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STATES OF EMERGENCY: REGGAE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE JAMAICAN NATION STATE

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the representation of the postcolonial Jamaican nation state in the genre of "roots and culture" reggae. It argues that this particular genre of reggae, noted primarily for its heavy emphasis on social commentary, contests the Jamaican political elite constructions of nation, nationalism, and nationality. Unlike elite representations which elide the problematic issues of race, class, and subordinated historical narratives, reggae songs render the nation state as a "state of emergency" which is grounded in the imperatives of maintaining inherited colonial hierarchies. The millenarian worldview of Rastafari and the identity politics of Pan-Africanism provide ideological crucibles for reggae's oppositional critique of the Jamaican nation state. This critique, articulated as prophetic rhetoric, constitutes an alternative political and historical discourse that is legitimised by the dynamics of popular culture.

Walter Benjamin, in the eighth thesis of his "Theses on the Philosophy of History", states that "the tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the 'state of emergency' in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight."[1] Benjamin's aphorism, written on the eve of World War II, is uncannily echoed nearly fifty years later in the album *State of Emergency* by the Black British reggae group, Steel Pulse. The title track evokes a sense of global crisis as oppressed groups struggle for freedom in a variety of geographical and political locations from Maggie Thatcher's Britain to Pik Botha's apartheid South Africa. A chronic state of emergency prevails from "Brixton to Cape Town", a state of emergency which is both the daily reality of oppressed peoples as well as the true nature of the state. In lines such as "State of emergency/Never seen

1. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, 1968. p. 257.

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such urgency", Steel Pulse evince an awareness of the constancy of crisis that is similar to Benjamin's conclusions.[2] Steel Pulse's Rasta reggae and Benjamin's gnostic Marxism might appear to be worlds apart, but the textures of their ethnic experiences evoke similar histories of diaspora, exile, and suffering. Their respective marginalities, as a Jewish Marxist in Nazi Germany, and Rastafarian musicians of Afro-Caribbean descent in post-imperial Britain, enable them to bring a transgressive insight to bear on social and political realities, a rebel vision that perceives the instability at the heart of apparently stable systems, and the complicity of terror and domination.

This transgressive critique of prevailing systems of power underpins the particular category of reggae music broadly defined as "roots and culture", namely those songs which address social, cultural, political, and historical issues. This is only one genre of reggae, however, since not all reggae songs are oriented towards social commentary. In the house of reggae there are many mansions, and it has its share of love songs, innocuous songs, silly songs, and songs that exist only as a vehicle for a catchy phrase, melodic line or rhythm. (And even forms such as love songs can be read as subversive because to sing about love, in societies that posit human relationships in terms of domination and exploitation, is to posit a radical reshaping of human behaviour). Some "roots and culture" songs can also paradoxically approve the very system that they purport to challenge because of their marginalization of those perceived to be deviant others. Despite these variables, there is a coherent, if somewhat unsystematic, body of recurring ideas, concepts, and propositions that are produced by this category of reggae music. These ideas challenge certain mainstream concepts propagated by postcolonial elites about the postcolonial nation state, and they pose interesting questions about the claims of nationality, citizenship, and community.

In the case of Jamaica, elite notions about the nation, nationality, citizenship, and democracy, are undermined by reggae critiques that are grounded in the unresolved questions of race, class, colour, slavery, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In these reggae songs, the state is not a liberal democratic entity but rather an oppressive regime: a Babylon system, a state of emergency, and a product of crisis that also produces crises for the poor and oppressed who are described as living in an embattled state of siege, harassed and brutalized by the representatives of Babylon (the police and the military), subjected to roadblocks, curfews, imprisonment, and myriad forms

2. Steel Pulse, "State of Emergency," *State of Emergency*, MCA Records, 1988.

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of daily dehumanization. These representations might have greater or lesser degrees of sophisticated analysis and militancy, depending on the respective performers, but the fundamental themes remain the same.

