Special Edition

29th CHURCHES' EMANCIPATION LECTURE 2022

Emancipation and the Independence Journey:
60 Years of Lessons & Legacies
Going backward, moving forward or standing still
Are we truly independent or emancipated?





Churches' Emancipation Lecture

Emancipation and the Independence Journey:
60 Years of Lessons & Legacy
Going backward, moving forward or standing still?
Are we truly independent or emancipated?

Presented by: Rosalea Hamilton, Ph.D. CEO, LASCO Chin Foundation Chair, Caribbean Philanthropic Alliance

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FOREWARD - Jeremy Taylor QC



The year 2022 is a year of milestones. It is famously celebrated as a jubilee year. August 6, 2022 celebrates sixty (60) years of freedom and independence from British colonial rule which began on the 27th day of May 1655, when they conquered Jamaica and wrested it away from imperial Spain.

The second milestone and lesser known milestone is that the Churches Emancipation Lecture has achieved generational standing – this lecture being the 29th iteration in the annual series. Truly an idea whose time has come. An ecumenical venture born out of friendship, a deep understanding of the history of this country, stirred and cultivated by the cool early morning breeze blowing over the Mona Dam.

A recognition that Emancipation was our Passover, our liberation from Egypt. The lecture has as its main theme, Emancipation: The Lesson and the Legacy. This vigil is the preservation of a sacred collective memory and the Churches have certainly taken on the mandate laid down in **Exodus 13:14-16**

And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage:

And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the matrix, being males; but all the firstborn of my children I redeem.

And it shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

In 1837, a tearful elderly apprentice in Williamsfield told two visiting American abolitionists of his expectations of Emancipation:-

"I declare to you massa, if de Lord spare we to be free. We be much more religious — we be wise to many more tings¹."

It is easy to empathise with that ancestral elder in 1837. Slavery represented the darkest and most inhuman face of capitalism and market forces. Slavery was the ultimate reduction of human beings to a mere factor of production. Indeed at all aspects of the system, the lack

of human beings to a mere factor of production. Indeed at all aspects of the system, the lack of humanity, morality and justice was self—evident. It was the very negation of God erected into a social economic and political system.

Our lecture today will lead us to contemplate whether or not we have kept faith with that ancestor.

¹ 'We be wise to many more tings': Blacks' Hopes and Expectations of Emancipation by Woodville Marshall.

Our lecturer, Dr Rosalea Hamilton will take us on a journey in this lecture. She will address

- [1] The pathways to freedom faced by enslaved Africans at Emancipation, and the disappointments of the post-Emancipation era.
- [2] The independence and post-independence journey highlighting the 1962 constitution and the promise of self-government, as well as lessons learnt over the past 60 year.
- [3] She will answer the questions: i) Is Jamaica going backwards, moving forward or standing still? and ii) Are we truly independent or emancipated?

These lectures have been accompanied by cultural presentations, choral renditions and dramatizations in carefully planned annual ceremonies that continue to shine a torchlight on our society: its past and prevailing challenges and on the progress that we have made in the struggle for emancipation.

We give thanks to almighty God for the sacrifices made by our ancestors that we can 189 years later, sit, live and laugh in freedom.

We give God thanks to all our constituent congregations - **Bethel, Boulevard, Hope, Meadowbrook, UTCWI and Webster** – and citizens of Jamaica that have sustained this movement for a generation.

Happy 29th Anniversary to the Churches Emancipation Lectures Series!

To God be the Glory!

Jeremy C. Taylor QC attends the Bethel Baptist Church and is a member of the Churches Emancipation Lecture Committee.

MESSAGE FROM HOST PASTOR - Reverend Lembe Sivile



The 2022 Emancipation Lecture is being held at a time when the social and economic landscape of our nation is greatly impacted as a consequence of the global dynamics which are triggered by among other things the pandemic and the war in Ukraine. As per the usual trend of our human endeavour, when such challenging moments come it is mostly the poor who suffer the most and that case is not different even now. Emancipation is truly a process and not an event, meaning that there will always be some life denying and threatening experiences which must be confronted for the sake of upholding the sanctity and value of human life.

God has always demonstrated his commitment to stand in solidarity with the suffering, the disenfranchised, the marginalized, the oppressed and those whose identity and image of God in and through them is denied and compromised. God's plan is that we all live life in full and collectively confront all forces and systems that attempt to steal, kill and destroy this precious gift called life.

I am happy to bring you greetings on behalf of the Meadowbrook United Church and wish to express our gratitude for the opportunity to host this event. Blessings to you all and the peace of God which passes all understanding clothe our minds and hearts through Christ our Lord and saviour.

MESSAGE FROM COMMITTEE CHAIR - Vanna L. Lawrence JP



In a time like this: of changing realities caused by a global pandemic and multiple political disruptions that affect our everyday lives, it is easy to define ourselves solely by a focus on matters of reality and survival, without reflecting on how the past has unquestionably contributed to our present. The Churches' Emancipation Lecture Committee has ensured that despite the changing times, the discussion of our history remains of great importance, especially at this time of every year. Freedom is priceless; our ancestors knew that and the persons around us that are still experiencing various forms of 'slavery' depend upon us to highlight that fact in our discussions and advocacy.

Just as in the period of chattel slavery, the church continues to play a pivotal part in shaping the discourse and reminding the people of Jamaica of our common heritage and the greatness that lies within us, as a people who have persevered. This years' lecture therefore continues to celebrate the legacy derived from our many pains and pursuits but also encourages us as Jamaicans towards growth through learning from our many lessons. I therefore climb upon the shoulders of greater men and women to reiterate that without a thorough inspection of the past, we stand to make very similar mistakes in the present, which will certainly affect future generations.

