The Decolonial Spatial Politics of West Indian Black Power: Praxis, Theory and Transnational Exchange

Ben Gowland

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

School of Geographical and Earth Sciences

College of Science and Engineering

University of Glasgow

Abstract

The 1960s and 1970s were tumultuous decades in the West Indies. In this period, many of the islands of this former British colony attained formal independence and with this national identity, international alignment, state and economic structure and national trajectory become objects of political contestation for the first time in fully free and democratic nation-states. It was in this field of social, political and cultural upheaval that a significant Black Power movement and ideology emerged in the later years of the 1960s. Emergent from growing popular dissatisfaction with the trajectories and construction of these newly independent states and rooted in longstanding and powerful currents of subaltern race consciousness and anti-colonial and anti-imperial resistance the West Indian Black Power movement represented a serious challenge to the region's post-colonial states and governments. Black Power groups and actors across the Caribbean world would articulate a politics and vision radically divergent to that of the islands' nationalist governments and the (neo)colonial powers that still held significant influence.

Built upon extensive archival research in Britain and the Caribbean this thesis makes a series of significant theoretical claims. Firstly, utilising a theoretical framework that combines political geographical theory with the thought of Caribbean scholars I understand the period of my study as an historical problem-space constituted by and reflective of the multiple trajectories active at this time. Secondly, that West Indian Black Power represented a radical, decolonial historical-political trajectory divergent to that of the anti-colonial nationalisms of regional governments and the continued trajectory of (neo)colonialism. The West Indian Black Power movement thus inaugurated a spatial-politics in their present pre-figurative a desired decolonial vision for the region and its peoples. Finally, the geographies and regimes of repression deployed in opposition to the West Indian Black Power movement might be thought of as renewals of plantation spatialities and logics rooted in colonial racial ontologies and fears of independent, Black political organisation.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I would like firstly to thank my supervisors Lazaros Karaliotas, David Featherstone and Ian Shaw. Their guidance and input over these past three and a half years has been invaluable, with their insightful and intelligent comments and advice always welcome. They have been friendly and convivial throughout and I've thoroughly enjoyed my time spent with them. Special thanks to Dave with whom I've been working since my undergraduate dissertation. Without your interest and help with my academic work over some five years now I wouldn't even be writing this thesis; for all your support I am incredibly grateful.

I should now like to thank everyone involved with the Geography department at the University of Glasgow more broadly. Having spent the last eight years in the department it is only fitting. When I began university at Glasgow in 2012 I had no idea, nor even any ambition at that point, that I would still be here in 2021 about to complete my PhD. There is nowhere else I would rather have been, my time spent in the department has proved hugely rewarding, intellectually stimulating and challenging in a way that has brought out the best in me. I thank the staff at all levels and in every capacity for their hard work and commitment in making this department such an enjoyable place to work and study.

I also offer my thanks to the staff hard at work at the various archives and libraries in the UK and Caribbean that I have visited over the course of conducting my research. Particularly those who kindly helped me muddle my way through various cataloguing systems and computer search functions. Without them my research and this thesis would have proved impossible.

My PhD experience has proved highly enjoyable to my fellow PhD researchers past and present who I've met along the way; some of whom have made the same eight year journey with me from undergrad to now. The communal support and encouragement has been invaluable and has made doing the PhD far easier than it would have been otherwise.

Finally I thank my family for their support and belief throughout this process. My parents Don and Gail, my brother Joe, grandad George and Reggie the Jack Russel. You probably still don't have the faintest idea what it is I'm actually

doing but your enthusiasm and encouragement for me regardless is greatly appreciated. Particular thanks to Amy Halliwell for all your warmth and kindness and for putting up with West Indian newspaper chat and endless digressions about Caribbean politics fifty years ago. I appreciate you all very much and without you this PhD would have been considerably more daunting and difficult.

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: Ben Gowland

Abbreviations and Acronyms

African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA)

African Youth Move Publications (AYM)

Federal Bureau of Investigation's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO)

First Regional International Black Power Conference (First BPC)

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO)

Independent Trade Unions Action Council (ITAC)

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)

Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO)

Ministry of Defence (MOD)

National Joint Action Committee (NJAC)

New International Economic Order (NIEO)

New World Group (NWG)

Oilfield Workers' Trade Union (OWTU)

Peoples National Movement (PNM)

Peoples National Party (PNP)

Progressive Labour Party (PLP)

Records of the Cabinet Office (CAB)

Records of the Ministry of Defence (DEFE)

Second Regional International Black Power Conference (Second BPC)

Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

University of the West Indies (UWI)

Young Socialist League (YSL)

Chapter 1 Introduction: The West Indian Black Power Movement

"We are all sitting on a volcano." (FCO 63/463 *High Commission Telegram on Burnham's Assessment of Black Power in the West Indies* 1970:2). These were the words used by Guyanese Prime Minister Forbes Burnham to describe the potential threat posed by an ascendant Black Power movement in the West Indies by late April 1970. This evocative statement came in conversation with a British official from the High Commission in Georgetown, Guyana following Burnham's return from a Caribbean Heads of Government Conference in Kingston where a chief topic of concern was the growth in popular opposition to national governments and leaderships in the fledgling states of the former British West Indies (FCO 63/463 1970). At the forefront of this growing social and political opposition were an array of Black Power activists, intellectuals and groupings that in association with allied radical movements posed the first serious challenge to West Indian governments within less than a decade of political independence (Quinn 2014).

This thesis is a considered study of the radical, decolonial politics of West Indian Black Power. I understand the politics and praxis of West Indian Black Power as constitutive of an alternative historical-political trajectory (Massey 2005) to that of the nationalist governments and parties of the West Indies that in the main oversaw the formal decolonisation process with Britain and guided the newly independent nation-states of the region through the formative years of the 1960s and 1970s. This thesis highlights the dynamic geographies of transnational articulation and solidarity that West Indian Black Power actors and groups forged in their opposition to the continued coloniality of life in the islands after formal independence and in the development of alliances with other radical socio-political movements across the broader Caribbean, North America and 'Third World'. Lastly, this thesis is a study of the geographies of state repression that were deployed in opposition to the West Indian Black Power movement and that represented reconfigurations of racial pathologisations and plantation spatialities developed under colonial rule. Throughout this thesis I use 'Caribbean' to refer to all the islands of the archipelago as well as Guyana and Belize and 'West Indies' to refer to the English speaking islands, and Guyana, that formerly comprised the colony of the British West Indies.

As a white British geographer it is important to confront my positionality engaged as I am in a study of West Indian Black Power politics. I cover this in greater detail in Chapter 3 but I will say here that over five years of study of West Indian history, politics and specifically Black Power has increasingly aligned my own politics with the groups, actors and intellectuals I have studied. Foremost in my mind is the interrelated nature of class, race and capital and this provides the basis for my own personal left politics. Further, in contemporary West Indian and UK problem-spaces wherein the issues of coloniality that Black Power sought to oppose remain (Kamugisha 2007; Thame 2011, 2014) and where a resurgent white, nativist politics seeks to mobilise a whitewashed historiography and longing for empire (Virdee and McGeever 2017) I believe study of a decolonial Black Power politics is of upmost importance. To this end I have sought to foreground the voices and scholarship of West Indian Black Power actors and scholars in order to highlight the fecundity of West Indian history, politics, theory and activism in contemporary struggles against coloniality and racism.

The first section of this introductory chapter comprises a brief overview of the history of Black Power in the West Indies and the historical period of my study. In the second section I consider previous research on this topic and subject area; firstly, focusing on the work of Caribbean authors and theorists I position my thesis in relation to the rich bodies of work on West Indian history, politics and post and de-colonial theory that this thesis is built upon. Then, I consider geographical scholarship on Black Power politics, situating my thesis as providing an original contribution to such work through my account of Black Power in the West Indies. The final section is an outline of thesis structure in which I discuss the central aims and objectives that have guided and shaped my research and lastly a chapter breakdown previewing my core theoretical claims, methodology and empirical materials and examples utilised.

1.1 Setting the Stage: Black Power and Contested Visions of Independence

In August 1962, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago declared independence from Britain and so began the epoch of West Indian self-government and national determination. By the end of the decade, Guyana and Barbados too would be

independent nation-states with many of the smaller island territories of the Eastern Caribbean on this same trajectory towards formal decolonisation. These momentous events in the history of the West Indies and its people energised populations across the region politically as independence brought national direction, national identity, foreign policy and international political alignment onto the public stage and into the realm of democratic politics for the first time in the islands' history (Gray 1991). Less than a decade after the new state's flags had been raised in Kingston and Port of Spain however nationalist fervour, enthusiasm and expectation was on the wane. In significant sections of the West Indies population nationalist optimism had been replaced by feelings of frustration and anger at nationalist regimes that, it was assessed, had failed to more radically transform their new states and more fully break with the coloniality of pre-independence life and governance (Gray 1991; Meeks 1996; Lewis, R. 2014).

The two decades after independence in the West Indies have been assessed by many authors (Gray 1991; Lewis 1998; Meeks 2009; Scott, D. 2014) to have been a time of intense ideological contestation where the pace, form and extent of decolonisation had yet to be settled in popular consciousness and politics and diverse visions of the future West Indies were articulated. From the first independent states in 1962 through until the collapse of the Grenada Revolution in 1983 a broad range of movements, tendencies and party political projects contested this open political terrain. These ranged from neo-colonial Creole Nationalist parties that had generally been the beneficiaries of the formal decolonisation process; Black Power groups and movements that sought a decolonial future for the West Indies; the democratic socialism of Michael Manley's government in Jamaica in the 1970s; through to the Marxism-Leninism of the Worker's Party of Jamaica and Grenada's New JEWEL Movement that would launch a successful but short-lived revolution in 1979. This period of radical alternatives in the West Indies was part of a broader, global moment when anti-colonial nationalist governments, national liberation movements and socialist revolutionary states across the 'Third World' were engaged in alternative worldmaking projects (Prashad 2007). These sought the democratisation of the international order, the just economic development of the Third World and the total reversal of imperialism and colonialism (Prashad

2007; Getachew 2019). Indeed, events in the West Indies serve to bookend this period. The IMF's imposition of a brutal austerity regime on Manley's Jamaica in the late 1970s and the US invasion of Grenada in 1983 signalled a diminishing of revolutionary horizons both within the region and across the Third World (Prashad 2007; Scott, D. 2014; Kamugisha 2019).

Throughout this thesis I utilise the term 'Third World' with the recognition that at present it has fallen out of favour and recognising the very many good reasons for this. However, during the period and location of my study the term Third World was frequently utilised and invoked by the Black Power and adjacent groups, actors and intellectuals I engage with not to mention West Indian nationalist governments and (neo)colonial actors. This usage by Black Power groups signals, as Prashad (2007) and Getachew describe (2019), that the Third World represented a project for imagining a new geopolitical order with developing states free of the machinations of the Cold War superpowers and co-operating for the betterment of their peoples and global justice. It is in this tradition and in fidelity to my source materials that I use the term.

It is in this context that Black Power emerges in the West Indies as a serious political challenge to the region's nationalist leaders and parties. Black Power represented the first sustained expression (Quinn 2014) of these radical alternatives discussed above and even after the movement's dispersal through the early 1970s it's ideological and cultural legacies would influence subsequent radical projects with former Black Power actors moving into Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP) and Marxist-Leninist parties across the region (Meeks 2009; Bogues 2014). Articulating a radical, decolonial political vision of the region that called for the restructuring of the islands' neo-colonial economies, an end to the alliances with Western imperial powers and a cultural politics that celebrated the predominantly African but also Indian heritage and identity of the region's mass population (Rodney 1969; Bogues 2009).

Black Power, as expressed in the West Indies, erupted into the region's popular consciousness in October 1968 following the 'Rodney Riots' in Kingston, Jamaica. The riots began as a protest march instigated by University of the West Indies students following the banning of Guyanese intellectual, Black Power theorist and African historian Walter Rodney from the island whilst he was in attendance

at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal. Violence and rioting broke out in the afternoon after the marchers had been subject to police attacks and the protestors' ranks had been swelled by demonstrators from Kingston's poorer neighbourhoods with the ensuing property damage and deaths seen to emerge from popular grievance with the island's Jamaica Labour Party government. The Rodney Riots and global conjuncture of 1968 led to a heightening of political consciousness and growing popular mobilisation around radical politics in the region and in particular Black Power (Meeks 1996; Lewis, R. 1998; 2014). 1969 in Jamaica saw the publication of the Black Power journal *Abeng* that attempted to galvanise popular energies unleashed by the previous years' events and direct a popular social and political movement around Black Power ideals (Bogues 2014). The *Abeng* newspaper and similar radical journals produced across the region are the subject of Chapter 5 and my exploration of West Indian Black Power print production, distribution and reportage.

Just two years after the Rodney Riots shook Kingston the FCO were producing internal security reports on the spread of Black Power across the West Indies that noted there were Black Power groupings in Antigua, St Kitts, St Lucia, St Vincent, Dominica, Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands (FCO 1970 141/150). Beyond these smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean there were also significant Black Power groups and political activity in operation in Guyana (Westmaas 2014; Quinn 2014), Trinidad and Tobago (Meeks 1996, 2000) and Bermuda (Swan 2009, 2014). Whilst Bermuda isn't strictly part of the geographical region of the Caribbean the island is connected through shared cultural and historical links and as will be demonstrated in Chapter 6 on the 1969 Regional Black Power Conference held on Bermuda, Black Power politics in the West Indies cannot be understood without reference to the island. It is in this context of an ascendant West Indian Black Power movement that events in Trinidad in early 1970 would take centre stage. Beginning in late February, increasingly large protest marches gripped Trinidad's capital Port of Spain with foreign owned business subject to arson attack and Woodford Square outside the Trinidadian parliament building taken over in permanent occupation by an oppositional 'People's Parliament' (Ryan and Stewart 1995). February through May 1970 would become known as the Trinidad Black Power Revolution as the tens of thousands of Port of Spain protestors became allied with radical unions

as the months progressed. By mid-April the Trinidadian government had declared a state of emergency with strike action threatening to cripple strategic sectors of the economy; events came to a head on the 25th when an army mutiny at the Teteron Barracks led by radical young officers threatened to bring down the government. Eventually order was restored as US warships and marines stood off the coast and the Black Power Revolution collapsed in the face of the re-assertion of state power (Pantin 1990).

It is this period of the late 1960s and early 1970s that I am chiefly concerned with in this thesis. In the following empirical chapters I investigate events, publications, groups and figures from across the West Indies but in particular I focus on events in Jamaica following the 1968 Rodney Riots and the publication of the *Abeng* newspaper in 1969, the 1969 First Regional International Black Power Conference held in Bermuda and the 1970 Black Power Revolution in Trinidad and Tobago. My analysis of these key events however remains transnational as events in Bermuda, Trinidad or Jamaica cannot be understood with a parochial focus on a single island. I explore the regional and transnational geographies, trajectories and circulations that shaped articulations of West Indian Black Power with a consistent focus on linkages to the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean.

1.2 Previous Research

This thesis contributes to the broader literature on Black Power in the West Indies through highlighting important and productive regional connections and articulations between Black Power activists and groups in the larger islands and states of the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana) with the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and Bermuda – understood as part of the broader cultural and historical Caribbean world. There exists an excellent body of work comprising historical, sociological and political studies of Black Power groups, thinkers and activism in these larger islands and states (Meeks 1996, 2000, 2009; Lewis, R. 1998, 2014; Scott, D. 1999b, 2003; Bogues 2003, 2009, 2014; Westmaas 2009, 2014). This thesis, in particular chapters 5, 6 and 7 all of which foreground Bermuda and the Eastern Caribbean islands as key productive sites in the development of West Indian Black Power political thought and action, builds on recent research which similarly seeks to decentre the larger islands and states of

the region in examinations of Black Power politics in the West Indies. Kate Quinn's (2014) edited volume *Black Power in the Caribbean* is representative of a developing internationalist paradigm in Black Power studies that decentres the US experience of Black Power by focusing on other states and movements in a way that moves beyond merely highlighting their relations to US groups and actors. Like authors who contributed to that volume, such as Oostinde (2014) and Henry (2014) who explored Black Power in the Dutch West Indies and Antigua and Barbuda, I too seek to position the smaller Anglophone islands as productive centres of revolutionary political thought and praxis beyond simply noting connections between these islands and the larger Black Power movements of Jamaica or Trinidad.

This thesis also contributes to West Indian Black Power scholarship through an explicitly decolonial framing of the movements I have studied; this position is elaborated more fully in Chapter 4 on the ideological antagonisms between Black Power and Caribbean Nationalist politics. Previous scholarship has investigated decolonial aspects and practices of West Indian Black Power groups and actors without naming such praxes and thinking as decolonial and thus not envisioning such thought and action as part of an holistic decolonial politics. Caribbean authors (Meeks 2000; Bogues 2002, 2003; Thame 2011, 2014) have attended to the pervasive negative effects of epistemic coloniality in the West Indies and have pointed to the cultural practices and heritage of Caribbean subaltern peoples and the radical thought of West Indian intellectuals such as Walter Rodney and C.L.R. James as challenging this coloniality of thought (Quijano 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). There has similarly been much work on the neo-colonial analysis of the region, particularly in regards to economy, developed by West Indian Black power formations and actors (Westmaas 2009; Meeks 2009; Kamugisha 2013). One of the central contributions of this thesis lies in understanding the neo-colonial economic analysis, modes of revolutionary thought, cultural anti-imperialism and politics of 'Third World' solidarity developed through West Indian Black Power politics as constitutive of an alternative decolonial trajectory directed towards an envisioned decolonial future for the region. In so doing, I contribute to recent efforts by scholars such as Ama Biney (2018), evidenced through her study of Thomas Sankara's decolonial thought, to shift conceptions of decolonial thinking as being a solely

Latin American tradition and so broaden the intellectual geography and genealogy of decolonial thought and action.

To conclude this brief overview of Caribbean Black Power scholarship I must discuss the scholarship of David Scott. David Scott (2003, 2004, 2014) has written extensively on the 1960s and 1970s in the West Indies, with a particular focus on Jamaica, as pivotal decades when questions of national identity, nationalist historiography, state structure and governance were open to contestation by a number of competing ideological movements and historical-political trajectories. Black Power politics articulated one such 'alternative' vision of independence. As will be shown in Chapter 2, David Scott's theorisation on historical problem-space and revolutionary political temporalities have heavily influenced my own work. However, Scott, D. (2004, 2014) does not seriously interrogate the spatial in his analysis leading to an overdetermination of the temporal in historical and political development which produces a tendency to periodise and develops an overly teleological reading of West Indian history and the period of my study. My own spatial-political reading, built on the ontology of Massey (2005), draws attention to the multiplicity of competing political trajectories of this period each of which articulated a different vision of independence on the horizon of a genuinely open future. This spatial analysis highlights the dynamic and productive geographies of connection and articulation that were generative of political and historical change beyond a mere focus on the temporal. Such a spatial reading of David Scott's (2004, 2014) problem-spaces, that he deploys in his assessment of West Indian political development, foregrounds the agentive capacity and situated praxes of West Indian subaltern actors in their efforts to construct and attain new emancipatory horizons and does not subordinate their actions to an historical arc that concludes with the assertion of a neo-colonial, neoliberal hegemony largely imposed from without the region (Scott, D. 2014).

It is drawing together the theory of both Massey (2005) and David Scott (2003, 2004, 2014) that has allowed me to develop the analytical framework for this thesis, explored in detail in Chapter 2, and that similarly develops contributions to literatures on spatial politics and studies of Black radicalism. Massey's (2005) ontology of space has allowed me to conceive of and contend that West Indian Black Power represented an alternative decolonial trajectory to that of other political movements and ideologies in operation in the West Indies in the

problem-space of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Scott, D. 2004). This claim is built on a conception of space as being the sphere of contemporaneous heterogeneity within which new political interrelations are yet to be made and thus one may conceive of a future and future politics that is genuinely open and is there to be pre-figured (Massey 2005). David Scott's (2004) utilisation of problem-space and his focus on historical-political conjunctures in developing a reading of West Indian political development supplements Massey's (2005) spatial politics. One can understand the multiple and contesting historical-political trajectories of the period of my study as being constitutive and reflective of the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. The ideological and even ontological antagonisms that existed between these major competing historical-political trajectories are emergent from divergent readings of this historical-problem space with actors then inaugurating various spatial-political practices in their present impelled towards the realisation of divergent, desired futures (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). David Scott's (2004, 2014) exploration of the interplay between ideology and historiography grounded through specific engagements with West Indian history and politics provides a concrete basis through which Massey's (2005) more abstract thoughts on spatial ontology and the practices of power that produce space can be better understood.

This outlined analytical framework when applied to the study of West Indian Black Power has allowed me to make key contributions to geographical literatures on Black radicalism. As Jake Hodder (2016) notes in his study of the internationalist politics of Civil Rights activist Bayard Rustin, there has historically been a tendency to flatten out the diverse and multiple geographical connections and trajectories that constitute Black internationalist politics (Immerwahr 2007). The tendency has been to "romanticize" (Hodder 2016: 1363) transnational connections for their sheer existence with less focus on the terms upon, or through which places, such connections are built. Such a reading occludes the tensions and disjunctures through which Black internationalist politics are articulated producing a rather one dimensional reading of Black diasporic politics. This thesis highlights the multiple and sometimes conflictual trajectories drawn together in the broader West Indian Black Power movement and thus the spatial-political strategies and negotiations enacted by Black Power

actors in their attempts to realise their desired decolonial vision of the region. Further, as Featherstone has explored (2012, 2013), such articulations through and across difference are always situated with the specificities of a given locale inflecting the spatial-political configurations and praxes enacted in the building of transnational politics and political movements such as West Indian Black Power. David Scott's (2004, 2014) deployment of problem-space is also informative here as one can explore how the specific material and ideological conditions of a given historical problem-space which actors are operating within informs their present spatial-political strategies and envisioned futures. Thus, spatial-political strategies and associated envisioned horizons emergent from one historical problem-space will of course not perfectly translate to another one. This can be seen in the divergences between US and West Indian Black Power politics despite their common rooting in Black diasporic communities and cultures. My work in this thesis highlights the pluralities (Bledsoe and Wright 2019) that exist within Black Geographies through a focus on the multiple and situated articulations of West Indian Black Power. Further, through my detailed study of the movement I understand Black Power as connected to other historical, Black radical political movements (Garveyism, Pan-Africanism, Black Nationalism) but still distinct in the spatial political strategies and forms articulated by Black Power groups and actors in the West Indies.

To date, geographical scholarship that engages specifically with Black Power politics has primarily centred on the US and in particular groups such as the Black Panther Party and figures like Malcolm X. However, outside of geography it must be said that there is an increasingly international focus to Black Power studies examining articulations of Black Power politics in the Pacific (Shilliam 2015), Britain (Wild 2008, 2016; Narayan 2019), Bermuda (Swan 2009, 2014) and other diverse contexts (Slate 2012) with my thesis similarly contributing to such efforts. Returning to geography, James Tyner's (2004, 2006) work on the, shifting and dynamic, revolutionary ideologies of the US Black Panther Party and Malcolm X foregrounds the importance of territoriality and place-based contestations of racial politics and white supremacy in the theory and praxis of US Black Power leaders and movements. Tyner (2004, 2006) draws out a spatial politics of the Panthers and Malcolm X that spans the local-global continuum and wherein place-specific praxes of revolution such as the Panther's breakfast

programmes or community self-defence work is understood as constitutive of broader struggles against global anti-Black racism, white supremacy and imperialism. This same articulation of local struggles within a global, transnational anti-imperialist and anti-colonial politics was similarly practiced by Black Power activists in the West Indies as will be demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6 on West Indian Black Power print production and the 1969 Bermuda Black Power Conference.

More recent scholarship in Geography on Black Power, again largely US and Panther focused, interrogates the Panther's community activism and self-organisation as a means of carving out spaces of Black autonomy and mutual aid in opposition to the racist spatial politics (red-lining, ghettoization etc.) in American urban centres (Heynen 2008; Ramirez 2014). These practices of community self-reliance and self-development in the absence of state aid and indeed in direct challenge to the state's claimed control over urban territory represented place-based articulations of broader anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and anti-racist politics (Heynen 2008; Bledsoe and Wright 2018). This spatial-political analysis of Black Power politics in the US draws out a number of key practices, processes and ideological commitments that united the US movement with that in the West Indies. I too conduct a similar investigation in this thesis exploring the place-based and locally specific articulations of Black Power politics in the West Indies. Crucially, this thesis centres on West Indian groups and actors responding to localised regimes of oppression and drawing upon diverse historical and theoretical currents specific to the region in order to elaborate a politics and praxis of Black resistance and liberation divergent from that of US actors and movements.

Whilst this thesis attests to the differences and divergences between articulations of Black Power politics in the US and West Indies there were also core similarities of context and vision that saw Black Power travel so successfully from the US to the West Indies. In both places Black Power takes root in communities of impoverished, largely, Black populations that faced state neglect and/or abandonment. As a wealth of studies on the US Black Power movement (Tyner 2006; Heynen 2008; Narayan 2020), and again primarily the Black Panthers, point out such groups and organisations emerged in response to the worst effects of US racial capitalism which ghettoised African American

communities and locked them out of the post-WWII welfare state. In the West Indies, the banner of Black Power was taken up by the impoverished workers and 'sufferers' of the islands that had to contend with the region's chronic, and worsening throughout my period of study, unemployment issues, dependent economies little diversified from the colonial period and neo-colonial economic regimes that suppressed wages and worker's rights in efforts to attract foreign capital (Gray 1991; Best 2003; Rodney 2013; Kamugisha 2019). This context of black poverty in the US presided over by a white supremacist, imperialist state has its analogue in neo-colonial West Indian states that in the courting of foreign capital and failure to tackle the coloniality of life in the islands re-articulated colonial racial logics and social relations in the post-independence period (Kamugisha 2007; 2019). It is here that Black Power movements would step in, seeking to ameliorate and then challenge the structural causes of this material and psychological emiseration and offer alternative, anti-capitalist, anti-racist and anti-imperialist visions of the future for their communities. The Black Power thought and praxis that strove for these futures is explored in detail throughout this thesis.

1.3 Thesis Outline

Before moving onto a breakdown of the following thesis chapters I feel it pertinent to lay out the aims of my research here. These aims have from the outset guided and structured my research process and have directly informed my adopted methodology and the empirical content of my study. With that said, these aims were not rigidly fixed and are indeed intentionally open in scope allowing for a flexibility and reflexivity in the field that has seen my aims modified in light of my interaction with the various archives that comprise the central empirical source for this thesis. The aims of my research are as follows:

- To examine West Indian Black Power politics as constitutive of an alternative decolonial trajectory actively envisioned and pre-figured by Black Power adherents in the region in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and as thus a source of decolonial knowledges in struggles to overcome the colonial matrix of power;
- To explore the dynamic geographies and practices of articulation and transnational solidarity developed through West Indian Black Power

thought and praxis in the reconfiguration of broader, transnational political commitments to anti-racism, anti-imperialism, anti-(neo)colonialism and 'Third World' solidarity in specific Caribbean locales;

- To interrogate the material and imagined geographies of securitisation and repression articulated in opposition to West Indian Black Power and to understand these as reconfigurations of longstanding plantation logics and spatialities of racism existent in the region since the instigation of European colonialism

These research aims will be responded to in this thesis through the following structure.

Chapter 2 lays out the major theoretical framework of this study as well as the thesis' central conceptual contributions. Through the spatial ontology of Doreen Massey (2005) I develop a novel reading of the work of West Indian theorists Brian Meeks (2000) and David Scott (2004, 2014) on narratives of resistance, imagined futures, and political-historical problem-space. This allows me to draw out the spatial politics of West Indian Black Power as being pre-figurative of an envisioned decolonial future for the region that stood in stark contrast to contending ideological trajectories. From this base proposition I highlight the dynamic geographies of articulation that worked across and through the uneven topography of the Black diaspora and the West Indies region through a reading of Black Atlantic scholarship and work on plantation geographies. It is in this context that West Indian Black Power operated and wherein Black Power politics acted as a principle of articulation that drew together variously situated groupings across the region. I close with a discussion of West Indian plantation geographies and spatialities of white supremacy that Black Power represented an insurgent challenge to and further I suggest that the technopolitical regimes of securitisation and repression deployed in opposition to Black Power in the region should be conceived of as contemporaneous re-articulations of plantation logics and racisms.

In Chapter 3 I outline the archival methodology utilised in the production of this thesis. Importantly, I begin by interrogating my positionality as a white, British geographer engaged in the study of a radical race politics and engaging questions of racism, colonialism and empire; exploring the reasons I came to

study the subject and foregrounding the importance of studying West Indian Black Power in present contexts of coloniality. I position the archive as a generative system of knowledge production comprised of multiple historical, narrative and ideological trajectories and shaped by the logics of contributors and curators. I also consider questions of power and voice particularly in relation to archives in imperial-metropolitan centres with this leading me to develop a transnational methodological approach. Such an approach has allowed me to locate the voices of Black Power actors through the drawing together of various Caribbean collections that I position as counter-archives of Black memory. Further, I stress the importance of understanding archival materials as political objects in and of themselves and thus as constitutive of social and political relations and wide-ranging space-time formations. This allows for a focus on the materiality of Black Power spatial-politics and the opposing security response and also reveals the situated nature of associated political praxes.

Chapter 4 represents a sketching out of the ideological terrain of the West Indies in my period of study and focuses on the core antagonisms that existed between a Black Power politics and the politics of nationalist West Indian governments and parties. Central to this discussion is my core contention that West Indian Black Power articulated a radically alternative decolonial vision of the region to those articulated through the historical-political trajectories of West Indian Creole Nationalism and a continued (neo)colonialism. I position independence as a moment of rupture that unleashed political energies in the region and which saw the development of powerful critiques of West Indian coloniality that would feed into the Black Power movement. I also interrogate the colonial racial logics that underpinned the hegemonic Creole nationalist politics of the West Indies' major political parties and leadership in this period; the colonial epistemologies upon which this politics was built meant the new nation-states of the region and their imagined national citizenries were not divested of colonial racisms with this facilitating continued neo-colonial manipulation. I also discuss how Black Power's radical decolonial politics came to be understood as subversive by mainstream nationalist governments and leaderships as they attempted to supress popular support for Black Power's vision of West Indian independence that rejected colonial logics of race and neo-colonial alignment internationally.

Chapter 5 explores the dynamics of print production, circulation and reportage developed through Black Power politics in the West Indies. Building on earlier commitments in Chapter 3 to understand texts as political objects I demonstrate how the networks of distribution and reportage of the periodicals I study were reflective of ideological commitments to listening to and amplifying West Indian subaltern voices and led to attempts to develop a form of editorship from below. Further, I understand the circulation of Black Power publications as material manifestations of social and political relations that reveal transnational solidarities and articulations being developed around key contemporaneous events across networks of print circulation. With these operating across the Caribbean and North America and reporting on anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle from across the world.

Chapter 6 is a considered study of the First Regional International Black Power Conference held in Bermuda in 1969 and its afterlives on the island in the form of continued Black Power militancy and activism. By situating Bermuda as a key locus in the geographies of Black Power in the West Indies this thesis contributes to efforts to internationalise the study of Black Power and also foregrounds the importance of islands and sites outwith the larger islands and states of the West Indies. I position the Conference as a moment and space of consciousness raising for the island's Black population and a site at which various ideological currents and trajectories of Black radicalism, Third World socialism, Pan-Africanism and Black Power were drawn together in an effort to sketch out an alternative decolonial vision for Bermuda and the broader Black world. I suggest the conference should be conceived of as an example of Black place-making as a means of freedom in resistance to hegemonic geographies of white supremacy on Bermuda. Building on discussion in Chapter 3, the repressive security response to the conference enacted by the colonial Bermudian state and an imperialist British security apparatus is understood as a re-articulation of plantation space-time in the contemporaneous problem-space of Bermuda and the wider Caribbean world.

Chapter 7 addresses the geographies of repression and securitisation articulated in opposition to the West Indian Black Power movement. Developing discussion in Chapter 4 on the assessment of Black Power in the region as a subversive threat to the nation-state I demonstrate how Black Power activists and groups were

systematically targeted for surveillance and the constraining of their mobility and transnational travel. Such efforts were directed towards the containment of Black Power politics by regional and imperial governments and state security actors in defence of the Creole Nationalist vision of independence, nationhood and sense of national belonging realised through formal independence. This anti-Black Power security regime comprised complex and diverse space-time formations of security agents, situated security practices and material technologies that highlights the vast amount of energy and resources dedicated to opposing Black Power's radical decolonial vision of the region. I argue these wide-ranging technopolitical networks of securitisation represented reconfigurations of plantation space-time with the control and surveillance of non-white Caribbeans the core outcome of such a white supremacist security regime as has always been true of racist modes of domination in the region over the past five centuries.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis and pulls together the core themes considered throughout this study to consider key contributions to academic scholarship and to situate my work in the contemporary social and political moments in both the UK and West Indies. I underscore the generative and pre-figurative politics of Black Power in the West Indies and the hopeful decolonial vision for the region's non-white subaltern population the movement was impelled towards. I consider how specific Black Power critiques of the coloniality of politics, society, economy and culture are still relevant in Caribbean and British presents and reflect on the complex political praxes and bonds of transnational solidarity forged by Black Power groups and actors in efforts to resist and overcome such forces of oppression. I contemplate the contributions made by this thesis to academic scholarship on Black Geographies and the spatial-politics of Black radicalism and further consider the generative potential of what a spatial reading of the West Indian Black Power movement offers for historical and political studies of the West Indies. Finally, I sketch out potential future interventions and avenues of study that my work in this thesis has thrown up.

In this introductory chapter I have laid out the central threads and core empirical examples that this thesis is built around. In the following chapters it will be shown that West Indian Black Power politics represented an alternative and decolonial historical-political trajectory shaping and constitutive of the

problem-space of the decolonising and post-colonial West Indies. This trajectory emerged and was articulated in efforts to exceed contemporaneous articulations of the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism and to broaden the horizon of possible futures offered up to Caribbean peoples in the post-colonial period. In order to achieve these aims a Black Power spatial politics was articulated that sought to give voice to and mobilise the region's subaltern population in a Pan-Caribbean and transnational political movement that opposed racism, imperialism and (neo)colonialism. To this end, all manner of strategies were adopted (producing publications, convening conferences, mass protests) and solidarities forged (US Black Panthers, Pan-Africanists, Communist revolutionaries) in the pursuit of the movement's decolonial vision for the region. This would see diverse spatial-political strategies and practices adopted across the West Indies specific to local conditions, histories and strategic situations. The next chapter begins this investigation by setting out the theoretical framework through which I have studied the West Indian Black Power movement and developed the core claims outlined here.

Chapter 2 Multiple Trajectories in West Indian Problem-Space

2.1 Introduction

It is my central contention that Black Power politics in the West Indies represented a radically divergent social, political and economic project to that of post-independence West Indian nationalist governments and imperial powers operating in the region in the 1960s and 1970s. Black Power politics in the West Indies was rooted in a fundamentally divergent analysis of the region's history (Rodney 1969, 1990; Bogues 2002, 2003), the racial construction and coding of the newly independent West Indian nation-states of the mid-twentieth century (Nettleford 1970; Thame 2017) and the historical and future trajectories of said states under the guidance of nationalist leadership (Munroe 1971). Such a Black Power analysis emerged from powerful historical currents of Black Nationalist and Pan-African thought and sentiment that had been present across the islands and beyond since the 19th century (Nettleford 1970; Bogues 2002; Hintzen 2013) and pointed towards alternative decolonial horizons beyond the strictures of a post-independence (neo)coloniality and logics and spatialities of white supremacy (Quijano 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). From this position, West Indian Black Power actors and groups developed a spatial politics that pre-figured this alternative decolonial vision.

In this chapter I will lay out the theoretical framework through which I have studied the spatial politics of Black Power. Utilising Doreen Massey's (2005) ontology of space I conceive of the West Indies Black Power movement as offering an alternative decolonial trajectory at a crucial moment in the history of the West Indies; the years immediately following independence when popular political expectations and energies were high and the horizon of possible futures appeared broad and imminent (Nettleford 1970; Scott, D. 2017a). In this context Black Power politics provided a terrain of articulation (Hall 1996; Werner 2016) through which variously situated radical, subaltern and Leftist groups and tendencies could come together in order to build towards an imagined internationalist, anti-racist, anti-imperialist and potentially anti-capitalist future for the region and beyond (Meeks 2000; Scott, D, 2004). The theoretical discussion in this chapter outlines how such a diasporic and transnational

political culture is to be properly assessed (Gilroy 1993; Edwards 2003; Iton 2008) and similarly explores the productive tensions and oppositions the West Indian Black Power movement faced and was historically emergent from (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011, 2013; Austin 2013).

The first section of this chapter focuses on the more abstract theory of David Scott (2003, 2004, 2010, 2014) and Brian Meeks (1996, 2000, 2009) on radical Caribbean thought, revolutionary temporality and subaltern practices of resistance. Their thought when combined with the spatial ontology of Doreen Massey (2005) provides an original analytical approach for thinking through the spatial politics of Black Power. In pulling the work of these scholars together I emphasise how the envisioned decolonial futures of the West Indian Black Power movement animated contemporaneous socio-political praxis and was generative of a spatial politics pre-figurative of an anticipated future divergent to that of competing ideological movements and formations. In drawing on the theory of post-colonial Caribbean intellectuals this thesis contributes towards the decolonisation of geographical thought through this engagement with West Indian intellectual production emergent and grounded in the post and de-colonial contexts of the region (Esson et al 2017; Craggs 2019). An exploration of the spatial-political praxis, knowledge production and narratives of resistance developed and articulated by Black Power actors and groups in the Caribbean foregrounds the pro-active and complexly articulated decolonial efforts of those racialised and subalternised by colonial, white supremacist power (McKittrick 2013; Hudson 2014; Noxolo 2017; Mignolo and Walsh 2018).

In section two I engage with work on the 'Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1993) in order to draw out the historical and geographical specificities of the "problem-space" (Scott, D. 2004) within which a West Indian Black Power politics proffered a subaltern decolonial imaginary and pre-figurative spatial politics (Gilroy 1993, Iton 2008). The transnational and internationalist tendencies of West Indian Black Power emerge partially from a sense of diasporic solidarity rooted in historical legacies and contemporaneous instantiations of slavery, anti-Black racism and (neo)colonial domination that constituted the Black Atlantic world and the racialised power geometries that criss-cross it (Gilroy 1993). Edwards (2003) and Gilroy's (1993) understanding of Black Atlantic political cultures as generatively operating through and across diasporic difference similarly speaks

to Massey's (2005) conception of space as being the sphere of contemporaneous heterogeneity within which new political interrelations are yet to be made.

Section three develops a reading of McKittrick's (2013) work on plantation geographies and temporalities to demonstrate how the West Indian Black Power movement was constitutive of a politics of resistance to transnational geographies of white supremacy (Bonds and Inwood 2016; Cullen 2018). These geographies and regimes of white supremacy, colonial oppression and racial capitalist exploitation constituted the Black Atlantic world in fundamental ways and it will be shown how re-articulations of plantation space-time structured the historical problem-spaces that West Indian Black Power operated within (Gilroy 1993; Scott, D. 2004; 2014). I show that the plantation as an analytic framing is generative for thinking through the re-articulation of plantation space-time in the period of my study especially in regards to the production of racialised space and security regimes dealt with in the final section. Similarly, McKittrick's (2013; Hudson 2014) emphasis on the temporal reworking and longevity of plantation space can be usefully combined with the earlier conceptual discussion in this chapter on alternative revolutionary trajectories and subaltern practices of space and place-making (Meeks 2000; Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005).

This chapter will close with an overview of geographical work on state security networks and mobilities. The Black Power movement in the West Indies was the focus of concerted efforts on the part of local and imperialist state security apparatuses to disrupt the activities and movements of its associated members and to contain the spread of its ideological popularity (Swan 2009; Quinn 2014). I then turn to geographical scholarship on mobility and the ways in which national security discourses and practices were often directed towards controlling specific mobilities and transnational circulations in the Caribbean and beyond (Glouftsios 2018). This discussion of securitised mobilities can be combined with the theoretical content of earlier sections in this chapter to show how security discourses and practices were animated by racialised anxieties of a subversive radical blackness (Austin 2013). I suggest that these security regimes can be understood as contemporaneous re-workings of plantation space-time (Swan 2009; McKittrick 2011, 2013; Austin 2013).

2.2 Narratives of Resistance and Revolutionary Temporality

The themes of decolonial futures and the impact of imagined futures on spatial-political strategy and form in the present are animating ones in my exploration of Black Power politics. In this section I will engage with the work of important West Indian theorists David Scott and Brian Meeks. Both attend to notions of conjuncture, revolution and hegemonic dissolution and in their analyses they are chiefly concerned with the role of subaltern agency and imagined futures in making history (Meeks 1996, 2000; Scott, D. 2003, 2004, 2014). This theory when read alongside the spatial ontology of Doreen Massey (2005) will provide the major theoretical framework for an empirical engagement with West Indian Black Power. This framing represents an original approach to scholarship on the spatial-politics of Black Power and is important in foregrounding the work of intellectual production emergent from the post-colonial and de-colonising Caribbean (Craggs 2019).

In thinking through the relationality of past, present and future and the multiplicity of historical narratives and future visions offered by this relation I turn to David Scott's (2004) *Conscripts of Modernity*. In his insightful critical reading of C.L.R. James' *The Black Jacobins*, Scott, D. urges a re-reading of the text for the present post-colonial conjuncture; with our present constitutively different to that in which James originally wrote the text and thus necessitating a reappraisal of his work. David Scott's analysis in *Conscripts* forms part of a broader intellectual project, developed in his other books *Refashioning Futures* (Scott, D. 1999a) and *Omens of Adversity* (Scott, D. 2014), concerned with postcolonial critique, revolutionary temporality and historical narrative that has proved influential across a range of critical social and political disciplines (Featherstone 2007; Neptune 2008; Nichols 2016). In *Conscripts* Scott, D. grounds this theoretical project through a focus on the different forms of narrative structure evidenced in the 1938 and 1963 editions of *The Black Jacobins*. The first edition, we are told, displays a typically Romantic historical-anticolonial analysis and emplotment "in which history rides a triumphant and seamlessly progressive rhythm" (Scott, D. 2004: 13) however the second edition provides a Tragic reconfiguration wherein "the relation between past, present, and future is…a broken series of paradoxes and reversals in which human action

is ever open to unaccountable contingencies-and luck." (ibid.). For Scott, D. this tragic historiography holds key conceptual resources for the postcolonial present where he contends we are locked in the dénouement of the exhaustion of the Romantic utopian anticolonial projects of the twentieth century (Scott, D. 2004; Nichols 2016).

David Scott's (2004) appreciation of the possibilities opened up through James' tragic reconfiguration of the history of the Haitian Revolution is important for my work in this thesis. In a Romantic narrativisation of anticolonial struggle a linear and singular historiography is developed; colonial power is overturned in a total revolution carrying us forward into a utopian future. This is an historiographical vision that forecloses multiplicity whereas a tragic historical-anticolonial analysis is alive to contingency and the relational production of history through the interactions between humans and the material world across time and space. Such a position can be generatively read through Doreen Massey's (2005) ontology of space as will be elaborated later. What David Scott's theory suggests for my work is that beyond accepting a singular, Romantic anticolonial narrative of mid-twentieth century West Indian politics and historical development we must be attuned to the multiple, possible and actualised, articulations of anti and post-colonial politics in this period and in this space. In the following chapters I do just that; foregrounding the multiplicity of historical-political trajectories that articulated contesting visions of the postcolonial West Indies and that inaugurated diverse spatial imaginaries and spatial-political praxes in the pursuit of these contesting visions.

David Scott's deployment of the concept of problem-spaces in his analysis in *Conscripts* has also been influential in the development of my theoretical framework:

> *A "problem-space," …is meant first of all to demarcate a discursive context, a context of language. But it is more than a cognitively intelligible arrangement of concepts, ideas, images, meanings, and so on-though it is certainly this. It is a context of argument and, therefore, one of intervention. A problem-space, in other words, is an ensemble of questions and answers around which a horizon of identifiable stakes (conceptual as well as ideological-political stakes) hangs (Scott, D. 2004: 4)*

Problem-spaces are contexts of dispute and rival ideas and importantly "problem-spaces alter historically because problems are not timeless and do not have everlasting shapes" (Scott, D. 2004: 4). Thus, new horizons and trajectories can and should be envisioned and enacted in response to the changing context of the present and the problems actors are presented with in their own specific spatial and temporal settings. So, the problem of race or coloniality doesn't disappear but rather has to be dealt with in new problem-spaces; specific and contingent to different social, cultural, political and historical contexts and necessitating new political strategies, spatialities and imagined futures (ibid.). David Scott deploys this conception for the purpose of his assessment of the post-colonial present and the exhaustion of the nationalist projects in the West Indies emergent from the anticolonial revolutions of the early and mid-twentieth century; the question now becomes how to construct alternative decolonial temporalities and imagined futures? Alternative futures require a reworking of the past and present and their relation and the (re)imagining of other futures to anticipate (Koselleck 2004; Scott, D. 2004).

Geographers (Featherstone 2007; Sparke 2008) have been critical of David Scott's (2004) side-lining of the spatial in favour of the attention he pays to narrative structure and temporal reworking in his analysis of *The Black Jacobins*. The dynamic geographies of dialectical connection between revolutionary Haiti and France remain overlooked by David Scott who in his focus on the tragic narrative of revolutionary leader Toussaint L'Ouverture comes to position Toussaint, Haiti and its Black population as subordinate to a Modernity emergent and directed from the European metropole (Featherstone 2007). He similarly spends little time interrogating problem-spaces as geographical, *spatial* formations (Sparke 2008) instead being overly concerned with the historical and philosophical frameworks through which actors, in his case C.L.R. James and Toussaint, operate through and within. As such, spatiality remains underexplored seemingly operating as a surface upon which historical and temporal developments unfold or as incidental to such historical developments i.e. in the shifting geopolitics or political geographies reflective of the French Revolutionary Wars or decolonising mid-twentieth century. This lack of engagement with spatiality as dynamically constitutive of problem-space and

space-time leads to an overdetermination of temporality and David Scott's (2004) focus on historical emplotment (ibid.).

However, this is where a reading alongside Massey (2005) is useful. David Scott's sketching out of the contingency and multiplicity of revolutionary political temporalities can be grounded spatially through the introduction of Massey's (2005) ontology of space and her conceptions of the space-time trajectory and constitution of place. Further, David Scott's (2004, 2014) temporal reading of political change and conjuncture leads to a tendency to periodise in his analyses. This periodisation can be seen in David Scott's (2004, 2014) broad-brush assessment of West Indian nationalist and post-colonial politics that in his view moves from Bandung anti-colonialism to a radical period of Marxist and Black Power inflected alternatives to the 'ruins' of the collapse of such alternatives in the West Indies' contemporary neoliberal present. This reading occludes the multiple and contested trajectories of anti-colonial, nationalist and radical politics in the West Indies and gives little attention to specific articulations of these broader political categories within the specific local contexts of the region. A spatial reading through Massey (2005) can thus draw attention to the dynamic geographies of connection and articulation that shaped these broader political movements and open up this more linear conceptualisation of West Indian political change to multiplicity.

Massey's conception of space as being the product of interrelation asserts that human subjectivity and experience is constructed and enacted in both temporal and spatial terms:

> *if experience is not an internalised succession of sensations (pure temporality) but a multiplicity of things and relations, then its spatiality is as significant as its temporal dimension (Massey 2005: 56) [emphasis original]*

Read with David Scott (2004), an appreciation for the *space* in problem-spaces can be foregrounded with the temporal reworkings and relationality of past, present and future that are generated and necessitated made possible by the generative multiplicity of space. Moreover, the conceptual and political horizons envisioned and desired from particular problem-spaces by given historical-political actors develop interrelatedly with spatial relations contingent to said

problem-spaces and, the multiple possible, readings of them. Political movements and ideologies necessarily animated by certain envisioned horizons then inaugurate *spatial*-political strategies and formations in their present problem-space(s) directed towards the realisation of a desired space-time configuration in the, spatially and temporally open and as yet undetermined, future (Scott, D. 2004). This proposition affirms the generative potential of reading David Scott (2004) alongside Massey (2005); an ontology of space as being the product of interrelation opens up space to politics and the political and the mutually necessary reworking of historical time and an associated imagining of possible futures. David Scott's (2004: 43) elaboration of his theory in relation to historical-political conjunctures and revolutionary movements directs us to moments when "horizons of expectation" appear broadest and thus dominant teleologies, and associated spatial-political forms and practices, can be challenged, reworked and overcome. David Scott (2003, 2004) provides an appreciation of the interplay between ideology and historiography and a historical-material grounding through which Massey's (2005) more abstract thoughts on the material practices of power that produce space can be better understood.

Here I use this theoretical conversation to position a politics of Black Power in the West Indies in their particular historical problem-space. I would contend the central problem that a Black Power politics was articulated in relation to were the inadequacies of Creole Nationalist anti-colonialism that was the guiding logic of post-colonial state formation in the West Indies (Gray 1991; Lewis, R. 1998; Thame 2011, 2014, 2017) and the limits of national sovereignty in fully realising the decolonial project. This position thus generated a consistent focus on building transnational solidarities and operating in an internationalist framework with the understanding that national sovereignty on its own was not enough in contrast to the political rationalities of the anticolonial Creole Nationalists for whom national sovereignty was the moment at which the 'Modern' decolonised West Indies was born (Quinn 2014; Austin 2013, Scott, D. 2017b). This animated sharp critique of West Indian Creole Nationalist ideology and nation-states on the part of the West Indian Black Power movement and also demonstrated a complex analysis of (neo)colonialism and capitalist-imperialism and the ways such forces interacted to constrain the political and historical agency supposedly

attained through formal independence (James, C.L.R. 1967, 1971; Rodney 1969; Best 1970, 2003; Munroe 1971). This analysis was also heavily influenced by the post-1968 international conjuncture and the global upsurge and interest in anti-colonial, radical and New Left politics (Meeks 2000; Austin 2018). The decolonial project did not end at the territorial limits of the post-colonial nation-state; therefore, the Black diaspora was the focus.

This discussion of alternative and multiple possible decolonial and post-colonial futures requires an engagement with Massey's (2005) conceptualisation of space-time trajectories. With space defined as relational, processual and always under construction it is the:

> *sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity (Massey 2005: 9)*

Under this ontology of space the spatialities of agency remain unfinished and this then provides a terrain for what is possible (ibid). David Scott's (2004) problem-spaces and coeval imagined futures can be combined usefully to an ontology of space-time trajectories. The possibility of (re)imagining alternative futures and thus reinterpreting and reworking a given problem-space and the teleology so invoked, points towards the *openness* of the future. This suggests the possibility of new and alternative space-time trajectories which is necessary in order to engage in and imagine a politics within which genuine change is possible (Massey 2005). I would suggest a politics of Black Power represented alternative decolonial trajectories emergent from the reconceptualised problem space of (neo)colonialism, (neo)imperialism and spatialities of white supremacy in an 'officially' decolonising and post-colonial world. Black Power anticipated and prefigured an alternative decolonial future to that of West Indian Creole Nationalism (Meeks 1996; Scott, D. 2004; Thame 2017).

I will now develop this discussion through a relation to Brian Meeks' (1996, 2000) work on narratives of resistance. In an exploration of mid-twentieth century Caribbean insurrections and revolutions Meeks (2000: 38), building on James Scott (1992), challenges conceptions of revolutionary and false consciousness that assert "the people by themselves are incapable of moving beyond the stage

of militant reformism to revolutionism without external intellectual input". In picking apart conceptions of social and ideological hegemony, Meeks (2000: 39) summarises J. Scott (1992):

> *Scott's central thesis, then, is to question the notion of ideological incorporation. Yes, he admits, there is an "official transcript" in which subordinate peoples praise the king and support the status quo. However, this is only tactical and is performed precisely because of the perceived and evident weaknesses of those below. Beyond this official transcript, though, Scott asserts that there is a "hidden transcript" of ridicule, subversive acts, pilfering, poaching, tax evasion and shabby work, which is developed as a means of resistance to the dominant.*

James Scott's "hidden transcripts" (Meeks 2000: 39) that Meeks reconfigures as narratives of resistance are seen to emerge from the life worlds and cultural practices of Caribbean subaltern populations. In employing the term subaltern in the Caribbean context I draw on West Indian authors (Meeks 2000; Bogues 2003; Thame 2011, 2016) who take it to mean those Afro and Indo-Caribbeans who rejected or resisted ideological incorporation into the projects of colonialism and post-colonial Creole Nationalism instead creating symbolic orders which invert or radically displace these dominating ideological and state projects. In this liminal position Caribbean subaltern populations become pathologised through colonial racial logics and are subjected to coercion and dehumanisation in attempts to realise the objectives of the political projects of the dominant class (Thame 2011, 2014). Subaltern narratives form, sustain and direct opposition and resistance to hegemonic, chauvinistic structures of power from the spaces and communities of the subaltern. Meeks is making an important claim here; if revolutionary or transformative politics isn't the preserve of communities that have attained a pre-requisite level of development (economic, cultural, intellectual etc.) then the geographies and spatialities of revolutionary politics have been opened up to communities, sites and places previously overlooked but holding as yet unrealised potentialities (Massey 2005). This conceptualisation helps move one away from a temporalisation of revolutionary political change that can lead to a stiflingly teleological conceptualisation of politics as discussed earlier in geographical critiques of David Scott (2004, 2014).

Meeks (2000: 41) calls on researchers to locate "the *social spaces* in which the discourse of the transcript from below is fleshed out and identify how this

operates in guerrilla fashion on the fringes of the original transcript." [Emphasis mine]. Narratives of resistance rooted in the lifeworlds of the West Indian subaltern give popular form and intelligibility to the space-time trajectories and imagined futures of Massey (2005) and David Scott (2004, 2014) discussed previously. Narratives of resistance represent an imaginative practice of situating historical and contemporary struggles against spatialities and regimes of domination by marking out an identifiable political terrain and horizon of possibility through available ideologies, aesthetics, cultural practices and even theologies of racially oppressed non-white West Indian communities (Meeks 2000; McKittrick 2011). Resistance narratives and imaginaries are able to generatively reorder problem-space and space-time and their constitutive trajectories in ways that produce and anticipate new spatial-political forms (Massey 2005).

Narratives of resistance can be read as emergent from reconceptualisations of particular problem-spaces and hegemonic readings of them (Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005); narratives of resistance can sustain and impel subaltern movements towards alternative horizons and reimagined political futures. In the necessity to locate the social spaces in which narratives of resistance are developed and enunciated a return to Massey's (2005) spatial theory wherein place is conceived as the conjuncture of space-time trajectories is useful. "Places…as *spatio-temporal events"* [emphasis original] (Massey 2005: 130) are open and internally multiple and represent the articulations and generative productions of the interactions of various trajectories. The spaces/places from which narratives of resistance are fleshed out can be seen to constitute complex and extensive spatialities and temporalities with said narratives shaping the development of spatial-political formations and strategies directed towards the, pre-figurative, realisation of imagined radical futures (Scott, J. 1992; Scott, D. 2004; Meeks 2000; Massey 2005).

Developing this line of thinking as to *where* narratives of resistance are enunciated and articulated from I will now read Meeks alongside Richard Iton (2008) to show that such narratives emerge from the liminal positioning of blackness and Black peoples within the Modern Black Atlantic world. Iton suggests Black Atlantic actors committed to the emancipation and uplift of the diaspora often have and potentially must abandon:

> *any attachment to the "rules of the game," and to seek strategies, and employ whatever means available, that might destabilize and transcend the norms and assumptions underpinning the projects of modernity, despite their attractiveness, ubiquity, and apparent inescapability* (Iton 2008: 13 – 14)

Iton captures this practice and politics of abandonment or transcendence in his formulation of "the Black fantastic" (Iton 2008: 16) which refers to:

> *the minor-key sensibilities generated from the experiences of the underground, the vagabond, and those constituencies marked as deviant—notions of being that are inevitably aligned within, in conversation with, against, and articulated beyond the boundaries of the modern* (ibid.)

Meeks' (2000) narratives of resistance similarly emerge from acts of subversion, vagabondage, etc. that he understands as a means of resistance to the dominant. Read spatially, Meeks (2000: 41) implores researchers to identify and interrogate the social spaces from which narratives of resistance are articulated and how these operate "in guerrilla fashion on the fringes of the original transcript" with narratives directing an oppositional politics from the radical fringe against the hegemonic centre. From such fringe spaces of Black alterity resistance narratives emerge that take the Black diaspora as the primary frame of reference as opposed to the Modern nation-state formations of the postcolonial West Indies. These narratives are characterised by a commitment to revolutionary anti-colonial and Black resistance rooted in the subaltern histories of the Black Atlantic diaspora (Meeks 2000; Iton 2008). Thus, Iton's Black fantastic and Meeks' narratives of resistance both emerge from the ambivalent relationship between blackness and Modernity and are grounded in the dislocation of Black communities, socio-political spaces and cultural production this produces. The fantastic and resistance narratives become mechanisms of articulation between diasporic actors and groupings that unsettles the exclusionary racial logics and spatialities of Modern nation-states and nationalisms and points to an understanding of transnational and internationalist spatial politics that decentres the primacy of the national.

2.3 The Black Atlantic and Transatlantic Articulations of Black Power

Gilroy utilises the term 'Black Atlantic' to denote "a transnational spatial formation composed through an intricate interplay of connection and difference" (Gregory et al 2009: 114) that positions the Modern Atlantic as an interconnected "cultural and political system [that] has been forced on Black historiography and intellectual history by the economic and historical matrix in which plantation slavery…was one special moment." (Gilroy 1993: 15). Gilroy's (1993) exploration of the trans-oceanic, trans-imperial and transnational geographies that constitute the Black Atlantic points towards the historical-spatial relations that shaped the Caribbean as a colonised space and constituted the problem-space within which West Indian Black Power politics operated.

By taking up Gilroy's (1993) framing of the Black Atlantic as a single, complex unit of analysis one can gain insight into the journeys and associations that transgress this space and produce cultural, political and social formations across this oceanic world (ibid.). This move unsettles the boundedness of ethnic particularisms and associated nationalisms. To quote Gilroy:

> *the reflexive cultures and consciousnesses of the European settlers and those of the Africans they enslaved, the "Indians" they slaughtered, and the Asians they indentured were not, even in situations of the most extreme brutality, sealed off hermetically from each other (1993: 2)*

Gilroy's analysis centres cultural and political cross-fertilisation in a way that destabilises logics and discourses of cultural absolutism and ethnic homogeneity (Goldberg 2002; Austin 2013). Intellectuals, political radicals and movements that have sought freedom and justice for Black peoples across the Atlantic diaspora have long understood that an "outernational, transcultural [conceptualisation]" (Gilroy 1993: 17) of historical and present forces of discrimination and racialised oppression is necessary to transcend the strictures of spatial-political configurations rooted in particularist logics of race and ethnicity that necessarily preclude Black freedom and full equality or integration (Gilroy 1993; Goldberg 2002; Bogues 2002, 2003; Scott, D. 2004; Iton 2008; Thame 2011, 2017).

Gilroy's (1993) rejection of this ethnic absolutism and nation-centred accounts of politics opens up spatial-political analysis to a pluralistic understanding of Black political cultures (Featherstone 2013). Gilroy's (1993: 19) transcendence of "the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity" allows for an appreciation and serious engagement with the multiple tensions and antagonisms that exist within the imagined community of the Black diaspora. Gilroy (1993: 33) critiques the ontological essentialism of a totalising Pan-Africanism being wary of "the idea of Blacks as a national or proto-national group with its own hermetically enclosed culture" and overarching political trajectory instead foregrounding how cultural and political linkages are produced through cross-cultural and cross-ethnic interactions. This is a key point for this thesis as I will demonstrate how a Black Power politics provided a terrain of articulation (Hall 1996; Werner 2016) through which translocal solidarities and transnational connections across ethnic, cultural and linguistic lines in the Caribbean and beyond could be constructed (Swan 2009, 2014; Austin 2013, 2018; Quinn 2014). These transnational and internationalist connections decentre the national and nation-state as the primary framing for understanding such an internationalist spatial politics.

