



COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY AND THE POTENTIAL FOR POLICY CHANGE

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COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY AND THE POTENTIAL FOR POLICY CHANGE

ASSESSING THE POTENTIAL IMPACT AND USEFULNESS
OF THE TIVOLI COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Can the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry deliver policy recommendations which are beneficial to Jamaican democracy? Will the government implement these recommendations? What kind of policy outcomes should result from the establishment of the Commission? Will the Commission utilize a problem-solving approach by making recommendations which respond to both the immediate problem as well as the problematics of the garrison phenomenon, a major root cause of the May 2010 events? These are important questions being asked by various commentators, who have engaged in the public debates about the role of the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry and the current state of Jamaica's socio-political milieu. The purpose of this brief is to examine some of these salient policy issues.

In attempting to do this, the first section examines the general purposes of commissions of enquiry. A commission of enquiry is a body set up by a government to investigate and report on a controversial public issue. The Tivoli Commission is well-placed to deliver recommendations that could contribute to a shift in the perennial risk-shy policy approaches to security and garrison politics in Jamaica. But in order to do this, it must utilize a problem-solving approach that unpacks the underpinning cause of the security and legitimacy debacle in Jamaica. This section also considers some of the factors that are required to ensure a successful commission of enquiry. These include having a clear and flexible mandate, appointing people with integrity and an interest in the common good, political and institutional support to ensure access and administrative support in collecting evidence, critical analysis of evidence, formidable recommendations and implementation of recommendations.

Drawing on the PIOJ Report of the Macro Socio-economic Effects of the Events in the Western Kingston Area, 22 May – 7 June 2010, the brief outlines the cost of the Tivoli crisis. The report estimated that 'the total effect of the unrest on the economy' was US\$258.8 million, 2.1% of Jamaica's GDP in 2009 and 50% of the tourism GDP for the same year.



The brief then explores garrison politics and the socio-political factors which have eroded state legitimacy, creating an environment where the rule of law was seriously challenged by the May 2010 occurrences which unfolded in Tivoli Gardens. Reports including the 2006 Report of the Special Task Force on Crime as well Jamaica's National Security Policy have outlined various issues which should be addressed by the state. Political tribalism is inherent in Jamaica's two-party politics, and the marriage between politics and garrisons poses a direct challenge to good governance and democracy. The failure to address this problem has continued to have negative effects on the stability and legitimacy of the state and well-being of the populace. Consequently, the Tivoli Commission must consider issues surrounding de facto legitimacy, corruption, organized crime, lack of full citizenship in the garrisons and the fundamental right to life.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Finally, the paper proposes two types of recommendations: those that respond to the immediate problem (the May 2010 events in Tivoli Gardens) and those relating to the cause of this problem— the problem-solving recommendations.

- Outline the truth as captured in the findings from investigations carried out by the Commission;
- Ensure there is compensation for suffering and damages resulting from any human rights violation;
- Make recommendations which address the matter of procedural and process accountability in 'crisis moments';
- Recommend that the government implement various recommendations from previous reports emphasising the need to break the link between politics and crime by, inter alia, ending government contracts to dons, criminals and their associates; refusing to accept financial contributions from dons towards party financing;
- Address the lack of full citizenship and de facto legitimacy in the garrisons;
- Identify the implementation of the Community Renewal Project as an initiative to be treated with greater urgency in this regard;
- Focus on improving law enforcement and restoring state legitimacy in the garrisons;
- Replace the dons as providers of security;
- Create space for increased civil society participation, particularly in the area of crime prevention;
- Establish an implementation committee (with at least one member from the Commission).



