Oh Rudie: Jamaican Popular Music and the Narrative of Urban Badness in the Making of Postcolonial Society

Author(s): CLINTON HUTTON

Source: *Caribbean Quarterly* , December 2010, Vol. 56, No. 4, Pioneering Icons of Jamaican Popular Music, Part II (December 2010), pp. 22-64

Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23050468

Oh Rudie

Jamaican Popular Music and the Narrative of Urban Badness in the Making of Postcolonial Society

CLINTON HUTTON

Rudeness and gun
Is the talk of this town
The gun fever is bad
The gun fever
—The Valentines

See they want to be the star
So they fighting tribal war
—Bob Marley

For due to political fiction
Lord
Due to political fiction
Man and man gone in a different segregation
We living so near and yet so far
All because of political war
—Half Pint

Introduction

THE FIRST MAJOR SOCIO-POLITICAL theme to be identified and extensively commented on in early modern Jamaican popular music is the phenomenon of the 'rude boy'. This theme emerged in Jamaican popular music in the mid-1960s, some two to three years into Jamaica's postcolonial journey. By 1965,

the die was cast; criminality was stepping up. The transformation of pre-independence gangs into warring tribal entities was already becoming a mode of political organisation and mobilisation, and an ontological signature in the definition of political culture and political power in the making of the post-colonial Jamaican landscape. This article examines some of the underlying factors that gave rise to the expressions of badness, which in turn inspired the agency of Jamaican popular music to create and to develop rude boy songs as part of the ideational mapping, weaving and questioning of postcolonial society in the first ten years of independence, 1962–72.

The origins of Kingston gangs

Urban gangs such as the Mau Mau,[1] formed in 1948/49, and the Phantom, founded in 1959/60, existed in Jamaica's capital, Kingston, prior to Jamaica becoming an independent nation state in 1962. Other pre-1962 gangs included the Vikings, Spangler, Phoenix, Skull and Pigeon. A central feature of these gangs was the absence among them of a modus operandi and culture of inter-gang warfare. Lloyd Bradley noted that "[a]t the beginning of the 1960s, it was rare for these gangs to fight each other".[2] In a number of interviews I conducted in 2009 and 2010 with founding members of the Mau Mau, Phantom and Spangler gangs,[3] all the interviewees affirmed this fact. One noted former star high school cricketer and footballer of Excelsior High School, who grew up in Rae Town, recalled that although violence was endemic to the modus operandi of some communities of Kingston's poor, gangsters from all over Kingston would ritually congregate at certain entertainment spots to enjoy themselves without resorting to inter-gang rivalry. One of these gathering spots was the Palace Theatre, venue of the popular Vere Johns' Opportunity Hour. Another was the Barbecue on Fleet Street on Friday nights. This former Excelsior student said:

> Barbecue is a place pon Fleet Street whey the man dem from the west, the man dem from the east, the man dem from the north . . . meet every Friday night. And Duke Reid or Coxsone [would] play music. Dat cyaan miss you pon a Friday night, you know. 'Cause it is the best in recorded music you getting. And just the whole camaraderie and the gathering. Man from west and from south and man from east a play dice outside and card. Lantern and all kind a ting. A beehive of activity.[4]

The reasons that some gang members of old gave for forming or joining gangs had their roots in colonial oppression and injustice. Members of Mau Mau, Phantom, Spangler and other gangs that I have interviewed at different times, in different venues, men now in their late sixties and seventies, all spoke of a persistent regime of race/class prejudice, unemployment, lack of education and training, neglect, alienation, and a future devoid of optimism. Poor, uneducated, untrained, stigmatised urban young black males in Kingston, who were seen as most resistant/immune to the European civilising ontology, became the central target of the colonial 'civilising' mission, with the police as the principal 'civilising' agency. These men spoke of the persistent rituals of police violence, torture, insults, persecution and general harassment directed at them, and suggested that forming gangs was, in part, the joining of forces to respond to colonial police excesses.

Persons who became gang members in Jamaica came predominantly from social formations referred to in the Marxist division of labour theory as the 'lumpenproletariat'. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels described the lumpenproletariat in very uncomplimentary language as the "dangerous class", "the social scum", whose "conditions of life . . . prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue".[5] Marx and Engels further argued that the lumpenproletariat was "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, *vagabons gens sans feu et sans aveu* [folk without hearth or home]". Moreover, they were "thoroughly malleable" and "as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption".[6]

The lumpenproletariat had emerged in Jamaica in the early post-emancipation period, when attempts by the former slave-making classes and their British colonial backers to corral emancipated Africans into an ontologically degraded labouring class shaped by the epistemology, psychology and culture of enslavement, bred a class of African-Jamaicans which colonial reports and society called vagabonds, among other demeaning names. By denying emancipated Africans reparation[7] for their enslavement, and artificially increasing the price of land up to sixty times the market rate for African-Jamaicans[8] so as to strategically fetter black access, as well as using state intervention to prevent or to curtail black proprietorship,[9] the post-emancipation elites engendered a class of African-Jamaicans with little option but to make a living primarily by anti-social means.

In 1865, *The Report on the Moral Condition of the City of Kingston and Its Environs* gave a description of the condition, activity and identity of this class of black Jamaicans that is worth quoting at length:

> [T]here will be found among the juvenile class a large amount of ignorance, crime, destitution and juvenile delinquency . . . Inmates from infancy of the lowest dens of infamy and accustomed only to scenes of profanity, indecency and vice . . . haunting the railway terminus, the wharves, and landing places of the city; the arrival of foreign steamships, the shore, the race course, the yards and streets and lanes of the city; having no ostensible employment, but spending their whole days in idleness, corrupting and debasing one another . . . In some instances and deliberately trained and brought up to steal and plunder to support themselves and minister to the vicious passions of their still more wicked and depraved parents . . . Impatient of restraints, rude, boisterous, regardless of all decency . . . the cursing, swearing and blasphemy of mere children defies description. They seem to vie and contend with one another for a shameless pre-eminence in this abominable vice . . . unrestrained licence . . . has given them a kind of premature and mock spirit of regardless men. They assume the airs and manners of our criminal adults, and with all the boisterous unblushingness of maturity in wrong doing, do they resist advice and retort rebuke and behave as utterly insensible to shame or public opinion. Imitating the airs and the black guardism of older persons, they swear, swagger, and fight, buster and blaspheme with a volubility and a recklessness such as is most painful to witness.[10]

This stratum of Kingston's post-emancipation poor became the cultural, psychological and ontological bloodline of the social formations from which youth gangs such as the Mau Mau, Park, Phantom, Vikings, Spangler, Skull and Phoenix would emerge in Jamaica in the second half of the twentieth century. Subsequent to *The Report on the Moral Condition of the City of Kingston and Its Environs*, a number of other similar reports were published which shed light on this developing social landscape.[11] In 1892, the *Daily Gleaner* described the borough known as Smith's Village (which would comprise the constituency of Western Kingston fifty-two years later) as "disgraceful" and "filthy" and "principally inhabited by labourers and those of our population who live from hand to mouth".[12] Furthermore:

> In Smith's Village proper, which consists of some dozen pathways dignified by the name of streets, there are 139 houses . . . A few are of the rateable value of £8, but the vast majority are "class" houses rated between £1 and £4, while not a few are put down on the assessment roll at 10s. On looking over this roll in fact strikes the reader

> as very significant, viz, that a large number of the structures, for they can hardly be called houses, are classed as being "in very bad order".