Richard Iton (2008) explores Black cultural production as expressly political and in so doing highlights the ways a Black cultural politics produces and sustains diasporic connections outside the boundaries, both territorial and imagined, of Modern nation-states. Iton, like Gilroy (1993: 29), positions Black diasporic populations "as people in but not necessarily of the modern, western world" excluded from constructions of Modern settler-colonial nations in the New World and imperial-metropolitan nations in the Old, coded through whiteness, as culturally absolute and ethnically homogenous. Iton (2008) characterises these states of the Global North as prophylactic as they secure the social reproduction of designated citizens through the provision of public goods; a citizenship confined to Western whiteness with non-white populations treated as social contagion (Hesse et al 2015). In the Global South, Iton sees the post-colonial nation-state as a 'duppy state' – duppy being a Jamaican term for a malevolent spirit that haunts the present after improper burial – still haunted by the legacies of colonialism (Iton 2008; Hesse et al 2015). The post-colonial duppy state has been and is unable to resolve the racialised limitations of the

modernity/coloniality matrix of power (Quijano 2000, 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018) within which it is embedded and perpetuates making the elimination of racial hierarchy and attainment of full social equality impossible (Iton 2008; Hesse et al 2015). As in the prophylactic state, inclusive national citizenship in these societies remains unattainable for those racialised identities that do not conform with aesthetic sensibilities and political expectations drawn from Euro-American Enlightenment thought (Goldberg 2002; Iton 2008). For Iton (2008), it is through this exclusion from the national project that diasporic identities and affinities offer the potential for political possibilities beyond the nation-state and racialised limits of coloniality-modernity.

Brent Hayes Edwards' (2003) theory in *The Practice of Diaspora* develops Gilroy's (1993) earlier thoughts on Black Atlantic connections that work through and across difference. Edwards' theorisation, and Iton's, is indebted to Stuart Hall's (1996) work on race, diaspora and articulation in the development of an account of diaspora and Black internationalism that is "anti-abstractionist" (Edwards 2003: 12). In Hall's (1996) theory of racially structured social formations he deploys the concept of articulation to demonstrate the ways racism as a set of ideological, economic and political practices provides a principle of articulation through which differently situated fractions of the social formation can be held in a contradictory unity with the hegemony of a dominant group over a series of subordinate ones secured. For Hall (1996), race provides an interpolative structure that facilitates the articulation, or 'joining up', of class fractions whose material interests are in some cases diametrically opposed but are drawn together through logics of racial belonging. Race as an articulating principle can simultaneously internally divide classes, understood in a Marxist sense through common relations to the means of production, by these very same racisms (ibid.). What is important for my purposes is that these interpolative structures, in the case of my research those of race and racism, can draw together variously situated social groupings into a unity within which members or fractions are relatively autonomous to the point that they can become *disarticulated* (Hall 1996; Edwards 2003; Iton 2008). Thus, specifically articulated social formations are contingent to specific historical, geographical and material circumstances and the array of political ideologies, cultural forms and social discourses that are available and are ultimately open to *re-articulation*, dissolution and collapse.

This possibility of re-articulation and disarticulation speaks to the ontology of space-time and historical-political trajectories discussed in the previous section (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005).

Edwards focuses on the varied transnational and international articulations that pull together Black groupings internally fractured along lines of class, gender, sexuality etc. and externally fractured through relation to specific forms of racialisation, positions within (neo)colonial empires etc. outside the diaspora (Edwards 2003). For Edwards (2003: 7) "the cultures of Black internationalism can be seen only *in translation*" [emphasis original] with researchers needing to be attendant to "the ways that discourses of internationalism *travel*, the ways they are translated, disseminated, reformulated and debated in transnational contexts marked by difference" (ibid.) [emphasis original]. Here, difference and dislocation don't operate as hurdles to transnational solidarity but instead operate as points of articulation that allow various diasporic actors, groups and ideas to come together, and move apart, in new and generative ways (Edwards 2003). This conception speaks to the openness of space and political futures in that new diasporic connections, internal and external, are yet to be made (Massey 2005). Edwards' (2003) anti-abstractionist understanding of the Black diaspora suggests that articulation across difference is productive of new spatial-political configurations, praxes and envisioned futures (Scott, D. 2004; Featherstone 2013). It is a central contribution of this thesis that Black Power politics in the West Indies represented such a principal of articulation in that it provided an ideology and analytic that could draw together variously situated actors and groups across lines of race, class and ethnicity in the West Indies and beyond into a complex global movement that opposed the forces of racism, imperialism and capitalism.

Furthering my discussion of Edwards' (2003) *The Practice of Diaspora* I feel it useful to go over his chapter on Jamaican interwar novelist Claude McKay's *Banjo* as it speaks to previous discussion of the Black fantastic and narratives of resistance. Written in 1929, *Banjo* would have a profound impact on Black intellectuals living in Paris most notably for students who would found the *negritude* movement (ibid.). The novel itself is concerned with a transnational community of Black drifters and dockers in Marseille. Edwards (2003: 190) describes *Banjo* as a "symphony of vagabondry" that espouses a vagabond

internationalism as the story registers “a racial doubt…that Blacks can fit into the logic of modern civilization” (Edwards 2003: 198). This exploration of vagabondage evokes earlier discussion in this section (Scott, J. 1992; Meeks 2000; Iton 2008) as a generative Black politics and culture of resistance and opposition emerges from the practices and spaces that come to be used as the markers of the racialised limits of the modern nation-state and subject (Edwards 2003). In their vagabondage the book’s characters represent an alternative to modern civilisation as in their rejection of waged labour they refuse to be inserted into the metropolitan-capitalist social formation and as such are subject to state violence as the French state and society seeks to criminalise and disparage their behaviour (ibid.).

It is important to note the limits of this vagabond internationalism as highlighted by a queer reading (Stephens 2005; Reed 2013). Women occupy a fringe position in the narrative and only participate as a means of linkage between the vagabond world of the Black male characters and that of the Modern, capitalist nation-state with their participation in both worlds still unequal. Similarly, it is the bodies of Black women that bear the brunt of the spectacular violence deployed against the vagabond international resultant from the racialized anxieties their mode of being incites in the colonial metropole (ibid.). More broadly the transnationality developed in *Banjo* can be read as a Black *male* transnationality which is itself a critique that can be levelled at the transnational politics of West Indian Black Power (Stephens 2005; Austin 2013, 2018). The eponymous Banjo abandons his relationship with the only significant female character in the book Latnah in his search for racial freedom and transnational brotherhood with a detachment from “women as the site for home” (Stephens 2005: 168) the only way Black masculinity can be made more worldly.

Returning to the role of *translation* in Edwards’ (2003) theorisation of Black diasporic cultures he suggests researchers need to attend to the ways that internationalist discourses travel and how these discourses are reconfigured in specific geographical settings. Once again, the generativity of a diasporic politics operating through difference is foregrounded; specific spatial-temporal contexts produce specific *translations* of broader, connective, discourses and trajectories. This politics of translation can be seen in *Banjo* with the book’s

cosmopolitan cast of characters constructing an internationalist politics through "debate, miscommunication, and light-hearted and hot-headed accusation" (Edwards 2003: 210) as the group work through gaps in apprehension, the imperfect translation of terms and the clash of cultures. Far from being an obstacle to Black internationalist politics such gaps in comprehension and the modification of terms required to make an original concept or text intelligible in new contexts of language and place speaks to Edwards' (2003) core contention that difference across the diaspora provides points of articulation that allow for movement and productive political interaction. This internationalist politics of translation operates in specific places; in *Banjo* it is the Café Africain or Marseilles' docks where a cosmopolitan array of Black seafarers and vagabonds are able to forge connections and exchanges across linguistic, cultural and national barriers that produces a dynamic internationalist politics rooted in sites of Black liminality and alterity (Featherstone 2012). We can readily think of these sites as fantastical (Iton 2008) and places from which narratives of resistance may emerge (Meeks 2000) produced through processes of interaction and translation (Edwards 2003).

In deploying the Black Atlantic as a conceptual framework I want to stress the multiplicity of diasporic connections and trajectories that Black Power in the West Indies was rooted in and that shaped the articulation of this politics. Black narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) were enunciated from racially side-lined spaces and communities against which ethnically and culturally homogenous constructions of the nation-state were dialectically produced (Gilroy 1993; Iton 2008). The politics of Black Power provided a terrain of articulation that allowed the construction of solidarities amongst a constellation of variously ethnically, nationally, linguistically and ideologically situated diasporic groupings, as well as those outside the diaspora, in order to pursue globally directed opposition to the forces of imperialism, (neo)colonialism, racism and capitalism (Gilroy; Edwards 2003; Featherstone 2013; Werner 2016). This thesis develops a reading of West Indian Black Power that does not fall into an abstractionist regionalism by drawing out the generative and multiple connections and articulations that can be seen in localised expressions of Black Power politics across the West Indies (Edwards 2003). This has led my research to move beyond the larger islands of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago to examine locally specific articulations of Black

Power politics in the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and Bermuda and the generative transnational connections such actors forged and sustained.

2.4 Geographies of the Plantation and White Supremacy

For famed Trinidadian historian and theoretician C.L.R. James the Caribbean and West Indies are constitutively Modern "in a fundamentally inaugural way" (Scott, D. 2004: 125). David Scott summarising James' position says this:

> *"[James'] idea [is] that the Caribbean is the paradigmatic instance of the colonial encounter. And that is not merely because it was the earliest non-European instance of it, but because it has been shaped almost entirely by that founding experience"* (Scott, D. 2004: 126)

Further, if Modernity is the founding experience of the Caribbean then plantation slavery and racism is the structure and logic through which that experience is articulated (Scott, D. 2004). As such, the region stands as a space long defined by logics and processes of white supremacy and resistance to it. Such a reading affirms the propositions of Gilroy (1993) and Iton (2008) who similarly see the Modern and Black Atlantic as emergent from and continually constitutive of colonial encounters.

Building on the work of geographers such as Gilmore (2007), McKittrick (2013) Bonds and Inwood (2016), Pulido (2017) and Derickson (2017) it is important to engage with white supremacy and colonialism and their multiple:

> *social, economic, and political impacts… as a materially grounded set of practices… [situating] white supremacy not as an artefact of history or as an extreme position, but rather as the foundation for the continuous unfolding of practices of race and racism (Bonds and Inwood 2016: 715)*

White supremacy describes structural and institutional mechanisms of non-white racial domination, destruction and exploitation that constitute fundamental processes of racialisation and the coeval production of racialised landscapes and spaces (McKittrick 2013; Bonds and Inwood 2016; Derickson 2017). White supremacy as an organising, structuring logic of Western imperialism produced colonial societies across the Caribbean with institutionalised structures of racism that maintained and justified segregation, violence and oppression (Bonds and

Inwood 2016). As such, one can attend to white supremacy as definitive of the cultural and material production of white privilege, as well as the simultaneous co-production of non-white dispossession and domination (Fanon 1963, 1967; Morgenson 2011; Pulido 2017) and importantly the racialised production of space (McIntyre and Nast 2011; McKittrick 2013; Bonds and Inwood 2016). Returning to C.L.R. James, it is the plantation that represents the paradigmatic structure and institution through which foundational articulations of Modern racialised space were produced in the West Indies (Scott, D. 2004). The slave plantation established social and cultural relations and material and epistemic structures through which new subjectivities were constituted; planter and slave (ibid.). These new subjectivities and the ontological and material structures that sustained and shaped them can be seen to have produced a plantation space-time that has been continuously rearticulated in the West Indies, and beyond, from that inaugural colonial encounter (ibid.).

Katherine McKittrick's (2013; Hudson 2014) utilisation of the analytic of the plantation and its racial logics in her explorations of Black Geographies in the New World develops these initial thoughts on plantation space-time. For McKittrick (2011, 2013), the plantation is the paradigmatic geographical exemplar of the various practices of spatialised violence directed against Black peoples through the historical experiences of slavery and colonialism. The logics and racial economy of the plantation enforced Black place-lessness, as McKittrick (2011: 948) explains:

> *In the Americas, free labour under bondage thus marked Black working bodies as those 'without'—without legible-Eurocentric history narratives, without land or home, without ownership of self—as this system forcibly secured Black peoples to the geographic mechanics of the plantation economy*

As Modern, colonial, plantation power situated Black people, places and experiences outside the boundaries of Modernity, and thus what was legitimate and worth knowing, Black labour was necessarily spatially fixed with the enslaved chained to the land (McKittrick 2011). The spaces that New World plantations occupied were discursively constructed as "lands of no one" (McKittrick 2013: 7) through the racializing logics of colonialism and imperialism that rendered the inhabitants of such spaces as lifeless and their geographic

locales worthless. Worth here should be understood in a racial-capitalist sense as the rendering of the geographies of racialised others in the New World as empty or valueless was a necessary pre-condition for racial-capitalist accumulation and labour exploitation. These colonial-racial geographies of dispossession and erasure normalised and entrenched logics and structures of white supremacy that positioned Black slaves as "those 'without'" (McKittrick 2011: 949) who became "identical with absolute domination, natal alienation, and social death (expulsion from humanity altogether)' (Mbembe 2003: 21).

McKittrick (2013) assesses the plantation form as spatially and temporally complex and shifting and underpinned by logics re-emergent through present Black lives. In this way, the plantation is remade anew in contemporary, post-slave and post-independence contexts of violence, dispossession and poverty and the plantation economy is given a geographic future both in the Caribbean and through broader transnational circulations of plantation space-time as seen in the introduction of Indian indentured labour in the region following emancipation (Meeks and Girvan 2010; McKittrick 2011; Thomas, C, Y. 2013). This is a process understood by David Scott (2004: 4) when he comments that "problem-spaces alter historically because problems are not timeless and do not have everlasting shapes". The problem of 'race' doesn't disappear but rather has to be dealt with in evolving material and historical circumstances that produce contingent spatialities and temporalities.

By applying the analytic of the plantation to the Caribbean the region's long history of slavery, strict racial segregation and anti-Black discrimination can be understood as not a series of, now superseded, discrete acts of abhorrent racism but as evolving axes of social discrimination rooted in the logics of plantation racism (Quijano 2007; McKittrick 2013; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Quoting McKittrick (2013: 9):

> *While plantations differed over time and space, the processes through which they were differentially operated and maintained draw attention to the ways racial surveillance, antiBlack violence, sexual cruelty, and economic accumulation identify the spatial work of race and racism*

Geographies of white supremacy and the coeval coloniality of power (Quijano 2000, 2007) in the Black Atlantic world have been continually resisted by Black populations (Beckles 2013; Noxolo and Featherstone 2014; Bledsoe and Wright 2019). Whilst colonial power and the logics of plantation racism constructed the racialised spaces of the New World as the "lands of no one" (McKittrick 2013: 7) and the Black slaves that worked those lands as placeless free labour the plantation was of course a site of encounter that produced Black Geographies of resistance and modes of place-making (McKittrick 2011). Transatlantic slavery and New World colonialism did not annihilate Black Geographies but instead instigated alternative practices of mapping and knowing place; maroon maps, family maps, musical maps of cultural heritage and connection etc. represented ways of understanding the world spatially that were outside the rubric of a Cartesian cartography (Iton 2008; McKittrick 2011). With this said:

> *a Black sense of place can be understood as the process of materially and imaginatively situating historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination and the difficult entanglements of racial encounter* (McKittrick 2011: 949)

Black place-making as a practice of resistance (Gilmore 2007) and a grounds for the envisioning and realisation of alternative decolonial futures recasts plantation space as a complex zone of racial entanglement that is both spatially and temporally extensive. This relational understanding of Black place-making practices and the plantation allows a move away from Eurocentric, Enlightenment, colonial knowledge regimes that produce fixed racial categories and geographies; those of Black dispossession and white possession that reaffirm and reproduce spatialities of Black emiseration (McKittrick 2011, 2013). An approach attentive to the histories and geographies of encounter and resistance that produce(d) the plantation and its racial logics asserts Black agency and allows the disruption plantation futures (ibid.).

Here we might think back to Iton's (2008) duppy state haunted by the logics and structures of colonial racism and more specifically the racialised construction of citizenship and national belonging in post-independence Jamaica (Nettleford 1970; Scott, D. 2017a). Creole Nationalist ideology linked race with the ability to be an active citizen in a Modern nation-state and so perpetuated plantation space-time albeit through new articulations. The outcome of this was a

pedagogical politics and political culture that reproduced social stratification along racial lines; a politically ascendant Creole middle-class that tended to be of more mixed racial origin and the mass of the Afro-Jamaican working class (Bogues 2002). Coeval was the production of racialized geographies defined by relations of political clientelism between the 'active citizens' of the Modern, Creole political class and the Afro-Caribbean urban poor whose votes were secured not through inclusive democratic politics but coercion. The garrison communities of Kingston emerge from slum clearances that literally led to the repopulation of a given area with "the political wards of the party" (Gray 1991: 81) that had conducted the clearances and subsequent residential development. The residents of these communities effectively become captive voters who were obliged to support the party that had relocated or rehoused them. It was in such racialised communities that Black Power groups and actors sought to contest these re-articulations of plantation space-time. This was done through a reclamation of such racialised spaces via mobilising a critical race consciousness through the circulation of radical publications, organising labour and situating these local plantation geographies within a global analysis of racial capitalist, imperialist and colonial racial-spatial segregation and exploitation (Heynen 2009; McKittrick 2011; Bogues 2014; Quinn 2014). The garrison becomes a site of intervention and encounter where radical Black actors challenged structures and geographies of white supremacy and constructed and envisioned alternative political spatialities beyond the strictures of plantation racial logics.

Mignolo and Walsh's (2018) conceptualisation of decolonial praxis and associated spatial political forms and strategies as *insurgent* is generative here. These insurgent decolonial claims to place represent fundamental processes in the production of plantation geographies and in forging decolonial praxes and trajectories that may exceed such geographies (Meeks 2000; Tyner 2006; Heynen 2009). Insurgent actors are historical agents seeking to forge decolonial spaces and movements in the present and thus intervening in plantation problem-space by building towards future horizons beyond the strictures of white supremacy (Scott, D. 2004; Beckles 2013; McKittrick 2013; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). It is vital to approach the West Indies Black Power movement in this light in order to position Black Power politics as an alternative decolonial trajectory operating against and beyond West Indian Creole Nationalisms, latent colonialisms and

spatialities of white supremacy. A core contribution of this thesis lies in attending to specific co-produced articulations of plantation space-time in the West Indies and in positioning Black Power as a movement that could exceed plantation logics and spatialities. In the following section I will address the re-production of plantation geographies and propagation of space-time configurations in the context of the state security response directed towards the suppression of Black Power in the West Indies.

2.5 Technopolitics, Mobility and the Material Geographies of Security

I posit that the complex state security networks and practices that were deployed in opposition to Black Power politics in the West Indies can be usefully thought of as re-articulations of plantation space-time. The geographies of repression that Black Power actors and groups were subject to comprised centuries-old tactics of racialized surveillance, restrictions of mobility and the criminalisation of Black protest undergirded by racist colonial logics that positioned (radical) blackness as a threat to the nation (McKittrick 2011; Austin 2013).

David Austin (2013, 2018), building on Iton (2008), argues that security forces opposing radical blackness have often characterised such a critical race consciousness as a *contagion* that threatens and potentially despoils the Modern nation-state. This characterisation speaks to the colonial-racist discourses and knowledge regimes that undergirded such security responses; Black Power 'rebels' and 'subversives' aren't considered agentive historical figures with concrete political goals but are instead understood through metaphors of natural disaster and epidemic (Guha 2009). In the West Indies, the diasporic political (Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) 63/443 1970; Outlet vol. 1 no. 5 1971) tendencies and practices of Black Power groupings and actors necessarily undermined the foundational claims and legitimacy of post-colonial nation-states and those islands seeking independence. Commitments to forging political communities that transcended strict notions of nationality and the territorial boundaries of the region's nation-states and declining empires challenged the overarching discourses put forth about the establishment of independent states in the region and the origins of their national citizenries. Black Power

represented an alternative decolonial political trajectory (Scott, D.; Massey 2005). A West Indian Black Power politics directed towards the co-operation and emancipation of non-white peoples across the West Indies and even globally, was a politics that engendered an imagined community comprised "of a global population of citizens, a scattered nation that is embedded in but transcends geographic boundaries." (West and Martin in Austin 2013: 35). Thus, the politics of Black Power represented a contagion in the sense that those 'infected' did not recognise the authority or legitimacy of post-colonial states and governments in the Caribbean and did not operate with reference to the national boundaries, imaginaries and identities that nationalist leaders across the region had sought to construct in the decolonisation process (Thame 2017). Developing the metaphor, we can conceive of the adherents of Black Power as carriers or vectors of this contagion that prophylactic imperial powers and duppy nation-states sought to contain and/or eliminate through repression and securitisation (Iton 2008; Austin 2013; Hesse et al 2015).

This identification of radical Black politics as an inherent threat to the nation, impelled towards an alternative decolonial vision beyond the Modern nation-state form (Meeks 2000; Iton 2008), undergirds the security responses to Black Power in the Caribbean that I investigate. With a racialised security threat identified the securitising measures enacted in opposition to the Black Power movement can be seen as constitutive of new plantation geographies and spatial articulations of racism (McKittrick 2011, 2013). The main repressive tools deployed by state security actors were those that identified "the spatial work of race and racism" (McKittrick 2013: 9); racial surveillance, the disruption and constraint of mobility and the hardening of territorial boundaries to the radical Black contagion. Through these measures one sees the production of racialised spatialities and the attempted defence of nation-states and national citizenries, constructed as nationally and culturally homogenous (Gilroy 1993), enacted through colonial racial logics and practices. So, the banning of Black Power activists and materials from territory, practices of surveillance and harassment and the use state military power (Swan 2009, 2014) represent the logical extension of the plantation schema articulated in new and specific space-time configurations. The instantiation of these configurations of course speaking to the genuine openness of the future and potential multiplicity of spatialities and

trajectories yet to come as discussed in the first section of this chapter (Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005).

These security practices were directed towards the spatial management of radical blackness and specifically targeted individuals and groups deemed racially exterior to the national and imperial states that desired their fixity and constraint (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011; Austin 2013). Of course the specificities of the securitising plantation space-time configurations of this period differ greatly from those of the sugar plantations of previous centuries. To quote McKittrick (2011: 956) building on Gilmore (2007) "the 'intent' of the [securitising spatialities], the racial–legal scripts of criminality, all lead to very different contexts through which articulations of violence and race take place". In the West Indies of the 1960s and 1970s it would be the specific political inflections and goals of a radical Black identity that generated repression as opposed to non-whiteness in and of itself. Again, this speaks to the relational and productive re-working of space-time in new and specific geographical and temporal contexts (Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005). Here, I want to emphasise the need to conceive of plantation space-time configurations as spaces of encounter and relationality wherein the racialised subjects of securitisation are seen to contest the racialised production of space and assert their humanity outside of a bifurcating colonial logic of those 'with' and 'without' that normalises socio-spatial isolation and elimination (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011). This approach, emphasised by Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) in *Golden Gulag*, asserts human relationality in the co-production of plantation space-time and resistances to it and thus foregrounds geographical specificity and multiplicity in such articulations constituted as they are by a confluence of space-time trajectories (Massey 2005). It is essential to approach the geographies of securitisation deployed against West Indian Black Power as part of an uneven topography of plantation space-time against which a situated and place-based spatial-politics of resistance was a countervailing force.

I will now attend to the materiality of security networks deployed against West Indian Black Power and the ways human actors interacted and related to material technologies of surveillance and security. The technologies of security and surveillance that are relevant to this thesis should not be viewed as mere tools used to achieve perfectly intended political/security goals (Hecht 2011;

Glouftsios 2018). Material technologies exact a modality upon human action through their very use and via their entanglements within networks of human and non-human actors; technopolitical space-time configurations are produced relationally between human actors and technological artefacts (Massey 2005; Glouftsios 2018). Similarly, the use of technologies of security and surveillance in the context of the state response to Black Power in the West Indies immediately politicises the articulation and deployment of said material technologies as they are essential to the achievement of definite socio-political goals (Adey 2009, Hecht 2011). We can thus conceive of the deployment and utilisation of networks of security in the Caribbean as a kind of technopolitics which Hecht (2011: 3) describes as "the strategic practice of designing or using technology to enact political goals."

In the context of my research, said goals usually related to the exclusion from national territory of those deemed 'subversive' or a threat to internal stability based on their association with Black Power or other similarly 'dangerous' ideologies (Abeng 1969 issues 8 and 14, Gray 1991). Such technologies lend a materiality to the complex political currents and articulations (Hall 1996) which shaped the geographies, discourses and enactments of security in the West Indies of the late 1960s and 1970s.The material technologies of surveillance and security I will be attending to must be viewed as essential and structuring components within the promulgation of plantation space-time and the defence of the post-colonial nation-state as the only legitimate decolonial form and trajectory (Massey 2005). An attendance to the 'techno' in technopolitics and the spatial and temporal extent of the technological networks utilised and constructed in opposition to West Indian Black Power reveals the considerable effort and resources expended in maintaining exploitative (neo)colonial relations in the West Indies and defending Creole Nationalist articulations of independence and post-colonial nationhood. Further, such a focus highlights the uneven power relations at work in producing technopolitical networks and time-space formations and that govern access to them. The technopolitical capacities of the West Indian Black Power movement were vastly outmatched by the resources of the West Indian governments and (neo)colonial powers that opposed the movement with this material and labour imbalance exerting direct modality over the production of technopolitical time-space formations.

Developing this theme of the relationality between technologies and human actors within networks of security, it is important to attend to the interrelations between human actors and material technologies in order to fully grasp the complex spatialities and temporalities that such security networks engender. This relationality stems from the basic fact that security personnel or state security actors have to interact with technologies to achieve their goals. Such human/non-human interactions produce security or surveillance practices that are mediated through and by material technologies. These technologies link together security practices across multiple spaces and temporalities to produce specific and contingent networks of human and non-human actors far more complex than one might originally imagine (Massey 2005; Glouftsios 2018). On this theme, Glouftsios states:

> *Not only [do] we, as humans, invest with meaning the 'things' that we use in our everyday routines, but also 'things' co-organize and co-produce the complex assemblages of our practices, co-investing with meaning and matter our sociality* (Glouftsios 2018: 189)

Furthermore, technological artefacts "are indeed actors whose actorship does not derive from their ability to act on the basis of intentional structures, but from their capacity to produce effects and make a difference to practices (Pickering 1995)." (Glouftsios 2018: 189).

One can now envision the security networks that were mobilised and constructed in order to control and surveil Black Power activity as existing beyond the more obvious nodal spaces of security, control and intelligence gathering (airports (Adey 2004a, 2004b), FCO, British High Commissions). The security networks arrayed in opposition to West Indian Black Power extended beyond such nodal points to include more quotidian acts of surveillance (photographing 'suspects', finding names, gathering 'subversive' literature etc.) that took place on the ground in the islands of the West Indies (FCO 63/443 1970). These individualised and disassociated control/surveillance practices dispersed across space and time were then 'joined up' through material infrastructures of communication to produce transnationally articulated and directed 'meta' responses. The state security response to Black Power necessitated and was constituted through complex and spatially and temporally heterogeneous networks of human and non-human actors. These complex networks and geographies of intelligence

gathering, transmission and securitisation represent a mid-twentieth century instantiation of plantation space-time actualised through the communicative and legal-political infrastructures of the prophylactic and duppy states of imperial Britain and the independent West Indies (Iton 2008; Hesse et al 2015). Such plantation security regimes animated by the threat posed by Black Power politics in the region that challenged the hegemonic post-independence political compact offering instead a more radical alternative vision of a decolonial, anti-racist and anti-imperialist West Indies (Meeks 2000; Massey 2005).

I want to close by thinking through geographies of mobility and the racialised policing of mobilities evident in the security response to Black Power in the West Indies (Adey 2009; Glouftsios 2018). I want to highlight that "mobility is more than a functional task imposed by the separation of objects—people, locations, services, and so forth—in space and time and that attempts to reduce mobility to merely the level of functionality amount to its depoliticization." (Kwan and Schwanen 2016: 244). Mobility isn't just about movement, as a conceptual term mobility also signifies the potentiality or capacity to move (*ibid.*). In this sense, mobility and immobility can be thought of as relational and it is in this interplay of mobility, immobility and potentiality that one can glimpse the complex power relations, politics and inequalities which shape and are constitutive of mobilities (Kwan and Schwanen 2016; Staeheli, Marshall and Maynard 2016). The securing and controlling of transnational mobilities in particular is a central goal of state security organisations/actors (Adey 2009; Glouftsios 2018). This was especially true in the post-independence West Indies where the mobility and circulation of people, ideas and objects associated with Black Power was deemed a threat to national security and stability (Gray 1991; Quinn 2012).

One of the most obvious expressions of the sovereign power of the nation-state is the control of mobilities within national territory and the management of circulations and mobilities that cross the boundaries of said national territory (Adey 2009; Staeheli, Marshall and Maynard 2016). It is here that mobility and security become tightly intertwined. The mobile body becomes viewed as "an object to be governed and secured as it crosses certain spatial and territorial barriers…[and] which may be both surveilled and acted upon in order to prevent particular futures from coming true" (Adey 2009: 275). A central security concern here is located in the *potentiality* of specific mobility/ies. Those

associated with Black Power and the 'contagion' of radical blackness were demarcated as pre-constituted threats to national security and thus their potential mobility too became perceived as a security threat in need of an intervening, prophylactic response (Mitchell 2010; Austin 2013). Following from this, one sees logics of precaution and prevention structuring the security practices and technopolitics that govern and modulate transnational mobility (Anderson, D. 2010). As Glouftsios (2018: 186) notes, we see mobilities being "produced, managed and governed through control practices that aim at filtering, sorting out (Adey 2004a) and blocking the mobilities of risky, unwanted and untrusted bodies, while facilitating the journeys of trusted and wanted ones."

In assessing the material networks and technopolitical geographies of security that were arrayed in opposition to West Indian Black Power I have positioned these structures and practices as re-productive of plantation space-time. This instantiation of new and specific plantation space-time configurations speaking to the openness of the future and generative multiplicity of space outlined in the first section (Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005). These technopolitical security regimes re-articulated racialised fears of the transgressive and subversive potential of a transnationally organised radical Black 'contagion': Black Power politics (Hecht 2011; Austin 2013). The specific racist geographies of security (surveillance, constraint of mobilities, harassment) enacted in the West Indies of the 1960s and 1970s mobilised colonial-racist discourses (Elliot-Cooper 2019) and logics that positioned blackness as exterior or inimical to a Modernising nation-state project and the strategic interests of imperial powers. A central contribution of this thesis is in foregrounding the material networks and security practices that projected plantation space-time into the post-independence West Indies in new and specific configurations (McKittrick 2011, 2013). With a focus on this materiality highlighting the considerable amount of effort and resources required to maintain the re-articulation of such plantation spatialities in defence of the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism in opposition to a decolonial Black Power politics that sought to exceed their strictures. My analysis of these securitising plantation geographies also stresses the relational co-production of such geographies and the spatial politics and

praxes of resistance developed and enacted by those Black Power groups and actors that were targeted (Gilmore 2007).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined my original analytical approach used to interrogate the spatial politics of West Indian Black Power. Through this framework I move beyond a reading of political and historical development that is largely temporally understood and determined to an analysis attentive to multiplicity in ideological, historical and personal trajectories. Trajectories articulated and inflected spatially as much as they are temporally (Massey 2005) and that are constitutive and reflective of historical problem-space (Scott, D. 2004). Historical-political trajectories are articulated and shaped by specific actors in specific temporal and geographical contexts and become actualised politically through this expression; animating spatial-political praxis and thought in their elaboration and in contestation with other trajectories and their adherents. These articulations are productive of both imagined and material geographies that come to shape the political terrain of a given historical-problem space as one of contestation wherein divergent visions of the future are sketched out and pre-figured.

I have built upon the work of West Indian theorists Brian Meeks (1996, 2000) and David Scott (2004) and the spatial ontology of Doreen Massey (2005). Massey's (2005) interrelation of the spatial and temporal allows for a geographical engagement with the imagined futures of David Scott (2004), the narratives of resistance of Brian Meeks (2000) and the reworking of the relations between past, present and future that both explore in the context of political trajectories and spatial-political praxis. Discussion of trajectories, envisioned futures and spatial politics in this chapter leaves me with the following proposition; West Indian Black Power envisioned a decolonial, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist future for the region that stood in stark contrast to the political trajectories of the post-colonial Creole Nationalist states of the West Indies (James, C.L.R. 1967, 1971; Rodney 1969; Best 1970, 2003; Munroe 1971; Scott, D. 2004; Swan 2009, 2014). This possible future delineated by narratives of resistance informed spatial-political praxis and form in the colonial present that was anticipatory of a desired future decolonial spatial-political configuration.

Developing this proposition, I engaged with thought on the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993; Iton 2008) and plantation geographies (McKittrick 2011, 2013) to draw out the specific geographies that constituted the historical problem-space West Indian Black Power operated in. Here, I foregrounded the shifting and uneven topography of the diaspora (Gilroy 1993; Edwards 2003; Featherstone 2013). I stress that articulation through diasporic differences was generative of new spatial-political formations, trajectories and resistance narratives (Hall 1996; Meeks 2000; Edwards 2003; Featherstone 2013) and suggest that Black Power in the West Indies provided a terrain of articulation (Werner 2016) for such generative connections to be made. A central contribution of my work is in developing an anti-abstractionist account (Edwards 2003) that explores the dynamic articulations constructed through Black Power that drew together actors, groups and places from the larger West Indian islands of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago to the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and further on to Bermuda.

White supremacy must be understood as not an historical aberration but as an enduring structure and logic that continues to shape (problem) space presently (McKittrick 2013; Bonds and Inwood 2016). McKittrick's (2011, 2013) analysis positions the plantation as a site and space of racial encounter with this assessment allowing for a non-essentialist reading of plantation space-time that foregrounds practices of resistance to such racist geographies. Black Power in the West Indies represented an insurgent politics in its challenging of plantation spatialities and generative decolonial spatial politics. Such practices constituted a pre-figurative spatial politics anticipatory of envisioned decolonial futures and it was in such liminal, or Black fantastical (Iton 2008), places that narratives of resistance emerged and were articulated (Meeks 2000). Building on this, I position the security networks and structuring technopolitics (Hecht 2011) that sought to repress Black Power as a mechanism through which plantation space-time was re-articulated in the contemporaneous West Indies and was thus productive of new plantation geographies.

The complex material networks and practices of security deployed in opposition to the West Indian Black Power movement were imbued with the racial politics of the West Indies (Adey 2009, Hecht 2011). This securitising technopolitics was a mechanism for the reproduction of plantation space-time with a

transnationally articulated, critically race-conscious Black Power politics deemed a threat to West Indian national security and the regional interests of imperialist powers (Swan 2009, 2014; Austin 2013). Material networks, technological artefacts and state security actors served to produce global and complex spatialities of repression that regulated and normalised practices of surveillance and control over Black people characteristic of plantation logics and practices of white supremacy (McKittrick 2013). My work in this thesis contributes to scholarship on Black Geographies through a specific focus on the material networks and geographies of security that perpetuated plantation space-time and which were animated by the colonial-racial logics of duppy and prophylactic states (Iton 2008; Austin 2013; Hesse et al 2015; Elliot-Cooper 2019).

Chapter 3 Archive and Counter-Archive: A Transnational Approach to the Study of West Indian Black Power

3.1 Introduction

This thesis is built upon extensive archival study conducted at sites across the UK, Jamaica and Trinidad in order to investigate the spatial politics and imaginaries of the West Indian Black Power movement in the 1960s and 1970s. In this chapter I will discuss my positionality as a white, British geographer attempting to reconstruct the past political lives and spatialities of Black and non-white actors and groupings fighting against oppression. Then, I outline the academic methodological theory that has shaped and guided my activities. Finally, I describe my own research practice that I suggest has drawn my research materials together in original and generative ways.

The opening section considers my positionality in conducting my archival fieldwork and analysis. I reflect upon the contemporary problem-space(s) in the UK and Caribbean through which I have engaged with the various archival collections and texts I have studied and go over my own political and personal motivations for studying the West Indian Black Power movement. I consider how an understanding of the transnational political cultures of anti-racism and solidarity that the West Indian Black Power movement sought to foster and deepen might be useful in a contemporary moment in which race and racism are increasingly politically mobilised especially in relation to popular imaginaries of the British Empire. Lastly, I consider how foregrounding narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) found in counter-archives might contribute to anti-racist struggles in the present and the decolonisation of academic geography (Esson et al 2017; Craggs 2019).

The second section is concerned with theory on how the archive may be conceived of by critical geographers and academics engaged in historical and reconstructive research. I begin with the exploration of archival theory through an engagement with the colonial and Black archive. With the archive understood as a space for the construction of social and historical meaning and riven by uneven geometries of power I consider how a researcher might retrace political

spatialities and practices of resistance from archives often constructed and organised by imperial or colonial states and what these reconstructions might suggest about the political imaginaries that animated them (Scott, D. 2004, 2008). My engagement builds on an extensive body of work both within the discipline of geography (Ogborn 2003; Lorimer 2009; Lorimer and Philo 2009; Mills 2013; Hodder 2017) and outwith (Mbembe 2002; Scott, D. 2008; Stoler 2009) as I position the archive as not a repository of the past that provides an objective overview of history. Instead, I situate the archive as a material and imaginary space that is partial, socially produced, politically invested and that requires the researcher to *actively* construct their own version of past events and geographies through situated and specific methods of selection and connection. To close, I position archival texts as social relations constructed through and constitutive of space-time formations and relations and thus can be understood as political objects in their very construction, being and movement beyond the content of their words.

In the final section, I attend to how I have produced a transnational historical and geographical study (Hodder 2017) of the West Indian Black Power movement through drawing together archival collections from both sides of the Atlantic in generative ways. Through pulling together variously situated archival sources I have been able to develop a fuller picture of the spatial politics and praxes of West Indian Black Power and the states and security actors that opposed the movement (Ogborn 2003). I also consider how to read along the grain (Stoler 2009) of imperial archives in order to locate subaltern voices (Guha 1994, 2009) but like David Scott (2008) I have gone further in my own work to read *against* the grain of such archives. I position the Black Power publications I have engaged with as a counter-archive to collections found in The National Archives at Kew or the state offices in Kingston and Port of Spain. Through this methodological process I have been able to produce an anti-abstractionist account (Edwards 2003) that traces the dynamic and productive connections that existed *within* the islands of the West Indies and which reconsiders precisely what sites and communities are productive of knowledge and theory (Bogues 2003). Finally, I circle back to the theory of David Scott (2004, 2014), Doreen Massey (2005) and Brian Meeks (2000) to interrogate the *problem-space* in which the archival documents I study were produced and how such a reading might

deepen understandings of insurgent and counter-insurgent prose in the archive (Guha 1994, Stoler 2009).

The discussion in this chapter and my overall methodological approach produces two key contributions to contemporary academic geography. Firstly, through extensive engagement with Caribbean theorists and intellectual production I contribute to geographical discussion of the archive and archival research. Particularly in relation to how transnational archival research is to be conducted and what such an approach offers theoretically and methodologically (Hodder 2017) and in contributing to the decolonisation of geographic thought through the highlighting of narratives of resistance emergent from counter-archives and state and imperial archives (Moore 2010; Mills 2012). In this way I aim to relocate "reason firmly within the Black world – *a geographical move*" (Bogues 2003: 147) and foreground the revolutionary political thought and praxis of non-white Caribbeans as part of a 'pluriversalisation' of geographical knowledges (Noxolo 2018). Secondly, the introduction of theories of problem-space and narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000; Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005) into my methodology offers an original and generative way of conceiving of archival documents as political objects constitutive of spatial-political formations and social networks in their materiality and not merely descriptive reflections of pre-existing forms.

3.2 Considering Positionality

As a white British geographer engaged in the study of West Indian Black Power and tackling questions of racism, empire and the legacies of colonialism it is important to confront my positionality. My research project and writing of this thesis come at a time when serious questions are being asked about the coloniality of British geography as a discipline (Esson et al 2017) and when Black geographers are calling for concerted effort to decolonise geographical knowledge (Noxolo 2018).

I have been studying Black Power in the West Indies for five years beginning with an undergraduate dissertation on the life and work of Walter Rodney, followed by a study of Black Power groups in Jamaica and Guyana for my Master's thesis and ultimately culminating with this PhD project. Over this period of sustained

engagement with West Indian Black Power, Left and Black Internationalist thought and action my own politics has increasingly aligned with the groups, actors and intellectuals I have studied. I now consider myself to be a leftist and I am thankful that I have come to a left politics through the work of West Indian theorists such as Walter Rodney, C.L.R. James and George Padmore. The work of figures like these as well as the growing knowledge of Caribbean labour struggle (Gray 1991; Reddock 1994; Teelucksingh 2015) and Caribbean colonial and post-colonial history I have developed has placed foremost in my mind the interrelated nature of race, class and capital and the need for any serious anti-capitalist politics to be similarly anti-racist and anti-imperialist (Roediger 2017). The study of West Indian Black Power; its politics, the theory that emerged from the movement and the praxis of those engaged in Black Power struggles have all critically informed my personal politics in ways that should be essential for any leftist particularly those who are white and embedded in metropolitan centres.

I have found it useful to think through the contemporary problem-space(s) (Scott, D. 2004) in which I conduct my research. The current UK political context and in particular contemporary racial politics in this country situate my research in important ways. The Leave victory in the 2016 EU referendum compounded by the 2019 General Election landslide triumph for the Conservative Party and defeat of Labour's 'Corbyn Project' has made clear the powerful strain of white, nativist sentiment that pervades British politics, constructions of the British people and discourse around Britain's historical place in the world (Virdee and McGeever 2017). Discourses, (partial) memories of and a longing for empire figure prominently in these processes with a "Global Britain" now unchained from the EU able to re-assume a position of global prominence once lost (ibid.). In such reminiscences of empire that serve to soothe a post-colonial melancholy (Gilroy 2004) the racist logics, histories and legacies of coloniality still at work in the present are of course elided. It is here that my work makes a critical intervention; foregrounding the decolonial politics of West Indian Black Power that sought to break from the social inequalities, economic deprivation, political structures and colonial logics of British imperialism that in powerful ways still shape contemporary West Indian life (Meeks 1996; Thame 2014; Quinn 2017). The history of West Indian Black Power and the transnational anti-colonial and anti-imperialist politics the movement engaged in lays bare the material and

psychological scars of British imperialism in the region and globally. Similarly, pointing to the legacies of empire in the shaping of contemporary British capitalism that has necessitated the migration of Caribbeans and other peoples from Britain's former imperial territories to the metropole where they are subject to racist abuse and exploitation (Virdee and McGeever 2017). My work also highlights Britain's neo-colonial interventions in the region after West Indian independence with strategic and economic interests animating state directed policies of repression and surveillance of the Black Power movement in concert with other imperial powers and local state actors (Swan 2009, 2014). Whilst Britain's territorial empire may now have largely disappeared such impulses towards neo-colonial intervention in the empire's former territories certainly have not with similar policies of counter-insurgency seen across the Middle East in recent decades.

The contemporary problem-space of the post-colonial West Indies that I experienced first-hand, however briefly, through my archival fieldwork in the region has also shaped my project and methodology in key ways. In foregrounding Black Power resistance narratives and archival trajectories I seek to develop an agentive historical account that speaks to the possibilities offered by a radical, decolonial politics that appears especially salient in a contemporary West Indian problem-space that David Scott characterises as being one of post-colonial political exhaustion and a moribund neoliberalism (Scott, D. 2003, 2004, 2014). Through actively engaging with subaltern voices in West Indian archives it became clear to me the importance of the decolonial imaginaries of the future that were being articulated. David Scott (2014: 12) assesses the West Indian present to be a moment of "ruined time" wherein contemporary Caribbeans inhabit 'the ruins' of unrealised futures and political trajectories that offered more transformative visions of the region's future. I certainly have issue with this teleological view however the continued coloniality of contemporary West Indian society, politics and economy (Kamugisha 2007; Thame 2011, 2014) does lend support to such an assessment. As such, the excavation and exploration of praxes and histories of popular political movements for decolonisation are important for "rethinking the political in [the] contemporary [West Indies]" (Scott, D. 2003: 6). A study of West Indian Black Power demonstrates that alternative presents were possible and that the political energies and

imaginaries necessary for enacting decolonial futures have and continue to exist in the region's "popular languages of justice, identity, history, community" (ibid.). As a white British man engaging in archival research into Black Power in the West Indies I conducted this research out of a commitment to foregrounding and excavating traces and histories of these "popular languages" (ibid.) and the peoples and groups that articulated them. I do this as part of my own leftist, anti-racist and anti-imperialist political convictions described previously that are indebted to the struggles waged and the revolutionary political thought developed by non-white Caribbean peoples.

In considering contemporary West Indian problem-space it is also essential to foreground and think through Britain's continued neo-colonial involvement in the region and how this too impacts my positionality. As of 2021, the United Kingdom controls five overseas territories (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Cayman Islands, Turks & Caicos Islands) and one dependency (Bermuda) in the Caribbean with a combined population of some 250,464 people (CIA World Factbook 2020) living under British colonial rule. I describe these Caribbean countries as colonial "in the sense that they are non-independent entities over which extra-regional powers exercise ultimate control under international law" (Girvan 2012: 5). These remaining imperial possessions provide Britain with important military and economic assets and are a means through which British influence and power can be projected in the region. The UK's retained sovereignty over defence matters for these territories, along with other colonial powers, has facilitated a continued strong NATO presence in the region (Girvan 2012); with particularly large military installations in Bermuda (Swan 2009). Economically, Overseas Territory's like the Cayman Islands can operate as tax-havens and thus Britain's continued colonial possession of such territories is central to the UK's contemporary financialised economy; the Caymans represent the fifth largest banking sector in the world generating over $I billion in GDP (Girvan 2012).

In the region's independent states, British transnational corporations are foremost in extracting wealth and profit from the Caribbean in a pattern of foreign capitalist exploitation reminiscent of the colonial plantocracy (Beckles 1990; Sealy 2018). In the important tourism sector, British tour operators dominate air traffic into a number of islands allowing tour operators to drive

down the rates of local businesses and hotels dependent on international tourism whilst repatriating profits (Sealy 2018). Through studying West Indian Black Power my own personal political development leads me to oppose such neo-colonial manipulation and exploitation. This thesis and it's foregrounding of Black Power critiques of British and Western (neo)colonialism and the sketching out of strategies to overcome such damaging transnational relations and interventions holds key resources for countering contemporary manifestations of neo-colonialism. Indeed, in 1969 the Jamaican Black Power newspaper *Abeng* presciently backed the Anguillan secession and unilateral declaration of independence that was put down by British military intervention (Abeng 1969 issue 8). Anguilla presently remains a British possession.

My work is also well situated to draw attention to alternative sites of knowledge production and the actors and groups engaged in such efforts in line with recent calls to open up geographical thought to new trajectories (Noxolo 2018). That is why I have sought to locate counter-archives (Scott, D. 2008) that provide insurgent counter-histories to those discourses and historiographies contained in documents I have utilised at, say, the UK National Archives. Crucially this has led me to travel to the West Indies precisely so that I can find archival materials and documents that evidence West Indian Black Power as a viable and potentially transformative decolonial trajectory in the historical-problem space of the post-colonial and decolonisng West Indies. Here, I hope to produce scholarship that foregrounds alternative knowledges emergent from the West Indian subaltern experience animated by an emancipatory vision of the future. In the words of Anthony Bogues (2002: 147) I seek to "[locate] reason firmly within the Black world – a geographical move" and a move that contributes to efforts to decolonise geographical knowledge and scholarship (Esson et al 2017; Noxolo 2018).

Simultaneous with this foregrounding of Black West Indian voices and lives through Black Power counter-archives I have also drawn heavily on Caribbean scholarship and theorists in the development of the theoretical framework of my project. I have been able to more reflexively and critically engage with these archival materials produced by non-white West Indian subjects informed by scholars such as David Scott, Brian Meeks, Anthony Bogues etc. who all explore the dynamics of race and power in the Caribbean and the implications of this for

politics and also academic research. Lastly, it is a core goal of my research project to demonstrate the agentive capacity and efforts of the West Indian Black Power movement in their contestation of hegemonic geographies of racial capitalism, (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism and importantly to focus on the pre-figurative, insurgent and forward-looking spatial-political strategies the movement employed (Swan 2009, 2014; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Thus, the West Indian Black Power movement is not reduced to a reactionary opposition to structures and forces of colonial and racial oppression and space-making. In my work with counter-historical, insurgent and visionary voices and enunciations found in the archive I therefore produce a history and geography of Black Power that does not recapitulate historical narratives of Black emiseration or brave but doomed struggle (McKittrick 2013). I instead foreground a spatial-politics and imaginary of resistance impelled towards emancipatory decolonial futures that holds significant resources for contemporary politics and problem-space(s).

3.3 Theoretical Justification

3.3.1 The Black and Colonial Archive

3.3.1.1 Multiple Trajectories in the Archive

In beginning to discuss how I conducted my fieldwork in archives across the UK, Jamaica and Trinidad it is important to explore the power relations, political rationalities and worldviews that shape archival collection and management. To this point, I will draw upon work (Mbembe 2002; Ogborn 2003) focused on how elite and state actors come to shape historical knowledges through the use of archiving and the inclusion and exclusion of peoples and voices from their curated historical records. As a researcher engaged in the study of a subaltern political movement this grounding is obviously useful in understanding how state actors and institutions came to view and understand West Indian Black Power however I must go further. A critical reading of the national archival collections I have engaged with (British National Archives, Jamaica Archives, Trinidad National Archives) is necessary in order to locate subaltern voices and agency within these records (Guha 1994; Scott, D. 2004).

Stoler's (2009) work on the colonial archive is a useful place to begin. I consider all the state archival material I have drawn upon to be colonial in that there is a

dismissal of non-Western modes of being and knowledges, the deployment of colonial-racial ontologies and tropes and that the archival documents I engage with stem from active attempts to crush or at best co-opt the decolonial politics of Black Power (Quijano 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Stoler (2009: 19) makes the important point that archives are not monolithic collections governed by and representative of a single coherent logic. At the archive's "ragged ridges" there can be found displaced narratives or histories that:

> *hover in the archive's long shadows. Sometimes these are emergent and awkward, sometimes suspended and unfulfilled narratives within the archive's dominant mode. And sometimes there are stammers… not given the due of a narrative at all (Stoler 2009; 19)*

In order to locate such narratives a researcher must read along the grain (Stoler 2009) of the archive in order to identify the various narrative and historiographical streams that comprise it. This means challenging and excavating the perceptions and priorities of those colonial officials who wrote documents and looking for those moments when subjugated knowledges erupt into dominant narratives. In the tradition of feminist and post-colonial historiography this usually means looking for non-elite actors mentioned in passing or those that play a 'supporting role' (Mayhall 2006; Chaudhuri, Katz and Perry 2010); the brief account of a local informant perhaps or some text snatched from a 'subversive' publication (Stoler 2009).

Whilst Stoler's (2009) work is useful her account still focuses on the narratives, albeit multiple and contested, of Dutch colonial officials with little attention paid to subaltern voices. Indeed, Stoler (2009: 19) comments that in her location of displaced or partial narratives that sit awkwardly in relation to more dominant narrative streams she considers these to be "subjacent—but not necessarily subaltern" traces. This affirms a focus on the agency of colonial officials in shaping the archive. However, Stoler (ibid.) does acknowledge that:

> *sometimes there are stammers, what I would call "disabled histories," a few brief words in Malay, seized from a "native informant," not given the due of a narrative at all*

Stoler (ibid.) does not endeavour to follow up on these "disabled histories", which might be more generously termed counter-histories as I will later discuss

(Scott, D. 2008), and so these stammers remain precisely that with the agency of subaltern actors in shaping the practices and narratives of colonial officials left unexplored (Featherstone 2009). In my work in locating counter-archives that foreground the agency of Black Power actors I seek to move beyond Stoler's study and foreground the role of such actors in shaping the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies in their own terms.

Ranajit Guha's work complements and goes further than Stoler's. Guha's (1994, 2009) study of colonial historiographies of Indian subaltern insurrections positions such histories as a form of colonial knowledge with the documents and discourses that comprise this history the 'prose of counter-insurgency'. These forms of narrative that comprise dominant modes of colonial-archival reportage serve to remove subaltern consciousness from history in Guha's (1994) formulation. In this colonial historiography "insurgency is regarded as *external* to the peasant's consciousness and Cause is made to stand in as a phantom surrogate for Reason, the logic of that consciousness." (Guha 1994: 337) [emphasis original]. This externalisation of reason and the denial of a revolutionary consciousness belies a colonial-racist conception of the subaltern with this tendency seeing the deployment of metaphors of contagion or natural disaster used to explain how a directionless rabble came to rebel against an obviously beneficial colonial-political regime (Guha 2009). This assessment is a common one in the official analyses I have studied with the West Indian Black Power movement continually assessed as being instigated or directed by outside forces; be it Castro (OWTU 1970 no. 144; Thomas and Riddell 1971; FCO 63/494 1970), the Soviets (FCO 141/150 1970) or US radicals (FCO 63/494 1970).

Guha's theory is useful in that he stresses how politics and political imaginaries come to structure official discourse and historiography. Historical discourse and reporting reveals the politics and objectives of the author through their analysis of the historical problem-space they occupy. This analysis of course extends temporally; into the historical past to make sense of how the present moment and its political conflicts have come to be and into the imagined future with an expected horizon of possibilities emergent from this assessment of present and historical problem-space(s) (Guha 1994, 2009; Scott, D. 2003). Guha assesses that various historiographical traditions have served to remove subaltern narrative and consciousness in analyses of subaltern decolonial and anti-colonial

struggle. In colonial readings subaltern rebels and rebellions are engaged with through the logic and (continued) historical trajectory of empire with, as discussed, the rebels seen not to be posing an ideological or theoretical challenge to empire (Guha 1994, 2009). Some Left or Marxist histories, in Guha's (2009) assessment, position individual rebellions within a continuum of ongoing subaltern or proletarian struggle with these events occupying a single point on a teleology ultimately ending with the triumph of the exploited class. Finally, in a bourgeois nationalist analysis it is an elite consciousness or leadership that is seen to guide the subaltern masses in nationalist struggle culminating with the independence of the post-colonial nation-state (Scott, D 2003; Guha 2009). David Scott (2003) provides this same historiographical analysis in his assessment of dominant narratives on Jamaican independence; Scott, D. stresses the need to move beyond modes of political-historical analysis conceived of in terms of teleologies of emancipation. I am reminded here of my earlier discussion of David Scott's assessment of Romantic and Tragic modes of historiographical narrative structure in *Conscripts* (Scott, D. 2004). What is required is an analysis attendant to the multiple space-time trajectories that constitute problem-spaces past and present and the multiple and contested visions of a genuinely open future of possibility (Massey 2005).

How might this theory be put into practice then? Guha (1994: 342) advocates a methodological approach that starts "not by naming a bias but by examining the components of the discourse, vehicle of all ideology, for the manner in which these might have combined to describe any particular figure of the past." We are told past authors constructed discourses, now captured in the form of the archival text, though a subjective arrangement and interrelation of segments (Guha 1994). This subjective process of connection and interrelation mirrors that of the researcher in the contemporary archive; producing their own meaning through the generative connection of the multiple traces, trajectories and fragments that constitute archival collections (Mbemebe 2002; Scott, D. 2008). Guha (1994: 343) identifies a temporality of possibility here: ""every micro-sequence terminates by opening up *alternative possibilities* only one of which is picked up by the next sequence as it carries on with the story." [emphasis mine]. This reading clearly aligns with the theory of Massey (2005) and David Scott (2003, 2004, 2014) as how these sequences are joined up and interpreted

(what is excluded, what possible paths are foreclosed) speaks to the worldview of the author and their politically situated and motivated understanding of past and present trajectories and their relation to an envisioned future.

Whilst Guha's work is certainly useful there is cause for generative critique. As Featherstone (2009) notes, Guha's account ascribes a coherence and logic to counter-insurgent prose that isn't necessarily there; overemphasising the power of elite actors to erase the productive character of subaltern movements from official accounts. Similarly, Guha occludes the spatial in the production and circulation of counter-insurgent and insurgent prose and the co-produced space-time formations that such texts and their movements constitute (Ogborn 2002, 2011; Featherstone 2009). Featherstone (2009: 770) develops this critique saying:

> *Thinking in spatial terms opens up ways of theorising counter-insurgent practices as precarious relational achievements which constitute, and are constituted through, particular partial and contested relations between different places*

Amin's (1995) study of Indian subaltern anti-colonial politics and political violence in the 1920s *does* interrogate such spatial relations and practices. Amin's (1995) highly detailed account of the 1922 anti-police Chauri Chaura 'riot' highlights the specific local conditions and social and economic antagonisms that when articulated with peasant expressions of a Gandhian nationalist politics came to foment anti-colonial violence. Such a perspective, like Guha's, does not therefore position the 'riot' as an impulsive outburst but an event emergent from the intersection of multiple longstanding political and personal trajectories. Crucially however, Amin (1995) explores and grounds such trajectories spatially through excavating the journeys and travels of individuals active in the event and in detailing the social and economic geography of the locale.

Based on the discussion thus far, we might understand archives as being constituted by multiple historical, political and personal trajectories and their textual and material traces. There are of course power relations at play here as my discussion of colonial archival curation, collection and historiography has demonstrated (Guha 1994, 2009; Stoler 2009). However, through investigating

the geographies and narratives of subaltern insurgency it is possible to disrupt linear accounts of subaltern struggles and the assumed power ascribed to elite or colonial actors and their capacity to destroy or bury productive subaltern accounts. In this way, history and archival methodology can be opened up to subaltern voices if only they can be located. In the following discussion on the Black archive and Black memory I seek to foreground the archives and spaces from which insurgent subaltern histories and narratives of resistance were and are produced with these generatively disrupting colonial or nationalist historiographies (Meeks 2000).

3.3.1.2 Counter-Archives

David Scott (2008) discusses Black memory and the archive in his essay 'On the Archaeologies of Black Memory'. His assessment of the archive and archival research draws attention to the yet-to-be constructed temporalities of the archive that facilitate the development of counter-histories, counter-archives and critical memory (Scott, D. 2008). David Scott (2008: vii) understands the archive as more than a material collection of objects and documents, stating:

> *an archive should also be understood at the level of a discursive condition of possible statements of knowledge, at the level of a generative discursive system that governs and regulates the production and appearance of statements—what can and cannot be said*

The archive as a generative system that constitutes an epistemic background of contemporary knowledge, statements and understandings requires subjective interaction in order to be made meaningful and put to *critical* use (Mbembe 2002; Scott, D. 2008). It is this activity of re-ordering, remembering and recovering that opens up:

> *vast possibilities not just of memory but of counter-memory: the moral idiom and semiotic registers of remembering* ***against the grain*** *of the history of New World Black deracination, subjection, and exclusion* (Scott, D. 2008: vi) [emphasis mine]

Archival research and the development of historical memories is at once a process of recovery of the past through the generative system of the archive but is also always rooted in the present and thus connected to contemporary

concerns. It is in this exercise of building new connections and constructing new space-time trajectories that lies the possibility of producing counter-histories, counter-archives and counter-narratives on how the present came to be (Scott, D. 2008). For Black and West Indian scholars past and present, questions of history, memory and challenging dominant narratives have been animating ones in understanding colonial and post-colonial presents and in confronting the challenges of material, political and epistemic decolonisation (Williams 1944; James, C.L.R. 1963; Rodney 1969, 1972; Bogues 2003, 2008; Hanchard 2008; Scott, D. 2008; Thomas, D, A. 2013).

The work of Brian Meeks (2000) is useful in thinking through Black and Caribbean counter-archives and counter-histories and helps to address what it means to build a counter-historical methodological practice and where counter-archives are to be found. Meeks' (2000) analysis understands the lifeworlds and collective memory of the West Indian subaltern as providing a critical epistemological space and historical tradition from which to challenge regimes of political, material and theoretical coloniality. If, as I have claimed, resistance narratives come to shape imaginaries of alternative futures and impel actors and movements towards those horizons then such narratives must, as David Scott (2008) outlines, draw upon an historical epistemic background of knowledges, rationalities, events, figures and memories in order to be made intelligible in the present. Thus, the process of enunciating and fleshing out these narratives from below is the same one that David Scott (2008) identifies in the production of critical, Black counter-histories and counter-archives. The researcher must, in Meeks' (2000: 41) words, "locate the *social spaces* in which the discourse of the transcript from below is fleshed out and identify how this operates" [emphasis mine].

Fellow West Indian scholar Anthony Bogues (2008) suggests where some of these counter-archival spaces might be found when he states researchers should be attentive to the terrain of cultural politics and symbolic life where small victories are won daily in the assertion of the humanity of the oppressed. Counter-archival work would locate these practices and processes that lie outside the realm of official narrative and sequential histories of great men and events. These could be moments when subaltern knowledges and stories erupt into dominant narratives through off-hand comments or brief references that

might be found when 'reading along the grain' (Stoler 2009). Further, this approach demands treating seriously as (counter-)archives the creative practices of West Indian subaltern actors and groups that have generated historical and contemporary critique and hopeful visions of the future through practiced and situated processes of re-ordering critical Black memory (Bogues 2008; Scott, D. 2008; Thomas, D, A. 2013).