The Churches' Emancipation Lecture Committee deliberated extensively on how to harness these thoughts in Jamaica's 60th year of independence. I had the pleasure of facilitating discussions on the theme, which added the evocative statement challenging us all towards personal introspection of whether we are moving forward, standing still or headed backwards in various ways to the places and spaces from whence we came. As a people of Christian faith, the five churches and Theological College represented by this Committee spent many hours ensuring that this public discourse on emancipation and independence provides a space for the thoughts and opinions of participants of many experiences. We are therefore grateful to the home church, Meadowbrook United, our many sponsors, partners and the speaker – Professor Rosalea Hamilton, for their yeoman service and dedication to this cause.

The Emancipation Lecture was born from the before dawn ruminations of two individuals on the matter of Jamaica's freedom, but this year I have personally witnessed the continued dedication and untiring service of many volunteers who are committed to ensuring that Jamaicans continue to take stock of our lessons and legacy in order to build a stronger future. It was my absolute pleasure serving beside this Committee for the 29th staging of the Emancipation Lecture in this great year of Jamaica's Jubilee!

PROFILE OF PRESENTER - Rosalea Hamilton, Ph.D.



Professor Rosalea Hamilton is CEO of the LASCO Chin Foundation since June 2018 and Chair of Caribbean Philanthropic Alliance since 2019. She was Vice President at the University of Technology, Jamaica (2008 to 2018) and was awarded a Professorship in the Scotiabank Chair in Entrepreneurship and Development. She established and led The MSME Alliance, a network of small business organizations, for ten (10) years. She also established the Institute of Law & Economics and worked as a consultant and public educator on trade, governance, gender and other areas of economic and social development. She has taught at the graduate and undergraduate levels in Jamaica and the US. She was Special Advisor and Trade Policy Consultant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade (2000-2003) and served as Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister of Jamaica (May 2006-Sept 2007). She is currently a Board Director for LASCO Manufacturing Limited and the National Integrity Action. She was recently appointed as the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Sierra Leone in Jamaica.

Emancipation and the Independence Journey:

60 Years of Lessons & Legacies*

By

Rosalea Hamilton, Ph.D.

1. Introduction

Emancipation in 1838 and Independence in 1962, are two important milestones by the indigenous people of Jamaica and the enslaved Africans in the protracted struggle against colonialization and the dehumanizing "civilizing mission" of the Spanish, and later the British. Sixty years after Jamaica's independence, this struggle persists against various forms of race, class and colour discrimination as well as institutional biases that favour a privileged few and perpetuates the inherited *status quo*. This struggle can be construed as a 528-year fight of a resilient people to improve their social and economic conditions of life in pursuit of freedom, self-determination and humanity. The paper will highlight the psychological, socio-economic and political/governance aspects of this protracted fight.

First, the paper briefly describes the pathways to freedom faced by enslaved Africans at Emancipation, simplified in terms of pathways that focused on "conformity" to the *status quo* and those that focused on the "pursuit of self-determination," and the disappointments of the post-Emancipation era. Second, the independence and post-independence journey is summarized highlighting the 1962 constitution and the promise of self-government, as well as lessons learnt given the persistent colonial legacies over the past 60 years. Finally, the concluding remarks will answer the questions: 1) Is Jamaica going backwards, moving forward or standing still? and 2) Are we truly independent or emancipated? The paper suggests that a move forward toward a Republic would provide another opportunity for Jamaicans to proactively take steps towards achieving the long-standing dream of freedom, self-determination and a true recognition of their humanity.

2. Emancipation & Pathways to Freedom

After the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 and slavery itself in 1834, followed by a new form of enslavement under the "apprenticeship" system, there were high expectations that Emancipation would finally deliver the "freedom" for which many enslaved Africans fought and died. It finally came on August 1, 1838 with many disappointments. A major disappointment was that the enslavers received financial compensation for their loss of "property," while ex-slaves received nothing. Perhaps the most devastating disappointment is that the actual experience of "freedom" is yet to be achieved.

¹ According to Hickling (2016:19), their "civilizing mission" was centered on the false belief of ownership of property and human being by "divine right." This "European social engineering of western civilization" was based on a "Primary delusion" which he describes as a "fixed false belief impervious to rational argument" which corresponds to the concept of "white supremacy" and of Europeans owning the world.

² The 528-year fight for freedom is from 1494, when Columbus landed in Jamaica, to 2022. Fanon (2008:180) notes: "No attempt must be made to encase man, for it is his destiny to be set free."

2.1. The Dream of "Freedom"

The civilizing/colonizing mission of the Spanish from 1494, and later the British from 1655, laid the foundation for a process of dehumanization. Any challenge to this mission was systematically thwarted using legal and other institutional arrangements as well as a range of suppression mechanisms, including genocide. It is this process of dehumanization, the *original sin*, that has created the "problem of humanization" that underpins the social and economic challenges in Jamaica and the Caribbean. This problem is rooted in the idea that human beings are endowed with the capacity to learn and thus to choose appropriately between different possible courses of action. The history of humankind can be seen as a process of understanding the world and transforming it through the dynamic interplay of thought and action in the problem-solving process. The problem of humanization persists not only because of persistent dehumanizing experiences of racism and other forms of discrimination, but also because of the retention of institutions that impede relevant learning, free thinking, and action to solve specific problems. Thus, the fight for freedom, before and after emancipation, entails the fight to address the problem of humanization, to regain humanity. Importantly, this involves **improving social and economic conditions and the quality of life** or standard of living, in pursuit of **self-determination**, **interpreted as** an individual or group's ability to make choices and manage their own lives.