"[F]ilth and abomination . . . abound in the streets and lanes" where these "structures" called houses were built, noted the same *Gleaner* report. Indeed, these streets and lanes "practically invite disease and should an epidemic occur it would be an impossibility to prevent its spread". The *Gleaner* also noted that in Smith's Village "[e]verything is favourable for those who have any inclination to break the laws" because, among other things, "the streets are to a great extent lonely and deserted at night, and even where more thickly populated, the people are so thoroughly accustomed and inured to deeds of violence, that they take comparatively little note of what is going on . . .".[13]

Applauding badness

This place which was deemed "the home of wickedness and vice of the most depraved description"[14] in the last decade of the nineteenth century became the abode of perhaps the two most notorious criminals of Kingston's streets in the first fifty years of the twentieth century: Aston Jolly ("Whoppy King") and Vincent "Ivanhoe" Martin ("Rhygin"). Both men were born in rural Jamaica and migrated to Smith's Village when they were boys.

Whoppy King was born in Lucea, Hanover, in 1908 and came to Kingston at age twelve years, settled in Dungle and attended the nearby Ebenezer School on Spanish Town Road. He was first arrested and sentenced at age fifteen years. Thereafter, he took on a life of crime: robbery, extortion, rape and murder. When Whoppy King was arrested for killing Sidney Garel and raping and seriously wounding his girlfriend Bernadette Hugh on the Palisadoes Road in 1951, thousands of people gathered at the Cross Roads Police Station where he was being held and "even more turned up at the Supreme Court building at Justice Square, downtown Kingston for his trial and conviction".[15] He was executed by hanging, in the St Catherine District prison, Spanish Town, on 4 April 1952. On the day of his execution by the state, it was estimated that about half of the population of Spanish Town gathered outside the prison to await the announcement of his death.[16]

Rhygin, also called the "Two-Gun Killer", "Alan Ladd" and "Captain Mid-

night", was born in Linstead, St Catherine in about 1924. As a little boy, he moved to Kingston and became a resident of Western Kingston. When he was fourteen years old in 1938, he was sentenced by the Kingston resident magistrate to a dozen lashes from the tamarind switch, for committing a vicious attack. Sentenced to do prison time in 1943 and 1946, he escaped from the General Penitentiary in Kingston in 1948 and etched a murderous path, starting with a policeman and a woman, until he was shot and killed by the police on 19 October 1948 at Lime Cay, in a gun battle lasting over one hour. He was twenty-four years old. When news broke of his death, "thousands of persons, police and civilians alike, lined the streets from the Kingston waterfront to a morgue in Kingston".[17]

The performance of badness, choreographed and starred in by these two men with the audaciously bold reckless courage, defiance and impish adventurousness usually identified in Hollywood cinematic characters, especially those in Western and gangster movies, became part of that evolving culture of honour, respectability and mythical invincibility in the iconographic terrain of Jamaican ontology which led to some degree of admiration for *badmanism* among the populace.[18] And it was this ethos of badness that a section of the postcolonial political elite would harness and develop into a murderous tribal partisan political theatre, with consequences of epochal proportions.

The agency and signatures of badness were not only harnessed for a sinister power game that would set Jamaican postcolonial politics on a murderous partisan journey. Such agency and signatures were endowed with a stamp of elite recognition, approval and certitude which made partisan political rude boys ontologically and psychologically more vicious, more daring, more bold, more audacious and more a law onto themselves in the performance of badness. It would set the standard for badness and its enactment in postcolonial Jamaican society.

This enhanced daring and audaciousness in performing badness is captured in several songs about the rude boys. They include "Rude Boy Train" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces, and "Tougher than Tough" by Derrick Morgan. In "Rude Boy Train":

> Rude boy get off a circuit charge
> Rude boy get off a circuit charge
> Do be do be doo
> Do be do be doo

Rude boy a loot and a shoot and a wail
Rude boy a loot and a shoot and a wail
Do be do be doo
Do be do be doo

Double Oh Seven is back on the scene
Double Oh Seven is back on the scene
Do be do be doo
Do be do be doo[19]

"Rude Boy Train" is a confident, boastful announcement of rude boy's triumph: "Rude boy get off a circuit charge". And for emphasis, the announcement of his triumph is repeated, with a mocking refrain aimed at the court and people who wanted him put away: "Do be do be doo / Do be do be doo." The circuit court failed to convict him for crime(s) for which he increasingly feels confident he won't be convicted.[20] He comes back triumphantly on a rude boy train, a rude boy boat, a rude boy plane, like a star: "Double Oh Seven [James Bond] is back on the scene" engaging once more in activities for which the circuit court failed to convict him: "Rude boy a loot and a shoot and a wail".

Hartley Neita asserted that "popular singers had been glorifying the men involved in these crimes, who had earned the name of 'Rude Boys' or 'Rudies'".[21] Neita noted that among the songs glorifying the men involved in these crimes were "007 (Shanty Town)" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces, "Tougher than Tough (Rudies Don't Fear)" by Derrick Morgan, and "Johnny Too Bad" by the Slickers.[22] Similarly, Edward Seaga, in describing the rise of violent attacks in Jamaica in the mid-1960s as the product of the emerging rude boy era, said, "Popular singers were already commenting in lyrics which glamourised the concept, the daring role of the 'rude boys', some of whom were embracing violence with guns."[23]

I suggest that Neita's and Seaga's description of the attitude of popular singers to the rude boys as glorification or glamourisation is a gross overstatement. To the credit of popular singers, the overwhelming majority of songs they did expressed opposition to the activity of the rude boys. In a survey/content analysis I did of thirty songs about the rude boy, twenty of them can be categorised as being against the rude boy, while only ten can be deemed to be in support of the rude boy. Twenty-six of the total sample of thirty songs were

released between 1966 and 1967, the period when the epochal framing of a tribal postcolonial political ethos that had been in the making for less than five years surfaced in a mighty explosion.

