

MARCUS GARVEY PEOPLES POLITICAL PARTY



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This statement of aims and objectives attempts to bring the teachings of Marcus Garvey into the modern world. Much of the content is the outcome from a workshop session at the Annual Conference held in September 2010.

MGPPP – MANIFESTO – March 2011
Principles, Analysis, Policies

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Appendix: Garvey's 1929 manifesto

1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

- As the world has grown in material wealth, it has become spiritually poorer, ever more divided, ever more unequal, both between and within nations. Poverty and injustice haunt the lives of many.
- This is also true of Jamaica. We are divided as much by colour as by wealth. History has made it that way. But we can undo that history, that legacy of enslavement and oppression, by first embracing our African heritage, our African roots. Only then can we tackle divisions based on socio-economic class, gender etc.
- As we turn our frustrations inwardly on each other we make matters even worse. We must not further victimise the victims or allow ourselves to be victimised. We must redirect our energies towards the causes of this insanity, not towards the symptoms. We must rebuild our societies on the basis of our shared humanity and in so doing rebuild ourselves and those of our sisters and brothers, everywhere.
- We call upon the spirit of Marcus Mosiah Garvey, and of the ancestors, to guide us through these troubled waters towards a land of which we can be proud, to a world free of poverty and want, free of injustice and oppression. As Garvey has taught us
 - we must above all else believe in ourselves, believe in ourselves as a people of African descent
 - without self-pride, no-one else will respect us and we become our own greatest oppressors
 - social and economic liberation requires that we first liberate ourselves mentally
 - we must face the world from a position of strength

- we must be our sisters' and brothers' keeper
- without good organisation we are doubly defeated.

- The MGPPP calls upon everyone in Jamaica to rise up and organise against hardship and injustice, to unite where there is division, to love where there is hate, to build where there is destruction, to never give up on the belief that better is possible.

2. EDUCATION

- For too long, from the days of slavery, the education system in Jamaica has empowered the few but has disempowered the majority. This must be changed if the promises of Emancipation and Independence are to be realised, if we are to have a society based on equality and co-operation, rather than privilege and exploitation.

- Education must be revolutionary and visionary, building rounded citizens who live productive and fulfilling lives, who believe in equal rights, who will work and struggle for the general good rather than for personal gain.

- Education is a national right. And it is the key to economic success. It must also be made a social success.
 1. It is the duty of government to provide free education for all up to tertiary level. This should include books, lunch and travelling for all school students. Such an investment empowers both the individual and the nation.
 2. Education is a public responsibility and should not be privatised.
 3. Skills training and problem-solving need to start from basic school level, encouraging creativity rather than rote learning. Students should be able to leave secondary school work-ready with vocational education included in

the curriculum for the final two years. Technical high schools should be especially supported and encouraged.

4. There must be equal standards across basic, primary and secondary schools. Training requirements and pay levels must be similar to facilitate high quality teaching and effective learning at every level.
5. Teachers at all levels must be committed to their pupils, their schools and to the national good.
6. Secondary schools should all receive equal funding, equal support and an equal balance of students of with varying abilities. They should be expected to produce equal success . Students should normally attend their nearest school.
7. Tertiary education should be provided through an integrated system of polytechnic universities, colleges and vocational training institutes which impart not just professional and vocational skills but also a mix theory and practice. There must be a commitment to the national good by both students and staff.
8. Tertiary education should include a greater emphasis on agriculture, engineering and science.
9. Discipline must be maintained in schools but no student should be excluded for prolonged periods without every effort being made to prevent it. Parents groups, past students associations and ministry of education must all make concerted attempts to deal with the source of behaviour problems, before exclusion is considered.
10. Special schools as well as corner schools should be provided to help individuals who don't fit well in regular schools.
11. Adult Literacy classes must become more generally available through JFLL.
12. Trade and vocational classes must become more generally available through the HEART Trust / NTA..

13. Education should be provided for all the prison population.
14. Morals and ethics must be part of education, along with sports, arts and music, in order to build character and produce better citizens.
15. Garveyism should be included in the curriculum from basic to tertiary level. An Afro-centric early education is especially important.

