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# “Mirror Mirror on the Wall / Who is the Fairest of Them All?”

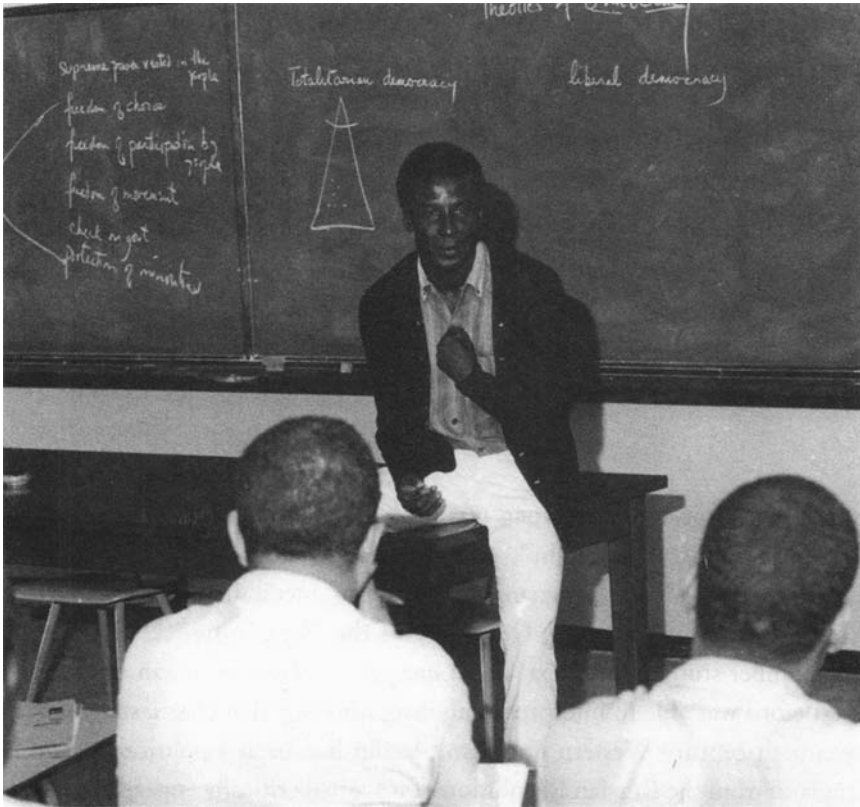
Rex Nettleford and the Knotty Issue of Identity

RUPERT LEWIS

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IN THE LATE 1960S, REX NETTLEFORD was my tutor in the undergraduate course “Modern Political Thought”, and the class, made up of Trinidadians, Guyanese, Barbadians, Antiguan and Jamaicans, met in his office in the Trade Union Education Institute, University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona. I remember studying the text *Two Concepts of Liberty* by Isaiah Berlin, and Nettleford was able to interpret in an insightful way that classic statement of twentieth-century Western liberalism. Berlin had been a political émigré to England from the Russian Revolution of 1917, had critically engaged Marxism and written extensively on Russian intellectual history and its relationship to Western intellectual thought. Berlin had been Nettleford’s tutor at Oxford and he had heard Berlin deliver *Two Concepts of Liberty* as his inaugural professorial lecture in 1958.<sup>1</sup> Berlin’s writings in political theory dealt with issues of freedom and the global political impact of Marxism and the Russian Revolution.

Nettleford, on the other hand, had been able to bring his intellectual powers and sensibility to bear on the consequences of the fall of empires and the wave of decolonisation that was reshaping the political geography of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. It is this period of world history that provides the context to Nettleford’s political thinking and his extraordinary creative work. Unlike many of the brilliant West Indian minds who had been educated abroad, especially in England, our tutor did not simply impose what had been the intellectual fare of his own education in Oxford, but challenged us to take a hard look at the newly independent societies that were being reshaped. His



Rex discusses the social and economic structure of Caribbean society, late 1960s

approach helped me to think in terms of what we now call the Caribbean intellectual tradition.<sup>2</sup> What Nettleford brought to his sense of Caribbean reality is a mixture of intellectual craftsmanship in thought and word, logic, creativity and aesthetic sensibility of a high order.

