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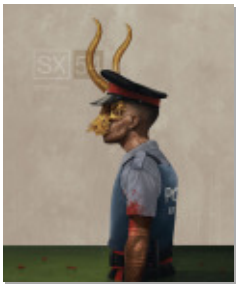

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Whether it functions as the literal and figurative terminus for the city's refuse or its model for community, West Kingston—Tivoli Gardens in particular—has served and will continue to serve an integral role in shaping Jamaica's postcolonial political landscape. In a 1971 speech to the residents of the newly constructed Tivoli Gardens, then member of Parliament for the Kingston Western constituency Edward Seaga observes that "West Kingston was carved out in the whole city as being the place where everything would be dumped that had no further use in life." He explained further how its development responded to a desire "to take the things that were not making any contribution to the betterment of the community" and transform them into showpieces. What is perhaps most interesting in this regard is Seaga's assertion that "if the area was only leveled so that one could see from one end to the other, we could say that we would have done the area a good deed and that we would have done a proud job in making the community better." Here he asserts that the mere absence of Back-O-Wall would make the community better, although the reason why—the ability to "see from one end to the other"—is interestingly ambiguous. Is Seaga thinking about a scenic vista, or about easy surveillance, or both? That surveillance might be on his mind is suggested by the fact that, to him, Back-O-Wall was "more than a slum . . . It was also the most notorious criminal den of the country, an image which the residents encouraged because the police were afraid to enter its

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fearful environs."[1] Along with improved living conditions, then, the destruction of Back-O-Wall and the development of Tivoli Gardens had among its official goals the disruption of the criminal activity that the haphazard impenetrability of the slum fostered. Seaga concludes his account, "There was absolutely no way this situation could be allowed to continue. For more than one reason, to create proper housing and to dispense the criminal elements, it had to be demolished for the development of proper accommodation."[2] This dual goal of improving the living conditions and security for the slum dwellers can be understood as reasonable and altruistic, although one might also wonder if Seaga's solicitude is not so much for the area's residents as for the better off inhabitants of Kingston.

In any case, beginning with the actual slum clearance, Seaga's development plan revealed itself to be a violent and highly partisan one that involved the forced removal of residents by bulldozer, the destruction of their scant property, and discriminatory resettlement, organized around party lines, in the new and much improved community. As Clinton Hutton points out,

> When the new housing district of Tivoli Gardens was built over the footprints of the bulldozers and flames that cleared Back o' Wall, persons deemed to be supporters of the PNP, including victims of the demolished Back o' Wall were denied abode therein. . . . The acquisition of a house in Tivoli Gardens was perhaps the most impressive dispensation of political patronage to a segment of the poor at the time. But to those poor who had their shacks demolished and became refugees, Tivoli Gardens was a symbol of injustice, enmity and hurt that must be resisted.[3]

While there were those among the displaced whose political loyalty was secured for life through the award of stable housing, others suffered for their political choices. "The bulldozing, the razing, beginning in 1963, of some two thousand poor Jamaicans' homes to clear the way for other poor Jamaicans," Hutton notes, "equally victimized as colonial subjects up to 1962, was a powerful symbol of postcolonial injustice and misuse of power, the muse of hurt, bitterness, resentment, segregation, and instability."[4]

As Hutton's observations make clear, the razing of Back-O-Wall was a watershed moment in the shaping of Kingston's postcolonial political landscape. With this in mind, it is odd that, while depictions of Kingston's urban slums and their denizen are a familiar facet of the Jamaican literary landscape from at least Roger Mais's 1954 *Brother Man* onward, the slum clearance that began in the late 1950s and continued through the 1960s rarely appears in the fiction of the latter decade.

One obvious reason for this may be that the dearth of such depictions reflects an unwillingness to contaminate the optimism of fledgling nationhood with the pessimism of the state's violence against its most destitute and vulnerable citizens. Fostering cultural nationalism has long been a preoccupying impetus of the Caribbean's literary output. But David Harvey's observations about the urban transformation of nineteenth-century Paris and mid-twentieth-century New York may offer

1 Edward Seaga, *Clash of Ideologies*, vol. 1 of *Edward Seaga: My Life and Leadership*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2010), 55.
2 Ibid., 56.
3 Clinton Hutton, "Oh Rudie: Jamaican Popular Music and the Narrative of Urban Badness in the Making of Postcolonial Society," *Caribbean Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2010): 32.
4 Ibid., 39.

us another way to think about the presence of slum dwellers, and absence of slum clearance, in Jamaican narratives from the 1960s and beyond. According to Harvey, the transformation of Paris and New York entailed "repeated bouts of urban restructuring through 'creative destruction,' which nearly always has a class dimension since it is the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process. Violence is required to build the new urban world on the wreckage of the old."[5] But Harvey also argues that urban transformation, as a characteristic modernist public works project, also functions to absorb surplus labor and prevent social unrest. With this latter point in mind, we might begin to understand the lack of engagement with such processes in fiction of the 1960s as naturalizing the nation's poor, by failing to represent the processes through which the postcolonial state both created and sought to manage them.