3. CRIME & VIOLENCE

- Jamaica continues to suffer from an historical legacy of crime and violence, primarily the crime of an unequal and unjust society, and the violence of a repressive state maintaining it.. But secondarily, we face the crimes and violence we inflict on each other as communities, as criminals, as people struggling for dignity and respect, as people trying to make a living by one means or another.
- People are not born bad . Crime and violence are products of society. Society must be fixed before there can be any fundamental reduction in crime and violence. We need to treat the root causes of crime and violence, rather than just the symptoms. Everyone is redeemable. Punishment should be restorative rather than punitive.
- Wrong-doing in one setting may not appear so in another. Whilst no wrong-doing should be excused, every effort should be made to understand the social context which may justify it to the perpetrators.
- People need to understand their responsibilities as well as their rights. Irresponsible behaviour within and between communities – 'mi live how mi wan fi live' – causes chaos, pain, suffering and it has an economic cost.

1. Parenting is critical and should be taught at pre- and ante-natal clinic especially for first and second time fathers and mothers. It can also be done on a corner-school basis.
2. Early childhood education can help to set people on the right path. Elders and communities can help to take this forward. 'It takes a village to raise a child'..
3. At 11-14 years old children are often drawn into groups and gangs because peer socialising is strong. Uniformed groups can redirect negative energy towards positive living. Groups such as Youth Brigades should be encouraged in schools, teaching nurturing skills, building character and better values and attitudes.
4. Greater control is needed over the police by the people through a Police Oversight Commission comprising mostly representatives from civil society.
5. Recruiting and training of police must be overhauled for a humane, compassionate and constructive approach to policing.
6. There should be greater emphasis on community policing, allowing community police to work alongside social workers to identify and assist those with anti-social attitudes and behaviour.
7. All police stations must be in good structural condition with a welcoming ambiance. Better administrative resources and facilities must be provided.
8. There must be even greater efforts to rid the police force of corrupt and rouge police officers.
9. Legislation, rather than police discretion, must be used to spell out the rules of engagement so as to protect the lives of our people. Premises should not be entered without a signed warrant by a judge nor should a curfew be imposed without authorisation from the Minister of National Security.
10. Citizens must be encouraged to work with the police, rather than protecting criminals. This can only be

achieved with a police force that people can trust, if it is a peoples' police force.

11. There must be much greater emphasis on forensics and other technologies in crime prevention and detection. This would help reduce reliance on witnesses who, because of the dangers, often absent themselves resulting in aborted court cases.
12. There should be a no-gun policy for the police and for citizens. Police can use stun-guns and tasers where absolutely necessary, and even dogs. There needs to be a heavy sentence for gun possession by the public and unauthorised or improper use by the police.
13. For illegal possession of knives there should be a three-strike policy - warning, fine, jail time.
14. Narcotic laws must be amended, legalising the use of marihuana for those over 18 years old but coming down heavily on users and traders of hard drugs.
15. Immigration laws should be amended to prevent 'white collar' criminals coming freely into Jamaica.
16. Our coastline and ports of entry should be better patrolled to eliminate the entry of illegal guns and drugs.
17. Countries which produce guns police their ports should be expected to eliminate the illegal export of guns to Jamaica. The possibility of compensation from the gun manufacturer or the country of origin should be considered for a gun brought into Jamaica illegally which then took the life of an individual.
18. Prisoners should produce goods and services , cultivating foodstuffs to feed themselves and others in public institutions. This would reduce overall costs and help rehabilitation efforts.
19. Alternative sentencing must be explored, sending the young to school or using community service rather than prison.

20. Rehabilitation programmes in prisons must be more widespread and accessible rather than tokenistic, aiming to reduce recidivism from its alarming rate of 70% through the provision of better training, better library arrangements, employer engagement upon release (paying employers a special allowance) and conjugal visits,
21. Road traffic law and code should be taught in schools from Grade 7 up to produce more responsible road users and reduce the cost and grief associated with road accidents.
22. Driving without due care and attention, driving without seat belts and riding a motor bike without a helmet should be methodically penalised. Those who get away with small infractions of the law may move on to bigger things.
23. Vehicle licence plates should indicate the parish of registration to help control criminality
24. The courts should be moved closer to the people to reduce the backlog of cases, moving away from the centralised courts.
25. The recent amendment to the bail act should be revoked.