I suggest that the Black Power publications and materials I have engaged with during my research represent such a counter-archive from which counter-histories can be produced. These documents contain traces of small-scale practices, narratives of resistance and generative action that reveal a history that "creates new possibilities, possibilities for seeing connections previously unexamined and for reordering our ontological taken-for-granteds." (Thomas, D, A. 2013: 27). Similarly, returning to Meeks' (2000: 41) call to locate the "social spaces" in which narratives of resistance or counter-narratives are developed then this has important implications for my methodological approach. With texts conceived of as constituting networked social, spatial and temporal relations (Ogborn 2002, 2011; Featherstone 2009) the documents *themselves* and the circuits through which they travelled represent precisely the space(s) of Meeks' call to action beyond merely representing a 'real' point on the map where narratives of resistance were developed and articulated. The ways this theory has impacted the methods I deployed during my empirical work with such texts and documents will be outlined in the final section.

3.3.2 Consolidating Propositions

In light of the previous discussion I feel it is useful to briefly lay out some core theoretical points emergent from my engagement with theory on the Black and colonial archive particularly in relation to geographical scholarship. These central claims have informed and structured my methodological approach in important ways.

The first point to make here is that the archive does not represent a wholly recoverable record of the past that is in any sense objective in either its organisation or construction (Hodder 2017). Indeed, with the 'archival turn' in the early part of the millennium when geographers sought to reconsider and

enliven the archive such a claim is now largely uncontroversial (Mills 2013). With the archive understood as subject and not as source then the researcher must approach archives as material and imaginary spaces with questions of motive and political intent underlying any critical engagement with the materials contained within. As discussed with reference to colonial archives, discourse and historiography previously (Guha 1994, 2009; Stoler 2009). Similarly, if we accept that an archive does not and cannot operate as a repository for the past in its entirety then archives by their very nature are discontinuous with the researcher having to devise methods for recovering excluded voices and lives (Meeks 2000; Bogues 2003; Stoler 2009). The archives I have engaged with do not represent a distinct and total unbroken timeline of events and supporting information governed by a continuous and coherent logic of single intent in the archive's formation, management and construction. As such, I understand archival research to be a fundamentally subjective process with the researcher producing their own meaning out of the multiple traces, trajectories, fragments, stories and gaps that exist in the archive (Mbembe 2002). Such an understanding affirms David Scott's (2008) position that the archive is a generative system of knowledge that requires subjective interaction to be put to critical use.

Their now follows a second elementary point; if archival interpretation is a subjective process necessitating appraisal for certain ends then archival *construction* must be understood in the same way. Sarah Mills (2013: 703) notes:

> *an archive is often perceived as containing 'the truth'. There is an assumption that the visitor can expect an 'official' account of one person's life, one nation's development, one organisation's activities and so on*

Perceptions of officialdom or truth value spring from a construction of the archive as total and impartial however this is of course not the case. If such perceptions are not rooted in the empirical content of an archive they instead emerge from the power the archive holds as a *symbol* of historical truth (Mbembe 2002). This symbolism requires maintenance; the intellectual and physical labour of an archive's creator(s) and managers and indeed its users thus revealing the archive to be socially produced and consequently politically invested. The archive confers status, power and the designation of 'proof' to archival texts and items; these acts of archival selection and sorting are an

active process open to shifting and geographically and temporally specific imaginaries, political agendas and ontologies (Mbembe 2002; Stoler 2009).

Ann Stoler (2009) in her study of Dutch colonial archives discusses the 'common sense' that governed the construction and maintenance of the archive with Stoler noting how developing colonial-racial ontologies and the political concerns of various colonial officials defined what materials and authors were worthy of collection and note. These shifting political motivations and worldviews reveal the specific and situated nature of colonial governmentality and also represent an additional challenge to contemporaneous archival researchers. Sense has to be made of what were at one time 'common sense' discursive connections constitutive of a collective framework of understanding specific to a now past/passed historical problem-space (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Stoler 2009). These archival collections and the historical-problem spaces within which they were enmeshed were of course not monolithic with dissent and conflict to be found as well as the glaring omissions of those voices and peoples deemed unworthy of inclusion in the historical record.

Such omissions did not just stem from colonial-racist ignorance or dismissal of the experiences, lives and stories of the subject populations these regimes ruled over. As a British High Court case in 2011 (Cobain 2012; Anderson, D. 2015) brought forwards by veterans of Kenya's Mau Mau Rebellion revealed; British colonial administrations across the decolonising empire of the mid-twentieth century deliberately and systematically destroyed materials. This was done to omit from the historical record papers that "might embarrass Her Majesty's government" (Cobain 2012: 2), compromise intelligence sources or be used by post-independence governments to examine British colonial crimes. Beyond crude destruction, 'sensitive' materials were hurriedly removed from colonies like Kenya and held away from public viewership in a secret archive storage facility, shared with MI5 and MI6, away from The National Archive's main collection at Kew and only released into the public domain in light of the High Court case (Anderson, D. 2015). The case revealed colonial archival-historical manipulation in the West Indies with records revealing that every sensitive document associated with the 1953 coup in British Guiana, which was backed by the CIA and British Colonial Authorities (Cobain 2012), had been destroyed. In this way, important anti-colonial experiences and subaltern narratives of

resistance were surreptitiously withheld or outright removed from the archival-historical record robbing post-independence governments and peoples of the opportunity for an informed reckoning with their colonial pasts.

In closing and to make clear; I understand and position the archive as processual and shaped by and constitutive of multiple space-time and political trajectories (Massey 2005). Again, such a proposition fits with David Scott's (2008) archival theory as well as with geographers such as Ogborn (2003) who similarly conceive of archiving as knowledge construction in action. A researcher has to build their own knowledge of the archive through drawing together various fragments in new and generative ways and in a new historical problem-space. It is to a discussion of these 'fragments' that I turn to in the following section.

3.3.3 The Archival Text

In the previous discussion I developed a reading of the archive as politically invested and constituted by a discontinuous multiplicity of space-time trajectories emergent from and reflective of varied historical problem-spaces (Mbembe 2002; Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005; Stoler 2009; McGeachan 2016; Hodder 2017). I now want to apply a similar lens to archival texts and items themselves.

Miles Ogborn (2002) asserts that the material geographies and connections produced and sustained by the circulation of texts are equally as important factors to be considered beyond a simple focus on the interpretative content of the author. Ogborn (2002, 2011) is concerned with the material networks established through the circulation of texts and print materials and "the materiality of texts as involved in the constitution of relations of power and knowledge." (Ogborn 2002: 156). Obviously the linguistic and discursive content of a text is worthy of study but these aspects should not be the lone focus with texts as *objects* playing important roles in the production of geographies and spatial relations. Ogborn (2011) starts from the premise that speech or a speech act needs print or script to move beyond its local context with these modes of communication facilitating social connection and interaction across significant distances. Thus, Ogborn sees texts as constitutive of social networks and not just reflective of them. Further:

> *For all…modes of communication, their geographies are vital to the ways in which they make meaning. The spaces and places of production, dissemination and consumption significantly shape the meaning of both the content of communication and of its form. (Ogborn 2011: 204)*

Texts do not inhabit a purely textual or representative universe with their circulation and movement as material objects formative of social relations across space and time making them essential and productive factors in the establishment and maintenance of particular spatial and temporal relations (Featherstone 2009). With texts understood as constituting particular social relations across space and time then these relations are of course shaped by varied and contested geometries of power (Massey 2005).

In Chapter 2 I showed how technological artefacts and human actors interact to produce wide-ranging and complex space-time configurations. In that discussion I asserted that these networks, relationally produced by the human and non-human, were politically invested through their articulation and deployment in opposition to the West Indian Black Power movement and their furthering of the strategic goals of Caribbean post-colonial states and imperial powers. I called this a type of technopolitics (Hecht 2011). The key point being that material objects, and for me archival texts, in their very *being* have a role in the active making of power and knowledge and are wrapped up in the power relations of variously situated actors and social formations (Ogborn 2002). Ogborn (2011) has explored the role of texts and writings in such technopolitical networks in the context of the trans-Atlantic debates over the validity and conduct of the Second Maroon War in Jamaica 1795 – 1796. Here, Ogborn (2011) investigates the varied and contested power relations exercised and shaped through various forms and technologies of communication in relation to the justification and portrayal of the Maroon War by the colonial governor and abolitionist British MPs. In this transatlantic 'war of words' Ogborn (2011: 215) positions:

> *speech, script and print [as] con-tested terrains whose different meanings, uses and relationships had to be constructed and contested, differentiated and combined, as they were deployed within and across Britain's Atlantic empire*

This foregrounds the prominent role of texts in interventions in transnational political debates, in developing translocal political allegiances and importantly

the situated and relational ways in which texts are understood and made meaningful (Ogborn 2002, 2011). As discussed previously, the discursive or interpretive content of a text as mediated through language is only made meaningful through subjective interaction *as well as* the materiality of script and paper and the networks that carry the text across space and time (Mbembe 2002; Ogborn 2011).

My discussion thus far has primarily drawn on authors who focus on elite and official actors and texts and the role of both in the maintenance, establishment and projection of imperial and colonial power. Just as texts can inform and enforce social and political relations of domination they similarly play a key role in subaltern, insurgent contestation of such regimes and in forging emancipatory spatial politics. Through my archival research I have come across numerous examples of the transnational circulation of Black Power and similarly aligned print materials that drew together actors and groups across the Caribbean and North America into dynamic spatial-political networks. A good example here is the activities of the Bermudian Black Power group the Black Beret Cadre. The Cadre, as noted in FCO Bermuda Intelligence Committee reports (FCO 44/403 1970), brought into Bermuda and circulated radical books and print materials many of which had been banned on the island by the colonial state (Swan 2009). This included literature from the Nation of Islam and bi-weekly newsletters sent by the US Black Panther Party (Swan 2009). The necessarily surreptitious transnational movements of these print materials drew Black Bermudians into independent international circuits of knowledge exchange, consciousness raising and reportage that linked Black struggle in Bermuda to Black struggle globally in imagined, theoretical and material terms. Books and periodicals provided a material means for the Cadre to establish Bermuda as a locus in global networks of Black Power political activity with these materials an essential political technology in articulating Black internationalist politics and political movements (Edwards 2003; James, L. 2015). These political texts linked actors across the world materially inasmuch as they provided a means for reportage, consciousness raising and space for debate that existed independently of 'legitimate' channels of communication that it was felt did not accurately portray Black life and struggle globally (Swan 2009). In Chapter 5 I develop this

discussion with reference to many more West Indian periodicals, journals and newspapers.

The understanding of archival texts I have developed has important implications for my archival methodological approach. Beyond treating texts as sources from which to recover fragments of information or to analyse patterns of discourse I am interested in the journeys a text has been on and the spatial relations constituted through these travels. This has led me to develop a transnational methodological approach drawing on archives from both sides of the Atlantic in order to develop a fuller picture of the space-time formations that the texts I engage with constituted (Hodder 2017). I also understand these texts as politically imbued material artefacts representing distinct forms of knowledge about specific events. These texts are variously positioned in regards to geometries and regimes of power and similarly emerge from varied readings of an historical problem-space (Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005). I therefore seek to retrace the spatial and temporal relations that shaped "the terms on which such texts and narratives [were] ordered and constituted" (Featherstone 2009: 785) by interrogating the problem-space in which an archival document was produced and the multiple readings of a problem-space evidenced across the variously authored texts I have studied.

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Overview of the Archives

The vast array of textual archival materials and sources I have drawn upon during my empirical research might be broadly grouped into two categories. The first would be those materials produced by social and political groups, political parties and trade unions that were in some way connected to the Black Power movement in the West Indies. Some of these were avowedly Black Power political organisations which formed in the historical problem-space of a decolonising West Indies (Scott, D. 2004) whilst others may have been allies or fellow travellers of said groups that weren't ostensibly Black Power in their origins or activities but were still deeply involved with the radical, political scene in the West Indies in the 1960s and 1970s. The materials these groups produced and have archived are primarily textual or visual in nature and include;

journals, newspapers, posters, pamphlets, private correspondence and letters, minutes, internal memoranda etc. In line with the previous, there existed numerous politically and socially critical small-scale journals and periodicals that articulated a Black Power or similarly radical position during the period my project engages with (Lewis, R. 1998; Bogues 2014). Indeed, many of these publications were actively produced by these aforementioned groups. In *figure 3:1* below I have laid out the archival collections I have engaged with which contain the publications and papers of the socio-political groups and organisations I have researched over the course of my research.

UK:

- **The National Archives:** *FCO papers on Black Power in the Caribbean (Anguilla, Antigua, Barbados, Bermuda, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad)*
- **George Padmore Institute:** *Journals - UK and Caribbean, John La Rose Collection*
- **University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies Library:** *Jamaica: Pressure Groups Material, Jamaica: Trades Unions Material, Trinidad: Pressure Groups Material, Trinidad: Trades Unions Material, The Billy Strachan Papers*

Jamaica:

- **National Library of Jamaica:** *Main Holdings, Labour Unions Pamphlets*
- **University of the West Indies, Mona Campus Library:** *Main Holdings, Special Collections - Pamphlets*
- **The Jamaica Archives and Records Dept:** *Young Socialist League Papers, Norman Manley Papers*

Trinidad:

- **Trinidad National Archives:** *Newspaper Collection*
- **National Library of Trinidad and Tobago:** *Main Holdings*

Bermuda:

- **Bermuda National Library:** *Newspaper Collection*

Online:

- **Digital Library of the Caribbean:** *Abeng vol. 1*

Figure 3:1 Archival collections utilised

The other major body of textual archival material I have drawn upon are documents from state governments, agencies and security organisations that monitored and actively sought to quash the activities of groups and individuals associated with Black Power in the West Indies. In engaging with these materials

I am working in the same vein as scholars such as David Austin (2013) and Quito Swan (2009, 2014) who similarly utilise archival work to study the repressive security response to Black Power in the Caribbean and North America but crucially I have developed a networked, technopolitical reading of these security regimes and their plantation logics (Hecht 2011; McKittrick 2013). Further, engaging with these documents allows me to develop a fuller picture of the multiple interacting trajectories that constituted the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. These materials quite obviously represent what Guha (1994) would term the 'prose of counter-insurgency' and when contrasted with the Black Power materials mentioned earlier reveal the spatial-political imaginaries of both broad categories through divergent readings of the historical-problem space in which these objects were created.

In conducting the research for this PhD project I have consciously avoided a methodological approach reliant upon oral histories. Of course, throughout the textual materials analysed I have found archived oral histories; contemporaneous newspaper interviews and comments, quotes used to indict and contextualise in state documents etc. but these are not the main focus of my study. In my research I have taken the approach of similar historical studies of Black Power such as Bloom and Martin's (2013) work on the US Black Panthers and Narayan's (2019) examination of British Black Power. As Bloom and Martin (2013: 10) explain there are clear limitations to the use of oral interviews; "Retrospective accounts decades after the fact—with memories shaped by intervening events, interests, and hearsay—are highly contradictory". For this reason, I too have decided to engage with primary textual and archival sources produced contemporaneous to the events this thesis covers so as best to avoid the distortions and gaps in memory that the passage of time engenders. I do of course recognise the value of oral accounts to historians and geographers in providing much needed emotion, opinion and added meaning to the textual archival record however for my purposes I believe source materials produced contemporaneously are more valuable. Like Narayan (2019), I am interested in how Black Power groups and actors articulated their decolonial politics and vision *at the time* and the ways in which they responded to unfolding political and historical events all of which is contained in the wealth of primary documents I have accessed. The same is true for the state materials I have

studied. My interest lies in how their prose of counter-insurgency and associated spatial imaginaries and ontological assumptions develop through greater contact with West Indian Black Power.

In analysing the materials described thus far I engaged in a textual analysis through a process of coding. In employing a textual analysis I sought to draw out the cultural meanings and 'truths' inherent to the texts and documents analysed. At the core of this methodological approach is an acknowledgment of the vital role that language plays in facilitating social action; the "primary function of human language [is] to scaffold the performance of social activities…and to scaffold human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions" (Gee in Dittmer 2010: 274). Thus, textual analysis is a method by which language-in-use can be interrogated with the aim of uncovering a given texts contribution to the 'intellectual scaffolding' of a given social or cultural group or movement (Dittmer 2010). This process was touched upon in my earlier section on 'The Black and Colonial Archive' through discussion of Guha (1994) and the construction of discourse with reference to space-time trajectories and imaginaries (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). Linguistic and textual narrative construction, understood as the subjective interrelation of segments, reflects the author or speaker's worldview and political motivations through connections made, connections avoided and what logic or broader 'intellectual scaffolding' governs this process of connection.

This analytical process required my own way of systematically sorting the materials. As Hannam (2002) describes, such a system of sifting is a subjective process in which the researcher must rely on knowledge built up over the course of wider reading done before carrying out 'data collection'. This must also be a reflexive process where the active engagement with the texts informs judgements of academic value. This position confirms my earlier theoretical discussion on the archive as a generative system of knowledge made meaningful through subjective interaction (Mbembe 2002; Scott, D. 2008). In conducting my research I began by engaging in a process of open-coding with the noting down of ideas and apparent themes that emerged over the course of a close reading of my selected archival documents. During this process of open-coding the researcher has to be mindful of the "building tasks" that language-in-use accomplishes (Gee in Dittmer 2010: 280). Gee (in Dittmer 2010) identifies six

such tasks; the identification of epistemologies relevant to a given situation, the identification of ontologies which describe the situation, creating a situated meaning of ongoing process, identity and relationship building, political building in which power is ascribed and establishing a topology of values, people and places via connection.

Gee's (in Dittmer 2010) focus here on the processual in narrative construction aligns with the archival work of Guha (1994: 343) who understands colonial discourse as the sequential interrelation of linguistic segments. This process generates narrative trajectories which themselves constitute larger historiographical, political and space-time trajectories inflected by particular readings of an historical-problem space and a spatial-political imaginary that leads to the selection of particular possibilities in the construction of discourse (Guha 1994, 2009; Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005; Gee in Dittmer 2010). Gee (in Dittmer 2010) also emphasises the relational and connective in textual analysis with this again belying political motivation and imaginary. Beyond this though, I have thought through these connections and linkages between archival sources and texts in material terms foregrounding their role in the constitution of social relations and networks. This approach provides the basis for my interrogation of West Indian Black Power print production and reportage and the technopolitical security networks arrayed in opposition to Black Power as will be shown in empirical Chapters 5 and 6.

In closing this section I will reflect on the ethics of historical geographical and archival research. The entirety of the empirical materials utilised in this thesis have been drawn from public archives and publicly available documents and information. Further, many of the authors, subjects and persons who produced the documents I have studied or who are mentioned in them are no longer alive and the events these archival materials are concerned with could now be considered rather obscure and to have slipped out of common knowledge (Quinn 2014). Ostensibly this should make my work somewhat easier from an ethical standpoint; I do not, for example, have to obtain documentation confirming the informed consent of my research participants. There are however a range of ethical issues that must be considered when conducting research of my type.

In undertaking my archival research and producing this thesis I have been *reconstructing* (Scott, D. 2008; Moore 2010) past lives and events and this necessitates careful thought. Issues abound here in making sensitive or previously undisclosed information public and in producing a particular narrative about past lives and events. A great deal of distress could be caused for ancestors, family members or those in the community that feel some affinity towards a figure or past historical event in the reproduction that a researcher engages in (Moore 2010). In producing this thesis I did not come across any sensitive personal information however the topic of my research, racism and racial oppression, are indeed highly sensitive issues and so in the production of my own historical analysis I have endeavoured to treat my subject material with due care. As Cameron (2001: 43) states "archival research requires a delicacy of concern and although historical geography has no explicit guidelines, practitioners must be reflexive in research". As discussed previously in reflecting on my positionality as a researcher I have placed reflexivity at the core of my research practice. This means that I have sought to balance the archives of the colonial state, who monitored and produced records on individuals without their consent or knowledge, and its colonial prose with Black counter-archives and the highlighting of counter-histories that reject and exceed the oppressive logics though which colonial archives were produced. I have similarly sought to quote the voices of Black Power actors and subaltern figures wherever possible in order to develop a history not ordered or dominated by the narratives of the local and colonial states that sought to repress this movement for racial justice and emancipation.

In the next section I discuss my methods in practice in a more grounded way and lay out the core original contributions of my methodological approach.

3.4.2 Methods in Practice and Methodological Contributions

As shown in the previous section, over the course of my PhD project I have engaged with a wide array of archives and source materials with varied authorship, political intent and geographical location all of which come to shape these archival papers and collections in important ways. Indeed, I believe this is a key strength of my methodological approach as I will now explain.

The single archive that I have drawn from the most would be the British National Archives at Kew in London. This speaks to the powerful role of the colonial state in producing historical discourse and national historiographies (Mbembe 2002; Ogborn 2003). A concern for gathering and utilising statistics and information in combination with the resources and broad geographical gaze of the British state has produced thousands upon thousands of pages on events in the West Indies during my period of study alone. Accessing and analysing the papers of the FCO and MOD as well as telegrams from British High Commissions in the Caribbean has been essential in understanding the complex and wide-ranging security response to West Indian Black Power. I was able to read along the grain (Stoler 2009) of this colonial archive finding moments when insurgent histories or actions broke into a counter-insurgent narrative such as meetings of Black Power groups recorded by surveilling officers (FCO 63/494 1970) or comments or quotations noted down to indict or justify fears surrounding the Black Power movement (FCO 63/444 1970). Whilst these moments of rupture are certainly useful and again demonstrate the heterogeneity of even the most systematised and bureaucratised colonial archives it is not enough to leave the voices of the West Indian Black Power movement confined to the archives and reportage of the organisations and actors that actively sought the movement's destruction. I needed counter-histories and counter-archives.

Indeed, that is how I would position the Black Power materials, publications and archives I have engaged with over the course of my research: as a counter-archive and resource of critical remembering for the 1960s and 1970s in the West Indies (Scott, D. 2008). I am not the first to do this with a number of Caribbean scholars having utilised such materials in the same way but for different ends. Scholars such as Rupert Lewis (1998, 2014), Anthony Bogues (2014) and Obika Gray (1991) have drawn on Black Power archival texts such as *Abeng* in their own counter-historical accounts of West Indian decolonisation and anti-colonial politics. These authors have utilised this counter-archive to produce historical and sociological scholarship on Walter Rodney's activism in and expulsion from Jamaica (Lewis, R. 1998), how the *Abeng* newspaper might be positioned within longer histories of Black radicalism in the West Indies (Bogues 2014) and the impact of radical social movements on Jamaican politics in the 1960s (Gray 1991). My research is indebted to this earlier work.

My interaction with this Black Power counter-archive is original through my focus on the *spatial*. I use archival materials to analyse the spatial politics of West Indian Black Power and the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies and further to consider archival materials as political objects constitutive of spatial and social relations through their movement, production and consumption. This counter-archive evidences alternative and radical decolonial conceptions of what independence for the region could have meant and a complex analysis of the interplay of imperial geopolitics, legacies of colonial racism and (neo)colonial political economy largely absent from mainstream Creole Nationalist politics and post-colonial visions and trajectories (Gray 1991; Scott, D. 2003; Kamugisha 2007). These Black Power resources provide a generative discursive and knowledge system from which divergent readings of the historical-problem space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies can be understood. From this archive there can be seen the sketching out of alternative decolonial trajectories and associated spatial-politics that co-existed with Creole Nationalist trajectories or (neo)colonial ones but which in many senses were never fully realised (Scott, D. 2004, 2014).

Similarly, in these Black Power publications and texts I could more directly engage with the voice and imaginaries of Black Power actors in their own words and on their own terms. As such, I can foreground the counter-narratives and histories of West Indian subaltern political actors that run coeval and contrary to colonial and bourgeois-nationalist historiographies of independence and decolonisation (Scott, D. 2003; Guha 2009). These might be conceived of as direct enunciations of narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) when voices and analysis from below is literally codified and articulated in language and text. I proceed with caution here however as I am fully aware of the contradictions and elisions that exist in this Black Power counter-archive just as in any other. Whilst many of the Black Power publications I have engaged with claimed to speak for the West Indian subaltern they were often edited and largely run by students and academics with evident tensions emerging between Black Nationalist and culturalist tendencies and more orthodox Marxist or Marxist-Leninist analysis of post-independence problem-space (Gray 1991; Scott, D. 1999b). Similarly, there is a significant lack of women's voices in this Black Power counter-archive with this sadly being reflective of the gendered elision of women's labour and input

in such movements (Austin 2018). This is indicative of the ways in which women's experiences and voices were often marginalised in Black Power political rhetoric and the production of Black Power publications more generally with the Black male experience taken to be normative (OWTU 1970 issues 145 and 146; Austin 2013). Even still, this Black Power archive gives voice to the West Indian subaltern in a way the colonial archive simply does not.

It is in pulling these variously positioned and directed archives together that I am able to develop the fullest possible picture of the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies and the various trajectories that constituted it (Ogborn 2003). This has led me to develop a transnational methodological approach utilising Archives in the UK, Jamaica and Trinidad (Hodder 2017). This transnational approach is necessitated by the transnational geographies and histories of the West Indian Black Power movement, the state security response to the movement and indeed the archival materials themselves. A transnational perspective is the only way to fully appreciate a Black Power politics that operated through diasporic articulations that connected Black struggle in the West Indies to global anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle (Swan 2009, 2014; Austin 2013; Quinn 2014). Similarly, the transnational circulations and movements of Black Power actors and publications confounds nationalist historiographies or nationalist archival collections as does the transnationally articulated security response. Indeed, just as the researcher is able to generatively reorder and find new connections within the knowledge system of the singular archive (Mbembe 2002; Scott, D. 2008) then the same is true for the interrelation of multiple archives and this is a core contribution of my research; drawing together archives on both sides of the Atlantic in original and productive ways. I have been able to trace connections, circulations and key actors and events that moved through and were situated in the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and foreground these sites, spaces and activities as central to the articulation of Black Power politics in the region. This is again a central contribution and allows me to develop an anti-abstractionist (Edwards 2003) account of the West Indian Black Power movement that positions these islands and their peoples as active historical agents in the development of alternative decolonial trajectories and politics (Bogues 2003).

A transnational approach is able to work around and locate tensions and conflicts between Black memory and national or state memory as discussed by scholars of Black memory and Black Power such as Michael Hanchard (2008) and David Austin (2013). Hanchard (2008) assesses Black memory as being horizontally constituted with 'archaeological deposits', in my case archival materials, strewn across time-zones and territories in contrast to state memory which is vertical and confined to the territoriality of the nation-state and its national people (Austin 2013). The state archive is well understood (Mbembe 2002; Ogborn 2003; Hanchard 2008) as central in the creation and maintenance of nationalist historiographies and regimes of socialisation. Collective or popular memories that are not nationally bound transcend such a territorialisation and provide competing modes of allegiance. These might be diasporic affinities cultivated through the memorialisation of historical experiences of slavery, colonialism and imperialism and non-national practices of culture or religion that cut across national boundaries (Hanchard 2008). Forms of collective memory, connection and affinity and the 'archaeological deposits' they leave behind cannot be adequately understood or excavated through a nationalist lens; in part because of the simple fact that traces and artefacts of such collectivities exist outside the bounds of national-state archives. Transnational Black socio-political movements such as Garveyism, Rastafari or Black Power necessitate a transnational analysis and methodology in order to be fully understood. In order to fully grasp the particularities and expressions of Black Power in say Jamaica I was *required* to investigate sources in Trinidad and the UK and materials that had circulated across other islands of the Caribbean and beyond as West Indian Black Power and its 'archaeological deposits' did not and do not fit the boundaries of nation-states and national historiographies (Hanchard 2008).

A major original contribution of my methodological approach lies in thinking through the historical problem-space (Scott, D. 2004, 2014) in which archival materials were produced and the constitutive role of materials in space-time formations and trajectories that operated within and came to structure that problem-space (Massey 2005). Archival documents and texts, as has been discussed, are always shaped in powerful ways by the spatial and temporal context of their production; particularly in their discursive content (Guha 1994, 20009; Stoler 2009; Ogborn 2011). As Stoler (2009: 39) describes, this discursive

content evidences “epistemic habits” that are geographically and historically specific and which represent a distinct expression of knowledge about an event or moment (Featherstone 2009). This reveals the archive not to be a monolith of objective reporting on the past but a site of multiple and contested narratives (Stoler 2009). More interestingly for me, the epistemic habits or ‘common sense’ assumptions and claims found in a text are constituted ideologically; shaped by the dominant ontology or worldview of the author, an author’s positionality within a social system and the strategic motivation underlying the production of the text in the first place (Guha 1994, 2009). If we introduce the theory of David Scott (2004; 2014) and Doreen Massey (2005) we can see that these multiple archival narratives reveal divergent readings of the same problem-space; in my case that of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. From here, a document can be understood in relation to significant political and space-time trajectories that shaped this historical-problem space with documents shaped by and productive of the normative assumptions underpinning these trajectories and the range of possible futures said trajectories were impelled towards (Scott, D. 2003, 2004, 2014; Massey, D. 2005).

What an appreciation of problem-space and space-time trajectories in the archive means practically is that firstly I am able to sort the materials I have engaged with into major typologies based on the trajectories I have identified. More significantly though, as I gathered more material the normative ontological, epistemic and political claims that underpinned these trajectories became steadily more apparent. This is important because it is these foundational logics that shaped the spatial-politics associated with these multiple trajectories and the spatial-political goals and imaginaries that actors and groups in the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies desired and actively sought to construct.

To close, I emphasise the importance of considering the spatial and temporal relations constituted by archival documents themselves as material objects and the socio-political relations such a view exposes. As discussed previously, texts as objects play important and structuring roles in the production and maintenance of social and political relations across time and space (Ogborn 2002, 2011). In my archival work I have been careful to examine and retrace the journeys of the texts I have engaged with. This has provided me with greater

insight into the shape and structure of the political movements, trajectories and associated spatial-political formations that I study as well as the strategic goals of the various actors and groups imbricated within such formations. So when assessing the Jamaican Black Power newspaper *Abeng* I do not view it in purely discursive or representational terms instead retracing the paper's material circuits of distribution thus exposing the social networks that underlay the paper's production and the spatial manifestations of the politics the paper articulated. In the case of papers produced by the FCO, MOD and West Indian state security actors I understand the movement of these documents as constitutive of technopolitical networks of securitisation and surveillance (Hecht 2011). Here, documents as material objects and the infrastructures (telegraph lines, foreign embassies etc) that facilitated their movement and circulation can be understood as essential and structuring material relations in the furthering of the securitising agendas of these state security forces; which I have earlier discussed as propagating plantation space-time (McKittrick 2013). Such relations and processes are analysed in Chapter 7 on the geographies of securitisation deployed against Black Power in the West Indies.

3.5 Conclusion

The methodological approach that I have described is one that has allowed me to properly interrogate the complex spatialities and imaginaries that animated West Indian Black Power as a political project and also the opposition the Black Power movement faced in the form of imperial and West Indian state security actors. I conceive of the archive as a generative system of knowledge production (Scott, D. 2008) comprised of multiple and conflictual trajectories and variously shaped by the logics and ideologies of the creators and curators of archival materials (Guha 1994, 2009; Stoler 2009). I have described how the power relations of coloniality and race come to shape archival collections, notably in the metropolitan centre, with this leading to the elision of the voices and actions of subaltern actors or alternatively the subordination of such figures and activities to colonial or national liberationist historiographies (Guha 1994; 2009, Scott, D. 2003). In order to locate the voices of Black Power actors and groups in the archive I have developed a transnational research methodology drawing together Caribbean collections that I have positioned as counter-archival or counter-historical (Bogues 2003; Scott, D. 2008) with archives in the UK in order

to fully interrogate and flesh out the post-colonial and decolonising problem-space of the post-independence West Indies.

In my transnational approach I also consider archival materials as political objects in and of themselves beyond a simple reading of the representational content of a document (Ogborn 2002, 2011). The texts I have engaged with were constitutive of social relations producing wide ranging and complex space-time formations. In retracing the circulations of such materials I foreground the materiality of West Indian Black Power spatial-politics and the security response it animated with this focus revealing the situated and relational nature of these political practices (Featherstone 2009). This approach also develops my anti-abstractionist (Edwards 2003) reading of West Indian Black Power by revealing important and formative connections between the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and the larger West Indian islands.

All of my archival research has been informed by the work of Caribbean scholars and theory. I understand my archival methodology as directed towards the interrogation of the problem-space in which documents were produced and what they reveal about the spatial and temporal relations and primary trajectories of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). This is a central original contribution of my methodological approach. The imperialist archives and prose of the FCO papers and counter-archives of Black Power publications reveal predominating political ideologies and imaginaries in divergent readings of the same historical-problem space that the documents were produced in and constitutive of. As discussed, these imaginaries shaped the spatial-political praxis of the Black Power movement and its opposition in fundamental ways. My methodology has allowed me to foreground the voices and narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) that shaped the trajectory of West Indian Black Power, the sites and spaces such enunciations emerged from and the spatial networks and relations they constituted in the form of archival objects in ways the emphasise the agency of subaltern actors engaged in Black Power struggle in the West Indies.

Chapter 4 Black Power's Opposition to Nationalist West Indian Politics: Antagonisms, Contestations and Alternative Visions of Independence

4.1 Introduction

In this first empirical chapter, I attend to the ideological antagonism that existed between Black Power groups and actors in the West Indies and the post-independence governments of the region that they bitterly opposed. Examining these antagonisms is important as it reveals divergent readings of the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonial West Indies articulated by actors variously positioned in regards to the predominating historical-political trajectories that were shaped by and constituted this problem-space. This chapter sets the stage for more targeted engagements with specific spatial and political articulations of said trajectories in the following empirical chapters.

The Black Power opposition to the prevailing nationalist politics and regimes of the former British West Indies emerged from powerful historical currents of Black Nationalist and Pan-African thought and sentiment that had been present across the islands since the 19th century (Nettleford 1970; Bogues 2002; Hintzen 2013). Opposition to the post-independence governments and state formations of the region were not merely disputes over contemporaneous foreign or economic policy. Black Power politics in the West Indies was rooted in a fundamentally divergent analysis of the region's history (Rodney 1969, 1990; Bogues 2002, 2003), the racial construction and coding of the newly independent West Indian nation-states of the mid-twentieth century (Nettleford 1970; Thame 2017) and the historical and future trajectories of said states under the guidance of nationalist leaders and political parties (Munroe 1971). My core contention is that Black Power in the West Indies represented a radical, alternative historical-political trajectory, to that of Creole Nationalism and a continued (neo)colonialism, impelled towards an anticipated decolonial future for the region. The contours of West Indian Black Power's decolonial politics are explored in this chapter through an analysis of the divergences and antagonisms that existed between the movement and other major competing trajectories

that came to shape the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies (Scott, D. 2004).

This discussion will be structured as follows. Firstly, Section 4.2 offers an engagement with the multiple and contested socio-political trajectories that were constitutive of the West Indian decolonisation process and emergent nation-states and state forms. In this first section, in line with my methodological approach, I adopt a more regional and transnational framing drawing on intellectuals and assessing historical trends and events from across the West Indies. In the subsequent sections I adopt a more national framing focusing in on Jamaica and Trinidad in particular. In this way, I analyse the broader political logics and ontologies that underpinned the major historical-political trajectories I have identified whilst also being attendant to specific articulations of said trajectories that were informed by and responding to particular local conditions. This generative articulation through and across difference *within* groups and movements aligned around broader visions is something I am keen to foreground and have already discussed in Chapter 2 (Edwards 2003). In Section 4.3 I develop an analysis of the nationalist political leaders, parties and their overarching ideology which carried the islands of the West Indies to independence in the 1960s and 1970s and the racial logics that undergirded the construction of new nations and national peoples. Finally, Section 4.4 examines discourses and accusations that Black Power was a subversive element which emanated from post-independence governments and (neo)colonial actors in the region with such accusations a manifestation of the epistemic and political antagonisms that underpinned these competing trajectories.

4.2 Contested Trajectories of West Indian Decolonisation and Independence

4.2.1 Independence as a Moment of Rupture

A core grievance that can be seen to run throughout West Indian Black Power thought, action and systemic critique is an assessment that the moment of independence from Britain was in many senses wasted or not exploited to its fullest potential by the region's new national governments. From all quarters of

the Black Power movement, and those adjacent to it, one sees the repeated critique that the political leaders of independence have failed to realise the promise of the historical opportunity that they had found themselves in command of. Such a line of attack is seen in the work of the movement's thought leaders and intellectuals such as Lloyd Best (1970, 2003) of Trinidad, Trevor Munroe of Jamaica (1971) and Walter Rodney of Guyana (1969). Similarly, this sentiment is echoed in the pamphlets and journals of Black Power and Black Power aligned groups that were more concerned with day to day politics and current affairs; the Tapia House Group (Tapia 1970 no. 6) and Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) (The Vanguard 1970 no 121) in Trinidad, the Abeng Group in Jamaica (1969), Outlet (Outlet 1971 no 5) in Antigua etc. What underlies such criticism, is an understanding that independence from British imperial control proffered a moment of generative rupture (Bogues 2009) in the social, political and economic life of the islands as well as the configurations of power, both local and international, in the region. In this moment, the horizon of political possibilities appeared broad and open with the post-colonial state and processes of state formation a locus of contestation for the historical-political trajectories I have identified in forging various projects that could chart this new political terrain (Scott, D. 2004).

This theme of roads not taken is clearly developed in the work of intellectuals and academics that came to shape the trajectory of West Indian Black Power with their critical interventions throughout the 1960s. Through engagement with this intellectual production I draw out the critiques of West Indian coloniality that represented formative theoretical currents that inflected the trajectory of Black Power and would go on to inform grounded, spatial-political praxis. For Lloyd Best the potential that independence offered for the radical and total decolonisation of the Caribbean was perhaps his central concern. Best was born in Trinidad in 1934 and was a University of the West Indies (UWI) research fellow and then professor of economics in the years immediately preceding and then following the beginning of West Indian independence. Best might be thought of as a West Indian public intellectual who frequently wrote for newspapers and was keenly invested in public discussion and intellectual discourse (Lewis, R. 2003). He was chiefly concerned with Caribbean epistemology, or lack thereof, as he saw intellectual coloniality in the region, particularly rife amongst political

leadership and the middle-classes in his eyes, as being the greatest impediment to post-colonial development (Best 2003). Indeed, Best was profoundly sceptical of middle-class leadership, a position he shared with fellow Trinidadian C.L.R. James (1984), precisely due to this epistemic coloniality (Meeks 2003). In this view, the expression and articulation of popular consciousness was too often stymied by middle-class leaders who once ascendant had little interest in engaging in popular debate on political direction outside the confines of the governmental logics inherited from colonialism (James, C.L.R. 1984; Best 2003).

Best was a co-founder of the New World Group (NWG), which was an association of young UWI faculty members committed to forging an independent Caribbean intellectual community that could best debate the shape and trajectory of West Indian independence (Meeks and Girvan 2010). Many members of the NWG would go on to be active participants in the Black Power politics and groupings of the late 1960s and early 1970s (ibid.). Best also founded the Tapia House Group in his native Trinidad which was active during the country's Black Power Revolution of 1970 and from whose self-titled journal Best provided, qualified, support and suggestion for the island's prospective Black Power revolutionaries (Best 1970; Ryan 2003; Meeks and Girvan 2010).

In his influential essay, *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom* published in 1967, Best casts a critical eye over the post-independence states of the former British West Indies. Best lays out the neo-colonial character of politics and economy in the new nations; continuing dependence on Metropolitan capital severely limiting political possibilities and necessitating the quiescence of the islands' populations either through outright repression or patronage and bribery (Best 2003; Rodney 2013). What is more interesting than his assessments of the continued domination of Caribbean life by foreign (white) capital, even after formal independence, is his call for the decolonisation of Caribbean thought which he sees as the root cause of the region's continued (neo)coloniality (ibid.). Best's (2003: 25) central claim here is that "social change in the Caribbean has to and can only begin in the minds of Caribbean men" and that the moment of independence from Britain has provided an historical opportunity to challenge and critically assess the "plantation mind" (ibid.) of the region. For Best (1970, 2003), the West Indies' independence leaders and intellectual elites, two groupings with significant overlap, had failed to even begin to challenge or

interrogate the colonisation of Caribbean thought. Without significant epistemic/ontological shifts, Best charges, then the winning control of existing structures of thought and power by West Indians would do little to bring about the decolonisation of the Caribbean (ibid.). Best saw the region's intellectual and political leadership as "[acquiring] legitimacy abroad… [by showing] technical competence in the methods and procedures of what is in their own habitat, western scientism and western propaganda" (Best 2003: 21). Thus meaning that much of the theoretical basis for political, social and economic action in the West Indies lacked any grounding in actual West Indian experience or material conditions. Best here is pointedly critiquing the pervasive and pernicious effects of *epistemic coloniality* in the post-independence West Indies. Best sees epistemic dependency on Western modes of thought and theoreticians as underpinning cultural, economic and political dependency on Euro-American imperial powers with independent thought the necessary pre-requisite of true freedom for the Caribbean. I suggest Black Power thought in the West Indies represented an attempt at epistemic delinking with an ontological grounding in the subaltern communities and heritages of the region undergirding a divergent, decolonial historical-political trajectory and vision for post-colonial state formation in the Caribbean world (Biney 2018).

Best analysed Trinidad's 1970 Black Power Revolution through this lens. In a piece titled *Black Power & National Reconstruction: Proposals Following the February Revolution* and published during the height of street protests and mass unrest, Best (1970) gives his perspective. Best (ibid.) understands the Revolution as the latest in a series of outbursts of dissent seen throughout the 1960s largely generated by the political engagement and fervour unleashed by independence earlier in the decade; that ruptural moment (Bogues 2009). In Best's view, Black Power was an "assertion of blackness by the men from below" (Best 1970: 5) rooted in the culture and creativity of the Black 'lumpen' who he assesses as less Anglicised than the island's political/middle classes who attained their position through the adoption of the coloniser's culture, language and mind-set (Best 1970, 2003, Tapia 1970 no. 3 and 7). If we inform Best's (1970) analysis with the more contemporary work of West Indian theorists (Meeks 2000; Bogues 20003; Thame 2014) we might better understand Black Power's Trinidadian constituents as subaltern actors articulating a critical race conscious politics

rooted in their material experiences of Black impoverishment and the long history of Black, subaltern radicalism in the region. In this revised view, Best's analysis points towards a conception of Black Power and Trinidad's Black Power Revolution as constitutive of an alternative decolonial trajectory taken up by the island's Black dispossessed who are frustrated by the neo-colonial character of Trinidadian life and in search of an alternative to the post-independence settlement.

Just as Best (1970, 2003) was analysing West Indian independence as a moment of reckoning with the colonial past other radical West Indian academics similarly understood independence to be an opportunity for significant structural and epistemological changes. The obvious figure of note here is Walter Rodney. Rodney, born in Guyana in 1942, is a pivotal figure in the history of Caribbean radical thought and politics and was one of the foremost proponents and supporters of Black Power in the West Indies. He was "*at one and the same time* a self-defined Marxist, a leading Pan-Africanist, a revolutionary and a scholar" [emphasis original] (Dodson 1990: vi). After completing his PhD in 1964 at the School of Oriental and African Studies on the early colonial period in West Africa he would hold academic positions in Jamaica, the US and Tanzania where he committed himself to advancing the struggles of the oppressed and in so doing developing his own theories on revolutionary political theory and action (Rodney 1969; 1990). In the period of my study, Rodney helped to spark popular interest in and awareness of Black Power in the West Indies following his banning from Jamaica and his political activism there with Rastafari and Black sufferers. Rodney articulated a conception of Black Power rooted in the Caribbean's history of slavery, colonialism and capitalist exploitation and which synthesised aspects of both Marxist and Pan-Africanist thought (Rodney 1969; Dodson 1990; Davies 2019). His political and moral commitments to the West Indian subaltern would see him engage in opposition to Forbes Burnham's increasingly autocratic regime in his native Guyana throughout the latter half of the 1970s and for these efforts he was assassinated on the 13th June 1980.

In his highly influential text *The Groundings with my Brothers*, Rodney (1969) launches scathing attacks on the West Indian post-independence settlement. Kate Quinn describes the book and its influence in the following terms:

> *Rodney's* The Groundings with My Brothers *(1969), a series of speeches given in Jamaica and Montreal, remains the foundational text of West Indian Black Power by one of its foremost protagonists and theoreticians and was, along with works by Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X, required reading for any serious Black Power aspirant in the period.* (Quinn 2012: 10)

In *Groundings*, Rodney (1969) echoes Best's (1970, 2003) position that political independence from the United Kingdom did not mean that the islands of the West Indies had been successfully decolonised. Indeed, the continued economic dependence of the region on Metropolitan capital and capitalist powers necessarily precluded this. The meaningful and transformative changes required to undo centuries of systemic racist oppression were made impossible in a context where West Indian governments were reliant on foreign investment from the imperial core for economic growth and stability (Rodney 1969; Best 2003).

Rodney's (1969) three-point definition of what Black Power meant in the West Indian context again speaks to the continued coloniality (Mignolo and Walsh 2018) of West Indian life post-independence. Rodney states:

> *Black Power in the West Indies means three closely related things: (1) the break with imperialism which is historically white racist; (ii) the assumption of power by the Black masses in the islands; (iii) the cultural reconstruction of society in the image of the Blacks.* (Rodney 1969: 28)

The obvious inference Rodney (1969) is making here is that West Indian independence has failed to sever transnational ties of white-racist imperialism; has failed to hand meaningful political or economic power over to the racialised mass population of the region; and has failed to bring about a re-evaluation of societal and cultural norms which denigrate blackness and valorise whiteness (Rodney 1969; Best 1970; Nettleford 1971; Girvan 2012). I'd also like to point out the language that Rodney (1969: 28) uses in this passage: "break…assumption…reconstruction". This is a rhetoric of assertive action and speaks to an understanding that independence has opened up, or at least has the potential to, the political terrain in ways that had not yet been exploited. Black Power in the West Indies thus represented a radical, alternative trajectory that could rupture or break out of the neo-colonial course that nationalist governments had set the region's new states upon (Rodney 1969; Bogues 2009).

Such an analysis was also put forward by C.L.R. James; the Trinidadian intellectual and political activist whose subaltern histories and Marxist analyses indelibly shaped the terrain of radical West Indies politics upon which Black Power would operate. From the 1930s and throughout the rest of his life James would be at the forefront of anti-colonial, anti-capitalist and anti-fascist struggles across the world. As discussed in Chapter 2, his radical historical text *The Black Jacobins* remains to this day a key resource in thinking through subaltern political struggle, revolutionary theory and anti-colonial politics (Scott, D. 2004). James' subsequent works range from sociological studies of the US (James, C.L.R. 1992) to cultural histories of cricket (James, C.L.R. 2013). Through his political activism James was involved in efforts to oppose the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 (Matera 2015), advance African independence and in the late 1950s and early 1960s James was involved with the People's National Movement (PNM) in his native Trinidad who under the leadership of Eric Williams would guide the country to independence (James, C.L.R. 1984). It was following his disillusionment with the nationalist politics and leadership of the West Indies around this time that he would develop a critical analysis of the Creole Nationalist ideology and worldview that would see him supportive of Black Power struggles in subsequent years. Indeed, James directly mentored and taught many who would go on to be prominent figures within the West Indian Black Power movement (Austin 2013; 2018). Like Rodney, James also saw the emergence of Black Power in the Caribbean as a moment of potential rupture in regards to the existing configurations of power (Bogues 2009) both locally and globally. In a 1967 speech he assessed Black Power in the Caribbean world as holding the potential to produce "a tremendous change in life and society" (James, C.L.R. 1967) as yet unrealised by political independence in the region. James (1971) reads the moment of independence in the early 1960s as one in which more transformative political projects were scuppered by the region's political class.

For James, the collapse of the West Indian Federal project, which meant it would be individual islands of the British West Indies that would become independent nation-states, foreclosed any major restructuring of the regional economy or any broader conversation about how the (neo)colonial and imperially dominated export-economy of the islands failed to serve the needs and wants of the mass population (ibid.). Similarly, the rejection of a more ambitious Federal

project in the West Indies by the middle/political class in control of the independence process spoke to their vision of independence as "everything else but a definitive change in the economic life and the social relations which rested upon it" in James' assessment (James, C.L.R. 1971: 195 – 196). Indeed, this lack of ambition or vision in regards to the possibilities offered by Federation speaks to a parochialism in the Creole Nationalist project and in particular its leadership.

In C.L.R. James' (1984) scathing analysis of the West Indian political and middle-class developed in *Party Politics in the West Indies* he laments the failure of West Indian politicians to engage the mass population of the region in popular discussion or involvement with the direction of Federal politics or indeed to even offer a hopeful and ambitious post-colonial vision. Regional leaders instead kept to their own islands or the halls of West Indian governments and the Colonial Office seeking to secure the best possible position for themselves and their government. So, Norman Manley of Jamaica refused to subsidise the smaller islands and Eric Williams of Trinidad only travelled to Jamaica to secure his island as the capital site (James, C.L.R. 1984; Lewis, A. 2013). The collapse of the Federation in the early 1960s against the backdrop of the intransigence of the leadership and governments of the larger islands reveals a fundamental blind-spot for or disavowal of the shared histories, cultures and material circumstances that unites the West Indian peoples in Creole Nationalist ideology. This might be read as reflective of the desire by Creole Nationalist leaders and parties to construct a nationalist historiography and citizenship based on the premise that the peoples of the various islands had over time become Creolised into distinct national populations with unitary, island nation-states the ultimate political and spatial expression of this historical development (Bogues 2002).

Through an engagement with the work of West Indian intellectuals aligned with or adjacent to Black Power thought and action there emerges the clear assessment of independence from Britain as a moment in which there was the potential for radical changes in West Indian political-economy, society and culture (James, C.L.R. 1967, 1971; Rodney 1969; Best 1970, 2003). However, for a host of reasons such radical transformations were frustrated or denied by the nationalist governments of the region in the formal decolonisation process that they oversaw. Thus, the coloniality of life in the islands after independence

remained largely unchanged (Kamugisha 2007; Rodney 2013). This is a point lamented extensively in the writing and work I have focused on thus far and would lead Guyanese economist and Black Power activist (FCO 63/463 1970; Thomas 2012) Clive Thomas to comment that West Indian independence represented a "partial, if not Pyrrhic, victory." (Thomas 1974: 122). So, in the formative theoretical currents that shaped and moved through West Indian Black Power as an historical-political trajectory one sees fundamental opposition to and divergence from Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial epistemologies and material practices of power. Post-colonial state space and power are understood as a key field of socio-political contestation for these historical-political trajectories with the emergent state a vehicle for realising the imagined futures said trajectories were impelled towards.

4.2.2 "Briefcase Independence" and Roads not Taken

The "briefcase independence" (Chung 2012: 21) referred to in the sub-heading was utilised by Walter Rodney in his reflections on the negotiated independence the islands of the West Indies attained from Britain. For Rodney, the fact that independence was 'won' in Whitehall as oppose to the bush of the West Indies in some form of revolutionary anti-colonial struggle placed severe limitations on the state forms and political systems of the new nation-states (Chung 2012).

Rodney's contention is a common one in the literature and writings of Black Power, and aligned, activist groups and intellectuals. In Trinidad during the period of social unrest leading up to and constituting the 1970 Black Power Revolution one finds in Lloyd Best's *Tapia* consistent attacks on the coloniality of state and executive power (Tapia 1969 no 3) and critiques of the Westminster model of government (Tapia 1970 no 6). Most illustrative in this regard is the work of Trevor Munroe on the politics of decolonisation in Jamaica and the imperial origins of the island's constitution (Munroe 1971, 1972). Munroe was a major figure within the Jamaican and West Indian Black Power movement and radical politics in the region more broadly. In the early 1960s as a student at the UWI Mona campus in Kingston, Munroe was involved with the Young Socialist League (YSL) which had been formed in 1962 in the wake of an electoral defeat by young members of the PNP (Gray 1991).The YSL was able to drag the PNP leadership to the left throughout the middle years of the 1960s and even had

some of their proposals adopted as official party positions. However, by 1966 the right of the party had gained ascendancy and officially repudiated the YSL which shortly disappeared (ibid.). Munroe would go on to be an editor of the *Abeng* newspaper which sought to galvanise a popular Black Power socio-political movement in Jamaica and which was the most significant Black Power publication active on the island (Lewis, R. 2011; Bogues 2014). *Abeng* is discussed extensively in Chapter 5. As a UWI postgraduate and faculty member Munroe was involved with the NWG (Jamaica Archives 4/60/2B/40/44 – 45 1968) and developing his early socialist activism Munroe would join the Independent Trade Unions Action Council (ITAC) following *Abeng*'s folding. ITAC was founded in October 1968 as a federal body to organise and co-ordinate a number of fledgling independent trade unions that emerged in Jamaica in the late 1960s; ITAC represented an attempt by organised labour to break out of the two-party/two-union Jamaican system. Munroe would hold a leadership position in the ITAC affiliated University and Allied Workers Union (Abeng Group 1973). Munroe's Leftist, Black Power and radical political tendencies would ultimately lead to his co-founding of the Worker's Liberation League in 1974; a Communist vanguard party launched by Abeng activists (Gray 1991).

In a 1971 piece on the formation of the Jamaican constitution during independence negotiations, Munroe highlights that colonial politicians accepted the role of junior partner in political 'training' from the Metropole (Munroe 1971). Now whilst this was done with a desire to attain independence as easily as possible this had long lasting ramifications; Jamaica's nascent state institutions and models of governance would be based on Westminster (ibid.) This uptake of the coloniser's constitution was of course rooted in racist logics of the 'readiness' of the West Indian for self-government but with the advent of the Cold War the successful execution of the Westminster model also came to be seen as necessary for warding off Communist influence (ibid.). Here we see the articulation of a broader Cold War and imperial geopolitics within the regional/national context of the West Indian independence process (Hintzen 2013; Moulton 2015). The combination of these two factors with the West Indian middle-class tendency to imitate and defer to British cultural norms (Munroe 1971; James, C.L.R. 1971) produced the following situation:

> *Thus increasingly there was an agreement that constitutional advance had to be argued or denied on the basis of ability to act, talk and behave in line with the traditions of Westminster. In Jamaica this meant that the social/psychological imprint of colonialism on the nationalist "heir-apparent" was reinforced by the imperatives for legitimate succession to the colonial estate* (Munroe 1971: 77)

An official political culture and modes of governance powerfully shaped by imitation of the British political system (Quinn 2015) would facilitate the continued influence and renewal of a (neo)colonial historical-political trajectory in the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies world (Scott, D. 2004).

Munroe's (1971) closing comments on the decolonisation process are also interesting here. He asserts that the advance to self-government in Jamaica and the wider West Indies had little to do with any widespread nationalist sentiment and was largely born out of British imperial retreat in the face of perceived threats to social peace and administrative order (ibid.). Munroe comments:

> *judicious constitutional retreat at the first sign of trouble, but before it was necessary, meant that mass nationalism was invariably unnecessary for the creation of the new state out of the former dependency* (Munroe 1971: 78)

So then, the nationalist political parties of the West Indies lacked any kind of mass support for their nationalist project. What developed was a situation in which the new nation-states of the West Indies emerged from independence with populations in many ways apathetic towards their new states and lacking a popular attachment to any form of Jamaican/Trinidadian/Barbadian etc. nationalist ideology or sentiment (Lewis, R. 1998; Munroe 1971). The reality was that Creole Nationalist politics as articulated by the region's middle-class dominated parties was but one anti or decolonial tendency among many.

In Munroe's analysis of Jamaican constitutional decolonisation we see how the emergent post-colonial state came to take the form of what Richard Iton (2008) terms a 'duppy state'. As discussed in Chapter 2, the duppy state, still haunted by colonialism's effects, is unable to dismantle the coloniality of post-colonial life as it is ontologically underpinned by colonial logics in regards to race, national belonging, state form and territoriality (Quijano 2000, 2007; Parasram

2014; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Controlling a state and enacting a constitution modelled on and defined by the colonial Metropole represented the extent of Creole Nationalist anti-colonial politics. The emergent post-colonial duppy state and coeval practices of state power were unable to seriously interrogate or challenge inherited epistemologies of race and associated material inequalities grounded in centuries of colonial violence and dispossession (Iton 2008; Parasram 2014). West Indian Black Power provided a basis to challenge and exceed this coloniality of state power and national belonging through articulating a transnational politics of affinity with the wider diaspora and other non-white subaltern communities (Austin 2013). Rejecting a Liberal, Modernist conception of state formation and international relations. In a Black Power neo-colonial analysis the isomorphism of state power and territoriality (Brenner 2004) is rejected and instead one finds an analysis of the political geography and state forms in the post-colonial Caribbean world attuned to the permeability of national boundaries by imperialist regimes of power (Stokes 2005). This worldview found expression in West Indian Black Power's anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist politics, discussed later in this chapter, and was affirmed by the transnationally networked technopolitical security regimes deployed in opposition to the movement and explored in detail in Chapter 7.

At the moment of West Indian independence there existed alternative and more transformative decolonial trajectories that enjoyed significant support amongst the population of the region and which had animated serious socio-political struggles in the previous decades (Gray 1991; Lewis, R. 1998; Høgsbjerg 2011; Thomas 2017). In exploring the diasporic affinities and transnational solidarities developed through Black Power politics in the West Indies it is pertinent to explore the movement's ideological and historical antecedents with this again affirming that the Caribbean world has long played host to multiple and competing historical-political trajectories articulating varied visions of independence, nationhood and communal belonging. Indeed, such transnational commitments reflect a political-geographical worldview that does not concede such internationalist politics to the preserve of a global community of Liberal nation-states (Parasram 2014; Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015).

An important decolonial tendency that fed into the Black Power politics of the late 1960s and 1970s was that of Garveyism which shaped a politics of both Black

Nationalism and Internationalism in the West Indies throughout the Twentieth Century. The Jamaican Marcus Garvey was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) which was a global Pan-Africanist organisation seeking the establishment of a powerful African nation-state and advocated for transnational diasporic organisation to achieve this aim alongside racial justice, equality and dignity (Nettleford 1970; Hill 2018). The construction of a powerful philosophy of Black consciousness through Garveyism was vital for the development and direction of West Indian Black Power as a socio-political movement (Benn 1970; Shepherd 2019). The desire for racial empowerment and the construction of a positive Black cultural identity in opposition to the cultural hegemony of Whiteness would see both movements conceptualise the West Indies as a space of and for blackness; although it must be pointed out the Black Power would, generally speaking, delineate *blackness* in broader terms i.e. non-white West Indian (Rodney 1969; Vanguard 1970 no 140). Indeed, this expansive conception of blackness as articulated by Black Power thought leaders like Walter Rodney (1969) would be expressed in a commitment to a transnational politics of 'Third World' solidarity in opposition to neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism. This meant that the anti-colonial visions of both movements would cast independence in terms of a total break from British or 'White' culture with any new West Indian nation and national people being defined by the cultural practices and heritages of the mass West Indian population forcibly transported to the region through slavery and indentureship (Rodney 1969; Benn 1970; Gray 1991). This is in contra-distinction to the ideology of the region's Creole Nationalist governments and parties whose middle-class members desired no such break with the culture and practices of the colonial Metropole.

The other factor to note is the internationalist commitments both movements shared. In Garveyism this was expressed through repatriationism and the desire for the establishment of a powerful African nation-state. This turn to Africa and the construction of a Black identity that was transnational in scope was mirrored in the literature of Black Power groups in the West Indies who consistently articulated a politics of solidarity with Africa and the broader 'Third World' and who positioned Black struggle in the West Indies as inseparable from Black struggle globally. So *Abeng* (1969 no.s 3, 8, 12 and 16) in Jamaica, *The Vanguard* (1969 no.s 115, 116, 120; 1970 no 135) in Trinidad, *Umoja* (1970) in Bermuda and

many more Black Power aligned publications consistently ran articles on anti-colonial struggles in Africa, the travails of the US Civil Rights and Black Power movements and the imperialist geopolitical machinations in the Cold War Caribbean. For both Garveyism and Black Power, transnational solidarity and material support of the global Black diaspora were cornerstones of anti-colonial nationalism in the West Indies. Crucially however, articulations of Black Power in the Caribbean world, as explored in Chapter 6 in relation to Bermuda, positioned national independence as a means not an end with liberation from colonial rule the platform upon which a transnational anti-colonial, anti-imperial and anti-racist politics could be built (Umoja 1970). Again, this is in contrast to the nationalist regimes of the post-independence West Indies who remained aligned and allied to the capitalist-imperialist powers of Euro-America whom still presided over colonial empires.