The two main movements that shaped Nettleford's work in the Caribbean were the labour and nationalist movements of the 1930s to the 1950s and the Rastafari and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s. His book *Norman Washington Manley and the New Jamaica: Selected Speeches and Writings 1938–68* pays tribute to one of the founding fathers, and his monograph *Manley and the Politics of Jamaica: Towards an Analysis of Political Change in Jamaica 1938–1968* was published as a supplement to *Social and Economic Studies* in 1971 as well.<sup>3</sup> This was a fertile period for him in writing

on Jamaican political history. At this time he was doing much work in the Trade Union Education Institute and political education through the Department of Extra-Mural Studies. However, it was in his response to the movements of Rastafari and Black Power of the 1960s that he engaged the complex issues of race, identity and protest in Jamaica, finding a vocabulary to speak about a topic that was deeply rooted in the social relations of three centuries of plantation systems that had indelibly marked the psyche of the region's population. Caribbean modernity continues to be shaped by this experience.

2010, the year of Nettleford's death, marked fifty years since the publication of *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* and forty years since the publication of *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*.<sup>4</sup> *Mirror Mirror* engaged the first decade of independence, the youth activism around Black Power and Rastafari, the talk and thinking through postcolonial revolution in newspapers such as *Abeng* and little publications such as *Bongo-Man*, *Sufferer*, *Harambee*, *Blackman Speaks*, *Our Own*, *Sufferer*, *Tussle*, *Land and Labour*, *Lij*, *Workers' Monthly* and many others that cropped up in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>5</sup> In the context of the feverish and youthful expression of postcolonial activism, Nettleford was an activist and creative person, interpreting, building institutions at the UWI and in the National Dance Theatre Company (NDTC), choreographing, teaching and leading. As soon as *Mirror Mirror* appeared there was debate and discussion, and sections of *Mirror Mirror* were published in the volume *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies* jointly edited by Trevor Munroe and myself in 1971.<sup>6</sup> Nettleford was criticised by the left for not sufficiently taking into account class and economic relations. And he was blasted by the right for being too Afrocentric. The significance of the labour and nationalist movements and the postcolonial movements is that they gave energy to and became the focal point for debate about transformation. Our political history suggests that without the social movements against slavery, the peasant and rural community formation that built villages and sustained economic life outside the sugar estates, without the Garvey movement, and the labour and nationalist movements of the twentieth century, little progress could have been made. Note that these movements all had an international dimension connected to empire and anti-colonialism. Movements throw up leaders, and very often we think that it is the leaders who are the masters because they are identified with large

movements, but it is important to understand the complex inter-relationships between leaders and the movements which brought them into prominence.

We are now in the second decade of the twenty-first century and in deep crisis at the level of values, of economy, of institutions, of homicide rates, and it is unclear as to what new social movement will provide the energy for transformation. With globalisation shaping and reshaping our world, we understand the broader dimensions of change in our world and that within the Caribbean lies the creativity to bring about change. Nettleford's work enables and challenges us to contemplate his approach of reliance on our creativity within and beyond the arts to the social, political and economic relations in which the region seems entrapped. His counsel has always been on creativity in solving challenging issues. This he did with the knotty area of identity, showing us the direction to self-knowledge and how Jamaican society could develop a dialogue about itself. The circumstances of the 1960s and the international youth movement around Black Power gave him the opportunity to explore its local manifestation: Jamaican Black Power.

### "Jamaican Black Power or Notes from the Horn"

This essay by Nettleford in *Mirror Mirror* is arguably the most important discussion of the ideas of Black Power in Jamaica, and the reference to the horn is to the *Abeng* newspaper. It is as a political thinker and historian that I want to use the essay on Black Power, not only to return to the author's assessment of the 1960s but to probe the history that he dealt with and to engage other writers and thinkers of the period. Rex Nettleford was a well known public intellectual, university lecturer, co-founder of the NDTC and choreographer in 1962 at age twenty-nine. The period of the late 1960s and 1970s was one of social turbulence, political change and interest in transformation and decolonisation. This decade has been documented and discussed in Obika Gray's *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960–1972*.<sup>7</sup> Carl Stone in his monograph *Class, Race and Political Behaviour in Urban Jamaica* observed on the basis of surveys the "evidence of strong feelings of black solidarity within the black working and lower classes in urban Jamaica".<sup>8</sup>