On the eve of Emancipation, "freedom" meant different things to different people based on their experience of enslavement and their vision of life. For most, freedom meant an opportunity to find family members who had been sold away from them and ensuring that families stayed together. It also entailed no more sexual slavery; learning to read and write; organizing churches; moving around freely; creating income for oneself rather than for the enslaver; working without the whip and the loss of limbs; owning land³ to cultivate and live on, and much more. Kelley (2002) called these "freedom dreams," described as "a desire to go where they wanted to go, to get the fruits and benefits of their own work, to form their own families, to walk with dignity and breathe easily, to look somebody in the eye as an equal human being, and to have a share in making the world in which they lived." Freedom was not only an individual desire to determine ones destiny but, importantly, a collective effort for self-determination and to achieve a desirable standard of living relative to others.

Historians have debated the "flight from the plantations." Did the ex-slaves leave the plantation on their own or were they pushed by planters. Without housing, land or other assets to create a new life, some chose to stay in their slave quarters and continue working on the plantation for meagre wages, while others continued to live there and pay rent, or faced eviction. Hutton (2015:6) noted that many became "a kind of peasant-serf labourer...whose habits, attitudes and social psychology were shaped by some 200 years of organizing and defending slavery." In doing so, they had to conform to the old order that continued to serve the interest of the planter class.

Others chose different paths by leaving the plantation. Some later chose to leave the country in search of work, for example, on the Panama Canal in 1879. Many left the plantation and built their own

³ Hutton (2015:5) pointed out that: "the idea held by many former enslaved Africans that 'liberty of person' must be connected to 'liberty of the land' was a basic call for emancipation to be made a material reality for the black masses."

⁴ Kelley, Robin D.G. (2002). Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination. Beacon Press, Boston. See https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/1016862/mod resource/content/1/Kelley Freedom%20Dreams.pdf

⁵ The classic article on evictions from the estates is Hall (1996).

homes, became peasant farmers, started their own businesses and formed cooperative enterprises and various other kinds of economic associations. Their entrepreneurial pursuits created the foundation of the micro and small business sector that dominated the informal, subsistence economy and competed for labour power with the plantation economy. They became part of the "growth of the social entrepreneurial and political activism of the black freeholders" who settled in Free Villages that were established across Jamaica with the assistance of missionaries. According to Hutton, they determined their own political path and were "in the vanguard of the struggle against the plantocracy and its racist ideology" (2015:12). It was this path to self-determination, for which many paid a high price, that has created the greatest opportunities to achieve real freedom and improved living conditions.

2.2. Pathways to Freedom: Conformity & the Pursuit of Self-Determination

Slavery not only laid the foundations for social and economic inequity but also created a legacy that shaped decisions and chosen paths after Emancipation. The dehumanizing process produced and reproduced inferiority and "nobodyness" among enslaved Africans and, simultaneously, superiority, privilege and entitlement as a right among the planter class. This continued among successive generations in the colonial/post-colonial era. The colonizers encouraged the view of "whiteness" as "a symbol of purity, of Justice, Truth, Virginity" and defined "what it means to be civilized, modern and human." They also encouraged the view of "blackness" as a symbol of "ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality." These dual psychological legacies comprise the core elements of what can be called the "Mental Slavery" (MS) mindset that dominated colonial norms, values and institutional arrangements and continue to constrain efforts to transform post-colonial Jamaica. Among the main proponent of this MS mindset were sections of the Christian Church. Playing a central role in the European civilizing mission, the colonial church encouraged conformity to the status quo as necessary to achieve spiritual rewards in the afterlife. Many, mainly in the mulatto class, who chose this pathway of conformity, benefitted from many of the privileges of the planter class which enabled the creation of a black and brown middle class.

Slavery and the colonial experience also produced and reproduced the internalized rejection of oppression and adaptive resilience which can be called the "Mental Resistance" (MR) mindset. This MR mindset is shaped by the fundamental human struggle for freedom, self-expression and self-determination and has spawned "freedom fighters" in resistance movements worldwide, including in the Caribbean. Freedom fighters see the retention of a sense of identity and dignity as well as the yearning for humanizing freedom as sources of continuous resistance during every phase of the slavery and colonial process. The struggle for rights and freedom, using armed revolt, marronage, petitions, language as well as a variety of cultural, artistic and spiritual expressions, have persisted from generation to generation. The evolving anti-colonial Jamaican church, led by the Native Baptists and Independent Methodists, which embraced the process of indigenisation of their belief system, also possessed the MR mindset required to actively engage and lead organized resistance to the unjust and inhumane colonial system. This was evident in the role that the Baptist deacon Sam Sharpe played in

⁶ See Hutton (2015:12).

⁷ See Fanon (2008: p.xiii).

⁸ See Fanon (2008: p.xiii).

the "Baptist War," which became the catalyst to the 1833 Emancipation Act, and the role that Native Baptist Paul Bogle played in the "Native Baptist War" of 1865. 9

Generations of freedom fighters and revolutionaries have refused to accept the imposition of hegemonic rules and norms and have instead produced transformative legacies of resiliency, adaptation and progress. This "legacy of healing"¹⁰ and survival strategies have provided successive generations with a resilient MR mindset to cope with the harsh, inhumane and degrading experiences of oppression. Billingsley (1968) describes this legacy as "an absorbing, adaptive, and amazingly resilient mechanism for the socialization of its children and the civilization of its society."¹¹ It is this psychological legacy of resilience, resistance and proactive problem solving that holds the key to improving the social and economic conditions of life in the pursuit of freedom, self-determination and humanity.