INTRODUCTION

The Jamaican state has a legal right to respond to any clear and present danger which could be constituted as an attack on the state. In May 2010, the Jamaican state responded to an imminent threat from Tivoli Gardens, a garrison community developed on the site of the Back-O-Wall squatter settlement between 1962 and 1970, and added to subsequently. This response resulted in loss of life, human rights violation and other damages. The Tivoli Commission of Enquiry, recommended by the Public Defender and authorized by the executive under the Commission of Enquiry Act, was established to investigate issues related to alleged human rights violation and enforcement of the law in the context of the May 2010 events in Tivoli Gardens, and the loss of life therein. This sparked a critical public debate about commissions of enquiry, their *raison d'être*, and whether such mechanisms can deliver policy outputs which are beneficial to Jamaican democracy. The issues under consideration are critical and ought to be properly investigated; the Commission of Enquiry has intrinsic value in this regard and must also serve an instrumental role by making recommendations which seek to achieve certain desired ends which serve the public interest.

Questions have been raised about the past achievements of commissions of enquiry, their costs, and relative advantage when compared to other forms of governmental instruments.

Questions have been raised about the past achievements of commissions of enquiry, their costs, and relative advantage when compared to other forms of governmental instruments. At the crux of the discourse is the notion that success or failure of the Tivoli Commission hinges on its ability to consider the garrison process, an elephant in the room, as an important component of investigating and understanding germane challenges associated with the Commission's primary areas of focus: public and political accountability, human rights violation and enforcement of the law. Desirable policy outcomes can only be achieved if the Tivoli Commission makes substantial recommendations, which respond to both the immediate problem as well as the root causes of that problem. In other words, a reactive as well as a problem-solving approach must be utilized. A reactive approach will leave us with recommendations which address the problem in its current state but might be impotent as a proactive or problem-solving tool.

Jamaica has one of the highest homicide rates in the world (36 per 100,000 in 2014) and is ranked sixth among the most violent states – after 4 of its hemispheric neighbours Honduras, Venezuela, Belize and El Salvador (Report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2013). This unenviable fact, the existence of garrisons and the politicisation of safety and security are inextricably intertwined issues which are at the heart of the seemingly insurmountable public safety and state legitimacy challenge in Jamaica, and therefore at the core of the Tivoli crisis as well.

Set against this background, the policy brief considers the importance of formidable policy outcomes that would provide a basis for an *ex post* review of, and justification for, the establishment of the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry. It also examines challenges to state legitimacy, citizenship, and governance posed by the garrison phenomenon



as well as the socio-political ramifications resulting from failure to sever the link between politics and criminality. In so doing, the paper surveys some of the salient political, socio-historical and contemporary experiences which have shaped and influenced governance and legitimacy in Jamaica.

This policy brief draws on relevant literature on commissions of enquiry and garrisons and argues that, in light of the importance of the issues under scrutiny and given the criticism that public enquiries are merely procedural tools (paid for by taxpayers) used by the executive to 'delay action', the establishment of the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry can only be fully justified if the Commission addresses four central issues:



Garrison politics and the erosion of state legitimacy as root causes of the May 2010 Tivoli crisis



Procedural and public accountability



Human rights violation



Compensation for suffering

GENERAL PURPOSES OF COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY AND THE JAMAICAN CONTEXT

There is consensus that in the most general sense a commission of enquiry is a government-sanctioned body, a mechanism of the executive branch of government, used to investigate and report on controversial issues of great public concern. Commissions of Enquiry possess statutory power which enables investigations to be carried out in accordance with their mandate. It is typical for commissions to provide the government with a report which makes recommendations which are in keeping with the findings from its investigation, and the broader underlying issues. This is critical as it one of the most important bases for assessing a commission's value.

Commissions of Enquiry possess statutory power which enables investigations to be carried out in accordance with their mandate.