4. AGRICULTURE

- Agriculture is important for our survival. There are now recurring food crises because of commodity speculation, China's increased demand and the making of fuel from crops. The biggest threat in next ten years may be famine driven by either shortages, or high prices, or both. We can chose to be either a victim, or a beneficiary. We can continue as a net importer of foodstuffs, or become a major exporter
- Agriculture, and agro-processing, are also important for jobs and for a vibrant rural economy. We have land of good quality and a blessed climate, more than enough to feed ourselves and to provide thousands of good-quality

jobs. We should eat what we grow and grow what we eat, reducing imports and expanding exports of both traditional and non-traditional crops, and of processed products.

1. There must be an active agricultural policy aimed at assisting Jamaican farmers. Incentives should be given to encourage the value-added processing of agricultural products.
2. Agricultural entities need major government support. Farmers must be energised with effective assistance and subsidies which encourage greater and more efficient production rather than extended dependency. This includes comprehensive crop insurance scheme, agricultural stations to provide farmers with modern agricultural equipment, seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc. and technical and scientific advice in each area.
3. Farmers must be guaranteed a market and good prices for their products. Cold storage and cooling stations must be established at central points throughout the island for the preservation of agricultural and farm products.
4. A National Marketing Board is required to deal with all phases of agricultural marketing both domestic and export, through which farmers can voluntarily dispose of their products, and see to it that importation of foreign agricultural produce will only be permitted when local goods cannot meet demand.
5. There must be extensive land reform to support sustainable development with access to land for potential farmers and farmers who want to expand, and for the marginalised. There is too much unused land, much of it owned by the state. The owners of unused private land must be encouraged people to sell or lease for productive use.
6. Co-operatives (as Garvey suggested) are preferable to corporations whose prime concerns is profit, suppressing the small farmers where it suits their interests. Agriculture in China and other countries has prospered on this basis.

7. Economies of scale needed. Farmers need to network to create bigger entities to buy and use equipment efficiently, to negotiate on prices and with suppliers and to effectively market their products both domestically and for export.
8. A lack of knowledge of overseas markets often deters local farmers from engaging in exports. Jamaica has the brand name which everyone wants. For example we can package yam in an attractive way, we can make drinks from banana etc. We can promote our agricultural products as naturally organic
9. The import of unhealthy foods such as waste products and bio-engineered apples, potatoes etc. must be stopped.
10. Agriculture must be made attractive and exciting, especially for young people. We need to show how agriculture can help people to not only survive and but also to prosper.
11. Organic farming should be encouraged and also the use of alternate manuring practices as opposed to those practices that destroyed the soil.
12. Jamaica has abundant supplies of high-quality water-some is even taken on board by visiting cruise liners. But we need better local water producing plants and distribution systems, including micro-dams, especially for small farmers. Relying on water trucks is not the way to go.
13. There needs to be an Agricultural Commission involving UWI, UTECH, CASE, NCU, HEART-NTA etc to examine and promote agricultural production, productivity and welfare and thus a bigger and better future for agriculture generally, not to just to sustain but to expand .
14. Better electricity, water and roads must be provided to rural areas.

5. DEVELOPMENT & PUBLIC FINANCE

- Jamaica's economy has its origins in the sustainable lifestyles of the Tainos, the social and economic oppressions and limitations of a sugar-based plantation system, the more diverse, more benign but no less exploitative period of colonialism and more recently as a peripheral, foreign-owned dependent economy suffering at the hands of a neo-liberal, capitalist world economic system, facilitated by a local plutocracy more interested in their own advantage than the development of Jamaica and its people.
- We need a fundamental change in our economy from one driven by profit, self-interest, unfettered markets and uncontrolled monopolies to one which recognises the complementary roles of individual initiative and of a proactive people's state. A state which intervenes as necessary, without apology. A state which monitors, initiates, supports and even operates both industries and economic and social systems in whatever way is most beneficial to the people, to the environment and thus to the future, first nationally and then regionally.
- We cannot rely only on bauxite, tourism, remittances and a possible oil bonanza. The economy must be diversified to reduce its vulnerability to external shocks, including climatic challenges in order to satisfy local needs and increase exports, creating thousands more jobs, greater equity and higher living standards.
- Economic development policy must focus on job-creation and satisfying basic needs, including food, housing, health care, education and community development. This can only happen if a radical approach is taken with the national debt which continues to absorb half or more of government spending.