2.3. The Post-Emancipation Journey

Two decades after Emancipation, the fight against racism/classism and oppressive colonial laws was actively being waged by former enslaved Africans and their allies against the ruling class. The disappointment of the reality of "freedom" led to increasingly organized advocacy and agitation across Jamaica for reforms to achieve better living conditions. These included the "New Agitation Movement" (1858), the "Riots" (1859), the "Great Revival" (1860-61), the "Underhill Meetings" (1859). For example, fears that a series of Bills would reintroduce slavery led to active battles. The "New Immigration Bill" of 1858 was seen by the Watchman newspaper as the "opening of a slave trade under the fictitious name of Immigration." The Watchman actively encouraged denouncing the law and preventing Royal assent. 13

There was also active protest against the 1859 Election Law and the whole system of representative government as part of a wider struggle for greater representation and democracy in Jamaica, as well as demands for better training/education, infrastructure development and economic opportunities.¹⁴ On February 24, 1859, at a meeting to petition the Queen against the Election Law enacted by the House of Assembly, George William Gordon called on the people to "protest against the Act" and informed a meeting that: "There was a strong desire to centralize everything in the hands of the Government, although Responsible Government had done nothing to benefit the country."¹⁵ According to the *Colonial Standard* report of the meeting, Mr. Alexander Sinclair, one of the members of the Jamaica Reform Association, declared that: "the election Law would make serfs of poor men, and attributed this to the plantocracy, who looked on his class as they would on dogs."¹⁶

The importance of representative government for the people was also highlighted. Revd. R.A. Johnson, editor of the *Watchman*, noted that:

¹⁰ Hicks (2015) sees the "legacies of healing" as manifested in the form of "survival, strength, spirituality, perseverance, vitality, dynamism, and resiliency."

⁹ See Dick (2009).

¹¹ See Billingsley, (1968:33).

¹² See Hutton (2015:23).

¹³ See Hutton (2015:28).

¹⁴ See Hutton (2015:30).

¹⁵ See Hutton (2015:29).

¹⁶ See Hutton (2015, p.29).

"Under a constitutional form of government, the channel through which the power of the people flowed, was representation, and hence it was that the Assembly made every effort to deprive the people of the elective franchise. Shortly after Emancipation, an election law was passed...but soon after it was found that that law gave too much power to the people, and it was amended by the passing of an act making the payment of taxes on a certain day, a condition for voting. The object of this act was to deprive the small men of the right of the elective franchise, and the dominant party now with the same view, had imposed a tax of 10s. on every qualification to vote. The object of the last act was to make the people the political slaves of the dominant party, who have perpetuated all the misery in the land." ¹⁷

St Thomas became the epicenter of this growing demand for reforms for several reasons. Hutton (2015:48-49) highlighted several of these reasons including "a higher level of organization, agitation and consciousness among the black masses surpassing their counterparts in most parts of the island in the realization that they needed to take things into their own hands and create alternative institutions to the ones they considered oppressive rather than wait for help from above." By 1865, the Morant Bay rebellion erupted, leading to the massacre of more than 400 people. Although the efforts to reform the post-emancipation society, led by Paul Bogle and George William Gordon, were viciously crushed by the colonial ruling class, the pursuit of freedom, self-determination and the struggle to improve the standard of living for the majority of Jamaicans persisted.

By the 1920s, Marcus Garvey was in the forefront of the fight for self-determination and the improvement of the social and economic development for the black majority through the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Influenced by Garvey's black nationalist "Back to Africa" philosophy, Rastafarianism¹⁸ emerged after the coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1930 and found root in the first prominent Rastafarian community established by Leonard Howell in 1940. The teachings and philosophy of Garvey and the Rastafarian movement had a major influence on the evolving musical, art, dance and other cultural expressions of the black majority during the pre- and post-independence era. Most notable was the emergence of reggae music and the rise of Bob Marley. These cultural expressions played a vital role in the advocacy for freedom and self-determination.

3. The Independence/Post Independence Journey

The 1938 labour uprising was an important turning point along the journey to freedom, self-determination and improved living conditions. The persistent, inhumane social and economic conditions of the majority black population that triggered the uprising, were vividly captured by the *Daily Herald* in 1938:

"I entered the wooden houses, little more than huge dog kennels, of men who are expected to live on ninepence to two shillings a day wages. Families of six were living in one room, eating one poor meal a day and supplementing it with a few odd coconuts blown from trees."

Those earning less than 1s. 4d (one shilling and four pence) a day were unable to buy a four-pound loaf of bread after one day of work.²⁰ Demands for better pay led to several strike actions across Jamaica

¹⁷ See Hutton (2015, p.29-30).

¹⁸ Hickling (2016) sees the Rastafarian movement as "the most potent force in emancipation from mental slavery worldwide." See Frederick W. Hickling (2016) Owning our Madness, p.159.

and gave birth to the trade union movement. The 1938 uprisings also gave rise to the two major political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) led Norman Manley (1938) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), led by Alexander Bustamante (1943), which took Jamaica to its next milestone – the promise of independence.

3.1. Independence & the Promise of Self-Government

For Ivey (2018): "Independence signaled a symbolic and also a tangible lifting of the odious yoke of colonialism that, like a determined boa constrictor snake, had enveloped and held the people in a strangle-hold under Spanish (1494 to 1655) and British (1496 to 1838) rule for more than 400 years." While the reins of political power moved from the hands of the British to Jamaican hands, it's symbolism was wrongly construed as the achievement of self-government (i.e., the political aspect of self-determination²¹) that would put power in the hands of the majority of Jamaicans.