The UN Human Rights Council outlines the dominant purposes of a Commission of Enquiry: establishing impartially whether violations of human rights law and/or humanitarian law have occurred; investigating whether or not violations are systematic and widespread; reporting on a state's ability to deal with violations; highlighting the root causes of the situation; suggesting ways of moving forward and producing a historical record of events that have occurred. Most importantly, commissions must seek to ensure there is accountability for any violation that has taken place. In terms of legal accountability, section 16 of Jamaica's





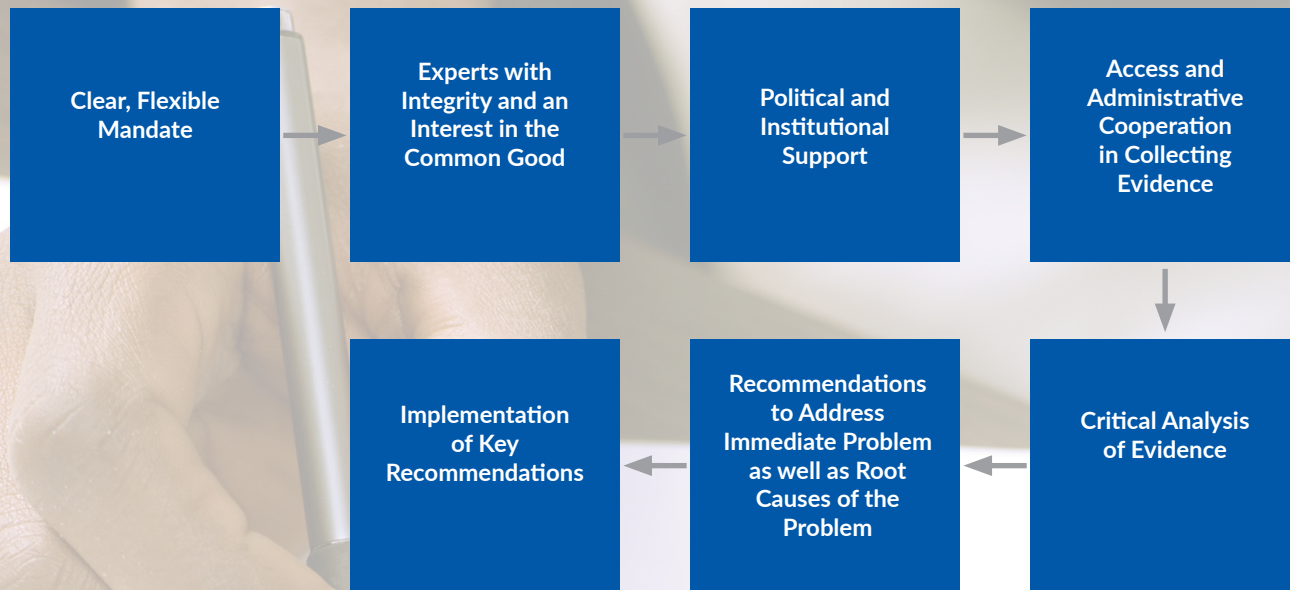
Commission of Enquiry Act clearly states that ‘no proceedings shall be commenced for any penalty under this Act, except by the direction of the Director of Public Prosecutions, or of the Commissioners. The Commissioners may direct their Secretary, or such other person as they may think fit, to commence and prosecute the proceedings for such penalty.’

There is some consensus, as well, that a commission of enquiry can be established to prepare the way for a predetermined government policy, to ascertain the best or most feasible solution to a problem the government is seeking to tackle, to delegate the task of solving some major economic or social controversy; to forestall public criticism or prevent anticipated political pressure; to postpone addressing a specific issue and to pacify a politically powerful section of the public.

Although commissions have come to occupy an ostensibly central place in Jamaican politics, the view that the last commission to be given a favourable assessment was the West India Royal Commission which inquired into the 1930s labour riots in the British West Indies places them in a rather precarious position. Although the Commission suffered various criticism, it attempted to expose the harsh living conditions that gave rise to the riots. It made the point that ‘the discontent that underlies the disturbances of recent years is a phenomenon of a different character, representing no longer a blind protest against worsening of conditions, but a positive demand for the creation of new conditions that will render possible a less-restricted life.’ Consequently, the creation and implementation of these ‘new conditions’ formed an important part of the report’s recommendations.

