsewhere - I
would not admit that more exists than is normally encountered. Neither is the view that research is
ever really value-free shared here. Any criticism is best founded upon the degree thereof.

BRIEF REPORT ON FIELDWORK (April-July, 1988) - REPORT August, 1988

The general assessment of the fieldwork programme from the angle of the researcher
would be that it was largely successful in that most information sought after was acquired but with varying degrees of difficulty and completeness. Some documentary information was, of course, acquired well after the core fieldwork programme was completed. It is useful to delineate different aspects of the work in terms of the methodologies which I have sought to adopt, namely, the unstructured interview, document study, and a look at content (a content analysis).

The core fieldwork programme in the Caribbean itself spanned the period, April to mid-July, 1988. On leaving Leicester, I had roughly planned to spend a month in Jamaica (my principal base) after which I would go to Barbados, Trinidad, and Grenada to return to Jamaica for the last month. During this last month or so I had intended to devote time collecting further detailed information and available documents at the University of the West Indies' campus in Kingston. This programme was partly structured by the need to operate from a central base and by the realities of the airline service and ticket specifications, and the comparative ease of surviving at home in Jamaica. For instance, the economy ticket which I bought for the Eastern Caribbean countries which would take me from Jamaica through these countries and back to Jamaica was valid for thirty days, and flights left specific countries at specific times, to arrive at specific times which were or were not convenient for reaching people or entering the relevant institutions, and so on. Hence, thirty days on paper was less than thirty days for the research. While in Jamaica too, I found that the main library (a principal resource point) at the Kingston campus would be closed for the period June 20 - July 16, which meant that I would have had no time to use that library on return (I was scheduled to return to Jamaica and then eventually leave for Britain in the second half of July) from the Eastern Caribbean if I visited that area as planned during the second one-month period of my stay in the Caribbean. Hence, adjustments had to be made. In fact, I left Jamaica bound for Barbados at the end of the third week of June.

The period of fifteen days in the Eastern Caribbean was divided up between Barbados (three days), Trinidad (six days), Grenada (five days), Antigua (one - overnighting for a flight connection to Jamaica). Stops were made in several other countries but these were in-transit points.

I. INTERVIEWS

Taken as a whole, proposed interviewees were quite accessible at the level of cooperation. The sheer archipelagic dispersal of the Caribbean and my own time and material resources constraints helped to establish the parameters of what could be done in that period, even with prior mail contacts with various organizations. However, more specifically noticeable were the difficulties created by or embedded within the character of journalistic production - getting the 'big' story just breaking, meeting deadlines, attending that morning or afternoon editorial meeting. An interview with the researcher sometimes had to be subordinated to those 'priorities'. Correspondents travelled, or had to get a grip of a new story just breaking. Executives had to be caught between meetings. In Grenada, for instance, one correspondent for several publications was preoccupied with a major story and the tentative interview appointment had to be set for a couple days later. Another story broke - the American at the centre of the technical side of the Grenada television service had a dispute with the government and was leaving the country, exacerbating a situation in which Grenadians who prior to this latest incident, had no picture on their screens for at least weeks - and the interview was to be arranged for early the next week. My airline flight arrangements intervened, and that interview had to be forgone.
In Jamaica, a retired long-serving and prominent journalist with the largest newspaper company, the Gleaner, could not be located but only two days prior to leaving the country I had a chance encounter with him at the National Library of Jamaica where I had gone to have further photocopying done. The prospect of the interview displaced that prior purpose as the papers would be available in Britain but not the interviewee. That interview was handwritten as I had set off on this specific and tedious photocopying mission without my cassette recorder. (It was one of four recorded by hand. One person, in Barbados ruled against the cassette recorder, and two others were distorted by background noise or otherwise rendered my handwritten notes - always backing up the technology - more useful.) Several media men had moved into the employ of other media houses; some had even established their own, in the normal run of things or where there had been a closure (e.g., the Jamaica Daily News ceased publication in 1983). A couple of seasoned executives could not be contacted.

Altogether there were twenty-four (24) interviews carried out in the Caribbean plus one which had been done in London in February as this particular newsmen (an editor), formerly of the Trinidad Express until the early 1980s and various other publications was then editor of the Weekly Gleaner (UK Edition), of Jamaica's Gleaner Company parentage. They were therefore newspaper personnel centrally, and three were drawn from the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) which is a key unit in the Caribbean news network. Persons (excepting CANA journalists) were interviewed in terms of the capacity in which they served with particular reference to the listed newspapers. For example, two of the persons interviewed partly in relation to the now defunct Daily News were, in 1988 full-time editorial staffers at the Gleaner: one was a freelance correspondent for various overseas publications; and another was the editor/proprietor of a small, fairly new and vibrant community paper. This latter had also worked with the Gleaner Company until 1970s redundancies (displacement by new technology and/or financial and other stress) reduced numbers at the Company.

It is important to note that three of five 'Grenada interviews' were done in that country whereas the others were carried out in Jamaica with two Jamaican media workers who had served in central roles in Grenadian media in the years of the Revolution. My concern was firstly with major press units/organizations in the Anglophone Caribbean within which Grenada does not "directly" fit as its press market consists of small non-dailies, but that country's place in the central sphere of the study ensured a discussion of the media climate at some levels.

The interview programme was generally more complete for some organizations. The Daily News, for instance, had several editorial and management changes during its tenure and I thought it best to link the years as fully as possible in order to derive certain useful bits of information. The Trinidad Guardian interviewee wore two hats (editor, & member of the board of directors); the managing director himself was not immediately available although upon arrival I spoke with him over the telephone and sought an interview but he was due off to a meeting in Barbados. In Barbados one potential interviewee rescheduled the interview appointment several times and that had to by bypassed as I had to move on to Trinidad.

II. DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION
The information which I gathered under this heading was quite varied. The material was drawn from organizations such as the libraries of the three campuses of the University of the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados), the National Library in St. George's in Grenada, the
National Library of Jamaica, the respective company registrars in the three MDCs, central banks/stock exchange, the media houses themselves, an advertising agencies association, and so on.

The material in hand - excerpted from (or in the form of copies of) documents - includes company statements with trade figures (in some cases advertising & circulation), official government statistics, general trade figures, copies of certain key editions of newspapers, political party documents, relevant volumes and documents on Caribbean personalities, etc. This process was sustained throughout the study by securing copies of newspapers with Caribbean news, and visits to national diplomatic locations in London, England.

III. CONTENT (NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS)

Photocopies of some relevant sections of editions were done. The papers done were the Jamaica Daily News (excluded from the content analysis because of its shift from corporate capitalist ownership and finance around the 1977/78 receivership/liquidation crisis) and the small Grenadian Voice (this latter - a new very short-lived counter-revolutionary paper introduced in 1981, and re-introduced after the 1983 invasion and in circulation in 1988 (not necessarily for formal content analysing but for documentary value).

Incidentally, before I was able to photocopy useful sections of the Torchlight (the newspaper closed by the People’s Revolutionary Government in 1979) the photocopying machine at the Library in St. George’s, Grenada broke down (Most major libraries have copies of the Torchlight but not for 1979 - in Jamaica, the National Library has copies up to about 1971.). Upon request, these were later mailed to me. Photocopies of the Gleaner and the Guardian were made available by the British Newspaper Library in London where I spent a considerable amount of time along with time at the Mona and St. Augustine libraries at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and Trinidad respectively, and the Institute of Jamaica. In the case of the Trinidad Express and the Barbados Nation, I viewed some copies of these in their respective locations (university libraries in the two countries) which maintained an up-to-date stock of these papers but had to request that copies be mailed to me in Britain. In the case of St. Augustine, a waiting period of about three weeks was in force. It was obvious, based on flight arrangements and financial considerations, that I could not have spent three weeks in Trinidad at that particular time. These two last named newspapers were not available at the British Newspaper Library. Current copies and other individually useful copies were obtained at the companies’ locations themselves.

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Ken Allen
2. Robert Best
3. Clarence Brodie
4. Leonard Chongsing
5. Oliver Clarke
6. Alvin Clouden
7. Paget DeFreitas
8. Maurice Garrison
9. Anthony Gillen
10. M. S. Grovenor
11. Canute James
12. George John
13. Andrew Johnson
14. Brian Meeks
15. Raoul Pantin
16. Leslie Pierre
17. Elaine Pounder
18. J. C. Proute
19. Debra Ranson
20. Theodore Scally
21. Trevor Simpson
22. Patrick Smilde
23. Eric Smith
24. Carl Wint
25. Hector Wynter
APPENDIX 11: Chronology of some significant local and local-regional media events and processes, 1970s-1991

1970 - Two-month advertising boycott of Express by Port of Spain business community based on a perception of the paper's treatment of the then socio-political uprising as too lenient.
1972 - Communications Corporation of Jamaica (CCJ/Daily News) incorporated.
1973 - Barbados Nation launched.
1973-76 - Regional governments recede to back seat in CANA ownership and power structure to remain there.
1974 - Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CIMAC), University of the West Indies established.
1975 - CANA-Reuters joint experimental service begins. (JULY)
1975 - Gleaner Co. switches from hot-type to cold-type. Electronic type-setting replaces old linotype machines and makes many workers redundant in move towards installation of new technologies which continued to be introduced by major and small newspaper companies in the 1980s and start of the 1990s. Some of the workers made redundant by the Gleaner Co. in the mid-1970s are later re-hired in other slots/re-trained.
1975 - McNeerney-Aliston acquires Trinidad Publishing (Trinidad Guardian, etc.)
1975 - Daily News/CCJ lays off 12 workers. (DECEMBER)
1976 - CANA incorporated as a company in Barbados. (January) Gleaner Co. refuses to join the cooperative.
1977 - Gleaner Co.'s circulation revenue exceeds advertising revenue. (1977 - 1981 in available data. Might have started earlier in the 1970s.)
1977 - Gleaner Co. lays off 77 workers. (JULY)
1977 - Crisis at Daily News re-management's interference in editorial matters. Editor Canute James dismissed; Daily News' workers went to rule; NMU calls one-day strike; management imposes 'lockout'; Editor vindicated by Commission of Enquiry hearing. Media workers protest that and Gleaner's side-lining of Star Editor, Barbara Clouden (almost simultaneously). (Aug. 10 - Sept. 10)
1977 - JMC launches regional radio/western Jamaica (JMC Radio West). (Aug. 10)
1977-78 - Daily News/CCJ receivership and liquidation implemented. (August 1977 DECISION)
1977 - Gleaner Co. takes up reserved equity in CANA as in the Gleaner management's view, the agency had showed its independence from regional governments, and economic logic impelled the company to join.
1977 - PMF Government decides to acquire majority ownership in Radio Jamaica Ltd. (RMF), removing foreign ownership (RMF's shares to be acquired initially by Workers Bank Trust to be later distributed to 'people-based' institutions such as Jamaican Agricultural Society (JAS), Jamaica Teachers' Association (JTA), trade unions.
1977 - Daily News/CCJ lays off 67 workers. (December)
1978 - Gleaner Co. lays off 50 workers including President and Vice-President and some rank-and-file members of UMBA. UMBA sees union busting.
1978 - Gleaner Co. floats $4 million debenture, said to avert company's financial crisis. Company stated that the issue was oversubscribed in four weeks. Thousands of Jamaicans saw it as a means of preserving a free and independent press and 30% of applications received were for the lowest unit of $50. Among the subscribers were 300 Gleaner staff (Gleaner Anniversary Issue, 31/3/84: 3).
1978 - Gleaner Company's Financial Director explains that increased costs have not been met by increase in revenue. The price of newpaper had gone up by 26% since 1973 and wage rates by 40%, while revenues had increased by only 6%. To combat the imbalance, the company cuts back in all areas, including the laying off of workers (PAJ News, Anniversary Issue, 1978: 35).
1978 - PAJ celebrates 35th Anniversary. Becomes affiliated with TOJ, FELAP, and UPEC.
1978 - Prime Minister Michael Manley, other Cabinet Ministers, and WPJ General Secretary Trevor Munros file libel writs against the Gleaner Co. and two of its columnists, John Hearne and Wilmot Perkins. (See statement re settlement and apology below - 1985).
1978 - PHP Government rescues the Daily News to save jobs - under new company, Daily News Ltd. with shares held for the company through the Jamaica Development Bank (JDB). Government assisted to the extent of $679,000 to extract it from receivership, and up to July 1978 had injected $461,000 and agreed to guarantee newsprint supplies.