The elite notions of the Jamaican nation state are evident in the apparently innocuous social studies textbook, *Civics For Young Jamaicans,* produced in 1967, five years after Independence, by L. C. Ruddock, the Principal Education Officer of the Ministry of Education. *Civics For Young Jamaicans* introduces the nation's youth to the workings of the state apparatus, the legislative and constitutional principles, the Westminster Parliamentary system, the conduct of elections, and similar information deemed necessary for the production of civic minded young people. The pedagogical project of this textbook is that of disseminating an image of the Jamaican nation and citizen that conforms to middle class, political elite constructions of nation and citizenship. Thus in the final chapter, appropriately titled "The Last Word", Mr. Ruddock makes two crucial propositions: firstly, that Independence ushered in a radical break with the past in terms of modes of governance:

> One of the essential differences between pre- and post-Independence Jamaica is that in the former, government tended to be a "controlling" agency. It sought to restrict and to conserve rather than to create. In present-day Jamaica, government exercises a "promoting" function. Ministers seek to interpret the public will, and to promote programmes and projects with urgency in order to translate this will into action and so retain support of this public will.[3]

The second proposition is announced with less confidence, and the fact that it is set out as a series of questions points to the difficulties faced by national opinion makers in dealing with the problematic relationship between race and nation:

> With so many racial groups making up the population, it becomes a national problem which racial group should help to create the national identity, or be allowed, if indeed it should to gain ascendancy. Part of the areas of conflict within the Jamaican community touches on this problem. Should we recognize a dominant racial group, and seek to give it satisfactory representation within the various areas of social and economic activity? Or should we accept ourselves as an integrated community and work towards the

3. L. C. Ruddock. *Civics For Young Jamaicans.* Kingston, 1967: p. 180.

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> full development and prosperity of every individual, disregarding racial identification as such?[4]

Civics For Young Jamaicans proffers the last option as the most desirable one. Race is erased from the question of national identity by the positing of a facile multiracial, harmonious ideal which is summed up in the national motto "Out of many one people." Gordon K. Lewis scathingly describes this as an official myth that masked "a racial separatism, undeclared yet virulent, that infected every nook and cranny of inter-personal and inter-class relationships, based on a social system characterized by strongly entrenched class-colour correlations."[5] Lewis further points out that, since the majority of Jamaicans are of African descent, any "national consciousness to be real must perforce be racial consciousness."[6]

This assertion of the link between race and nation concurs with those of Marcus Garvey and the Rastafari movement. Given the overwhelming influence of Garveyite and Rastafarian philosophies on reggae artistes, it is not surprising that the most cogent critiques of Jamaican society utilize the strategy of foregrounding race in the discourse of nationhood. This strategy is twinned with a reading of history that makes no fundamental distinctions between the colonial past and the postcolonial present. Unlike Mr. Ruddock who posits a radical discontinuity between colonial "controlling" and postcolonial "promoting", reggae roots and culture songs assert the continuity of oppression and colonialism which are depicted as having merely assumed new forms. The former Wailer, Peter Tosh, expresses this in his song, "400 Years" ("Four hundred years, four hundred years/and it's the same philosophy")[7], while Burning Spear opts for an even longer chronology of oppression in "2000 Years."[8]

Race is confronted and claimed as the primary sign of identity. The absence of race in official discourse is challenged from every lyrical angle in roots and culture songs. For example, one of reggae's classical vocal trios, The

4. L. C. Ruddock. *Civics For Young Jamaicans*, p. 181.

5. Gordon K. Lewis. *The Growth of the Modern West Indies*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968, p. 191.

6. Lewis. *The Growth of the Modern West Indies*, p. 191.

7. Peter Tosh, "400 Years," *Equal Rights*, Columbia Records. Jimmy Cliff also deploys this chronology in his song, "I Have Been Dead 400 Years" *(House of Exile)*.