Black Power affected every island in the Caribbean, and the most significant political impact was in Trinidad. The 1970 Black Power revolution nearly



Rex represents the UWI at a regional conference, early 1970s

overthrew the Eric Williams regime in Trinidad. This was the most powerful Black Power mobilisation in the region. The impact of 1970 revolution on the government of Eric Williams is well described by Selwyn Ryan.<sup>9</sup> Black Power advocates obtained some support from the trade union movement, especially the Oilfield Workers Union led by George Weekes, but also from Indian sugar workers. In the forefront of the leadership were UWI activists Carl Blackwood and Geddes Granger; the latter morphed into Mackandal Daaga. The Black Power movement paralleled the army mutiny of 1970 which almost led to the first coup in the anglophone Caribbean. There was vicious repression of some of the key activists, and bans were imposed on non-Trinidadian Black Power advocates from other territories. The cumulative impact of Black Power was the increased employment of Afro-Trinidadians in banks and insurance companies and the decision of marketing companies to put black faces in their advertising. The Black Power movement also triggered a process of state ownership in oil and finance. The activists of Black Power led the later struggle to have Emancipation Day marked on an annual basis as part of national remembrance. This commemoration too has been adopted by many Caribbean states. So the agenda of Black Power was one of decolonisation that dealt with political, social, economic and cultural change.

It is in this context that I want to take a brief look at a conference held on Rat Island, St Lucia in 1970 and which has not entered the published narrative of the period. This conference marked a transition from Black Power to discussion of revolution in the region and a shift in the political language from racial discourse to a mixture of race and class analysis that was heavily influenced by the variety of Marxisms impacting the region. The ferment of political thinking of that time is captured in an entry from my personal journal of early 1971.

24 January 1971

In early December I went to St Lucia to attend a conference of radical Caribbean groups which was instructive. Hardly any of the groups from Guyana, Trinidad, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent showed any inclination for Marxist-Leninist theory and their ideological development had not surpassed that reached by the *Abeng* newspaper in 1969. None had a clear stand on the working class but all showed a concern for community-type groups especially the Trinidadian representative and the Jamaican. Trevor [Munroe] spoke most of the time and in effect provided the conference with its substance. The need for coordination was clearly felt as the imperialists had already united the area for their own exploitation but left the exploited fragmented in terms of our low level of preparedness for Caribbean anti-imperialist struggle. All the groups were anti-imperialist. We met on a tiny island a stone's throw from Castries called Rat Island. The Trinidadian representatives, Carl Blackwood and Russel Andalcio, were barred from entering St Lucia, however the person sent in their stead was a good choice and extremely militant and conscientious. We arrived in St Lucia on Thursday night, acquainted ourselves with Castries on Friday, had lengthy discussions on Saturday and Sunday before flying to Barbados where we overnighted in readiness for the Monday morning flight to Jamaica.<sup>10</sup>

There is not much detail in this journal entry for reasons having to do with security concerns in the event of detention. What I do recall is that the conference was organised by George Odum,<sup>11</sup> and that the Trinidad representative was Winston Suite, then an engineering student and a Marxist. Maurice Bishop<sup>12</sup> was in attendance. The main discussion focused on Black Power, especially evaluating the movement in Trinidad, and the ideological requisites and forms of struggle necessary for Caribbean transformation including mass and armed struggle. There were intellectual networks that had been facilitated by the regional nature of the UWI, at its Mona campus, and this meant that in all the West Indian territories there were individuals who had studied at