1978 - Worker participation in management introduced at JBC (OCTOBER)
1978 - 18 temporary workers laid off at JBC just after implementation of worker participation model begins.
1979 - Three-months' industrial dispute (strike) at Trinidad Publishing. Various publications suspended.
1979 - Daily News gains brief respite as circulation rose even to 50,000 (PAJ News) and an 'Afternoon Extra' is introduced when Gleaner workers take strike action in a dispute with the Gleaner's management (February). Gleaner's Editor Hector Wynter barred by workers from entering plant. According to the PAJ News' writer/observer of the incident, 'by preventing a King from entering his Empire, they had once more demonstrated the vast power of united workers.' The Editor is reported to have threatened to resign after the strike (2/1979: 5).
1979 - Gleaner Editor Hector Wynter tells IAPA's mid-year meeting of what he reportedly referred to as limited press freedom in Jamaica, and the PHP Government's granting of a licence for the import of only one-third (1,000 tons) of its six-month newsprint requirement of 3,000 tons. (This occurred in the context of a deepening foreign exchange crisis.) Mark Conyers, the Managing Director of Trinidad Publishing told the meeting of 'complete freedom of the press in Trinidad and Tobago.' (MARCH)
1979 - West Indian in Grenada becomes the Press West Indian, the PHP's paper.
1979 - PHP (Party) requests meeting with Gleaner Co.'s Board to discuss what the Party saw as groundless allegations. (SEPTEMBER)
- Demonstrations outside Gleaner offices. Prime Minister Manley among demonstrators. (SEPTEMBER).
- PHP officials meet Gleaner Co. for talks.
1979 - PHP closes the Grenada Torchlight. (OCTOBER)
1980 - Radio Jamaica shares divested to 21 organizations, government and workers at the station.
1980 - Public Citizens Commission of Inquiry into Media meet in Kingston from January - June. Set up on mandate from a special general meeting of the Press Association of Jamaica held 5th October, 1979. Enquiry stimulated by what the PAJ saw as the Gleaner's consistent breaches of its Code of Ethics. Submissions by 10 organizations including the PAJ, NUDJ, CPWA, NHT Staff Association, PHP, PHP Youth Organization and the WPJ. Vast majority of items submitted were complaints against the Gleaner and its afternoon sister publication, the Stag. The 18 witnesses called included an expert witness, Dr. Fred Landis, a social psychologist with an interest in the CIA's conduct of psychological warfare through the media.
1980 - Embassy Printers destroyed by fire. The premises adjacent to East Central St. Andrew Constituency Office, and company was printer of Struggle, the official organ of the WPJ, and Workers' Time newspaper of the Sugar Workers Cooperative Movement. Several journalists connected with the papers had been reportedly threatened on visits to the premises (PAJ News, Aug./Sept., 1980).
1980 - Trinidad Publishing Co.'s papers (Guardian, Sunday Guardian, Evening News, etc.) off the market for months as fire destroys plant on April 27. Partial resumption of publication of the Guardian on Sunday, November 23.
1980 - Trinidad Publishing's computerization programme starts after fire. 'Specialized computer systems were developed to suit company's operations in the areas of Advertising, Receivables and Billings. Their payroll was also computerized using a locally developed package.' (Media Focus, Sept./Oct., 1984: 2).
1980/81 - Several JBC newsroom staffers dismissed by new JLP administration on the allegations of politically biased reporting during the PHP regime. Dismissal illegal: nothing in JBC statute illustrating that workers were contravening; JLP Government settles out of court after legal battle lasting about a year. Workers compensated as Government refused to reinstate them.
1980 - Five-day strike and go-slow of Gleaner Co. production workers over wages (negative effect 'on the Company's financial results' - see Annual Report). 1981 - 11 days' publications lost through strike action.
1985 - one stoppage.
1981 - Granadian Voice launched. First edition gets to the market; second edition aborted as it was being rolled
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Voice of America (VOA) as part of CBU’s ‘international outreach’ (Sunday Express, 26/6/88: 69).

1988 - JLP Government continues its gradual process at attempting to farm out public broadcasting resources. Gleaner, for instance, dissatisfied at being limited to a potential maximum of 10% of equity, especially as over the years it has sought, without success, to obtain a licence to operate a second television station.