- Reparations for the long period of under-development during slavery must be actively pursued. This is a moral and legal debt owed to those of African descent by those countries whose early development depended for over three hundred years on the forced transportation and exploitation of our African forebears.
1. Economic growth (development) should be measured in terms of GPI (Genuine Progress Indicator) or HDI (Human Development Index) rather than GDP.
 2. Production, productivity and employment must all be increased if standards of living are to be improved and maintained. This difficult challenge requires an integrated education, training, industrial, commercial, trade, international, investment, financial, monetary, exchange rate and debt policy. It requires joined-up governance.
 3. Efficient labour-intensive production must be encouraged rather than capital-intensive production which too often involves expensive imports.
 4. We need a National Development Board and a National Investment Board comprising largely of representatives from civil society to promote effective, efficient and equitable development.
 5. We must promote a wide range of industries including farming, fishing, canning, assembly plants, manufacturing industries etc. We must intensify the exploration of our mineral resources and the use of our human resources. We must add value to our raw materials exporting finished products wherever possible.
 6. **Commercial Policy** must especially encourage and facilitate micro and small business. Co-operatives and community enterprise must be equally encouraged and facilitated. The Jamaican economy should be largely in Jamaican hands, owned and controlled locally. The government should own (at least) a majority of shares in major companies which should be run by boards with wide worker and community representation. The overall

aim should be economic and social democracy to complement political democracy.

7. **Investment Policy** must give preference to local businesses. Industrial development has for too long had the effect facilitating foreign companies to the disadvantage of local companies. Foreign investment must be controlled and closely monitored. We must assist and encourage local businesses by controlling monopolies, protecting local industries against unfair competition, providing tax and other incentives while at the same time inducing foreign investments on the basis of mutual benefit.
8. **Trade Policy** should aim to expand exports and reduce imports of finished goods (especially luxury goods) , allowing instead the import of raw materials for local manufactures. The WTO agreement and the EPA agreement with the EU must be re-visited. CARICOM and the CSME must be made more effective and people-friendly. New trade agreements with progressive countries should be explored, including countries in Africa.
9. **International Policy:** The African Union (AU) can be of great assistance. Africa is rich in resources and Africans understand our challenges. The AU supports the principle that Rasta and indigenous peoples (includes our Maroons) must be included in all plans and policies. The Caribbean must integrate with the AU. We must also engage with USA, Europe, Japan China etc but must move away from any kind of dependency.
10. **Fiscal Policy** must be structured to allow the economy to grow, rather than to just balance the books. Deficit budgets may be required at times.
11. **Monetary Policy** must also be structured to allow the economy to grow, rather than making the control of inflation an end in itself. As such a disciplined central bank is needed rather than an independent one.
12. **Exchange Rate Policy** must be used to control inflation-inducing devaluation or export-reducing revaluation.

13. **Debt Policy:** we must stop foreign borrowing and reduce the debt, repudiating parts and putting a moratorium on debt payments until the economy shows sustainable real growth. Exchange controls may be necessary. Much of the debt is either immoral or odious, based on tainted criteria, some never reaching Jamaica, some misspent, some embezzled and most already paid off over and again.
14. **Taxes** must be properly spent and fully accounted for. In this way taxation, which pays for all the vital government services which we all need, can become respectable, and respected once again. There should be no new tax without consent . Town-hall meetings should be held to consult with the people when new taxes are being considered. No-one earning less than twice the minimum wage should pay income tax. Taxes should be shifted from regressive consumption taxes back towards a progressive income tax. There must be a much more aggressive approach to tax collection, especially targeting tax avoidance and evasion.
15. **Lending rates** for investment purposes must be reduced and funds made more readily available.
16. **Domestic saving** must be increased to facilitate growth, using progressive personal and property taxation as necessary. Too much local money goes into luxury cars, houses and life-styles.
17. **Banking Policy** must return the banks to their core function of re-cycling funds at minimum cost, with priority lending aimed at business development rather than consumption. Insurance Companies and Building Societies operating in Jamaica must invest all of their assets in the local productive sector.
18. **The IMF agreement** must be re-visited so that the economy is run for and by the people, rather than by and for foreign and local finance capital.
19. **Profits, prices and incomes policies** must be equitable and underpinned by what the economy can afford.
20. **The Minimum Wage** must be adequate and enforced.