If Seaga cites the desire for easy surveillance as a value in postcolonial Kingston, it is in part an attempt to disrupt possible resistance by the discontented and destitute residents of the city who could find no other habitation beyond its slums. In the early 1960s Back-O-Wall's residents included not only PNP supporters, but also anti-establishment Rastafari brethren—among them some who were displaced from Pinnacle.[6] The civil unrest and clashes with law enforcement that characterized these demolition activities throughout the decade exemplify this opposition.[7] This opposition suggests the local Jamaican difference inflecting Harvey's generalizing observation that housing development functions to curtail resistance. But as he points out, it also functions to promote capitalist ideology. In the United States, for example, "subsidized home-ownership for the middle-classes changed the focus of community action towards the defense of property values and individualized identities, turning the suburban vote towards conservative republicanism."[8] In the case of Tivoli Gardens, the demolition of Back-O-Wall and the award of homes to faithful party supporters secured their loyalty and by extension the loyalty of the constituency for decades into the future.

What first drew my attention to the absence of urban renewal in late-twentieth-century Jamaican fiction is Marlon James's depiction, in his 2014 novel *A Brief History of Seven Killings*, of an event referred to as "the fall of Balaclava."[9] As I will argue, this event is one of three hauntings with which the book is concerned. As with Orlando Patterson's 1964 *Children Of Sisyphus*, one of the few novels of the1960s to address slum clearance, urban renewal is not directly represented in James's novel; rather, it is described retrospectively in dialogue as a formative event in the shaping of what would become Kingston's future.[10] I will return to both novels in more detail later, but for now, suffice it to say that while neither Patterson nor James depicts the event itself, both are very interested in the systemic effects of the forced removal of citizens and their domiciles to make way for politicized real estate development. Put another way, both texts seem to emphasize the

5 David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review* 2, no. 53 (2008): 33.
6 Pinnacle was a Rastafari commune in St. Catherine that was destroyed in 1954 by colonial security forces, who had identified the commune as a threat to the colony.
7 See Hutton's "Oh Rudie" for a more detailed listing of some of these clashes.
8 Harvey, "The Right to the City," 27.
9 Marlon James, *A Brief History of Seven Killings: A Novel*, 1st ed. (New York: Riverhead, 2014), 42; hereafter cited in the text.
10 Orlando Patterson, *The Children of Sisyphus* (Essex: Longman, 1964).

processes of urbanization and their effects on impoverished communities and beyond, rather than representing the identarian struggles of its victims and their negotiation of liminality within the frames of cultural nationalism.

The Ghosts of the Jamaican 1960s

Admittedly, James's recent novel is a counterintuitive candidate for consideration in a project that seeks to "mobilize the question of the 'Jamaican 1960s' as an historiographical window through which to consider what is at stake in broader debates about the making of postcolonial sovereignty."[11] Although it is a historical novel, no part of it takes place in the 1960s. Moreover, though this unwieldy brick of a novel is largely set in Jamaica, Jamaicanness—in terms of an investment in nationalist politics and agendas—is among the many things that are contested within it. The novel is widely marketed as the story of the 1976 assassination attempt on Bob Marley's life, but as one of the novel's fifteen narrators, Alex Pierce, notes, "Even though the Singer is the center of the story[,] . . . it really isn't his story. Like there's a version of this story that's not really about him, but about the people around him, the ones who come and go that might actually provide a bigger picture" (221). This exemplifies the novel's lack of interest in the traditional male protagonist who allegorically represents the nation. Moreover, in its focus on all the people around the Singer, it attempts to encapsulate a mid-1970s political moment in the Caribbean that was implicitly global, especially insofar as it embeds the attempt on Marley's life in a larger narrative whose threads include the nonaligned tricontinental movement, the Cold War, and the OPEC crisis. *A Brief History of Seven Killings* is also a study in mischievous formal and thematic contradictions: as many reviews have noted—to the point of cliché—the novel is not brief, and there are far more than seven killings. Yet despite its length, the novel takes place over the course of just five days: two in 1976 and one each in 1979, 1985, and 1991.