1989 - PPP continues with some facets of JLP programme of privatization of broadcast media (e.g., Jamaica regional radio).

1989 - Blaze Government in Grenada bans left-wing literature from country (more specifically acting against literature arriving for the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement [MBPM]).

1990 - MoEnmarley Alstons takes full ownership/control (100%) of Rediffusion (West Indies) Ltd. [holding co.] comprising Rediffusion (Trinidad) Ltd. & Trinidad Broadcasting Co. Ltd.

1990 - licence for new television station granted to prospective television consortium by Jamaica Government. One of the leading applicants, NEW TV - led by the Gleaner Company and Radio Jamaica - fails in its bid. (Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation/UBC had the sole station and channel from 1968).

1990 - Trinidad government approves more than 20 licences for new radio and television stations. The first of these began operating in 1991.

1991 - Scheduled start of operations of second television station in Jamaica. (DECEMBER) May be delayed as one of the companies in the consortium which has the contract has encountered financial difficulty.

1991 - CARICOM governments, through Information Ministers propose a regional news and information network parallel to CANA’s. CANA’s principals and Guyana express objections.


1992 - New television station scheduled to start broadcasting in Jamaica (equipment was due in early 1992 for start of broadcasting in March, 1992).
### APPENDIX 12: Advertising revenue for various media in Jamaica, 1981-1986 (available information)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Billboard</td>
<td>746,729</td>
<td>1,176,319</td>
<td>2,100,935</td>
<td>3,185,052</td>
<td>3,399,057</td>
<td>5,264,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>7,668,714</td>
<td>10,186,906</td>
<td>12,590,224</td>
<td>15,559,153</td>
<td>20,083,906</td>
<td>25,881,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>3,629,602</td>
<td>5,628,886</td>
<td>9,362,760</td>
<td>15,303,059</td>
<td>15,289,132</td>
<td>19,810,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily &amp; Weekly</td>
<td>15,561,953</td>
<td>17,852,539</td>
<td>22,078,203</td>
<td>24,460,000</td>
<td>36,100,000</td>
<td>44,027,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>116,648</td>
<td>98,552</td>
<td>108,959</td>
<td>191,918</td>
<td>180,891</td>
<td>635,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>1,549,222</td>
<td>1,459,222</td>
<td>1,721,908</td>
<td>2,508,201</td>
<td>3,317,704</td>
<td>6,551,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publications &amp;</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>29,272,866</td>
<td>36,444,424</td>
<td>48,212,959</td>
<td>61,207,383</td>
<td>75,139,659</td>
<td>100,565,895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**

(1) In a telephone conversation (6/7/88) with Brian Paisley of Paisley Hanley who was a former president of the Advertising Agencies Association of Jamaica he stated that revenue for the advertising sector for 1987 was approximately $100 million (including fees, production, overseas income, etc.). He identified four tiers among companies in the local industry, based on earnings. His firm (accounting for approx $20 million) was one of three in the top tier; Tier 2 included five firms, Tier 3 - two, and Tier 4 approximately twelve. He denied that there was any justification for the forecast of higher earnings for the industry in 1988 as advanced in the financial magazine, Monarch Index in mid-1988 and suggested a less satisfactory picture based on what he saw as negative trends in the broader economy in 1988.

(2) Figures from the Advertising Media Association showed that expenditure grew from $5 million in 1961 to $11 million in 1971 (or a 120% increase) (see COJ/Daily News Launch brochure, 1973).

(3) The Jamaica section in the World Press Encyclopedia (Vol.1, 1982) lists 'Newspaper Ad Receipts' as $18,417,520 (US$20,572,000) (Cuthbert's article: 241). The year to which those figures apply is unstated but it is presumed to be 1982 which most closely corresponds to the MAV's figures above, and that year was also the date of publication of the encyclopedia. Kuran, in the same publication gave D$83.3 million or 16.4% of all advertising expenditure for Trinidad and Tobago for 1979 in the momentum of the oil boom (1982/Vol.2: 679).

**SOURCE:** Media Association of Jamaica, Kingston, 1988.
APPENDIX 13: Gleaner 1977-1989 advertising and circulation revenue

![Graph showing advertising and circulation revenue from 1977 to 1989](image_url)

**TYPE** ——— Advertising       ——— Circulation
Circulation of major newspapers 1976-1990
### APPENDIX 15: Newsprint imports, consumption, (metric tons) and consumption per 1,000 inhabitants (kilograms) for Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad & Tobago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY/YEAR</th>
<th>IMPORTS</th>
<th>CONSUMPTION</th>
<th>CONSUMPTION PER 1,000 INHABITANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BARBADOS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>6,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>5,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>9,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JAMAICA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>8,600</td>
<td>8,600</td>
<td>4,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8,700</td>
<td>8,700</td>
<td>4,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>1,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>1,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>2,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GUYANA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRINIDAD &amp; TOBAGO</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>5,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>6,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>4,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>11,900</td>
<td>11,900</td>
<td>16,042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>5,662</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
1. These were the only newsprint figures listed for the segment of the Caribbean with which the present study is centrally concerned. Imports for Barbados increased for the 1980s over the 1970s, and this is probably related to the conspicuous emergence of Nation Publishing and its titles even though Advocate Company titles have simultaneously suffered. In the case of Jamaica, the demise of the CCJ (Daily News Ltd.)/Daily News in 1983 and even before than its decreasing circulation; and foreign exchange shortage in the national coffers and import restrictions/delays, the overall economic crisis in the late 1970s-1980 Jamaica, falling relative (vis-a-vis) advertising levels for the Gleaner Company’s publications and fewer pages per paper are factors which would have affected the imports. Guyana has suffered from chronic economic and financial crisis for many years, and although the figures in the table point to fair consistency until 1980, the deepening of this crisis probably accounts for the very considerable reduction in imports/consumption for 1980 and 1988. Statutory restrictions to cope with the crisis, but perhaps also political measures to stifle opposition content (Available evidence and the subjective contributions of observers point to the use of such measures;) account for the decline. Guyana inclined towards the IMF in the late 1980s after early resistance and this relationship would not have helped the flow of (perhaps) ‘non-essentials’ such as newsprint. The 1985 and 1988 figures do not imply the origin of Starbrook News in the second half of the 1980s (Recall that it was printed elsewhere at least initially.) The Trinidad & Tobago context appear to have been stable enough from the figures although it is difficult to explain the dramatic increase for 1985. If 1981-1984 figures were available, this would probably bring the answer more closely into view. No
very outstanding changes occurred in circulation to account for that dramatic increase in
imports/consumption. Recall, however, with regard to the figures for the earlier years that Trinidad
Publishing's titles were off the streets for many months as a result of extended strike action and a
major fire.
(11) It is useful to note that none of these countries produce newsprint yet Guyana, for instance, is a
large country with extensive forested regions by Anglophone Caribbean standards.