However, it is not what Seaga said about some rude boys embracing guns that is essential to our understanding of the history of our postcolonial political ethos and the predicament the country is in today. It is what he did not say about them.

The birth of inter-gang warfare

Inter-gang warfare was a postcolonial political phenomenon engineered by a segment of the emerging national political class. Inter-gang warfare was thus, from its genesis, political warfare.

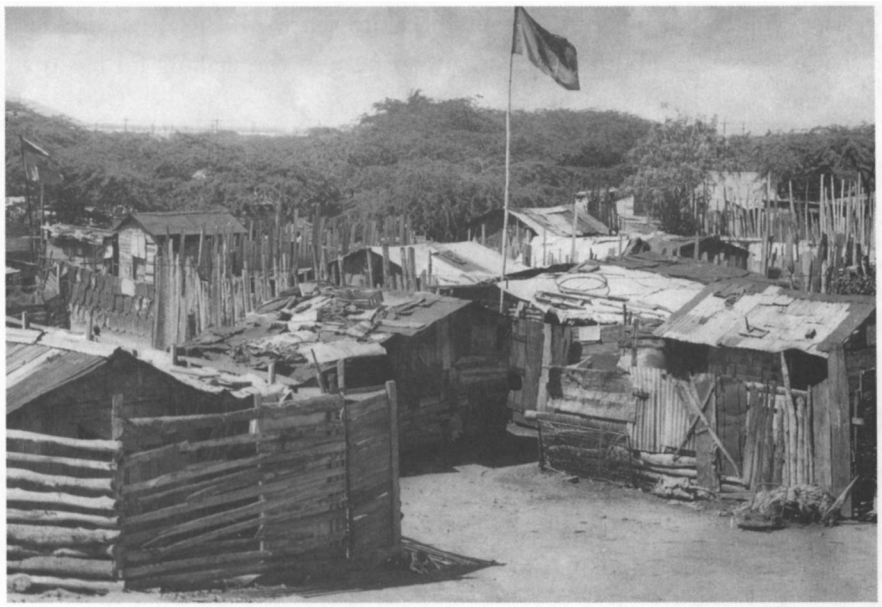
Barry Chevannes noted:

> Until 1963 inter-gang rivalry was unknown. What brought it about was the attempt by members of the ruling party to tackle the social dislocation by programmes aimed especially at organising the youths. In fact the constituency representative held the Cabinet post of Minister of Community Development and Welfare. Thus it was that the Park gang formed a club called Wellington United and became affiliated to the Youth Development Agency.[24]

What Chevannes outlined above gives us a peep into the birth of a postcolonial ethos that the late University of the West Indies (UWI) professor Carl Stone would call 'garrison politics', whose expressions inspired songs about rudies.

Back-o-Wall

Edward Seaga became Member of Parliament for Kingston Western on 10 April 1962. Of the 14,023 voters on the list for that constituency, just over 80 percent voted, with Seaga of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) polling 5,859 votes, while Dudley Thompson of the People's National Party (PNP) polled 5,171 votes.[25] In the four general elections before 1962, the JLP and the PNP had each won Kingston Western two times.[26] Thus, in every other election



Back-o-Wall in 1962

in Kingston Western, the electors had changed the JLP for the PNP. It was a typical swing constituency. This ended in 1962; and the JLP has held the seat since, because the government, through the Member of Parliament Edward Seaga, caused a fundamental shift to take place in the demographic makeup of the constituency which led to the reconstitution of a population of voters decidedly in favour of the JLP.

Western Kingston was described by Seaga as having the largest slum in Jamaica: Back-o-Wall (Bak-A-Waal). "But it was more than a slum," Seaga has argued. "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 fearful environs." For Seaga,

> There was absolutely no way this situation could be allowed to continue. In order to both create proper housing and disperse the criminal elements, Back o' Wall [*sic*] had to be demolished. In its place I planned a forty-acre community for four thousand residents living in a variety of structures: some high-rise condominiums, other townhouse type complexes and some bungalows.[27]

Back-o-Wall then became, for Seaga, not a legacy of colonial agency, but mostly a problem of criminality, the expression of the agency of "the most notorious criminal den" in the whole of Jamaica, which must be dispersed. It was, for Seaga, "the cancer in West Kingston".[28] Hence, the basis for the justification that would be advanced to explain what took place in Western Kingston in the 1960s.

Paradoxically, Edward Seaga was one of the most progressive members of the Upper House of the colonial parliament in the epoch of self-government. Moreover, he was, in some respects, more in tune with and sympathetic to the cultural, ideational and identity-forming ethos of the poor than perhaps most politicians on the eve of independence and in the early postcolonial period. But in the trench of partisan political competition, something went wrong.

By 1962, Western Kingston had become the epicentre of the nation's woes; the signature of an apocalyptic journey into a terrain of fruitless empathy and trust; a cathedral of sorrow constructed in the building of a marasmic and miasmic postcolonial state. And the centre of that epicentre was Back-o-Wall.

In many respects, Back-o-Wall was still a late-nineteenth-century, early-twentieth-century landscape in 1962. Hartley Neita's description of this space in an article he wrote after accompanying Premier Norman Manley on a tour of this area in 1961, was characteristic of the descriptions of squalid Kingston in reports published in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. According to Neita, who was working in the government's public relations office:

> We walked from early morning until mid-afternoon through some four acres of squalor. Saw shacks, the walls of which were made of pieces of rotten wood and cardboard, crocus bags and covered with rusty sheets of zinc. The families slept on pieces of cardboard covered with scraps of cloth . . . There were no roads, just beaten tracks winding way around each hut. Sometimes we stepped into swards of mud and the faeces of pigs and goats . . . There was no grass or trees for shade or fruit. Every now and then we came upon a shrivelled gungo pea plant . . . There was no piped water. They had a tapped water main along the Spanish Town Road and carried water inside the community where they had constructed a make-shift shower . . . One man had built a latrine and he charged residents one penny to use it. The alternative was at the edge of the community in sandy soil where men and women scraped a shallow hole and squatted over it to drop their night food . . . The smell

> from the combination of the rotting wood, mud, sour water and faeces and scraps of cooked food waste, was a nauseous, stomach-turning smell.[29]

The bulldozers and flames of the JLP government first came in 1963 and again in 1966: bulldozers and flames clearing land, behind the wall, of the *tatus* (shacks) and ranches of "the most notorious criminal den of the country"; bulldozers and flames directed by a government that came to power in 1962 to guide the affairs of the newly independent state; bulldozers and flames ontologically cultivating hurt and rage, animosity, and segregation, fragmentation and retaliation.