4.2.3 Key Antagonisms in Black Power's Opposition to West Indian Nationalist Governments

I now examine some of the central Black Power political-economic critiques of West Indian nationalist governments. These are critiques of the logics of the plantation outlined previously and how said logics become manifest materially, economically and politically through government policy. This section is more empirically directed than the previous discussion but that theoretical framing is essential in understanding the underlying decolonial epistemology that directs the more specific oppositions explored here.

A core grievance common across West Indian Black Power literature is the foreign ownership of land and resources and the resultant outflow of profits from the region to foreign capitalists. In Jamaica, the Black Power publication *Abeng* drew attention to the domination of the Bauxite mining industry, and thus Bauxite producing land, by four North American companies and the 200,000 acres of good agricultural land which was owned by predominantly British sugar companies (Abeng 1969 issue 6 and 12). The impact of this on the population is said to be that Black Jamaicans are either "mere squatters on the land" (Abeng 1969 issue 3: 3) forced to rent from foreign landowners or alternatively are employed as cheap labour by foreign capitalists to aid in the extraction of Jamaican primary resources which are then processed and sold for high profits

abroad. Here we see the grounded and literally landed manifestations of the historical-political trajectory of Creole Nationalism and a Black Power critique of this economic geography. In the Trinidadian context one sees similar opposition to the domination of the island by Metropolitan capital. An article in issue 26 (Moko 1970) of the publication *Moko* outlining proposals for the Black reconstruction of Trinidad has as a core goal the nationalisation of key industries in order to ward off Metropolitan influence alongside a policy of greater West Indian economic integration to achieve the same but on a regional level. In the same article one sees evidence of the politics of transnational solidarity with and greater alignment towards the 'Third World' discussed previously:

> *we envisage also a purposeful attempt at creating new links at the economic, cultural and intellectual levels with the Third World as a whole in contrast to our present near exclusive preoccupation with countries of the North Atlantic* (Moko issue 26 1970: 4)

This critique of a "near exclusive preoccupation with countries of the North Atlantic" (ibid.) would be attacked in all manner of ways as will be explored in this section.

In the publications and labour activism of Trinidad's OWTU the position was consistently advanced that White capital held too much power over Black labour on the island and that working class militancy and economic nationalisation were necessary to combat this (OWTU 1968, 1969). The OWTU was the largest and most powerful union in the country and under the radical leadership of George Weekes would be at the forefront of anti-government protests throughout the 1960s culminating in the union's active participation in the 1970 Black Power Revolution (Pantin 1990). This commitment to West Indian labour could be seen in the minutes of a 1968 tripartite conference on the Trinidadian oil industry involving representatives of labour, the government and foreign oil companies and published by the OWTU (1968). Weekes assessed the meeting to be a confrontation between Black labour and White capital which he surmised in the following terms:

> *How long must we continue to allow **our destiny** to be controlled from New York and London? When shall we take up our bed and walk? When will we drop our bucket right where we are? When will the*

> *Government see that a nation **owned by foreigners** can never be **free** and must always be **slaves**.* [emphasis original] (OWTU 1969: 30 – 31)

The above quote demonstrates a clear spatiality in Weekes' assessment of the transnational capitalist relations that are exploiting Trinidad and the wider West Indies; again this is an analytical undercurrent consistent throughout much Black Power literature (Abeng 1969 no.s 3, 6 and 12; Nettleford 1971; Weekes 1971). Opposition to the extraction of value and resources from the West Indies to the Metropole is also understood in a political and governmental context too. The domination of West Indian economies by Metropolitan capital severely limits political possibilities in the region and this is draped in a rhetoric of modern day slavery by Weekes; again another trend common in contemporaneous Black Power literature (Abeng 1969 no.s 12, 14; OWTU 1969). Weekes' critique speaks to Best's (2003) assertions that West Indian Creole Nationalist leaders remain constrained within the boundaries of Euro-American thought and governmentality.

Foreign policy and questions of international alignment were also consistent points of antagonism between the Black Power movement and post-independence governments. Turning again to the OWTU, Trinidad and *The Vanguard* the issue of the British invasion of Anguilla in 1969 is illustrative in regards to Black Power regionalist sentiment and an anti-imperialist outlook that was directly opposed to that of the region's nationalist governments. Following a unilateral secession on the part of the Anguillan people, British marines were sent in to 'restore order'. This was a move backed by regional governments as reported in issue 116 of *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1969: 4): "[Britain] obtained the support of the premier of St. Kitts, of other Associated States, and of the independent Commonwealth Governments for taking the necessary steps to restore constitutional rule." Here again we see the logic of the plantation manifest this time in foreign policy; West Indian governments side with the imperial aggressor against the self-determination of the region's Black populace. *The Vanguard* and George Weekes condemned the invasion as a blatant act of British imperial aggression and contextualised the act within broader histories of imperialist repression in the West Indies. In an article on Anguilla in issue 115 of *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1969) the situation there is compared to the suspension of the Guyanese constitution and simultaneous deployment of British troops in

1953. Thus highlighting how imperialist intervention in the self-determination of West Indian peoples is a consistent and continually relevant factor in the region's political life; we might better understand this as re-articulations and renewals of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism. What is worse, is the apparent historical amnesia of the West Indian political class who now aid and abet said imperial adventures in the name of territorial security and integrity (OWTU 1969 no 116).

In the examples used here we see Black Power groups and actors articulating a decolonial politics in strongly anti-imperial and anti-colonial terms and grounded, literally, through reference to and critiques of spatial-political manifestations of Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonialist politics and the plantation logics that undergird such actions. What is being staked out is a decolonial trajectory which has at its core a clear break with the forces of (neo)imperialism in the Caribbean as well as a strong commitment to the struggles of non-white West Indians for independence and political advancement. In the specific cases engaged with here, one can see the instantiation of specific positions and responses emergent from broader historical currents of West Indian regionalism and Black Nationalism discussed in the previous section (Benn 1970; James, C.L.R. 1971; Hill 2018; Shepherd 2019).

4.3 Creole Nationalism and its Racial Logics

The dominant political culture of native West Indian politics and governance post-WWII is often characterised as being Creole nationalist (Kamugisha 2007; Thame 2017). Creole nationalist leaders and political parties entered into negotiations with the British and agreed the settlements that led to formal independence in the early 1960s. For many, the politics and agents of Creole nationalism left the job of decolonisation unfinished and in this way left intact, both knowingly and unknowingly, "the racial order underpinning colonialism" (Kamugisha 2007: 24). During the process of post-colonial nation-building, colonial systems of knowledge, modes of governance and conceptions of politics remained largely unchanged. The root cause of this problem is identified by many authors (Bogues 2002; 2009; Thame 2011; 2017) as being located in a failure to decolonise the collective 'mind' of Creole nationalist politics and ideology. The political culture of post-WWII mainstream politics in the region was one that was closed to non-Western knowledge systems and modes of being

and in this way excluded the experiences and history of the mass of the population whilst simultaneously reaffirming the "specific cosmic vision" of Western Modernity (Quijano 2007: 177). In this section I dissect the racial logics underpinning Creole Nationalism as informed by West Indian scholars and scholarship.

From the emergence of nationalist political parties in the 1930s the West Indian political establishment and party hierarchy was dominated by the middle-classes (Thame 2011, 2017; Hintzen 2013). This sector of society was more willing to work with the colonial authorities and so could be seen to be 'responsible' whilst also having access to wealth and material out of reach of the vast majority of the population facilitating a culture of political clientelism where votes were exchanged for scarce resources (Gray 1991; Kamugisha 2007; Thame 2017). The other factor was British colonial racism and logics of white supremacy. As C.L.R. James (1971) noted in his analysis of this strata of West Indian society, the political culture of the Creole Nationalists was one of deference and imitation of the British colonial state in order to advance through the bureaucratic ranks. This is a sentiment echoed by *Abeng* editor Trevor Munroe (1971:79) who spoke of the Jamaican middle/political class' "white bias" which led to the imitation of the political culture of the former imperial power as well as the valorisation of British culture and cultural norms. This meant that Creole Nationalist parties and their middle class leadership were viewed as the legitimate and indeed 'safe' option during the decolonisation process in part because of their uptake and mastery of British culture, political forms and statecraft. Ultimately, this meant "that the social/psychological imprint of colonialism on the nationalist "heir-apparent" was reinforced by the imperatives for legitimate succession to the colonial estate." (Munroe 1971: 77).

There was also an important racial component to the political advancement and success of the region's middle-class and this would have an impact on the continued coloniality of governance and society after independence. Indeed, nationality and citizenship remained embedded within colonial racial stereotypes in the ideology of Creole Nationalism (Ariail 2019). Race was the central axis of social stratification within the British West Indies with "racial boundaries [delineating] the inequitable distribution of liberties, protection and justice… from the early nineteenth century until today" (Thame 2011:77).

Centuries of colonial racial stratification meant that the middle-class of the region tended to be of mixed racial origin. Although the situation in Trinidad was slightly different and will be explained later. The central issue here is that 'brownness' or 'Creoleness' are fundamentally colonially constructed identities rooted in racism and the equation of skin tone with civilisation (Bogues 2002; Thame 2017; Ariail 2019). Brown West Indians were thought to be biologically closer to being white and so occupied a middle strata in the plantation racial hierarchy; Indo and Afro-Caribbeans at the bottom, whites at the top (Thame 2017). Brown Caribbeans were seen to be better able to be civilised and inculcated in European cultural, political and social norms and in this way their privileged position in West Indian society rested on the ability to perform and embody 'Western-ness' or 'Britishness' (Bogues 2002). During the constitutional decolonisation process, the plantation racial hierarchy wasn't dismantled it was retained, albeit modified, with white colonisers now removed. The post-colonial nation-state was headed by a Creole political class who had got to their position by mastering and mirroring the political practices and culture of the imperial metropole.

Creole nationalist politics and politicians set the terms for the construction of national belonging and identity using colonially rooted discourses which linked race to the ability to be Modern. Providing an avenue for the re-articulation and redeployment of colonial racial logics and so the continued influence of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism in the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. The outcome was the solidification of a pedagogical politics and political culture where Creole governments and the political class, who could be considered full citizens of the post-colonial nation-state (Kamugisha 2007), saw their task to be the education of the Afro and Indo-Caribbean mass population in what it meant to be a Modern citizen. (Bogues 2002; Chakrabarty 2010). With national citizenship of course couched in racial terms. In Thame's (2011) Fanonian reading of the situation, Creole nationalist governments had adopted the Manichean divisions of colonial rule with:

> *citizenship in the postcolonial Caribbean… therefore constructed through skewed understandings of humanness, specifically questioning whether Blacks [and Indo-Caribbeans] were truly human and of value [and] whether they could truly belong and have rights and privileges in an independent nation.* (Thame 2011: 77)

In Jamaica this meant the political establishment held an official ideology of multi-racialism wherein the new nation-state and its people were said to be of mixed racial origin (Nettleford 1970; Mathes 2010). A position best encapsulated by the new state's national motto: 'Out of Many One People'. The Creole Nationalist delineation of the state and citizenry as being mixed race designated any race based politics or racial radicalism as being illegitimate in a supposedly racially harmonious post-independence society. Importantly, such a nationalist ideology elided any discussion of the linkage between race and class in the West Indies and the continued legacies of racial slavery and structural white supremacy under colonial rule. In this context; "the political leadership and other dominant forces now designated racial consciousness as an atavism – a "throwback" to old contradictions now long resolved." (Gray 1991: 56). Black Power as a race conscious politics emergent from deep historical currents of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism (Benn 1970; Quinn 2012) was seen to be a threat to the new nation-states of the West Indies as it challenged the very underpinnings of the Creole Nationalist construction of nation and citizen (Nettleford 1970, Munroe 1970; Gray 1991).

The race/class makeup of the island's Creole Nationalist leaders and their associated nationalist vision was a point keenly recognised by all involved within the island's Black Power movement. In UWI academic Rex Nettleford's (1970: 125) study of Rastafari he states there was a "denunciation of 'brown man governments' (i.e. Jamaican governments) as incapable of perceiving the true meaning and essence of blackness". Rastafari, as with Garvyeism, would have an enormous impact on the articulation of Black Power politics on the island through commitments to Pan-Africanism, African repatriationism and the celebration of African cultural heritage over British cultural mores and practices that were seen as constitutive of the oppressive global power structure of 'Babylon'. Jamaican intellectuals like Nettleford (1970) and Lewis, R. (1998), Black Power theoreticians like Walter Rodney (1969) and Black Power organs like *Abeng* (1969 no.s 11, 16, 22) all saw the importance of Rastafari's critical race consciousness in setting the ground for the uptake of Black Power on Jamaica. As mentioned previously however, West Indian Black Power thinkers and actors often articulated an expansive conception of blackness that included all non-

white peoples struggling against racism, colonialism and imperialism that exceeded the racial consciousness of Rastafari (Rodney 1969).

This analysis of Creole Nationalism's race politics is found running throughout *Abeng* and is articulated with multiple antagonisms. In the very first issue of *Abeng* (1969) there is a denunciation of the imposition of minimum 5 year sentences with flogging for acts of robbery which is designed to target Kingston's poor, urban Black youth. It is said:

> *"Very soon these youths must inevitably begin to doubt the moral pretensions of a society and its legal system which turn a blind eye to robbery in high places but* ***commands the jailer to whip and imprison Quashie****."* (Abeng 1969 no. 1: 3) [emphasis mine]

Contrasted here are the crimes of the political and middle class (corruption, the selling out of Jamaican resources and labour to foreign capital) and the petty crimes of the poor, Black, mass population. The continued coloniality of the Jamaican state and criminal justice system are highlighted as *Abeng* locates the handing down of sentences of flogging from independent West Indian governments as being an act of social discipline rooted in the same racist logics and stereotypes of the slave plantation (Abeng 1969 no. 1). Built on a reading of McKittrick (2011, 2013), we might understand this repressive action as constituting a re-articulation of plantation logics and renewal of plantation spatialities wherein middle-class citizens and communities are secured from the criminality of a racialised underclass through violent policing.

To return to Trinidad and the role of race in social class and political ideology it is important to note the differences, but also similarities, between the island and the rest of the West Indies. With roughly half of Trinidad's population being of Indian descent race relations and the racial underpinnings and articulations of Trinidadian Creole Nationalism differed to other islands in the region that were predominantly inhabited by people of African descent. In Trinidad, political allegiance and party support was largely directed along racial lines with Ryan (1995) suggesting the rural East Indian community could broadly be characterised as historically politically conservative due to fears of being dominated by a radical Black political movement. As in Jamaica though, the party 'of' the Afro-Trinidadian population, the PNM (Pantin 1990), was

dominated by the Black middle class. Indeed, it was the PNM under the leadership of Eric Williams that would lead Trinidad to independence and rule the new nation from 1962 to 1986. Thus, the island's Black middle class would dominate Trinidadian politics during the decolonisation process and well beyond as well as shaping the construction of national identity and belonging.

The island's Black middle class was consistently critiqued for being 'Afro-Saxon' by those involved with the Black Power movement (OWTU 1970; Ryan 1995). This neo-colonial critique is given form in issue 121 of *The Vanguard* (1969:5) through the use of a Frantz Fanon quote:

> *[mass dissatisfaction with the middle-class is] the result of the intellectual laziness of the national middle-class, of its spiritual penury, and of* ***the profoundly cosmopolitan mould that its mind is set in*** [emphasis mine]

Just as in Jamaica, this segment of the Black population attained material and social advancement through the imitation and uptake of British cultural norms and behaviours which, as has already been discussed, would bleed into the decolonisation process and inform a lack of divergence from the British state and political model (ibid.). Ryan (1995) roots this Anglophilism in the historical tensions between freed Blacks and the enslaved of the island wherein those freed sought to disassociate themselves from Africa and blackness manifesting in a desire to become White; conforming to the White supremacist construction of Creole identity where a rejection of blackness and 'African-ness' is equated with civilizational attainment (Bogues 2002; Brereton 2008; Thame 2017). As was true of the rest of the West Indies, the continued valorisation of British culture and practice as well as the lack of any critical analysis of the structural legacies of White supremacy meant that Creole Nationalist parties and politicians enacted their nationalist project within the constraints of colonial racism (Ryan 1995).

The East Indian community of Trinidad also had problems with Anglophilism and legacies of white supremacist domination. As noted in the OWTU official organ *The Vanguard* (1970 no 137b and 140); the British colonial policy of divide and rule constructed the East Indian as Whiter due to an Aryan ancestry and lighter skin-tone thus fanning ethnic divisions predicated upon logics of Black inferiority and the greater potential of Indian peoples to become 'civilised'. One sees

developing a Trinidadian nationalism that accepted the logic that Anglicisation or proximity to Whiteness was coeval with social and political development. Indeed, independence had been attained through that same rubric; i.e. imitation of the British political system and state form was a pre-requisite for independence and simultaneously a signifier of the 'readiness' of the West Indian people for self-government (Munroe 1971). Here exists a core antagonism between Black Power and Creole Nationalism. Black Power's celebration of African and Indian culture, heritage and identity placed the movement at odds with the official ideology of the new Trinidadian nation-state. This nationalist ideology emerged from an active distancing of the West Indian people from their ancestry and celebrated the uptake of 'Britishness' as being a marker of civilizational attainment ultimately recognised in independence.

Just as in Jamaica, Black Power groups and actors in Trinidad were similarly critical of their 'Afro-Saxon' government and the implications this had for international relations and transnational linkages with the Metropolitan capitalist powers. In an article entitled 'White man in a Black Body' appearing in issue 122 of *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1969) Trinidadian Prime Minister Eric Williams is attacked for his acceptance of a Royal Honour. This act is seen to be a clear manifestation of the continued coloniality of the Trinidadian state with Williams deserving of his honour because he has:

> *"During his long – oh so long! – reign over this sugar/oil kingdom of the Caribbean, he has with pride and dignity carried on the traditions and trappings of our former colonial masters."* (OWTU 1969: 5)

What *The Vanguard* makes clear is that for middle-class West Indian politicians and intellectuals, acceptance by the (neo)imperial homeland is still the marker of success and attainment that it was under colonial rule and this was a point echoed by other Black Power aligned publications such as *Tapia* (1969 no. 3) on this very same topic. Not only do such acts make a mockery of the region's independence but the Anglophilism of the West Indian Creole Nationalist establishment continues to facilitate the extraction of capital from the Caribbean to the Metropole (OWTU 1969). The critiques developed here were grounded in the post-colonial theory of Caribbean, Third World and Black intellectuals as evidenced in numerous issues of *The Vanguard* from 1969 and 1970 (OWTU 1969 no.s 116, 121; 1970 no.s 135, 137).

In the outlining of an alternative decolonial trajectory to that offered by the Creole Nationalists *The Vangaurd* (1969 no. 122) turns to the work of C.L.R. James on African development and the more radical independence leaders of that continent. Here, the political activism of Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah is praised for he avoided the middle-class domination of the independence movement and party through the organisation of the Ghanaian peasantry into a mass party from which he articulated a more radical independence trajectory (ibid.). Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party rejected the gradualist approach taken up by West Indian independence leaders thus becoming the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from European colonial rule. The transnational and decolonial politics of West Indian Black Power are displayed here in the drawing of inspiration from coeval radical political trajectories emergent from the subaltern peoples of the 'Third World' and in the analysis of such a politics in order to exceed the anti-colonial visions of Creole Nationalism. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is also admired in *The Vanguard* (ibid.) for he, like Nkrumah, sought to build a nationalist programme and identity out of the lived experience and history of the mass population. This can be directly contrasted with a Creole Nationalism which in many ways was predicated on distancing the West Indies' new nation-states and national peoples from the historical experiences (slavery, indentureship) that the mass non-White population endured in the region (Bogues 2002; Thame 2017).

This discussion of Nkrumah and Nyerere and more radical trajectories of anticolonial nationalism and indeed postcolonial statehood bears further engagement. As discussed in the introduction, the period in which West Indian Black Power was most active in the late 1960s and early 1970s came at a time when nationalist leaders, governments and national liberation movements sought to press the limits of what decolonisation could mean economically, socially, culturally and geopolitically across the Third World (Prashad 2007; Getachew 2019). Whilst the Black Power groups, intellectuals and publications discussed in this chapter were highly critical of the postcolonial settlement presided over by Creole Nationalist governments in the West Indies that did not mean they rejected state-led projects of nation-building and decolonisation entirely. As evidenced by *The Vanguard*'s (1969 no. 122) praise of Nkrumah and Nyerere and in Walter Rodney's uptake of a position at the University of Dar es Salaam in

Nyerere's Tanzania where he would commit himself to building African socialism and opposing colonialism in the south of the continent (Rodney 1990; Sharp 2019; Al-Bulushi 2020).

Both Vijay Prashad (2007) and Adom Getachew (2019) explore at length the ambitious and radical projects and worldmaking efforts embarked upon by an array of anticolonial nationalist governments and leaders across the Third World that far exceeded the horizons of West Indian Creole Nationalists. Castro's Cuba stood defiantly in the face of US imperialist aggression and the 1966 Tricontinental Conference held in Havana saw the emergence of an international alliance against imperialism and support for armed liberation struggles being waged against colonialism and imperialism across the Third World (Prashad 2007; Mahler 2015). This expression of solidarity with armed liberation movements contrasted sharply with the Creole Nationalist governments of the West Indies who stood firm in their allegiance to the empires of the North Atlantic. West Indian Black Power stood in this anti-imperialist legacy of the Tricontinental with *Abeng*'s regular column 'African Battleline' reporting on the guerrilla struggles of movements and leaders who attended the 1966 Havana Conference such as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique (Abeng 1969 issues 4 and 8). Further, George Weekes was part of the Trinidadian delegation to the Tricontinental Congress (US Senate Committee on the Judiciary 1966) with this positioning him and the OWTU within a revolutionary anti-imperialist stream of Third World decolonisation that would find climactic expression during the Black Power Revolution of 1970.

These more radical attempts at decolonial worldmaking through the postcolonial state were also seen in efforts to reform dependent economies and reshape global geo-economics (Getachew 2019). The democratic socialism of Michael Manley's Jamaican government from 1972 – 1980 is emblematic of such efforts. Manley was influenced by the NWG, an intellectual project that had significant influence on West Indian Black Power as has been shown (Meeks and Girvan 2010), and their critique of the political economy of dependency and plantocracy. Manley used state power to address the massive inequality and poverty in Jamaica that he saw as undermining postcolonial citizenship:

> *his [Manley's] government instituted labor laws that set minimum wages, required pensions, expanded labor unions, and mandated workers' participation in decision-making. Second, he hoped to bring bauxite and other key industries under partial local control. (Getachew 2019: 156)*

On the international scale, Manley alongside figures like Nyerere was a central supporter of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) which was a project emergent from the Third World that sought to radically transform the global economic order and democratically restructure the UN (Getachew 2019). The NIEO would see international economic decision-making conducted in the UN General Assembly so as to democratise such negotiations and would reorient global trade in order to redistribute wealth from the First to Third World through the explicit privileging of developing states and their trade and development (Prashad 2007; Getachew 2019). Manley's ambitious postcolonial visions both national and international have direct roots in the Jamaican Black Power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. As Obika Gray (1991: 207) describes, the radical social movements of the 1960s of which Black Power was pre-eminent forged "independent sites of opinion formation", broadened the scope of political alternatives and horizons and drew marginalised groups into Jamaican politics and political culture. Indeed, members of the Jamaican Black Power movement and *Abeng* editors would join the PNP in the early 1970s and form the left-wing of Manley's democratic socialist project (Gray 1991; Bogues 2014).

This discussion of more radical Third Worldist or anticolonial nationalist projects reveals that the forms of postcolonial governance, nationhood and statecraft articulated by Creole Nationalist governments in the West Indies represented but one postcolonial trajectory of many in the West Indies and broader Third World (Massey 2005; Prashad 2007; Getachew 2019). Further, West Indian Black Power's relation to the postcolonial state was not necessarily one of outright hostility or rejection. Black Power groups and actors across the region articulated support and solidarity with more radical nationalist projects within and outwith the Caribbean in the 1960s (US Senate Committee on the Judiciary 1966; Abeng issue 4; The Vanguard 1969 no. 122) and in the case of Jamaica actively creating the conditions for, and becoming part of, Michael Manley's democratic socialist government (Gray 1991).

4.4 The Construction of Black Power as Subversive in the Post-Independence West Indies

In this final section, I explore the discourses and official rhetoric of subversion that was deployed by Creole Nationalist governments in the West Indies in opposition to the growing Black Power movement. I suggest such fears around the subversive character of Black Power politics can be rooted in the earlier discussion in this chapter. Black Power as an alternative decolonial trajectory that was grounded in a politics of Black identity, pride and solidarity did indeed pose a threat to the post-independence states of the region both in terms of specific policy direction and in the very construction of West Indies nationalisms and national identity. Accusations of subversion thus emerged as nationalist leaders and parties sought to delegitimise the Black Power movement on any number of grounds but also because there existed fundamental theoretical contestations over the course of the decolonial project in the West Indies.

It is illustrative to examine how the racialized construction of the post-independence Jamaican nation-state effected an official policy of state violence and repression in regards to the Black Power movement on the island and by association *Abeng*. When Jamaican security and policing is discussed in *Abeng* it is oftentimes in relation to the government's claims that there are "subversive groups" (Abeng 1969 issue 8: 4) operating on the island that threaten the state (Abeng 1969 issue 14). By the late 1960s the JLP government was increasingly attempting to paint Black Power and its advocates as a subversive element within Jamaican society that was distinctly foreign and unwelcome (Gray 1991). This equation of Black Power with subversion would ultimately lead to concrete policies of exclusion and expulsion as in the banning of UWI lecturers Walter Rodney and Clive Thomas from the island for their association with the Black Power movement (Quinn 2014). Indeed, Rex Nettleford writing in 1970 on the relationship between Black Power and Rastafari commented that both of Jamaica's major political parties came together in a television address to explain that Rodney had been banned from Jamaica because he was "a subversive" (Nettleford 1970: 117). Similarly, Rupert Lewis, who was majorly involved with Black Power activism on the UWI Mona campus in Kingston, in his reflections on the events of Rodney's banning commented that:

> *"Rodney was one of a number of intellectuals in the 1960s against whom the Jamaican government took action because their **ideas, travel-destinations, and political connections were deemed to be subversive of the national interest.**"* [Emphasis mine] (Lewis, R. 1998: 39)

This official designation of Black Power as a foreign and dangerous ideology says much about the racial construction of the Jamaican national project. Why should a socio-political movement calling for Black emancipation and uplift be a threat to the state security of a majority Black country?

Whilst the Creole Nationalist's ostensibly deracinated vision of Jamaica could on its face claim to be anti-racist, in reality it operated as a disarming move in regards to historical trends of Black Nationalism, and latterly Black Power, in a country and society not yet fully decolonised and still wracked by racial stratification (Gray 1991). Trevor Munroe summed this up nicely in a 1970 lecture by saying "This society is not multi-racial; only the minority areas of it are" with said minority areas being the enclaves of the wealthy middle and political class and their foreign allies (Munroe 1970: 2).

Black Power in Jamaica threatened the post-independence Jamaican national project in two key ways. Firstly, it highlighted the continuing racial discrimination that Afro-Jamaicans faced in a supposedly racially harmonious and equal society; the central move here was the articulation of economic exploitation, social coercion and cultural denigration with a race-conscious socio-political project. This linkage between race and class in Jamaica is a clear theme running throughout the pages of Black Power publications like *Abeng*. Issues 6 and 16 of *Abeng* highlight the rampant police violence deployed against Black Jamaican 'sufferers' by the state. Issue 6 (Abeng 1969) reports on the destruction of the property and houses of Rasta fisherman accused of squatting on government land with the same issue covering police beatings and shootings of youths in Kingston for their rejection of clientelist political associations with the PNP. In issue 16 (Abeng 1969: 3) a "Police Crime Wave" is covered with again harassment of Rastafari for being "ganja smokers" and reports that "After the police finished beating the youth they told them to go and put it in the ABENG". Police awareness of *Abeng* speaks to the publication's success in terms of circulation and readership and the purchase the paper held in the popular

knowledges of Kingston. These examples demonstrate that groups seen to be subverting or not yet fully incorporated into the Creole Nationalist vision of the idealised national citizen are to be targeted with coercive violence in order to enforce a desired social order or indeed to be removed as a problem element through outright murder. These antagonisms between the constituents and enforcers of the trajectories of Black Power and Creole Nationalism are grounded spatially. The liminal position of the Rastafari in the Creole state is confirmed and expressed through accusations of squatting and the independently minded youth of a Kingston garrison community are targeted for violent coercion in order to enforce the clientelist political relations expected of a PNP owned neighbourhood (Thame 2011, 2014).

Secondly, in Black Power's overt commitment to international Black, understood in its broadest 'Rodneyite' terms as non-white, struggle for emancipation and potentially even an identification with what David Austin (2013) has interrogated as a transnational Black national consciousness there is a clear break established between Black Jamaicans and the nation-state that they are expected to submit to (Gray 1991). In *Abeng*'s reporting there is developed a clear sense that the newspaper and the broader movement's Black Power politics operates as a significant threat to the overarching narratives and discourses put forth about the Jamaican nation and its people by a Creole political class. As such, *Abeng* recognises that in its core task of speaking truth to power and in its search for alternative decolonial trajectories there will be significant pushback from the Jamaican state and political establishment in an effort to protect the hegemony of Creole nationalist ideology. Indeed, *figure 4:1* ('Dennis' 1969) below speaks to this embracing of the label 'subversive' by *Abeng* in its search to open up new political terrains and provide a vision of an alternative decolonial future for Jamaica.

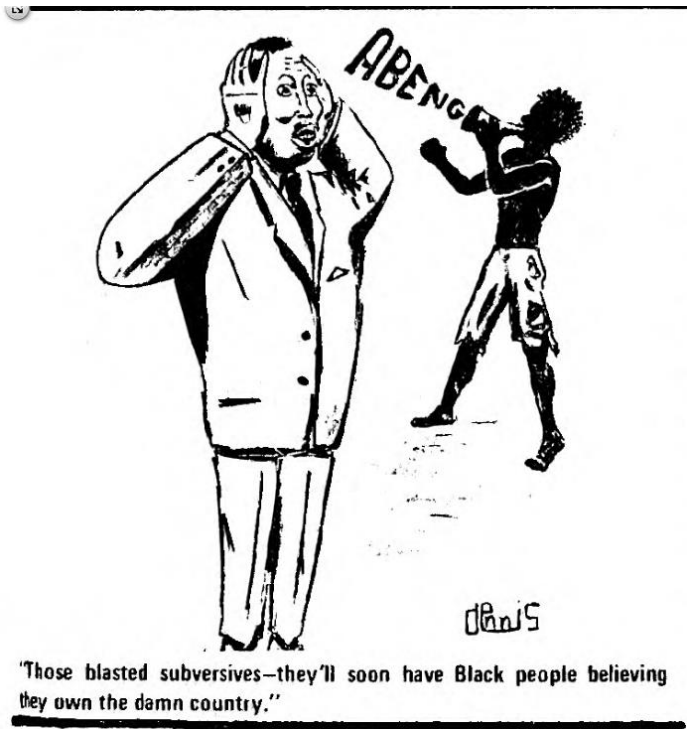

Figure 4:1 Political Cartoon by 'Dennis', *Abeng* (1969)

Black Power politics in the West Indies was consistently attentive to the struggles of non-white labour in the region and the exploitation of the resources and peoples of the islands by Metropolitan capital (Abeng 1969 no. 3; Rodney 1969; Thomas, C, Y. 2013). Similarly, the Black Power movement contained within it many overtly Leftist groups and actors and furthermore would act as an avenue into Marxism for many involved with the movement as the 1970s progressed (Gray 1991; Meeks 2000; Meeks and Girvan 2010). Post-independence governments and politicians latched onto these tendencies in order to bolster their narrative of the subversive threat posed by Black Power. In this way, a rhetoric of Cold War anti-communism and the geopolitical situation in the Caribbean were re-articulated by establishment figures within their own national contexts (Thomas 2017) in order to paint Black Power groups and activists as being Communist aligned malefactors.

The articulation of Black Power and Creole Nationalist politics in the West Indies should be contextualised within the region's Cold War geopolitics. The beginning of the Cold War coincided with the constitutional decolonisation process in the West Indies and the economic and strategic anti-communist interests of the Western capitalist powers would powerfully shape the terrain of 'legitimate'

nationalist politics in the region (Hintzen 2013). Britain and increasingly the US remained the West Indies' primary source of capital influx and the Creole Nationalist policy of dependent development necessitated heavy foreign investment allowing these powers to exert considerable influence over the domestic and foreign policy of the region's emergent leadership (Gray 1991; Hintzen 2013). This relationship was compounded by the military and strategic assets held by imperialist powers in the region with the Cuban Revolution only increasing their importance (Thomas 2017). In this environment, post-independence leaders would emphasise their anti-communist credentials in order to receive foreign backing and investment and to win support over and above domestic challenges to power that could be, more or less opportunistically, labelled communist. On the part of Black Power, many of those involved with the movement were explicitly socialist (e.g. Walter Rodney, Trevor Munroe) and Black Power groups would at times articulate explicitly anti-capitalist politics; Chapter 6 on the Bermuda Black Power Conference has a number of examples of this. Further, Black Power groups and actors were consistently sympathetic to the cause of Communist regimes and struggles such as Cuba, North Vietnam and Guinea Bissau (Abeng 1969 issue 20; Rodney 1969). It is important to state here though that sympathy and support for Communism and Communist struggles articulated by those in the West Indian Black Power movement remained principally focused on events in the 'Third World'. Black Power groups and actors were interested in what lessons could be drawn for a similar struggle against capitalist-imperialism and white supremacy in their own contexts and in the late 1960s and early 1970s it was Third World, Communist revolutionaries leading these efforts (Meeks 2000; Austin 2013, 2018). This is to say, that whilst Black Power groups and actors were interested in and supportive of socialist politics, policies and global Communist struggles they were not being directed from Havana or Moscow as Nationalist leaders and (neo)imperialist security actors would assert or fear (FCO 141/150 1970; Thomas and Riddell 1971).

To give an empirical example of the broader trends outlined I will turn to the OWTU's leading role within the 1970 Black Power Revolution in Trinidad and the consistent attacks faced by the union and its leadership in regards to their supposed Marxist leanings that made them threats to national stability. The

OWTU's involvement with the island's Black Power movement is representative of a trend seen across the West Indies; namely, the alliance of radical trade unions and trade unionists with Black Power groups and actors as well as other anti-establishment tendencies. Throughout the late 1960s one sees a coalescing of radical and opposition forces antagonistic towards the region's post-independence governments and united through common grievances and goals (Gray 1991; Millette 1995; Teelucksingh 2014). Indeed:

> *The demand for Black Power in the Caribbean was an expression of the Black majority's unfulfilled desire for a better life – one which would see an end to the poverty, social injustice, and cultural discrimination prevailing in the region.* (Gray 1991: 193)

Black Power thus operated as a rallying cry (James, C.L.R. 1967) that condensed the Black majority's historical grievances against hegemonic classes both locally and internationally and thus drew together the various movements and tendencies which operated as outlets for such grievances; trade unionism, Rastafari, Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism etc (Gray 1991). In the Trinidadian context, one can trace the genesis of the 1970 revolution to the labour unrest and militancy that characterised the latter years of the 1960s (Millette 1995; Teelucksingh 2014). Indeed, it was the Port of Spain transport workers strike of 1969 that drew together many of the key groups and figures that would go on to play leading roles in the Revolution. This strike was instigated by the Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU) and supported by the OWTU and saw radical labour politics align with student and youth movements espousing a politics of Black Power (OWTU 1969 no. 119; Pantin 1990). Chief amongst such student groups was the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), set up in the aftermath of the 1969 George Williams University Affair in Montreal, which would be the leading force in the 1970 Revolution and whose leaders built ties with the radical unions through their stand in solidarity with the forces of labour during the transport workers' strike (ibid.).

The Vanguard as the official organ of the OWTU chronicled the Williams government's consistent attacks throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s in which the organisation was decried as a destabilising force operating from the Left. Following the collapse of the 1970 Revolution after Prime Minister Eric Williams' declaration of a State of Emergency and incarceration of the various

Black Power leaders, including George Weekes the OWTU General Secretary, the Trinidadian state apparatus deployed a rhetoric of anti-communism to justify their actions and delegitimise the popular protests that had rocked the island (Samaroo 2014). Issue 143 of *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1970) reports that the union's books, including membership records and conference minutes, were seized as part of an investigation into whether Union money was being used to finance revolution in Trinidad; the source of said funds would be attributed by some in the establishment to foreign donors seeking to destabilise the country (OWTU 1970 no. 144; Thomas and Riddell 1971). At the same time, George Weekes was charged with sedition after being "branded by the Establishment as "communist" and "subversive"" (OWTU 1970 no. 144: 1) due to his political commitments. Indeed, Weekes and other Black Power leaders were held on Nelson Island following their arrest under the Declaration of Emergency. Nelson Island's colonial prison had been used to incarcerate the leaders of Trinidad's labour rebellions in the 1930s (OWTU 1970 no. 144; Samaroo 2014) and this was taken by *The Vanguard* and other Black Power groups and publications as further evidence of the continued coloniality of state power and security in the country. This action is a perfect example of the re-articulation of plantation spatialities and schemas of repression in contemporaneous Trinidadian problem-space through the historical-political trajectory of Creole Nationalism (McKittrick 2011, 2013).

Following the declaration of the State of Emergency opposition movements became increasingly vociferous in their condemnation of the Williams government's protracted use of the emergency powers this granted; OWTU and *The Vanguard* were no exception. In issue 144 (OWTU 1970) it is assessed that the now enfeebled regime necessitates an outside threat to the Trinidadian nation-state in order to maintain power and in this instance justify the continuation of the State of Emergency. Black Power was presented as just this threat and was increasingly linked with foreign Communist regimes (ibid.). In April 1970 during the height of the Black Power Revolution the Trinidadian Minister of Industry had denounced the Black Power movement as a "plot of Cuban-paid Communist agitators" (Thomas and Riddell 1971: 5) and further *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1970 no. 144) reported that rumours had been circulating that Weekes was in receipt of funds and arms from Cuba in order to stage an armed

insurrection. As *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1970 no. 144: 8) surmised; "The rumours about arms and Cubans are intended to justify a permanent State of Emergency."

This smearing of those involved in Black Power and radical opposition politics as Communists, and thus subversive agents potentially in league with foreign enemies, by the Trinidadian establishment was a common tactic throughout the 1960s. Weekes had earlier been branded as a Communist and a Marxist due to his activity with the Worker's and Farmer's Party (OWTU 1970 no. 145) and UWI St Augustine students protesting against the George Williams University Affair in 1969 were attacked in the national press for being "subversive, confused and atheistic" (OWTU 1970 no. 142: 6) as well as representing a potential vector for Communist influence in the country. Similar examples can be found in Jamaica as Creole Nationalist leaders became increasingly anxious about Cuba's continued success in the face of massive imperialist pressure and the alternative development and decolonial trajectory that the island represented an example of (Gray 1991). The JLP government of the late 1960s increasingly used links to Cuba to justify state repression of opposition elements. Young Socialist League members had passports seized due to their visits to the island (ibid.); Jamaican intellectuals Winston Davis, Leroy Taylor and George Beckford were declared *persona non grata* in part due to visits to Cuba (Lewis, R. 1998) and most famously Walter Rodney's banning from Jamaica in 1968 was partially justified because of his stays in both Cuba and the USSR (ibid.).

The construction of Black Power as both subversive and foreign due to an association with Communism and Marxism tells us much about US (neo)imperialism in the post-WWII Caribbean as well as highlighting the ways in which Creole Nationalist politicians recognised Black Power to be an alternative decolonial trajectory that had to be attacked. On the first point, after WWII the decolonial process and leadership in the West Indies would become increasingly caught up in a geopolitics of US anti-communism as a resurgent Western Europe was essential for the establishment of US capitalist hegemony and as such the anti-colonial politics of Europe's imperial possessions had to be insulated from Communist influence (Hintzen 2013). Similarly, as the newly independent economies and nations of the West Indies pivoted await from Britain and towards the US a strong anti-communist politics became necessary for US capital inflow

and the continued growth of a tourist economy largely dominated by the US market (ibid.). Thus, as discussed earlier, one of the conditions that Creole Nationalist politicians and parties met in imperial assessments of their 'readiness' for independence was a commitment to anti-communism and US capitalist domination of the region (Munroe 1971, 1972; Hintzen 2013; Thomas 2017). In this way the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism, albeit one now increasingly directed from the US and not Britain, would continue to shape West Indian problem-space.

However, the anti-communism of Creole Nationalist governments in the region wasn't simply imposed from outside by more powerful imperial actors. Creole Nationalist regimes would articulate an anti-communist politics for their own ends and to ward off specific threats emergent in their own national and regional contexts. So, the rhetoric of anti-Communism deployed by Eric Williams in his attempts to discredit threats to his government was assessed by actors and groups within the Trinidadian Black Power movement as emanating from the persistent opposition he faced from organised labour throughout the 1960s (Millette 1995; Teelucksingh 2014). With this compounded by his backtracking over original commitments to disapprove the re-leasing of the Chaguaramas military base to the US in the early 1960s (OWTU 1970 no. 135). Williams and other Creole Nationalists sought to discredit political and social opposition as being subversive or foreign because such movements articulated a different vision of and programme for the independent islands of the West Indies.

The Creole Nationalist monopolising of anti and decolonial politics was challenged by a Black Power movement that spoke to the numerous failings of the post-independence regimes and envisioned an alternative decolonial future for the region. Black Power could not be understood to have legitimate grievances rooted in the lived experiences of the West Indian population and their material conditions because Creole Nationalism had been positioned as the best and even only route towards independence and national development by Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial actors. The Black Power movement was constructed as a subversive threat to national stability and prosperity either because it was re-animating a race-based politics now unnecessary after independence, as seen in Jamaica (Gray 1991), or because it was the vehicle for a Communist takeover of the state which was both unwanted by the majority of

the population and also part of a foreign conspiracy, as seen in Trinidad (OWTU 1970 no.s 142, 144, 145). This opposition to West Indian Black Power as being subversive was both partially cynical politicking to discredit opponents, with the added benefit of winning material support off Western imperial powers (Hintzen 2013; Thomas 2017), as well as being partially rooted in the genuine inability of a Creole political and middle class to deal with the ravages of neo-colonialism (Rodney 2013) and the race consciousness of their new nations' lower classes (Nettleford 1970, 1971; Gray 1991; Lewis, R. 1998).

4.5 Conclusion

This first empirical chapter has established a number of core political antagonisms and trends that will be explored in a more situated manner in the following chapters. The discussion here has been a survey of the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies with an emphasis on examining core contestations and interactions between the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism, West Indian Black Power and a continued (neo)colonialism and their spatial-political manifestations and specific articulations (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). This is a core contribution of this chapter; utilising this original theoretical framing to understand my period of study as one of rupture wherein the horizon of possible futures of the nascent independent West Indies appeared broad and ready to be grasped with the trajectories I have identified articulated around and impelled towards very different anticipated future spatial-political configurations.

I have demonstrated in this chapter that West Indian Black Power anticipated and sought a decidedly decolonial future for the region in contrast to the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism. This was explored through reference to the neo-colonial critiques and decolonial thought of intellectuals associated with the Black Power movement with a particular focus on analyses of the coloniality of post-colonial state formation in the region. A significant contribution of my work here is situating thinkers like Best (1970, 2003) and Rodney (1969) as important figures within the genealogy and intellectual geography of decolonial thought with their prescient works still holding key resources for contemporary decolonial analysis and action (Davies 2019). Black Power's decolonial politics found expression in the critique and

opposition to Creole Nationalism's racial logics and associated racial coding of the national project and citizenries (Abeng 1969 no. 1; OWTU 1969 no. 122; Munroe 1971; Thame 2017). Black Power actors and thinkers rejected the Western and colonially rooted ontologies of race that underpinned the Creole Nationalist project and instead articulated a conception of blackness that included all non-white peoples oppressed by a global white power structure (Rodney 1969) that was the basis for transnational allegiance and solidarity with all those opposing racism, colonialism and imperialism.

Finally, I examined discourses of subversion deployed by Creole Nationalist governments in order to discredit and provide cover for the repression of West Indian Black Power. As discussed, Black Power's decolonial critique of Creole Nationalism's undergirding racial logics and coding of West Indian nationalism positioned Black Power as a threat to this project. The suppression of 'subversive' Black Power groups and actors thus became racially coded as a rejection of identification with the idealised Creole or Afro-Saxon national citizen with this deemed threatening to the nationalist project. The state repression meted out under the guise of rooting out subversives thus represented a re-articulation of plantation logics of race and racially delineated and directed schemas of violence (McKittrick 2011, 2013). Localised articulations of Cold War anti-communism were also used as a means to discredit and suppress the West Indian Black Power movement. Whilst this is evidence of the complementary interactions between the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism such rhetoric and anti-communist action wasn't simply directed from imperialist powers of the Global North. West Indian governments and leaderships employed a politics of repression to meet their own specific strategic purposes (Moulton 2015). The transnational technopolitical security networks that were established in the suppression of the 'subversive' West Indian Black Power movement will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 5 The Agitational Publication and its Role in West Indian Black Power Political Praxis and Spatial Imaginaries

5.1 Introduction

The majority of the empirical data which this thesis is based upon is drawn from various Black Power and aligned journals, newspapers, pamphlets and other publications that were produced and circulated across the Caribbean, and beyond, in the 1960s and 1970s. In this chapter I will attend to what I consider to be the key spatialities this corpus reveals and to the generative potential of the production and dissemination of such radical political publications in establishing and strengthening transnational solidarities and local networks of socio-political mobilisation and activism. Further, I draw out the core spatial and political imaginaries evidenced in the local, regional and international reportage contained in these publications with this revealing how Black Power actors and groups positioned themselves and their actions in local and international contexts of political struggle and contestation. This chapter examines specific spatial and political articulations of the historical-political trajectory of West Indian Black Power that are found in the production and circulation of various print materials.

The publications I examine in this chapter were produced by a constellation of Black Power and aligned political groupings that had a marked impact on the politics and social and cultural tendencies of the entire region (Gray 1991; Quinn 2014). These publications were key amplifiers of the voices of subaltern West Indians and their local, daily struggles but also contained a regional outlook and analysis with common themes being coverage of Caribbean articulations of contemporaneous Cold War geopolitical struggle and the global relations of capitalist-imperialist exploitation that shaped the region (Scope 1968 vol. 2 issue 9; Abeng 1969 issue 19). Broader international reportage also consistently focused on international Black and Third World struggle against racist policing, colonial oppression and imperialist warmongering which was a central plank in the common position that transnational Black and Third World solidarity was necessary in the face of a transnational white power system that served to divide and rule (Abeng 1969 issue 28; OWTU 1970; Moko 1970 issue 26).

The following discussion will be broken down into two major sections. The first focusing on the material networks and connections developed through and constituted by the production of these Black Power publications. I position these Black Power texts as social relations constitutive of and formed through situated and specific space-time relations and thus as key political objects in the formation of Black Power networks and spatial-political formations (Ogborn 2002, 2011). These social relations of course were not entirely harmonious and in this section I attend to the debates, tensions, and competing strategic visions that cross-cut such relations and further draw out how such antagonisms too were articulated from and through specific places and locales. I demonstrate how publications were used to organise and shape social and political organisation and activism with such praxis reflective of the ideological commitments that underpinned the decolonial politics of West Indian Black Power. This socio-political organisation however did have its gendered limits, with Black Power publications and the West Indian movement more broadly constructing political activism through the language and aesthetic of machismo and subordinating women's voices, concerns and action to men. This is explored in further detail in section 5.3. In sum, I contend that Black Power texts represent material articulations of the historical-political trajectory of West Indian Black Power that could join up local and international political struggles through their reportage and circulation.

The second section is an engagement with the reportage to be found in these Black Power publications. I do this in order to draw out the contours of the spatial and political imaginaries that animated West Indian Black Power praxis and organisation. In this reporting there can be found critique of specific articulations of the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism that shaped contemporaneous West Indian problem-space and which the decolonial vision of Black Power sought to exceed. I consider this reportage to be the textual codification of narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) that sought to sketch out local and global political terrains and make clear the position held and vision offered by a decolonial West Indian Black Power in response and distinction to other historical-political trajectories.

5.2 The Spatial Politics of Black Power Print Publication and Circulation

In this section I examine the spatial-political formations and praxes that animated the publication, circulation and consumption of Black Power print materials across the West Indies. Here I am concerned with the ways the spatial networks and circuits of journal production and consumption were reflective of the political aims of the Black Power groups and actors producing these materials; both at a domestic and transnational scale. I also consider the materiality of these geographies understanding the Black Power publication and its movement as inaugurating political and social relations across space-time through the movement and consumption of such texts.

5.2.1 The *Abeng* Newspaper's Editorial Structure

In beginning to assess the spatial-political formations that were constructed through the production and distribution of Black Power print materials I begin with Jamaica and the Abeng group who produced a synonymous weekly newspaper. The *Abeng* newspaper and the movement that coalesced around it emerged at a time of significant social unrest and political activism in Jamaica and the paper echoed many of the anti-status quo themes of the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies (Gray 1991; Bogues 2014). *Abeng* and its contributors would struggle to develop a coherent ideological orientation for the paper and wider movement and attempts to do so towards the end of the paper's publishing run revealed tensions between a more middle-class, academic editorial board and an ideologically heterogeneous array of more subaltern contributors. Nonetheless, common throughout all 34 issues was a commitment to developing a socio-political project uniquely of and for the Jamaican subaltern and their empowerment (Abeng 1969 no 1; Gray 1991; Bogues 2014). This radical emancipatory project that *Abeng* committed itself to delineating and, in part, directing was united under the banner of Black Power which had, since Kingston's Rodney Riots of 1968, been an increasingly visible and powerful force in West Indies society, politics and culture (Lewis, R. 2014). As such, *Abeng* represents a key mechanism through which spatial-political formations, as both material and imagined, could be developed and directed in order to recognise the aims of Black Power in Jamaica.

From the outset *Abeng* committed itself to being a forum and amplifying voice for the island's impoverished Black masses and this would directly influence the spatial diffusion of editorial input that the journal committed itself to as well as the communities targeted for vending and engagement. The paper's target audience and the sector of Jamaican society it sought to galvanise could be located in the avatar of 'the Sufferer'; Jamaica's racialised underclass who Gray (1991: 171) describes as:

> *that vast majority of poor Jamaicans whose social condition was marked by landlessness, poor housing, unemployment, exposure to police brutality, and political victimization.*

Indeed, the choice of name for the journal is itself telling in regards to the mass-based politics the paper sought to enliven as an organ of social and political critique from below. An Abeng is a horn that was historically used by Jamaican Maroons in order to communicate over large distances and in ways that could not be understood by British colonialists; it is similarly associated with Maroon resistance to the colonial state as it could be used to organise tactically and strategically in a martial context (Abeng 1969 issue 1). By adopting this title *Abeng* positioned itself as a call to action for Jamaica's subaltern population and placed itself in a historical lineage of Jamaican anti-colonial struggle and resistance.

This commitment to operating as a voice of Jamaica's oppressed is manifested directly in the paper's editorial structure:

> *Editorial Committees working at the parsish and village level will form the backbone of its [the newspaper's] investigations and reporting. These Committees located across the length and breadth of this country will alone guarantee that the newspaper is truly the voice of the whole population, a forum for the points of view of all groups, and an organ independent of existing political parties and commercial interests.* (Abeng 1969 issue 1: 2)

In *Abeng*'s stated desire to aggregate and not lead (Abeng 1969 issue 1) one sees this political commitment to a mass-based and directed politics inform a divestment of editorial control through a spatially diffuse network of committees and independent reporters. *Abeng* would reflect the opinions and positions of the broadest cross-section of Jamaican society possible, in contrast to existing

newspapers dominated by the middle-class and "commercial interests" (ibid.), and the means for achieving this was an extensive network of local committees whose voices were represented in the collectively produced weekly paper. This commitment to operating as a forum for discussion and critique from below is stated plainly in early issues with central editorial interventions stating that the newspaper would "invite the views of everyone" (Abeng 1969 issue 1: 4) in its commentaries and that *Abeng* existed as a "medium for the people of this country to ground together" (Abeng 1969 issue 2: 2).

This allusion to the process of 'grounding' further reveals the political commitments and desired praxis that *Abeng* sought to animate. Grounding at once refers to Rastafari religious practice and simultaneously to the Black Power political activity of Guyanese historian and political agitator Walter Rodney who was active in Jamaica in 1968. The process of grounding represents an open and spatially extensive politics. Rodney used grounding as a way of engaging with and politicising working class Jamaicans. In the appropriately titled *The Groundings with my Brothers* (1969) Rodney describes groundings, open group discussions, as powerful moments where he was able to learn and develop his own knowledge by actively listening to and valuing the input of Jamaican sufferers with Rodney being particularly impressed by the Rastafari and their radical Black consciousness. These same commitments are espoused in an *Abeng* editorial on the desired goals of the paper:

> *The idea is to create a medium for the people of this country to ground together. To communicate with one another. We had no means to do so before ABENG…The majority of Jamaicans-the sufferers-have no medium for communicating with themselves and the rest of the people…ABENG will give expression to all these people.* (Abeng 1969 issue 2: 2)

Grounding is conceived of as a generative political praxis that allows for the expression of a subaltern politics through mutual communication and debate. The *Abeng* editors here see their paper as providing a means through which an anti-hierarchical and subaltern spatial-politics can be developed with previously isolated sufferers and sufferer communities drawn together ideologically and materially through the newspaper. The *Abeng* newspaper as material object that can be circulated across space-time and consumed by a community of dispersed readers provides a means through which this politics and praxis of grounding can

be realised. *Abeng* carried articles on Rodney's political ideology and praxis (Abeng 1969 issue 28) as well as excerpts from his writings (Abeng 1969 issue 6) with this further solidifying the link between a politics of mass engagement and anti-vanguardism and the decentralised and spatially distributed network of editorial committees that structured the paper's content.

Beyond the, desired, national network of editorial committees that informed the newspaper's content *Abeng* and the group surrounding it also sought to convene and popularise 'Abeng assemblies' (Abeng 1969 issue 6). Such meetings would be even more open than the editorial committees; inviting any and all to discuss matters beyond just the scope of the newspaper and its contents. It was hoped these assemblies would provide a basis for community organisation and communication amongst sufferer communities across the island (ibid.). These assemblies are first discussed in issue 6 (Abeng 1969: 2) and are described in the following terms:

> *Abeng assemblies are being organised as from next week on a monthly basis. On every such occasion, we will start to reason together…the assemblies will provide the means for communication, for organization, for working for ourselves. Understanding and confidence will come. Then Jamaicans will be able to take charge of our country and its resources and our lives.*

As with the editorial committees, the Abeng assemblies were again representative of the desire to bring together and amplify the voice of the island's sufferer population in order to build solidarities, cohere common struggles and provide a vehicle for the collective consciousness raising of poor, Black Jamaicans. The editorial committees could be seen to advance the cause of Black struggle and liberation through the collation and popularisation of localised, yet commonly connected, stories of injustice, impoverishment and resistance. Whilst the assemblies would provide focal points for the gathering of likeminded *Abeng* readers, and associates, and a critical space for the organisation and delineation of an emergent mass movement.

Just as *Abeng*'s central editorial committee had promised to aggregate and not lead in issue 1 (Abeng 1969) we see the same commitment with the assemblies: "Those of us producing the paper can only go to these assemblies to help discussion, not to lecture and tell people what to do." (Abeng 1969 issue 6: 2).

This re-affirmation of an anti-vanguardist position by the paper's founders thus invites the direction of the Abeng mass movement, for that was the intended goal (Gray 1991; Bogues 2014), from below. These claims sit uneasily against the editorial tensions seen in later issues of the paper, where a more determined Marxist line was put forward by certain editors to better focus the movement's analysis and direction over and above the ideological heterogeneity seen in the paper's reportage up to that point (Gray 1991). However, such antagonisms emerged late in *Abeng*'s publishing run and were centred on socio-political analysis with the praxis of cohering and amplifying the struggles of Jamaican sufferers still central to *Abeng*'s work. We might read the hosting of Abeng assemblies as constitutive of the spatial-politics of grounding discussed earlier. The assemblies as groundings "will provide the means for communication, for organization, for working for ourselves" with these spaces of subaltern political mobilisation and interaction drawn together into a national movement through affiliation with and material possession of the newspaper (Abeng 1969 issue 6: 2). This politics would culminate with the desired decolonial future articulated through a Black Power politics: "Jamaicans… [being] able to take charge of our country and its resources and our lives." (ibid.)

Just as the newspaper brought together sufferer's stories from across the island via a network of editorial committees a similarly nationally networked structure of assemblies would physically bring together sufferers so as to develop the organisational capacity of the movement and build communicative links between radically minded groups and individuals on a national scale. To this end, there are adverts for assemblies in Falmouth located on Jamaica's North coast in the Trelawney Parish and for May Pen located in Clarendon Parish in Southern central Jamaica in issue 6 (Abeng 1969). These assemblies were convened on the topics of "What Future has Local Govt?" and "Tourism or House Slavery?" (Abeng 1969 issue 6: 4) and are reflective of the array of issues that *Abeng* and the Abeng movement stitched together into a Jamaican Black Power analysis and critique and the common position that significant systemic change was required.

Issue 8 of *Abeng* (1969) provides insight into how these assemblies operated. In a report on the convening of an assembly in response to the British invasion of Anguilla, discussed in further detail later in this chapter, we are told:

> *Another remarkable Abeng Assembly of Black people and their supporters took place on Wednesday March 19. Over 400 angry citizens of all classes agreed that British intervention in Anguilla and Canadian brutilization of West Indian students confirmed the experience of a slave society* (Abeng issue 8, 1969: 1)

I would suggest 400 attendees at this meeting is a respectable haul for a newspaper and political movement that had only been operational for two months. The, relatively, high attendance also speaks to the powerful sense of injustice felt by Black West Indians in the wake of the Anguilla invasion and a commitment to solidarity with those facing direct imperialist aggression. This commitment to solidarity with the Anguillans is reflective of *Abeng*'s and West Indian Black Power's core goals of transnational Black solidarity and organisation. We are told:

> *Unity and organisation now was desirable and possible. Unity between all Blacks and others who wished to overthrow white oppression; organisation to meet the attacks which must come against the creation of a fully human society* (Abeng issue 8, 1969: 1)

This organisation took the form of unanimous demands for Jamaican unions to shut down British businesses for 24 hours and that the British High Commissioner be expelled from Jamaica within 48 hours if British troops did not leave Anguilla (Abeng issue 8, 1969). This example demonstrates how the *Abeng* newspaper could operate as a means for socio-political rallying and action. Through the political community and networks established through the paper's material circulation and political imaginaries a gathering of some 400 Black Power aligned individuals is made possible after two months of publication. This local self-organisation and assertion of political agency is reminiscent of the similar community-based politics and mobilisation of the US Black Panther Party (Tyner 2006; Heynen 2009). Further, this assembly and others like it represent the social spaces wherein narratives of resistance were developed and articulated. In this example we see the gathering of radically-minded subaltern and other Jamaicans who articulate a politics of transnational Black solidarity in opposition to imperialist military power that is in direct opposition to the line taken by regional Creole Nationalist governments who backed British intervention (OWTU 1969 issue 116: 4). The Anguilla intervention highlights the principle trajectories operating in West Indian problem-space during this period: a (neo)colonial trajectory manifest through the British invasion; a Creole Nationalist trajectory

manifest in support of this action in order to maintain the post-colonial status quo; and a Black Power trajectory manifest spatially through the convening of the assembly made possible through the socio-political networks established through *Abeng* and from which a transnational politics of solidarity is articulated.

The comment that "citizens of all classes" (ibid.) were in attendance is interesting given the paper's and editorial boards' stated aim of having *Abeng* and by association the Assemblies operate as a vehicle for the enunciation and amplification of narratives of resistance from Jamaican's subaltern communities (Meeks 2000). The cross-class gathering reported here is potentially reflective of the paper's two main constituents; namely, the sufferer population and students and young academics at the University of the West Indies (UWI) Mona campus in Kingston (Rodney 1969; Gray 1991). Tensions between these two groups would emerge in the paper's editorial direction and organisation. In a 1999 interview former editor and later academic Robert Hill claimed that the paper was 'administered' by UWI academics and not led (Scott, D. 1999b). However, fellow editor Trevor Munroe's regular columns in later issues of the paper that tried to define a specific political-analytic direction over and above the multitude of Rastafari, Black Nationalist, Garveyite and broadly subaltern reportage the paper contained undermines his claim somewhat (Gray 1991; Scott, D. 1999b). Here we see commitments to an anti-vanguardist politics and supposedly communally dispersed editorial structure run up against a desire for ideological coherence and direction in the attempted establishment of a socio-political movement. This tension is also a highly classed one with UWI middle-class students and academics in the end attempting to assert intellectual and ideological influence over the newspaper. This tension between the campus and the streets and these two important groups within Black Power politics will be further discussed in relation to Trinidad later in this chapter.