In his last public address to the PNP annual conference, then Opposition Leader Norman Manley stated that "the mission of my generation was to win self-government for Jamaica, to win political power which is the final power for the black masses." Nettleford (1989:2) described the self-government movement at the advent of Independence as "the release of newly forged energies vital to the process of self-actualization, social transformation and the total transfer of power to colonial siblings, especially the mass of the population or the people from below." Norman Manley saw the achievement of political independence as "mission accomplished." But a few years later, his son, Michael Manley, recognized that the political power achieved at independence did not deliver power to the majority and did not address their needs and aspirations. He took political power in 1972 on the promise of a "politics of change," the campaign slogan "power to the people" and the theme song "Better must come." He also adopted the Rastafarian "rod of correction," embracing the culture of resistance of the black majority still yearning for freedom, self-determination and humanity.

This was in stark contrast to then Prime Minister Bustamante's earlier rejection of the emerging Rastafarian movement during Coral Gardens incident in 1963, during which he delivered his infamous order to "Bring in all Rastas, dead or alive." Although Bustamante focused on the urgent "bread and butter" issues facing black Jamaicans, his strategy fostered dependence on government and ushered in the distribution of "scarce benefits and spoils" as a core political strategy in the independence and post-independence era, embraced by both political parties. His leadership, and that of Norman Manley, failed to seize the opportunity at independence to create the legal/constitutional framework to empower the Jamaican people and to give them a voice in shaping social and economic policy to meet their needs. This failure undermined efforts to improve the standard of living of the majority, especially the entrepreneurial efforts of micro and small businesses whose efforts were stifled for decades.

²⁰ In the 1938 Hansard reporting on the "Conditions in Jamaica," Lord Oliver noted that in some parishes including Portland, "the average wage for men is given as ranging from 1s. 4¾d. to 2S. 3d., and for women from 9¾d. to 1s. 6d." See https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1938/jun/02/conditions-in-jamaica

²¹ See https://turtletalk.blog/2013/09/26/new-scholarship-on-explaining-the-difference-between-self-determination-and-self-government/#:~:text=Although%20self%2Dgovernment%20is%20the,of%20peoples%20within%20their%20polities.

²² See Nettleford (1971). See also https://jis.gov.jm/information/heroes/norman-washington-manley/

²³ See Nettleford (1989).

²⁴ See Manley (1990).

Norman Manley, who provided intellectual leadership to the self-government movement, openly accepted the familiar system of parliamentary government of the British which he argued "displayed the most unique genius of any people in history for devising a form of government acceptable to people." Bustamante shared Manley's view of the inherited system of government which enabled a bipartisan consensus in shaping the Constitution. With no significant changes, the British "Order in Council, 1962 No.1550" was signed by a British civil servant (W.G. Agnew) on behalf of the Queen. This Act perpetuated the colonial, hereditary leadership of the Queen by creating a "constitutional monarch." Although colonial, monarchical rule was characterized as a "denial of fundamental human rights" by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 1514 XV by 1960, the Queen was retained as Jamaica's Head of State by s.68, albeit with weakened, ceremonial responsibilities delegated to the Governor General. The real policymaking executive power was transferred to Cabinet as the "the principal instrument of policy" under the control of the prime minister, the chief executive head of government (s.69). In so doing, Jamaica, like many other Caribbean countries, centralized power in the hands of the Prime Minister, thereby consolidating Executive sovereignty, instead of People sovereignty.

The choice not to remove the Queen as Head of State and to establish a Republic with sovereignty in the hands of the Jamaican people, can be interpreted as due to Bustamante and Manley's "lack of confidence in the Jamaican people to govern themselves, free from any constitutional attachment to the British Monarch." Over the past 60 years, while some Jamaicans have continued various forms of advocacy and resistance of the *status quo*, which have been either ignored or misunderstood, many Jamaicans have accepted the *status quo* and have not demanded effective representation or accountability from elected representatives.

After independence, centralized Executive power in the hands of the Prime Minister was consolidated. Unlike the Westminster model of representative government, where the Executive is a minority committee of elected representatives in the House of Representatives, the approach to self-government was to consolidate executive dominance. This has led to a tight grip on power by successive Prime Ministers who take power by winning a Parliamentary majority and then undermine representative democracy through the dominance of the Executive in the Legislature. The voice of the people is silenced when the people's representatives simply follow the dictates of the Prime Minister rather than the people who elected them. This is ensured by the first-pass-the-post, winner-take-all electoral process, and other provisions in the constitution. Party loyalty is expected and enforced by the Prime Minister's power of appointment and summary dismissal of Ministers, among other mechanisms. The tremendous power of the Prime Minister keeps legislators toeing the Party line or face the "political doghouse."

This enables firm control of Parliamentary outcomes by Cabinet decisions, thereby perpetuating executive dominance, referred to as "Elective Dictatorship" by former Lord Chancellor Hailsham in his

²⁵ See Jamaica Hansard 1961-62, p. 719.

²⁶ s.69(2) of the Jamaican constitution gives Cabinet control of the government subject to Parliamentary collective responsibility: "The Cabinet shall be the principal instrument of policy and shall be charged with the general direction and control of the Government of Jamaica and shall be collectively responsible therefore to Parliament."

²⁷ See https://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/focus/20220424/patrick-robinson-irrelevance-readiness-independence

1976 Richard Dimbleby Lecture. History has taught us that legislative restraints on executive power is necessary but not sufficient to prevent autocracy. This system of government has enabled the persistence of centralized control of key institutions of governance by the Executive with ineffective mechanisms to understand and represent the will of the people. It has enabled a hegemonic, sociopolitical culture that typically serves the interest of a few who have benefitted from the perpetuation of post-colonial governance arrangements.