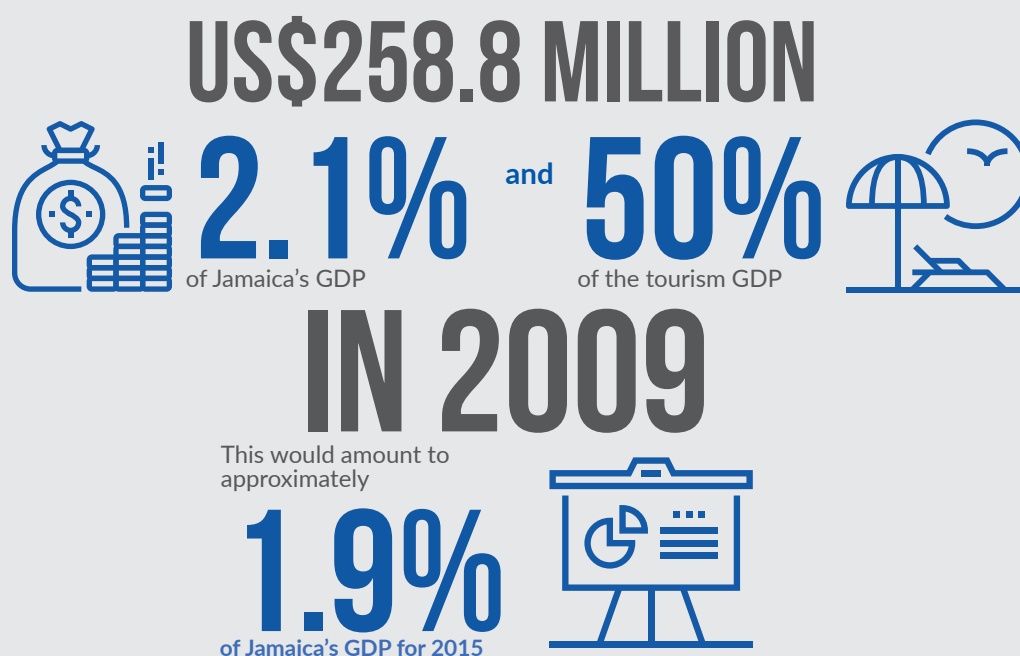
In the Jamaican context where there is great need for policy implementation and reform, policy outcomes should be an important emphasis for the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry. This is also important because the public perceives the costs involved as being too high and people do not trust politically-established institutions to deliver results. Moreover, by their very nature, commissions of enquiry should be able to contribute to paradigmatic shifts in policy given that they are often used to fill the lacunae in policy expertise and must draw on extensive research and evidenced-based analysis.

IMPORTANT FACTORS FOR ENSURING A SUCCESSFUL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY IN JAMAICA



COST OF THE TIVOLI CRISIS

Following the Tivoli crisis in May 2010 and a declaration of a state of emergency in Kingston and St. Andrew, the Planning Institute of Jamaica conducted a study entitled 'Report of the Macro Socio-economic effects of the events in the Western Kingston Area, 22 May - 7 June 2010'. The report estimated that 'the total effect of the unrest on the economy', using indicators such as the severity and duration of losses to affected sectors and activities, the cost of physical assets damaged and the extent of contingency spending, was US\$258.8 million, 2.1% of Jamaica's GDP in 2009 and 50% of the tourism GDP for the same year. This would amount to approximately 1.9% of Jamaica's GDP for 2015.



Given that tourism is the second highest contributor to GDP, this is significant. The productive sector, as noted by the report, experienced a 93% impact, while the distribution and infrastructure sector suffered a total impact of 8.3%. Additionally, the debt to GDP ratio (140 per cent) is such that Jamaica is not in a position to incur avoidable costs, which result from poor governance and failure to break the link between politics and organized crime.