But while it may not engage with the 1960s in overt ways, I would like to suggest that *A Brief History of Seven Killings* is literally and figuratively haunted by the decade in a manner that retrospectively illuminates its literary precursors. The novel invokes the 1960s through the three hauntings with which it is concerned. The first, as I have already mentioned, is its repeated invocation of the 1966 event characters refer to as "the fall of Balaclava," a stand-in for the demolition of Back-O-Wall and Foreshore Road shanties. The second, literal haunting is the presence of the ghost/character Arthur George Jennings, who is listed in a four-page "Cast Of Characters" under the heading "Greater Kingston from 1959" as "former politician, deceased" (xi). Arguably, Jennings is the novel's representative of an internationally allied version of the postcolonial spirit, which becomes no more than a ghostly, haunting presence by the mid-1970s. The third and final way the 1960s lurks in the periphery of James's novel is in its interspersed references to global figures and international cities such as Allende, Lumumba, and Montevideo. These references index the destabilization of democratically elected governments in the 1960s in Latin America and Africa. Taken

11 "The Jamaican 1960s," Small Axe project statement, 2017.

together, all three of these hauntings demonstrate the novel's imagining of the Jamaican 1960s as a repercussive series of events that are simultaneously local and global.

Literary hauntings are a long-standing feature of Caribbean writing, exemplifying, according to Suzanna Engman, "how the Caribbean reaches outward, backward, and forward in time and space," in gestures that are more often than not narrative acts of recovery in response to a history of trauma and oppression.[12] As Graham Huggan suggests, the ghosts that haunt Caribbean fiction also function "as textual mediators, as a means by which Caribbean writers re-imagine their European literary ancestry."[13] At just under a century of discrete literary development, however, European literary ancestry is not the only inheritance in Caribbean writing that requires reimagining. While it is not the case that we have arrived at a postcolonial juncture in which we are fully decolonized and divested of British colonial influences and their attendant marginalizations, this is by no means the only historical legacy that requires possession in the postcolonial present. Indeed, anglophone Caribbean literary discourses today constitute an orthodox body of knowledge in its own right, one that authorizes particular inclusions and exclusions. As Kei Miller observes of his generation's writing, "We [West Indian writers and critics] who were against orthodoxies had inadvertently created our own—a Caribbean orthodoxy. And so, in the very spirit of what our Literature has been, we had to turn around and challenge ourselves."[14] Thus, the haunting that is central to James's novel is not so much about revivifying facets of the colonial past that have been violently erased or suppressed by European discourses, but rather about highlighting facets effaced in the creation of the region's own literary orthodoxies. Thus Huggan's observation that "ghosts are the unwelcome carriers of occluded history; they show us how we screen, and thus protect ourselves from the past," is an important one to consider when examining how James's conversion of the 1960s into spectral and peripheral presences serves to function as counter-memory to the official accounts of the decade.[15]

In what follows I argue—building on the clues supplied by James's invocations of the Jamaican 1960s—that the three forms of haunting in James's novel, and the absences that they signify, register how the nationalism central to the Jamaican canon as it has come down to us obscures the relationship between urbanization and the processes of capitalism as it was taking shape not only in Jamaica but, indeed, in most postcolonial nations at that time. With this framework in mind I return to two novels published in the 1960s, Patterson's 1964 *Children of Sisyphus* and Sylvia Wynter's 1962 *The Hills of Hebron*, to show how each takes up the impact of the global on the local in ways that our critical discourses have yet to come to terms with.

Children of Sisyphus's pessimistic meditation on the inescapability of debilitating squalor for the urban poor offers a now vividly iconic representation of the kind of physical and cultural landscapes bulldozed to build clientelistic communities like Tivoli Gardens. By putting *Children of*

12 Suzanna Engman, "Haunting Literatures of The Americas: The Ghosts in Wilson Harris' Jonestown and Erna Brodber's Louisiana," in Suzanna Engman, Tatiana Tagirova, and Dorsía Smith Silva, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Caribbean Literature and Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 102.

13 Graham Huggan, *Interdisciplinary Measures: Literature and the Future of Postcolonial Studies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 166.