SOURCE: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook 1990; Paris, UNESCO; 7-126 -7-128.
Appendix 16: Radio and television receivers in use (and/or licences issued) in selected Anglophone Caribbean countries, plus numbers per 1,000 inhabitants

('000s of receivers /receivers per 1,000 inhabitants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>TELEVISION (+ PER 1,000)</th>
<th>RADIO (+ PER 1,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15/211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua &amp; Barbuda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31/149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>16/67</td>
<td>46/188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>70/37</td>
<td>110/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts &amp; Nevis</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4/93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>2/15</td>
<td>2/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent &amp; the Grenadines</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>60/63</td>
<td>105/104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: (i) The Bahamas is listed for general information although it is less aligned with CARICOM countries and more with the U.S.A.
(ii) The data are derived from statistical surveys, and in the case of radio data for these and other countries in various regions they ‘vary widely from country to country and should be treated with caution...’ (p.10-1)

SOURCE: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook 1980; Paris, UNESCO; 10-4 - 10-6, 10-10 & 10-11.

APPENDIX 18: Gleaner Company, departments and main functions - late 1980s

**BOARD**

**Managing Director**

**MANAGEMENT AND FINANCIAL SERVICES**
- Controller
- Accounting
- Internal Audit
- Credit
- Purchasing
- Office Management
- Payroll
- Personnel
- Industrial Relns.
- Services
- Sanitation
- Security
- Transport
- Telephone

**CIRCULATION**
- Sales
- Delivery
- Distribution
- Collection

**EDITORIAL**
- Budgeting
- Staffing
- Administration
- Covering
- Investigating
- Reporting/Writ.
- Editing
- Features/Suppotes
- Production
- Legal
- Western Bureau
- Reference Libr.

**ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING**
- Business Systems
- Production
- Covering
- Display Ads.
- Make-up
- Make-up
- Dispatch
- Planning
- Photo
- Photo Compositing
- Paste-up
- (Proof Reading)

**PRINTING AND PLANT**
- Maintenance
- Sales
- Mechanical Display
- Electronics
- Printing
- Press
- Caribbean
- Textbook
- Project
- Other
- Publication
- (Books)

**ADVERTISING**
- Sales
- Primary
- Textbook
- Project
- Other
- Publication
- (Books)

**SPECIAL PROJECTS**
- Sales
- Primary
- Textbook
- Project
- Other
- Publication
- (Books)

**NOTES:**
* Diagram obtained mid-1988.

Emphasis of 'Editorial' column added. Similar information was requested from the Eastern Caribbean's major publications but this was not obtained. Nation Publishing, for instance, did not have one to give me or a photocopy at the time of interview, and letters written some months later for this sort of information and other corporate information elicited no response.

**SOURCE:** Company diagram.
### APPENDIX 19: Lead, or main front-page headline for five major Caribbean newspapers around the time of the 1980 general election in Jamaica (October 28 – November 3, 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE/NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>MAIN FRONT PAGE HEADLINES ON JAMAICA</th>
<th>SECONDARY HEADINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 28 Advocate</td>
<td>Cuba giving guns to PNP says Seaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 28 Express (27th)</td>
<td>Latest poll says it's Seaga</td>
<td>Parties row over find (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 28 Gleaner</td>
<td>Electoral Office on lookout for imposters</td>
<td>- Fundits say Manley, polls say Seaga (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT. 30 Advocate</td>
<td>Jamaicans go to the polls today</td>
<td>- 13 more die in pre-election violence (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT. 30 Express</td>
<td>Jamaica goes to the polls today</td>
<td>- $90,367 voters list (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT. 30 Gleaner</td>
<td>Seaga’s JLP in early lead</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT. 30 Nation</td>
<td>JLP poised for landslide victory</td>
<td>- Massive 86% turnout of voters in the general election (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT. 30 Nation</td>
<td>Seaga takes over</td>
<td>- Could win 50 seats: 10 Ministers defeated (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1 Advocate</td>
<td>Democracy still alive, says Forde</td>
<td>- Overwhelming mandate - Seaga (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1 Express</td>
<td>Seaga and Manley in Cuba row</td>
<td>- Jamaica sings the 'Manley Farewell' (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1 Gleaner</td>
<td>JLP wins 51 seats, PNP 9</td>
<td>- JLP: 51 seats, PNP: 9 seats (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Advocate</td>
<td>Edward Seaga sworn in as Prime Minister</td>
<td>- US welcomes Seaga victory (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Express</td>
<td>Seaga sworn in as PM</td>
<td>- Hugh Shearer named as deputy (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Gleaner</td>
<td>Glasspole continues as GG, Shearer Deputy Prime Minister (s)</td>
<td>- Will also be Finance Minister (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Nation</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Advocate</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Express</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3 Gleaner</td>
<td>With malice toward none - Seaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**