GARRISON POLITICS: THE LEGITIMACY AND SECURITY CHALLENGE

In the 1960s, political parties sought to marry the distribution of state benefits (mainly in the form of housing and government handouts, through a 'political welfare system') to political loyalty and violence. This created an inextricable link between politics and crime as well as strong partisan identities and ushered in the formation of garrison communities. One defining feature of a garrison is the strong bonds created from the interconnection between politics, violence, and patronage. Violent political tribalism is, therefore, inherent in Jamaica's two-party politics, and the evolution of the urban garrison community has been the quintessential spatial expression of this phenomenon in Kingston, where about one-third of the Jamaican population live.

One defining feature of a garrison is the strong bonds created from the interconnection between politics, violence, and patronage.



Within the garrisons, governance through the state is often replaced by 'donmanship' and dictatorial leaders with *de facto* legitimacy who rely on illicit activities and actors in various sectors of the formal economy. Coupled with strong political identities and the distribution of government contracts to reward dons and loyal party supporters, the lack of *de facto* citizenship— the capacity to vote freely and enjoy protection of the law and a modicum of well-being—has made garrison politics a more persistent force in Jamaican politics. Clientelism and the use of dons to provide 'respect' (as in the case of Tivoli Gardens) and make good the need for security have served to further consolidate criminality and violence while eroding the state's legitimate authority to enforce the social contract between state and citizens, placing the public at an ever-increasing risk.

A number of reports – among them, the 1997 *Report of the National Committee on Political Tribalism*, the 2002 *Report of the National Committee on Crime and Violence* and the 2006 *Report of the Special Task Force on Crime* – as well as the 2007 and 2012 *National Security Policy* and a number of academic studies have pointed to fundamental problems related to garrison communities, such as Tivoli Gardens, resulting from the state's relationship with these communities.

The canonical 1997 Report of the National Committee on Political Tribalism provides critical insights into the garrison phenomenon and political tribalism. It rightly points out that '*in the core garrisons, disputes have been settled, matters tried, offenders sentenced and punished, all without reference to the institutions of the Jamaican State.... Gang leaders who have close relationships with the constituency's member of parliament get preferential access to contracts and jobs and function as key elements of the local community political leadership.*' The Report also throws light on the everyday difficulties and obstacles caused by this inveterate garrison arrangement: increased difficulty in maintaining law and order; an inability to maintain infrastructure; restriction of movement and restriction of business opportunities.

Corroborating these views, the 2006 *Report of the Special Task Force on Crime* makes the point that gangs that are associated with political parties 'become key players in the processes of political mobilization on the streets, securing electoral victories, and in consolidating power – often because of their hold on communities of the urban poor' and the benefits gained through construction contracts, solid waste disposal contracts, and contracts for other services, including security services.' It would be absurd to argue that these arrangements, where members of the Jamaican state maintain ties with criminal leaders, who are often involved in the drug trade, are not diametrically opposed to good governance and advancing the common good in the society. The failure of successive governments to denounce and rid the society of garrison politics, and its disastrous effects, has precipitated a public security crisis in Jamaica.

Another critical matter concerns the manner in which the right to life has been treated, an issue brought to public consciousness by civil society groups. The 2008 *Public Security in Jamaica's Inner Cities Report* places the crisis in human security at the core of the problem with public security in Jamaica. The report found that proper scrutiny and accountability of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) against allegations of corruption and human rights violations are lacking. Despite the fact that policing in Jamaica is carried out under tough circumstances and in a context where the rule of law is not respected by all members of the society, the high number of police killings, and hence the violation of the fundamental right to life, warrants serious attention and a conversation about the value placed on human life.

Jamaica also produced a National Security Policy in 2007, the first of its kind in the Caribbean, which benefited from the input of a wide array of institutions and individuals in the society. The policy was then reviewed in 2012. The National Security Policy recognizes the failure to break the link between politics and criminality as well as address deficits in human security and problems posed by transnational crime and corruption – as being among the main impediments to public security in Jamaica. The policy acknowledges, too, that there are serious social problems which contribute to the kinds of security problems posed by garrison communities. It states that there is a considerable number of young men living in garrison communities who are alienated from the rest of the society and face an uncertain future because of a lack of education and access to opportunities.