14 Kei Miller, "In Defense of Maas Joe," *Under the Saltire Flag* (blog), 17 May 2013, underthesaltireflag.com/2013/05/17/in-defense-of-maas-joe.

15 Huggan, *Interdisciplinary Measures*, 169.

Sisyphus's pessimistic vision of life atop a garbage dump into conversation with James's cryptic treatment of the fall of Balaclava, I question how a dearth of narrative descriptions of Back-O-Wall and other such improvised shanties in 1960s Jamaican fiction functions to erase the processes of global capitalism at work in the (then) new nation. I also consider the critical neglect of the global dimensions of books written in the 1960s, asking what this means for our apprehension of the limits of postcolonial sovereignty. In particular, I focus on both Patterson's and Wynter's depictions of US sailors in Kingston, asking how these depictions might differently inflect our understanding of the devolution of the Jamaican polity following independence. David Scott and Deborah Thomas both attribute this devolution to the dwindling relevance and accessibility of middle-class creole cultural nationalism to the vast majority of the population.[16] But it may be that we can productively understand this failure—which, notably, reproduces itself in regimes around the world—as hinging on transnational as well as purely national factors. With this in mind, I argue that the prescription of indigenous cultural production as the route to postcolonial sovereignty—a prescription central to our reading of 1960s fiction and criticism—collapses political horizons onto the nation, in ways that both drove the violent dismantling of urban poor communities like Back-O-Wall and continue to obscure the international framework that prescribes such dismantling. What possibilities for both aesthetic and political action did this prescription foreclose, in ways that (James suggests) continue to haunt Jamaican life and literature as an unrealized presence after the 1960s? By beginning with James's ghostly invocations of the Jamaican 1960s, I thus hope to reanimate facets of the decade that have yet to be fully accounted for in our understandings of the possibilities of postcolonial sovereignty through cultural nationalism.

The Fall of Balaclava, or The Ghost of Back-O-Wall

According to Colin Clarke, "[The squatter] camps on the outskirts of the city [of Kingston] developed during the period of rapid population growth which took place after 1953. . . . The oldest squatter settlements were at Trench Town and Back-O-Wall on the fringes of the tenements; with interruptions, squatters had been living in the latter area since the 1930s."[17] This longevity makes it all the more interesting to consider how the destruction of these spaces peripherally occupies both James's novel and literature from the 1960s. In *A Brief History*, multiple narrators describe the "the fall of Balaclava" as the tipping point for everything else that follows in the novel. Papa-Lo, for example, says, "No man who enter 1966 leave the way he come in. The fall of Balaclava take plenty, even those who support it" (86). Here, the character described as the "don of Copenhagen City, 1960–1979" (xii)—a beneficiary and supporter of the demolition—comments on the traumatic and life-altering dimensions of the experience for those who lived in Balaclava. Papa-Lo notes further, "Balaclava get bulldozed down so that Copenhagen City could rise, and when the politicians

16 See David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); and Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

17 Colin G. Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692–2002*, illustrated ed. (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2006), 96.

come in after the bulldozers with their promises they also demand that we drive all PNP man out" (89). Moreover, in a prison interview with Alex Pierce, Tristan Phillips's description of Back-O-Wall (425) bears some resemblance to Hartley Neita's often-cited description of it in his essay "A Slum Is a Smell."[18]

Through these descriptions we can begin to understand Balaclava as a stand-in for the destruction of Back-O-Wall and the establishment of Tivoli Gardens.[19] Though James uses Balaclava and Copenhagen City as pseudonyms for Back-O-Wall and Tivoli Gardens, respectively, Tivoli Gardens is also the name of an amusement complex in Copenhagen, and in this and other ways the novel reveals its historical coordinates. If *A Brief History* gives only the barest minimum about the demolition of West Kingston shanties throughout the 1960s, it mirrors how literary discourses from the decade—at least those we still have readily available—treat these events. The transformation in Western Kingston of shanties into industrial complexes and government-subsidized housing plays a surprisingly marginal role in novels we still have access to, from or about the 1960s. With the exception of *Children of Sisyphus*, it is difficult to lay hands on novels from the 1960s that depict the demolition of shanties. I would like to suggest that this is largely the product of two forces.