8. Burning Spear, "2000 Years," *The Fittest of the Fittest*, Heartbeat Records C-HB-22.

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Abyssinians, can state unequivocally that "we are slave descendants from the African race/the African race, the African race,/we are proud, it's no disgrace."[9] Bob Marley celebrates "the black survivors" of the middle passage and the brutal history of the slave plantations.[10] Peter Tosh dismisses the very concept of national identity by asserting a Pan-Africanist identity that supersedes nationality and citizenship. As he proclaims, in "African", "No matter where you come from/As long as you are a Black man, you are an African."[11]

These songs express what the African-American cultural critic, bell hooks, calls "the politics of radical black subjectivity" that reclaims and transforms a despised ethnicity into "an oppositional worldview, a consciousness, an identity, a standpoint that exists not only as that struggle which also opposes dehumanization but as that movement which enables creative, expansive self-actualization."[12] Blackness is reclaimed from the burial mounds of colonial denigration and postcolonial silence as a positive and conscious choice rather than as a mere acceptance of debilitating circumstances. This revaluing of marginality accords with bell hooks' distinction between "that marginality which is imposed by oppressive structures and that marginality one chooses as site of resistance, as location of radical openness and possibility."[13] The marginality of blackness is thus more than what hooks terms a "site of deprivation," it is also a space of resistance and possibility. The creation of this space in reggae is enabled by the articulation of the silenced histories, "the half that has never been told," of Africans in the diaspora.

Jamaica has two histories. There is an official, visible one that begins in 1492, and which weaves European colonization, African enslavement, and Asian indentureship into a narrative of racial and cultural hybridity that results in the multiracial/multicultural modern nation. Nationalism, in this version of history, is thus concerned with the attainment of political sovereignty, the transfer of power from London to Kingston. Politics, as Gordon K. Lewis points out, is thus treated as a first cause, "hence the [Jamaican] political passion, the amazing fury of the [Jamaican] political partisan, the convic-

9. The Abyssinians," African Race," *Satta Massagana*, Heartbeat Records CD HB 120.

10. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Survival," *Survival*, Island Records, 1979.

11. Peter Tosh, "African," *Equal Rights*, Columbia Records.

12. bell hooks. *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1990: 15.

13. bell hooks. *Yearning, 153.*

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tion that politics will cure all."[14] As a result, the social issues of dispossession, class and racial stratification are subordinated to the national question. Modernity, for this official history, begins with the emergence of political parties, and its peak lies in the securing of state power by the postcolonial political elites.

The other history is an invisible one or, more accurately, an ignored one, whose text is produced in various reggae songs that represent it as a symbolic history, a history that alludes to another secret history behind the platitudes of official ideology. This history is a dread history that uses racial and communal memory as an antidote to the amnesia of the state. "Do you remember the days of slavery?" Burning Spear asks us again and again, and his repeated question becomes an exhortation to claim the liberatory power of memory that Milan Kundera expresses with such elegant clarity in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* where he states that "the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."[15] Similarly, Burning Spear's "Slavery Days" alerts us to the beginnings of Caribbean modernity by reminding us of the brutal origins of West Indian nation states, and of the need to keep alive this memory. The Mighty Diamonds, in "Cannot Say You Didn't Know," reiterate Burning Spear's memorialising of history by taking us back to the beginnings of the slave trade on the African continent:

> Listen to the story
> I am telling in this song.
> It's about our history
> Where we went wrong.
> Gave them a chance to divide us
> Gave them a chance and they ruled.
> Cannot say you didn't know,
> Cannot say you didn't know.
> Some came as traders,
> Innocent as lambs.
> Some pushed religion. They all were scamps.[16]

How, one might ask, does memory fit into the concept of a state of emergency? Simply put, from the perspective of four hundred years of memory, Black history in the New World has been lived within a long, undeclared state

14. Lewis, *The Growth of the Modern West Indies*, pp. 398–99.

15. Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. Haramondsworth: Penguin, 1980:3.

16. Mighty Diamonds, "Cannot Say You Didn't Know," *Get Ready*. Music Works Records, 1988.

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of emergency. Reggae memory does not organize this history into pre- and post-emancipation or colonial and postcolonial periods. Memory holds past, present and future in a seamless continuum of experience. Hence Peter Tosh's declaration in "Mystic Man" of temporal and ontological continuity:

> I am a man of the past
> living in the present
> and I am walking in the future
> standing in the future.
> I am just a mystic man.[17]

Slavery thus continues under new guises. Mental servitude replaces physical bondage, and the real struggle becomes that of emancipating the self, as Bob Marley sings, from mental slavery. Imperialism and colonialism survive in the class/colour stratification, and in the dispossession and exploitation of the poor.