21. Water should be paid within taxes. Houses with their own supply should have meters.
22. Public utilities such as light and power, water, telephone and bus services must be operated in the best interest and welfare of the public, even when not publicly-owned.
23. Stronger copyright legislation is needed to protect our products and symbols.
24. Our money should be printed locally.

6. LABOUR

- Labour is more than a factor of production. It is us, the people. It is both what we do and what we are for a large part of our lives. The supply of employment opportunities, the conditions in which we labour / work and the remuneration which we earn, cannot be left to the market or to employers. The government must step in to promote and protect work
 - There are too many hundreds of thousands of unemployed or underemployed persons in Jamaica. Creating meaningful jobs and adequate incomes must be a priority in every government policy.
1. Jamaicans must have preference to all jobs available even where the business or contract is foreign-owned or controlled.
 2. Labour exchanges are needed throughout Jamaica:
 3. There must be equal pay for equal work.
 4. Redundancy benefits, maternity / paternity leave, annual leave and sick leave provision for those working must be provided by employers.
 5. Workers should be encouraged to take control of their Unions.

6. Road repair crews should be community-based with at least 50% of the jobs must be for the people who live in the area, irrespective of party affiliation.

7. SOCIAL WELFARE

- People should be encouraged to take responsibility for their lives, to work for what they need rather than relying on the hand-outs and instant gratification which the politicians have encouraged. Working to provide for self and family is a better goal. It generates self-pride and an independence of both body and mind.
 - At the same time, there are many circumstances where people, despite their best efforts, need support. There should thus be an effective social safety net for all in need - for children, for the poor, for the unemployed, for the sick, for the aged, for those challenged in any way. But every effort should be made to avoid continued or prolonged dependency. We need a compassionate state based on tough love, not a nanny state based on handouts.
1. The assistance provided to those in need should not be conditional. Means-testing must be avoided whenever possible.
 2. Stagnant communities need programmes and projects for housing, land etc.
 3. More financing must be made available for social services including homes for displaced children, nursing homes for the sick and infirm and homes for the aged and indigent. None of these should be of a lesser quality than that enjoyed by the median population.
 4. The National Council for Senior Citizens does good work and should be better supported. Home visits and homes for elders must become part of our social provision.
 5. Many communities have community centres and recreation centres that are run down and little used, They must be brought into full use and properly maintained by

the communities in which they are situated. They must become an important base for community enjoyment, education, upliftment, for community harmony, co-operation and action.

6. Street vendors and taxi-men must not be unfairly harassed. Efforts must be made instead build on the positive dynamic, encouraging better organisation, co-operation and order.
7. An effective and efficient public transport system is needed including city and country buses, and urban and cross-country railways. There are too many private cars on the roads.
8. There should be one week's holiday in a luxury hotel for senior citizens 65 years and older.

8. HEALTH

- Access to basic health services is as much a human right as access to education. Health services must be provided free at the point of use so that no-one has to decide between their medical needs and others calls on their finances, such as food. Healthy nation is a productive nation, Health services are a national investment.
1. Sufficient hospitals, clinics, health care centres and ambulance service must be provided throughout the island. The ambiance and the security in public hospitals and health centres must be improved..
 2. Health care delivery must be improved by increasing the numbers of qualified doctors and nurses so as to reduce the doctor/ patient ratio.
 3. Adequate drugs should be provided, while facilitating the exploration and production of new drug for treatment.
 4. A Health Care Commission should be set up, comprising largely representatives from civil society, to monitor the

management and administration of the medical services, to ensure prompt and effective treatment of patients.

5. Preventative medical care and non-traditional medical techniques must be both expanded and improved. Registered naturopathic physicians will be used alongside traditional medical staff, sharing expertise and knowledge, including drug / herb and treatment process.