Mona. If London had been the network for Errol Barrow, Michael Manley, Dudley Thompson, Forbes Burnham, Eugenia Charles, sociologist Lloyd Braithwaite, public administrator Gladstone Mills and a slew of writers – Lamming, Naipaul, Selvon, Salkey et al. – Mona was the meeting point in the 1960s for the radicals of the postcolonial years. So when the Black Power movement emerged, particularly after the Walter Rodney ban in October 1968, there was a regional response, and all three Guilds of Students acted in concert on their respective campuses. The New World Group,<sup>13</sup> *Moko* in Trinidad, *Abeng* in Jamaica, and *Ratoon* in Guyana constituted a regional intellectual and political network, and the issue that was being discussed was that of revolution.<sup>14</sup> Grenada saw the rise of the New Jewel Movement and their decision to take power which was two to three years in the making, as they had an armed group having secured weapons from Forbes Burnham in Guyana and contacts in the USA, and had parliamentary and popular sympathy, which made the issue a practical one when they took the decision to overthrow Eric Gairy in 1979.

Battles over identity and social and economic transformation were underway. The region was experiencing surges of tremendous energy in social movements, in music, in reasoning, in political debate and mobilisation. Huge swathes of the young population were engaged.

Nettleford summarised the decade of the 1960s thus:

The end of the decade of the sixties will partly be remembered in Jamaica for the country's involvement with the phenomenon of Black Power just as the beginning of the decade brought Rastafarianism face to face with the society. Much has been said and reported on the Black Power phenomenon with varying degrees of passion and involvement. Whatever may be one's attitude or position in the matter it is clear that to ignore it or to pretend that it does not exist is to defy reality; to insist that it should not exist is to fail to recognise the cogency of persistent historical forces in the development of Jamaica; to embrace it indiscriminately in forms which claim monopoly of understanding of the black predicament and deify racial exclusivity is to be unaware of the complex nature of those very historical forces in the society. Yet any attempt to suppress it with the might of Establishment power is to stockpile collective wrath for future reckoning.<sup>15</sup>

Nettleford's succinct summary sees him making sense of what was Jamaica's first independence decade, focusing on the racial legacies and their complex-



ities which are not easily deduced from the reasonably good economic growth occurring in that decade. He argued that “one of the major contributions of declared advocates to Jamaican life may well be the refocusing of attention on some of the real needs of the society, namely to give dignity, cultural security and economic well-being to the *majority* of people within its jurisdiction (that majority happening to be black and/or of African descent)”.<sup>16</sup> He also carefully noted that the “methods of achieving this definably black power in Jamaica, which has a black majority but also boasts its valid minorities, would clearly be a point of controversy”.<sup>17</sup>

Nettleford’s essay “Black Power or Notes from the Horn” drew its materials for critique from the daily press, especially the *Gleaner* as well as the little publications of the movement such as *Bongo-Man*, which I published from 1968–70, and *Abeng* newspaper, which had a national impact in 1969. The directors of the Abeng Publishing Company were George Beckford, Dennis Soly, Horace Levy, Donald Duncan, Vin Bennett, Vernon Arnett, and Secretary/Director Robert Hill, and among its editors were Robert Hill, George Beckford, Trevor Munroe and myself. This was part of a larger group that functioned in the wake of the ban on Dr Walter Rodney in October 1968.<sup>18</sup> The larger group helped in the distribution of the newspaper throughout the island and held Abeng assemblies to discuss the content of the paper or issues faced by people in rural and urban communities.

*Abeng* had a circulation of 15–20,000.<sup>19</sup> The leftwing criticism of *Mirror Mirror* at the time focused on what was seen as the inadequate treatment of class and economic issues.<sup>20</sup> These critiques showed an underestimation of the self-knowledge dimension of Nettleford’s thinking and a view that economic development measured in terms of gross domestic product was the only key to opening up the road to the promised land. There was therefore an underestimation of the persistence of race in the modern world while most could see the persistence of poverty. Nettleford’s conclusion was that the “native Caribbean inheritors of the British authority and power . . . must now bring within the pale of their people’s immediate experience material self-sufficiency and spiritual rebirth”.<sup>21</sup> But the dialectical connection between material self-sufficiency and spiritual rebirth needed to be more profoundly explored by the left, as identity was bound up with it, and economic and social issues were at the heart of material self-sufficiency.