5.2.2 Domestic Circulation and Distribution

Moving beyond the editorial structure of *Abeng* and the ways in which the spatial structuring of such networks reflected the political commitments of the journal and associated grouping I'd now like to consider the circulation of Black Power literature in the Caribbean. Here I will be thinking about the specific

communities and spaces targeted by Black Power groupings in their distribution of literature as well as reflecting upon the extent to which groups across the West Indies were actually successful in developing a readership in the social and material spaces that they selected. Throughout this section I engage with specific examples of the ways that print publications in their production and circulation forged social and political relations and formations through their movement through time and space and their readership (Ogborn 2002, 2011). I firstly discuss the numerous examples of small-scale, subaltern political publications in print in Jamaica in the late 1960s and how these provided a space for the expression of subaltern cultural production and narratives of resistance and further engendered the formation of socio-political networks. Returning to *Abeng*, I demonstrate how the newspaper's circulation was in and of itself a *political act* that served to heighten radical political and race consciousness and build solidarities between communities across Jamaica through this material articulation of the decolonial politics of Black Power. With print production, circulation and consumption understood as formative of socio-political networks and relations these processes were of course sites of contestation, debate and multiple narratives (Featherstone 2009). I close this section by examining the multiple and sometimes antagonistic articulations of Black Power politics found in the print materials produced and consumed in Trinidad during the Black Power Revolution of 1970.

Kingston in the late 1960s played host to a number of small-scale publications which either directly articulated a politics of Black Power or which were ideologically rooted in the Jamaican Black Power movement's theoretical antecedents and co-tendencies; be that Garveyite Black Nationalism, Rastafari, the Black Muslim movement etc. (Lewis, R. 1998). Interestingly, there is detailed information about this Jamaican print production in a Trinidadian publication by the name *Bongoman* (1970 issue 5). This is telling in regard to the Pan-Caribbean connections and dimensions of Black Power literary production in this period with the *Bongoman* (1970 issue 5: 5) article entitled 'On Black Struggle in Jamaica 1968/69' demonstrating intimate knowledge of Jamaican Black Power publications and associated networks. In the article it is revealed that African Youth Move Publications (AYM) was a key producer of radical, race-conscious materials in Kingston in the late 1960s. The existence of this independent

publishing house speaks to the political agency of Kingston's subaltern residents with AYM's publications and their circulation constitutive of social and spatial networks from which narratives of resistance could be developed and articulated (Meeks 2000; Ogborn 2002). The AYM periodicals *Blackman Speaks* and *Our Own* articulated a Rastafari consciousness, of course deeply rooted in subaltern Jamaica's history and culture, and a Pan-Africanist politics through frequent reporting on Ethiopia and the linkage of Black struggle in Jamaica to the activity of the US Black Panthers (Bongoman 1970 issue 5).

These journals, pamphlets and papers circulating in Kingston's poor communities formed circuits and networks of consciousness raising, intellectual exchange and cultural expression rooted both theoretically and materially in the spaces of Jamaica's subaltern population. Perhaps the best example of this is that issues of *Blackman Speaks* were carried in the record shop of Prince Buster the ska singer, Nation of Islam minister and outspoken socio-political critic (Bongoman 1970 issue 5; Lewis 1998). This is evidence of the close relationship between Black Power politics and Kingston's radical urban youth which were the foremost producers and consumers of ska in both record shops and the city's dancehalls (Gray 1991; Hutton 2010). Indeed, *Abeng* carried adverts for Buster's record shop in every issue of the paper and Buster himself wrote pieces for the newspaper under both his ska and Nation of Islam aliases (Abeng 1969 issues 8 and 19). Thus, both Black Power publications and ska records sat side by side in the spaces and communities of Jamaica's Black poor. Both represented the resistive expressions of a racialised and oppressed subaltern population articulated through the language and aesthetic of Black pride and a politics of economic justice and the redistribution of power.

Beyond Kingston, the *Bongoman* article (1970 issue 5: 5) highlights *The Sufferer* described as "The voice of Black Power in St. Ann" with St. Ann being a parish in Northern Jamaica and a major Bauxite mining area assessed to be a site of US economic imperialism: see *figure 5:1* on p. 131. The Jamaican Black Power critique of the foreign dominated Bauxite trade was discussed in depth in Chapter 4. Further, it is reported that the Reverend Claudius Henry, a radical Pan-Africanist preacher who Walter Rodney was in close contact with, produced a newsletter that was influential in rural Jamaica and particularly in the sugar producing areas in the parish of Clarendon (Bongoman 1970 issue 5). These

examples demonstrate the existence of a vibrant, independent and radically-minded Jamaican print culture reflective of the creative capacities of Jamaican subaltern groups who engaged in this activity in order to articulate and disseminate critique of the Creole Nationalist political establishment and the continued coloniality of life on the island. The production and circulation of print materials is the means through which narratives of resistance are crafted and enunciated which assert the humanity of the subaltern and through which socio-political mobilisation can be galvanised.

Returning to *Blackman Speaks,* the periodical published the public lectures of Black Power thought leader Walter Rodney that he conducted in Kingston and AYM was the first to publish Rodney's speech from the Congress of Black Writers, held in Montreal 1968, following his banning from Jamaica (ibid.). Indeed, AYM circulated many of Rodney's writings and teachings at no cost (ibid.). AYM's periodicals and their circulation constituted socio-political networks wherein subaltern Jamaican cultural interests could be actively explored and given expression in a way that establishment media and the political mainstream would not. These networks, material and imagined, operated as a means for politicisation as evidenced through the publication of Rodney's lectures and further provided a means of linkage to global currents of radical Black politics as in the example of the reprinting of the Montreal speech. We might conceive of the establishment media as articulating the viewpoints and politics of the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism with these smaller subaltern targeted publications representing articulations of Black Power and the counter-narratives emergent from subaltern communities.

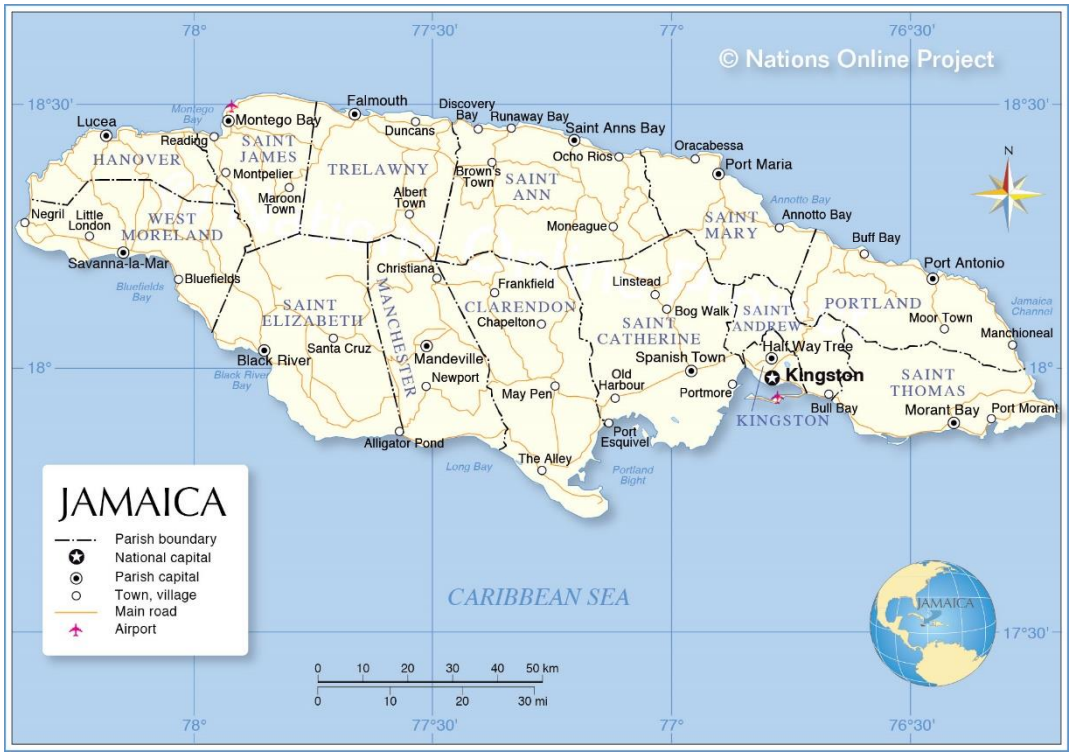

Figure 5:1 Administrative Map of Jamaica, Nations Online Project (2020)

In order to engage in depth with these networks of distribution and circulation of radical Black publications I return to *Abeng*. Former *Abeng* editor Robert Hill describes the weekly distribution of the paper as follows:

> *Abeng was published on a Thursday night, and on a Friday morning the vendors, people from within the movement, and people from the country parts, drove into Kingston to collect the newspaper, and then took it to the country: to St Thomas, to Portland, to St Catherine, Clarendon, Kamarakafego's Town, Montego Bay* (Scott, D. 1999b: 93)

See *figure 5:1* for a map of Jamaica and the towns and parishes mentioned by Hill. Here we see the materiality of the production and distribution of the radical Black Power journal with this being the means through which the desired socio-political movement would be connected, galvanised and provided a means for political discussion and interaction. The text, in both its material and imaginary capacities, becomes the mechanism for the formation and articulation of social and political relations across time and space. Indeed, the national distribution of *Abeng* is impressive and again speaks to the editors', vendors' and readers' desire to develop a mass movement. Hill goes on to describe the politicising role vending and circulation played for *Abeng*:

> *When the newspaper say, went to St Thomas, members of the editorial board went with the newspaper and held public meetings…there was a political relationship that was being built. Circulation was a* ***political*** *act. To carry the newspaper, to identify with it, was the beginning of a political relationship* [emphasis original] (Scott, D. 1999b: 93)

The material circulation of *Abeng* was central in constituting social and political relations across space; political relations directed towards the realisation of a desired decolonial future as articulated through Black Power. Hill goes on to describe some of these meetings where members of the Young Socialist League would engage with *Abeng* readers and those interested in efforts to spread a socialist consciousness (ibid.). Similarly, Hill recounts how trade union struggle in a cold storage plant in Westmoreland was developed through the work of the *Abeng* distributor in the area with a pamphlet on trade unionism and politics emergent from this struggle published in *Abeng* (ibid.). Such activity is demonstrative of the powerful strain of anti-capitalist and Leftist politics that ran through West Indian Black Power as discussed in Chapter 4. Again, *Abeng*'s circulation and the practice of vending becomes a means through which subaltern Jamaicans could be drawn into a Black Power socio-political movement through the space-time networks and formations produced through the newspaper (Ogborn 2002, 2011).

I now turn to the connections and tensions between subaltern communities and the university campus that were constructed through the distributive networks of Black Power publications in the West Indies. The linkage between the UWI campus and the sufferer communities that a politics of Black Power sought to mobilise was one that caused much consternation within the governments of both post-independence states in the region and the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office. FCO documents detail the Jamaican state's fears of any co-ordination between the UWI Mona campus and Black Power groups or Kingston's disaffected urban poor outside the university; "it [the prospect of co-ordination] is regarded with considerable apprehension by the Establishment in Jamaica" (FCO 63/494 *A Post-Trinidad Assessment of Jamaican Stability* 1970: 1). The formation of a "a single cohesive body under firm and organised leadership" could threaten national stability it was assessed (ibid.). Similarly, the FCO themselves saw the region's UWI campuses as being a vector for the establishment of a Pan-Caribbean Black Power movement which could be

regionally organised and articulated (FCO 141/150 1970). Across the Black Power publications I have studied from both Jamaica and Trinidad one sees efforts to forge alliances between a radical intelligentsia and student body with an increasingly restive population dissatisfied with the post-independence settlement (Gray 1991; Lewis, R. 1998; Bogues 2014); however such efforts were not without their tensions as discussed earlier in regards to *Abeng*.

Embryo was the foremost student publication operating on Trinidad's UWI St Augustine campus in the late 1960s and early 1970s and this journal catalogues the development of Trinidad's Black Power Revolution in the early months of 1970 and the coalition of radical students and Black, urban poor that comprised the Revolution's base. In issue 16, vol. 2 of *Embryo* (1970: 15) one finds a notice for the "Day of Solidarity Against Racism in Canada" which was held on the 26th of February to protest the treatment of West Indian students arrested at George Williams University in Montreal a year prior as part of an anti-racist occupation that turned violent; this solidarity event would spark the Black Power Revolution. The protesting students targeted Canadian owned banks through occupations and pickets in order to hurt Canadian imperialist-economic interests in the region as well as to rouse public anger against the racial discrimination underpinning the treatment of students in Montreal (ibid.). These acts in combination with the occupation of Port of Spain's Catholic cathedral and the heavy-handed state response to the original protestors sparked mass public outcry leading to months of thousand strong marches, occupations, public assemblies, strikes and ultimately an army mutiny (Pantin 1990; Teelucksingh 2014). *Embryo* represented a medium through which a Black Power mass movement was in part instigated in that its circulation and reportage facilitated the organisation and popularisation of a protest movement emanating from the campus that would ultimately galvanise popular support from amongst Port of Spain's poor Black communities (Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 16; Pantin 1990).

Embryo also provided a forum for strategic and theoretical discussion and debate between the campus and the sites of protest over the course of the 1970 Revolution. Vol. 2 issue 20 (Embryo 1970) contains a letter from a 'revolutionary' critical of the main body of UWI students and academics for their lack of revolutionary action and material support of the protestors in Port of Spain. This is followed up by critique of the position that students or

intellectuals should be leaders of the Revolution based on their academic credentials or theoretical development (ibid.); here is evidenced a tension between the campus and the streets in regards to where the centre of revolutionary action and theory actually lies. The letter's author articulates a clear spatial imaginary assessing the locus of revolutionary political action to be in the streets engaged in direct confrontation with the state and its Creole Nationalist leadership. The comment on the intellectual leadership of the Revolution can again be read through this spatial imaginary. Academic theory and credentials developed and attained within the sanctity of the university campus are meaningless if they are not applied practically and materially to the unfolding political situation on Port of Spain's streets; it is from this revolutionary crucible that true intellectual and political leaders are forged.

This same issue (Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 20) also contains reports from the front, so-to-speak, on the ongoing development and direction of mass protests in a piece titled 'The New Movement: a review'. The author David Murray, an active participant in the street protests, reads the police violence deployed against marchers as colonial in character; a clear assessment that the security regimes deployed in opposition to West Indian Black Power represent re-articulations of plantation schemas of violence and repression (McKittrick 2011, 2013). Murray signs off his piece with the following; "Our demands are simple: we want our land, we want the Indian and the African united, we want an end to the miseducation of our people." (Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 20: 9). His call encapsulates some of the core goals of West Indian Black Power; the wresting of land and resources from the hands of foreign capitalists; solidarity between all non-white peoples fighting racism, colonialism and imperialism; and, the challenging of epistemic coloniality. Finally, in issue 20 one finds articles critical of the Black Power movement for a perceived adventurism or lack of theoretical grounding especially in regards to attempts at constructing inter-ethnic solidarities between Trinidad's Afro and Indo-Caribbean populations (ibid.). These examples serve to highlight the dynamic and reflexive nature of the socio-political relations developed through *Embryo's* production and circulation and which drew together the campus and the street and the variously positioned actors in both. Even in dispute the radical journal was a mechanism for the

exchange of information and attempts to define the character and direction of a, potential, social revolution as it unfolded.

Embryo like *Abeng* demonstrates how the print journal can be constitutive of circuits of information exchange, political agitation and instigation that drew together the campus and Port of Spain's Revolutionary street protestors. The student paper facilitated, in part, the cross-fertilisation of Black Power campus political activity with anti-establishment tendencies amongst the wider population however such connections were cross-cut with tensions. Here the publication acted as forum for the elaboration of debates around the form and strategic direction of the Black Power Revolutionary movement with such debates being undergirded by a spatial reading of the political situation; intellectuals need to stop pontificating in the safety of the campus and come down to the streets (ibid.). Indeed, disagreements over the role of the intellectual in the direction of the Caribbean Black Power movement were not just confined to Trinidad and *Embryo* with pieces in *Bongoman* (1970 issue 5) and *Abeng* (1969 issue 33) also focusing on issues of intellectual arrogance and the need for the Black Power movement's considerable UWI constituency to seriously engage with Caribbean sufferers as political agents and actors. These tensions are reminiscent of the battles over the ideological direction of *Abeng* discussed in the previous section. Some members of the paper's editorial board, that contained many UWI (ex)-students and academics, attempted to articulate a cogent social, political and economic programme over and above the ideologically heterogeneous character of the paper's reportage and contributors (Scott, D. 1999b). Here again, we might read such tensions through the lens of disagreement between the campus and the streets.

5.2.3 The Transnational Dimensions of a Black Power Print Production and Circulation

In the previous two sections I have focused on the national or sub-national level in engaging with the spatial politics of Black Power print production and circulation. I now turn to the transnational or regional geographies animated and constructed through the movement and readership of these materials. Here I am concerned with the material geographies that enabled and enlivened the formation of transnational networks of Black Power political activism and

consciousness raising. In the examples discussed in this section it is the physical circulation of the print publication that provides the opportunity for the development of social and political relations and solidarities across the Caribbean and North America. In this regard, Black Power periodicals and their transnational circulation stood in a long lineage of Black internationalist print production and reportage that had previously developed networks of internationalist, anti-racist and anti-colonial political consciousness and activism among non-white readers in the West Indies and beyond (Putnam 2013; James, L. 2015). As will be shown both Black Power actors and reactionary security forces understood well the important role such material geographies and circulations played in the establishment and maintenance of an increasingly transnationally organised and oriented West Indian Black Power movement.

Just as *Abeng* or *Embryo* were able to draw together and link local, more isolated activities into broader networks of Black Power struggle (Bogues 2014) and political action through their publication and circulation in their own national contexts this same effect could be seen on an international level; bringing together Black Power groupings into transnational solidarities. Black Power literature can be found to have travelled from island to island across the Caribbean and similarly books, pamphlets and journals found their way from mainland North America to the region and vice versa. Indeed, these movements of Black Power print materials were keenly tracked by local and imperial state security actors who feared the potential such circulations had in potentially co-ordinating and directing a transnational Black Power movement (FCO 141/150 1970; Gray 1991; Quinn 2014). An excellent example here is that of Pauulu Kamarakafego and his dissemination of print materials during his extensive travels across the Caribbean and North America. Kamarakafego was the lead organiser of the 1969 Black Power Conference held in Bermuda that Chapter 6 is dedicated to exploring (Swan 2009). Having first come to the attention of British and Bermudian security actors due to his involvement with the Conference he would remain a figure of great interest throughout the rest of the decade and well into the 1970s. Kamarakafego's transnational travels and meetings were tracked and documented extensively by security services in Britain and the Caribbean due to his continued efforts to organise Black Power groups and actors internationally (FCO 63/444 1970).

In a 1970 FCO (141/150) report it is noted that during Kamarakafego's movements across the Eastern Caribbean he contacted Black Power and aligned groupings in St Kitts, St Lucia and St Vincent as well as bringing various print materials for distribution too. He was found to have entered St Vincent with a copy of the Antiguan publication *Outlet*, as well as pieces on the George Williams University Affair previously discussed and documents on his planned Second Regional Black Power Conference to be held in Barbados in 1970 (ibid.). *Outlet* would go on to espouse the value of such Pan-Caribbean connections and solidarities manifest through Kamarakafego's international travels and distributions. In 1971 (Outlet vol. 1 issue 5) the paper came out in support of the Grenada Declaration which was an attempt to reanimate the collapsed West Indies Federation amongst the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean and Guyana. It is said; "We, in the Afro Caribbean Movement [the group that produced *Outlet*], not only hold the necessity for Caribbean unity to be fundamental, we hold these truths to be self-evident." (Outlet vol. 1 issue 5: 2). The federalisation and unification of the entire Caribbean beyond the West Indies is advocated in order to overcome entrenched (neo)colonial capitalist exploitation and the interference of imperialist powers in the region. We are told:

> *The African, the Indian, and other peoples of the Caribbean must UNITE or else they will be mere pawns in the international power game… [and further] A meaningful Federation is the West Indian contribution to the struggle for the world-wide regeneration of the Black-Man* (Outlet vol. 1 issue 5: 3-4)

Outlet and the Antiguan Black Power movement's commitments to inter-ethnic, Pan-Caribbean unity and political organisation is constituted materially and more prosaically in the circulation of the paper across the islands of the region. The distribution of the Black Power publication is a core means through which wide-ranging socio-political relations across space-time can be generated and enlivened in order to attain the decolonial vision of the future articulated here.

The FCO's tracking of Kamarakafego's international travels reveals a transnational circulation of Black Power print materials that pulls together events and activities from places such as Montreal, Bermuda and St Vincent into a map of Black Power political organisation and consciousness raising. In this

way, knowledge of Black resistance and action in opposition to say racist police violence in Canada (Austin 2013) or the convening of an international conference on Black Power (Swan 2009) can be internationally transmitted. Thus building capacity in regards to concerted transnational organisation and the strengthening of solidarities in opposition to state oppression, (neo)colonial exploitation and white supremacy. Indeed, British security services would directly link the establishment of various Black Power groups across the territories of the Eastern Caribbean to a heightened awareness generated by the First Regional Black Power Conference, Kamarakafego's international travels and the circuits of print exchange his example evidenced (FCO 63/443 1970).

I would like to close out discussion of the transnational dimensions of Caribbean Black Power print production by delving deeper into the connections between Montreal and the West Indies. A major touchstone across many of the Black Power publications engaged with here were the events and fallout surrounding what would be known as the Sir George Williams University Affair. The affair centred on a predominantly Black led student occupation of the university's computer centre organised in response to staff racism and the subsequent heavy-handed police response which resulted in 96 students standing trial (Abeng 1969 no 4; Austin 2013). The affair would have a significant impact on West Indian politics and the burgeoning Black Power movement in the region. It was West Indian students who lodged the original complaint of staff racism at and numerous West Indian students were involved in the protests and subsequent arrests and criminal trials (ibid). Publications across the West Indies covered the developing situation in Montreal concretely linking the West Indian students' experiences of anti-Black racism in Canada to transnational relations of capitalist-imperialist exploitation between the region and the North American Metropole (Rodney 1969; Austin 2013). Such publications would help in establishing an international support network for the Montreal students as well as popularising their struggle amongst the broader West Indian populace.

David Austin (2013) in his book *Fear of a Black Nation* examines the international networks that sustained and were, partially, constructed through events in Montreal. Austin understands the George Williams Affair in 1969 and the Congress of Black Writers similarly held in Montreal in 1968 that preceded those events as being expressions of a radical Black internationalism (ibid.). He

usefully highlights how networks of radical Black intellectuals, activists and students enabled these events to happen in the first place and how said networks were strengthened and forged through firstly intellectual cross-fertilisation in 1968 and then collective protest and solidarity in 1969. Austin delves into the imaginaries that animated and shaped such international networks discussing how shared cultural memories, histories and experiences of racist oppression as well as historical streams of radical Black thought could unite diasporic figures in the present moment and animate socio-political connections (ibid.). Austin speaks powerfully on the strong feelings of Caribbean identity that bound West Indian students in Montreal together and sustained their activism in the face of white supremacist discrimination and police violence. My analysis of the international networks and solidarities animated through and in response to events in Montreal foregrounds the important *material* geographies that enlivened and enabled such transnational solidarities. Black Power publications in the West Indies were able to pull Caribbean readers into circuits of information and knowledge exchange and further provided a means for the financial support of the George Williams students and it was the distribution of the physical print periodical that enabled this.

Exemplifying this direct material support for the students, in issue 4 of *Abeng* (Abeng 1969) one finds an article covering the travels of two West Indian students involved in the Montreal protests as they made their way around the Caribbean in an effort to raise funds for the students' legal defence. *Abeng* takes aim at the Canadian news media with the following; "News Media – created impression that students were dangerous criminals." (Abeng 1969 issue 4: 4). Once again the radical Black Power publication castigates establishment media for its role in the oppression of Black people through misrepresentation and a failure to provide a space for the articulation of Black grievances and narratives. *Abeng* expresses its solidarity with the students and the piece ends with an address for readers to send cheques to (ibid.). Similar efforts can be seen in Trinidad in the OWTU's paper, *The Vanguard*. Issue 115 (OWTU 1969: 2) carried an article entitled 'OWTU Pledges Unconditional Support for Students' in which it is revealed that the Union has pledged $1000 to the students cause. General Secretary of the OWTU George Weekes is quoted as saying;

> *"We stand unequivocally with the students of Sir George Williams University in their fight against the white imperialists of Canada, and we call upon every self-respecting Black man to do the same."* (OWTU 1969 issue 115: 2)

Here, Weekes is calling for the formation of transnational solidarities from across the Black world in opposition to the common antagonism of white imperialist exploitation; such solidarities are materially manifest through the donation of funds as with *Abeng*.

Abeng and *The Vanguard*'s support of the Montreal students reveals a transnational analysis of the trajectory of (neo)colonialism that continued to shape West Indian problem-space. The arrest, brutalisation and suppression of Black students in Montreal is understood as but one specific manifestation of (neo)colonial power inextricably linked to specific manifestations in the West Indies such as the extraction of profit from the region by Canadian capitalists (Abeng 1969 issue 7). Black Power publications enabled the formation of transnational connections of solidarity and resistance in opposition to anti-Black racism which was similarly understood to be transnational in its articulations. Once again the circulation and reportage of print materials facilitates the building of political and material connections across space-time; this time transnationally. Black Power publications enabled the transmission of information to a Caribbean audience about events in Montreal and provided a means through which material and moral support could be lent to the students in their fight against racism and legal action.

The gendered language, "we call upon every self-respecting Black *man* to do the same" [emphasis mine] (OWTU 1969 issue 115: 2*)*, is also interesting here and is telling in regards to a common trend seen throughout Black Power literature of this period. It is generally 'brothers' or 'men' who are called upon in what are supposed to be universal rallying cries to the entire Black world (Rodney 1969; Abeng 1969 issue 7). This is indicative of the ways in which women's experiences and voices were often marginalised in Black Power political rhetoric and the production of Black Power publications more generally with the Black male experience taken to be normative (OWTU 1970 issues 145 and 146; Austin 2013). This process is reflective of a broader hetero-masculine construction of the nation-state, national identity and politics in the post-independence West Indies

that numerous authors have explored (Cooper 1993; Carr 2002; Alexander 2013). Just as there was a classed and raced construction of what constituted 'legitmate' national politics in the Creole Nationalist vision of the post-colonial state there were similarly gendered elisions; so issues faced by women, and in particular, working class women were erased from mainstream political discourse (Carr 2002).

In Chapter 2 I discussed at length the Black Power critique of the racialised and classed limits of Creole Nationalist ideology however there existed a major blind-spot when it came to the gendered construction of political identity in the region. Even as Black Power actors, groups and publications sought to advance the subaltern struggle of the region's racially oppressed non-white peoples this was done through reference to and in the language of machismo and male-centric stories of political struggle (Carr 2002; Austin 2013). So in *Abeng*'s regular column 'African Battleline' the reader is invited to draw strength from stories of violent struggle and martial prowess with the paper also frequently featuring profiles on heroic Black leaders past and present (Huey Newton, Amilcar Cabral, Paul Bogle) all of whom are men (Abeng 1969 issues 4, 11, 19). When women are discussed in political activism and struggle by Black Power and aligned groups they are subordinated to men's desires and activities. In issue 146 of *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1970) there is an article on the activities of the OWTU'S Women's Auxiliary. Here, a woman's role within the union's activity is clearly defined as being in support of men who are engaged in more serious political activity:

> *The general function of the Women's Auxiliary…is to assist the men in the struggle to raise the living standards of the workers and their families. This builds the morale of the men and help them to carry on the battle with greater determination* (OWTU 1970 issue 146: 5)

The fact that women are explicitly placed in an auxiliary organisation is telling as to the assumed role of women in political action. This is especially galling as at the union's establishment in 1937 there were a great number of women involved in union activity with many at the forefront of organisation and activism (Reddock 1994). Issue 146 was published in June 1970 coming shortly after the defeat of the Black Power Revolutionary forces that the OWTU had been a key constituent of. Mere months previously the OWTU leadership explicitly

positioned the union as being at the forefront of the struggle of Trinidad's racialised subaltern peoples in the face of Creole Nationalist reaction, (neo)colonialism and the forces of capitalist-imperialism and had articulated a radical politics draped in the rhetoric of emancipation. Clearly that "battle" (OWTU 1970 issue 146: 5) was to be led by politically militant men whose emancipation would secure that of their dependents designated to play an auxiliary role.

5.3 Reading West Indian Black Power Spatial Imaginaries through International Reportage

Having discussed the more material geographies of Black Power print publication and consumption in Section 5.2 I now turn to the spatial and political imaginaries commonly outlined and articulated in the pages of the print materials I have engaged with. A common theme here is the way various publications, authors and commentators consistently articulated local struggles within a broader, global political analysis. This emerged from a common commitment to anti-colonial and anti-imperialist efforts wherever they may be found but with a consistent focus on events in the Global South.

5.3.1 Caribbean Reporting

Beginning closer to home and as suggested through the previous discussion, coverage and analysis of civil unrest and acts of resistance in opposition to Caribbean colonial and post-colonial governments as well as major Metropolitan companies is a consistent topic across Black Power publications produced across the region. An illustrative example is the coverage of the British invasion of Anguilla in March 1969. This assertion of British colonial authority came after the people of Anguilla had first voted to secede from the colonial territory and administration of St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla in 1967 and following failed negotiations with British authorities a referendum was held in early 1969 that resulted in a unilateral declaration of independence (Abeng 1969 issue 8). This Anguilla episode represented merely the latest (neo)colonial intervention in the region by a major imperialist power and it would not be the last. The Caribbean region and its peoples have long been subject to invasion and occupation by imperialist powers in order to advance regimes of racial-capitalist accumulation and protect

strategic and geopolitical interests. The Anguilla invasion stands in the same historical lineage as the US occupation of Haiti (Dalleo 2020), the British suspension of the Guyanese constitution in 1953 (Palmer 2010) and the invasion of Grenada (Scott, D. 2014) with such interventions coeval with the capitalist-imperialist exploitation of the region (Werner 2016; Hudson 2017) maintaining the coloniality of life in the Caribbean to the present day. The Black Power coverage of the invasion is similarly attuned as will be shown below.

Both *Abeng* in Jamaica and *The Vanguard* in Trinidad covered events as they developed with both publications positioning what was a relatively small-scale colonial 'policing action' within broader histories and contexts of British imperial authoritarianism and anti-Black racism (Abeng 1969 issue 8; OWTU 1969 issues 115 and 120). *Abeng* situates the Anguillan invasion within a long history of imperialist oppression in the Caribbean:

> *Bogle and the people had to face imperialist guns in 1865. More recently, Jagan and the people of Guyana in 1953; Castro and the people of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; Bosch and the people of the Dominican Republic in 1965. And now Webster and the people of Anguilla* (Abeng 1969 issue 8: 1)

Anguilla is situated in broader histories of Black and anti-imperialist struggle in the Caribbean with the British invasion seen to represent another instantiation of the assertion of white imperialist power and a re-articulation of the powerful historical trajectory of (neo)colonialism in the region (Palmer 2010). Indeed, Anguilla should be taken as a lesson, it is suggested, as when Jamaicans force out Metropolitan power and reclaim the island's land and resources they too must prepare to face imperialist forces themselves (ibid.). In the same *Abeng* issue in coverage of the Abeng assembly discussed previously, a resolution is passed on the invasion with an affirmation of solidarity with the Anguillan people (ibid.). The assembly saw the Anguilla invasion as linked to the ongoing events in Montreal surrounding the George Williams University affair:

> *The force used against the students and the Anguillans was present throughout the history of the Black struggle for freedom. Unity and organisation now was desirable and possible.* (Abeng 1969 issue 8: 1)

These events are seen to confirm the existence of a transnational slave society that requires a similarly transnational response in the form of Black unity and

organisation. The Assembly called for the expulsion of the British and Canadian High Commissioners from Jamaica if the troops were not recalled and the trials dropped (ibid.). The socio-political networks developed through *Abeng*'s production, circulation, reportage and readership are mobilised in opposition to a specific manifestation of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism which is positioned within global geographies of white, imperialist exploitation and long histories of Caribbean (neo)colonial oppression (Palmer 2010).

Whilst *The Vanguard* too places events in Anguilla within a longer timeline of imperialist aggression in the Caribbean a more pointed critique is developed through the contrasting of Britain's response to Anguilla and the response to Rhodesia (OWTU 1969 issues 115 and 120). *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1969 issue 115: 2) reports:

> *The British have condemned the use of force against their white brothers in Rhodesia, but they unleash their armed might against 6000 harmless Blacks in Anguilla*

British imperial authority is immediately restored in response to the unilateral secession of a Black populace but this same imperialist vigour is missing when dealing with a White-supremacist rogue state (OWTU 1969 issue 115). These contrasting examples are taken to demonstrate two factors; firstly, the British empire remains a force of global racist domination and secondly that the impotent response to Rhodesia is evidence of imperial decline (OWTU 1969 issues 115 and 120). An imperial decline discussed in the following terms:

> *Oliver Cromwell sent the first English fleet to the West Indies, who had conquered Jamaica; now Harold Wilson has sent the last one to the Caribbean where it conquered Anguilla* (OWTU 1969 issue 120: 5)

In response to this, one finds a statement from George Weekes calling for national support of the Anguillan struggle and an NJAC solidarity march in honour of the West Indian students in Montreal features placards protesting the Anguilla invasion (OWTU 1969 issues 115 and 117). Again, specific instantiations of Black struggle against racist and imperialist oppression are understood as part of a broader transnational (neo)colonial trajectory. As discussed earlier in relation to *Abeng*'s distribution, *The Vanguard* here is a means for the

politicisation of its readership and the sharpening of a global anti-imperialist consciousness through the drawing together of these two events.

The highlighting of Britain's tepid response to Rhodesia opens the door to the possible future success of an ascendant Black Power movement (OWTU 1969 issue 120). Black Power's radical decolonial vision of the West Indian future is made more tangible and the pathways to such a future more clearly defined through reference to contemporaneous events and in this instance through analysis of Britain's waning imperial power. It is in such reportage that narratives of resistance emerge which can sustain and direct opposition to manifestations of (neo)colonial powers that continue to shape West-Indian problem-space and problem-spaces beyond. This analysis also points to the changing geopolitical situation in the post-Second World War West Indies; with Britain a declining regional influence in contrast to the US which had become the pre-eminent capitalist-imperialist power (Hintzen 2013). Through the Anguilla example explored in this section we might understand West Indian Black Power groups and actors as offering a subaltern geopolitics. Geographers such as Sharp (2011, 2013, 2019) and Koopman (2011) have utilised the notion of subaltern geopolitics to move past elite-oriented and Euro-centric conceptions of geopolitics and importantly in a Cold War context have deployed the term to move beyond the common binary associated with the period. Crucially, Sharp (2011, 2013) positions subaltern actors as viable and active producers of geopolitical imaginaries and political articulations just as I have done in my exploration of the geopolitical analyses deployed in *Abeng* and *The Vangaurd*. However, where Sharp (2011, 2013, 2019) explores subaltern geopolitical imaginaries through a focus on leadership figures such as Tanzania's first president Julius Nyerere here I have shown how non-elite actors (the producers and readers of relatively small-scale radical publications) similarly developed incisive and politically animating geopolitical imaginaries.

The pairing of Anguilla with Rhodesia in the anti-imperialist discourse and politics of the Black Power publications engaged with here reveals a further aspect of this complex and wide-ranging subaltern geopolitical analysis. Both events are seen to confirm the existence of a white supremacist international order wherein independence/liberation movements are allowed to succeed or be crushed based on the race of those engaging in said struggle. This sentiment is

encapsulated in the *Abeng* (Denis 1969) cartoon, *Figure 5:2* below, that accompanied the paper's reporting on Anguilla. Such an analysis of this politics of transnational apartheid is reminiscent of W.E.B. Du Bois' conception of the 'global colour line' which positions "race and racism as fundamental organising principals of international politics; axes of hierarchy and oppression structuring logics of world politics as we know it." (Anievas, Manchanda and Shilliam 2015: 2). Du Bois asserted that the international world order was constitutively structured and contested along lines of race albeit with this global colour line having woven through it the modalities of capitalism, patriarchy and (neo)imperialism (Anievas, Manchanda and Shilliam 2015). Du Bois' conception of international relations is mirrored in the subaltern geopolitical analysis of the Black Power publications examined in this section; a Black breakaway state is put down with military force whereas a white supremacist breakaway state is engaged with through the framework of international diplomatic negotiation.

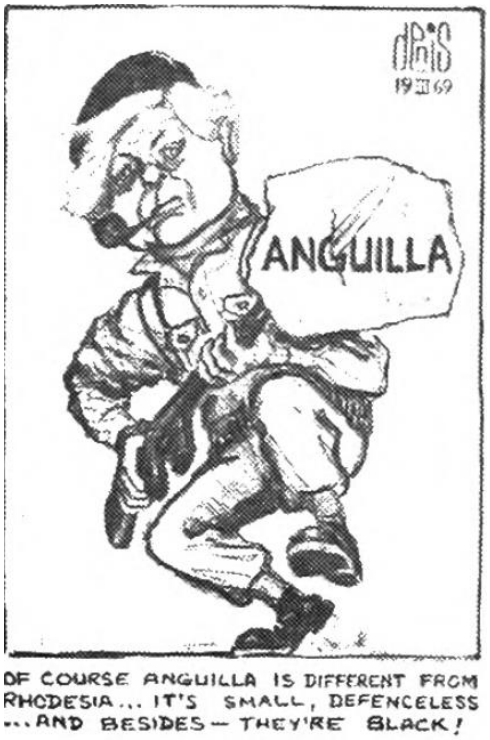

Figure 5:2 Political Cartoon by 'Denis', Abeng (1969)

5.3.2 Reporting on the US

Moving beyond the Caribbean there is a consistent focus on events in the US in the reportage of West Indian Black Power publications. Obviously, the Black

Power movement in the West Indies owes much to the US Civil Rights struggle and the development of Black Power politics in the US and so coverage of African American affairs is frequent. Again, such coverage emerges from a commitment to transnational solidarity in the face of White supremacy, (neo)colonialism and imperialism but there is also a regular focus on the thoughts and actions of US Black Power political and thought leaders (Scope 1968 vol. 2 issue 10; Abeng 1969 issues 19 and 22; Moko 1970 issue 26). Such coverage however wasn't a mere parroting of events or interventions from American figures to a West Indian audience. This belies the fact that West Indian Black Power was distinct from the US movement and whilst it had many similarities in both form, content and origin, Black Power politics in the region was articulated in a local context that produced major divergences from the trajectories of US actors and groups (Nettleford 1970; Quinn 2014). These differences in the articulation of Black Power politics in the US and West Indies speaks to the multiple identities, trajectories and locales through which Black Power was generatively expressed globally (Edwards 2003; Slate 2012; Narayan 2019). My work in this section aligns with scholars who have similarly explored the shifting contours of Black Power and Black internationalist politics with a focus on the placed and contested relations and sites through which such a transnational politics is articulated (Tyner 2006; Heynen 2008; Featherstone 2015; Hodder 2016). Like these authors I am concerned with the dynamic cultures and geographies through which Black Power and Black internationalist politics is expressed and made meaningful.

Across a raft of publications the trials and tribulations of the Black Power movement in the USA was documented. In Jamaica, *Abeng* (1969 issue 28) carried articles on the police attack on the Black Panther Party Headquarters in Chicago; the student newspaper of the UWI Mona campus (Scope 1968 vol. 2 issue 10) covered Stokely Carmichael's analysis of the war in Vietnam; in Guyana the publication *ASCRIA Says* (FCO 1970 64/463), which was the official organ of the Pan-Africanist and Black Internationalist African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA), declared their support for the African American liberation movement; *The Vangaurd* (1969 issue 116) in Trinidad reproduced pieces from Civil Rights leaders like Bayard Rustin and James Baldwin; and the list could go on. What I'd like to focus on here though is

the significant coverage that was given to thought leaders within the US Black Power and Civil Rights movements and how their theory and analysis was translated into a West Indian context with this not always done without critique. As discussed in Chapter 2, this act of translation between different geographical and political contexts is a generative one with Black Power politics now being applied to a new problem-space and new contexts and finding new articulations (Edwards 2003). The consistent interest in the affairs and thought of the US Black Power and Civil Rights movements exemplified in the print materials of the West Indian Black Power movement signals the dynamism of the movement and its subaltern constituents in their efforts to forge a transnational decolonial politics.

The Black Power leader that I have found to be given the most exposure in Caribbean print materials was Stokely Carmichael; the Trinidad born and one-time "Honorary Prime Minister" of the Black Panther Party. Carmichael's West Indian origins gave him a particular resonance amongst the region's sufferer population (Pantin 1990) and in 1970 he embarked on a speaking tour of the West Indies which garnered much attention from both his admirers in the region and local and imperialist security states (FCO 1970 63/443; FCO 1970 64/463). Black Power publications would print excerpts from his writings and speeches in order to contextualise and support their own social, political and geopolitical analysis and claims. So, in *Scope*'s (1968 vol. 2 issue 10) analysis of US racism and the Vietnam War, Carmichael's conceptualisation of African-Americans as representing an internal colony is deployed in order to connect the racist police violence deployed against Black Americans to the imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam. *Scope* quotes Carmichael at the 1967 Organisation of Latin American Solidarity conference held in Havana where he placed domestic African-American struggle within the context of global forces of white supremacy, capitalism and imperialism:

> *We share a common struggle, it becomes increasingly clear; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white Western imperialist society. Our struggle is to overthrow this system that feeds itself and expands itself through the economic and cultural exploitation of non-white, non-Western peoples—of the Third World* (Carmichael 2007: 101)

Scope utilises Carmichael's analysis to justify a condemnation of the Vietnam war and US racism which is seen to be exported internationally through American imperialist intervention (ibid.). Carmichael's analysis of a global, white supremacist imperialist system reveals the spatial imaginary that undergirded Black Panther Party ideology in this period. Black Power thought leaders increasingly saw Black struggle and oppression in the US as connected to the global efforts of subaltern and Third World communities to oppose a global and interconnected system of colonialism, racism and capitalist-imperialism (Tyner 2006). However, based on Carmichael's later comments this global solidarity would appear to anticipate a vision of an alliance of different political movements and not a unification of them under a common banner. *Scope* is seeking to sharpen the critical race consciousness and anti-imperialist consciousness of its Jamaican readership through reference to Carmichael and his transnational analysis. As will be shown in this and the following section, I suggest that the West Indian articulation of this transnational Black Power or Black internationalist politics would extend across the world and operate as a basis of solidarity across ethnic, racial and national boundaries in efforts to oppose racism, (neo)imperialism and (neo)colonialism that of course powerfully shaped West Indian problem-space.

It wasn't just the US Black Panthers that received attention from the West Indian Black Power press however. *The Vanguard* (1969 issue 116) reprinted pieces from Civil Rights figures such as Bayard Rustin. A Rustin excerpt on integration is particularly pertinent in the Trinidadian context with Rustin characterising Black Nationalism and separationist sentiment as in many ways reactionary (ibid.). Rustin assesses that talk of separation only emerges in contexts where greater African-American expectations have been dashed and so nationalist discourses are mobilised as a fall-back (ibid.). In ethnically plural Trinidad *The Vanguard* and the domestic Black Power movement was keen to forge inter-ethnic solidarities with the Indo-Trinidadian population in order to advance their social, political and economic goals (OWTU 1970 issue 140; Nicholls 1971; Samaroo 2014; Teelucksingh 2014). In issue 140 of *The Vanguard,* Brinsley Samaroo, an Indo-Trinidadian supporter of the Black Power movement, describes how a Black Power politics could facilitate the cultural revitalisation of the island's Indian population:

> *The Black power movement in Trinidad, as part of a world-wide struggle for awareness among Black people, seeks to revive our folklore which the British banned as primitive, our art and our customs brought by our forefathers* (OWTU 1970 issue 140: 2)

Rustin's opposition to Black separatism clearly chimes with this sentiment and his work supports the paper's expansive conception of blackness that positions the Black Power movement as liberating for all non-white peoples facing racist oppression (OWTU 1969 issue 116). Similarly, Black Power in the West Indies and specifically in Trinidad is in the ascendance in the early 1970s and is articulating a decolonial future in which non-white peoples in the region and beyond are freed of economic exploitation, cultural denigration and political oppression. *The Vanguard*'s transnational Black Power imaginary clearly aligns with *Scope*'s discussed previously with an internationalist politics seen to extend across ethnic and racial boundaries.

Whilst the above examples were affirmatory in their coverage of the US Black Power movement and its leaders one also finds critique and divergence as well. The Trinidadian newspaper *Tapia* (1970 issue 7) ran a piece critical of Carmichael's reflections upon his youth in the Caribbean given in a US TV interview. Carmichael stated he only gained a critical Black consciousness upon his arrival in the US as in Trinidad he lived in a majority non-white society with Black men in positions of authority and standing (ibid.). *Tapia* (1970 issue 7: 2) points out that such figures were agents of white colonialism who perpetuated "self-violence and self-contempt" and warns that the Black Power movement in the West Indies can't be tricked into a simple search for Black heroes. This analysis builds on that offered by C.L.R. James in his assessment of West Indian party politics in the early 1960s (James 1984). James saw the emergence and political dominance of charismatic party leaders, like Trinidad's Eric Williams, as evidence of a continued epistemic coloniality as such figures took on the role of a (neo)colonial governor attempting to control all political decision-making and distrustful of the organisational capacity and political consciousness of the new nation's citizens (ibid.). In the West Indian context, Black leaders, in particular post-independence ministers and politicians, gained advancement through their Afro-Saxon credentials and imitation of the Metropole with these tendencies powerfully shaping the historical-political trajectory of Creole Nationalism

(ibid.). As such, independence was confined "within the boundaries of ideas already established and fundamentally alien". (James, C.L.R. 1984: 92).

Carmichael's most infamous misstep in relation to the West Indian Black Power movement came in May of 1970 when giving a talk on Black Power in Guyana. Having travelled there on invitation by the Black Power grouping Ratoon (Quinn 2014) Carmichael advanced a mono-racial articulation of Black Power saying that Indo-Caribbeans could not be part of the movement (FCO 1970 63/463). These comments damaged Ratoon and ASCRIA's reputations immensely and were instantly refuted by Guyanese academic and Black Power activist Clive Thomas in his paper at the same symposium (FCO 1970 63/463; Quinn 2014). Carmichael's comments ran counter to West Indian Black Power thought and action which had as a core principle inter-ethnic solidarity across the peoples of the region. This was espoused by Caribbean figureheads such as Walter Rodney (1969) as well as in the pages of publications such as *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1969 issue 116; 1970 issue 140), *Embryo* (1970 vol. 2 issue 16) etc.

The cases described here are indicative of the ways in which Caribbean Black Power politics was distinct from the US movement as informed by the region's history, demographics, culture and society. Kate Quinn (2014: 44) surmises this in the following way:

> *Each movement was responsive to local contexts, borne of particular historical experiences that gave rise to differing conceptions of race and racial politics. Analyses that gave primacy to race, as was the case with some U.S. variants of the cause, did not readily translate to Caribbean contexts*

In the West Indies, the common racial oppression of Indo and Afro-Caribbeans historically was drawn upon by Black Power actors in order to build solidarities in opposition to colonialism, imperialism and racism (OWTU 1970 issue 140). (Neo)colonial power and an inadequate Creole Nationalism could only be superseded by a united front of all West Indian peoples impelled towards a desired, decolonial future (Outlet 1971 vol. 1 no. 5). Indeed, inter-ethnic tensions in the West Indies were located in histories and legacies of divide and rule tactics instigated by colonial regimes and so to recapitulate and renew these in the present moment would render any anti-colonial or anti-imperial

ambitions null (Embryo 1970 vol. 2 no. 16). Such inter-ethnic commitments were manifest spatially through solidarity and allegiance with anti-colonial and anti-imperialist efforts across the Global South with this reflective of Walter Rodney's formulation that a global white power structure rendered all non-white peoples 'Black' (Rodney 1969).

This inter-ethnic articulation of Black Power in the West Indies was mirrored in Britain with John Narayan (2019) highlighting how the British movement operated across the ethnic lines of Britain's racially oppressed New Commonwealth communities. Similar to the West Indian context, such inter-ethnic commitments were underpinned by and served to advance an anti-imperialist politics emergent from the understanding that common experience of British colonial rule united all of the, former, empire's non-white people through this shared antagonism (ibid.). Indeed, such a politics in Britain has roots directly in the West Indies with the British Black Power movement comprising predominantly Afro-Caribbean and Asian-Caribbean members who either had direct experience of or were committed to the inter-ethnic solidarity that shaped Black Power's articulation in the former British West Indies (Johnson 2014; Waters 2018; Narayan 2019). In the British context, such commitments to inter-ethnic solidarity were rooted in the concept of 'political blackness' which understood that the racist British state's homogenisation and exploitation of non-white Commonwealth immigrants provided a shared antagonism around which a multi-ethnic movement could cohere (Narayan 2019). In the West Indies, similar solidarities were exemplified in Trinidad with Black Power protestors and marchers of the Revolution expressing their commitments to forging connections with the East Indian population through a solidarity march from the predominantly Black Port of Spain into the rural sugar-producing interior predominantly populated by Indo-Trinidadians (OWTU 1970 issue 140; Samaroo 2014; Teelucksingh 2014).

This divergence over questions of inter-ethnic solidarity exemplified in the critiques of Carmichael's articulation of Black Power speaks to the range of perspectives, theoretical currents and historical and geographical experiences that moved through the Black Power movement globally. This multiplicity of course produced multiple and shifting spatial-political imaginaries that offered different conceptions of the constituency of the Black Power movement and its

geographical scope. Like other geographers similarly engaged in critical analyses of transnational and internationalist politics (Featherstone 2012, 2015; Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015; Hodder 2016) I suggest these shifting and divergent imaginaries and political goals are informed by the localities and places in and through which Black Power politics was articulated. So the demography of the US and its particular histories of anti-Black racism inform Carmichael's 'African only' conception of Black Power politics that he outlined in Guyana but in the West Indian context figures like Walter Rodney (1969) would draw on the region's own history of colonialism and white supremacy to delineate a Black Power politics that could be applied to all racialised peoples of the world struggling for justice. It is the fullest extent of these expansive West Indian Black Power spatial-political imaginaries that is explored in the next section.

5.3.3 Reporting on the Global South

To conclude this examination of the international reportage of West Indian Black Power publications I will examine how these publications covered independence struggles, anti-colonial resistance, conflict and labour militancy across the Global South. Thus far I have frequently commented on the strong anti-imperialist and anti-colonial politics articulated in the print materials I have studied and this commitment animated a consistent focus on liberation movements globally. One must also contextualise this politics of transnational 'Third World' solidarity within the expansive conception of blackness deployed by West Indian Black Power groups and actors (Rodney 1990). Such transnational reporting wasn't just rooted in the need for strategic alliances in the face of Western imperialism or capitalist exploitation but in a core understanding that White power renders all the oppressed people of the world 'Black' through logics of racial supremacy used to justify (neo)imperial and (neo)colonial oppression and exploitation (Rodney 1969; Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 16). Thus in West Indian articulations of Black Power there existed spatial imaginaries that held all non-white peoples of the world struggling under the yoke of a global 'white power system' (Rodney 1969) to be valid constituents of a Black Power politics. The contours of this internationalist politics of solidarity were informed by the multi-ethnic and multi-racial character of the West Indies and the historic weaponisation of race and ethnicity in the West Indies by the colonial power structure (Rodney 1969; OWTU 1970 issue 140). Again, this speaks to the ways in

which Black internationalist politics is constituted by multiple perspectives, histories, trajectories and ideological intersections that produce divergent articulations (Hodder 2016). It is through attending to the particular places and practices through which Black internationalist politics, and specifically here Black Power politics, was articulated that we can make sense of this multiplicity and sketch out the contours of these various internationalist imaginaries (Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015; Featherstone 2015).

An excellent example of international reportage is to be found in *Abeng*'s regular column entitled 'African Battleline' that reported on the "many battles being fought in Africa" (Abeng 1969 issue 1: 4) against not only foreign imperialist aggression and domination but also the battles to overcome Africa's social and political issues as well as those of underdevelopment. To this end, 'African Battleline' covered ongoing armed struggles on the African continent against foreign colonial powers and domestic forces of white supremacy such as the Zimbabwean guerrilla struggle against the Smith regime (Abeng 1969 issues 6 and 7). *Abeng*'s analysis of the Zimbabwe Liberation War consistently draws attention to the collaboration of sections of the Black population with Smith's white supremacist regime in order to shore up their privileged position. It is reported:

> *In the rural areas the traditional chiefs, who are supposed to look after the interests of their people are in fact Smith's "house slaves" helping their master exploit the poor people* (Abeng 1969 issue 6: 4)

Evidenced here is a neo-colonial analysis equally damning of Black collaborators with colonialism as of the colonialists themselves. This is reminiscent of a Black Power analysis of the West Indies where it was understood that Creole Nationalist leaders and governments facilitated the continued influence of a (neo)colonial historical-political trajectory in West Indian problem-space through continued alignment with (neo)colonial powers and an economic reliance on Metropolitan capital. We also see an appreciation of the imbrication of race and class in specific articulations of (neo)colonial rule. The maintenance of the class position of the rural chiefs overrides any race-based solidarity with the mass population and again this assessment is reminiscent of the work of Black Power thinkers like Rodney (2013) who saw the West Indian petty-bourgeois and political class as selling out their citizenries in order strengthen their ties with

Metropolitan capital. The paper stressed the need for Black unity if racism and colonialism were to be overcome; "Black people everywhere must learn that if they fight one another they are playing the white man's game" (Abeng 1969 issue 7: 4). This awareness of the divide and rule tactics enacted by (neo)colonial regimes speaks to the analysis put forth in my discussion of inter-ethnic solidarity in the West Indies in the previous section. Understanding as we do that West Indian Black Power articulated a conception of blackness that included all non-white peoples oppressed by racism, colonialism and imperialism *Abeng*'s call for unity here at once echoes this same transnational inter-ethnic sentiment and speaks to the underlying motivations that saw a regular column like 'African Battleline' written and published.

'Battleline' also examined the political machinations and imperialist influences which undermined and constrained the efforts of African leaders to free their states and peoples of Metropolitan domination. So, in issue 12 (Abeng 1969) the overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana is assessed with the conclusion drawn that foreign capitalist powers can all too easily find Black collaborators, in this case the Ghanaian Army, to aid them in their (neo)colonial exploitation of states and peoples in the Global South. The Ghanaian military government is assessed in the following terms:

> *All they have really done is to increase foreign control over the country. The latest news is that* ***Lonhro****, a company with very big investments in Central Africa, is going to open breweries and prospect for diamonds in Ghana. A typical white man's deal – beer for diamonds!* [emphasis original] (Abeng 1969 issue 12: 4)

This analysis is consistent with *Abeng*'s repeated attacks on the West Indian political class for the same crimes; namely being neo-colonial stooges of the Metropolitan powers who oversee the exploitation of their islands in exchange for foreign support and their own socio-economic status as discussed in Chapter 4 (Abeng 1969 issue 2; Rodney 2013). *Abeng* applies the Black Power analysis of the interaction between the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism in contemporaneous West Indian problem-space to other specific articulations of (neo)colonial and bourgeois-nationalist trajectories in other problem-spaces. Thus revealing the global and transnational dimensions and currents of such articulations that require a similarly global and

transnationally oriented political movement that can supersede these trajectories and the futures they are impelled towards.

Leaving *Abeng* behind, one can find many more examples across West Indian Black Power reportage of coverage of emancipatory struggles across the Global South. Just as in *Abeng*, the analysis produced affirms a Black Power politics of transnational solidarity as well as deploying a global conception of capitalist exploitation and imperial domination that links the Caribbean to a broader, (neo)colonially exploited 'Third World' in the West Indian movement's spatial imaginaries. This can be seen in *The Vanguard* (OWTU 1970 issues 135 and 137b) in articles on the Biafra and the Honduras-El Salvador, or Football, War. Both conflicts are assessed to have roots in the imperialist machinations of Metropolitan powers with the outcome being the deaths of innocent civilians in the Global South; either at the hands of a neo-colonial oligarch class in Central America or military forces armed and abetted by the Soviets and French respectively in Nigeria (ibid.). Just as in *Abeng*, these conflicts are used as warnings and examples for the Black Power struggle in the Caribbean. Imperialist powers on both sides of the Cold War will instigate and manipulate conflicts in the Global South for their own ends and will stoke divisions under the old colonial mantra of divide and rule. As such, emancipatory movements in the Global South must be committed to transnational solidarities and alliances in the face of this (ibid.). Here, we see a geopolitical analysis that moves beyond the Cold War binary and the political-economy of neo-colonialism that is advanced through a bi-polar conception of international relations (Sharp 2013). Within the spatial-political imaginaries of West Indian Black Power a subaltern geopolitical vision (Sharp 2013, 2019) is advanced that seeks to break out of this binary and find space for the common solidarity of the world's subaltern peoples in order to advance their social, economic and cultural development. A Caribbean politics of Black Power facilitates this both through a commitment to anti-imperialism and colonialism as well as through the express desire to forge inter-ethnic solidarities (Rodney 1969; Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 16).

Further examples of this 'Third Worldist' reporting and politics can be found in the UWI student newspapers *Embryo* (Trinidad) and *Scope* (Jamaica). *Embryo* vol. 2 issue 16 (1970) contains an article attacking the military juntas of Argentina and the Southern Cone for their oligarchical manipulation of their

national economies, European cultural chauvinism and utilisation of a McCarthyite discourse of anti-Communism to win support from the US (Cousins 2008; Salgado 2018). *Scope* (1968 vol. 2 issue 9) reveals that the Guild of Undergraduates supports the boycotting of the 1968 Mexico Olympics if South Africa is allowed to take part and calls on all West Indian governments to commit to this pledge. Here again, one finds both papers positioning themselves in solidarity with oppressed peoples in the Global South, the terrorised populace of Argentina (Shrader 2020) and the world's victims of transnational Apartheid, with a politics of Black Power acting as the articulating mechanism between such dispersed struggles and their own movement in the West Indies. In the very same issues of these newspapers West Indian governments are attacked for their own use of anti-communist rhetoric in silencing their political foes (Scope 1968 vol. 2 issue 9). *Scope* reports on a Guyana-based academic and her husband, Kathleen and Harold Drayton, being denied entry into Jamaica due to their radical political views (ibid.). This incident is understood as part of a broader campaign waged by the JLP government in its harassment and silencing of left-wingers in Jamaica; this of course rooted in the construction of such a politics and Black Power as subversive as discussed in Chapter 4. Both the Argentinian junta (Shrader 2020) and the JLP government are understood to be articulating a Cold War discourse of anti-communism to suit their own local political agendas trading in the language of US policy but not necessarily directed by it; pointing to the transnational geographies of this reactionary international of sorts. Such processes are seen to be common obstacles to all progressive movements in the Global South and through the shared experience of such antagonisms there can be found the basis for transnational solidarities across national, ethnic and racial lines.

5.4 Conclusion

An exploration of the Black Power print production, circulation and reportage that flourished across the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies reveals a complex array of spatial-political forms, transnational connections and international geopolitical analysis on the part of the editors, contributors and vendors of these publications.

The first central contribution of this chapter lies in positioning the texts and publications I have engaged with as constituting socio-political relations, both material and imagined, across space-time (Ogborn 2002). The Black Power publications I have studied represented political objects formative of socio-political relations and formations across space-time in their very being and circulation; as discussed at length in Chapter 3. In the first section it was shown how the editorial structure and circulation of the *Abeng* newspaper in Jamaica was reflective and constitutive of West Indian Black Power's decolonial spatial-politics. So commitments to amplifying the voice of the Jamaican subaltern and collating their narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) into a material text saw a spatially dispersed editorial structure developed with local parish reporters and Abeng assemblies, supposedly, directing the ideological direction of the newspaper and the broader socio-political movement. Further, the circulation and vending of periodicals like *Abeng* and *Embryo* operated as a means for politicisation into and debate over the direction of a decolonial Black Power politics through the imagined and material linkages enabled by the text. The Black Power periodical in its editorialising, production, vending and reading represented a situated, material articulation of the historical-political trajectory of a decolonial West Indian Black Power politics and the circulation of these print materials represented a key way that specific local struggles could be interpolated within a broader, transnational Black Power movement.