- 'Tagline': s = 'Strap' (upper and lower secondary headings respectively).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>HEADLINE/DATE</th>
<th>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</th>
<th>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</th>
<th>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleaner</td>
<td>Electoral Office (28/10/80: 6)</td>
<td>Country will be indebted to thousands of officers, party scrutineers, etc. - without efficient and objective network, elections cannot be free and fair - in one case arrangements for 'JLP candidate to arrive in a V150 vehicle to avoid any confrontation'</td>
<td>McGann (PNP)</td>
<td>Apparent 'objectivity'/unsympathetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fearing Fear (2 of 3 edts)</td>
<td>Laments 'barbarity into which Jamaica seems to be rapidly sinking' as a singer threatened because believed to have composed a song in favour of one the parties' (JLP) - complained that threatened by PNP supporters - our people must be reminded, however, that what is worst to be feared is fear.</td>
<td>Beckford (singer)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give them transport! (29/10/80: 1)</td>
<td>Shocked at rising number of people 'killed by criminals' - Police and JDF kept rate in check in August, but rose again, 'our view that this escalation came during a vigorous communist and PNP campaign against the Security Forces' - provide better equipment for forces for free and fair elections - PNP has helped in various ways, but some plans to land cars from rental agencies have fallen through.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COL still rising (29/10/80: 6)</td>
<td>Galloping rate of inflation, largely result of Govt.'s inability to formulate effective policy measures - PM Manley has hardly missed opportunity to blame international economic system - in agriculture, e.g., crisis very critical with shortage of essentials inputs (fertilizer, seeds, implements) coupled with farmers' apparent dejection - perhaps PM has had his mind on election and not agriculture.</td>
<td>Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May the true will be expressed (30/10/80: 8)</td>
<td>Election will determine which party to form next Govt. - praise for Electoral Office, Police, JDF in preparation for security - know potential exists for intimidation and fraud but this can be foiled, even in background of violence aimed at destroying people's will - urge all to go out and vote, thereby answering boldly the violent and those who would wish to destroy our precious democratic system.</td>
<td>Glasspole (G.G.)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/ (Advocacy) / (Ideol. tendency unclear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>HEADLINE/DATE</td>
<td>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</td>
<td>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</td>
<td>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/ POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleaner</td>
<td>For a new beginning (3/10/80: 6)</td>
<td>Massive victory for JLP - the people voted for competent management of the economy, a restoration of confidence, an end to Cuba's interference in our affairs, a strong, effective but compassionate leadership from Mr. Seaga and his colleagues - apparent 'emphatic no to further socialism' - congratulate Mr. Seaga and JLP and all those who won seats in our Parliament. May they restore Parliament to its primary and vibrancy.</td>
<td>Peralta (JLP) Small (PNP)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/ Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Exchange Needle (1/11/80: 6)</td>
<td>Now that Jamaican electorate have spoken in most unmistakable terms, one of the most important tasks facing JLP is to commence re-building of the economy - noted that Seaga investigated options for capital inflows of which IMF was only one - A JLP Government negotiating from a position of strength should be able to get better terms - great need exists for increasing inflows in foreign capital - Jamaica's credit rating lowest ever - In its mismanagement of economy the Manley Administration set aside all established principles and frightened away local and foreign investors alike clearly frightened of what it might have done or not done - Solutions will require astute management, something which the PNP government did not appear relish - Early boast that Manley Government would improve lot of poor was only a pretense because not only are poor worse off but country devastated - Extremely difficult task ahead but if foreign capital can be mobilised there is hope.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/ Oppositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Spirit (2/11/80: 6)</td>
<td>Differences of opinion, political parties, classes exist in every nation but they do preclude a basic unity and one which becomes stronger when general danger threatens - People work best under confident leaders and lack of spirit may arise in cases where leaders have led them into the morass of multiple crises - supporters of parties and trade unions have at times made little attempt to cooperate with their leaders which can only lead to added disaster to the economy - We anticipate a new beginning under a new administration will do much for public spirit - Volity of purpose and an end to strife should follow the people's will at the polls.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/ Oppositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>HEADLINE/DATE</td>
<td>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</td>
<td>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</td>
<td>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gleaner</td>
<td>The Task Ahead (3/11/80: 6)</td>
<td>Seaga sworn in facing the task of reconstructing and stabilising an economy suffering from eight years of deterioration - Failure of state agencies to provide JLP with statistics for forward planning - Flight of skills and capital under PNP administration but if new Government can harness available skills and entreprenuership this could be impetus for recovery - Politics of deliberate confrontation which became part of Manley's Government sapped people's initiative and productive effort - To attract needed investment Government will have to assure investors of the welcome which awaits them - Commandable effort by the PSJ to establish dialogue with overseas investors re joint venture - This is an area of investment which the Government will have to pursue with great vigour.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) Glasspole (G.G.) Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Campaigning' /Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>- Mil - (Later resumption of publication - editorial page contributions discussed in main text)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express</td>
<td>Will history repeat itself? (3/10/80: 4)</td>