The creation of Tivoli

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. And Carl "Bya" Mitchell, the JLP enforcer, would tell one of his friends, who would tell me, of the immense pride he felt having his own home, where he no longer had to run up and down setting pots, cheese pan and basin to catch rain water coursing through the roof of his old dry-weather ranch. For that reason, he would forever be grateful to Mr Seaga, and place his loyalty to him above the JLP.

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. Hence, a clash allegedly took place at the housing estate between supporters of the PNP and JLP in June 1966 when "a PNP gang invaded the settlement, protesting they were not allotted any houses".[30] The die was cast. The progressive idea for model housing for Kingston's poor that Seaga envisaged was aborted in the way it came to life.

According to the logic of this emerging tribal political order, "In West Kingston, political activists were too fearful of potential harm to live among persons of other political persuasions. Hence, although many of the original families of Back o' Wall could have been accommodated, few applied."[31] In any event, JLP supporters needed to live together, Seaga argued, hence

negating the view that "many of the families of Back o' Wall could have been accommodated":

> JLP supporters sought to live in an enclave where they could protect themselves [from PNP supporters] . . . They [the police] could never be depended upon to assist or protect anybody on the JLP side, and [there was] more than one reason for the people in West Kingston to have sought to put themselves in an area where they do not have to look over their shoulders, because they were safe among the residences in which they lived.[32]

Notwithstanding any such attempted retrospective justification, the way in which Tivoli Gardens was created and peopled led to an arms race in Western Kingston in the 1960s. Youth gangs which prior to independence were not fighting with each other became deadly tribal partisan enemies in the pay of postcolonial political elites, one party bent on clearing West Kingston of the opposite party and the opposite party bent on preventing it. And when the guns could not come quickly enough through the political channel, they were acquired by other means. Some were stolen from legal firearm holders. An impressive haul of guns came from the Henderson store near the wharf in downtown Kingston. Some Spanglers allegedly broke into the store one night. Some guns were also said to be stolen from the shooting range gun storage room off Mountain View Avenue. Pandora was stalking the land, fashioning an ontological state of hurt, pain, fear and revenge. The ethos of the romance of death had begun.

Rastafari oppressed

Mortimo Planno, the noted Rastafari leader, remembered Back-o-Wall and neighbouring township communities in the 1950s and 1960s:

> Back-o-Wall, Ackee Walk, Dungle, was Rastafari community. Dem call it squatta land. We buil' up shacks an' live in dem an' tings. Bustamante, second year a 'im political manoeuvrin', cause KSAC fe destroy dose community – bruk down de residence an' we have fi move up an' down . . . Dungle where I use to reside was a area like a big cricket ground, football field area – an' tatu right aroun' i'.[33]

Dance and concerts were held in this space. Many of the people living in this area were refugees from Pinnacle, the Rastafari commune in St Catherine,

which had been destroyed by the colonial security forces in 1954. Some three thousand persons had been affected by the destruction of Pinnacle.

It was in the Dungle that Johnny Nash first met Bob Marley. He went there to a concert where he saw Marley perform and was thoroughly impressed with him. It was from this meeting that Marley would later link up with Danny Sims. The social-aesthetic impact of these township communities on the emerging Jamaican popular sounds ska, rocksteady and reggae should not be underestimated. Justin Hinds related that before the destruction of Back-o-Wall in 1963, he went into that community, having left an audition by Duke Reid's studio, which he had come into Kingston from St Ann to do. Having been in the line for some time along with other persons waiting to be auditioned, he got a bit nervous, since the audition was being done on the street side, in front of everyone. So Hinds left and "went to a place call Back-o-Wall, which [is] known as Tivoli Gardens today". According to Hinds,

> There was a lot of dread in those day, that stayed there. You know, that chant the Iyabinghi sound. I was there hanging out and there came a brother [by] the name of Bongo Noel. You know, one a de elder dread. He said, "Well, where are you from?" I tell him, "I from St Ann" – and he said to me, "Well, we are doin' some chanting today." And I start to play on the Iyabinghi drum and you know, impress them.
>
> And Lord Creator was there, Wilfred Edwards, Jackie Opel and all these people. So, they said to me, "You can really sing." So there was a guy there from the studio, from Treasure Isle and he went back to Duke Reid and tell him this guy that was there before, can really sing. So he send for me and I went over to the studio to see him. So he said, "What's the name of your song?"[34]

That song became his first recording, "Carry Go Bring Come", a massive hit.

With respect to the creative cultural activity in Dungle, Planno said:

> Our cultural setting was playing music wid we mout', yu know. We didn't have no instrument but we could improvise. We could be a trumpeter, saxophonist – play de music an' de riddim, yu know. We 'ave we drums, yes. Rastafarian drums. But we usually use we mout' fe really keep up a cultural form . . . until we 'ave musicians like Houdini, come in wid 'im guitar. An' we 'ave singers. We had some good singers at the time, like Cliffie, Monkey Bread. De politics get hot and Monkey Bread get shot. He was de firs' one who dead eena de 'ole episode of de violence.[35]

Planno noted that "some great artists" such as Lord Flea (Norman Thomas)

An epochal welcome for His Imperial Haile Selassie I, 1966

and Alvin "Seeco" Patterson came out of that improvisational space/episode.

Planno also promoted dance: "Down a de big tree down a Dungle we usually put up soun' system, yu know, play outdoor music an' ting." As for the concerts and their significance to the development of Jamaican popular music, Planno noted: "I usually keep concert on de dungle. Dat is wey almos' everyting started, almos', yu know. On de dungle, until we move to Trench Town, 5th Street yard"[36] where a long list of the who's who in Jamaican music hung out, rehearsed and performed. Among them were Ken Boothe, Alton Ellis, Dobby Dobson, Joe Higgs, Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer. This ontological spot of Jamaican music had its counterpart in East Kingston, Count Ossie's Rasta camp. Some of Jamaica's greatest musicians such as Tommy McCook, Don Drummond, Rolando Alphanso, Johnny "Dizzy" Moore, Wilton "Bra" Gaynair, Jah Jerry and Carl Masters entered into musical communion, mediated by the Nyabinghi drums.

Joseph Owens noted that Dungle had the highest concentration of Rastafari in the island and that by the early 1960s the shanty-town community was

known as the "Rasta's Vatican".[37] Among prominent Rastafari residing in camps in the area were Planno, Bongo Watto, Prince Emmanuel, Watta King, Bro Skipper, Sam Brown and Ken Frasier.

According to Planno, "We usually preach our Rastafari doctrine along de street, yu know."[38] Emmanuel was well known for this. His preaching prevented several young men from joining up with the Member of Parliament and Minister of Community Development and Welfare. One person said he refused to join, despite the temptation of seeing five-pound notes buttoned down the front of the shirts of youths who had joined, because Prince Emmanuel preached that black people should not support Seaga because the Arabs were the first to enslave Africans. This Spangler, having refused to join, was told that he had to leave the community. This he did, moving to East Kingston. Another person in a similar position went to live in August Town – the understood position being that "if you are not with me, you are against me".