Moreover, political responses to security in Kingston's garrisons have continued to be influenced by considerations of political expediency and Jamaica's political culture.

Despite the fact that these reports and committees have provided critical analysis and insights, most of their recommendations remain largely unimplemented. Critically, it is the combination of problems, politics, policies and the national mood which creates a window of opportunity to implement important changes in the society. The lack of implementation is the result of a lack of political will and institutionalized corruption and inertia. Although civil society groups have been integral to the attempts to secure policy changes in Jamaica and create a national mood to drive these changes, there is a view that there is no sustained demand for implementation from a critical mass of people in the society. Moreover, political responses to security in Kingston's garrisons have continued to be influenced by considerations of political expediency and Jamaica's political culture. Ridding the society of garrison politics and providing garrison communities with a secure and socially progressive environment are emphatically not major considerations for ensuring political party viability in Jamaica— political representatives often rely on strong political identities to secure electoral victory in 'safe seats' within garrison constituencies.





CONCLUSION

By addressing both the immediate and root causes of the May 2010 Tivoli crisis, the Tivoli Commission has an opportunity to intervene in the policy and implementation deficits which have ensured that more than 40 years since the creation of Tivoli Gardens, the most emblematic garrison in Jamaica, the cultural embeddedness of this phenomenon continues to pose a significant threat to the rule of law. The hostile disposition of garrison communities towards state authority is partly the result of the erosion of state legitimacy, precipitated by the failure to sever the link between politics and crime. If the government fails to urgently address this problem, Jamaica will continue to exist in a socio-political milieu where another Tivoli crisis will be eminently possible, and where another don could be emboldened to challenge the Jamaican state. Piecemeal, quick-fix solutions will not put things right or address the problematic link between garrisons and criminality.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are a number of factors which might influence the likelihood that recommendations provided by the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry will be implemented. The likely impact on the status quo, a change of government, and public attitudes toward the issues could have an impact. There are some obvious reasons the recommendations produced by the Commission should aim at ensuring that there is no repeat of the Tivoli crisis. The loss of life and threat to state legitimacy and public security, and all the associated risks, are of utmost importance. The following recommendations, some of which have been made by other reports and policies, such as the 2002 *Report of the National Committee on Crime and Violence*, the 2006 *Report of the Special Task Force on Crime* and the 2007 and 2012 *National Security Policy*, are critical and would demonstrate the Commission's commitment to finding solutions that would address a major 21st century challenge for Jamaica.

RECOMMENDATIONS: RESPONDING TO THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM



OUTLINE THE TRUTH AS CAPTURED IN THE FINDINGS

Restorative Justice: This will have an impact on public accountability, feelings of reconciliation and a sense of restorative justice. The example of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission demonstrates the importance of this approach.

The public wants to know if there were any instances of human rights violations and if so under what circumstances and how they were manifested. The public also wants to know “whether there was any direct or indirect communication between the fugitive Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke, and any Jamaican Government Official (or Officials) or any agent thereof, during the period when the request for extradition was first communicated to the Jamaican Government”¹.



Redress: A balance must be struck between truth and justice. The Commission must recommend that victims are properly compensated for any loss and suffering caused by any proven cases of human rights violation and excessive use of force. This will have an impact on how members of the community perceive state legitimacy and authority.



Accountability: Where necessary, the Commission should make recommendations to address the matter of procedural and process accountability in crisis moments. This is an important element in any effort to improve state legitimacy – it promotes the idea of fairness, an important component of government legitimacy.



RESPONDING TO THE CAUSES OF THE TIVOLI CRISIS

Breaking the link between Politics and Crime: The Commission should recommend that the government implement relevant recommendations from various committees, policies and reports such as those from the Special Task Force on Crime and the National Security Policy for Jamaica: ‘Two-Party

¹ Item j, Page 2 in the Terms of Reference for the West Kingston Commission of Enquiry.