Reflecting on the special significance of the independence milestone, Nettleford (1989:2) described the independence promise as "the empowerment of the formerly colonized to take decisions as 'Jamaicans' in their own interest and to be the masters of their own destiny." By failing to create a constitution to empower the Jamaican people and make them sovereign, supported by the necessary political, social and economic institutions to improve the standard of living of the Jamaica people, independence failed to deliver that promise.

3.2.Sixty (60) Years of Lessons & Legacies

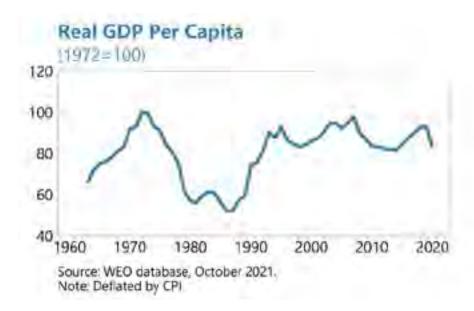
Looking back, some core lessons can be discerned to avoid repeating the errors of the past and to guide a new generation in actively shaping their future. These lessons and enduring legacies are interpreted through the lens of the 528-year fight to improve the social and economic conditions of life of Jamaicans, in pursuit of freedom, self-determination and humanity.

3.2.1. Economic & Social Lessons/Legacies

Since the pioneering work of Nobel Laureate Arthur Lewis (1954),²⁸ Caribbean economists have analyzed the evolution of plantation economies and the related socio-economic institutions of Caribbean economies to determine sustainable strategies for development and growth.²⁹ The core objective is to improve people's standard of living, especially for those at the bottom of the pyramid whose families did not benefit from the Emancipation dream or the Independence promise. We have not achieved this objective.

²⁸ See Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour, Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies, 22: 417-419.

²⁹ See Beckford, G. L. (1972). *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World.* New York and London: Oxford University Press.



Economists typically measure a country's standard of living or average income of the population by GDP per capita, i.e. gross domestic product (economic output) per person.³⁰ In his 2022 budget presentation, Finance Minister Nigel Clarke noted that "Jamaica's average income today, is lower, in real terms, than it was 50 years ago."³¹ [See graph above]. He suggested that "the most important lesson is that, in all we do, we should never, ever sacrifice discipline, policy sustainability, or economic resilience for short term expediency."³² Important lessons also relate to how to improve GDP per capita: James (2021) suggests that low GDP per capita is due to persistent low labour productivity and low capacity to compete. Recent empirical evidence from 128 countries³³ suggests that raising Jamaica's standard of living will require simultaneously devoting resources to do the following:

- (1) **Grow capacity to Innovate** Jamaica's inadequate level of technology and low capacity to innovate is reflected in its weak system of education and training to foster creativity and innovation. The dominance of a culture of conformity in the educational institutions contributes to this low capacity.
- (2) Grow capacity to produce (and export) capital goods and services Jamaica is a highly import dependent country. To reverse this trend, Jamaica needs to increase its share of exportable capital in GDP, especially in Education, Healthcare and the Creative/cultural/sports industries. This includes increasing capital expenditure for building and infrastructure development, for example, to establish world class music and sports museums and performing centres. Jamaica's global success in music and sports with relatively little public investment, relative to other traditional sectors, underscores the significant potential to grow our share of exportable capital in GDP in these areas.
- (3) **Upgrade key institutions** The key institutions required to grow capacity to innovative and to produce (and export) capital goods and services are not fit for purpose. Rooted in outdated colonial

³⁰ GDP per capita, however, does not account for any inequality within a society. This is important to note since Jamaica and other Caribbean societies are historical rooted in inequality and structurally configured to perpetuate these inequalities. Economic measures, like the Gini coefficient, can be used to measure income inequality.

³¹ See Clarke (2022).

³² See https://jis.gov.jm/speeches/2022-23-closing-budget-presentation-by-minister-of-finance-and-the-public-service-hon-dr-nigel-clarke/

³³ See James & Hamilton (2022).

systems, many are incapable of bringing the society together to compete globally for development opportunities. Jones & Mills (1989:107-108) noted that the state bureaucracy is rooted in elitism and centralized decision-making where "popular participation was resented," and argued that "these orientations not only cut off the public bureaucracy from critical sources of inspiration and information, but they also frustrated local ambitions and intensified domestic struggles for decolonization."

Upgrading the education system is paramount not only to support institutional upgrades but, importantly, to grow productive capacity as indicated earlier. The *Reform of Education in Jamaica Report, 2021*³⁴ details many necessary reforms that are required. Importantly, education and training institutions must promote relevant skill-intensive learning and encourage free, innovative thinking to proactively solve problems. Instead of encouraging conformity, the education system must encourage creativity. There is also need to upgrade the institutions of government to improve their effectiveness and efficiency so as to ensure that policy and law are made with adequate participation of the people of Jamaica. There is also need to improve the quality and relevance of government regulations, especially those related to the ease of doing business. Given the COVID-related negative impact on businesses, much more institutional support is needed for micro, small and medium sized enterprises (MSMEs).

These core strategies provide important lessons about how to improve the standard of living in Jamaica. These strategies will enable us to improve the capacity to compete, improve the balance of trade and payments and, in turn, reduce debt financing. This will also improve the tax base and enable more resources to be spent on pressing social and economic problems. Importantly, the core strategies would enable the provision of key assets, like good quality education, housing and healthcare to those in need and, in so doing, create the foundations for solving persistent social problems including poverty, underemployment, gender-based violence, child abuse and, especially, the high homicide rate. This is the basis for long-term, sustainable solutions to social problems.