In 1958, Prince Emmanuel had convened an islandwide twenty-one-day convention of Rastafari at Ackee Walk where he had his camp.[39] An estimated three thousand persons attended and several clashes took place between Rastas and the police.[40] And in the 1962 general elections, Ras Samuel Brown ran as an independent against Edward Seaga (JLP), Dudley Thompson (PNP) and Byron Moore (PPP), getting only seventy-eight votes.

Sam Brown was arrested on Wednesday, 22 June 1966 in a raid carried out on Foreshore Road shanty town. The *Gleaner* on the following day reported:

> The Police in a massive pre-dawn land, sea and air operation, yesterday held 35 persons at the Foreshore Road shanty town – seat of sporadic gang and political clashes in West Kingston.
>
> Seventeen of those held in the raid were arrested on various charges and the other 18 detainees will be formally charged as soon as investigations are completed, Police said.
>
> The detainees include Sam Brown, chairman of the Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica and an unsuccessful West Kingston candidate in the 1962 General Elections.

According to the *Gleaner*, also arrested was "Roy Bryan, alias 'Stinky' Rogers", whom the police believed to be a leader of a west-end gang. He was wanted for shooting and the "hurling of three sticks of dynamite which fell only yards from police commissioner Gordon Langdon" on the afternoon of

13 June. The police revealed that they had confiscated "the largest quantity of explosives and ingredients of home-made bombs seized by Police in their series of raids since the violence erupted two weeks ago". And in another "swoop on the shanties later, officers of the Lands Department, guarded by riot police, served notices on the squatters to quit their shacks by Tuesday. The notices were also posted on some of the huts . . ." The *Gleaner* reported that "squatters on Industrial Terrace were also served 10-day quit notices by the KSAC Public Health Department last Friday. Their shacks are across the road from the low-income Tivoli Gardens housing settlement where almost all residents are Jamaica Labour Party followers."[41]

On Tuesday, 12 July 1966, the bulldozers were sent in, accompanied by men who set fire to everything in their way that could be burnt.

The bulldozing of Shanty Town

On Wednesday, 13 July, the *Gleaner* made the following report:

> Bulldozers moved swiftly yesterday, sweeping squatter shacks into massive heaps, at the Industrial Terrace and Foreshore Road shanty towns in Kingston's west. Then crews from the Public Works Department and the Ministry of Housing set fire to the shanties, which numbered over 800, sending black smoke skywards.

The *Gleaner* further reported that "squatters and their children braved the huge towering flames and intense heat to retrieve items of furniture, building board and post they failed to move out before the operation began". "For many," the *Gleaner* noted, "there was a mad rush – to beat the bulldozer . . . Squatters scampered back and forth to secure spots, hurrying to clear out their belongings as the bulldozer's shovel loomed . . ."

"Meanwhile," according to the *Gleaner*, "the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, the Hon. John P. Gayles, announced yesterday [that] 'all West Kingston squatter settlements set up on Government lands will be bulldozed, and bulldozed until they are completely cleared'." The *Gleaner* further noted that "yesterday's bulldozing at Industrial Terrace wiped out the remainder of what was Back-O-Wall [*sic*], the larger part of which was demolished in 1963 to make way for the new low-cost Tivoli Gardens housing estate". "The Tivoli Gardens housing project," the *Gleaner* told us, "is to be expanded on the

One bulldozer partly sank while destroying the Foreshore Road township of Shanty Town in 1966

cleared Industrial Terrace land, while the Foreshore Road land is wanted for industrial development, a Government spokesman said."[42]

The *Gleaner* of Thursday, 14 July 1966 stated that

> the half-mile stretch of squatter shacks on Kingston's waterfront from the Fire Float station to Hunts Bay Power station, was a picturesque red and grey late yesterday, as raging flames sent huge mushrooms of smoke skywards – the end of the Foreshore Road shanty town, Jamaica's biggest.
>
> It was also the end of the two-day operation in which Public Works Department bulldozers crushed, piled and burnt shacks remaining at the Industrial Terrace and Foreshore Road squatter settlements.

At the end of it all, "over 1500 shacks" on Foreshore Road and Industrial Terrace "were bulldozed and razed during the operation", the *Gleaner* noted. Some squatters, the *Gleaner* said, "moved hundreds of other shacks to Riverton City, Moonlight City, Sligoville, Tower Hill and Spanish Town, while others have either rented rooms or moved to the May Pen cemetery".[43] And some of them slept in the open at Industrial Terrace, while others slept on the side-

walks of Foreshore Road. Two days later the *Gleaner* reported: "An estimated 100 children are remaining shelterless with their parents either on the bulldozed settlements, May Pen Cemetery or Industrial Terrace and Foreshore Road sidewalks." That was after the police were "trying to get squatter children sleeping with their parents on the sidewalks of Industrial Terrace and Foreshore Road . . . and May Pen Cemetery into Corporate Area Homes of Safety". The overwhelming majority of mothers "refused to part with children", the police said.[44]

The bulldozing, the razing, beginning in 1963, of some two thousand poor Jamaicans' homes to clear the way for other poor Jamaicans equally victimised 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. One expression of this was the dynamite attack on police personnel in Shanty Town. Superintendent Howard, whose car was dynamited, was seriously hurt.

One man who was in Shanty Town at the time told me that some of the people living there, including himself, came from Back-o-Wall when their homes were bulldozed in 1963. He said after they "bruk down" his "ranch",

Destroying Foreshore Road township shanties, 1966

he went "down a whe' dem call Shanty Town" and "put up a next ranch" and when they "come down deh an' bruk wey dat again . . . some man start throw some dandemite [dynamite] eena de road . . . an' Howard car go up eena de air and drop pon de ground." He told me: "A bare dandemite de man dem a fling, yu know."[45] The sticks of dynamite the men hurled at the police had short fuses and were normally used by them to "fling eena de bongle [bundle] a mullet" in the nearby sea, to blow them up for sale and for food. Two of these fishermen, Stinky and Kaakas (carcass) were said to have been sent to jail for ten years each, for the bombing of Superintendent Howard.