Agreement on Degarrisoning'; ending government contracts to dons, criminals and their associates; refusing to accept financial contributions from dons towards party financing; and initiating a truth and reconciliation committee. The state and the security forces in particular must replace the 'dons' as providers of security in garrison communities. The implementation of these solutions would provide a solid foundation on which to rebuild legitimate political institutions while ensuring that threats to public safety and sub-national violence are minimized.



IMPROVING DE FACTO CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN SECURITY:

Community Renewal: Provide sufficient resources to ensure sustainable implementation of the Community Renewal Project being spearheaded by the Planning Institute of Jamaica which focuses on social transformation, youth development, physical transformation and socio-economic development. Environmental and socio-economic factors can affect individual and collective behaviour and predispose communities to crime, violence and social marginalization. These communities must be integrated into the rest of the society. To be sure, government also has to strengthen the management and planning of urban growth and access to infrastructure and services in the garrisons.

A similar programme, the Police Pacification Programme, was established by the state government of Rio Janero. The main objective was to make citizenship rights universal and establish state legitimacy by shifting control of the favelas from the drug gangs and militias to the Brazilian state. The programme also aimed at enabling the social, economic and political integration of favelas into the city.



IMPROVING LAW ENFORCEMENT

Replacing the Dons as Providers of Security: The provision of security by dons is one of the ways in which dons are able to legitimize their authority in garrison communities. It is important, therefore, for the state to guarantee the provision of security, thereby removing the need for the don to provide 'protection' to members of garrison communities who have developed a strong distrust for the police.



Respect: Studies have shown that respect is a critical issue in the garrison communities and people in Tivoli Gardens have said that they support certain dons because they have shown them some kind of respect, which is not forthcoming in other parts of the society. The community renewal programme, improving the relationship between citizens and police and respecting people's rights will be vital in any effort to rebuild state authority and legitimacy in garrison communities. The Jamaican state must insist that the law is enforced in a fair and legal manner, and agents of the state must respect people's human rights irrespective of social and economic status or spatial politics.



Law Enforcement: Increase the use of joint military and police patrols to arrest criminal gangs and improve intelligence gathering. This has become increasingly useful as a way of addressing crime in 'hotspot' areas. The criminal justice system must be prepared to implement policies to prevent and stymie any human rights impact this might have. The case of Mexico where Operation Michoacán, a joint operation between the Mexican military and police, was used to combat drug-trafficking demonstrates the importance of balancing this approach with a greater focus on human rights.



ENSURING IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Implementation Committee: A committee or a temporary unit could be established to oversee the implementation of recommendations made by the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry. This would ensure commitment to critical policy outcomes and advance the problem-solving approach to commissions of enquiry. This committee would rely on expertise drawn from the public and private sector and civil society.



IMPROVING PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

Role of Civil Society Groups: Civil society groups have been very active in pushing for changes in security and justice in Jamaica and have provided considerable knowledge about what prevents violence and improves public safety. More money should be spent on community policing and crime prevention, teaching life skills and healthy relationships in schools and mentoring at-risk children. Allowing civil society groups a more meaningful role in policymaking and implementation would improve policy outcomes in these critical areas.





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TABLE OF SELECTED COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY





SELECTED COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY	APPROXIMATE COST	GENERAL PURPOSE FOR ESTABLISHMENT	RECOMMENDATIONS	IMPLEMENTATION STATUS
Manatt-Dudus Commission	40 million	The Manatt-Dudus Commission of Enquiry was set up in 2010 to examine the Government's handling of the extradition request for Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, and the subsequent hiring of US law firm Manatt, Phelps & Phillips.	1. The posts of Minister of Justice and Attorney General should be split; the Attorney General need not be a member of either House.	1. Implemented.
			2. The Cabinet should be informed of any amendments or memoranda affecting constitutional rights.	2. Not Implemented.
			3. Commissioners of Enquiry should be given the powers of a Supreme Court Judge for the purpose of being able to cite for contempt.	3. Implemented.
			4. The Enquiries Act should provide that commissioners can state a case for the opinion of The Supreme Court in matters of law.	4. Implemented.