## Rex, Rastafari and my private archive

Apart from the Black Power stirrings of the 1960s, the period was defined by the increasing salience of the influence of Rastafarian ideas. In the 1998 preface to the re-issue of *Mirror Mirror*, Nettleford observed that “Black Power . . . had barely taken on form and purpose in Jamaica at the time and the ‘notes from the horn’ were mere running quavers above the more lasting sounds and rhythms which had long come from the Rastafarians”.<sup>22</sup>

In the Kingston area this ideology had its spokespersons in a few notable personalities. One such Rasta was Ras Negus who ruled in the East, while Planno’s<sup>23</sup> yard was the roost for the West in Trench Town. Negus was born in Port Morant in St Thomas in February 1934, and was therefore a year younger than Nettleford. Negus remembered when the government raided Pinnacle, St Catherine, where Leonard Howell had his compound, and his mother used to speak about Rastas coming down from Pinnacle. His mother, a higgler, was a Methodist and his father, a fisherman, did not defend any religion. At fourteen, he told me, he happened to meet two Rasta brethren and they brought him to full consciousness. Negus said,

I came to town at eighteen and then first lived with my sister. From then I started every night to go to West Kingston, mostly Rose Town and Denham Town where the Rastas generally meet. I start locksing at twenty-two. Before I come to the consciousness of locks I sit down for three days before I could come to the true conviction whether I should locks or not . . . After those three days I come to a consciousness within myself that it is better for a man to suit his God more than to suit himself because God will then provide in every way. Before I come to [the] state of locks I worked as a painter doing private work or work with Public Work contractors. As for now, I hardly have a way of survival, some time I work £30 in December but hardly any more after that. I moved to the Wareika Hills and I lived there for about five years. In 1963 we were burnt out under the Bustamante government. Well, I still build back a next shack there and live for eighteen months. After that I came down the hills to live in Johnson Town, then Grants Town.<sup>24</sup>

At the time of this interview in 1969 Negus lived in Browns Town, Eastern Kingston.

Negus reasoned a lot with Audvil King and the group living at a home on upper Homestead Road on the banks of the McGregor Gully. At the lower end Homestead Road meets Windward Road. Audvil King was the author of

the prose and poetry collection *One Love* which Bogle L'Ouverture published in 1971 with an introduction by Andrew Salkey.<sup>25</sup> The phrase 'One Love' had not yet been debased and globally appropriated by tourism marketing. (This debasement happened in the 1980s, and, to be fair, the concept has been embraced in Europe, Asia and Africa and given new life as it has been adopted by varying movements for freedom.) The One Love peace concert by Bob Marley and Peter Tosh in 1978 was in the spirit of Audvil King's *One Love* collection. But in the early 1970s, and in this text, the phrase spoke to the bond of personal relations between man and woman and the way affection was distorted by endemic colour prejudice. King's *One Love* spoke to the weakness of Rodney's *Groundings with My Brothers* inherent in the title in terms of its patriarchal connotations. *One Love* included two female contributors, Althea Helps and Pam Wint, but it was Audvil King's "Letter to a Friend" that discussed the gendered dimension of racial self-contempt, referred to by Andrew Salkey as "the myths and prejudices which we've long used to justify our respectively false male and female roles in the Caribbean".<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, King's "The Awakening (A Journey into the Rastafarian Experience)" is a powerful invocation of a nyabinghi which forty years later still resounds. Salkey referred to this work as a long prose-poem "which is his unique interpretation of the Rastafarian experience, and must surely be the most arresting piece of apocalyptic writing to have been done by a Caribbean writer, as far as I know, since Roger Mais's novel *The Hills Were Joyful Together* and H. Orlando Patterson's *The Children of Sisyphus*".<sup>27</sup>

Audvil King was born in 1943, educated at Buxton High School and at the West Indies School of Public Health, and graduated in 1967. He worked as a public health inspector in Kingston and contributed to publications such as *Harambee*, *Bongo-Man*, *Blackman Speaks* and *Abeng*. Life was not easy for Audvil, and below is a description of my visit to his yard. I lived at the corner of Homestead Road and Windward Road at the time. Audvil was known to his friends as "Princie", and he was part of the group that was culturally and politically active in Eastern Kingston and St Andrew as far as Bull Bay and published the mimeographed *Harambee* magazine.