This bombing incident, and all the various events stemming from the bulldozing and razing of hundreds of homes in Shanty Town, inspired one of the most popular rude boy songs, "007 (Shanty Town)" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces. The song begins by locating the rude boys within a Hollywood movie terrain: Ocean's Eleven. And, as in "Rude Boy Train", "007" (Bond) represents the classical rude boy character: "Oh Oh Seven / Oh Oh Seven / At Ocean's Eleven / And now rude boys a go wail / 'Cause dem outa jail / Rude boys cannot fail / 'Cause dem mus' get bail". And in the space that was Shanty Town:

> Dem a loot, dem a shoot, dem a wail
> (A Shanty Town)
> Dem a loot, dem a shoot, dem a wail
> (A Shanty Town)
> And rude boy deh pon probation
> (A Shanty Town)
> And rude boy a bomb up de town
> (A Shanty Town)[46]

In Shanty Town the security forces eventually prevailed because "Police get taller / Soldier get longer" and "Rude boy a weep and a wail". So, on close examination, "007 (Shanty Town)" is not really that categorical glorification narrative that Neita made it out to be.

Prince Buster was also inspired to do a song on the Shanty Town affair. He called it "Shanty Town". In this song, Buster was not sympathetic to the rude boys.

> Too late, the rude boys goin' to jail
> Too late, dem can't get no bail

Too late, seven years in dem tail
Too late, the Minister put on the pressure.

He, however, framed the destruction of Shanty Town as an exercise of power that was excessive and without empathy as well as an exercise in powerlessness.

A woman with a baby crying
The same time all dem bulldozers came in
The cops was standing by
Dem baton sticks was long
And all the people could do
Is to stand up watch dem
Mash up dem belongs.[47]

1966 State of Emergency

The bulldozers and flames which obliterated the homes of hundreds of Kingston's poor within the first four years of their country's independence and set them on a journey of hostile tribe-making and segregation, mediated by rude boys embracing the guns on behalf of postcolonial state-building elites and inspiring the rude boy narrative in Jamaican popular music in 1966, were not the only signature of the postcolonial fragmentation of a national spirit before it could grow. That fragmentation also found expression in an increase in political violence of an ontologically defining quality – so much so, that the government declared a state of emergency in October 1966, ostensibly to bring it under control.[48]

This violence included several high-profile killings and brought into existence an aquifer of murderous offerings that would grow deep, deep and wide over four decades into a catchment of homicidal inspirations, the musings of death, possessing zombified shells of alienated souls – young men making *dopis* to satisfy the potency of their ontological impotency. Among those killed were Rudolph Lewis, better known as "Zackie the High Priest", Douglas Campbell, otherwise called "Tuku Keith", and Kenneth Green, better known as "Rashie".

Rudolph "Zackie the High Priest" Lewis, or "Ifla", was killed on Friday, 30 September 1966. He was a twenty-five-year-old casual worker from Salt

Lane. Lewis, a JLP activist, was leader of the Phoenix, or Twenty One Strong, or Toughest gang. He was the first in the pantheon of gunmen/gangsters to become a 'don', a type of grassroots militia leader with an agency congruent with the newly created postcolonial political community exemplified by the Tivoli Gardens model. This young man was allegedly a key player, under his Member of Parliament, in the making of what Carl Stone called a garrison constituency.

The killing of Zackie immediately drew a response from some of his JLP counterparts, suggesting that they believed the PNP was responsible. As a result, "the situation in Western Kingston was described by police high-ups as uneasy and indications are that further violence can be expected in that area", the *Gleaner* reported. The newspaper also noted that

> JLP gang members are reported to be on the search for the four men who killed Rudolph Lewis, otherwise known as Zackie, on Friday night. JLP West Kingston sources have identified Douglas Campbell, the man killed by the police yesterday, as one of the four men concerned with Lewis's killing, but the police report that they have no evidence to support this.[49]

The police report was perhaps true. One source told me that Zackie was not killed over politics but over a woman. He was killed in Jones Pen in a fight over this woman, according to the source.

Campbell ("Tuku Keith") was killed by the police on 2 October 1966, two days after Zackie was killed in Jones Pen. Campbell, who also called himself Keith Anderson, was from Regent Street. He was described by the *Gleaner* as "a man with a police record and a leading member of the Vikings Gang, which in recent months has been identified, along with the Phoenix Gang, as taking part in political violence in Western Kingston". Campbell "was a strong-armed supporter of the People's National Party organisation in Western Kingston", according to the *Gleaner*. Tuku Keith was shot by the police and hit by their vehicle. The *Gleaner* reported that he "was shooting at the occupants of the vehicle when it ran him down".[50] A former comrade and friend of his told me that he was shot in the leg by the police and was endeavouring to get away on a bicycle when the police vehicle ran him over.

The other high-profile killing of 1966 was that of thirty-two-year-old Kenneth Green ("Rashie") of Bread Lane, who according to the *Gleaner* "was gunned down at the James Bond Lawn, a bar and dance spot at 32 Fleet Street,

November 11". Rashie, a port worker who was described by the *Gleaner* as "a PNP strongman",[51] was a leading Speng One Spangler and activist PNP gunman. Two leading JLP activist gunmen, Desmond Paige ("Bobsie"), a twenty-two-year old port worker of Salt Lane, and Alvin Gordon ("Mikey"), a twenty-six-year-old port worker of 28 Pink Lane, were jointly charged with the killing of Green.

The trial of these two men revealed, to some extent, allegations about behind-the-scene goings-on of postcolonial elite/gangster politics. Although both men denied having guns or shooting Green, in an unsworn statement Gordon appeared to have admitted to the court a justification for the killing of Green. According to a *Gleaner* report on Gordon's unsworn court statement: "Two weeks before the shooting incident took place he got a message from Green saying that he (Gordon) had better pray to God that he (Green) didn't catch him, because he had told the police that he (Green) shot a man called Zackie to death." Was it this perceived threat to his life that inspired Gordon to act in defence of his life on 11 November 1966 when he felt that the threat was about to materialise? He told the court that on that day, "he went to James Bond Lawn to a dance. He was at the back of the premises with Paige, Lungs, and a girl called Beverley. While he was standing at the back of the premises, a fellow came up to him and said that Green and a car load of men were outside asking for him."[52]

Apart from the barrage of gunshots that witnesses for the prosecution said they saw the accused pump into Green from close quarters as he entered the dance at James Bond Lawn, they also told of incidents weeks to a few days before Green's demise that may have motivated his killing. For example, Karan Maragh ("Bully" or "Coolie Bully"), who, along with Green, Stanley Brown ("Duddus") and Herbert Allen ("Busta"), drove in Stanley Ennis's car to the dance at James Bond Lawn on the night Green met his death, told the court that a few days before, he had been searched for "offensive weapons" by "Paige", "Damper Dan", "Zackie" and "Bellymus", while "Mikie [Mikey], Bobsie and Edward Seaga, Minister of Development and Welfare, were watching the search". Maragh also told the court that before they searched him, Gordon said, "I come to search for Rashie. When you see him, tell him I want him dead or alive." Gordon also reportedly said, "Uncle Eddie, a one a them this and a going to search him now".[53]

The statement of another witness for the prosecution inspired this *Gleaner*

headline: "Witness tells of Seaga with guns . . ." That witness was Stanley Ennis, who drove Green and his friends to Fleet Street the night he was killed. According to the *Gleaner*, Ennis testified as follows:

> One evening before the shooting I was on Montague Street working; it was the second week in August – Minister of Development, come in his car driven by a chauffeur with five men in his car and the car stopped in Ebenezer Lane. I knew Mickie [Mikey] and Zackie who were in the car. [Mikey] is the same person who I saw shooting on Fleet Street. The Minister and the men came out of the car. The Minister went to the back of the car and opened the trunk and took out two revolvers out of the car.