Reggae originated in the slums of Kingston and it is easy to correlate its origins with its unrelenting critique of the establishment. But even this conventional wisdom does not grasp the massive scale of the dispossession of poor Jamaicans. David Lowenthal notes that, shortly after Independence, Jamaica had the dubious distinction of having the world's highest level of inequality, with the richest 5 per cent of the population having 30 per cent of the national income, and the poorest 20 per cent receiving only 2 per cent.[18] In such a context, protest, even as style, became inevitable. Dispossession and alienation became thematic staples of popular music, and with the rerouting of these attitudes through the millenarian and spiritual worldview of Rastafari, reggae was able to assemble a philosophical and verbal arsenal for its critiques of the social system.

The infusion of Rastafarian theology enables reggae's political critique to function as a prophetic critique. The extensive biblical rhetoric and typologies of reggae songs cast the experience of the African diaspora in terms of Jewish exile and bondage in Egypt and Babylon. Jamaica is thus another Babylon, another site of bondage, and "a big plantation" as the Abyssinians call it, rather than a national homeland. Africa, at least for those singers who are Rastafarians, is the spiritual homeland for the sufferers enduring Babylonian bondage. Hence the plethora of songs which evoke the total sense of exile and alienation felt by

17. Peter Tosh, "Mystic Man," *The Toughest*, EMI Records, 1988.

18. David Lowenthal. *West Indian Societies*, 1972; 298.

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the sufferers in Jamaica. In Black Uhuru's "Leaving to Zion," the opening lines announce that "If tomorrow I was leaving to Zion/I wouldn't stay a minute more."[19] Gregory Isaac's "Border" is a classic assertion of the imperative to cross borders and boundaries in order to return to Africa:

> If I could make the border
> Then I would step across.
> Simply take me to the border
> No matter what's the cost.
> Because I'm leavin' here
> I'm a leavin' outta Babylon
> I'm a leavin' outta Rome
> I'm a leavin' outta dis land
> Say me wan', me wan' go home
> Where the milk and honey flow
> Africa me wanna go.[20]

This theme of exile and the longing for return resonates throughout songs such as The Abyssinians' "Forward Unto Zion" and "Satta Massagana"; Bunny Wailer's "Dreamland"; Dennis Brown's "The Promised Land"; Bob Marley's "Exodus"; and Jimmy Cliff's "House of Exile." The concept of the nation state is radically subverted in these songs which rupture the supposedly organic bonds between native land, citizen, and nation. Instead of the citizen, who is the representative subject of the official narratives, these songs' representative subjects are sufferers, rastas, natty dreads, ragamuffins, all restless captives longing for freedom. The reggae subject is presented as an exile living as a permanent outsider on the postcolonial/neocolonial plantation that calls itself a nation. Nationality thus offers no safe haven nor patrimony, and the only sites of sustenance are located within the music itself or in the forms of linguistic marronage afforded by the subversion of the Queen's English and Jamaican Creole to create the special argot that Velma Pollard defines as "Dread Talk."[21]

19. Black Uhuru, "Leaving to Zion," *Black Uhuru: 20 Greatest Hits*, Sonic Sounds Son 0017 1991.

20. Gregory Isaacs. "Border," *Best of Gregory Isaacs, Vol. II*, GG Records, GG 0025.

21. For a discussion of the issues of exile and rejection of nationalism by Blacks in the diaspora, see Cornel West's useful if somewhat generalizing comments in his preface to *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993: x–xiv). The language of Rastafari is lucidly analyzed in Velma Pollard's "Dread Talk – The Speech of the Rastafarian in Jamaica", *Caribbean Quarterly* 26.4 (1980): 32–41.