The first is a practical issue of logistics; the second involves the interaction between literary canonization and narrative erasure. Jamaican novels published in the 1960s, with a few exceptions, are largely out of print. This is the fate of many of the novels published between the 1950s and 1980s across the Caribbean. Since 2009 Peepal Tree Press has been working to mitigate this problem through its Modern Caribbean Classics series and has so far republished thirty-eight "essential" books from the 1950s and '60s. Nonetheless, the series list is populated by names and titles that remain in circulation in our critical work—Neville Dawes, Wilson Harris, Edgar Mittelholzer, Jan Carew, and Orlando Patterson to name a few. What this means is that if a novel was not taken up as a part of the regional literary canon authorized in the 1960s, it languishes in out-of-print status and is not in the running (yet) for recovery in series like Caribbean Modern Classics.[20] We might hypothesize that the absence of such depictions reflects an unwillingness to contaminate the optimism of fledgling nationhood with the pessimism engendered by thousands of the city's residents living quite literally in rubbish. While Seaga may represent the development of West Kingston as vital to the modern development of the new nation, the luxury of hindsight makes it clear that—however well-meaning it was in intent—the relocation of impoverished citizens from shanties to concrete domiciles equipped with modern amenities, and the displacement of other citizens to wherever they could be absorbed in the city, accomplished too few of its imagined goals. Instead, we know from the work of numerous social scientists and historians alike that what occurred was the seeding of a violently tribal, predatory, and clientelistic political relationship between the ruling political orders and the residents of downtown Kingston, one that continues to this day.

18 Neita's essay is quoted in Seaga, *Clash of Ideologies*, 153.
19 Ibid., 55.
20 I would be remiss if I did not also note that of the thirty-eight rereleased titles, only two were written by women, demonstrating how recovery projects sometimes inherit the biases of the discourses they seek to reintroduce.

In this respect, *Children of Sisyphus* remains the most readily available yet understudied fictional account of postcolonial life in a space it describes as the city's anus. Scott suggests that because of its tragic vision, Patterson's novel "is often criticized for what appears to be its bleak, even disabling pessimism." Nonetheless, in Scott's formulation, Patterson's novel is "a generative literary site where postcolonial themes (concerning for example, the ambitions and ambiguities of political sovereignty and national identity and belonging) and tragic themes (concerning actions and conflict and finitude and catastrophe) come together in an especially poignant and illuminating way."[21] In these ways, *Children of Sisyphus* is simultaneously timely and ahead of its time. By this I mean that its pessimism conveys both a lived contemporary reality and the futility of buying into the national narrative of success via self-sufficiency and self-determination. This latter portrayal offers an example of a narrative context that we have only just begun to contemplate. No matter how hard the residents of Dungle try to escape their life atop garbage, as its crone Rachel intones like a refrain throughout the novel, there is no escape: "'Ah tell oonoo all de while,'" she says. "'Is no use. No use. Massa God know why 'Im put we down ya. 'Im mean say is ya we mus' stay. Wha' de use yu try an' run?'"[22] The novel portrays the squalor of the Dungle as divinely ordained and thus magnetic, pulling its characters back to it, despite the best efforts of the Rastafari who send a pair of emissaries to Ethiopia to see about repatriation, or of the prostitute Dinah who reaches the very cusp of escape from not just Dungle but Jamaica, only to be beaten within an inch of her life and pulled back to Dungle. As Dinah tells the shepherd of the Revivalist church where she finds brief respite, the Dungle and her life there haunt her: "'Ah running from it. Ah try hard as ah can. . . . It drawin' me back. Ah don' wan' to go back but it pulling me hard-hard.'"[23]

Returning to Scott, a recognition of Patterson's tragic vision of futility allows us to "unsettle our confidence in that consoling image of human agency as self-sufficient and self-determining and . . . to give pause to our inclination to see ourselves as merely determined by forces larger than ourselves."[24] While Scott in this essay may be attuned to the philosophical dimensions of the post-colonial human condition and the ways national determinism is at odds with it, denaturalizing the narrative of postcolonial decline by beginning to understand the choices behind it likewise allows for a complicated sense of historical agency to emerge. With this in mind, I would like to press Scott's observations about lack of control and the unconscious subjection to forces larger than ourselves into the service of thinking about what Patterson's engagement with the more fatalistic facets of national self-determination tells us about the relationship between localized nationalism and global economic policy.

21 David Scott, "The Tragic Vision in Postcolonial Time," *PMLA* 129, no. 4 (2014): 802.
22 Patterson, *Children of Sisyphus*, 164.
23 Ibid., 139.
24 Scott, "Tragic Vision," 802.