In examining the reportage of West Indian Black Power publications in section two, I drew upon my original theoretical framework, as discussed in Chapter 2, in order to demonstrate how one can see in the content of said publications analysis of specific, grounded articulations of the trajectories of Creole Nationalism, (neo)colonialism and Black Power that shaped contemporaneous West Indian problem-space (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). With the Black Power publications explored in this chapter understood as material manifestations of the movement's decolonial political imaginaries one can understand this as the primary lens through which international reportage is conducted and spatial-political imaginaries delineated. Hence the consistent focus on examples of resistance to racism, colonialism and imperialism in the West Indies and globally in order to articulate transnational solidarities with such efforts, as exemplified in the case of the George Williams University affair

(Abeng 1969 issue 8; OWTU 1969 issue 115), and in order to position local efforts within a broader transnational analysis, as seen with African Battleline (Abeng 1969 issues 6, 7, 12). Through exploring this reportage I have foregrounded the expansive internationalist politics of solidarity articulated through West Indian Black Power, informed by the specific histories and geographies of the region, that encompassed all subaltern peoples struggling against an international white power system (Rodney 1969; Embryo 1970 vol. 2 issue 16). In so doing I contribute to efforts to examine the spatial politics of Black internationalism outside of a Pan-African framing and foreground the practices of Black internationalist actors and movements to build solidarities across and through racial, ethnic and national differences (Edwards 2003; Gilmore 2007; Featherstone 2013).

The international reportage of West Indian Black Power publications represented a key way that Black Power's subaltern constituents could be politicised and have a critical race consciousness sharpened through explorations of specific, situated articulations of (neo)colonial and Creole Nationalist trajectories. Indeed, it is useful to consider such reporting as narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) that made clearer and more intelligible the political terrain of contemporaneous West Indian problem-space within which Black Power operated and the transnational connections and spatialities that fed into and animated the trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism. In so doing, the ways in which a decolonial Black Power politics could exceed such historical-political trajectories, understood through reference to specific local and global events, was made clearer and thus political analysis and energies galvanised and sharpened.

The publications and periodicals explored in this chapter foreground the intellectual, political and organisational capacities of the West Indian subaltern. In my positioning of the archival materials explored as counter-archives and counter-histories of Black memory, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, I stress that these periodicals and texts represent a key resource in sketching decolonial trajectories and imaginaries emergent from West Indian subaltern communities. Communities seeking to exceed the strictures of racism, (neo)colonialism and imperialism that shaped contemporaneous and contemporary West Indian problem-space. These publications offered a means

for the articulation of narratives of resistance and the assertion of a voice and geopolitics from below (Sharp 2013, 2019). This sometimes manifested in tensions between the campus and the streets as sufferers staked their claim to direction of the Black Power movement beyond the control of academics and university students (Abeng 1969 issue 33; Bongoman 1970 issue 5). I have produced here an account of a West Indian Black Power print production and the spatial-political imaginaries evidenced through this production that highlights the generative capacity of the movement and its subaltern constituents for past and contemporary struggles and do not understand these materials to be artefacts of brave but failed efforts (McKittrick 2013).

Chapter 6 Narratives of Resistance and Decolonial Futures at the First Regional International Black Power Conference, Bermuda 1969

6.1 Introduction

An internal Foreign & Commonwealth Office paper from February 1970 entitled "Black Power in the Eastern Caribbean" (FCO 141/150) details British intelligence on the development of Black Power politics in these islands. It is noted with concern that Black Power formations had emerged in; Antigua, St Kitts, St Lucia, St Vincent, Dominica, Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands as well as the US territories of Puerto Rico and the American Virgin Islands (ibid.). FCO analysts and security assets located in Britain and the West Indies agreed that this increase in overt Black Power political activity could be linked to events in another of the British Empire's vestigial colonies: Bermuda (FCO 141/150 1970; FCO 63/444 1970; Swan 2014).

The First Regional International Black Power Conference (BPC) held in Bermuda in July 1969 was assessed by the British, American and Canadian security states to have been central in building links between the Black Power movement in Bermuda and the wider Caribbean and North America (Swan 2009; 2014). The conference drew representatives from the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa to a gathering of an estimated 2000 attendees; with around 200 coming from outside Bermuda (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 8). Despite Bermuda's size and remote location the First BPC highlighted global articulations of Black Power politics and the transnational relations that Black Power groups and actors forged to realise their emancipatory and decolonial ends (Tyner 2006; Swan 2009, 2014; Austin 2013, 2018; Quinn 2014). The First BPC galvanised Black Power political activity in Bermuda and the wider Caribbean long after its end, facilitating the development of transnational solidarities and political networks between those who attended. Whilst Bermuda is not part of the geographical region of the Caribbean the island is part of the broader Caribbean world through shared cultural links and a shared history of colonial rule, transatlantic slavery and white supremacist social stratification (Swan 2014).

In this chapter, I again utilise my original spatial-political analytical framework building on the work of Caribbean scholars David Scott (2004, 2014) and Brian Meeks (2000). I draw upon their utilisation of the concepts of problem-space and narratives of resistance to help ground Massey's (2005) spatial ontology in a study of the articulation of a transnational Black Power politics in Bermuda. I position Bermudian Black Power theory and praxis as decolonial and so foreground the peoples and places of the Caribbean world in the intellectual history and geography of decolonial thought. This chapter contributes to efforts to internationalise studies of Black Power (Slate 2012; Quinn 2014; Shilliam 2015; Narayan 2019), particularly within geography, that have to date been largely circumscribed to the US and further contributes to scholarship on Black internationalism by broadening examinations of conferences and conferencing through engagement with the First BPC (Hodder 2015). Through examining the articulation of Black Power politics in Bermuda and in the context of the Black Power Conference more specifically this chapter highlights the decolonial aspects of West Indian Black Power thought and praxis that I have yet to fully interrogate to this point. During and following on from the conference Bermudian Black Power advocates would sketch out and pre-figure a decolonial future for the island and its Black population. Indeed, the specific political, social and demographic conditions of Bermuda, as a white dominated British colony, saw the enactment of spatial political praxes and the articulation of a Black Power politics responsive to these conditions. Positioning the Black Power Conference as an act of Black place-making (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011) as a means of freedom similarly foregrounds specific plantation spatialities and logics re-mobilised in response to the event as being specific manifestations of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism in the Caribbean world. These plantation logics would inform acts of state repression of the West Indian Black Power movement beyond Bermuda as will be explored in the following chapter.

This chapter's structure is as follows. Firstly, I position Bermuda within the Black world with reference to Paul Gilroy's 'Black Atlantic' to draw out the historical and geographical specificities of the "problem-space" (Scott, D. 2004: 4) within which a Bermudian Black Power politics proffered a subaltern decolonial imaginary (Gilroy 1993, Iton 2008). I then engage with McKittrick's (2011; 2013) work on plantation geographies and temporalities, demonstrating how the

Bermudian Black Power movement was constitutive of a politics of resistance to transnational geographies of white supremacy and also articulated a decolonial vision of Bermuda that could exceed such geographies.

The empirical discussion traces the strategies of resistance and solidarity enacted and envisioned by Bermudian Black Power actors in their insurgent spatial politics. (Swan 2009, 2014; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). I do this by developing an analysis of the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies and Bermuda attuned to the dynamic and productive geographies of articulation that were generative of political and historical change and alternative futures (Meeks 2000; Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). I explore the First BPC and its 'afterlives', in the form of political activity and publications emergent from the conference, as constitutive of a decolonial politics. This chapter makes contributions to work on Black Geographies (McKittrick 2013; Hudson 2014) and geographies of Black radicalism (Heynen 2009; Ramirez 2015) through an engagement with prominent post-colonial Caribbean intellectuals (Meeks 1996, 2000; Scott, D. 2004). In drawing on their theories this chapter provides original insight into the dynamic and wide-ranging spatial politics of Black Power on Bermuda that contested plantation forms of white supremacy and envisioned alternative decolonial futures.

6.2 Positioning Bermuda in the Black world

I will begin by positioning Black Power politics in Bermuda, and the broader West Indies, in their particular historical problem-space. I contend the central problems that Black Power politics was articulated in relation to were the inadequacies of mainstream West Indian anti-colonial nationalisms, as seen in the region's post-colonial states (Gray 1991; Thame 2011, 2017), and the limits of national sovereignty in fully realising the decolonial project. In Bermuda, Black Power opposition was directed against colonial rule and the abolition of white supremacist socio-political and cultural stratification with independence a key goal. Independence however, was envisioned in this Black Power imaginary as specifically *divergent* to the form taken in the post-colonial West Indies with a greater focus on anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and internationalist anti-racist solidarity (Swan 2009). This position generated a consistent focus on building transnational solidarities and operating in an internationalist framework

with the understanding that national sovereignty alone was inadequate in contrast to the political rationalities of anticolonial Creole Nationalists for whom national sovereignty was the moment at which the 'Modern' decolonised West Indies emerged (Quinn 2014; Austin 2013, Scott, D. 2017a). Black Power politics in the West Indies and Bermuda contained at heart a complex analysis of (neo)colonialism and capitalist-imperialism and the ways these forces interacted to constrain political and historical agency supposedly attained through formal independence (Rodney 1969; James, C.L.R. 1971; Munroe 1971). The decolonial project did not end at the territorial limits of the post-colonial nation-state; therefore, the Black diaspora was the focus.

This chapter responds to Hodder's (2015) suggestion that geographers broaden engagements with international conferences and the practice of conferencing beyond 'high summits' conducted by heads of state, official diplomatic corps and held in state-accredited spaces. Studying the multiple archival traces, and the historical-political trajectories they are constitutive of, that emerged from the First BPC positions the event as central in the development and articulation of Black politics Power in the Caribbean world and the reactionary securitisation networks arrayed in opposition to such activity. Studying varied sites and examples of conferences broadens understandings of how transnational and international politics are shaped, debated and practiced in such settings and on what terms.

6.2.1 Bermuda's Black Atlantic Geographies

Situating Bermuda within a Black Atlantic context is important in order to fully interrogate the historical constitution of the problem-space wherein the Bermudian Black Power movement operated. As discussed in Chapter 2, Gilroy utilises the term 'Black Atlantic' to denote "a transnational spatial formation composed through an intricate interplay of connection and difference" (Gregory et al 2009: 114) that positions the Modern Atlantic as an interconnected "cultural and political system…forced on Black historiography and intellectual history by the economic and historical matrix in which plantation slavery…was one special moment." (Gilroy 1993: 15). Gilroy's (1993) exploration of the trans-oceanic geographies that constitute the Black Atlantic points towards the

historical-spatial relations that shaped Bermuda as a colonised space and constituted the political terrain upon which Black Power operated.

Gilroy's analysis centres cultural and political cross-fertilisation in a way that destabilises discourses of cultural absolutism and ethnic homogeneity (Goldberg 2002; Austin 2013). Actors and movements seeking freedom and justice for Black peoples across the Atlantic diaspora have long understood that an "outernational, transcultural [conceptualisation]" (Gilroy 1993: 17) of historical and present forces of racialised oppression is necessary to transcend the strictures of spatial-political configurations rooted in particularist logics of race and ethnicity (Gilroy 1993; Goldberg 2002; Bogues 2003; Iton 2008). Utilising the Black Atlantic as a conceptual framework, I foreground the longstanding diasporic connections that Black Power politics in Bermuda was rooted in and that shaped its articulation. These connections provided shared cultural and political histories that were drawn upon to shape narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000). Similarly, the colonially and racially mediated geometries of power that criss-crossed the Black Atlantic constituted the historical-material problem-space within and against which emancipatory Black politics was articulated (Gilroy 1993; Scott, D. 2004; Massey 2005).

Bermuda's Black population has a long history of opposition to British colonial rule, racial segregation and discrimination and such action was conducted in connection with other diasporic movements. Bermuda was connected to global Pan-Africanist politics through organisations like the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The UNIA movement led by the Jamaican Marcus Garvey was a global Pan-Africanist organisation seeking the establishment of a powerful African nation-state and advocated transnational diasporic organisation to achieve this aim alongside racial justice, equality and dignity (Nettleford 1970; Hill 2018). A UNIA branch was established on Bermuda in 1920. Austin (2013, 2018) in his work on Black radicalism in Montreal also notes the historical importance of the UNIA in laying the foundations for the emergence of Black Power. As in Bermuda, Caribbean migrants to the city established Montreal's first chapter and UNIA activity and the diasporic connections facilitated by the UNIA provided a local base that would sustain Black protest and community organisation throughout the twentieth century (ibid.). Meeks (1996) similarly notes the important role of Black cultural memory

and the spaces in which it was grounded, specifically the deep currents of African cultural nationalism long harboured by Afro-Caribbean subaltern populations (Gray 1991), in the development of a Black Power narrative of resistance during the Trinidadian Black Power Revolution. This history of Black internationalist politics in Bermuda evokes earlier discussion of Brent Hayes Edwards' (2003) theory in Chapter 2. The uptake of a Black internationalism articulated first through the UNIA and then Black Power on Bermuda points to the ways that such transnational political cultures operate through and across difference within the Black diaspora; drawing Black Bermudians into transnational spatial-political configurations with variously situated actors and communities across the Black world (ibid.).

This history of Black diasporic political organising in Bermuda was not without reaction. Black protest and resistance were systematically suppressed by the colonial state throughout the twentieth century often most effectively by insulating the island from 'subversive' peoples and materials. In the 1920s the British governor quashed circulation of the UNIA newspaper *The Negro World*, in the 1960s Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* was banned along with literature from the Nation of Islam and finally a stop-list was drawn up in response to the convening of the First BPC which prevented a number of Black radicals from attending (FCO 63/444 1970; Swan 2009, 2014). FCO (63/444 1970) documents reveal that Bermudian and British security states assessed the publication of the stop-list to have been a major factor in ensuring the First BPC went without incident. However, this lack of incident may speak more to the strategic assessment of conference organisers who saw violence as unnecessary given the Black population's demographic majority on the island; democratic, majority rule was the goal (Swan 2009).

Discussion of Bermuda's place in the Black Atlantic must also be related to work on the plantation and geographies of white supremacy that co-constituted Bermudian problem-space.

6.2.2 Forging Decolonial Space

Bermuda has been a British colony for over four-hundred years and is a place long-defined by logics and processes of white supremacy. In Chapter 2 I discussed in detail white supremacy, colonialism and their multiple:

> *social, economic, and political impacts… as a materially grounded set of practices… [situating] white supremacy not as an artefact of history or as an extreme position, but rather as the foundation for the continuous unfolding of practices of race and racism (Bonds and Inwood 2016: 715)*

With white supremacy describing structural and institutional mechanisms of non-white racial domination, destruction and exploitation that constitute fundamental processes of racialisation and the production of racialised spaces. Spaces produced through the regulation of schemas of violence and exclusion against racialised Others legitimised by logics of racial hierarchy (McKittrick 2013; Bonds and Inwood 2016; Derickson 2017). White supremacy as an organising, structuring logic of Western imperialism produced colonial societies with racist institutional structures that maintained and justified segregation, violence and oppression (Noxolo and Featherstone 2014; Bonds and Inwood 2016). The historical problem-space of the West Indies and Bermuda in the late 1960s and early 1970s was indelibly shaped by histories, structures and spatialities of white supremacy. Many First BPC workshops were specifically directed towards analysing and challenging white supremacy with the reactionary state security response to the conference representing the latest instantiation of white supremacist oppression meted out to Black Bermudians (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 43 1969).

McKittrick's (2013; Hudson 2014) utilisation of the plantation analytic and its racial logics in explorations of Black Geographies in the New World is useful in assessing spatialities of white supremacy and Black resistance in Bermuda. McKittrick uses West Indian intellectual George Beckford's economic studies of the post-independence Caribbean to build a conceptual framing for understanding historical and contemporary racialised spatial production and the logics that continue to project plantation space-time onto the political and conceptual horizons of Black Atlantic communities (Gilroy 1993; Scott, D. 2004;

McKittrick 2013). Beckford conceived of the Caribbean as a plantation system with this system impacting all aspects of life even post-independence:

> *The contemporary social structure and race class relations were held to be the products of the legacy of the plantation system – that is, what had been instituted by the slave plantations and modified over time by indentureship, by the rise of the peasantry, by urbanisation, migration, and by the rise of new export staples. These modifications were believed not to alter its fundamental character (Meeks and Girvan 2010: 7)*

The significance of this Caribbean intellectual production has been noted for its importance in generating ways of understanding the co-productive dynamics of "resistance, security and colonialism" that both historically and contemporaneously shape the lives of non-white Caribbeans (Noxolo and Featherstone 2014: 604). McKittrick (2013) assesses the plantation form as spatially and temporally shifting and underpinned by logics re-emergent through present Black lives. The plantation is remade anew in contemporary, post-slave and post-independence contexts of violence, dispossession and poverty (Meeks and Girvan 2010; Thomas, C, Y. 2013). As discussed previously in Chapter 2, *time alone* does not account for the development and transformation of historical problem-space(s). Re-articulations of plantation space-time are always situated with the specificities of a given locale inflecting the spatial-political configurations and praxes enacted in the renewal of the plantation. Plantation regimes are renewed in present problem-space and projected into future problem-space(s) through the grounded actions of specific actors and socio-political structures that shape the specific material and ideological conditions of a given historical problem-space and that require similarly dynamic, situated praxes of resistance.

Applying the plantation analytic to Bermuda, the island's history of slavery, racial segregation and anti-Black discrimination can be understood as not a series of, now superseded, discrete acts of abhorrent racism but as evolving axes of social discrimination rooted in the logics of plantation racism (Quijano 2007; McKittrick 2013; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). To quote McKittrick (2013: 9):

> *While plantations differed over time and space, the processes through which they were differentially operated and maintained draw attention to the ways racial surveillance, antiBlack violence,*

sexual cruelty, and economic accumulation identify the spatial work of race and racism

Geographies of white supremacy and the coeval coloniality of power (Quijano 2000, 2007) in the Black Atlantic have been continually resisted by Black populations from the instigation of transatlantic slavery and the establishment of plantation societies (Beckles 2013; Noxolo and Featherstone 2014). Mignolo and Walsh's (2018) conceptualisation of decolonial praxis and associated spatial political form as *insurgent* is generative here. Insurgent decolonial claims to place represent fundamental processes in the production of plantation geographies and in forging decolonial praxes and trajectories that may exceed such geographies (Meeks 2000; Tyner 2006; Heynen 2009). Insurgent actors are historical agents seeking to forge decolonial spaces and movements in the present and thus intervening in plantation problem-space by building towards future horizons beyond the strictures of white supremacy (Scott, D. 2004; Beckles 2013; McKittrick 2013; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). It is vital to approach the West Indian and Bermudian Black Power movement in this light in order to understand Black Power politics as an alternative decolonial trajectory operating against and beyond West Indian Creole Nationalisms, latent colonialisms and spatialities of white supremacy.

This chapter highlights specific co-produced articulations of plantation space-time in Bermuda and positions Black Power as a movement that could exceed plantation logics and spatialities. A core contribution lies in understanding the neo-colonial economic analysis, modes of revolutionary thought, cultural anti-imperialism and politics of 'Third World' solidarity evidenced at the First BPC as constituting an alternative decolonial trajectory directed towards an envisioned decolonial future for Bermuda. I contribute to recent efforts by scholars such as Ama Biney (2018) who has studied the decolonial thought of Thomas Sankara; the Marxist and Pan-Africanist former president of Burkina Faso. Like Biney (2018), I too foreground the diverse geographies of connection through which ideas of decolonial thinking have been articulated. An exploration of the history of decolonial thought brings one back to Black Power and the Caribbean world. Davies (2019) highlights the importance of Guyanese historian and Black Power thought-leader Walter Rodney's theories to Anibal Quijano in his development of a theory of the 'coloniality of power' (Rodney 1969; Bogues 2003; Quinn 2014).

Quijano's interactions with Binghamton University's Coloniality Working Group in the early 1990s led to engagements with Rodney's theorisations of race and neo-colonialism. This demonstrates the significance of Black Power thinking and praxis to decolonial thought and furthermore positions the history of Black Power struggle in the Caribbean world as part of a decolonial tradition that holds key resources for understanding contemporary manifestations of the coloniality of power (Davies 2019).

6.3 A Spatial Politics of Bermudian Black Power

6.3.1 The First Regional International Black Power Conference, Bermuda 1969

The First BPC enables a grounded engagement with the historical-political trajectory of Black Power in the Caribbean world and its specific articulations on Bermuda in the service of envisioning and realising an imagined decolonial future.

The conference opened with an address from C.L.R. James; the famed Trinidadian Marxist historian and political theorist and direct mentor of many involved in Black Power politics in the Caribbean world (Austin 2013). James assessed Black Power within a global, revolutionary context of a "mighty struggle against the forces of US imperialism" (James, C.L.R. in Swan 2014: 203) with James seeing Black Power activity as coeval with international movements seeking "power against those who are ruling the world." (James in Bogues 2009: 131). Bermuda, the Caribbean and the Black Power movement found in these islands were outlined as sites of revolutionary activity and decolonial potential a la "Vietnam, Cuba and Tanzania" (James in Swan 2014: 203). James analysed Black Power as a political movement of world significance emergent in a post-68 conjunctural moment. James sketches out the horizon of possible futures heralded by a globally articulated, anti-imperialist and decolonial Black Power movement that could unite sites of Black struggle from a colonial Bermuda, to liberation wars across the Global South and to African-American communities. *The Bermuda Recorder* (vol. 45, no. 44 1969) reported an estimated crowd of 2000 at the opening address with the vast majority being local Bermudians and

around 200 conference attendees having travelled from abroad (CAB 148/91/23 1969; Swan 2009).

The conference was structured around seven workshops; Communications, Creativity, Economics, Education; History, Politics, Religion and Mythology (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 43 1969). Conference sessions were conducted in venues across the island and plenary sessions were convened at Hamilton's, the island's capital, city hall (CAB 148/91/23 1969). The *Bermuda Recorder* (vol. 45 no. 44 1969: 1) noted "the conference had drawn persons from many walks of life and various ages". Swan (2009: 79) suggests a broad spectrum of local Black Bermudians attended proceedings with "doctors, MCPs [Bermudian Parliament Members], union members, taxi drivers, students" afforded the opportunity to interact, debate and discuss the contours of a transnationally articulated Black Power politics and its application to Bermuda and wider diasporic and oppressed communities. First BPC Chair Roosevelt Pauulu Browne Kamarakafego's post-conference report reveals the sometimes intimate nature of these interactions with "the opening of local homes to house overseas delegates" (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 8: 4) seen as a strength of the First BPC and indicative of the diasporic affinities and sense of communality engendered through a transnational Black Power politics.

The conference was not a totalising subaltern space per se; many of the foreign delegates held prominent positions in the academy and wider society and/or had access to funds that allowed for international travel. The conference however did provide an opportunity for subaltern Bermudians to exact influence on proceedings through participation in workshops etc. Being Black in Bermuda in this period was certainly a barrier to social and economic advancement as well as political representation; schools were segregated (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 44 no. 58 1970), de facto discrimination in employment was widely practiced (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 47 no. 4 1971) and the electoral geography of the island suppressed the Black vote (Swan 2009). When thinking through the conference I employ a notion of *subalternity* which is relational and shifting and exceeds a concept of the subaltern as a fixed, pre-existing identity (Sharp 2019). Subalternity is "endlessly (re)constituted through dialectical processes of recognition, within multiple networks of power" (Butler in Mitchell 2007: 706) and so subaltern identities are produced through situated and practiced socio-

political relations and material conditions. So, many of the foreign delegates or domestic attendees could be seen to occupy positions of higher social standing or privilege in comparison to working-class, Black Bermudians. However, in aligning themselves with the decolonial, subaltern politics of Black Power on the island they made themselves a target of the white supremacist, colonial state that would 'subalternise' them through using their race or political affiliations as an axis of socio-political discrimination and outright criminalisation and repression. In this way, the First BPC was a place from which narratives of resistance were enunciated and decolonial futures imagined that challenged and exceeded the articulations of colonial power on the island that subalternised Black Bermudians.

The international guests comprised an array of figures from across the Black world. Academics Fernando Henriques and Acklyn Lynch came from institutions in the US and UK; radical activists Mitsuksu Shiboh represented the Japanese Red Army and John Shabazz the Black Citizens Patrol of Harlem; A Presidential advisor on Black Studies, Dr. Nathan Wright, delivered the conference's closing address; religious leaders such as the US Methodist Bishop Bright attended; and Black feminists Thelma Morgan and Queen Mother Moore, founder and president of the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, held a session on Black women (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 44 and 43 1969; CAB 148/91/23 1969; Swan 2009). This snapshot of attendees shows the range of personal, ideological and theological trajectories that came together at the First BPC. The conference as a place, understood as a conjuncture of space-time trajectories (Massey 2005), facilitated generative interactions in the service of envisioning alternative, emancipatory futures and the enunciation of narratives of resistance anticipatory of said futures and oppositional to contemporaneous colonial, white supremacist regimes (Meeks 2000).

The inspiration for convening a Black Power Conference on Bermuda can be traced to the attendance of seven of Bermuda's Progressive Labour Party (PLP) members to the National Conference on Black Power Newark, New Jersey 1967 (Swan 2009, 2014); the most noteworthy being the First BPC Chair Pauulu Kamarakafego. The PLP formed in 1963 as a party of Bermuda's Black working class, consistently calling for independence, franchise expansion and challenging de jure and de facto racial segregation and discrimination (Swan 2009). There

was significant overlap between the PLP and Black Power politics on Bermuda. Kamarakafego was perhaps the most prominent example but the PLP's Youth Wing officially supported the First BPC with members engaged in administration and organisation (CAB 148/91/23 1969). The 1967 Newark Conference produced a single, core resolution; Quoting Swan (2009: 25):

> *The Black Power Manifesto was the only resolution officially passed by the New Jersey Conference. It called for the creation of an International Black Congress that would reflect the "new sense of power and revolution blossoming" throughout the Black world. This would include the convening of regional Black Power Conferences in America and the Black Diaspora.*

This call was answered enthusiastically by Kamarakafego in his convening of the First BPC and demonstrates these conferences were convened and attended in attempts to define and articulate a new Black internationalist politics that could draw together variously situated struggles against racism, (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism from across the globe (Tyner 2006).

These efforts to construct a Black Power international of course emerge in response to the shifting contexts of the historical problem-spaces that Black Power actors found themselves operating in. In Bermuda, the First BPC was held at the height of the 'long sixties' with an ascendant West Indian Black Power movement and the general global upsurge and interest in anti-colonial, radical and New Left politics heightening tensions and generating interest in the event that operated as a place of convergence for those variously aligned with these new historical-political tendencies (Meeks 2000; Swan 2009; Austin 2018). One also sees the generative potential of such gatherings in furthering Black Power political action and politics. Personal meetings and political-strategic discussions in Newark 67 were direct antecedents of the First BPC and this same process again occurred in 1969 with Black Power political activity spurred across the Caribbean world due to the heightening of political consciousness generated by the event and the convergence of personal and ideological trajectories afforded (FCO 141/150 1970; FCO 63/444 1970; Massey 2005; Swan 2014; Hodder 2015). Kamarakafego's understanding that Black Power politics could be generatively articulated in contexts outside the US is evidenced in his speech at the 1968 National Conference on Black Power, Philadelphia. Kamarakafego used this opportunity to emphasise the need for Black Power conferences to be held

outside the US as it was a movement and politics internationally relevant to the Black world (Swan 2014).

Whilst there were connections and a shared genealogy between the Black Power movements of the US and the West Indies and Bermuda there were also significant differences. In the West Indies, Black Power advocates, most famously Walter Rodney (Rodney 1969), articulated an expansive conception of blackness that included the region's East Indian population and all non-white peoples of the world oppressed by white power. Rodney's articulation of blackness was innovative and challenged mono-racial articulations of Black Power emergent from some sections of the US Black Power movement. This was evidenced in the hostile and damaging reaction generated across the West Indies following Stokely Carmichael's, one-time Prime Minister of the US Black Panther Party, comments that Black Power was for people of African descent only in a May 1970 speaking visit to multi-ethnic Guyana (FCO 1970 63/463; Quinn 2014). In Bermuda, the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist politics of Black Power were perhaps sharper and more immediate in an outright British colony than in the US where Black Power activists positioned African-American communities as being internally colonised (Heynen 2009; Swan 2009). Bermudian Black Power activists were directly confronted by imperial military power in 1969 as British troops were deployed to the island in order to protect the white-supremacist colonial state and in so doing re-articulating plantation space-time in the contemporary Bermudian context through the policing of Black political activity (Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 44 1969; Swan 2009).

The First BPC constituted an example of Black place-making enacted as a means of creative resistance to geographies and regimes of coloniality and white supremacy (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011; Heynen and Ybarra 2020). In a *Bermuda Recorder* interview (vol. 45 no. 43: 1) a week before the conference, Kamarakafego confirmed that "no whites will be allowed… [and] that he [had] returned application forms and registration fees some had submitted.". The First BPC represented an attempt to carve out a space solely of and for Black and non-white people from across the world to come together and attempt to articulate a politics of anti-racism, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in a white supremacist, colonial state steeped in centuries of active hostility towards such efforts (Swan 2009). This tactic of white exclusion should not be read as a

reactionary politics of Black supremacy; contra to the analysis of the British Joint Intelligence Committee (CAB 158/68 *Black Power: Report by the Joint Intelligence Committee* 1968: 1) that described Black Power as "an extremist racialist movement advocating physical violence". The decision to ban white attendees was a situated and strategic decision made by the organisers who recognised that Bermuda was a society and space dominated by white colonial power and plantation logics. The First BPC articulated an assuredly anti-racist politics as seen in the memorandum produced following its conclusion; "world humanism" was the eventual goal requiring "the working together of people on a worldwide basis to eliminate hunger, disease, poverty, ignorance, [and] dignity for all people" (Swan 2009: 85). However, as Black people were oppressed locally and globally the first step was to gain power over Black communities and then as a united people with self-liberation the pre-requisite to such utopian aims. The First BPC represented a situated and insurgent practice of place-making as freedom that emerged in direct response to specific plantation geographies that shaped contemporaneous Bermudian problem-space and that had long shaped the island's history of Black political organisation (Scott, D. 2004; Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011, 2013).

The actions of the British and Bermudian security and intelligence apparatuses leave little doubt as to the necessity of the organisers' policy. British Cabinet Office papers detail the troop deployments to Bermuda intended to quell any potential disturbances:

> *It has been decided to send 80 officers and men of 45 marine commando to reinforce the seamen and marines of the two frigates Arethusa and Mohawk which will be standing by in Bermuda over the danger period (CAB 148/91/23 FCO Telegram no. 142 Guidance 1969: 1).*

Kamarakafego and other PLP members saw this display of imperial military power as incendiary and intimidating. This deployment of British naval vessels and military personnel is reminiscent of earlier Caribbean imperialist interventions. Guyanese poet Martin Carter (2006: 100) penned these words in response to the 1953 suspension of the constitution and deployment of British troops; "Although you come in thousands from the sea…Although you point your gun straight at my heart, I clench my fist above my head; I sing my song of

FREEDOM!" Kamarakafego noted in a post-conference report (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 8: 1) "desert army land rovers, mounted with submachine guns, were moved through the city [Hamilton]" on the eve of the conference. A PLP statement published in *The Bermuda Recorder* stated "the gathering of Black people for a conference does not require the entire Black population of Bermuda to be placed under a state of siege." (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45. no. 44 p. 1).

This "state of siege" (ibid.) was manifest less overtly too. A 'stop-list' was produced through the collaboration of the Bermudian government, CIA, MI5, MI6 and Interpol to prevent "militant extremists" (FCO 63/443 *Meeting Concerning Regional Black Power Conferences* 1970: 1) from entering the territory with this succeeding in preventing the travel of a number of attendees and workshop convenors (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 8). Perhaps the greatest vindication of the organisers' exclusionary policy was found in the infiltration of proceedings by informants and agents of Special Branch who composed a report on the First BPC complete with photographs, information on resolutions and delegates' personal information (Swan 2009). These practices of repression, displays of imperial military power and colonial intelligence efforts constituted renewals of centuries-old tactics of racialised surveillance, restrictions of mobility and the criminalisation of Black protest. With all this undergirded by racist plantation logics that positioned (radical) blackness and Black political organisation as a threat to continued colonial and white supremacist hegemony (McKittrick 2011; Austin 2013).

This overview of the First BPC situates the event as a confluence of diverse trajectories, personal and political, from across the Black world and Global South that came together to debate and articulate a transnational politics of Black Power. The conference represented a practice of liberatory Black place-making with a white exclusion policy a strategic decision in light of the racial geographies and forms of white supremacy that defined contemporaneous Bermudian problem-space (Scott, D. 2004; Gilmore 2007; Mckittrick 2011). This move was vindicated by the practices of intimidation, surveillance and harassment enacted by local colonial and British imperialist security actors and that represented re-articulations of plantation logics and coercive efforts that have long defined Bermudian race relations (Swan 2009; McKittrick 2013). The

next empirical section explores the decolonial imaginaries and politics articulated at the First BPC.

6.3.2 Decolonial Futures

In analysing the decolonial visions emergent from the First BPC a useful starting point is the Communications workshop and the publication that emerged from it: *Umoja*. The workshop's core resolution was that there was a need for communications networks to be created in Bermuda and beyond to disseminate accurate knowledge about Black people worldwide (ibid.) This would have a mobilising effect and provide counter-networks operating outside the constraints of existent communications links that perpetuated white power and white cultural hegemony. This is a means of epistemic decolonisation with independent communications networks facilitating the refutation of colonial myths about Black people and their history and allowing for positive expressions of Black heritage and culture (Rodney 1969; Biney 2018).

Swan (2009: 91) describes the intended form and activity of such communications networks:

> *This was to include the use of taped speeches, films, seminars, church discussions, parties, door-to-door campaigns, and newsletters intended to increase political awareness and to cover areas such as education, history, police conduct and culture.*

Narratives of resistance could be developed and disseminated locally and globally thus drawing Black Bermudians into transnational circuits of knowledge exchange co-produced through the activities and structures outlined in the Communications workshop. Such commitments were formalised through the establishment of a Black Power publication entitled *Umoja;* paired with a synonymous Philadelphia-based paper (Swan 2009, 2014). The pairing with the US publication facilitated the sharing of information between Black Power activists in Bermuda and the US; widening circuits of Black Power communication across the Black Atlantic world and building a Black Power consciousness more deeply engaged with international Black struggles. The word 'umoja' itself is the Kiswahili for 'unity' and demonstrates internationalist and Pan-African commitments (Swan 2009, 2014).

Umoja became the official organ of the PLP Youth Wing and was distributed and contributed to by members of the Black Beret Cadre; a militant Black Panther Party-esque group active from 1969 to 1972 that self-styled as the vanguard of Black Power in Bermuda (Swan 2009). This legacy of the First BPC on the politicisation and political activity of Black Bermudians is representative of the consciousness raising effect the conference had on Bermuda and across the Caribbean world (FCO 141/150 1970; FCO 63/444 1970). Around 1800 attendees were native Bermudians and as described previously these came from across the spectrum of Bermudian society (Swan 2009). Kamrakafego notes in his post-conference analysis that a great success of the event lay in "having Black people of various parts of the world share the common as well as their local problems" (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 8: 4). The conference afforded the opportunity for Black people from across the world to come together and reason and for Bermudians to relate their local issues to broader, transnational antagonisms shared by attendees. Whilst workshop leaders and keynote speakers tended to comprise more elite actors able to engage in international travel the First BPC also operated as a place of interaction where global personal and political trajectories were grounded and inflected by the input of Bermudians (Hodder 2015). *Umoja* stands as a textual codification of narratives of resistance (Scott, J. 1992; Meeks 2000) articulated during the first BPC and points towards decolonial horizons envisioned at the conference.

A 1970 *Umoja* article entitled 'Black Revolution' by one Brother "Che" Hannibal adopts a Fanonian analysis of the post-independence states of the West Indies and the psychological damage wrought on Black people by (neo)colonialism. Brother Hannibal's writing in *Umoja* is indicative of the proliferation of Black Power political activism and analysis by local Bermudians that one sees following the successful conclusion of the First BPC (Swan 2009). Post-independence governments in the West Indies are situated within a global system of white power that had incorporated the local petit-bourgeoisie into neo-colonial relations of exploitation and extraction; "these are Black Skins in White Masks (Fanon)." (Hannibal 1970: 1). Hannibal adopts a decolonial position expounded in his assessment that formal independence had done little to challenge the configurations of domination of West Indian politics, economy and culture by colonial powers and epistemologies (Biney 2018). Hannibal echoes the

sentiments of Professor Henriques who in a TV interview preceding the First BPC stated that, in his opinion, the work of Frantz Fanon best shaped understandings of what "being Black in a white world" meant (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 44 p. 1). Hannibal's Fanonian analysis turns psychological and biopolitical with the inferiority complex engendered in the Black subject through slavery and colonialism explored in relation to capital punishment (Hannibal 1970). Capital punishment is analysed as a "white invention" (Hannibal 1970: 1) instigated in the West Indies to terrorise Black populations and contrasted against the historical practices of African tribal peoples who rarely employed the practice. A point substantiated by Walter Rodney (1970) in his radical history of West African slavery: *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 – 1800*.

The continued use of capital punishment in post-independence Jamaica and Trinidad is read as leaders flexing newly minted state (bio)power. However, in these facile displays of sovereignty these "Black Skins in White Masks" (Hannibal 1970: 1) are recapitulating the violence of the plantation regime (McKittrick 2013) and perpetuating the coloniality of state power (Mignolo and Nash 2018). For these leaders and governments, unable to escape the plantation mind-set and their own epistemic coloniality (Best 1970, 2003), lethal violence remains a key mechanism of power through which societal discipline is enforced and the neo-colonial state defended. For Hannibal, formal independence alone is not enough whilst Black leaders kill Black people, with Black Revolution being the only way towards "freedom and justice. Revolution must be perpetual and intensified or Black masses will forever "Look up to see the Lion and the Palace and the Lake."" (Hannibal 1970: 2).

This narrative of emancipatory revolution evidenced above is a consistent refrain throughout *Umoja* with decolonial futures seen to necessitate major structural changes in the configurations of power locally and globally and the required raising of a revolutionary Black consciousness. In the article 'Black Power' (Umoja 1970), a revolutionary socialist line is developed with capitalism and racism viewed as inseparable and a class and critical Black consciousness seen as coeval. This position chimes with the First BPC's Economics Workshop that described capitalism as "the White man's economic system" and rejected Black capitalism as a means of liberation (Swan 2009: 82); this anti-capitalist position rooted in the belief that collective freedom preceded individual freedom with

this same position adopted in the *Umoja* article. A transnational analysis of capitalist-imperialism is deployed with the exploitation of Black labour in Bermuda and the West Indies serving to enrich white, metropolitan states and capitalists (Umoja 1970; Kunz 2019). Black Power would turn over ownership of the means of production to (Black) workers and so break the transnational relationships of capitalist exploitation that immiserate Black peoples in the region and "[reduce] the worker to a fragment of a man" (Umoja 1970: 1).

Further, the decolonial future of a socialist and Black Power oriented Bermuda is explored with a focus on solidarity with peoples and nations fighting (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism. The article states:

> *Black Power will immediately withdraw all military forces and bases in other nations. It will abolish all travel restrictions to this nation based on the alleged or real communist and/or socialist ideas and activities of individuals or groups of individuals (Umoja 1970: 2)*

The assumption of Black Power in Bermuda would mean independence from British colonial rule but as seen in Hannibal's (1970) article independence would be a means not an end. The politics of Black Power outlined here is directed towards solidarity with those fighting the forces of (neo)imperialism and (neo)colonialism globally with this meaning commitment to the oppressed of the 'First World' and also 'Third World'. The desire to abolish travel restrictions can be read against the background of the Bermudian colonial state's frequent banning of radical Black figures from entering the island and the establishment of the stop-list described earlier (FCO 63/443 1970; Swan 2009). *Umoja* and its authors' imagined decolonial future has a core commitment to a politics of transnational solidarity with anti-colonial and imperial struggle as articulated in C.L.R. James' conference address and workshop proceedings (Swan 2014). Such a commitment is reflective of a Black Atlantic consciousness that connects Black emancipation in Bermuda to Black emancipation globally (Gilroy 1993; Iton 2008).

The decolonial analysis evidenced in *Umoja* has clear antecedents in First BPC activities and demonstrates the impact of the conference on Black Power political action on Bermuda. In *Umoja* one finds assessment of contemporary West Indian and Bermudian problem-space with Bermuda positioned in

transnational relations of capitalist exploitation and colonial domination that frustrate efforts to improve Black lives materially, culturally and spiritually. The post-colonial politics and nation-states of the West Indies are critically assessed as being an inadequate grounds to challenge the coloniality of life in Bermuda and broader Black world. Emerging instead, is a radical Black Power vision of a decolonial future that is anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist (Hannibal 1970; Umoja 1970). We might understand the content of *Umoja* as narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) that in the words of First BPC workshop chair Acklyn Lynch:

> *begin moving towards an independent people surviving, developing their own ethics – having their own ethos and creating out that community in which they live a new world (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 45 no. 44: 1)*

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter builds upon my spatially attentive reading of David Scott's (2004) conceptualisation of problem-space to explore the spatial politics of Bermudian Black Power through the First BPC and its after-effects. The chapter eschews a reading of historical and political development in Bermuda and the wider Caribbean world that is temporally overdetermined. I challenge a teleological reading in which given political-historical tendencies or trajectories 'win out' and come to define a given historical period or problem-space with other trajectories dismissed as, relative, failures and of diminished historical value. Building on Massey (2005), I foreground the multiplicity and generative and contested interactions of the competing political trajectories that constituted the historical-problem space of Bermuda in the late 1960s with my analysis highlighting the productive geographies of connection and articulation that produce political and historical change beyond a focus on the temporal.

Through analysing Bermudian Black Power thought and action as explicitly decolonial, this chapter contributes to efforts to broaden the intellectual geographies and genealogies of decolonial thinking and praxis (Biney 2018; Davies 2019). Studying the First BPC and Black Power thinking in the Caribbean holds key resources for analysing transnational neo-colonial relations, the geographies of racial capitalism and epistemic coloniality (Rodney 1969;

Hannibal 1970; Umoja 1970; Best 1970). This chapter contributes to the decolonisation of geographical thought through engaging with West Indian intellectual production emergent and grounded in the post and de-colonial contexts of the region (Esson et al 2017; Craggs 2019). Exploring the decolonial praxis, thinking and narratives of resistance articulated by Black Power actors in Bermuda foregrounds the pro-active efforts of those racialised and subalternised by colonial, white supremacist power (McKittrick 2013; Hudson 2014; Noxolo 2017). Crucially, my examination of the First BPC situates the event as an example of liberatory Black place-making (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011) with organisers and attendees carving out a space in which emancipatory decolonial visions of a future Bermuda and narratives of resistance could be articulated in opposition to hegemonic plantation geographies.

This chapter represents an effort to internationalise studies of Black Power politics (Slate 2012; Quinn 2014; Shilliam 2015; Narayan 2019), particularly in a Caribbean context, through foregrounding the importance of Bermuda as a key locus of Black Power organisation and activity. Within geographical scholarship, engagement with Black Power has primarily centred on the US experience (Tyner 2006; Heynen 2008; Ramirez 2015) and this chapter thus introduces new perspectives through foregrounding West Indies Black Power politics' decolonial vision and praxis. Future work here would examine Black Power politics in diverse locales with attention paid to how broader transnational commitments to anti-racism, anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism are articulated in specific historical-political problem-spaces.

Chapter 7 The Transnational Repression of Black Power in the Caribbean World

7.1 Introduction

Concomitant with the emergence of Black Power as a significant political and socio-cultural current in the West Indies in the late 1960s was the development of wide-ranging networks and assemblages of monitoring and surveillance deployed by state security services both in the region and beyond. This chapter focuses on the spatialities of that state security response and attempted containment/disruption of assemblages and circuits of Black Power political organisation, solidarity and communication. This chapter specifically engages with the material articulation of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism that shaped West Indian problem-space; examining the particular ways that plantation logics and spatialities shaped and constituted the reactionary response to Black Power. In now offering a broader West Indian perspective on the repression of Black Power politics I am able to highlight the complex transnational networks engendered in efforts to thwart the spread and organisation of Black Power in the region. With these networks representing the intersection of the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism united in common opposition to the radical politics and decolonial vision of the West Indian Black Power movement.

With the flowering of Black Power ideology across the West Indies following Kingston's 'Rodney Riots' in 1968 (Gray 1991; Lewis, R. 2014) perhaps the central goal of the security forces articulated in opposition to the growth of a West Indian Black Power movement was to stop or at least tightly monitor regional and/or transnational connections and relationships forged by Black Power actors and formations. This goal is made manifest in FCO documents that track the movement of Black Power 'subversives' across the Caribbean and North America with such intelligence used to prohibit entry to various nations and territories as will be explored in this chapter (44/403 1970, FCO 63/443 1970). From this context, a number of key geographical threads emerge.

Firstly, one can analyse the materialities of the state security networks and practices that were deployed in opposition to the growing threat of an

increasingly widespread Black Power movement in the Caribbean world (Quinn 2014). Here, I seek to foreground the technologies and modes of communication that allowed security actors to exchange information and to articulate security responses in opposition to the activities of those individuals and groups associated with Black Power in the region. Such material technologies of security and surveillance were also constitutive of and supported by global networks which drew together significant nodal sites into complex geographical arrangements. From my studies of FCO papers on Black Power in the Caribbean these nodal points were usually British High Commissions in various Caribbean and North American capitals but other nodal points were important too; notably airports and the national border zones they represent (FCO 63/463 1970, FCO 63/443 1970). I position these technopolitical (Hecht 2011) networks as re-articulations of plantation space-time (McKittrick 2011, 2013). Wide-ranging security measures and structures were mobilised to control and constrain the mobility and activity of individuals and groups deemed threatening to the region's post-colonial nation-states and colonial holdings due to an affinity to a race politics and decolonial vision that exceeded the strictures of contemporaneous Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial trajectories. Examining the extent and complexity of these technopolitical networks reveals the considerable strategic, monetary and material investment that was poured into the repression of West Indian Black Power and foregrounds Britain's leading role in these endeavours. Indeed, British involvement in the repression of West Indian Black Power in this period is largely under-researched with a central contribution of this chapter being the foregrounding of the extent of Britain's neo-colonial securitising efforts here.

The second major geographical framing for this chapter is that of mobility and the ways in which national security discourses and practices were often directed towards controlling specific mobilities and transnational circulations (Sheller 2016; Glouftsios 2018). In the relationality between mobility, immobility and potentiality one can gain critical insight into how practices of securitisation and technopolitical state security networks are key mechanisms for the policing of national and territorial boundaries and the precautionary (Anderson, B. 2010), racialised logics that animated such activity in the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. This chapter will unpack how West Indian and British state actors

came to identify the mobility of those associated with Black Power as a threat to national security and stability and what practices were enacted in order to disrupt and curtail said mobilities. Naturally, such efforts required the use of the technopolitical networks of surveillance and monitoring already mentioned.

Finally, throughout the chapter I attend to the spatial imaginaries and discourses that undergirded the construction and maintenance of the aforementioned security networks and the associated moves to curtail specific mobilities. Here, I will focus on discourses that served to (re)animate longstanding constructions of radical Black consciousness as a 'subversive' threat to the sanctity of the modern nation-state (Austin 2013). West Indian Black Power as an alternative and radically decolonial historical-political trajectory challenged in fundamental ways the discourses and undergirding logics of Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial articulations of political spatiality and national belonging and so the movement's adherents became constructed as an external threat to be contained.

7.2 Technopolitics, Mobility and the Material Geographies of Security

In order to fully appreciate the complexity and spatial expanse of the state security networks and practices this chapter focuses on one must be attendant to the materiality of such networks and the ways in which human actors interacted and related to material technologies of surveillance and security.

7.2.1 Technopolitics

The first point to make here is that the technologies of security and surveillance that are relevant to this chapter should not be viewed as mere tools that were used to achieve perfectly intended political/security goals (Hecht 2011; Glouftsios 2018). In Chapter 2, I discussed how we can conceive of the deployment and utilisation of networks of security in the Caribbean as a technopolitics (Hecht 2011). In the context of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies, the politicised utilisation of these technologies was principally directed towards the exclusion from national and colonial territories of those deemed 'subversive' due to Black Power sympathies and more broadly the

surveillance and tracking of persons deemed a *potential* threat. We might understand this as a precautionary logic of securitisation; precautionary measures are taken once a determinate threat (affiliation with Black Power) has been identified with action taken to apprehend the threat before it reaches a point of irreversibility (Anderson, B. 2010; Glouftsios 2018).

In Jamaica, the JLP government frequently invoked the threatening presence of subversive groups or individuals on the island in order to justify state security measures and to place such subversive elements outside the bounds of legitimate Jamaican citizenship. In issue 8 of *Abeng* (1969: 4) we are told that Prime Minister Hugh Shearer in correspondence with Leader of the Opposition Michael Manley states that he knows of "'subversive groups' and "if you so desire I am willing to share with you the confidential information"". Shearer here invokes the spectre of a threat from within that must be monitored, with the highest levels of state secrecy, and this sets the ground for the justification of future state security interventions and the implementation of contemporaneous precautionary measures. Issue 14 of *Abeng* (1969) develops this theme through reporting on Shearer's response to Jamaican crime and violence:

> *The Government is satisfied that the root cause is an organised plan to use a small group of dissident persons and subversives aimed at creating panic…The Government will further strengthen the forces of law and order to detect subversion and effectively curtail this growing menace* (Abeng 1969 issue 14: 1)

This group of subversives animated by "an organised plan" (ibid.), a usefully ambiguous motivation, is discursively separated from the majority of the independent Jamaican citizenry who, it is assumed, accept the legitimacy and rule of the post-colonial nation-state and which, as discussed in Chapter 4, was deeply coded in racial terms. Further, the presence of such elements justifies the expansion of state securitisation and surveillance efforts which as will be demonstrated in this chapter were typically directed against groups and individuals that identified with Black Power in the West Indies. The technopolitical regimes and assemblages mobilised to achieve these aims lent a materiality to the complex political currents and articulations (Hall 1996) that shaped the geographies, discourses and enactments of security in the West

Indies of the late 1960s and 1970s. I contend that such material assemblages became mechanisms for the re-articulation of plantation space-time in the, then, present of the West Indies (McKittrick 2011, 2013). In the examples used here, we can already see that post-independence governments were surveilling and preparing to crack down upon groups and individuals seen to be subverting Creole Nationalist constructions of the new nation-state and national citizenry. West Indian Black Power's rejection of these constructions would place the movement directly in the firing line.

To examine (neo)colonial articulations of such plantation security regimes and technopolitical networks, one can think through the ways the FCO's extensive monitoring and intelligence gathering efforts in the Caribbean situates the material technologies of communication which spanned the Atlantic within a longstanding British imperial geo/techno-politics. Pan-imperial networks of communication were essential to the maintenance and projection of British imperial power throughout Britain's 'high' imperial period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Oldenziel 2011). However, even as Britain had lost the majority of its colonies by the late 1960s such transnational networks of communication, namely telegraph cables and latterly phone lines, allowed for the collation and distribution of information on the movements and activities of those associated with Black Power in the Caribbean (FCO 63/443 1970). Similarly, radio communications were key in shaping British security response to events in the West Indies; as was evidenced by the extensive communications between the FCO, British government and naval vessels and personnel in the Caribbean Sea in the immediate aftermath of the Army mutiny during Trinidad's Black Power Revolution (FCO 63/592). From London, staff within the FCO were able to monitor and participate in security responses to Black Power across the former British West Indies, as well as the Caribbean colonies Britain still held, by gathering information from sources across the region and re-distributing it to British and national West Indian state actors alike. A central strategic goal of these efforts was the protection of British capitalist interests in the region and the maintenance of (neo)imperial flows of profit out from the region and to Euro-American metropoles (Abeng 1969 issue 12; FCO 63/463 1970). So then, the material networks of undersea telegraph cables, phonelines, British diplomatic outposts and radio equipped military vessels utilised by the FCO in their

intelligence gathering and surveillance directly facilitated the perpetuation of (neo)colonial ties of dependence and imperial power projection.

Through a focus on the technopolitics of the state and neo-colonial repression of West Indian Black Power the extent of the British role in these efforts is revealed. Without British imperial infrastructures of communication, British diplomatic networks and British military capacity, West Indian governments would have been hampered in directing a regionally coordinated security response and wouldn't have had the, albeit fading, military might of Britain to call upon in more direct confrontations with Black Power (FCO 63/592 1970; Swan 2009). Indeed, Britain's role in the repression of West Indian Black Power has to date been underreported. In scholarly work on the Black Power movement in the region there has been much focus on the role played by local West Indian governments and security forces (Pantin 1990; Meeks 2000; Lewis 2014; Samaroo 2014; Quinn 2014). Similarly, British security and surveillance efforts during the colonial period are also well documented (Reddock 1994; Bogues 2003; Thomas 2017; Richardson 2019). However, work on British neo-colonial security interventions in the West Indies during the period of Black Power activity remain scant; Quito Swan (2009, 2014) has written at length on British involvement in the suppression of Black Power on Bermuda but his discussion remains limited to this outright colonial context. A central contribution of this chapter and wider thesis lies in demonstrating the British state's considerable involvement in the suppression of West Indian Black Power and the continued, significant neo-colonial influence Britain held in the region in regards to security and surveillance operations.

There is a need to attend to the interactions and interrelations between human actors and material technologies in order to fully grasp the complex spatialities and temporalities that technopolitical security networks engender. Human/non-human interactions produce security or surveillance practices that are mediated through and by material technologies with such technologies linking together security practices across multiple spaces and temporalities to produce complex space-time networks of human and non-human actors (Bennet 2010; Glouftsios 2018). In the example discussed above, material telecommunications networks alone aren't enough to produce or enact a security response they have to be operationalised by human actors (FCO analysts, naval personnel, local diplomats)

in order to circulate information and direct action in the dynamic and shifting problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. Thus, the security networks that were mobilised and constructed in order to control and monitor Black Power groups and actors existed beyond the perhaps more obvious nodal spaces of security, control and intelligence gathering (airports (Adey 2004a, 2004b), the FCO, British High Commissions).

The security networks arrayed in opposition to West Indian Black Power extended, necessarily so, beyond such nodal points to include more quotidian acts and practices of surveillance (photographing 'suspects', finding names, gathering 'subversive' literature etc.) that took place on the ground in the islands of the West Indies. FCO papers cover these more grounded security practices in great detail. A British High Commission report on a meeting with the Barbadian Police Commissioner details the surveillance of a gathering of Black Power activists on the island due to a visit from Stokely Carmichael (FCO 63/443 1970). Interestingly it is noted that the Commissioner is white with this a clear manifestation of the racialised articulations of securitisation in the West Indies; a trend even more stark in Bermuda where 75% of the police force was comprised of foreign nationals with the majority being white British (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 57 1970). This coloniality of the policing of Black communities still holds in the contemporary moment with Adam Elliot-Cooper (2019) highlighting the colonial discourses long mobilised by British police in their targeting and discrimination against Black people, often of Afro-Caribbean descent, in the UK. The Barbadian police tailed Carmichael from the airport where he was met by Pauluu Kamarakefego, this is indicative of the transnational organisation of West Indian Black Power, to a rally held by a Black Power group and then finally to a gathering at a home after the rally with some seventy attendees all of whom were supposedly photographed and their names dug up (FCO 63/443 1970). This Barbados example is just one small instance of the large-scale surveillance efforts and practices mobilised in order to monitor the movements and activities of those associated with West Indian Black Power; even tangentially. What we see here is "the spatial work of race and racism" (McKittrick 2013: 9) as the activities, mobilities and potential actions of those marked out due to an engagement with a radically race conscious politics are tightly monitored with a view to constraining these movements should the need

arise. Further examples of these practices will be explored in the following sections.

These individualised and disassociated control/surveillance practices dispersed across space and time were then 'joined up' through material infrastructures of communication to produce transnationally articulated and directed 'meta' responses or strategies. The role of British diplomatic and security agents and of Britain's imperial infrastructures of transnational communication was key here. FCO papers demonstrate the extent to which information on Black Power suspects, subversives and potential incidents was circulated around the region through British channels and the important advisory role held by British officials in directing the coordinated repression of the West Indian Black Power movement (FCO 63/443 1970). Beyond mere advice, British military and intelligence resources and manpower could also be drawn upon if the time came (FCO 63/592 1970; Swan 2009). So then, the state security response to Black Power necessitated and was constituted through complex and spatially and temporally heterogeneous networks of human and non-human actors. These drew together countless 'fragments' of information gathered in situ in the West Indies that were then communicated to nodal 'centres of calculation' (Glouftsios 2018) such as the FCO in London. From here, an holistic security response could be redirected back out to, what we might consider, more regional centres of security action (Caribbean governments, British High Commissions, Caribbean airports) and this would ultimately reconfigure individual/quotidian control practices 'on the ground' once more.

7.2.2 Threatening Mobilities

I want to close out this section by thinking through geographies of mobility and the ways in which mobilities are controlled and policed by state security actors and the discourses/ideologies that mark out certain mobilities as 'safe' and others as 'threatening' and thus in need of securitising (Adey 2009; Glouftsios 2018).

It is important to understand mobility as relational. Mobility does not just refer to movement through space-time instead it is a much broader concept that also signifies the capacity for movement; introducing ideas of potentiality and

immobility (Kwan and Schwanen 2016). I also stated that the securing and controlling of, in particular, transnational mobilities is a central goal of state security organisations/actors (Adey 2009; Price and Breece 2016; Glouftsios 2018) with this being particularly true of the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. As evidenced in Chapters 5 and 6 Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial state actors consistently disrupted and blocked circulations of materials and persons deemed 'subversive' or a threat to national security due to an affinity with Black Power; e.g. the banning of literature in Bermuda and the barring of Walter Rodney from re-entering Jamaica (Rodney 1969; Swan 2009, 2014). A central security concern evidenced here is located in the *potentiality* of specific mobilities. Security concerns regarding potential actions reveal logics of precaution (Anderson, B. 2010) and prevention structuring the security practices and technopolitics that govern and modulate transnational mobility and raises the question what marks out a group or individual as a potential security threat?

I now turn to David Austin (2013, 2018) who, building on Iton (2008), argues that security forces opposing radical blackness have often characterised such a critical race consciousness as a *contagion* that threatens and potentially despoils the Modern nation-state. I have suggested the politics of West Indian Black Power represented such a threat as the movement's adherents did not recognise the authority or legitimacy of post-colonial states and governments in the Caribbean. Further, West Indian Black Power actors did not operate with reference to the national boundaries, imaginaries and identities that nationalist leaders across the region had sought to construct in the decolonisation process (Thame 2017). These actors were viewed as national security threats that prophylactic imperial powers and duppy nation-states sought to contain and/or eliminate through repression and securitisation (Iton 2008; Austin 2013; Hesse et al 2015). With a racialised security threat identified the securitising measures enacted in opposition to the Black Power movement can be seen as constitutive of new plantation geographies and spatial articulations of racism (McKittrick 2011, 2013).

As mentioned previously, nationalist and colonial states in the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies frequently banned the entry of people and objects into their national territories based on the potential

subversive or disruptive threats that that such human and non-human agents, supposedly, posed. These policies represented a continuation of the very same practices enacted under direct colonial rule across the British West Indies where 'seditious literature' produced by various Communist, trade unionist and Garveyite groups was routinely seized aboard ships and in ports in an effort to stop the circulation of such 'seditious' materials across the region (Featherstone 2015). Broadening this conception of 'the subversive' beyond Black Power specifically, governments across the region banned Black Nationalist and Communist literature from entering their territory as well as deporting or restricting the movements of individuals deemed to be 'subversive' based on their political commitments and affiliations (Moko 1970 issue 23; Gray 1991; Quinn 2014). The radical Trinidadian publication *Moko* (1970 issue 23) critiqued the ruling People's National Movement for its stringent anti-communism throughout the 1960s. In 1965 there was established the *Mbanefo Commission into Subversive Activities* which Moko describes as an effort to "rout 'Communist elements' in the country" (Moko 1970 issue 23: 9; Millette 1995). Concomitant with the commission were bans on literature seen as subversive and the strict monitoring of those deemed subversive due to Marxist leanings; C.L.R. James was subject to travel restrictions whilst covering a cricket tour on the island (Moko 1970 issue 23).