<td>Will two-term tradition in Jamaican politics continue - if Manley wins 3rd term will continue Democratic Socialist policies - JLP would rely on sensible management and Western aid and not flirt with Marxist ideology - mindless violence in campaign period, hope will stop - YY hopes Jamaica will develop in peace and tranquility.</td>
<td>Manley (PNP) Glasspole (G.G.) Seaga (JLP)</td>
<td>'Balancing' Uncommitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manley - a true patriot (2/11/80: 4)</td>
<td>Congratulations Seaga on JLP and victory - hope violence stops - Manley's most notable contribution to Jamaica, region and so-called Third World came in defeat - this among those concerned about threat of Cuba and totalitarian rule, and hoped for his defeat - but we had courage to confront division in society, and firm conviction that people are free to choose - hope for Carrib. against disgusting e.g. of Bishop and Burnham.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) Manley (PNP) Castró (Cuba) Bishop (KNM) Burnham (FNC)</td>
<td>'Campaigning' /Oppositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>HEADLINE/DATE</td>
<td>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</td>
<td>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</td>
<td>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>1/11/80: 4</td>
<td>Mr. Seaga has mammoth task to rebuild Jamaica's economy after disastrous performance of Manley administration. Manley's regime coloured by left-lean-policies in which he glorified Marxist ideology and expressed admiration for Cuba and Soviet Union. Problems with bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption and the emergence of a privileged class. Foreign investors exploited but assisted but drying up of investment, loss of professionals, decline in tourist trade, political polarization and violence, economic pressure on poor, etc. It is this mess which must be cleaned up before it is too late.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) MANLEY (PNP) Norman Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Critical' Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson from Jamaica</td>
<td>2/11/80: 4</td>
<td>Lessons for Barbados. First - source of political violence - Good that the vote still alive that area - failed to grasp that Jamaica needed to realize full potential - With half-baked socialist policies and links with Cuba and apparent admiration for ideology class divisions emphasized in Jamaica - Violence based on party political and class differences has surfaced in Barbados which both major political parties condemned - History of stability and discipline and respect for rights of the individual have steered up away from Jamaica's disaster - We should learn from Jamaica's mistakes.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Critical' Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>29/10/80: 4</td>
<td>Issues in tomorrow's election clearly defined for Jamaican electorate unlike other Caribbean territories - Manifestos are out but electorate will not make promises purely on manifestos - We trust that whatever the outcome a concerted effort will be made to return Jamaica to its former pre-eminence in region.</td>
<td>Manley (PNP) Seaga (JLP)</td>
<td>'Balancing' Uncommitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>HEADLINE/DATE</td>
<td>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</td>
<td>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</td>
<td>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>We wish Mr. Seaga the best (21/10/80: 4)</td>
<td>Hope Jamaicans will pledge themselves to begin anew - Congratulate Mr. Seaga on well-earned victory - Positive attentions to come from U.S.A. - Election violence - Seaga's position not dissimilar to that of Tom Adams and the BLP in 1976 in terms of party long in Opposition - JLP has played large role in development of Jamaica - Likely that Seaga will add some conservatism to Jamaican politics. Electorate have given confidence to JLP and Mr. Seaga - Jamaica deserves chance and we suspect that under Seaga they will have that chance.</td>
<td>Seaga (JLP) Tom Adams (BLP) Sangster (JLP) Shearer (JLP)</td>
<td>'Balancing' / Supportive of new regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manley's mistakes (2/11/80: 4)</td>
<td>Various expected explanations for staggering election results from right and from left but different for the specific sectors (slum dwellers, businessmen, etc.) who voted for JLP and against Manley's government. Manley and Patterson, for instance, will be lamented in Third World and world scene but such reputations of little meaning to the Jamaican voter against a background of economic problems. Mr. Seaga faces massive task of putting Jamaica back on its feet.</td>
<td>Manley (JLP) Patterson (PHP) Seaga (JLP)</td>
<td>'Balancing' / Uncommitted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX 21: Lead, or main front page headlines for five major Caribbean newspapers following the 1979 insurrection in Grenada (March 14-20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE/NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>MAIN FRONT PAGE HEADLINES ON GRENADA</th>
<th>SECONDARY HEADLINES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 14</td>
<td>Grenada Govt. falls to rebels</td>
<td>- First military coup in the British Caribbean (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>- Island with 100,000 in confusion (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Express</td>
<td>- Bishop topples Gairy in early morning coup (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>- Bishop heads revolution (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15</td>
<td>Jamaica said in favour of Grenada Govt.</td>
<td>- Radix sent to woo 3rd world leaders at UN (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>- ...and in the US Gairy awaits answers to his cries for help (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Express</td>
<td>- Bishop’s forces in control (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16</td>
<td>Grenada’s coup leaders seize office in NY</td>
<td>- Churchmen hail rights pledge by new regime (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Express</td>
<td>- Gairy’s rights pledge by new regime (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>- NJM spokesman ‘disappointed’ (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>- From Sir Eric to all Grenada (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17</td>
<td>Regional talks on Grenada stalled</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>- Bishop expects early Caribbean recognition (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Express</td>
<td>- I will not export revolution (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>- Preparation for elections (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 18</td>
<td>Jamaica’s stand on Tuesday</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>- Bishop sees support, but... (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Express</td>
<td>- DLF says Gov’t, CBC (NOT LEAD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE/NESPAPER</td>
<td>MAIN FRONT PAGE HEADLINES ON GRENADA</td>
<td>SECONDARY HEADINGS</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10</td>