9. HOUSING

- Access to decent housing is another fundamental human right. No-one should be expected, or even allowed to live in inhumane or uncomfortable conditions. Decent housing must be available for all Jamaicans.
1. Government-built or sponsored housing should be provided for those who require such assistance, either sold at cost with long repayment periods or through affordable rental schemes.
 2. Government lands already occupied without title should be brought within the legal requirement without the eviction of any person. If it is found that the land was unfit, relocation to a suitable location should be facilitated.
 3. No substandard housing developments should be permitted and no homes allowed in disaster-prone areas.
 4. The NHT should continue to build low income housing, providing affordable mortgages for those on low incomes.
 5. The NHT should not be running up surpluses which are the redirected for other purposes. Instead interest rates should be lowered and more, affordable housing constructed.
 6. Private developers should be invited to assist in the provision of low-cost housing.

10. TOURISM

- Tourism has the potential to provide employment and markets for suppliers of a wide variety of products and services. But all too often the benefits leak abroad, despite the large numbers of tourist arrivals. Tourism needs to be operated by and for Jamaicans, reaching into communities so that it becomes an enriching activity for all concerned. Enclave tourism should be discouraged.
1. Tourism is now being operated too much on behalf of foreign interests while Jamaican money is being used to guarantee and subsidize its undertaking.
 2. Tourism must be examined and re-orientated so that the people of Jamaica will have first claim on the financial and social benefits accruing from this sector.
 3. The small players in the industry must be given more exposure, with community and heritage tourism becoming more mainstream.
 4. Our national airports, harbours and other infrastructure must be named after worthy Jamaicans.

11. FOREIGN POLICY

- We support the struggle of all colonial and oppressed peoples for freedom, peace and justice.
 - We pledge to promote social, cultural and economic ties with Africa.
 - We shall engage with foreign powers only on the basis of mutual respect, not from any form of dependency.
1. There must be a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. To tie Jamaica to any one of the two geopolitical military-economic blocks is a negation of Jamaica's interests.

2. The setting up of foreign military bases in Jamaica must not be permitted.
3. Ties between Jamaicans abroad and those at home must be maintained and developed to create a sense of oneness of purpose and national identity between those at home and abroad.
4. The rights of every Jamaican citizen must be vigorously upheld and protected wherever she or he may be.

12. ENVIRONMENT

- Concern for the environment must run through everything we do, as individuals, communities and as government. We inherited a functioning and mostly beautiful world from those who came before us. We owe no less to our children and succeeding generations.
 - We need to engage with sustainable economic practices as a matter of priority. Our ancestors recognised its importance and so should we.
1. Environment laws must be strengthened. NEPA must be more effective in order to better protect coral reefs, our forests, our hillsides and rivers etc. The government should work actively with environmental groups.
 2. The government must not sell lands for development or for any mining purposes that would adversely affect the environment.
 3. The government must invest in solar, wind and wave energy rather than wait on the private sector.

13. GOVERNANCE

- Participation and effective democratic governance are universal demands. Without empowerment we are less

than human, we are pawns in someone else's game, to be used and abused without end. Ensuring and protecting our democratic rights and freedoms is an on-going task which requires constant vigilance.

- The Jamaica constitution was agreed at the 1962 conference in London does not unloose the true aspirations of the people of Jamaica. The people of Jamaica were not consulted. We pledge to re-write the constitution so that it will truly be a people's constitution protecting the rights, liberties, freedom and equality of opportunities and equity for ALL. We cannot continue in a state of frustration and privation for the majority, chronic waste and stagnation of the past 400 years of colonial rule.
- An effective, participatory democracy will be guaranteed, one that empowers all Jamaicans, providing ready access to political representatives, influence in decision-making both locally and nationally, and prompt redress for injustice.
 1. Legal aid must be provided as necessary to ensure access to justice by all.
 2. The constitution must be amended into a republic with a President as head of state. It is time that elected officials pledge allegiance to the people of Jamaica instead to a foreign queen.
 3. Provisions should be made for Jamaicans abroad to vote in General and National Elections..
 4. All Jamaicans, whether or not they are dual citizens, should have the right and responsibility to participate in all aspects of our political process.
 5. Democracy at the workplace must be equally encouraged, supported and defended.
 6. Political cronyism must be discouraged. We must establish a system that is transparent, competitive and open to all Jamaican citizens.