27 March 1971

Princie pulled off a Don Drummond on us. R. told me that his case had been diagnosed as 'schizophrenia-paranoia'. I felt effed up. The loud laughter was coming from the house and R. was outside helping with the basic school. Princie came out-

side and sat beside her, saying that he wanted to hold her hand. She was scared. The evening before I had seen Princie and asked him for the copy of *Black Orpheus* [African literary magazine] which I had loaned him. He was rolling a spliff and Jean [his sister] was cutting up a chicken in the kitchen. I noticed that he was not his usual self and would start a sentence and not finish it and I would start talking to him and he would be far away. The idea that he should be afflicted with mental illness at twenty-seven when his first little book *One Love* has just appeared, his editorials for *Harambee* forcing us to read them a second time and his mystical Rastafari bent compelling us to read over and over his essay "The Black Struggle and the I're Within Consciousness", was terrifying. I promised myself to read the *Bhagavad Gita* [sacred Hindu text] which he had loaned me and which he often compared with Rastafari expositions. But now he had gone to the country with the *Bhagavad Gita*, I supposed as his spiritual guide.

We surmised about the reasons for his affliction and I recognised that this condition had been growing on him. He felt that from all corners people were throwing darts at him, [and he was] standing in the centre of a circle from which he could not escape. He was like the scorpion encircled by a ring of fire [and it] could only turn in deeper on itself, eventually taking its own life. But I don't feel this analogy is correct in that Princie would not take his own life but the sense of futility and indifference which [he had] as a poet was what in the final analysis got him. I may be wrong but the dart-throwers like his boss who told him that the Police High Command was aware of his activities were an important factor in bringing on this condition. He felt alone and threatened but not only by this police warning which may have been exaggerated. He was extremely anxious to get back the manuscripts of some poems and a short novel which he had on my advice loaned to E. Brathwaite

...<sup>28</sup>

## Significance of *Mirror Mirror*

"Mirror mirror on the wall / Who is the fairest of them all?" captured the heart of a dilemma that has not left us either in the African diaspora or Africa. Nettleford uses the mirror and looking at oneself as epistemology (knowing), and as phenomenology (being), and deconstructs the debates and fights underway in Jamaica in the 1960s around multiracialism, identity and power. Nettleford did not much use the philosophical terms epistemology and phenomenology, but these were substantial themes in this text, so we are able to read at a deeper level out of the context of the 1960s and into the world of the twenty-first century.

*Mirror Mirror* is also an engagement with social sciences and behaviouralism, largely influenced by post-World War II social sciences development in the USA. Nettleford argued, "As elsewhere Jamaica suffers from the inadequacies of the scientific tradition which has offered satisfactory indicators for the gross national product and for unemployment but cannot accurately gauge the irrational intangibles which determine many aspirations and feed the moods of protest."<sup>29</sup> If we reflect a moment on "irrational intangibles" we will see that areas of the self, of historical formation, of culture, of psychology, of irrationality, of peculiarities, of intuition, emerge as we try to tease out what is meant here. Nettleford is by no means rejecting the data that govern our thinking about public policy and corporate behaviour or the new disciplines and techniques, but complementing these with other data, other information that speak to who we are.<sup>30</sup> The 'who we are' constitutes a dynamic and complex spread, and in this sense Nettleford was a practising phenomenologist in his grasp of the importance of Jamaican/Caribbean being. The current crisis in Jamaica and the region requires a recapturing of the driving force of "irrational intangibles" as part of how we think about our societies and public policy.