Wilton Hill, who was representing Gordon ("Mikey"), "objected on the ground that this happened in August and the act is allegedly committed in November",[54] but the judge overruled him.

Rude boy narratives

It was these dramatic developments in 1966 that inspired the epoch of rude boy narratives in Jamaican popular music. While relatively fewer songs, such as "Dance Crasher" by Alton Ellis and "Simmer Down" by the Wailers, signalled the birth of the rude boy theme in Jamaican popular music in the early 1960s, by 1966 it was in full bloom. Indeed, between 1966 and 1967 an average of one rudie song was being released weekly. As I noted earlier, most of these songs did not glorify or glamourise the rude boys. Most rejected their violent signatures.

Neita, in his assertion "[t]hat popular singers had been glorifying the men involved in . . . crimes", had placed "Johnny Too Bad" as one example of songs glorifying the rudie. However, "Johnny Too Bad" was not in support of the rude boy:

> Walking down the road with a pistol in your waist
> Johnny you're too bad
> Walking down the road with a ratchet in your waist
> Johnny you're too bad
> You're just robbing and stabbing and looting and shooting
> You're too bad.

Neita cited these lines as proof of the song's support for rudies, but this can hardly be taken as a glorification. Moreover, that part of the song which Neita did *not* quote left no doubt as to what category it should be placed in.

> One of these days when you hear a voice say come
> Where you gonna run to?
> One of these days when you hear a voice say come
> Where you gonna run to?
> You gonna run to the rock for rescue
> There will be no rock (No rock)
> You gonna run to the rock for rescue
> There will be no rock (No rock)[55]

Here in the warner cosmology of the Jamaican culture of justice, the rude boy will meet his day of reckoning, as these aphorisms show: "Chicken merry hawk dey near"; "Every day you carry bucket to the well – one day the bottom will drop out"; "Think you in heaven – but you living in hell".

The other two songs that Neita listed as glorifying rudies were "007 (Shanty Town)" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces and "Tougher than Tough (Rudies Don't Fear)" by Derrick Morgan. I have already dealt with "007 (Shanty Town)"; it is more ambiguous than Neita made it out to be. Seaga listed one song, "Tougher than Tough", as typical of rude boy songs, a glamourisation model, capturing the essence, the core value of a "new militancy, disrespectful of authority". [56] (Certainly, the Jamaican popular singers did not create this "new militancy, disrespectful of authority". How, then, was this postcolonial phenomenon created and cultured?)

"Rude Boy Train" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces was a classical rude boy glorification song. It easily fitted Neita's and Seaga's categorisation. So, too, "Tougher than Tough" by Derrick Morgan. However, the story that Morgan told me about the genesis of "Tougher than Tough" puts that song in a different perspective. Morgan noted that he wrote the song because he was coerced into writing it by one of the most feared names in the pantheon of Jamaican bad men: "Buzzbee". Buzzbee (Carlton Butler) visited Derrick Morgan at his Greenwich Farm home and demanded that he write a song for him, after Butler asked the popular singer why he had not made any rude boy tunes. According to Morgan:

Desmond Dekker (centre) and the Aces, 1967

> This "Rudies Don't Fear" have a little history behind it. This guy Buzzbee, was one a de Jamaica bad man . . . [Him] cut you outa you clothe as you 'quint. Use gun. And he came to me in the same Greenwich Farm where you is here. They were havin' a dance on West Avenue. Alton Ellis came out with "Cry Tough" and Desmond Dekker do "Rude Boys Train Is Coming Now". And him [Buzzbee] come to me and say, "How come you no come [out] with no rude boy tune. Wha' happen?" Him want one [tune] fe next Friday. His song fe play at dis dance, and make sure that I bring it. So me sey, "But me nuh have no song! Wha' kin' a song you want?" Im sey, "Me want a song – wey me sey a my song dat!"

Morgan said he left his home the next day out of fear. He went and related the story to Leslie Kong of Beverley's Records where he worked and recorded his songs. Morgan related that Kong said, "Well Derrick, write someting an' mek we mek a acetate give 'im." According to Morgan: "I go round de piano

and I ding and ding and ding, an' I come up wid dis song 'Rudies Don't Fear'."

The song was recorded and taken as a dub plate on the Friday night at about eight o'clock to Buzzbee at the West Avenue dance. Buzzbee, Morgan said, gave the dub plate to the disc jockey, Chappy, and told him not to play it until midnight: "Is twelve me waan hear i'."

At midnight Chappy played "Rudies Don't Fear". Buzzbee heard the first lines: "Rudies in court / Rudies don't fear".

> But when it reach the part where it said "Strong like lion / We are iron", he said, "Stop it dere." Then he said, "Gi' me a bax [box] a beer . . . Everybody 'fraid a 'im, you know. [So] they give him de bax a beer and him tell Chappy to reply the song. And when it reach "Strong like lion / We are iron", 'im jus' tek out a beer an' crash it 'gainst de wall: "Raaaa iron" . . . 'im jus' start get mad.

Buzzbee went upstairs and, rapidly shaking another bottle of beer, deposited spurts and sprays of it on some young women, said to be associated with the Spanglers. They were all dressed in red and white. They left the dance. But: "Dat tune couldn't come off a de turntable fe de res' a de night."[57]

The tune that could not be taken off the turntable that night went like this:

> Rudies in court now boys
> Rudies in court
> Rudies in court now boys
> Rudies in court
>
> Order!!!
> Now this court is in session
> And I order all you rude boys to stand
> You're brought here for gun shooting
> For ratchet using and bomb throwing
> Now tell me rude boys
> What do you have to say for yourselves
>
> Your Honour
> Rudies don't fear
> Rudies don't fear no boys
> Rudies don't fear

Rudies don't fear no boys
Rudies don't fear

Rougher than rough
Tougher than tough
Strong like lion
We are iron

Rudies don't fear no boys
Rudies don't fear
Rudies don't fear no boys
Rudies don't fear[58]

Carlton "Buzzbee" Butler came from 9th Street, Ghost Town, close to Clock Circle. He was about six feet two inches tall, with low-cut hair. He often went to a dance wearing only bath trunks or shorts, with his money, pipe and ganja stuck in the waistband. On the Sunday following the Friday night dancehall release of his dub copy of "Rudies Don't Fear", he took the dub plate up to a dance on Waltham Park Road. He was dressed in his trademark trunks and Clarks booties. There he was shot in the head and died the next day. This was 1966. Another brand-name bad man met his demise.