The Bandung Spirit, or The Ghost of Sir Arthur Jennings

A Brief History of Seven Killings engages this relationship through the ghost of Arthur Jennings, whose command, "Listen. Dead people never stop talking," opens the novel. The directive for the reader to "listen" to what the dead have to say is a morbid but significant structuring strategy for James's unwieldy narrative. Jennings is murdered sometime during the 1960s by Josey Wales. Another politician, Peter Nassir, hires Wales to kill Arthur for reasons that the novel does not disclose. Nassir's alliances with covert agents from the CIA, who are in Jamaica to distribute propaganda and guns to inner city youths, demonstrate his alignment with a brand of invisible politics that serve the interest of global capitalism rather than local ones, and shed some speculative light on why he has Jennings killed. Specifics about Jennings's own politics in the novel are not given, but their very mysteriousness suggests a form of politics that no longer exists in Jamaica's postcolonial narrative—one that is snuffed out by the predatory version of clientelistic politics that is represented by Nassir.

Jennings's murder by Wales connects him in death to Nassir, Wales, and everyone else whom the latter has killed. In this way Jennings serves as a metonym for a genealogy of political violence, a link in a chain of dead men that extends from the 1960s in Jamaica out into Miami and New York, where Wales eventually sets up narcotics trafficking activity. In a novel comprised of multiple voices and disparate events, Jennings's ghost functions like an Elizabethan chorus, linking all the characters and events together and pinpointing their intersection at Wales. It is Jennings who tells the reader what the book is about: "This is a story of several killings, of boys who meant nothing to the world still spinning, but each of them as they pass me carry the sweet-stink scent of the man that killed me" (3). Each time Jennings emerges in the novel it is on the occasion of all but two of the novel's titular deaths, including when the Singer dies. This gives weight to the novel's assertion that Artie Jennings "[took] the dream with him" when he was murdered (9). I would like to suggest that the dream that Artie Jennings takes with him, and that is withheld by a novel that indulges as liberally in excess as this one does, is among other things the dream engendered by the so-called Bandung Spirit.

According to Vijay Prashad, what the Tricontinental delegates from newly independent states who met at the Bandung conference in 1955 meant by the "Bandung Spirit" was "that the colonized world had now emerged to claim its space in world affairs, not just as an adjunct of the First or Second Worlds, but as a player in its own right. Furthermore, the Bandung Spirit was a refusal of both economic subordination and cultural suppression—two major policies of imperialism."[25] Scott argues that the Bandung project was "characterized by intense ideological polarization between procapitalist and prosocialist directions, by a sharpening of the anti-imperialist critique of political, economic, and cultural dependence on the West, and by the articulation of the demand for self-reliant self-determined and nonaligned Third World solidarity."[26] As a composite of preindependence-era Jamaican politicians, Jennings stands in for the hope of a global decolonization movement

25 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, repr. ed. (New York: New Press, 2008), 45–46.
26 Scott, *Refashioning Futures*, 221–22.

before it devolved into a series of siloed nationalisms linked primarily by the chains of capital and thus still subject to the dictates of powerful nations.

In this respect it is crucial that James—who might easily depict the fall of Balaclava as a strictly local phenomenon—in fact asks us to understand it as an event with global ramifications. While the home of Appleton rum in St. Elizabeth immediately comes to mind when one thinks about the word *balaclava* in the context of Jamaica, the word on a more symbolic level conveys the challenges to the state posed by impoverished communities that cannot be reconciled to the nation's idealized nationalist-modern vision of itself. *Balaclava* invokes the close fitting garment that covers much of the face, often leaving only the eyes visible, that is worn by aficionados of winter sports as well as global protestors and, increasingly, police forces. It also invokes an 1854 battle fought during the Crimean War to capture Russia's principal naval base on the Black Sea. Today we have Alfred Lloyd Tennyson's version of what happened when Britain's light cavalry charged into battle with the Russians. This is important to note, because though the historical Balaclava is besieged, much like James's fictional one, it does not necessarily fall and remains one of modern history's most controversial military engagements. By grafting this history onto his account of the destruction of shanties in West Kingston, James invests these events with similar historical import. The failure of the British and French to beat the Russians at Balaclava immediately set the stage for a much bloodier battle. Likewise, the destruction of Back-O-Wall and the construction of Tivoli Gardens, as Hutton observes, sets in steel and concrete the deep and violent political fissures that persist today.