In *Mirror Mirror* the analysis rejected a black and white perspective or an either/or situation. Barry Chevannes has pointed to ambiguity in Rex's thinking in trying to come to terms with the complexity of his thought.<sup>31</sup> I would point to interconnectedness in Nettleford's thought which is seen in his ability not only to recognise the missing elements in conventional academic disciplines but to link the variables, particularly the subjective dimension in the 'I' and the surrounding circumstances. In this sense he had a strong sense of dialectics. But more than this was his aesthetics, defined by a feel for texture and sensibility in human relations. These elements in analysis are indispensable in problem-solving and in the grand task of social, economic and political reconstruction. The classic essay in this volume is "The Melody of Europe, the Rhythm of Africa", and he uses the proverb "Every John Crow tink him pickney white" to end the essay with the conclusion:

One thing is certain: there must be the liberation of the Jamaican black, whether he be peasant, proletarian or struggling middle class, from the chains of self-contempt, self-doubt and cynicism. Correspondingly, there will have to be the liberation of the Jamaican whites, real and functional, from the bondage of a lopsided creole culture which tends to maintain for them an untenable position of privilege. Then the harmony which so many well-intentioned Jamaicans claim to exist will begin to

transform itself from fiction into fact. Melody and rhythm will no longer be regarded as mutually exclusive phenomena and best of all, no John Crow living will feel a need to 'tink him pickney white'.<sup>32</sup>

This admonition is relevant in the African diaspora of the Americas and in Africa. Anyone familiar with post-apartheid South Africa and who has read the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report of South Africa which surveys gross human rights violations in the years 1960–94 will appreciate the importance of Nettleford's work for post-apartheid and postcolonial engagement and battles against the powerful legacies of self-contempt.

### Political imagination and the contemporary crisis


In the postscript to *Mirror Mirror*, Rex argued that "power exercised without imagination and debate can only lead to sterility in public life".<sup>33</sup> But what does he mean by the political imagination? For him, "ex-colonial politicians must themselves be artists, moulding from the ill-defined mass, shapes and patterns of a new existence".<sup>34</sup> Political life must also be a creative sphere driven by discussion, debate, research and ideas. Here he is criticising a certain kind of political pragmatism, at the same time that he does not reject pragmatism, and he is also criticising a narrow kind of economic determinism of both the left and the right.

Creativity was not only a matter for the arts. Rex therefore called for creativity and innovation in other spheres of building the region. The central Nettlefordian tenet with which he ended this volume was, "*The power to create and innovate remains the greatest guarantee of respect and recognition.*"<sup>35</sup> His emphasis on knowing ourselves is summarised in the sentence, "The notion that *what we do* for ourselves depends on *what we know* of ourselves and *what we accept about* ourselves will continue to be of significance for a long time."<sup>36</sup>

*Mirror Mirror* is a text about postcolonial self-knowledge and contains insights that we can draw on four decades later. The energy that gave Jamaica the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s is not here today. That energy has been sapped. New movements will arise, but they will have to reckon with the socio-cultural qualities of the past thirty years, reflecting Jamaica's radically different, urbanised well-off as well as marginalised social structure. The legacy of the peasantry remains, but it has virtually disappeared, and Rex's dances



A mission to Africa, 1962

owed so much to them for the African legacies of spirit, movement, ancestral values. We are now national urban space, globalised urban scape, and two generations now of virtual space. Urban space means not only working people, but substantial permanently unemployed, lumpen youths, large numbers of hustling and juggling people. Understanding and engaging new local and global realities best continues the intellectual legacy of Rex Nettleford. 

## NOTES

1. *Two Concepts of Liberty* was Isaiah Berlin's inaugural professorial lecture at Oxford University in 1958. It is included in Isaiah Berlin, *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays*, ed. Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 191–242.
2. For an excellent interview see David Scott, " 'To Be Liberated from the Obscurity of Themselves': An Interview with Rex Nettleford", *Small Axe* 20 (June 2006): 97–246.
3. See *Norman Washington Manley and the New Jamaica: Selected Speeches and Writings 1938–68*, edited with notes and introduction by Rex Nettleford (Kingston: Longman Caribbean, 1971); Rex Nettleford, "Manley and the Politics of Jamaica: Towards an Analysis of Political Change in Jamaica 1938–1968", *Social and Economic Studies* (Supplement 20.3, 1971).