Moving to the Eastern Caribbean, in 1970 the FCO in co-operation with territorial governments in the region and independent West Indian states were engaged in the process of drawing up prohibition orders and prohibited persons lists for a number of these small islands with the intention of restricting the movements of Black Power and aligned radical political activists (FCO 1970 44/403). The prohibited persons list for St Vincent was drawn up in response to the intention of Trinidad's NJAC leadership to tour the West Indies to build links and drum up support. NJAC leaders Geddes Granger and Clive Nunez, also head of the Transport Workers Union, naturally appear but so too do figures like Stokely Carmichael, Walter Rodney and Pauluu Kamarakafego (ibid.). Firstly, the list is revealing of the way that regional security actors saw Black Power to be a movement that was Pan-Caribbean in its articulation, hence the need to ban figures potentially associated with Granger and Nunez. Further, the list represents the starkest example of the denial of movement and hardening of

territorial borders to those deemed potentially threatening. Granger and Nunez hadn't committed any crimes or expressed any explicit desire to do so in St Vincent however their affiliation with the West Indian Black Power movement alone saw them targeted with precautionary security measures (Anderson, B. 2010). The list is also a product of the extensive technopolitical networks and circuits of information exchange that constituted the state security response to Black Power; the Trinidadian government put forward eleven names of their own to add to the intelligence gathering of the authorities of St Vincent and the FCO (ibid.). Further, the government of St Lucia was pressed to draw up a similar list with this again revealing the dynamic and reflexive geographies of this security response (ibid.).

The next section comprises an engagement with more detailed empirical materials on the state security response to Black Power in the West Indies. In particular, I will be focusing on events in the Eastern Caribbean and the heightened focus on Black Power as a security threat following the 1969 Regional Black Power Conference held in Bermuda.

7.3 Caribbean Black Power Conferences and Geographies of Security

7.3.1 The Securitisation of the First Regional International Black Power Conference

In beginning to delve into the complex geographies and networks of security that were articulated and established in response to Black Power in the Eastern Caribbean a logical starting point would most certainly be the First BPC. As discussed in the previous chapter, the conference was an important consciousness-raising event for attendees and peoples across the Eastern Caribbean as well as being a moment that alerted West Indian and British security services to a number of important actors and groups associated with Black Power in the region (FCO 63/443 1970; Swan 2009). The First BPC and subsequent efforts to organise a second conference in the West Indies in 1970 provide an excellent opportunity to examine the situated and complex security practices and geographies enacted in opposition to Black Power in the region. Such practices required and constituted spatially and temporally extensive

networks of human and non-human actors in the articulation of a racially focused and animated regime of repression that I suggest should be considered as a renewal of plantation spatialities in contemporaneous West Indian problem-space.

As a British Overseas Territory, the UK retains responsibility for the defence and foreign relations of Bermuda and so British state security actors would play a leading role in the securitisation and monitoring of the First BPC and its attendees and in later efforts to organise a second conference. From the outset, the major concern animating the British security response to the First BPC was that it could potentially spark off civil unrest in Bermuda of an anti-white or anti-colonial nature. This fear was articulated in Cabinet Office papers in the following terms:

> *The very nature of the conference and the characteristics of the people likely to be involved together will create a situation where there is a serious possibility of widespread violent racial demonstrations taking place at short notice before, during and after the conference which the local security forces would be unlikely to keep in check for more than about 12 hours (CAB 148/91/23 Joint Intelligence Committee Special Assessment: Bermuda – Black Power Conference 10th-13th July 1969 1969: 3)*

The document, and all other British state materials I utilise, quoted above is an example of what Ranajit Guha terms 'the prose of counter-insurgency'; I discussed Guha's theories at length in Chapter 3. If we understand such texts as constituting a situated and ideologically motivated (neo)colonial discourse on the events unfolding (Guha 1994; 2009) then we can undermine claims to officialdom or a particular authenticity based on the fact these reports have been produced by accredited state actors and stored in official national archives (Mbembe 2002). Further, I position these counter-insurgent texts as constitutive and reflective of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism with each text revealing and articulating further the normative ontological, epistemic and political claims that underpinned this trajectory that powerfully shaped the problem-space of my study.

The excerpt used here reveals the underlying ideological assumptions that structure the ostensibly 'fact-based' assessment of the conference that this

excerpt is taken from (CAB 148/91/23 1969). The author ascribes the possibility of racially-motivated violence to the "very nature of the conference and the characteristics of the people" with this revealing of a (neo)colonial worldview wherein the cause of potential conflict lies with those articulating a politics of racial equality and justice and *not* the colonial state that actively hampers such efforts and propagates white supremacy (CAB 148/91/23 Joint Intelligence Committee Special Assessment: Bermuda – Black Power Conference 10th-13th July 1969 1969: 3). Further, this construction of Black and non-white conference attendees as being inherently violent or volatile due to their "characteristics" clearly reanimates racist-colonial conceptions of the 'unruly' African or Black West Indian (Thame 2011).

In light of the above assessment, British security services in concert with the Bermudian government enacted a number of precautionary security practices in order to 'contain' the First BPC (Anderson, B. 2010; Glouftsios 2018). The first and most visible of which was the deployment of British troops and intelligence officers to the island at the request of the Bermudian government (DEFE 11/884 1969; FCO 63/443 1970; Swan 2009). This was discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The material geographies of security are clear to see here; British military personnel and associated weapons technologies being deployed from the imperial metropole to a peripheral territory in order to project power and cow potentially disruptive and/or seditious non-white imperial subjects and foreign 'subversives' (ibid.). Indeed, these troop deployments reinforced and utilised Britain's, by this stage, well-worn global networks of communication and transportation which were essential in the maintenance of, an albeit waning, networked empire of strategically vital island territories (Oldenziel 2011).

A further point to note is the ways in which the legal-political and territorial status of Bermuda as a British Overseas Territory facilitated and shaped such a naked show of force on the part of the British defence and security services. The UK retained full sovereignty over Bermuda in the key areas of defence and foreign relations and so there existed a legal and perhaps even moral justification for the deployment of British forces to the island. This was not the case in the independent states of the Caribbean and this would be an ongoing point of concern and an obstacle to British and North American (FCO 63/443 1970) efforts to secure the region from the disruptive threat of Black Power.

Indeed, a common theme within FCO dispatches is an assessment of Caribbean military and police forces as being totally incapable of dealing with any form of prolonged or mass civil unrest which could be incited by Black Power groups or actors in the region (FCO 63/592 1970). This made British diplomatic, intelligence and military support of the region's governments all the more essential and was a core means through which Britain was able to exert continued (neo)colonial influence in the region through the co-ordination and support of efforts to suppress Black Power and protect more amenable Creole Nationalist regimes.

In a FCO assessment of Jamaican stability following Trinidad's 1970 Black Power Revolution it is recounted that the leadership of the police was at the point of cracking 48 hours after the Rodney Riots in 1968 and further that the Jamaica Defence Force, the nation's standing army, is woefully underprepared for any internal conflict (FCO 63/494 1970). The army mutiny in Trinidad at the high point of the revolution brought into stark relief the grave internal weaknesses of various independent West Indian security states and further, as in the cases of Trinidad and Bermuda, that the ideology of Black Power held sway amongst certain sections of these islands' military and police forces (FCO 44/403 1970). Such an assessment is made in a FCO document on Trinidad's Black Power disturbances:

> *The Government is known to have doubts about the reliability of the Trinidad & Tobago Regiment, to whom Granger and Nunez of the NJAC have openly appealed not to take sides against the people (FCO 63/592 Trinidad & Tobago: Black Power Disturbances 1970:2)*

The NJAC leadership here calling on Trinidadian men to side with their popular mass movement against the Creole Nationalist state and its (neo)colonial foreign allies. These issues were compounded by the, correct, assessment that any form of direct British, Canadian or US (read: white) intervention would inflame situations of internal unrest and make obvious the continued influence of the historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism in West Indian problem-space (FCO 63/443 1970).

The other major component of the British-Bermudian state response to the First BPC was the production of a 'stop-list', again discussed in Chapter 6, that was

used to prevent “militant extremists” from entering the territory (FCO 63/443 *Meeting Concerning Regional Black Power Conferences* 1970: 1). Again the usage of such alarmist language is revealing is as to the worldview that animated the (neo)colonial and Creole Nationalist response to Black Power (Guha 1994, 2009). Defining conference attendees as “militant extremists” is perhaps partially a tactical move to discredit ‘subversive’ individuals but also speaks to the complete unwillingness to countenance any of the West Indian Black Power movement’s core grievances (FCO 63/443 *Meeting Concerning Regional Black Power Conferences* 1970: 1). In the ‘counter-insurgent’ (Guha 2009) worldview of the FCO the horizon of legitimate political possibility in Bermuda remains confined within British colonial subordination and when applied to the West Indies more broadly is confined to the ambitions of Creole Nationalist governments and leaders.

The names on this stop-list were selected through intelligence exchange and co-operation between the British and Bermudian governments (*ibid.*). Indeed, the existence of such a stop-list was made public as a deliberate aspect of the security response to the First BPC, its organisation and attendees (FCO 63/443 1970). In the wake of the First BPC’s conclusion, British and Caribbean governments and security services would assess the public awareness of the stop-list as being a major reason as to why the First BPC was concluded without major incident (*ibid.*). The First BPC stop-list stands as a fine example of the ways in which state security actors seek to control and manage mobilities and flows, of both bodies and ideas, into and through territory under their purview (Sheller 2016). In this case, “militant extremists” (FCO 63/443 *Meeting Concerning Regional Black Power Conferences* 1970: 1) were labelled as such through their association with Black Power and/or other ideologies deemed to be ‘subversive’. Such individuals had to be stopped from coordinating, co-operating or even meeting at all lest the coalescing of such radical forces destabilise one of Britain’s most strategically important imperial holdings that facilitated the continued projection of (neo)colonial power and influence in contemporaneous West Indian problem-space (Scott, D. 2004; Oldenziel 2011).

These efforts can be read as a securitising intervention into transnational circulations of people and knowledge with the stop-list operating as a filter that blocked “the mobilities of risky, unwanted and untrusted bodies, while

facilitating the journeys of trusted and wanted ones" (Glouftsios 2018: 186). Here again, the territorial status of Bermuda facilitated the exercising and projection of British imperial power as there was introduced something of an ideological quarantine around the island for the duration of the First BPC. In contrast to the 'hard power' approach of troop deployments, the stop-list can perhaps be seen to constitute a 'soft power' approach especially in regards to its public advertisement. This aspect of the security strategy devised in response to the First BPC introduces a clear psychological element. Conference attendees *are* being watched and their details and movements noted. Better to fall in line or *you too* may end up on a Foreign & Commonwealth Office or Ministry of Defence persons of interest list. The stop-list, through its public promotion and its very existence, conjures up the threat of *continuous* surveillance for those attending or associated with the First BPC or Black Power more broadly; how might people modify their behaviour and indeed their travels and meetings with this in mind (Dobson and Fisher 2007)? The use of the stop-list is a clear instantiation of the re-articulation of plantation space-time in the, then, Caribbean present by a colonial state and the security structures of its Metropolitan imperial overlord. This is manifest firstly, through the spatial constraint and controlling of mobilities of those deemed threatening due to an affiliation with a political movement that seeks to free the Caribbean world from continued (neo)colonial and imperialist domination and thus directly challenges plantation regimes of spatialised violence and epistemic colonisation (McKittrick 2011). Secondly, in the enactment and psychological weaponisation of a, potentially, continuous programme of racialised surveillance we see an attempt to instil racial terror and (self)regulate Black people's movements through space and their activities in a manner characteristic of "the mundane terror of plantation life" (McKittrick 2013: 9) in centuries previous.

The utilisation of a stop-list in response to the First BPC also brings into focus the material geographies of the state security reaction to Black Power in Bermuda and the Caribbean more broadly. The practice of denying individuals entry to the territory of Bermuda and the disruption of transnational circulations and mobilities was mediated and made actionable through technologies associated with, primarily, air travel and the airport. The airport is thus positioned as a key node within networks of security and surveillance. British

and West Indian security services would throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s monitor airline passenger lists in order to deny entry to specific individuals as well as to track and monitor the transnational movements of those deemed risky or threatening (FCO 63/443 1970). In 1970, FCO papers reveal that following the refusal of entry to the island of NJAC leaders Clive Nunez and Geddes Granger the Barbadian government requested airlines to inform them if other radical Trinidadian figures "George Weekes, Eugene Joseph or Carl Blackwood appear on any passenger lists" (FCO 63/443 *Telegram from High Commission in Bridgetown on Refusal of Entry to Nunez and Granger* 1970:1). Further, the British government pressured the state-owned British Overseas Airways Corporation into refraining from flying Stokely Carmichael from Trinidad to Bermuda to attend the First BPC (Wild 2008). This followed Carmichael's visit to the UK in July 1967 that served to, in part, inspire the emergence of a British Black Power movement with the government promptly banning him from subsequent re-entry (ibid.). Similarly, *Abeng* editor Trevor Munroe and Guyanese Marxist academic George Beckford were also prevented from boarding a flight to Bermuda in order to attend the conference (Swan 2009).

Individuals placed on the stop-list or otherwise denied travel to Bermuda still managed to negotiate these pressures placed on their mobility. Carmichael sent a telegram to the conference organisers in which he stated his support for the event and outlined his conception of Black Power and its relationship to Pan-Africanism (Swan 2009). This is reminiscent of Walter Rodney's famous statement 'The Groundings with My Brothers' which he gave at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal following his banning from re-entering Jamaica and which would go on to inspire Black Power activism across the Caribbean and which came on the eve of Kingston's Rodney Riots (Rodney 1969; Austin 2018). In both cases we see that even though regional or colonial governments could restrict the movement of specific 'subversive' individuals they could not stop the broader circulation of ideas, statements, telegrams and papers across the Caribbean world with this revealing of the transnational networks and circuits that animated the West Indian Black Power movement.

Here, the administrative technologies and associated 'data' of air travel is an essential requirement of the security response to the potentially subversive threat of Black Power. Passenger lists and flight logs were essential fragments of

information which were drawn on from across the vast transnational networks of flightpaths which linked Bermuda to nodes of international air travel (airports) around the world (Denicke 2011; Glouftsios 2018). With passenger lists being collated from numerous airlines operating out of various airports and utilising any number of international flight paths, security actors in Britain and Bermuda had access to vast amounts of data on who was coming into the island and from here the "filtration" practice of restricting the mobilities of risky bodies, identified through political affiliation, could be successfully enacted (*ibid.*).

Similarly, we can also see the mobilisation of transnational networks of intelligence gathering and collation in operation in the collaboration between the British and Bermudian governments in the drawing up of the stop-list (FCO 63/443 1970). Having gathered data from across a dispersed network of airports and flightpaths, British and Bermudian security services were able to pool their information via trans-imperial and transnational networks of communication (Oldenziel 2011) which enabled the circulation of the list around London, Bermuda and British High Commissions and operatives in the Caribbean and North America (FCO 44/403 1970). Once again Britain's transnational and trans-imperial communications networks and security and intelligence resources are essential in the policing of Black Power in the Caribbean world. The prevention of Carmichael's entry into Bermuda after his banning from entering the UK reveals an interconnection between the surveillance and repression of Black Power movements in Britain and the Caribbean. Further, we see the imbalance of resources and capacity that structured the interactions and antagonisms between the historical-political trajectories of Black Power, Creole Nationalism and a continued (neo)colonialism. The British and West Indian security states are able to mobilise a transnational security and intelligence network; deploy police and military personnel and materiel; and requisition flight and travel data in their activities whereas Black Power groupings have to rely on self-organisation and co-operation with like-minded activists whilst drawing funding from members, those sympathetic to the movement and allied groups.

7.3.2 Monitoring 'Subversives' in the Post-Colonial and Decolonising West Indies

The second empirical example I want to draw on in is that of Pauluu Kamarakafego; lead organiser of the 1969 First BPC in Bermuda (Swan 2009). Having first come to the attention of British and Bermudian security actors due to his involvement with the First BPC he would remain a figure of great interest throughout the rest of the decade and well into the 1970s. Kamarakafego's transnational travels and meetings were tracked and documented extensively by security services in Britain and the Caribbean particularly in regards to his commitment to holding a Second BPC in Barbados in 1970 (FCO 63/443 1970). The example of Kamarakafego is deeply illustrative of the ways in which the transnational mobility of those deemed dangerous due to their association with Black Power animated intense security concerns on behalf of regional Creole Nationalist governments and (neo)colonial imperialist powers. Similarly, the tracking and attempted controlling of Kamarakafego's movements highlights the true intensity and extent of networks of security and surveillance that were in operation in opposition to Black Power in the West Indies.

After the relative success of the First BPC held in Bermuda, Kamarakafego was keen to follow this up with a second that would build on the heightened awareness and interest generated by the first (FCO 63/443 1970). Similarly, the Second BPC was expected to build on the good work of the first and it was hoped that in a period of heightened Black Power consciousness the event would garner greater attention and take on a more regional focus in its affairs and attendees (ibid.). Of course the attendance of many non-Bermudians at the First BPC was actively blocked by local colonial and imperialist security forces (CAB 148/91/23 1969). It was this more regional impulse that concerned British and Caribbean security actors; a Second BPC held in an independent and potentially 'friendlier' Caribbean state could lead to the co-operation and organisation of Black Power formations across the Caribbean (FCO 63/443 1970). With the Second BPC slated to take place between the 9th and 12th of July 1970 (FCO 63/443 1970) Kamarakafego embarked on an extensive programme of international travel in the months prior with British and Caribbean security services tracking his movements intently (FCO 44/403 1970; FCO 141/150 1970). Based on FCO documents alone one can track Kamarakafego as he travelled from "Boston… [to]

New York, Antigua, St Kitts, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique and St Lucia" as well as St Vincent all in the months leading up to February 1970 (FCO 141/150 *Report on Roosevelt Brown and his Movements* 1970: 2). It was also noted that Kamarakafego was expected to visit "Grenada, Trinidad, Guyana, Curacao, Panama City, Belize, Jamaica, Miami and Washington" all before the Second BPC was held in July 1970 (ibid.). US authorities who were similarly gathering intelligence on Kamarakafego puzzled as to the source of the funding for such international travel and the First BPC. Quito Swan (2009) suggests Kamarakafego was able to finance at least some of these expenses through his part-time lectureship at Goddard College, Vermont and he also would've drawn a salary as a member of Bermuda's Colonial Parliament but further information on his personal finances and potential financial backing remains unknown to me. What is most interesting about Kamarakafego's transnational movements is who he was meeting at the various locales he visited and based on the FCO documentary evidence North American, British and Caribbean security services agreed.

Throughout his travels Kamarakafego met with various "Black Power associates" (FCO 141/150 *Anguilla: Prohibition Order – Roosevelt Brown* 1970: 1) and attended events and meetings relating to Black Power and the organisation of the Second BPC (FCO 44/403 1970; FCO 141/150 1970). In April of 1970, Kamarakafego and members of Bermuda's Black Beret Cadre, a militant Black Power group that modelled itself on the US Black Panthers, attended the African Heritage Conference at Harvard with their movements to the US tracked and relayed back to the FCO via telegram from Bermuda (FCO 141/150 1970). Here again we see evidence of the importance of conferences and the practice of conferencing in articulating and shaping a transnational politics of Black Power (Hodder 2015). With the security structures arrayed in opposition to West Indian Black Power also clearly realising the importance of such conferences as sites of interaction, organisation and direction. Kamarakafego's mobility and his transnational movements are themselves constitutive of the kinds of networks of co-operation, organisation and solidarity that security forces in the region feared the Second BPC could potentially animate if it were to go ahead (FCO 44/443 1970).

Kamarakafego's circulation amongst various Black Power 'nodes' in the Caribbean and North America facilitated the transmission of ideas, practices and

grievances amongst dispersed actors and groupings (FCO 141/150 1970). Kamarakafego himself and his mobility constituted and even embodied the networked and transnationally organised vision of Black Power that animated his commitment to the organisation of a Second BPC and which similarly animated the state security responses that sought to constrain such travels and disrupt such circulations (Staeheli, Marshall and Maynard 2016; Glouftsios 2018). Indeed, Kamarakafego self-presented himself as a political figure in the mould of George Padmore (FCO 63/443 1970) who similarly constructed and enlivened transnational networks of Black internationalism and anti-imperialist resistance through his own extensive transnational travels and communications (James, L. 2015). In a *Bermuda Recorder* article (vol. 46 no. 44 1970:4) Kamarakafego comments on the importance of his regional conferences:

> *The [Conferences], however, points out that many Caribbean grievances are old scores which have been resisted since the beginnings of colonialism and against which notable struggles of the 1920's and 30's have been waged, including those of Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and many others*

This represents just one of the many ways the West Indian Black Power movement and its adherents can be seen to have drawn on longstanding histories and currents of anti-colonial resistance and radical race politics that had shaped the region (Lewis, R. 2014; Quinn 2014).

In order to avoid the type of regionally organised and directed Black Power movement that British and Caribbean security states feared, practices of disruption and containment were enacted in order to constrain Kamarakafego's (and his associates') movements and avoid potential linkages with other Black Power actors. Kamarakafego was banned from entering the Cayman Islands in March of 1969 (FCO 44/403 1970), Anguilla in January of 1970 (*ibid.*) and St Vincent in April of 1970 (FCO 44/403 1970). Similarly, in May 1970 and in the wake of Trinidad's Black Power Revolution (Feb – April) and subsequent army mutiny, the Barbadian government withdrew its backing for the Second BPC and barred it from taking place on the island (FCO 63/443 1970). Such a move was foreshadowed by the decision to refuse entry to Trinidadian Black Power leaders Clive Nunez and Geddes Granger to the country in April (FCO 63/443 1970). These are all clear examples of efforts to disrupt the mobilities of figures

deemed dangerous due to their association with Black Power politics. Indeed, in the FCO papers relating to Kamarakafego's Anguilla prohibition order it is specifically mentioned that the potentially unruly situation on the island would be worsened by the presence of Kamarakafego who was regarded as an agitator based on his previous activities and commitments to Black Power (FCO 44/403 1970). Again, another example of a precautionary security measure enacted in order to ward off the potential dangers associated with allowing a known Black Power 'subversive' to enter the island (Anderson, B. 2010).

It would appear that the British security services were particularly keen to stop the co-operation of Black Power forces across Britain's Associated Dependencies and Territories in the Eastern Caribbean with FCO records containing detailed information on the membership and activities of Black Power groups across the islands (FCO 141/150 1970). Kamarakafego's movements across said islands were tracked meticulously down to the names of those he met as well as which copies of the Black Power aligned publications he had brought with him in his efforts to spread knowledge and build connections throughout the region (ibid.). FCO records show that Kamarakafego met with a Miss Vanetta Ross in St Kitts who was the island's delegate at the Bermuda conference in 1969; he convened with a George Odlum and other members of a group called Forum in St Lucia and discussed their representation at the Second BPC; in St Vincent, Kamarakafego met with leading members of the Educational Forum of the People for whom he had brought a copy of the Antiguan Black Power publication *Outlet,* pieces on the George Williams University Affair and a document relating to the Second BPC (ibid.). Such detailed information demonstrates the extent and intensity of the surveillance that Kamarakafego and *suspected* Black Power adherents were subject to during this period. Kamarakafego's barring from Anguilla and St Vincent emerges from fears of the threat posed by an intra-regionally connected and directed Black Power movement that would seek to overturn the existing social, economic and political order across the West Indies (Quinn 2014).

The FCO's intense monitoring and tracking of Kamarakafego and his associates in the Eastern Caribbean reveals the considerable concern that Black Power politics in the West Indies animated in the British state (FCO 141/150 1970; Wild 2008). The considerable outlay of time, resources and manpower that went into policing Black Power in the West Indies was similarly mirrored in a domestic

British context too. In August 1970, British Black Panther Movement leaders Althea Jones-Lecointe and Darcus Howe (Narayan 2019) led protests against police harassment and brutality at the Mangrove restaurant in Notting Hill. The protest drew an interracial crowd of around one hundred and also over two hundred uniformed and plain clothes Metropolitan police officers supported by unmarked vans and surveillance cameras (Johnson 2014). After reports of police provocation, violence between police and protestors broke out leading to the arrest and subsequent trial of the 'Mangrove Nine'; including Jones-Lecointe and Howe. The considerable manpower, intelligence efforts and resources devoted to policing this incident were not unique; British Black Power groups and activists faced constant surveillance by Special Branch from the 1960s onwards with frequent raids and arrests (Wild 2008). Indeed, these surveillance efforts mirrored those utilised in the Caribbean by British and allied West Indian security actors alike and I suggest that the policing of Black Power on both sides of the Atlantic should be understood as interconnected.

There were numerous links between the British and West Indian Black Power movements. Five of the Mangrove Nine were Trinidadian emigres, Howe and Jones-Lecointe included, and news of their arrest and trial was keenly followed in the West Indies (Johnson 2014). NJAC and the Trinidad army mutineers, themselves facing court martial for their actions, sent messages of solidarity to the Mangrove Nine and coevally race conscious British publications such as *Race Today* and *Freedom News* linked the trials of the Mangrove Nine, Trinidad's Black Power revolutionaries and the Montreal students arrested after the George Williams University affair (ibid.). Further, Caribbean migrants in Britain regularly travelled back to the West Indies and brought information with them on race politics in Britain and vice versa upon their return. Beyond personal links, transnational acts of solidarity and international reportage there was another major factor that connected Black Power in the West Indies to Black Power in Britain; British state repression.

Both the West Indian and British movement were subject to the some modes and methods of police and state surveillance albeit with the assistance of local West Indian actors in a Caribbean context. The covert surveillance of the Mangrove protest was mirrored in the tailing and clandestine photographing of Stokely Carmichael and Barbadian Black Power adherents upon his visit to the island

(FCO 63/443 1970) with the police in Notting Hill similarly armed with cameras (Johnson 2014). Further, after the British state's first direct acquaintance with Carmichael during his visit to London in 1967 we see the same tactic of denial of entry and thus constraint of his transnational movements that would later be applied to Black Power actors across the West Indies. Indeed, the British government would again directly intervene to restrict Carmichael's mobility through stopping his travel to Bermuda for the First BPC (Wild 2008). Carmichael's visit to the UK and his later travels across the West Indies represent one of numerous linkages between the British and West Indian Black Power movements (Johnson 2014; Narayan 2019). The British security state, both domestically and in the Caribbean context, was keen to halt and disrupt such transnational connections and supress the growth and activism of Black Power politics wherever it was encountered. It is no surprise then that the same tactics of infiltration and surveillance used by British Special Branch officers in a domestic context were exported to Bermuda where First BPC sessions were infiltrated and intimate information on delegates gathered (Swan 2009). Indeed, these efforts and later attempts to crush the Black Power movement on Bermuda relied upon the direct intervention of British state personnel; an FCO Information Officer was dispatched in April 1970 to aid an anti-Black Power propaganda campaign and Scotland Yard detectives and Special Branch officers were drawn on to aid investigations into Black Power militancy in the following years (Swan 2009). Kamarakafego was a prime target of such repressive efforts and his subsequent surveillance by British and West Indian governments on his travels across the Caribbean, using the same methods and directed towards the same goals, reveals the interconnected nature of the policing of Black Power in the UK and West Indies.

State security actors seeking to defend the status quo had to monitor and constrain the mobilities of radical figures like Kamarakafego as through their transnational travels a more integrated and coherent Black Power politics and movement could be forged. The coup de grace in this regard was the Barbadian government's decision to withdraw support for the Second BPC which was to be held on the island. The Second BPC would have seen the coming together of radical anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and Black Power figures from across the West Indies and well beyond; Kamarakafego had obviously been in contact with

potential attendees on his trips outwith the region (FCO 44/403 1970) and he had hosted a potential Kenyan delegate in Bermuda in the early months of 1970 (*ibid.*). The Conference would have facilitated interactions and exchanges between delegates in an atmosphere which was directed towards transnational co-operation and organisation; the intended outcome being a circular movement of people and ideas between the international conference and the local political contexts which the various delegates represented (FCO 63/443 1970; Staeheli, Marshall and Maynard 2016).

Kamarakafego gave his analysis as to why the Barbados conference had been cancelled in a *Bermuda Recorder* piece in May of 1970:

> *It is the Conference's understanding that American, British, French and Dutch colonial interests, which still hold sway over the governments of the West Indies, are fearful of the least expression there of the concept of Black Power. Joining them…have been White businessmen in the Caribbean, such as hotel owners, sugar planters, bauxite company executives…plus Black bourgeois governments throughout the area, who fear uprisings, especially after recent mass protests in Trinidad. (The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 44 1970:4)*

Kamarakafego here clearly expressing how the historical-political trajectories of (neo)colonialism and Creole Nationalism have interacted to constrain the articulation of West Indian Black Power in the region in order to protect capitalist-imperialist wealth accumulation and extraction and to defend the region's post-colonial states. The introduction of legislation in Barbados, and across much of the region, that curtailed rights to public assembly and freedom of expression in the wake of Trinidad's Black Power Revolution provided the pretext and legal basis to ban the Second BPC (FCO 63/443 1970; The Bermuda Recorder vol. 46 no. 44). The stakes had been shown to be too high to allow the Conference to go ahead; Black Power in the West Indies through its articulation of a radical, decolonial vision for the region represented a genuine threat to the stability of regional governments and greater transnational co-operation amongst the movement's adherents would only intensify this danger.

The tracking of Kamarakafego's movements, the intelligence gathering on his activities and the restriction on his travels again points us towards the intensely networked and transnationally articulated nature of the state security response

to Black Power in the West Indies. FCO documents chart Kamarakafego's movements across the islands of the Caribbean and beyond and these are the product of transnational practice-networks (Nicolini 2009; Glouftsios 2018) of security and surveillance that allowed for the pulling together of fragments of information on the mobility and activities of an individual deemed to be a security threat. The FCO's intense surveillance of Kamarakafego again highlights the central organising role played by the British state in the repression of Black Power in the West Indies with these efforts intimately connected to the policing of Black Power on the domestic front as well. Technologies of communication allowed for the near instantaneous pooling and organisation of information at key nodal points (FCO in London, British High Commissions, West Indian state institutions etc) within a global network of security actors, organisations and technological artefacts. These initially disassociated pieces of information were drawn from an array of sources: observations and photographs of Kamarakafego's movements and activities by agents on the ground (FCO 141/150); passenger lists and flight logs taken from airline operators (FCO 63/443 1970); border agents and technologies identifying Kamarakafego's movements across international borders through the issuing and observation of his passport/visas (Adey 2009). From here, plans could be drawn up and security practices utilised to restrict Kamarakafego's mobilities and disrupt the networks and circuits of Black Power political organisation and co-operation that he was endeavouring to construct and moving through. Such strategies and the intelligence required to properly enact them, again required the use of transnational networks of human actors and non-human technologies to disperse information to relevant sites and authorities so as to secure the Caribbean islands against the threat of a 'subversive' Black Power movement.

7.4 Concluding Thoughts

As has been shown in this chapter, the security responses articulated in opposition to the Black Power 'threat' necessitated and were constitutive of complex and diverse networks of security actors, technological artefacts and surveillance practices which produced a technopolitics informed by West Indian race politics and the imperial geopolitics of the region (Gray 1991; Austin 2013; Quinn 2014). A central contribution of this chapter lies in understanding these technopolitical security networks as renewals and re-animations of plantation

spatialities and regimes of surveillance and repression in the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies (McKittrick 2011; 2013). Just as in the colonial plantation, the technopolitical networks and security regimes I have discussed were mechanisms for racialised surveillance, psychological intimidation and the control and constraint of territory and mobility. Further, Black Power actors were deemed threatening or subversive through the re-animation of colonial logics and discourses that positioned radical, Black political self-organisation and diasporic solidarity as suspicious and dangerous.

This chapter has highlighted the materiality of the state security response to Black Power and in so doing has foregrounded the central role of the British state and British security services in the repression of West Indian Black Power. Global networks of communications (radio, telegraph, telephone), that represented legacies of British imperial power, facilitated the development of spatially and temporally heterogeneous assemblages of human actors and non-human technological systems and artefacts directed towards the monitoring and control of the movements of Black Power 'subversives'. The use of such communications technologies allowed the stitching together of fragmentary intelligence/observations into a coherent narrative/report which could then inform and modify security practices 'on the ground' in the West Indies (Nicolini 2009; Glouftsios 2018). Such networks connected all manner of sites and spaces that were variously securitised in response to the 'threat' of Black Power. The FCO in London and British High Commissions operated as key nodes of intelligence gathering and co-ordination and airports and the associated border crossings were sites of quotidian encounter where mobilities were constrained and access denied based on intelligence gathered.

British involvement (logistical co-ordination, troop deployments, intelligence sharing) in the active suppression of Black Power politics in the West Indies demonstrates the powerful continued influence of (neo)colonial power in the region post-independence. In this way, the British state continued to hold back struggles for racial justice and equality and protect exploitative racial-capitalist relations as had been the case in the pre-independence period of direct imperial dominion. Further, the security response articulated in opposition to West Indian Black Power mirrored and was intimately connected to the same means and methods of repression seen in the suppression of the British Black Power

movement domestically (Wild 2008). Practices of surveillance, infiltration and intelligence gathering were used on both sides of the Atlantic with British state security actors familiar with such activities in a UK context deployed to the Caribbean (Swan 2009). The British state's intense monitoring and subsequent repression of Black Power politics in both the Caribbean and Britain should be understood as part of a unified strategy to oppose the movement and its transnational political articulations.

It was the mobility of Black Power actors and in particular their, potential, transnational travels and organisation that provided the impetus for such wide-ranging and complex security responses and articulations. As evidenced through an engagement with the First BPC and the travels of Pauluu Kamarakafego, state security actors sought to constrain and disrupt mobilities and circulations enacted by those deemed dangerous due to their commitments to Black Power. If Black Power organisations in the Caribbean were to become as tightly networked and interlinked as the security apparatuses and actors arrayed in opposition to them then this could pose a significant threat to the stability and longevity of the governments of independent states as well as British territories and dependencies. Specific practices of control and constraint were enacted in order to disrupt such mobilities and circulations; Kamarakafego being banned from entering a number of Caribbean islands and the Second BPC being barred from taking place in Barbados. Security practices directed towards the constraining of specific 'dangerous' mobilities are also revealing in regards to the varying geographies of sovereignty that existed across the Eastern Caribbean in particular in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In Bermuda and other dependent islands in the West Indies British security forces were more easily able to enact the kind of security practices (bannings and troop deployments) deemed necessary to counter the Black Power threat as these last outposts of empire could still be cowed by the imperial metropole with some façade of legitimacy. The same cannot be said for the independent states of the Caribbean; post-colonial governments often found themselves walking a tightrope between a potentially Black Power sympathising non-white Caribbean citizenry and the region's foremost imperial powers in articulating a security response to Black Power (FCO 63/463 1970).

This chapter foregrounds the situated security responses and practices enacted in opposition to West Indian Black Power and shaped by the specific local conditions of the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. As such, I contribute to efforts to internationalise the study of the repression of Black Power beyond a US context (Swan 2014) therefore broadening Black Geographies research into new sites and articulations of racism and anti-racist resistance (Hawthorne 2019). I have demonstrated that American, British, West Indian, Bermudian and Canadian security actors and agencies constituted a transnationally articulated security response to a Black Power movement that was similarly transnational in its operation and ambitions (Austin 2013). I have drawn attention to the central role played by the British security state in the repression of West Indian Black Power with such (neo)colonial security interventions as yet under-researched. Further, this chapter draws out the interrelated nature of policing Black Power in Britain and the West Indies. The same practices of surveillance and infiltration used to repress Black Power in Britain (Wild 2008) were utilised in the monitoring and spatial constraint of Black Power actors in the Caribbean world but in this context the British security state required the assistance of local governments and agencies. The personal, material and imagined connections that drew together the Black Power movement in Britain and the West Indies (Wild 2008; Johnson 2014) necessitated a similarly transnational reactionary response and this is evidenced in the transferring of British security personnel to the Caribbean (Swan 2009), the transnational circulation of intelligence and the overarching hostility to a politics of Black Power wherever British interests were threatened.

Chapter 8 Conclusion: Black Power Geographies and their Resources for the Present

8.1 Introduction

This thesis represents a wide-ranging exploration of the spatial politics of West Indian Black Power. I have positioned Black Power politics in the region as constitutive of a decolonial historical-political trajectory operating in the historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies and in competition with the ideological trajectories of anti-colonial Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism. Through extensive archival research in both the West Indies and UK I have interrogated the transnational articulation of an anti-racist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist Black Power politics and the material and imagined spatial-political praxes and geographies of solidarity that developed from this political trajectory. I have also drawn out the wide-ranging and similarly dynamic geographies of repression deployed in opposition to Black Power in the West Indies and the longstanding plantation logics and practices that these contemporaneous manifestations represented renewals of. This thesis contributes to ongoing scholarship on the geographies of Black power (Tyner 2003, 2004, 2006; Heynen 2008; Ramirez 2014), geographies of Black radicalism (Featherstone 2012; Hodder 2016; Bledsoe and Wright 2019) and Black Geographies (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011, 2013; Hawthorne 2019) more broadly through the introduction of West Indian perspectives and empirics. The first section of this chapter revisits the central empirical points outlined throughout the thesis with this operating as the basis for the thesis' academic contributions. The second section considers the academic significance of my research and how the thesis pushes forwards scholarship on issues both within and without academic geography. I close by thinking through the potential for future research highlighted by the thesis within the context of contemporary West Indian and British problem-space.

8.2 A Look Back Through the Geographies of West Indian Black Power

This thesis utilises a novel theoretical framework through the drawing together of the spatial ontology of Doreen Massey (2005) and the theory of West Indian

scholars David Scott (2003, 2004, 2010, 2014) and Brian Meeks (1996, 2000, 2009). I have drawn upon David Scott's (2004) deployment of the analytic of problem-space, discussed at length in Chapter 2, and understand the period of my study as representing one such historical problem-space; namely, the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was a period of rupture when formal colonial rule was undone, political energies and expectations were heightened and the horizon of possible West Indian futures appeared broad and ready to be charted (Gray 1991: Nettleford 1970; Scott, D. 2017a). I have developed D, Scott's (2004) theorisation through a spatial-political reading built on Massey (2005) that more fully interrogates and locates the *spatial* in problem-space; Chapter 2 covers a spatial critique of D, Scott more fully. I thus move beyond a reading of political and historical development that is largely temporally understood and determined to an analysis attentive to the multiplicity of ideological, historical and personal trajectories that shaped and were reflective of this West Indian problem-space and that through interaction and tension variously inflected said trajectories (Massey 2005). This thesis highlights the importance of a spatially attuned analysis of political change and contestation by disrupting singular accounts that ascribe a dominance or hegemony to a 'victorious' historical-political trajectory within a given problem-space. Instead, the theoretical framing I utilise points to the multiplicity and potentiality of political alternatives being articulated across space-time in a given period and the genuine openness of the, political, future(s) (Massey, D. 2005).

I have positioned West Indian Black Power as a decolonial trajectory impelled toward and pre-figurative of alternative futures to that of West Indian Creole Nationalism and the continuing and re-articulated historical-political trajectory of (neo)colonialism. In Chapter 4 I explored the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies and the major historical-political trajectories moving through it in detail. It is this sketching out of the political terrain of the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies through the rubric of my theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 that sets the stage for the further empirical chapters. As such, my empirical work is attuned to examining and foregrounding the historical and political developments I cover as the dynamic, sometimes generative and sometimes

conflictual interactions of the major historical-political trajectories I have identified. The political actors and groups I engage with throughout this thesis are thus understood as attempting to articulate said trajectories, knowingly or unknowingly (Stoler 2009), and in so doing constitutively informing their continued expression and the desired future these trajectories were impelled towards (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). This theoretical framing eschews a reading of historical and political development and the construction of political identities that is temporally overdetermined (Featherstone 2007). My reading of problem-space is attuned to multiplicity, articulation across difference and through specific locales with this meaning I move beyond a reading of a given period and location as being defined by a hegemonic historical-political trajectory, polity or political project. Crucially for political geographers this approach is one that centres the important role of imagined futures and reconceptualised pasts in the situated articulations of specific historical-political trajectories in specific problem-spaces. In this way, both the present and future are opened up to a potentiality of spatial-political praxis and associated imaginaries through the place-based articulation and interaction of historical-political trajectories.

Narratives of resistance emergent from the lifeworlds of West Indian subaltern populations render these space-time trajectories and imagined futures intelligible and identifiable (Meeks 2000). Narratives of resistance are an imaginative practice of drawing upon the available ideologies, aesthetics, cultural practices and theologies open to subaltern West Indian communities in order to situate contemporary and historical antagonisms and mark out an identifiable political terrain and horizon of possible futures (Meeks 2000; McKittrick 2011). These narratives are thus grounded and emergent from specific spatial and temporal contexts and operated as a principal of articulation within a transnational West Indian Black Power politics (Hall 1996, Werner 2016). Again, an appreciation for narratives of resistance and their important role in the articulation and direction of spatial-political praxis and future visions is a thread that runs throughout the thesis. Methodologically, this allows me to position the Black Power publications and journals I engage with as textual codifications of narratives of resistance that operate as a critical counter-archive of Black memory that challenges (neo)colonial and Creole Nationalist

historiographies of the West Indies and of the specific historical problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies that I investigate (Meeks 2000; Scott, D. 2008). Further, I explore such narratives and the futures they sketched out in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 where I examine the production and reportage of West Indian Black Power print materials and the 1969 First Regional International Black Power Conference in Bermuda. In chapter 5, I engage with Black Power print materials as material enunciations of narratives of resistance that attempt to articulate a Black Power politics that can draw together variously situated groupings across the West Indies and beyond whilst simultaneously working to demarcate the contours of a Black Power subaltern geopolitics and internationalist politics. In chapter 6, I position the First BPC as a place from which narratives of resistance were enunciated and decolonial futures imagined that challenged and exceeded the articulations of colonial power on the island that subalternised Black Bermudians.

A re-spatialised conceptualisation of problem-space has also shaped my methodology in key ways; as explored in Chapter 3. In thinking through the historical problem-space that archival materials were produced in I understand archival texts and documents as playing an important role in shaping and inflecting space-time formations and trajectories that structured the historical problem-space of my study (Scott, D. 2004, 2014; Massey 2005). Further, as archival documents are informed by the spatial and temporal context of their production the discursive content and epistemic assumptions displayed in a text are similarly spatially and temporally situated in specific historical problem-space(s) (Guha 1994, 2009; Stoler 2009; Ogborn 2011). The 'common sense' claims and assumptions evidenced in the archival texts I have engaged with are constituted ideologically and shaped by the author's worldview or ontology and their position in social, political and economic systems (Guha 1994, 2009; Stoler 2009). This produces divergent and multiple readings and narratives of the same historical problem-space based upon the author/text's relation to the major historical-political trajectories I have identified. So the empirical materials utilised for this thesis were shaped by and productive of the normative assumptions undergirding these trajectories and the possible futures said trajectories were articulated towards. Methodologically this allows for the sorting of materials into major typologies based on identified trajectories and

importantly reveals the essential ontological, epistemic and political claims shaping said trajectories and the pre-figurative spatial politics enacted by various West Indian actors in the hope of realising desired futures. So then, I am able to position the Black Power publications I engage with throughout the thesis as constitutive of the historical-political trajectory of a decolonial West Indian Black Power. Similarly, FCO documents and correspondence with West Indian state actors represent the historical political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism both in their materiality and in the undergirding ontologies and historiographies they represent textual expressions of (Guha 1994, 2009).

A central claim of this thesis is that West Indian Black Power represented an explicitly *decolonial* historical-political trajectory operating in opposition to and moving beyond Creole Nationalist and (neo)colonial trajectories. I thus develop previous scholarship on West Indian Black Power that has investigated decolonial practices and thinking associated with the movement without positioning such activity as part of an holistic decolonial politics and worldview (Meeks 2000; Bogues 2002, 2003; Thame 2011, 2014). Chapter 4 takes formal decolonisation in the West Indies in the early 1960s as a ruptural moment and start point for my study and it is precisely this ruptural moment that marks the beginning of the problem-space with which this thesis is concerned. Independence from Britain presented the opportunity for radical transformations in West Indian political-economy, society and culture with various ideological tendencies articulating competing and diverse visions of the new post-colonial nation-states of the region (James, C.L.R. 1967, 1971; Best 1970, 2003). In a Black Power assessment the coloniality of life in the West Indies was left largely unchallenged by Creole Nationalist leaders and parties that oversaw the formal decolonisation and process and who did little to challenge (neo)colonial interference in and continued manipulation of the West Indies (Rodney 1969; 2013). Further, the colonial racial logics and 'Anglophilism' that underpinned and characterised Creole Nationalist politics and ideology actively precluded any serious challenge to the continued coloniality of life in the post-colonial West Indies (James, C.L.R. 1971; Munroe 1971; Ryan 1995).

It was this racial politics of Creole Nationalism that fuelled the designation of Black Power as subversive and a threat to the nation-state. The post-colonial societies of the region were officially constructed as deracinated with Black

racial consciousness and identification with the diaspora viewed as atavistic and a threat to the cohesion of the new nations due to affinities lying elsewhere. Such racial antagonisms spurred the repression of Black Power in the region and saw the construction and deployment of complex technopolitical networks of human and non-human security actors that served to rearticulate plantation spatialities and regimes of oppression in contemporaneous West Indian problem-space; as discussed in Chapter 7. By contrast, the decolonial vision and politics of Black Power articulated diasporic affinities and solidarity with all non-white peoples struggling against racism, (neo)imperialism and (neo)colonialism. Such commitments are clearly visible in the texts produced by West Indian Black Power and adjacent groups and in the forms of political organisation exemplified in the convening of regional Black Power conferences. The Black Power vision of an independent West Indies necessitated a break with the imperialist powers of Euro-America, the restructuring of state institutions and power, the socialising of the region's economy and the celebration of the region's non-white subaltern cultural practices and heritages (Rodney 1969, 2013; Benn 1970; Gray 1991; Thomas, C, Y. 2013).

I explored this decolonial politics empirically in Chapter 5 through an engagement with the geographies and networks of reportage and distribution that comprised Black Power print production in the West Indies. As covered in my methodological review in Chapter 3, texts are constitutive of social relations and are a key mechanism in the development of wide-ranging and dynamic space-time formations (Ogborn 2002, 2011). With texts understood as politically imbued material artefacts I position the geographies of production and circulation of Black Power print materials in the West Indies as representative of a decolonial spatial politics. In Jamaica, one found attempts to build an editorship from below for the radical Black Power newspaper *Abeng* with the undergirding ideological commitment to amplify the voice of Jamaican sufferers manifested through the establishment of dispersed parish editorial committees and 'Abeng assemblies'. In both Jamaica and Trinidad the circulation and production of Black Power publications operated as a medium and material linkage through which socio-political action could be debated and directed and political consciousness raised. The circulation of papers through Kingston's ska record shops and impoverished rural villages in the Jamaican hinterland drew

variously situated subaltern communities together with a similar process evidenced in Port of Spain between the UWI campus and those protestors 'on the streets' however here the radical publication offered a space for tension and debate simultaneously (Embryo 1970 vol. 2 no 16 and 20; Lewis, R. 1998). The global and transnational decolonial analysis central to West Indian Black Power also saw the radical journal utilised as a means through which local struggles and analysis were positioned within broader contexts of anti-imperial, anti-racist and anti-capitalist movements globally with this producing a consistent focus on international affairs, particularly in the Global South, in these texts. Through such reportage is evidenced a Black Power subaltern geopolitical imaginary (Sharp 2013, 2019) that understood race as a central modality in international relations (Anievas, Manchanda and Shilliam 2015). Thus moving beyond a binary geopolitics of the Cold War period and instead advocating for inter-ethnic, international Third World solidarity in order to chart an alternative to the co-optation of the two imperial hegemons. It is through this reportage that I interrogated the contours and constitution of Black internationalist imaginaries and politics in the print materials of West Indian Black Power (Featherstone 2015; Hodder 2016).

The analysis of Black power journals as material objects constitutive of social relations, complex space-time formations and interpolated within the power relations of variously situated actors and social structures is similarly applied to the material networks of security deployed in opposition to Black Power in the West Indies. In Chapter 7, I analyse the geographies of repression and securitisation arrayed in opposition to Black Power as a form of technopolitics wherein material technologies and human actors comprised wide-ranging and complex space-time formations directed towards the suppression of Black Power politics (Hecht 2011). Non-human technological systems and artefacts in combination with human security agents and their enacting of security and surveillance practices facilitated the observation and gathering of information on the activities of Black Power actors with such security regimes directed towards the constraint of mobility and the disruption of Black Power circuits of knowledge exchange and coordination. This technopolitics was powerfully directed by the race politics and antagonisms discussed in Chapter 4 with Black Power actors viewed as subversive threats to the newly independent nation-

states of the region and remaining colonial territories with this animating the observed security response. These technopolitical processes and material geographies are directly comparable to those outlined in Chapter 5 however this time represent grounded manifestations of the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and a continued (neo)colonialism identified and discussed in Chapter 3.

A focus on the centrality of such technopolitical networks to the repression of West Indian Black Power reveals the major role played by the British state and British state security actors in these efforts. British intelligence, logistical capacity, military resources and the communications networks necessary for imperial administration were all mobilised in the reactionary opposition to Black Power with local West Indian governments intensely reliant upon this support. Indeed, these material and practice networks (Glouftsios 2018) of securitisation linked the policing of Black Power in Britain and the Caribbean. The same tactics of infiltration, surveillance and control over mobility were evident in both a domestic British and West Indian context with the British state keenly invested in disrupting transnational Black Power solidarities and connections. British hostility to Black Power domestically and abroad should be understood as part of an holistic opposition to the movement that involved the transnational circulation of state security personnel, the transmission of intelligence and the exporting of practices of repression successfully deployed at home. The multiple material, personal and ideological links that connected the Black Power movements in Britain and the West Indies necessitated a similarly transnationally articulated repressive response with British intelligence, materiel and resources central in the policing of Black Power in both contexts.

In Chapter 7 the geographies of repression discussed are also understood as re-articulations of plantation space-time with this also informing analysis in Chapter 6 on the First BPC. In Chapter 2 it is elaborated how McKittrick (2011, 2013) deploys the analytic of the plantation, adapted from West Indian scholar Clive Thomas, to understand Black Geographies in the New World. The social and cultural relations, material structures and racial logics and ontologies emergent from the colonial encounter are seen as spatially and temporally shifting and re-emergent throughout Black lives past and present. In the West Indian context the failure of the Creole Nationalist project to adequately challenge this state of

affairs and the continued machinations of (neo)colonial powers in the region saw the re-articulation of plantation regimes and spatialities in the problem-space of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies. In Chapter 6 I explore the First BPC as an act of insurgent Black place-making in opposition to hegemonic spatalities and regimes of white supremacy and colonial-racial political repression. The conference saw the confluence of diverse personal and ideological trajectories from across the world convened in order to debate the contours of a transnational Black Power politics and articulate a decolonial vision of the future. A vision that would be developed in greater detail in the political activism emergent from the conference and more specifically grounded in the Bermudian context. The First BPC as an exclusively non-white space represented a situated and strategic response to specific plantation geographies that shaped the contemporaneous Bermudian problem-space. Namely, the deployment of British troops, the blocking of delegates from entering the island and the infiltration of the event by colonial security agents (Swan 2009, 2014). This positioning of the security response to the conference as renewals of plantation spatialities animated by colonial-racial logics and fears can be applied more broadly to the technopolitical networks and regimes of securitisation explored in Chapter 7. In Bermuda and across the West Indies such acts and geographies of repression and securitisation were instigated and enacted in the service of the political projects of defending the Creole Nationalist vision of independence for the region as well as protecting and ensuring the continued projection of imperial power and maintenance of (neo)colonial relations of extraction and manipulation.

8.3 Key Themes and Insights

This thesis responds to recent calls (Hawthorne 2019) to provincialise North America in the growing field of Black Geographies and to examine articulations of race and anti-racist resistance outside of a North American context. In this thesis I have demonstrated divergent conceptions of race and blackness emergent from specific US and West Indian historical and geographical contexts and examined the different spatial imaginaries and internationalist politics emergent from such conceptions. Through such efforts the multiplicity of experience and articulation that comprise Black Geographies can be properly understood. My work thus aligns with recent efforts to attend to the pluralities

found within Black Geographies (Bledsoe and Wright 2019); through studying the differences found within Black geographical expressions one moves away from homogenising analyses (Edwards 2003) instead realising the multiple ways Black people have sought liberation and justice. The thesis examines such pluralities through foregrounding the creative intellectual and political capacities of subaltern West Indian communities and actors as they applied a Black Power analysis to their own contexts and devised spatial-political praxes suited to their local needs. Further, I contribute to a growing international trend within Black Power studies outside of geography (Slate 2012; Shilliam 2015; Narayan 2019) with this thesis diversifying engagements with West Indian Black Power though a consistent focus on the important and generative regional connections that existed between the larger islands and states of the West Indies and the Eastern Caribbean (Quinn 2014).

Within the context of explicitly Geographical scholarship, my research broadens the scope of spatial-political analyses of Black Power through examining articulations of Black Power politics outside of the US. Geographical engagements with the US Black Power movement, and here the focus remains largely on the Black Panther Party, have highlighted similar situated praxes enacted to contest racialised spatialities (Heynen 2008; Ramirez 2015; Bledsoe and Wright 2019) as well as a similarly multi-scalar transnational analyses that linked exploitation in African-American ghettoes to Third World liberation struggles (Tyner 2004, 2006). However, there are significant differences between the West Indian and US contexts that can be generatively investigated. Indeed, even when Black Power and associated Black radical figures have been the focus of geographical studies attentive to the transitional dimensions of their thought and the impact of international travel on their politics again these have been US figures. Further, their international sojourns or burgeoning transnational analyses are explored in relation to the impacts this had on Black Power and radical Black politics in the domestic US context (Tyner 2003; Hodder 2015). My work emphasises specific and situated articulations of Black Power politics in the West Indies that diverged significantly from the US movement, though also of course shared commonalities, as Black Power groups and actors responded to localised regimes of oppression and drew upon historical, theoretical and cultural currents and trajectories unique to the West Indies. In

so doing, this thesis broadens understandings of how Black Power politics could operate as a terrain of articulation that drew together variously situated actors operating in diverse local contexts but still united through commitments to anti-racism, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. I have therefore engaged in depth with the internationalist imaginaries that animated such transnational connections and solidarities with this leading to an examination on the internationalist political cultures of West Indian Black Power.

In this thesis I have consistently attended to the divergent and situated articulations of Black Power that existed in West Indian and US contexts. However, there were also, particularly, economic and political continuities that made Black Power an attractive and applicable politics to West Indian actors who saw something of their own struggle in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the United States. As discussed in Chapter 1, Black Power politics found greatest support in impoverished, predominantly, Black communities in both locales where populations neglected by the state and excluded from civic life and conceptions of national community sought to secure the means for their current survival and future prosperity (Heynen 2008; Swan 2009; Narayan 2020). In this way, the garrison communities of Kingston (Abeng 1969 issue 6; Gray 1991) and shanties of Port of Spain (Meeks 2000) and Bermuda (Swan 2009) provided the social base for the West Indian Black Power movement just as African American ghettoes did in the US. Beyond these material similarities there were also theoretical continuities between both movements with these particularly evident in the content of West Indian Black Power publications and the circulation of figures from both movements around the US and Caribbean islands. *Abeng* (1969 issue 19) reprinted speeches and excerpts from texts by figures such as Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver and in Bermuda the First BPC emerges from Pauluu Kamarakafego's presence in US Black Power networks with a number of US Black Power actors attending the Bermuda conference (Swan 2009).

Further, Newton's theorisation of intercommunalism which would come to direct the work of the US Black Panther's finds resonance in the thought of the West Indies' most prominent theoretician of Black Power: Walter Rodney. Newton's conception of a globalised, and in some ways deterritorialised, US imperialism that assumed hegemonic military, cultural and corporate power aligns broadly

with Rodney's analysis of the global 'White Power' system that had the US as its primary contemporaneous engine (Rodney 1969; Newton 2002; Narayan 2020). Rodney and Newton both see that the culmination of these world systems would be total racial capitalist domination of all the world's peoples for the benefit of the bourgeoisie of the metropolitan core with this emergent world system undermining and undoing national sovereignty (Rodney 1969; Newton 2002). Rodney admittedly does not fully break from the conceptual and material utility of the nation-state in the same way that Newton does but crucially both saw that the primary revolutionary task was to create and link up 'liberated territories' within these world systems of domination from which alternative futures could be envisioned and built (Rodney 1969; Newton 2002; Narayan 2020). These theoretical continuities between the US and West Indian movements points to the fact that neither were sealed off from one another by national boundaries or territoriality. Indeed the confluence of trajectories across various sites, conferences and publications discussed in this thesis demonstrates the important transnational dimensions of the Black Power movement in the Black Atlantic world.

This thesis contributes to efforts within political geography to fully examine the diverse imaginaries, practices and trajectories of internationalism. My study of the internationalist imaginaries and solidarities enacted through the politics of West Indian Black Power complements geographical scholarship similarly concerned with the *situated* articulation of internationalist politics and place-based conceptions of what precisely constitutes the limits of the international (Featherstone 2012, 2015; Legg 2014; Hodder 2015; Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015). Internationalist imaginaries constructed through a politics of West Indian Black Power drew together diverse anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggles enacted by communities across linguistic, ethnic and national boundaries with this informed by the multi-ethnic constitution of West Indian colonial and post-colonial societies. Further, I have sought to broaden conceptions of internationalism beyond a narrow focus on traditional diplomatic networks and the bureaucracy of major intergovernmental organisations and summits historically situated in the Global North (Hodder 2015; Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015). Through investigating the diverse articulations of internationalist politics emergent from actors within the West Indian Black

Power movement I move beyond a conceptualisation of the international as being a mere extension of the political and diplomatic relations of nation-states (Sluga 2013). I have demonstrated through engagements with the transnational solidarities and alliances developed by Black Power groups, such as those constructed around the George Williams University Affair, that internationalist politics is actively practiced by non-state and indeed subaltern peoples and communities outside the political machinery of states and official diplomatic corps. Indeed, studying this enactment of internationalist politics by subaltern West Indians further contributes to a growth of engagement by political geographers with subaltern articulations and constructions of internationalism (Featherstone 2012, 2013; Jazeel and Legg 2019; Ferretti 2021) and specifically for me points to the diverse trajectories and traditions that constitute Black internationalism (Edwards 2003; Featherstone 2015; Hodder 2016).

Developing this theme of subaltern internationalism I have examined the internationalist imaginaries articulated by Black Power groups and in Black Power publications as expressions of a subaltern geopolitics (Sharp 2011, 2013). Like previous geographers (Koopman 2011; Sharp 2011, 2013, 2019; Craggs 2018), I position subaltern actors as active and valid producers of geopolitical imaginaries. Black Power groups and actors in the reportage of their publications and their commitments to anti-imperialist and Third World solidarity enacted a subaltern internationalist vision and praxis that moved beyond Euro-centric and indeed state-centric conceptions of geopolitics. The anti-imperialist imaginaries of West Indian Black Power existed outside of the Cold War geopolitical binary commonly associated with my period of study and instead proffered a geopolitical vision hostile to co-optation by both imperialist superpowers and centred on the solidarity of people commonly oppressed through the interlocking axes of race, coloniality and (neo)imperialism (Anievas, Manchanda and Shilliam 2015). This geopolitical and internationalist imaginary was not confined to a state framing with Black Power publications frequently critical of the governments of Third World states, often for their collaboration with imperialist actors, but still extending solidarity to oppressed communities and peoples within said states (Abeng 1969 issue 12). My work on this topic and the spatial politics of decolonisation seen through the articulation of subaltern geopolitical imaginaries advances previous scholarship in this area. Both Sharp (2019) and

Craggs (2018) examine subaltern geopolitics through a focus on leadership figures such as Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere or Commonwealth politicians and diplomats. However, in this thesis I have demonstrated the capacity of non-elite, Third World subaltern actors to construct and animate transnational geopolitical imaginaries. Thus, as I have endeavoured throughout the thesis, I foreground the capacity for transformational political thought and action of Caribbean subaltern peoples in their struggles for racial and decolonial justice through their own agency and not subordinated to national leaders or agents of the state.