3.2.2. Political/Governance Lessons/Legacies

While the efforts to establish electoral democracy have delivered some benefits, including the peaceful transfer of power, the main problem has been ineffective representative government. Key lessons involve:

(1) Strengthening legislative oversight of the executive - Executive dominance of Parliament's agenda, its legislative programme and order of business fetters legislative oversight of the Executive. The size of the Executive relative to the Legislature matters. The larger the share of legislators with ministerial positions, the more unlikely the legislature is to hold the Executive accountable. Further, prime ministerial power to appoint and dismiss ministers is an effective leverage over the legislature that weakens oversight, as supporters are rewarded, while opponents and critics are sidelined. Enlarging the number of Legislators relative to the Executive can strengthen legislative oversight, especially if members of Parliament are independently financed, accountable and supported by their constituents, and are committed to representing their will and not the will of the party leader. Elected, rather than appointed senators in the Upper House, would be a step forward, especially if there are new senate rules

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³⁴ See https://opm.gov.jm/wp-content/uploads/flipbook/jetc-reform-of-education-in-jamaica-2021/

- under which no Minister can sit. Such an arrangement would not only strengthen legislative oversight but also improve representation of the people.
- (2) Strengthening the voice of the People through Direct Democracy This includes Participatory Budgeting and Joint Decision-Making Processes outlined in the 2012 Outcome Document of the UN Conference on Sustainable Development, titled "The Future We Want." It also includes active citizen engagement such as making legally binding decisions in a Referendum or an "Initiative" that gives the people the power to propose and vote on legislation.
- (3) Enhance Democracy within Political Parties Democratic governance must be honed and incubated in the practices and habits of the political parties so that when they become the Government, democratic oversight and accountability can be easier to implement. The tradition of democracy and related social behavior must first be institutionalized in the rules, structure and operations of the political party machinery so that our political leaders and followers develop the self-confidence, knowledge, responsibilities, and habits of democratic governance. This includes cross-party dialogue that fosters consensus building mechanisms that can be replicated in Parliamentary Committee deliberations. The experience of democracy at the root of the Party, in each constituency, must be independently financed to anchor and secure real accountability to the people. In his landmark work, "Party Politics in the West Indies," CLR James (1962:4) highlighted the significance of this, noting: "the internal life of the Party cannot be separated from its public responsibilities." He warned that "this divorce between the party as government and party as people represents a serious danger not only to the Party but to the country."
- (4) Active Citizen Engagement Here, citizens must scrutinize, carefully select, and monitor the people they elect to represent them in managing the country on their behalf. Members of Parliament are the managers not the owners. Parties are political organizations to guide our choices not tribes whose dictates we blindly follow. Once elected, we have a democratic obligation and a civic, "ownership" responsibility to hold our representatives accountable. In fact, CLR James (1962:4) also cautioned us about this: "Even when the people elect the government of their choice, they have to remain politically alert and make it clear that they are not to be bamboozled, trifled with or pushed around." Importantly, active citizen engagement requires a strong publicly-funded education program on the rights and responsibilities of citizens as owners of the country. It requires citizens to be informed and committed to constructive engagement to achieve the democratic ideals and the associated desired social, economic and political outcomes.

3.2.3. Psychological Lessons/Legacies

The view people have of themselves matter in motivating behavior and shaping the way they define the world around them and how they live their lives.³⁵ Franz Fanon, the first psychological analyst of colonialism, argues that the major enduring psychological effect of the internalization the colonial experience is the creation of an "inferiority complex." ³⁶ This negation of self-worth and self-esteem challenges the fundamental notion of man's humanity and raises the persistent existential question of human identity – "Who am I?" His analysis enables us to understand how many Jamaicans have

³⁵ See Greenberg, E. S. (1972:293-307).

³⁶ See Fanon (2008:p.vi-vii).

³⁷ Fanon (1965:250) noted: "Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'"

internalized the colonial/post-colonial norms and values through established religious, educational, legal, economic and other social and political institutions that reward those who perpetuate the *status quo* and punish those who do not. Recognizing that this internalization is "the most insidious consequence" of oppression,³⁸ postcolonial scholars, argue that it is the internalization of denigration, humiliation, disrespect that have contributed to mental disorders. It has also generated the persistent psychological legacy of self-doubt and self-hatred, which fosters low self-esteem and low self-confidence.³⁹

After 60 years, the pervasive evidence of skin bleaching and the regular occurrence of actual (or perceived) race/class/colour discrimination, including discrimination against African hair, illustrates the problem. These negative experiences undermine the self-confidence required to enhance our capacity to compete in an increasingly competitive global marketplace. Creative/innovative solutions to modern problems require boldness and fearlessness, including boldness on the part of policy makers to make fundamental changes to the *status quo*.

Therefore, much more attention should be paid to building positive self-worth, specifically high self-esteem and high self-confidence, among our children. Equally, much more attention should be paid to changing the institutional norms and values in our society that perpetuate self-doubt and self-hatred, impede relevant learning, free creative thinking and constructive actions to solve specific problems. This includes enforcing the provisions under *The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (Constitutional Amendment) Act*, 2011 that protect Jamaicans against race/class/colour discrimination.

One consequence of such a failure is Jamaica's "epidemic" murder rate has produced significant trauma. In 2018, a UNICEF study highlighted the trauma being experienced by Jamaican children:

"In a climate of high crime and violence, 68 of every 100,000 Jamaican children are victims of violent crimes. Approximately 80 per cent of Jamaican children experience some form of psychological or physical violence administered as discipline, about 65 per cent of students are bullied at school and 79 per cent of children witness violence in their community or at home."