Global Specters

This brings me to the third and final register of the 1960s in James's novel, its interspersed references to the destabilization of democratically elected governments in Latin America and Africa. James's invocations of Lumumba, Allende, and Montevideo index global relations of capitalist power that are relevant in our approach to novels like Patterson's that long ago revealed to us the tragic dimensions of a localized nationalism. As early as 1964, the doomed denizens of *Children of Sisyphus* stressed the importance of confronting or, to use Scott's word, *unsettling* cultural nationalism's (perhaps inadvertent) complicities with inequalities that are rooted in global capitalism. Seaga's land-use policies, interestingly, were not restricted to West Kingston, but included land reclamation for industrial and tourism purposes throughout the 1960s into the 1970s. These latter policies were geared toward developing local infrastructure, showcasing Jamaica as a model for postcolonial development, and courting international investment for further economic and infrastructural development.

Development was the independence plan of choice not only in Jamaica but in postcolonial nations worldwide. As the historian Daniel Sargent notes, however, postcolonial development policies faltered in the face of an increasingly interconnected global economy controlled by the rich nations and especially (thanks to the Bretton Woods agreement) the United States. "India's per capita GDP," Sargent writes, "increased in real terms, from $1,040 in 1947 to just $1,350 in 1967. The average Ghanaian's income increased 8 percent in the first decade of independence—a miserly

accomplishment over a decade when Italian per capita incomes rose by 6 percent."[27] Patterson's novel in its local setting depicts the consequences of a modernization policy pursued *as though* it were autonomous rather than imbricated in a global network disadvantaging countries like Jamaica. The novel opens with a garbage cart's journey along Industrial Terrace toward the garbage dump, or Dungle. Through Sammy the garbageman's eyes, we can see "the factories which you begin to see as you approached the end of the terrace were bright too, teeming with activity. Tall, aloof, enclosed structures, towering above the little jungle of huts and carcasses and garbage."[28] The factories, as Sammy describes them, bear no residual indications of the slum clearance that made way for them. Moreover, the paradoxical coexistence of bright factories alongside the filthy misery of urban life conveys how various laws and tax breaks to incentivize foreign investment in industrialization and development did very little to alleviate the poverty of many of the city's unskilled denizens. According to Clarke, "There was therefore no sign that manufacturing, even with government help, would be able to create sufficient new jobs in the future to eradicate unemployment, and establish a stable basis for the development of the higher standard of living to which the poorest elements in the population were increasingly aspiring."[29] In this light, the decision of Patterson's characters to live in a garbage dump has everything to do with the decade's industrial development policies. As Rachel tells Dinah, "When de dirty police dem raid de squatters dem in Back-O-Wall when Backra ready fe buil' 'im factory, me was de firs' person fe hit 'pon de idea fe come an' live ya. Yu can't run a man off of shit, dat is wha ah say."[30]

In the cramped detritus-covered world of the novel, atop a pile of garbage is the only place for the characters to live outside of the city's development. And the only thing harder to find than an actual home, as multiple mob scenes in the novel convey, is legitimate employment. None of the traditional liberation narratives of self-determination and self-sufficiency explored in the novel succeeds. Neither religion—Rasta or Revival—nor politics offer the possibility for a protracted escape. In the novel, it is the need to hope for the possibility of transcendence through self or maternal ambition or escape to Ethiopia that receives the harshest treatment. Self-reliance and hope under these conditions are heartbreakingly futile gateways to not just failure but, in the case of the novel's women, the madhouse or death. The actual force within the nation that consigns characters to this fate looms obscurely as Backra or an Anglicized upper-middle-class housewife, but it is possible to imagine it as the flip side of development policies that, grounded in the tourism economy, benefited not the Jamaican people but wealthy developers from Jamaica and elsewhere. But perhaps we do not have to speculate, if we consider the scene in the novel in which the prostitute Mary searches desperately for a customer in one of the US sailors who "were swarming the city" (120), in order to get money to send her pampered daughter, Rosetta, to high school. The jarring scene of torture she endures at the hands of a drunk sailor, who waves "the Yankee dollar" before her, while alternately

27 Daniel J. Sargent, *A Superpower Transformed: The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 35.
28 Patterson, *Children of Sisyphus*, 6.
29 Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica*, 86.
30 Patterson, *Children of Sisyphus*, 23.

taunting her with jeers of "pretty, pretty, Yankee dollar" (126) and heavy-fisted blows, presents a disturbing allegory for US power and its control over the Jamaican economy.