<p>West Kingston #1 Commission of Enquiry (2002)</p>	<p>44 million</p>	<p>To enquire into the events of the July 7, 2001 incident which occurred in Western Kingston which claimed the life of 27 persons, including one member of the Jamaica constabulary force and another member of the Jamaica defence force and several others injured.</p>	<p>1. Refusal to testify is punishable only on summary of conviction by a Resident Magistrate, and then by a maximum fine of JMD \$500, or, in the default of payment, 3 months in prison. The Commission of Enquiry Act should be modernized and brought into conformity with the current notions of fairness and contemporary reality. The Act should also provide for a penalty that would deter such conduct.</p>	<p>1. In 2013 the Act was amended, thus section 11B now states that "a person who has been summoned by the Commission shall not without reasonable excuse or without being excused, or released from further attendance by the commission fail to appear before the commission." Persons can be charged a maximum of 1 million Jamaica dollars or 6 months in prison if they fail to provide any book or plan requested by the commission. (Section 11 of the amended act).</p>
			<p>2. That the commissions be permitted to refer conduct of this nature to the Supreme Court of Judicature for, first, determination whether the conduct constitutes contempt, thus providing appropriate penalty if conduct is found to be contemptuous;</p>	
			<p>3. A new accountability mechanism in the form of a National Crime Commission with oversight responsibilities for the operational effectiveness of the JCF.</p>	<p>3. Not Implemented.</p>
			<p>4. Civilian Review Board for disciplining police officers who abuse their discretionary powers and engage in unprofessional conduct.</p>	<p>4. The Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM) was established in 2010.</p>
			<p>5. Local government reform to encourage young people to remain in the rural areas. Special incentives could be given to entrepreneurs who are willing to invest in businesses and industries in these areas.</p>	<p>5. Not Implemented.</p>
<p>Finance Commission of Enquiry</p>	<p>140 million</p>	<p>To investigate the 1990 financial sector meltdown in Jamaica.</p>	<p>No Report, no Recommendations.</p>	<p>No Implementation.</p>





Orange Lane Fire Commission of Enquiry		To enquire into and report on the circumstances and causes of the destruction by fire of premises situated at Nos. 182-184 Orange Street, in the parish of Kingston, on the night of May 19, 1976. To enquire into the circumstances and causes of the incidents of violence and destruction which have been taking place in the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew, commencing with the fires which took place in Trench Town in January, 1976.	No Recommendations.	No Implementation.
Montego Bay Street People Scandal	5 million	To enquire into the forced removal of homeless persons from Montego bay to St. Elizabeth on the 15th of July 1999.	1. Provision by the state for appropriate and sustained arrangements for victims (Funding of Trust).	1. Victims are being compensated with a monthly stipend of \$20,000.
			2. Amendment of the Poor Relief Act.	2. The last amendment to the act was in 1973.
			3. Public Education Programme to be conducted in city of Montego Bay on the issues covered by the Commission Report.	3. Public Education started but not sustained.
			4. Medical and Mental Health care.	4. To date no programs have been implemented to address the medical and mental health of the street victims. However the Cornwall Regional Hospital was named by the Commission as a place of interest.
Moynes Commission, 1939	21,300	To examine the social conditions that precipitated the 1938 riots and thoroughly examine the hierarchy of force used by the colonial authorities to quell the disturbances.	1. Implement land settlement schemes.	1. West India Welfare fund of to finance schemes for the general improvement of education, health services, housing, slum clearance, creation of labour departments and provision of social welfare facilities.
			2. Gradual progress to self-government through gradual participation of people in the decision-making process.	2. Colonial Development Welfare Act was passed in 1940.
			3. Compulsory registration of trade unions and government audit of their funds.	3. Reforms were undertaken which allowed people to enjoy the right to vote, the right to strike and the right to participate in political parties.







COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY AND THE POTENTIAL FOR POLICY CHANGE



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