UNICEF highlighted the "state's inadequate efforts to address longstanding issues such as corporal punishment in homes and schools and the culture of sexual violence, as well as uncoordinated and fragmented responses across different Ministries and agencies." The study further noted that: "...without the institutional capacity to coordinate and implement, and without increased resources towards improving this capacity, the government's commitment will be questioned, and there is little potential for improvement and change." The study underscores the importance of decolonizing and upgrading Jamaica's institutional framework for the protection of children.

³⁹ See David & Derthick (2013:8).

³⁸ See David & Derthick (2013:3).

⁴⁰ While "self-esteem" and "self-confidence" are both are emotional appraisal of self-worth, i.e., belief in our capability to learn, achieve, and contribute to the world, the concepts are difference. "Self-esteem" refers to whether you appreciate and value yourself as a human being, while "self-confidence" refers to your belief in your abilities and the confidence we feel in particular areas of your life.

⁴¹ The UNODC (2019) considers any homicide rate of 10 per 100,000 citizens or above to be an "epidemic." See https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet2.pdf

DeGruy (2005), among other psychologists, have argued that multigenerational internalization of trauma, the "Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome" (PTSS) produces psychological symptoms, such as self-doubt, with associated negative social and economic impacts. ⁴² This suggest an urgent need for psychological interventions, such as Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT), targeted at the most vulnerable groups, especially children.

4. Concluding Remarks

Are we truly independent or emancipated? Emancipation and independence should not be seen as specific, definable outcomes. They are important milestones which provided new opportunities for significant changes in the ongoing process of improving the socio-economic and political conditions of life along the 528-year journey to freedom. The process is incomplete!

Is Jamaica going backwards, moving forward or standing still? Jamaica is moving forward, but in contradictory ways. On the one hand, Jamaica leads the Western hemisphere and the world in homicide rates. For the second year in a row, Jamaica had the highest homicide rate in Latin America and the Caribbean for 2021, with 1,463 homicides (i.e., 49.4 per 100,000 people). Over the past 60 years, more than 45,000 people have been murdered in Jamaica. On the other hand, Jamaica leads the world in producing the most outstanding musicians (e.g., Bob Marley), the fastest and most decorated athletes (e.g., Shelly Ann Fraser and Usain Bolt), and the most influential Pan-African leader (Marcus Garvey). Jamaicans have demonstrated without a doubt the capacity for greatness!

Given these contradictory realities as well as the regression or retention of old attitudes/behaviours rooted in persistent colonial legacies, it appears as if Jamaica is standing still. However, technological changes and climate change are surging ahead, creating a whole new world with new opportunities as well as new challenges, in addition to the old ones. It is the collective choices of the Jamaican people that will determine which trajectory will shape Jamaica's future.

The move forward toward a "Republic" provides an opportunity to choose a path on the long journey to freedom. The choice involves not only removing the Queen as Head of State and dispensing with other dehumanizing colonial legacies. Importantly, it also involves making the Jamaican people sovereign so that ultimate authority lies with the people to enable the continuous pursuit of freedom, self-determination and humanity. It also entails confronting modern expressions of racism/discrimination and negative self-concepts, as well as eliminating remaining institutional impediments. We must build new capacity for learning, innovation and relevant problem solving, essential attributes for the modern world.

The path chosen in creating the Republic will matter. The journey from Emancipation to Independence, and lessons learnt over the past 60 years, suggest that it is the pursuit of self-determination that has yielded the most significant outcomes. The choice to make our own decisions, has created the greatest opportunities to overcome Mental Slavery (MS), and to create the Mental Resistance (MR) mindset that will help to improve people's living conditions on the path to achieving real freedom. In the words of Bob Marley, "Better to die fighting for freedom then be a prisoner all the days of your life."

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⁴² See Burrowes, (2019:13-14).

*Prepared for delivery as the 29th edition of the Churches Emancipation Lecture, July 31, 2022

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The Coconut Industry Board is a statutory body established by the Coconut Industry Control Act of 1945. It is responsible for monitoring and informing the Government of Jamaica on the state of the coconut industry, advising growers of agronomic best practices and providing quality planting materials through its Research Department.

CIB Strategic Objective:

To improve Jamaica's coconut industry through the introduction of agro-processing with a targeted focus on research and technology to combat diseases affecting coconuts, increase seednut production, efficient harvesting and provide quality seedlings varieties that support the industry for increased production to our qualified growers.

One of the Board's major strengths is its Research Department, which is the only one among the Caribbean Islands which conducts extensive research on coconut diseases and pests. The Board's Research Department also has a breeding programme which creates hybrids with favourable characteristics from existing varieties.

- **Plant Pathology** The Plant Pathologist works on diseases and pests of coconut and their management, with continued emphasis on the lethal yellowing, budrot, ambrosia beetle, and leaf spot diseases
- **Botany/Plant Breeding** The main focus of the coconut breeding programme is to produce new coconut varieties with good disease resistance and high yield for industry production. Over the years, promising hybrids such as the Maypan, Maybraz and Brapan have been developed.
- Agronomy/Crop Physiology The Agronomist's main function is the development and implementation of improved plant management systems (agronomic best practices) for existing and any new cultivars and climate-smart practices
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The Board's retail outlet, known as **The Coconut Shop**, is located at our premises at 18 Waterloo Road in Kingston. We offer for sale, refreshing, chilled coconut water in one gallon, half gallon and 350 ml bottles, jelly coconuts and coconut oil. We also sell packaged coconut jelly meat. The shop also carries a variety of delicious coconut confectionaries among which are the traditional favourites the coconut drops, gizzadas, grater cakes, busta, coconut tarts, coconut macaroons, cookies and pudding.

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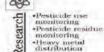
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Technical

Services



morntoring
•Heavy metal in
product
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loop •Timeliness •Clarity
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