This thesis has generatively applied Katherine McKittrick's (2011, 2013) formulation of plantation space-time to specific technopolitical state security networks and racially animated security regimes. Whilst McKittrick (2011, 2013; Hudson 2014) herself has applied the plantation analytic to general assessments of urbicide and the destruction of a Black sense of place in the New World and across the Black diaspora as well as, building on Gilmore (2007), carceral regimes in the US my work deploys a more empirically grounded and specific utilisation of the analytic. I demonstrate how plantation logics and racial ontologies emergent from the first colonial encounters in the West Indies and renewed through the continued coloniality of life in the region became key modalities in the articulation and direction of specific, grounded security practices. The conceptualisation of Black Power as a subversive threat to the nation-states and imperial territories of the region was rooted in colonial fears of Black political self-organisation and diasporic solidarity with this animating a security response utilising centuries-old tactics of racialised surveillance, intimidation and the constraint of mobilities (McKittrick 2013). This thesis contributes to Black Geographical scholarship through highlighting the diverse articulations of plantation space-time that exist across the diasporic world and the varied structural, technopolitical and practice-networks through which the logics of, multiple and situated, plantations continue to be projected onto Black horizons. This thesis also foregrounds the multiplicity of Black spatial-political modes of resistance to such plantation regimes and further examines a Black Power vision of a decolonial West Indian future that could exceed such plantation logics and spatialities. In this way I produce scholarship that does not reaffirm and repeat the anti-Black violence of the plantation as I foreground the

forms of Black life that are enacted in excess of the racial logics and spatialities of the plantation (McKittrick 2013; Hawthorne 2019).

The above discussion of my contributions to Black Geographies and the spatial politics of Black internationalism points to another central contribution of the thesis. Through my empirical work on West Indian Black Power I have drawn on both of these fields in generative ways and I see points of connection between scholarship in both areas that warrant further exploration. The Black Geographies scholarship I have utilised in this thesis principally concerns the enclosing and repressive logics and articulations of plantation space-time that were reworked through the technopolitical security networks and regimes deployed in opposition to Black Power (McKittrick 2011, 2013). Here, I have also shown that West Indian Black Power groups and actors contested such plantation regimes through acts of radical Black place-making that carved out or reclaimed places within plantation space as an act of resistance and also one of overcoming wherein alternative futures and spatialities could be imagined and enacted beyond the strictures of plantation racism (Gilmore 2007; McKittrick 2011). This focus on place-making practices and their diverse registers and instantiations is a common one across Black Geographies literature (Bledsoe and Wright 2019; Allen 2020; Heynen and Ybarra 2020) and within these discussions there is often consideration of how these variously *placed* examples are and might be joined together through collective anti-racist action or solidarity. It is here that an understanding of the spatial politics of Black internationalism proves generative; as demonstrated in this thesis.

In this thesis I have attended to the ways that various Black Power place-making projects in the Caribbean world, the First BPC and the People's Parliament during the Black Power Revolution for example, were connected through Black Internationalist networks and imaginaries articulated by West Indian Black Power actors. In this way, the extensive and wide-ranging scholarship that exists on Black internationalism and Black Internationalist spatial politics can be used to think through the ways that various place-making projects are connected within broader transnational movements and within deep histories of internationalist organising (West, Martin and Wilkins 2009; Hodder 2016). This allows for an interrogation of the interrelated nature of the predominant scales, broadly interpreted, through which much of the Black Geographies and Black

Internationalist literature operates. The relatively small-scale, enclosed and intimate spaces of the plantation, ghetto etc. which take focus in work on Black Geographies can be understood in relation to the diasporic connections, transnational circulations and cross-cultural resonances which tend to be the frame of reference for Black Internationalist geographical scholarship. Similarly, Black Geographies literature offers a body of work and language for understanding the diverse practices and *situated* articulations of internationalist politics that constitute the Black Internationalist tradition and perhaps studies of internationalism more broadly (Featherstone 2012, 2015; Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015). In this way, we can develop a more critical reading of internationalist politics that, as Hodder (2016) rightly points out, is not content to simply describe the existence of transnational connections and instead seeks to examine the diverse, practiced and specifically *placed* spatial relations through which such connections are constituted.

My exploration of the security response deployed in opposition to Black Power in the West Indies answers calls to internationalise the study of the suppression of the Black Power movement globally (Swan 2014). Again studies of Black Power's suppression have been largely US centric with a focus on the FBI's counter-intelligence programme (COINTELPRO) and the judicial and police efforts to criminalise and crack down upon the US Black Panther Party (Tyner 2006; Swan 2014). I have explored in depth the complex geographies and technopolitical networks constructed in opposition to Black Power in the West Indies and the situated practices of repression deployed by West Indian governments, the British FCO and the Bermudian colonial state. These security actors did indeed co-operate with US and also Canadian state security agencies but this thesis demonstrates that the geographies of repression evidenced in the West Indies and Bermuda represented situated strategic practices responsive to peculiar local conditions.

Through a focus on the technopolitics of the security response to Black Power I have demonstrated the central role played by the British state in the repression of the movement. British involvement here has been largely overlooked with academic work having instead focused on the actions of West Indian governments (Meeks 2000; Lewis 2014; Samaroo 2014) and British security and surveillance efforts in the pre-independence period (Thomas 2017; Richardson

2019). This thesis has shown how British transnational and trans-imperial networks of communication, logistical capacity and military resources were essential to the surveillance, policing and repression of Black Power actors and groups in the West Indies. A further contribution lies in drawing out the multiple material and practiced connections that joined together the policing of Black Power in a domestic British context and the West Indies. This has been hinted at by previous scholars (Wild 2008; Johnson 2014; Narayan 2019) however through a spatial analysis I have highlighted how the British state's hostility to a politics of Black Power both domestically and abroad saw the animation of a transnationally networked response that circulated British state security personnel, tactics and repressive methods through the Caribbean world. This work of highlighting British neo-colonial interventions and efforts to thwart movements for racial emancipation and decolonial justice is essential in the face of efforts by the British state to actively cover-up similar crimes in other (neo)colonial contexts (Cobain 2012; Anderson, D. 2015). Indeed, sanitised accounts of Britain's imperial past and historical and contemporary (neo)colonial foreign interventions remain powerfully entrenched in contemporary society, politics and culture (Virdee and McGeever 2017) with the kind of historical analysis developed in this thesis necessary to counter such narratives.

The British and West Indian Black Power movements were connected by more than just shared repression by the British state however. As discussed in Chapter 7 there were a number of personal connections and trajectories that joined Black Power movements in Britain and the West Indies. British Black Power leaders Darcus Howe and Althea Jones-LeCointe were Trinidadian and much of the membership of British Black Power groups were Caribbean or of Caribbean heritage (Johnson 2014; Narayan 2019). Beyond this though, a central contribution of this thesis lies in uncovering histories of the travel of West Indian Black Power theory across the Black Atlantic which would have a significant impact on the articulation of Black Power politics and anti-racist politics more broadly in Britain for decades (Waters 2018; Narayan 2019). Central here is the conception of 'political blackness' which was articulated by British Black Power groups as a means of uniting all non-white peoples in Britain rendered 'black' by British state racism and social discrimination through a sharp and expansive anti-imperialist analysis (Narayan 2019). Indeed, political blackness would come to

define British anti-racism in the two decades following the late 1960s (Waters 2018) and still today the term engenders debate and contestation over its legacies, potential elisions and practical applications (Alexander 2018). British political blackness is partially rooted in the West Indies and the histories of inter-ethnic solidarity and struggle forged by Afro-Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean peoples in opposition to British colonialism and ethnically chauvinist politics in the periods of decolonisation and independence (Bolland 2001; Sivanandan 2008; Narayan 2019). I discussed such solidarities in Chapter 5 in relation to the efforts of Trinidadian Black Power actors to build alliances with Indo-Trinidadians.

As demonstrated through my analysis of Black Power print production in Chapter 5, West Indian Black Power actors and groups consistently articulated an expansive conception of blackness that united all non-white West Indians struggling for emancipation from (neo)colonial, (neo)imperialist and racist domination with this also informing commitments to global anti-racist struggle (Rodney 1969, 1990; OWTU 1970 issue 140). This broad conception of blackness was invoked in historical analyses of British colonialism's divide and rule tactics in the region (1970 no 137b and 140; Embryo 1970 vol. 2 no 16) and in anti-imperialist spatial imaginaries that informed reporting on global struggles against (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism in West Indian Black Power publications. As this thought crossed the Black Atlantic, transferred in the travels and circulations of post-war Caribbean migrants, it was generatively applied to the British context. Just as the common antagonism of British colonial rule and racism was used as a basis for solidarity in the West Indies so too in Britain was the rendering of all non-white Britons as 'coloured' used to reclaim this identity in the name of anti-racist politics formulated through political blackness (Narayan 2019). Anti-racist and Black Power groups in Britain did for a time use the term coloured for their purposes however this would be replaced by the expanded conception of blackness as part of a rejection of the British state's homogenising racism. As in the West Indies, this broadening of the political terrain of blackness saw the inclusion of Indo-Caribbean and South Asian groups and radicals who helped to construct a Black radical political subject rooted in multi-ethnic solidarity and co-operation. This would see Asian Youth Movements in the 1970s adopt Black as a self-descriptor alongside the aesthetic of Black

Power and joint protests and activism amongst self-described Black Power groups and South Asian worker and community organisations (Waters 2018).

The history of West Indian Black Power's expansive conception of blackness and its application in anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist politics and solidarities uncovered in this thesis frames discussion of political blackness in Britain in important ways. Firstly, it asserts the agency of West Indians in the context of the extensive repression of Black Power in the region by the British state. Empire and (neo)colonialism are not the mere spatial expression of metropolitan domination of the colony and as Paul Gilroy (1987, 2004) has so clearly demonstrated the post-WWII history of Britain has been one of the (neo)colony and its people having a marked effect on the metropole. In this context striking at racism in the heart of the British Empire. Further, critics of British political blackness claim that it served to erase ethnic identity or flatten out ethnic difference in Britain with particularly Asian identities subsumed to an Afro-Caribbean subject and African aesthetic (Modood 1994; Waters 2018; Narayan 2019). For Modood (1994), there was too often a slippage between the multi-ethnic conception of political blackness and the blackness of ethnic pride rooted and limited to African diasporic communities and cultures. More recently, Andrews (2016) has criticised political blackness in strategic terms for an apparent methodological nationalism in the assessment that politically black subjects have been produced in the racial context of the UK, this misses the transnational anti-imperialist analysis central to this politics however (Narayan 2019), and for tendencies towards anti-whiteness. This thesis' transnational and Black Atlantic framing of the origins of political blackness in Britain contends such claims through demonstrating that expressions of political blackness in Britain came about through a process of diasporic translation (Edwards 2003) between the West Indies and Britain. As discussed at length in Chapter 3, such processes of translation are creative and generative in the application of theory and ideas to new social, political and cultural contexts with West Indian conceptions of blackness necessarily modified for the UK and thus qualitatively transformed. This is not a homogenous process of 'flattening out' difference but rather one that allows for articulation across difference and the formation of solidarities amongst variously positioned groups and actors (Edwards 2003; Featherstone 2012).

This thesis responds to recent calls from Caribbean scholars such as Carole Boyce Davies (2019) to reposition and re-examine West Indian Black Power political thought and activity within contemporary scholarship on coloniality. My framing and analysis of West Indian Black Power politics as decolonial contributes to scholarship both on decolonial thought and action as well as studies of the West Indian Black Power movement itself. In the same vein as authors such as Ama Biney (2018), who engages with the decolonial thought of Thomas Sankara, I have sought to broaden the intellectual geographies and genealogies of decolonial thinking and praxis by introducing perspectives from outside the Latin American world. In this way, this thesis contributes to building a pluriversality of knowledges by foregrounding the political imaginaries and decolonial praxis of non-white West Indians that sought to exceed articulations of the colonial matrix of power in their own geographical contexts (Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Actors and groups associated with the West Indian Black Power movement articulated an holistic decolonial politics and worldview with such activity impelled towards an envisioned decolonial future for the region and its peoples. As discussed in more ideological terms in Chapter 4 and then evidenced empirically throughout the following Chapters, Black Power activists and thinkers held strong neo-colonial critiques of West Indian economy, state form and international relations. Central to the expression of Black Power politics was a consistent focus on the exploration and celebration of non-white West Indian heritage, history and culture that ran up against the 'Anglophilism' and British cultural mores valorised by the Creole Nationalist political class and which served to maintain (neo)colonial links to the former colonial metropole (James, C.L.R. 1971, 1984). Black Power thought leaders and key theoretical influences on the movement saw epistemic decolonisation in the region as an essential prerequisite for breaking colonial bonds of economic and socio-cultural domination (Rodney 1969; Best 1970, 2003).

Whilst previous scholarship on Black Power on the West Indies has attended to specific decolonial aspects and practices associated with the movement this thesis pushes forward such scholarship. I do this by understanding Black Power's neo-colonial economic analysis, politics of non-white cultural celebration and critiques of epistemic coloniality as constitutive of a definite decolonial trajectory directed towards the realisation of an alternative decolonial future

for the region. With this trajectory one of multiple decolonial trajectories articulated by (neo)colonised peoples across the globe seeking to rupture the bonds of coloniality and build towards a "pluriversal decoloniality" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018: 2).

8.4 Future Trajectories

My work in this thesis advances developing perspectives in political and historical geographical scholarship that deserve further work and future study. In my development and deployment of a transnational methodological approach I contribute to recent efforts within historical geography to develop methods that are able to meet the demands of conducting historical and geographical studies of transnational figures and movements (Guterl 2013; Hodder 2017). In grappling with the methodological challenges brought forth by studying a transnational political movement such as that of Black Power in the West Indies (abundance of material, cost of travel, disparate locations of archival sources) I have employed methods and techniques utilised in recent historical geographical work. I have utilised a biographical lens (McGeachan 2016), as in my study of Pauluu Kamarakafego and his transnational life and activism, to narrow my work and have also employed the analytical lens of the 'snapshot' (Hodder 2017) in studying key events, such as the First BPC, to interrogate how transnational political geographies and articulations were manifest 'on the ground' in a specific event or locale (Craggs 2014; Hodder 2015). In this way, my work contributes to efforts to develop historical and geographical accounts that go beyond a methodological nationalism and point to important transnational articulations, relations and networks that shape political space and activity within and without nation-states.

This thesis is novel however in the utilisation of the concepts of problem-space (Koselleck 2004; Scott, D. 2004) and narratives of resistance (Meeks 2000) to sort and position archival materials in regards to the major historical-political trajectories that operated within and came to structure a given historical problem-space. As more archival material is gathered the normative ontological, epistemic and political claims that underpin the trajectories such materials are constitutive of becomes visible. In this way, it is possible to draw out the foundational logics that shape the spatial-politics associated with given

trajectories and the spatial-political goals and imaginaries that actors and groups in a given historical-problem space enact and envision. Through understanding certain archival materials as codifications of narratives of resistance one can further gain insight into the tensions that exist between the multiple historical-political trajectories structuring and reflective of a given historical-political problem-space and begin to delve into the power relations that shape interactions between variously situated communities and political groupings. This methodology could be generatively applied to movements, contexts and problem-spaces beyond the scope of this thesis to produce historical geographical scholarship better attuned to transnational articulations and connections and the multiple historical-political trajectories that constitute the archive.

My work throughout this thesis has consistently attended to specific articulations and spatialities of the coloniality of power (Quijano 2000) and the spatial political practices and imaginaries of groups and actors subalternised and racialised in such regimes of coloniality in their efforts to contest and exceed these geographies. Marion Werner (2011, 2016) in her work on the coloniality of production in Hispaniola draws on Anibal Quijano's (2000) conceptualisation that the coloniality of power, understood as the articulation of hierarchies of social difference expressed through racial categories, constitutes a terrain of articulation that draws contingently on historical patterns of race to structure new hierarchies and relations of exploitation. Importantly, Werner suggests, this terrain of articulation and its reproduction of raced and gendered hierarchies is a fundamentally spatial process operating through specific spaces and relating such places within broader spatial articulations (Werner 2011, 2016). My work similarly foregrounds numerous places structured by regimes of coloniality (Jamaica's sufferer communities, Bermuda's Black neighbourhoods) and the broader spatial political networks and formations such places were articulated together within (the British Empire, pan-Caribbean security networks). Through examining these existing geographies of coloniality there is raised the related, and crucial, question of challenging this racialised and hierarchical spatial politics and indeed even exceeding it.

This is where the study of West Indian Black Power holds key resources for contemporary political geography. West Indian Black Power actors developed

diverse and situated practices of insurgent resistance to such geographies of coloniality animated by a decolonial vision and desired future that could exceed the strictures and horizons of coloniality as articulated through the historical-political trajectories of Creole Nationalism and (neo)colonialism (Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Here, I also draw attention to the multiple visions and contestations that mark post-colonial state formation and the limits of some anti-colonial struggles that become contained within a nationalist vision (Featherstone 2019). Studies of decolonial politics and praxis must be attendant to the diverse place-based articulations and practices of resistance developed by decolonial movements with political geographers being well placed to make such interventions. Further, it is essential to foreground the subaltern geopolitical (Sharp 2013, 2019) and internationalist imaginaries (Hodder, Legg and Heffernan 2015; Hodder 2016) that allow such movements to articulate situated contestations within broader movements for decolonial justice that don't merely oppose but exceed the coloniality of power.

This thesis has drawn out a number of key themes that deserve further exploration and future enquiry; especially in the context of contemporary British and West Indian problem-space. The political context in Britain and in particular contemporary racial politics positions this thesis and my research well for interventions in a number of unfolding socio-political debates. The Leave victory in the 2016 Brexit referendum and recent General Election landslide victory for Boris Johnson's Conservative party traded on and were driven in key ways by longstanding and powerful white-racist discourses and imaginaries concerning national belonging and identity, Britain's historical role in the world and what futures this trajectory might point towards (Virdee and McGeever 2017). Further, following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020 there has been a global surge in Black Lives Matter, anti-racist and anti-police protests and activism with significant protests, rallies and political activity seen in the UK. In the contemporary moment, debates over Britain's imperial and colonial past have figured prominently; through examining the West Indian Black Power movement the material, psychological and human cost of British colonialism in the Caribbean is laid bare with these pervasive negative effects not simply undone with the raising of new national flags in the islands' capitals. The anti-imperialist and anti-colonial spatial politics and praxes enacted by Black Power

actors in their contestation of these pernicious and constraining legacies and the continued resistance to neo-colonial intervention and manipulation deserves further study with a focus on such articulations outside a US context. There is a great deal more work to be done in Black Power's uptake and expression in the Eastern Caribbean for example.

The anti-Black Power infiltration and suppression operations enacted by the British security state in concert with regional and other imperial actors deserves further study especially with a focus on the transnationally networked nature of such security responses. Whilst the internationalism and transnational operations of Left and Black radical politics are well understood and examined the contours of coeval and oppositional reactionary and state-directed repressive transnational articulations are less clear (Swan 2014). Similarly, attention needs to be paid to the influence of local West Indian actors and discourses in shaping the transnationally networked securitisation efforts explored in this thesis. This is crucial in the Cold War geopolitical context of the post-colonial and decolonising West Indies as reactionary state repression wasn't merely dictated from Washington and London. This foregrounding of the agency of local actors, especially in the 'Third World', should be taken forwards into studies of Cold War anti-communism and anti-radicalism beyond the West Indian context (Moulton 2015). Such regimes and practices of racist suppression conducted by the British security state in the, former, imperial periphery shaped and continue to shape the racialised policing of non-white lives and communities in contemporary Britain and again understanding these genealogies and the futures they point towards is of considerable academic value (Elliot-Cooper 2019). Further, the racial logics underpinning British (neo)colonial securitising interventions in the West Indies of the 1960s and 1970s have found new expression in contemporaneous British foreign interventions in other parts of the world with this link again deserving further inquiry.

Now turning to the West Indian context, this thesis again pushes forward academic debate and intervention in key areas. Through understanding Black Power politics in the West Indies as constitutive of a radical, decolonial trajectory impelled towards an alternative, emancipatory future I have developed an agentive historical account that holds important resources for contemporary struggles against coloniality. A range of Caribbean scholars have

attended to the continued coloniality of life in contemporary West Indian society, politics and economy (Kamugisha 2007; Thame 2011, 2014; Shepherd 2019) with David Scott (2003, 2004, 2014) assessing contemporary West Indian problem-space as being defined by political exhaustion in the face of a moribund neoliberalism. In such a moment, this thesis demonstrates the agency of subaltern peoples and communities in the West Indies and their capacity for political action and imagination directed towards emancipatory political horizons; alternative presents were possible and alternative futures remain to be grasped.

This thesis, in line with scholars such as Meeks (2000: ix), emphasises the need for researchers to "[recognise] and [valorise] the social and political praxis of the subaltern" in the West Indies and the decolonial resources rooted in, historical and contemporary, subaltern political movements. Indeed, movements such as Black Power that seemingly 'failed' to attain their ambitious political aims still hold vital resources for contemporary struggle through their sharp critiques of neo-colonial capitalist exploitation, cultural imperialism rooted in colonial epistemologies and continued imperialist manipulation and interference in the region. Contra to shallow assessments of success and failure, Black Power *did* have significant impact on the political trajectories of the 1960s and 1970s at key moments in the development of West Indian states and had long lasting cultural impacts too (Gray 1991). Drawing on the West Indian Black radical tradition, that Black Power represented a key instantiation of, facilitates the development of critical political consciousness that can be directed towards attaining social change contemporaneously. This thesis and work that is similarly focused provides historical and theoretical weight and grounding to present efforts to attain decolonial justice. For example, the movement to attain reparations in the Caribbean from former imperial and colonial powers requires an engagement with political activists and thinkers that have demonstrated the longstanding exploitative relations that underdeveloped the West Indies and enriched Euro-American imperialists. Studies of Black Power that emphasise the crucial point that (neo)colonial exploitation did not end with formal independence are key here (Rodney 1972; Shepherd 2019). My central claim is that the politics of West Indian Black Power still has the potential to advance struggles for racial justice and equality in the twenty-first century.

References

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 1 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 2 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 3 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 4 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 6 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 7 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 8 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 11 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 12 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 14 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 16 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 19 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 20 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 22 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 24 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 28 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 32 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng (1969) *Abeng* vol. 1 no. 33 [Document] Digital Library of the Caribbean

Abeng Group (1973) *The University Workers' Strike: Lessons for our Struggle* Kingston: Abeng Group

Adey, P. (2004)a 'Secured and Sorted Mobilities: Examples from the Airport' *Surveillance and Society* vol. 1, issue 4, pp. 500 – 519

Adey, P. (2004)b 'Surveillance at the Airport: Surveilling Mobility/Mobilising Surveillance' *Environment and Planning a* vol. 36, pp. 1365 - 1380

Adey, P. (2009) 'Facing airport security: affect, biopolitics, and the preemptive securitisation of the mobile body' *Environment and Planning D: Security and Space* vol. 27, issue 2, pp. 274 – 295

Al-Bulushi, Y. (2020). Thinking racial capitalism and black radicalism from Africa: An intellectual geography of Cedric Robinson's world-system. *Geoforum* [early view]. Available: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718520300208.

Alexander, J, M. (2013) 'Not Just (Any) *Body* Can Be a Citizen: The Politics of Law, Sexuality and Postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas' in Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: Theories of the Post-Colonial State* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Alexander, C. (2018). Breaking Black: The death of ethnic and racial studies in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 41, pp. 1034–1054.

Allen, D, L. (2020). Black Geographies of Respite: Relief, Recuperation, and Resonance at Florida A&M University. *Antipode*, 52 (6), pp. 1563 – 1582

Amin, S. (1995) *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922 – 1992* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Anderson, B. (2010). "Preemption, Precaution, Preparedness: Anticipatory Action and Future Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography*, 34 (6), pp. 777–798.

Anderson, D, M. (2015). Guilty Secrets: Deceit, Denial and the Discovery of Kenya's 'Migrated Archive'. *History Workshop Journal,* 80 (1), pp. 142 – 160

Andrews, K. (2016). The problem of political blackness: Lessons from the Black Supplementary School Movement. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39, pp. 2060 – 2078.

Anievas, A., Manchanda, N. and Shilliam, R. (ed.) (2015) *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line* London: Routledge

Ariail, C, M. (2019). To 'Look Smart' and Run Fast: Jamaican Track Athletes and the Advertisement of Creole Nationalism at the 1948 Olympic Games. *Journal of the History of Sport,* 36 (15-16), pp. 1327 - 1346

Austin, D. (2013) Fear of a Black Nation: Race, Sex and Security in Sixties Montreal Toronto: Between the Lines

Austin, D. (2018) Moving Against the System: The 1968 Congress of Black Writers and the Making of Global Consciousness London: Pluto Press

Beckles, H. (1990). *A history of Barbados: From Amerindian settlement to nation-state*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Beckles, H. (2013) Caribbean Anti-Slavery: The Self-Liberation Ethos of Enslaved Blacks. In Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: The Colonial State to Caribbean Internationalisms* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Benn, D. M. (1970) *Historical and Contemporary Expressions of Black Consciousness in the West Indies* [Document] University of the West Indies Mona Campus Library

Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* Durham: Duke University Press.

Best, L. (1970) *Black Power & National Reconstruction: Proposals Following the February Revolution* San Fernando: Vanguard Publishing

Best, L. (2003) 'Caribbean Thought and Independent Freedom' in Ryan, S. (ed.) *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom: Essays in Honour of Lloyd Best* St Augustine: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies

Biney, A. (2018). Madmen, Thomas Sankara and Decoloniality in Africa. in Murrey, A. (ed.) *A Certain Amount of Madness: The Life, Politics and Legacies of Thomas Sankara* London: Pluto Press

Bledsoe, A. and Wright, W. J. (2019). The Pluralities of Black Geographies. *Antipode*, 51 (2), pp. 419 – 437

Bloom, J. and Martin, W, E. (2013) *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, Oakland: University of California Press

Bogues, A. (2002) 'Politics, Nation and Postcolony: Caribbean Inflections' *Small Axe* vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1 - 30

Bogues, A. (2003) *Black Heretics, Black Prophets* London: Routledge

Bogues, A. (2008). Writing Caribbean Intellectual History. *Small Axe*, 12 (2), pp. 168 – 178

Bogues, A. (2009). Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics: Walter Rodney and the Politics of The Groundings with My Brothers. *Boundary,* 36 (1), pp. 127 – 147

Bogues, A. (2014) 'The Abeng Newspaper and the Radical Politics of Postcolonial Blackness' in Quinn, K. (ed.) *Black Power in the Caribbean* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Bolland, N. O. (2001). *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement*, Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Bonds, A. and Inwood, J. (2016). Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism, *Progress in Human Geography,* 40 (6), pp. 715 – 733

Bongoman (1970) *Bongoman: Journal of African Youth* issue 5 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Brenner, N. (2004) *New State Spaces* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Brereton, B. (2008). Contesting the Past: Narratives of Trinidad & Tobago History. *New West Indian Guide*, 81 (3-4), pp. 169 - 196

Cabinet Office (1968) *Black Power: Report by the Joint Intelligence Committee* 158/68 [Document] The National Archives

Cabinet Office (1968) *Joint Intelligence Committee Black Power Report* 158/68 [Document] The National Archives

Cabinet Office (1969) *Joint Intelligence Committee (A) Note on 'Bermuda: Black Power Conference 10th-13th July 1969'* 148/91/23 [Document] The National Archives

Cabinet Office (1969) *Telegram no. 142 Guidance* 148/91/23 [Document] The National Archives

Cameron, L. (2001). Oral history in the Freud archives: incidents, ethics and relations, *Historical Geography*, 29, pp. 38 – 44

Carmichael, S. (2007) *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism,* Second Edition, Chicago: Chicago Review Press

Carr, R. (2002) *Black Nationalism in the New World: Reading the African-American and West Indian Experience* London: Duke University Press

Carter, M. (2006) *University of Hunger: Collected Poems and Selected Prose* Hexham: Bloodaxe Books

Cooper, C. (1993) *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender and the 'Vulgar' Body of Jamaican Popular Culture* Oxford: MacMillan

Cousins, C, S. (2008). General Ongania and the Argentine [Military] Revolution of the Right: Anti-Communism and Morality 1966-1970. *Historica Actual Online*, 17, 65 - 79

Central Intelligence Agency (2020) *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency, viewed 16th November 2020, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/

Chakrabarty, D. (2010) 'The Legacies of Bandung: Decolinization and the Politics of Culture' in Lee, C. (ed.) *Making A World After Empire: the Bandung Moment and its Political Afterlives* Athens: Ohio University Press

Chaudhuri, N., Katz, S, J. and Perry, M, E. (2010) (eds.) *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources* Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Chung, C. (2012) *Walter A. Rodney: A Promise of Revolution* New York: Monthly Review Press

Cobain, I. (2012). Britain destroyed records of colonial crimes. *The Guardian*, 17th April, available at: http://users.clas.ufl.edu/burt/%20derrida%20pdfs/Britain%20destroyed%20records%20of%20colonial%20crimes%20%EF%80%A7%20The%20Raw%20Story.pdf

Craggs, R. (2014). Postcolonial geographies, commonwealth conferences, and the performance of decolonization. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 31 (1), pp. 39 – 55

Craggs, R. (2018). Subaltern Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial Commonwealth, 1965 – 1990. *Political Geography*, 65, pp. 46 - 56

Craggs, R. (2019). Decolonising *The Geographical Tradition*. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 44 (3), pp. 444 – 446

Cullen, D. (2018). Race, debt and empire: Racialising the Newfoundland financial crisis of 1933, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 43, pp. 689 – 702

Dalleo, R. (2020). Regionalism, Imperialism, and Sovereignty: West Indies Federation and the Occupation of Haiti. *Small Axe*, 24 (1), pp. 61 – 68

Davies, B, C. (2019). ‘Introduction: Re-grounding the Intellectual Activist Model of Walter Rodney’ in Rodney, W. *The Groundings with my Brothers* London: Verso

DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M. and McDowell, L. (2010) (eds) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in human geography*. London: SAGE

Denicke, L. (2011) ‘Fifty Years’ Progress in Five: Brasilia-Modernization, Globalism, and the Geopolitics of Flight’ in Hecht, G. (ed.) *Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War* London: The MIT Press

Derickson, K. (2017). Urban Geography II: Urban Geography in the Age of Ferguson. *Progress in Human Geography*, 41 (2), pp. 230 – 244

Dittmer, J. (2010). Textual and Discourse Analysis in DeLyser, D. et al (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography* SAGE Publications: London

Dobson, J, E. and Fisher, P, F. (2007) ‘The Panopticon’s Changing Geography’ *The Geographical Review* vol. 97, no. 3, pp. 307 – 323

Dodson, H. (1990). Introduction, in Rodney, W. (1990) *Walter Rodney Speaks: the Making of an African Intellectual* Trenton: Africa World Press

Edwards, B, H. (2003) *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation and the Rise of Black Internationalism* Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Elliot-Cooper, A. (2019) “Our life is a struggle”: Respectable Gender Norms and Black Resistance to Policing, *Antipode*, 51 (2), pp. 539 - 557

Embryo (1970) vol. 2 no. 16 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Embryo (1970) vol. 2 no. 20 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Esson, J. Noxolo, P. Baxter, R. Daley, P. and Byron, M. (2017). The 2017 RGS-IBG chair's theme: decolonising geographical knowledges, or reproducing coloniality? *Area*, 49 (3), pp. 384 - 388

Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth* New York: Grove Press

Fanon, F. (1967) *Black Skin, White Masks* New York: Grove Press

Featherstone, D. (2007). The spatial politics of the past unbound: transnational networks and the making of political identities. *Global Networks*, 7 (4), pp. 430 - 452

Featherstone, D. (2009). Counter-Insurgency, Subalternity and Spatial Relations: Interrogating Court-Martial Narratives of the Nore Mutiny of 1797 *South African Historical Journal*, 61 (4), pp. 766 – 787

Featherstone, D. (2012) Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism London: Zed Books

Featherstone, D. (2013). Black Internationalism, Subaltern Cosmopolitanism, and the Spatial Politics of Antifascism. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103 (6), pp. 1406 – 1420

Featherstone, D. (2015). Maritime labour and subaltern geographies of internationalism: Black internationalist seafarers' organising in the interwar period. *Political Geography,* 49, 7–16.

Featherstone, D. (2019) Maritime labour, transnational political trajectories and decolonisation from below: the opposition to the 1935 British Shipping Assistance Act. *Global Networks*, 19 (4), pp. 539 – 562

Ferretti, F. (2021). Geopolitics of Decolonisation: The subaltern diplomacies of Lusophone Africa (1961 – 1974). *Political Geography*, 85, pp. 1 – 11

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1969) *Security Report on the Associated Territories and Dependencies of the Eastern Caribbean* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *A Post-Trinidad Assessment of Jamaican Stability* 63/494 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Anguilla: Prohibition Order – Roosevelt Brown* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Articles from Bermudan Newspapers on the Cancellation of the Second Black Power Conference in Barbados* 63/443

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Bermuda Intelligence Committee Report on Black Power* 44/403 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Black Power in the Eastern Caribbean* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *British Analysis of 'ASCRIA Says'* 63/463 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *British High Commission Report on Black Power March* 63/494 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *British High Commission Report on Meeting with Hugh Shearer May 1970* 63/494 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Guyanese Reaction to Events in Trinidad* 63/463 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *High Commission in Guyana Telegram on Carmichael in Guyana* 63/463 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *High Commission in Ottawa on the Second Black Power Conference* 63/443 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *High Commission Report on a Meeting with Barbadian Commissioner of Police* 63/443 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *High Commission Telegram on Burnham's Assessment of Black Power in the West Indies* 63/463 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Letter from British High Commission in Port of Spain to Foreign & Commonwealth Office – 17th April 1970* 63/592 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Meeting Concerning Regional Black Power Conferences* 63/443 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Profile and Report on Rosie Douglas and his Movements* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Report on Barbadian Response to Events in Trinidad* 63/443 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Report on Barbados Black Power Conference* 63/444 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Report on Roosevelt Brown and his Movements in the Eastern Caribbean* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Security Report on the Associated Territories and Dependencies of the Eastern Caribbean* 141/150 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Speaking Notes on Trinidad for use of Thomson at a Cabinet Meeting – 23rd April 1970* 63/592 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *St Vincent Prohibited Persons List* 44/403 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Telegram from Bermuda on Brown's Visit to the US* 44/403 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Telegram from High Commission in Bridgetown on Refusal of Entry to Nunez and Granger* 63/443 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Telegram to Foreign & Commonwealth Office on Discussions with Williams Regarding the Mutiny – 22nd April 1970* 63/592 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Telegrams between London and Port of Spain on Eric Williams* 63/592 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *The Times Reports on Carmichael's Visit to Guyana* 63/463 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1970) *Trinidad & Tobago: Black Power Disturbances* 63/592 [Document] The National Archives

Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1971) *Crime and Black Power Thinking* 63/691 [Document] The National Archives

Getachew, A. (2019) *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-determination* Oxford: Princeton University Press

Gilmore, R, W. (2007) *Golden Gulag* Berkeley: University of California Press

Gilroy, P. (1987) *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* London: Century Hutchinson

Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic* London: Verso

Gilroy, P. (2004) *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* London: Routledge

Girvan, N. (2010) 'New World and its Critics' in Meeks, B. and Girvan, N. (ed.) *The Thought of New World: The Quest for Decolonisation* Kingston: Ian Randle Publsihers

Girvan, N. (2012). Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism in the Caribbean: An Overview. *IV International Seminar Africa, The Caribbean and Latin America*, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 24th - 26th November

Glouftsios, G. (2018) 'Governing circulation through technology within EU border security practice-networks' *Mobilities* vol. 13, issue 2, pp. 185 – 199

Goldberg, D, T. (2002) *The Racial State* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Gray, O. (1991) *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960 – 1972* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press

Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, R. and Whatmore, S. (2009) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 5th Edition. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons

Guha, R. (1994). The Prose of Counter-Insurgency. In Dirks, N, B., Eley, G. and Ortner, S, B. (eds) *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Guha, R. (2009) *The Small Voice of History* Ranikhet: Permanent Black

Guterl, M, P. (2013). Comment: The Futures of Transnational History. *The American Historical Review*, 118, 130 - 139

Hall, S. (1996) 'Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance' in Baker Jr, H, A., Diawara, M. and Lindeborg, R, H. (ed.) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Hanchard, M. (2008). Black Memory versus State Memory: Notes toward a Method. *Small Axe*, 12 (2), pp. 45 – 62

Hannam, K. (2002). Coping with archival and textual data in Shurmer-Smith, P. (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography* SAGE Publications: London

Hannibal (1970) *Black Revolution* 44/403 [Document] The National Archives

Hawthorne, C. (2019). Black matters are spatial matters: Black geographies for the twenty-first century. *Geography Compass,* 13 (11), pp. 1 - 13

Hecht, G. (2011) (ed.) Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War London: The MIT Press

Henry, P. (2014). Black Power in the Political Thought of Antigua and Barbuda. In Quinn, K. (ed.) *Black Power in the Caribbean* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Hesse, B., Spence, L., Austin, D. *et al* (2015) Remembering and reading the work of Richard Iton (1961–2013), *Contemporary Political Theory*, 14, pp. 377 – 408

Heynen, N. (2009). Bending the Bars of Empire from Every Ghetto for Survival: The Black Panther Party's Radical Antihunger Politics of Social Reproduction and Scale, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99 (2), pp. 406 – 422

Heynen, N. and Ybarra, M. (2020). On Abolition Ecologies and Making "Freedom as Place". *Antipode* [Preprint] available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/anti.12666 (Accessed: 10/9/2020)

Hill, R. (2018) 'The Fathers of Modern Revolt' in Austin, D. (ed.) Moving Against the System: The 1968 Congress of Black Writers and the Making of Global Consciousness London: Pluto Press

Hintzen, P. (2013) 'Afro-Creole Nationalism as Elite Domination: The English-Speaking West Indies' in Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: Theories of the Post Colonial State* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Hodder, J., S. Legg, and M. Heffernan. (2015). Introduction: Historical geographies of internationalism, 1900–1950. *Political Geography*, 49, 1–6

Hodder, J. (2015). Conferencing the International at the World Pacifist Meeting, 1949. *Political Geography,* 49, pp. 40-50

Hodder, J. (2016). Toward a Geography of Black Internationalism: Bayard Rustin, Nonviolence and the Promise of Africa. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 106 (6), pp. 1360 – 1377

Hodder, J. (2017). On absence and abundance: biography as method in archival research. *Area,* 49 (4), pp. 452 – 459

Høgsbjerg, C. (2011). "A Thorn in the side of Great Britain": C.L.R. James and the Caribbean Labour Rebellions of the 1930s, *Small Axe*, 15 (2), pp. 24 - 42

Hudson, P, J. (2014). The Geographies of Blackness and Anti-Blackness: An Interview with Katherine McKittrick, *The CLR James Journal*, 20 (1-2), pp. 233 – 240

Hudson, P, J. (2017). *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Hutton, C. (2010). Oh Rudie: Jamaican Popular Music and the Narrative of Urban Badness in the Making of Postcolonial Society. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 56 (4), pp. 22 - 64

Immerwahr, D. (2007). Caste or colony? Indianizing race in the United States, *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2), 275–301

Iton, R. (2008) *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era* Oxford: Oxford University Press

James, C.L.R. (1963) *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* New York: Vintage Books

James, C.L.R. (1967) *Black Power* Talk delivered in London

James, C.L.R. (1971) 'The West Indian Middle Class' in Munroe, T. and Lewis, R. (ed.) *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

James, C.L.R. (1984) *Party Politics in the West* Indies San Juan: Inprint Caribbean Ltd.

James, C.L.R. (1992) *American Civilization* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

James, C.L.R. (2013) *Beyond a Boundary* Durham: Duke University Press

James, L. (2015) *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Jazeel, T. and Legg, S. (2019). *Subaltern Geographies* Athens: The University of Georgia Press

Johnson, C. W. (2014). Guerilla ganja gun girls: Policing Black revolutionaries from Notting Hill to Laventille. *Gender and History*, 26, pp. 661 – 687

Kamugisha, A. (2007). The coloniality of citizenship in the contemporary West Indies. *Race & Class*, 49 (2), pp. 20 – 40

Kamugisha, A. (2013) *Caribbean Political Thought: The Colonial State to Caribbean Internationalisms* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Kamugisha, A. (2019) *Beyond Coloniality: Citizenship and Freedom in the Caribbean Intellectual Tradition* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Koopman, S. (2011). Alter-geopolitics: other securities are happening. *Geoforum*, 42 (3), pp. 274 - 284

Koselleck, R. (2004) *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* New York: Columbia University Press

Kunz, S. (2019). A business empire and its migrants: Royal Dutch Shell and the management of racial capitalism. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* [early view], available at: https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/tran.12366 (Accessed: 5/2/2020)

Kwan, M and Schwanen, T. (2016) 'Geographies of Mobility' *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* vol. 106, issue 2, pp. 243 – 256

Legg, S. (2014). An International Anomaly? Sovereignty, the League of Nations and India's princely geographies. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 43, pp. 96 - 110

Lewis, A. (2013) 'The Agony of the Eight' in Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: Theories of the Post Colonial State* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Lewis, R. (1998) *Walter Rodney 1968 Revisited* Kingston: Canoe Press

Lewis, R. (2003). Lloyd Best and Epistemic Challenges, in Ryan, S. (ed.) *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom: Essays in Honour of Lloyd Best* St. Augustine: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies

Lewis, R. (2011) '"Mirror Mirror on the Wall / Who is the Fairest of Them All?" Rex Nettleford and theKnotty Issue of Identity' *Caribbean Quarterly* vol. 57, issue 3 - 4, pp. 33 – 48

Lewis, R. (2014) 'Jamaican Black Power in the 1960s' in Quinn, K. (ed.) Black Power in the Caribbean Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Lorimer, H. (2009). Caught in the nick of time: archives and fieldwork. In DeLyser, D., Aitken, S., Crang, M, A., Herbet, S. and McDowell, L. (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in human geography*. London: SAGE

Lorimer, H. and Philo, C. (2009). Disorderly archives and orderly accounts: reflections on the occasion of Glasgow's geographical centenary. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 125, pp. 227 – 255

Mahler, A. G. (2015). The Global South in the Belly of the Beast: Viewing African American Civil Rights through a Tricontinental Lens. *Latin American Research Review,* vol. 50 (1), pp. 95-116.

Manley, N. (1968) *Correspondence with Trevor Munroe* 4/60/2B/40/44 – 45 [Document] Jamaica Archives

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space* London: SAGE Publications

Matera, M. (2015) *Black London: Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*, Oakland: University of California Press

Mathes, C. (2010). Circuits of Political Prophecy: Martin Luther King Jr., Peter Tosh, and the Black Radical Imaginary. *Small Axe*, 14 (2), pp. 17 - 41

Mayhall, L. (2006). Creating the "Suffragette Spirit": British Feminism and the Historical Imagination in Burton, A. (2006) (ed.) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* Durham: Duke University Press

Mbembe, A. (2002). The Power of the Archive and its Limits. In Hamilton, C., Harris, V. and Reid, G. (2002) (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* New York: Springer Publishing

Mbembe, A. (2003). Necropolitics, *Public Culture*, 15 (1), pp. 11 - 40

McGeachan, C. (2016). Historical Geography II: Traces Remain. *Progress in Human Geography,* 42 (1), pp. 134 – 147

McIntyre, M. and Nast, H, J. (2011). Bio(necro)polis: Marx, Surplus Populations, and the Spatial Dialectics of Reproduction and "Race", *Antipode*, 43 (5), pp. 1465 – 1488

McKittrick, K. (2011). On plantations, prisons and a Black sense of place, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12 (8), pp. 947 - 963

McKittrick, K. (2013). Plantation Futures, *Small Axe*, 17 (3), pp. 1 -15

Meeks, B. (1996) *Radical Caribbean: From Black Power to Abu Bakr* Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press

Meeks, B. (2000) *Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad and the Caribbean* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

Meeks, B. (2003). Lloyd Best, The People and the Road not Taken in 1970, in Ryan, S. (ed.) *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom: Essays in Honour of Lloyd Best* St. Augustine: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies

Meeks, B. (2009). The Rise and Fall of Caribbean Black Power, in West, M, O., Martin, W, G. and Wilkins, F, C. (ed.s) *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press

Meeks, B. (2016). Reprising the Past, Imagining the Future, *Small Axe*, 20 (2), pp. 187 – 198

Meeks, B. and Girvan, N. (2010) (ed.) *The Thought of New World: The Quest for Decolonisation* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Mignolo, D, W. and Walsh, C. (2018) *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* London: Duke University Press

Millette, J. (1995) 'Towards the Black Power Revolt of 1970' in Ryan, S. and Stewart, T. (ed.) *The Black Power Revolution, 1970: A Retrospective* St Augustine: UWI Press

Mills, S. (2013). Cultural-Hisotrical Geographies of the Archive: Fragments, Objects and Ghosts. *Geography Compass*, 7 (10), pp. 701 – 713

Ministry of Defence (1969) 11/884 [Documents] The National Archives

Mitchell, K. (2007). Geographies of Identity: The Intimate Cosmopolitan, *Progress in Human Geography*, 31 (5), pp. 706 - 20

Mitchell, K. (2010). Pre-Black Futures, *Antipode,* 41 (1), pp. 239 – 261

Modood, T. (1994). Political blackness and British Asians. *Sociology*, vol. 28, pp. 859–876.

Moko (1970) *Moko* no. 23 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Moko (1970) *Moko* no. 26 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Moore, F, P, L. (2010). Tales from the archive: methodological and ethical issues in historical geography research *Area,* 42 (3), pp. 262 – 270

Morgenson, S, L. (2011). The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1 (1), pp. 52 – 76

Moulton, A, C. (2015) 'Building their own Cold War in their own backyard: the transnational, international conflicts in the greater Caribbean basin, 1944 –1954' Cold War History, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 135 – 154

Munroe, T. (1970) *Black Power & The Coloured Jamaican* [Document] University of the West Indies Mona Library

Munroe, T. (1971) 'The Imperial Origins of the 1944 Constitution' in Munroe, T. and Lewis, R. (ed.) *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

Munroe, T. (1972) *The Politics of Constitutional Decolonization: Jamaica, 1944 – 62* Old Woking: The Gresham Press

Narayan, J. (2019). British Black Power: the anti-imperialism of political blackness and the problem of nativist socialism. *The Sociological Review,* 65 (5), pp. 945-947.

Narayan, J. (2020). Survival pending revolution: Self-determination in the age of proto-neo-liberal globalization. *Current Sociology,* vol. 68**,** pp. 187 - 203

Neptune, H. (2008). Review: ROMANCE, TRAGEDY AND, WELL, IRONY: SOME THOUGHTS ON DAVID SCOTT'S CONSCRIPTS OF MODERNITY. *Social and Economic Studies*, 57 (1), pp. 165 - 181

Nettleford, R. (1970) *Mirror, mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*

Kingston: Kingston Publishers Limited

Nettleford, R. (1971) 'Race, Colour, Culture, Class: Rastafari in the Sixties' in Munroe, T. and Lewis, R. (ed.) *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

Newton, H, P. (2002) *The Huey P. Newton Reader* New York: Seven Stories Press

Nicholls, D, G. (1971). East Indians and Black Power in Trinidad. *Race,* 12, pp. 443 – 459

Nichols, R. (2016). Book Review: *Omens of Adversity: Tragedy, Time, Memory, Justice* by David Scott. *Political Theory*, 45 (3), pp. 436 – 430

Nicolini, D. (2009). "Zooming in and Zooming out: A Package of Method and Theory to Study Work Practices." In S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels, and F. Kamsteeg (eds.) *Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life* London: Sage.

Noxolo, P. (2017). Introduction: Decolonising geographical knowledge in a

colonised and re-colonising postcolonial world. *Area*, 49 (3), pp. 317 - 319

Noxolo, P. and Featherstone, D. (2014). Co-producing Caribbean geographies of in/security. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 39 (4), pp. 603 – 607

Ogborn, M. (2002). Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company's early voyages. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 27 (2), pp. 155 – 171

Ogborn, M. (2003). Knowledge is Power: Using archival research to interpret state formation. In Blunt, A., Gruffudd, P., May, J., Ogborn, M. and Pinder, D. (eds.) *Cultural Geography in Practice* London: Routledge

Ogborn, M. (2011). A war of words: speech, script and print in the Maroon War of 1795 – 6. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 37, pp. 203 – 215

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1968) *Speeches by George Weekes: At The Tripartite Conference on Employment and Retrenchment* San Fernando: Vanguard Publishing Company

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *O.W.T.U. 32nd Anniversary Dedication* San Fernando: Vanguard Publishing Company

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 115 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 116 [Document] National

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 119 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 120 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 121 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1969) *The Vanguard* no. 122 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 117 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 135 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 137 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 137b [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 140 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 142 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 143 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 144 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 145 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oilfield Workers Trade Union (1970) *The Vanguard* no. 146 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Oldenziel, R. (2011) 'Islands: The United States as a Networked Empire' in Hecht, G. (ed.) *Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War* London: The MIT Press

Oostinde, G. (2014). Black Power, Popular Revolt and Decolonization in the Dutch Caribbean in Quinn, K. (ed.) Black Power in the Caribbean Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Outlet (1971) *Outlet* vol. 1 issue 5 [Document] The National Archives

Palmer, C, A. (2010). *Cheddi Jagan and the Politics of Power: British Giuana's Struggle for Independence* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Pantin, R. (1990) *Black Power Day: The 1970 February Revolution A Reporter's Story* Santa Cruz: Hatuey Productions

Pickering, A. (1995) *The Mangle of Practice: Time, Agency and Science* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Prashad, V. (2007) *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, The New Press: New York

Price, M. and Breece, D. (2016) 'Unintended Return: U.S. Deportations and the Fractious Politics of Mobility for Latinos' *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* vol. 106, issue 2, pp. 366 – 376

Pulido, L. (2017). Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II: Environmental racism, racial capitalism and state-sanctioned violence, *Progress in Human Geography*, 41 (4), pp. 524 - 533

Putnam, L. (2013). *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1 (3), pp. 533 - 580

Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality, *Cultural Studies,* 21 (2), pp. 168 – 178

Quinn, K. (2014) (ed.) *Black Power in the Caribbean* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Quinn, K. (2015). Conventional politics or revolution: Black Power and the radical challenge to the Westminster model in the Caribbean. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 53 (1), pp. 71 - 94

Ramirez, M, M. (2015). The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces, *Antipode*, 47 (3), pp. 748 - 769

Reddock, R. (1994) *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad & Tobago* London: Zed Books

Reed, A. (2013). "A Woman Is a Conjunction": The Ends of Improvisation in Claude McKay's Banjo: A Story without a Plot, *Callaloo* 36 (3), pp. 758 – 772

Richardson, D. (2019) *Purloined Subjects: Race, Gender, and the Legacies of Colonial Surveillance in the British Caribbean*, PhD Thesis, University of Akron, Available at: https://etd.ohiolink.edu (Accessed: 11/1/21)

Rodney, W. (1969) *The Groundings with my Brothers* London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications

Rodney, W. (1970) *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 – 1800* New York: Monthly Review Press

Rodney, W. (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications

Rodney, W. (1990) *Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual* Trenton: Africa World Press

Rodney, W. (2013) 'Contemporary Political Trends in the English-Speaking Caribbean' in Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: Theories of the Post-Colonial State* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Roediger, D. (2017) *Class, Race and Marxism* London: Verso Books

Ryan, S. (1995) 'The Struggle for Black Power in the Caribbean' in Ryan, S. and Stewart, T. (ed.) *The Black Power Revolution, 1970: A Retrospective* St Augustine: UWI Press

Ryan, S. (2003) (ed.) *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom: Essays in Honour of Lloyd Best* St Augustine: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies

Ryan, S. and Stewart, T. (1995) (ed.s) *The Black Power Revolution, 1970: A Retrospective* St Augustine: UWI Press

Salgado, A. (2018). Communism and human rights in Pinochet's Chile: the 1977 hunger strike against forced disappearance. *Cold War History*, 18 (2), pp. 169 - 186

Samaroo, B. (2014) 'The February Revolution (1970) as a Catalyst for Change in Trinidad and Tobago' in Quinn, K. (ed.) *Black Power in the Caribbean* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Scope (1968) *Scope* vol. 2 issue 9 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Scope (1968) *Scope* vol. 2 issue 10 [Document] George Padmore Institute

Scott, D. (1999)a. *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Scott, D. (1999)b. The Archaeology of Black Memory: An Interview with Robert A. Hill. *Small Axe*, 5, pp. 80 – 150

Scott, D. (2003). Political Rationalities of the Jamaican Modern, *Small Axe*. 7 (2), pp. 1 – 22

Scott, D. (2004) *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* London: Duke University Press

Scott, D. (2008). Introduction: On the Archaeologies of Black Memory. *Small Axe*, 12 (2), pp. v – xvi

Scott, D. (2010) Antinomies of Slavery, Enlightenment, and Universal History, *Small Axe,* 14 (3), pp. 152 – 162

Scott, D. (2014) *Omens of Adversity: Tragedy, Time, Memory, Justice* London: Duke University Press

Scott, D. (2017)a "Seeing False Images of Ourselves": Rex Nettleford's Mirror Mirror in the Wake of the 1960s, *Small Axe*, 21 (3), pp. 152 – 166

Scott, D. (2017)b On the Very Idea of the Making of Modern Jamaica, *Small Axe*, 21 (3), pp. 43 – 47

Scott, J. (1992) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* New Haven: Yale University Press

Sealy, W. (2018). From Colonialism to Transnationalism: The Neo-Colonial Structure of Caribbean Tourism. *Tourism and Sustainable Development Conference*, Kathmandu, Nepal, 16 – 18th May

Sharp, J. (2011). A subaltern critical geopolitics of the War on Terror: postcolonial security in Tanzania. *Geoforum*, 42 (3), pp. 297 – 305

Sharp, J. (2013). Geopolitics in the margins? Reconsidering genealogies of critical geopolitics. *Political Geography*, 37 (November), 20 – 29

Sharp, J. (2019). Practicing Subalternity? Nyerere's Tanzania, the Dar School, and Postcolonial Geopolitical Imaginations, in Jazeel, T. and Legg, S. (eds.) *Subaltern Geographies* Athens: University of Georgia Press

Shepherd, V. (2019) 'The Continued Relevance of Walter Rodney's *Groundings*' in Rodney, T, A. and Benjamin J, J. (ed.s) *The Groundings With my Brothers*, 2nd edition, London: Verso

Sheller, M. (2016) "Uneven Mobility Futures: A Foucauldian Approach." *Mobilities,* 11 (1), pp. 15–31

Shilliam, R. (2015) *The Black Pacific: Anti-colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* London: Bloomsbury

Sivanandan, A. (2008). *Catching history on the wing: Race, culture and globalization.* London: Pluto Press.

Shrader, J, H. (2020) Nation-Building as Anti-Communist Violence: The Armed Forces in Cold War Argentina in Gerlach C., Six C. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Anti-Communist Persecutions*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

Slate, N. (2012) *Black Power beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement* New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Sluga, G. (2013). *Internationalism in the age of nationalism*, Philadelphia PA, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sparke, M. (2008). Political geography – political geographies of globalization III: resistance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32 (3), pp. 423 - 440

Staeheli, S, A, Marshall, D, J. and Maynard, N. (2016) 'Circulations and the Entanglements of Citizenship Formation' *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* vol. 106, issue 2, pp. 377 – 384

Stephens, M, A. (2005) *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914 – 1962* Durham: Duke University Press

Stokes, D. (2005). The Heart of Empire? Theorising US empire in an era of transnational capitalism. *Third World Quarterly*, 26 (2), pp. 217 - 236

Stoler, A, L. (2009) Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense Princeton: Princeton University Press

Swan, Q. (2009) *Black Power in Bermuda: The Struggle for Decolonization* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Swan, Q. (2014) ‘I & I Shot the Sherriff’ in Quinn, K. (ed.) *Black Power in the Caribbean* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Tapia House Group (1970) *Tapia* no. 3 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Tapia House Group (1970) *Tapia* no. 6 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Tapia House Group (1970) *Tapia* no. 7 [Document] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago

Teelucksingh, J. (2014). The Black Power Movement in Trinidad and Tobago. *Black Diaspora Review*, 4 (1), pp. 157 - 186

Teelucksingh, J. (2015) *Labour and the Decolonization Struggle in Trinidad and Tobago* New York: Pallgrave Macmillan

Thame, M. (2011). Reading Violence and Postcolonial Decolonization through Fanon: The Case of Jamaica. *The Journal of Pan African Studies,* 4 (7), pp. 75 – 93

Thame, M. (2014). Disciplining the Nation. Social and Economic Studies, 63 (2), pp. 1 -29

Thame, M. (2016). Democracy and the End of Revolution in the Contemporary Caribbean. *Small Axe*, 50, pp. 164 - 174

Thame, M. (2017). Racial Hierarchy and the Elevation of Brownness in Creole Nationalism, *Small Axe,* 21 (3), pp. 111 – 123

The Bermuda Recorder (1969) vol. 46, no. 8 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1969) vol. 45, no. 43 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1969) vol. 45, no. 44 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1970) vol. 46, no. 44 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1970) vol. 46, no. 57 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1970) vol. 46, no. 58 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

The Bermuda Recorder (1971) vol. 47, no. 4 [Document] Bermuda National Library Digital Collection

Thomas, C.Y. (1974) 'Black Exploitation in the Caribbean: Is there a Caribbean Economic System?' in Coombs, O. (ed.) *Is Massa Dey Dead? Black Moods in the Caribbean* Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday

Thomas, C.Y. (2012) 'Clive Thomas' in Chung, C. (ed.) *Walter A. Rodney: A Promise of Revolution* New York: Monthly Review Press

Thomas, C.Y. (2013) 'The Rise of the Authoritarian State' in Kamugisha, A. (ed.) *Caribbean Political Thought: Theories of the Post-Colonial State* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers

Thomas, D, A. (2013) Caribbean Studies, Archive Building, and the Problem of Violence. *Small Axe*, 17 (2), pp. 27 – 42

Thomas, D, A. (2017) Rastafari, Communism and Surveillance in Late Colonial Jamaica. *Small Axe*, 21 (3), pp. 63 - 84

Thomas, T. and Riddell, J. (1971) *Black Power in the Caribbean: The 1970 Upsurge in Trinidad* New York: Pathfinder Press

Tyner, J. (2003). Geography, Ground-Level Reality and the Epistemology of Malcolm X. *Journal of Geography*, 102 (4), pp. 167 - 178

Tyner, J. (2004). Territoriality, social justice and gendered revolutions in the speeches of Malcolm X. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 29 (3), pp. 330 - 343

Tyner, J. (2006). "Defend the Ghetto": Space and the Urban Politics of the Black Panther Party, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 96 (1), pp. 105 – 118

UMOJA (1970) *Black Power* 44/403 [Document] The National Archives

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. (1966). *The Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples: a staff study.* Washington: U. S. Govt., Print. Off..

Virdee, S. and McGeever, B. (2017). Racism, Crisis, Brexit. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 41 (10), pp. 1802 - 1819

Weekes, G. (1971) 'The Trade Union Struggle in Trinidad' in Munroe, T. and Lewis, R. (ed.) *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

Waters, R. (2018). *Thinking black: Britain, 1964-1985* Oakland: University of California Press

Werner, M. (2011). Coloniality and the Contours of Global Production in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. *Antipode*, 43 (5), pp. 1573 - 1597

Werner, M. (2016) *Global Displacements: The Making of Uneven Development in the Caribbean* Oxford: Wiley Blackwell

West, M, O., Martin, W, G. and Wilkins, F, C. (2009) *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Westmaas, N. (2009). 1968 and the Social and Political Foundations and Impact of the "New Politics" in Guyana. *Caribbean Studies*, 37 (2), pp. 105 - 132

Westmaas, N. (2014) 'On Organic Activist: Eusia Kwayan, Guyana and Global Pan-Africanism' in Quinn, K. (ed.) Black Power in the Caribbean Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Wild, R. (2008) '*Black was the colour of our fight': Black Power in Britain, 1955-1976*, PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, Available at: http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/3640/ (Accessed 25/1/2021)

Wild, R. (2016). Black was the colour of our fight: The transnational roots of British Black Power. In S. Tuck & G. Kelley (eds.) *The other special relationship: Race, rights and riots in Britain and the United States* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Williams, E. (1944) *Capitalism & Slavery* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Figures

'Dennis' (1969) *"Those blasted subversives"* digital image, Abeng, viewed 9/12/2020, https://dloc.com/UF00100338/00020/1x?search=abeng

'Denis' (1969) *"Of course Anguilla is different"* digital image, Abeng, viewed 28/10/2019, https://dloc.com/UF00100338/00007?search=abeng

Nations Online Project (2020) *"Map of Jamaica"*, digital image, viewed 21/10/2020, https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/jamaica-administrative-map.html

bookend