To the extent that we imagine political sovereignty and liberation as achievable solely via independent nationhood, we miss not only the ways some citizens fall out of the narrative entirely, such as the bulldozed denizens of shanties, but also the ways in which nationalist discourses of sovereignty and their accompanying identitarian referents work to effectively depoliticize crucial problems of sovereignty within an economy structured by capitalism's global reach. As the anthropologist David Ferguson has argued about Africa, "Where the national frame of reference has enjoyed unquestioned legitimacy, economic grievances have tended to be seen as 'problems' that are essentially local and internal to a national economy, and economic critique has been largely channeled into discussions of whether or not 'the nation' is pursuing 'the right policies.'"[31] We attribute the failure of economies within the developing world, Ferguson suggests, only to the failure of the nation, ignoring the more far-reaching forces of uneven transnational capitalist policies that also contribute to problems of underdevelopment, economic dependence, instability, and inequity. To observe this is not to diminish or deny national independence its progressive and empowering possibilities. It is, however, to force us to think about the limits of the national framework, and to ask how novels such as *Children of Sisyphus* urged us as early as 1964 to initiate a conversation about other ways of addressing problems of sovereignty within developing postcolonial nations like Jamaica.

Another novel from the 1960s that I think urges us into a conversation about the ways nationalist discourses work to effectively depoliticize by localizing crucial problems of sovereignty within an economy structured by capitalism's global reach is Wynter's *The Hills of Hebron*. For Wynter, as for Patterson, this dynamic is figured in the relationship between US sailors and Jamaican prostitutes. In Wynter's novel, when an alienated and disenchanted Isaac heads toward Kingston Harbor in search of a prostitute, it is his hope that an opportunity to confirm his virility will also restore his confidence. But it is the 1940s, in the midst of World War II: "Several ships were in port, and only the aged and the worn-out were available."[32] Isaac's efforts at reinforcing his timorous masculinity, much like Mary's efforts to provide for her daughter, are thus thwarted by American sailors. That these sailors also populate sections of Patterson's text reveals not only a rich informal and thoroughly exploitative sex trade but also a history of military sex tourism that critics of Jamaican literature have yet to begin to talk about, despite Harvey Neptune's 2007 groundbreaking study *Caliban and The Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation*. Returning to Isaac and his search for a virility surrogate, the oblique critical space in which this reference continues to languish reflects the conceptual limits of the geopolitical realities of Caribbean nations like Jamaica that are defined simultaneously as postcolonial bearers of sovereignty and wards of the United States, in whose backyard they exist. How does our neglect of moments such as this one in Wynter's novel, or our reluctance to confront the tragic ethos of *Children of Sisyphus*, affect our understanding of

31 James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 64–65.
32 Sylvia Wynter, *The Hills of Hebron* (1962; repr., Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2010), 261.

the actual forces responsible for the devolution of the Jamaican polity following independence? These questions are relevant to the 1960s but hardly limited to them; consider the importance of—and difficulty of talking about—Spanish hotel companies and Chinese highway and mining interests today.

In this essay I have sought to tease out, in an admittedly provisional fashion, how the literal haunting of Marlon James's novel by the eclipsed dream of "the Bandung Spirit" and the destruction of Balaclava evoke a cultural nationalist agenda that violently disenfranchised, traumatized, obscured, and essentially failed some of its citizens through its infrastructural development agendas in particular. My goal in doing so has been to offer substance for what I imagine to be a parallel haunting in how we talk about Jamaican novels from the 1960s. In a manner that is reminiscent of *Children of Sisyphus*'s bleak pessimism, *A Brief History*'s ghosts and hauntings compel us to confront how nationalist prescriptions as the route to postcolonial sovereignty—a prescription central to our reading of 1960s fiction—relate to the collapsing of political horizons onto the nation. Such a confrontation makes more obvious for us the ways the collapsing of political sovereignty into a national model requires both the violent dismantling of urban poor communities like Back-O-Wall and the obscuring of the international framework the nation had to navigate. The ghost of the Bandung Spirit, in the person of Artie Jennings, as well as the haunting of the fall of Balaclava force us to ask what possibilities for both aesthetic and political action this prescription foreclosed. But as my readings of Patterson and Wynter suggest, they also spur us to ask what possibilities they did not foreclose—by rereading works from the 1960s for forms of nationalist politics that are hiding in plain sight. Seaga's notion of urban clearance ironically pertains to our inherited conceptions of Jamaican literary history, where we value what we think is an unobstructed view but have much to gain by thinking about the forces that produced it.