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Many reggae songs celebrate the redemptive, healing and sustaining power of the music for those who must endure the perils of Babylonian exile. Marley's repertoire has several of these self-conscious assertions of the instrumentality of music as both a form of spiritual sustenance and a weapon against oppression. In "Trench Town Rock", the singer demands to be hit with music because "when the music hit you, you feel no pain." There is the exhortation to "lively up yourself" and to "forget your troubles and dance" in "Lively up Yourself." Music is represented as a form of social action in "One Drop" which affirms the rebellious power of the reggae one drop rhythm "resisting against the system/fighting against the isms and schisms". "Trench Town" reaffirms the notion of music as a mode of emancipation: "we free the people with music, sweet music/reggae music chant down Babylon".[22] Other reggae artistes deploy similar metaphors: Third World proclaim that "the riddim haffe rule" and that in the state of siege, which is the daily reality of the poor, the oppressors have to be attacked with music.[23] Burning Spear declares, in "Built this City", that "we built this city, from King Street with reggae music"[24]

The recent history of Jamaica also provides raw material for the state of emergency sensibility which underpins the music. Political tribalism, the declaration of a state of emergency in 1966, and a decade later in 1976; and the immense powers given to the police and the judiciary by the Suppression of Crimes Act (March 20, 1974) and the Gun Court Act (April 1, 1974) respectively, have all contributed to creating the stark social realities expressed in these songs. Many of the latter function as reports from the frontlines of an endless war between ghetto dwellers and the police who represent the state. The Mighty Diamonds' "Another Day, Another Raid" captures the reality of paramilitary policing which denies justice to the poor, and subjects them to "sometimes bullets, sometimes baton blows."[25] Bob Marley queries, in "Rebel Music/3 O'Clock Roadblock", the denial of freedom to poor people who are unable to "roam this open country" without having to endure the indignities

22. All of the Marley songs cited are available on the four compact disc compilation, *Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom*, Tuff Gong/Island Records 1992.

23. Third World, "Ridim Haffe Rule" and State of Siege", *Committed*, Polygram Records, 1994.

24. Burning Spear, "Built This City," *People of the World*, Slash Records, 1986.

25. Mighty Diamonds, "Another Day, Another Raid", *Get Ready*, Music Works Records 1988.

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of roadblocks and police searches. The realities of curfews are best expressed in Marley's "Burnin' and Lootin'" which describes both the experience of police repression and militant rude boy reaction in the form of "burnin' and lootin' tonight." These evocations of the denial of basic human rights and civil liberties, and the militarized nature of the inner city garrisons, are a far cry from the liberal democratic ideals that supposedly undergird the Jamaican nation state.

The prophetic criticism that is elaborated by roots and culture songs conforms to Cornel West's definition of the former as the imperative to criticize "illegitimate authority and arbitrary uses of power; a bestowal of dignity, grandeur and tragedy on the ordinary lives of everyday people; and an experimental form of life that highlights curiosity, wonder, contingency, adventure, danger and, most importantly, improvisation".[26] West identifies these elements as constituting a "democratic mode of being in the world inseparable from democratic ways of life and ways of struggle." Prophetic criticism valorizes "human empathy and compassion" and it is one of the finest products of what West calls "New World African Modernity."[27]

Many reggae singers assume the prophetic mantle as a way of invoking history and memory. They seek to retrieve the past in order to inform the present with the promise of future liberation. Thus, in "Deliverance Will Come", Dennis Brown, barely twenty years old at the time of this recording, sings with a prophetic maturity about the inevitability of deliverance. Brown's song depicts postcolonial Jamaica as a Babylonian site of crisis, a place of "war and strife, grief and terror, and the drums of hate."[28] This state of emergency is also evoked in the prophetic vision of the self-styled "bush doctor", Peter Tosh. In "Crystal Ball", Tosh's vision catalogues a host of conjunctural crises: "people victims, prices rising, gas shortening/and the dollar devaluing in the city, inna the shitty/...churches locked down, and schools closed down,/ politicians promising, teachers striking,/in the city, inna the shitty/youths rising, blood running, fire burning in the city, inna the shitty." However, like Dennis Brown who sees a vision of Beulah land "from the hills of captivity", Tosh sees a vision of hope beyond the grim despair of the "shitty city." As he

26. Cornel West. *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America*, p. xi.

27. Cornel West, *Keeping Faith:* pp. xi–xii.

28. Dennis Brown, "Deliverance Will Come", *Visions*, Joe Gibbs Records, 1978.

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looks further into the crystal ball, he sees "truth revealing, people cleansing/ downpressors chasing, people seeing/in the city, inna the shitty."[29]