4. M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford, *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* (Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1960); Rex M. Nettleford, *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica* (Kingston: W. Collins and Sangster, 1970) – references in this essay (except note 22) are to this original edition.
5. *Abeng* newspaper can be accessed online at <http://www.dloc.com>. The small mimeographed publications are in the author's possession.
6. See Rex Nettleford, "Rastafari in the Sixties", in *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies*, ed. Trevor Munroe and Rupert Lewis (Mona: Department of Government, University of the West Indies, 1971), 41–53.
7. Obika Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960–1972* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991).
8. Carl Stone, *Class, Race and Political Behaviour in Urban Jamaica* (Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1973), 112.
9. See *The Black Power Revolution 1970*, ed. Selwyn Ryan and Taimoon Stewart with the assistance of Roy McCree (St Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1995).
10. Rupert Lewis, personal journal, 21 January 1971.
11. George Odlum was a St Lucian radical thinker and activist who was deputy prime minister in 1979. His position was symptomatic of the leftward drift in Caribbean politics.
112. Maurice Bishop was the leader of the New Jewel Movement and was prime minister of Grenada from 1979 to 1983. His tragic assassination led to the US invasion of Grenada.
13. For an authoritative discussion of the New World Group, see Brian Meeks and Norman Girvan, eds., *The Thought of New World: The Quest for Decolonisation* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2010).
14. For discussion of this period, see Rupert Lewis, "Learning to Blow the Abeng: A Critical Look at Anti-establishment Movements of the 1960s and 1970s", *Small Axe* 1 (1997): 5–17.
15. Nettleford, "Jamaican Black Power or Notes from the Horn", in *Mirror Mirror*, 115.
16. *Ibid.*, 121.
17. *Ibid.*, 120.
18. For discussion of Rodney and 1968, see Rupert Lewis, *Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought* (Kingston and Detroit: The Press, University of the West Indies and Wayne State University Press, 1998), chapter 5.
19. Nettleford, "Jamaican Black Power", 134.
20. I wrote an unpublished critique along these lines and Carl Stone also published a critical review in a journal called *Caribbean Review* which I am unable to locate.
21. Nettleford, "Jamaican Black Power", 170.



22. Rex M. Nettleford, *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica – With New Introduction* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1998), vii.
23. Mortimo Planno (1929–2006) was a revered and very influential Rastafarian in the 1950s to the 1970s, who was a spiritual teacher of Bob Marley. In 1961 he was a member of a Jamaica Government delegation who visited several African countries with a view to repatriation. In the 1990s he was resident folk philosopher at the University of the West Indies, Mona campus. See Wikipedia.
24. Ras Negus, interview by Rupert Lewis, circa 1969.
25. Audvil King, Althea Helps, Pam Wint, and Frank Hasfal, *One Love – With an Introduction by Andrew Salkey* (London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, 1971).
26. Ibid., 9. In fact, initially Andrew Salkey, as the reader for King's manuscript, had thought that King was female and had suggested that it be titled "Groundings with My Sisters". King's title was "Black Sun Rising" and the eventual compromise was "One Love".
27. Ibid., 8. Andrew Salkey's contribution to Caribbean literature was of course primarily in his poetry, his novels and his books for children, but he was extraordinarily generous in assisting young writers, in sending *Abeng* and little publications his poetry, in disseminating materials in London, and he was active in protests. I value the letters and the poems throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s which he sent me.
28. Reference is to Kamau (then known as Edward) Brathwaite, in Rupert Lewis, personal journal, 27 March 1971.
29. Nettleford, preface, in *Mirror Mirror* (1970 edition), 10.
30. Nettleford's critique of the gross national product anticipates the thinking of leading economists and policymakers who argue for a different approach to measuring which, in addition to accounting for market output, also includes other factors that contribute to well-being. See Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, and Jean-Paul Fitoussi, *Mis-Measuring Our Lives: Why GDP Doesn't Add Up – The Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress – With a Foreword by President Nicholas Sarkozy* (New York: New Press, 2010).
31. Barry Chevannes, *Betwixt and Between: Explorations in an African-Caribbean Mindscape* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2006), chapter 3.
32. Nettleford, "The Melody of Europe, the Rhythm of Africa: But Every John Crow Tink Him Pickney White", in *Mirror Mirror*, 211.
33. Nettleford, postscript, in *Mirror Mirror*, 223.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 227.
36. Nettleford, "African Redemption: The Rastafari and the Wider Society 1959–69", in *Mirror Mirror*, 111.