7. The constitution must be reviewed to ensure a better balance of power between the legislature, the judiciary and the executive.
8. A minimum of 30% of MP seats should be reserved for women.
9. The Senate should be an elected, not an appointed body.
10. Serving effectively as both an MP and as a Minister may not be possible. The constitution should be reviewed to address this problem.
11. MPs must live within their constituency There should be a constituency house for MPs for use only during their tenure. Housing allowance will be available only for modest accommodation in Kingston for MPs whose constituencies are further than thirty kilometres from the parliament building.
12. MP's and Councillor's moral and ethical principles should be in tune with their constituents, obviating the need for security other than that provided by the people themselves.
13. Term limits should be set as follows: Prime Minister – two terms of 5 years; MPs – 3 terms of 5 years; Councillors – 4 terms of 3 years.
14. MPs and Councillors should be recalled if not serving their constituents adequately.
15. Ministers who breach the public trust should be impeached
16. The Caribbean Court should be Jamaica's final appellate court.
17. Judges should be selected by a Judicial Commission

APPENDIX: GARVEY'S 1929 MANIFESTO below shows that what was one revolutionary can become commonplace.

PEOPLE'S POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO

Feeling the mighty hand of Imperialism clothed in legal authority, **Garvey decided** to form a political party to change conditions. **He and his** colleagues named it "The People's Political Party". **In 1929** they issued a Manifesto.

In the Municipal elections they won three seats, they had one in the Legislative Council. They now decided to run 12 candidates, one for each parish, for the general elections to the Legislative Council. The following are the planks of their platform, which were printed on hand-bills, also in the Black-man:

"If elected, I shall do everything in my power . . . to make effective the following:-

1. Representation to the Imperial Parliament for a larger modicum of self government.
2. Protection of native labour.
3. A minimum wage for the labouring and working classes of the island.
4. A law to protect the working and labouring classes of the country by insurance against accident, sickness and death, caused during employment.
5. A law to compel the employment of not less than 60 per cent of native labour in all industrial, agricultural and commercial activities engaged in, in this island.
6. The expansion and improvement of city, town or urban areas without the incumbrance or restraint of private proprietorship.
7. An eight hour working day throughout Jamaica.
8. A law to encourage the promotion of native industries.
9. Land reform.
10. A law to impeach and imprison judges who, with disregard for British justice and constitutional rights, dealt unfairly.
11. A Jamaica University and Polytechnic.
12. The establishing of a Government High School in the capital town of each parish for the supply of free secondary education. Attached to the said High School to be a night continuation school to facilitate those desiring to study at night in order to advance their education.
13. A public library in the capital town of each parish.
14. A National Opera House with an Academy of Music and Art.
15. Prison reform.

16. The compulsory improvement of urban areas from which large profits are made by trusts, corporations, combines and companies.

17. The appointment of official court stenographers to take the official notes of all court proceedings in the Supreme Court, Resident Magistrates Courts and Petty Session Courts of the island.

18. The creation of a Legal Aid Department to render advice and protection to such persons who may not be able to have themselves properly represented and protected in courts of law.

19. A law for the imprisonment of any person who by duress or undue influence would force another person to vote in any public election against his will, because of obligation or employment or otherwise.

20. The granting to the townships of Montego Bay and Port Antonio the corporate rights of cities.

21. A law to empower the Government to secure a loan of three million (or more) pounds from the Imperial Government, or otherwise, to be used by the Government, under the management of a department of the Director of Agriculture, in developing the Crown Lands of the island, agriculturally and otherwise with the object of supplying employment for our surplus unemployed population, and to find employment for stranded Jamaicans abroad; and that the Government purchase such ships as are necessary from time to time, to facilitate the marketing of the produce gathered from those crown lands, and at the same time conveniently offering an opportunity to other producers to ship and market their produce.

22. The beautifying and creating of the Kingston Race Course into a National Park similar to Hyde Park in London.

23. The establishment by the Government of an electrical system to supply cheap electricity to such growing and prospering centres as are necessary.

24. A law to establish clinical centres from which trained nurses are to be sent out to visit homes in rural districts and to teach and demonstrate sanitary and better health methods in the care of home and family.

25. A law to empower the Parochial Boards of each parish to undertake under the direction of the Central Government the building of model sanitary homes for the peasantry by the system of easy payments to cover a period of from ten to twenty years.

26. A law to prevent criminal profiteering in the sale of lands in urban and suburban areas to the detriment of the expansion of healthy home life for citizens of moderate means — profiteering such as indulged in, in lower St. Andrew, by heartless land sharks.