It is this vision of the ultimate victory of good over evil that lends these reggae songs their moral certainty and resilient optimism despite the harsh socio-economic realities of contemporary Jamaica. Reggae roots and culture songs refuse to accept limitations on freedom; they deny the permanence of borders and barriers; their protagonists are always crossing territorial, cultural, and psychological borders; and they assert freedom as the inherent birthright of human beings. This emphasis on freedom is sharpened by the fact that reggae music refuses to relinquish the memory of the middle passage, racial slavery, and the inexpressible travails of four centuries of bondage and the experience of being strangers in a strange land, subject to an endless assault on the spirit. These sites of memory are claimed in Garnett Silk's "Bless Me" as he sings about finding himself in the midst of strangers without mercy,[30] and they resonate in the poignant reliving of the crack of the whip in Bob Marley and the Wailers' "Slave Driver."[31] Bunny Wailer memorializes the continuum of experience from slavery to urban dispossession in the figure of the despised "Black Heart Man", that cultural maroon who has no place in the policies and plans of the Jamaican elites who have taken over from the former colonial masters.[32]

It is necessary to avoid the analytical error of assuming that this stubborn refusal to forget the past is a form of self-indulgent wallowing in the condition of victimhood, and a refusal to face the realities of modernity by escaping into racial nostalgia and fantasies about Africa. Most songs about slavery and the historical past are directed at present conditions, and the definitive aspect of reggae's oppositional critique is not its supposed atavism and escapism but its modernity, a radical modernity that differs from Euro-American notions of modernity. In the West, modernity is depicted in terms of a linear unfolding of unique, unrepeatable events. Novelty and radical breaks with the past are thus defining features of Western modernity, whereas reggae, like other African diasporic musical forms, conceptualizes modernity in

29. Peter Tosh, "Crystal Ball", *The Toughest*, EMI Records, 1988.

30. Garnett Silk, "Bless Me," *It's Growing*, Dynamic Sounds.

31. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Slave Driver," *Catch A Fire*, Island Records, 1974.

32. Bunny Wailer, "Black Heart Man", *Black Heart Man*, Mango/Island Records, 1976.

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terms of repetition.[33] The past always returns, but it is altered each time. The endless versions that circulate and recirculate throughout reggae music are self-referential expressions of reggae's aesthetics of repetition which is linked to a politics of repetition that uses the model of slavery to examine the workings of the Jamaican nation state, and the biblical accounts of Jewish bondage to describe the plight of "the wretched of the earth" in the slums of Kingston and all the other "shitty" cities of the world. Bob Marley's "War" (itself a model example of the aesthetics of repetition, given its origins as a speech made by Haile Selassie I) is a messianic declaration of a universal state of emergency, a warning to those in power that until the basic human rights are guaranteed to all peoples, there will be the repeated catastrophe of war. And what is war but the most extreme manifestation of the state of emergency? It is this conception of history that Walter Benjamin declares as a necessary prerequisite for achieving "a real state of emergency" that can hasten the unfinished business of human liberation.[34]

The legacy of roots and culture representations of the postcolonial Jamaican state has carried over, with appropriate conjunctural transformations and nuances, into some areas of the dancehall scene. The Rasta Renaissance (which has seen the emergence of artistes such as Tony Rebel, Garnett Silk, Anthony B, President Brown, Determine, Capleton, Everton Blender, as well as the metamorphosed Buju Banton who has moved from quintessential rude boy lyrics to prophetic social commentary) continues the critique of the established social order, an order which is itself in the throes of chronic economic and social crises. After three decades of political tribalism, wholesale police brutality, nihilistic criminality, two states of emergencies, structural adjustment and the continuing impoverishment of the majority of the Jamaican populace, the reggae representations of the nation state can claim a certain predictive accuracy. It remains to be seen whether the redemptive vision of ultimate liberation and justice will also be realized. Until then, as the songs remind us, the state of emergency remains in effect.

33. For some interesting discussions of repetition as a paradigmatic mode of Black cultural modernism, see Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka), *Blues People* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1963) and "The Changing Same (R & B and New Black Music)" in *The Black Aesthetic*, ed. Addison Gayle, Jr. (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1971), pp. 112–25; and James A. Snead, "Repetition as a Figure of Black Culture," in *Black Literature and Literary Theory*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York and London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 59–80.

34. Benjamin, p. 257.

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