<td>Grenada's new leader aims to lower cost of living and increase jobs</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>MISSING COPY</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express</td>
<td>NO STORY (&quot;dreadlock&quot; caption and photo)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Bishop: Aim is to create more jobs</td>
<td>Priorities outlined (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20</td>
<td>GS says no to Gaity (NOT LEAD)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>Grenada chamber gives nod (NOT LEAD)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express</td>
<td>Recognition any day now</td>
<td>Jamaica, Guyana poised... (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>CCL meeting today (NOT LEAD)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** t = 'tagline'; s = strap (upper and lower secondary headings respectively).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>HEADLINE/DATE</th>
<th>MAJOR SUMMARY THEME</th>
<th>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</th>
<th>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/ POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleaner</td>
<td>(14/3/79: 6)</td>
<td>First to avoid ballot - Bishop and colleagues impatient - 'we' believe in 'Democracy' - regret coup - Jamaica govt. must select between friendship with NJM and principled objection to the unlawful overthrow.</td>
<td>Gairy (GULP) Bishop (NJM) Duffus (Legal) (Opposition)</td>
<td>'Balancing out'/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20/3/79: 6)</td>
<td>PNP stresses opposition to Communism - vast majority anti-C. - Manley must restate stand on C. = (re Grenade) NJM close to Communists who hailed unlawful overthrow/ 'we note' Jamaica not averse to C. line of early recognition.</td>
<td>Shearer (JLP) Irvine (JLP) Seaga (JLP) Monroe (WPJ) Gairy (GULP) Manley (PNP)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>(14/3/79: 10)</td>
<td>The coup on our doorstep New stage - frightening, uncertain future - undemocratic NJM regime - Gairy's excesses, but new regime must disprove to world Gairy's accusation that never intended to use ballot, if it is to gain respect of free men anywhere.</td>
<td>Gairy (GULP) Bishop (NJM)</td>
<td>'Balancing out'/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18/3/79: 12)</td>
<td>No tears for Gairy, no cheers for Bishop No hasty recognition - unlawful regime - Trinidad must await overwhelming proof of democratic govt. respectful of law and Constitution and 'ironclad case against Sir Eric'.</td>
<td>Panday (YT Oppos.) Gairy (GULP) Bishop (NJM)</td>
<td>'Campaigning'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18/3/79: 4)</td>
<td>W.I. Islands must learn a lesson from Grenada Power seized illegally and at gunpoint but, Trinidad should not turn its back on Grenada - need for union of Eastern Caribbean territories - alternative, strongarmed person make take over until removed.</td>
<td>Bishop (NJM) Lewis (listed as prophetic historian)</td>
<td>'Balancing out'/Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>HEADLINE/DATE</td>
<td>MAIN SUMMARY THEME</td>
<td>PERSONALITIES (in order mentioned)</td>
<td>JOURNALISTIC APPROACH/POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Cause of anxiety for Caribbean (14/3/79: 4)</td>
<td>Overthrow, warning to us all - Gairy excesses, and coup analogies - economic and social problems of some countries - we must now guard against tendency to copy.</td>
<td>Gairy (GULP) L’Ouverture (Rastafarian) Castro (Cuba) Batista (Cuba) Gowon (Nigeria) Obote (Uganda)</td>
<td>'Cautious balancing' / Oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada coup and its implications (17/3/79: 4)</td>
<td>Event will evoke little or no sympathy for Gairy but, grave questions about vulnerability of small territories and lawfully elected govt. - recognition not central, but direction of revolution, and, e.g., return to ballot box.</td>
<td>Gairy (GULP) Bishop (NJM) Paul Scoon (G.O)</td>
<td>'Cautious balancing' / Oppositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCCM to face up to Grenada coup</td>
<td>RCCM meet in week realizing vulnerability - individual govt.'s threatened action - now entering phase of increased fear - govt's dilemma, having been inadequately vocal against Gairy, difficulty to appear too harsh on new regime.</td>
<td>Bishop (NJM) Bird (Antigua) Lewis (A.-Caribbean economist)</td>
<td>'Cautious balancing' / Critical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Lessons from St. George's (14/3/79: 1)</td>
<td>Long career of Gairy has 'suffered a sudden reverse' - not 'completely unexpected' considering serious human rights violations - whatever his 'many and grievous' faults, yesterday opened chilling era in history of English-speaking Caribbean - elections have been promised - irresponsible elements should not see overthrow as a signal to challenge the democratic process - lesson in it for all of us.</td>
<td>Gairy (GULP) Bishop (NJM)</td>
<td>'Balancing' / Cautiously supportive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop has abundance of goodwill (16/3/79: 4)</td>
<td>Mr. Bishop seems established as new leader - clear that there exists outside of Grenada much goodwill for him - contempt in which Gairy's regime was - G.O. Sir Paul Scoon still holds position - Nation's view that there is case for recognition for new regime which seems to have strong support from working classes, and obvious (if silent) support of middle class - there must be a formula for legal status - fundamental changes necessary but changes must not be so sudden as to dissipate present richly earned goodwill.</td>
<td>Bishop Gairy Marshall (G. Sacy./CCC) Scoon Gibbs (Rhodesia) Smith</td>
<td>'Balancing' / Critically supportive</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 23: Newspapers, number of editorial articles on Grenada (1979) and Jamaica (1980), dates and pages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19/3/79: 4.</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>29/10/80: 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29/10/80: 6.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>30/10/80: 8.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31/10/80: 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUARDIAN</td>
<td>14/3/79: 10.</td>
<td>Plant destroyed by fire in April. Issue not immediately taken up on partial resumption late November (1st day of resumption - Nov. 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18/3/79: 12.</td>
<td>(nil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2/11/80: 4.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>(3)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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Reference made to Various articles by:
C. Bowen 60-61
B. Glouden 45
H. Hoyte 36-38
M. James 26-27
F. McKnight 65
F. Nution 50-51
R. Nettieford 7-12
J. C. Proute 62-63
C. R. Reynolds 64
M. S. Thompson 17-19


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477

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