I was told by someone who knew him well, and fought with him several times over a woman with whom both of them were having an affair, that Buzzbee made his living by stealing. Until he got rid of the loot, he would hide the stolen items in a toilet pit in which, halfway or so up, sheets of zinc were placed. Above the zinc would be operated like a normal toilet to mask the stolen items below it.[59]

In "Ghost", Prince Buster would eulogise Buzzbee and other bad men, especially those who were killed in the 1966–67 period, and imprinting on the imagination and psyche of Jamaicans, including recording artists, an era of violence that would shape the ontological terrain of the country. In the letter-writing tradition Prince Buster sing-talks in "Ghost Dance":

Dear Keithus (My friend)
Good day
I hope you're keeping the best of health
How is the music down there in bone yard?

I hear that Buzzbee have a sound system
And that Niya Keith is the disc jockey
But dem cyaant get no Red Stripe Beer
Fe sell eena de dance at night.[60]

Prince Buster, 1969

Among the other persons eulogised in "Ghost Dance" were Zackie the High Priest and Rashie: "Tell Zackie the High Priest / Who used to lead the Toughest / And who could go, 'Uuwbaaah Toughest!!!' / Give him my regards / Tell him Prince Buster says 'hello' / And Keith – if you should see Rashie / You know Rashie from Back-o-Wall / Give him my regards."

Prince Buster's "Ghost Dance" represented that category of songs that was anti-rude boys. It specifically represented, within this category of anti-rude boy songs, the ultimate outcome of a view in the warner-prophesy tradition that the rude boy would meet his demise if he did not change his ways. "Johnny Too Bad" represented this classical example of the warner-prophecy tradition of anti-rude boy songs. The end of all ends, hinted at in "Johnny Too Bad", was death, what Prince Buster in more euphemistic language referred to as being sent to "bone yard" (the cemetery).

In this bone yard destination, the rude boy's ability to jollificate, enjoy life and exercise freedom was abolished for good. That was the whole point of "Ghost Dance", a lesson to all rude boys and potential rude boys to cease and settle, to simmer down. Young men, men in their prime of life, brand-name bad men such as Buzzbee, Niya Keith, Zackie the High Priest, among others, ended up dead, killed by the gun of fellow rude boys or members of the security forces. And, with almost prophetic certainty in "Johnny Gunman", Jackie Edwards warned:

You said you don't really want to change (Oh no)
You think you're a big man with your gun
Well let me tell you there is nowhere you can run (No no)
The bobbies will one day bring you down
Johnny you are a gunman (Gunman)
Johnny you are a gunman (Gunman).[61]

In "Don't Be a Rude Boy", the Rulers' warning, "You're going to be killed by mistake", would suggest a perception or awareness of the possibility of extra-judicial killing of rudies by the police. Hence the Rulers' exhortation: "Why don't you change your way, rude boy / Try to be a good boy . . . / And when you walk down the street / People will respect the man they meet".[62]

The use of jail time as a means of dealing with the rude boy appeared to be a common talking point in Jamaican popular music. In some of these songs, going to jail, and especially coming from jail, became for the rude boy a signature of honour and status, an enhancement of his reputation for badness and often a reflection of the politician's intervention on his behalf, which added to his status and aura. Songs in this category include "Let Him Go" by the Wailers, "007 (Shanty Town)" by Desmond Dekker and the Aces, and "Rudie Is the Greatest" by the Pioneers.

Other songs tended to see a long jail term as a way to cut the rude boy down to size or to put him out of business. In "Denham Town", for example, Winston and George warned the rude boy: "[I]f you don't behave / You will always go to jail",[63] while Prince Buster jeered rude boys in "Shanty Town": "Too late, seven years in dem tail".[64] The life-sentence jail term was seen as particularly effective in curbing or ending the agency of badness, as indicated in "Rudie Bam Bam" by the Clarendonians: "Now this look like the end of Mr Rude Boy / For the judge give him life sentence, friend / What a bam bam".[65]

It was in Prince Buster's cinematic-like masterpiece "Judge Dread", somewhat of a response to Morgan's "Tougher than Tough",[66] that this message, draped in a philosophy of crime-fighting, was best articulated. This philosophy of crime-fighting sought to overwhelm rude-boy badness with police/judicial badness:

You rough you tough
You rough you tough

Order!!!
Now my court is in session
Will you please stand

First, allow me to introduce myself
My name is Judge Hundred Years
Some people call me Judge Dread
Now I am from Ethiopia
To try all you rude boys
For shooting black people

In my court is only me talk
Cause I am vex
I am the rude boy today.

Judge Hundred Years then proceeds to try those rude boys brought before him. Four of them in all: Two Gun Case, Rude Boy Adolphus James, Rude Boy Emmanuel Zachariah Zackiepalm and George Grab-an'-Flee. Here are two examples of how Judge Dread deals with the rude boys. This is the case of Adolphus James:

Adolphus James
(Yes sah)
I see where you have been charged
Ten shooting intent
Five murder charge
Six grab and flee charge
(But yu honour)
Hush up!
Guilty or not guilty?
(Nat guilty sah)
I don't care what you sey
Take four hundred years
Now stand down.

And his treatment of Emmanuel Zachariah Zackiepalm:

Emmanuel Zachariah Zackiepalm
(Yes sir)
You've been charged
Fifteen charge of shooting with intent

Fifteen murder charge
And I heard that you was de one
Down there in Sutton Street
Who tell de judge "Rudie boys don't care"
Well dis is King Street
And my name is Judge Dread
And I don't care
Now take four hundred years.[67]

While "Judge Dread" was, to an extent, a response to "Tougher than Tough", other factors pertaining to the violent signatures of the rude boys were largely at play, such as the awe, the dread they engendered in segments of the population. In this regard, Prince Buster noted in "Too Hot" that "Rude boys never give up their guns / No one can tell them what to do / Pound for pound they say they are ruder than you / Get out insurance and make up your will / If you want to fight them".[68] Similarly, in "Beware" by the Overtakers:

Toughest escape from jail (Beware)
Toughest don't care nor fear (Beware)
If they catch you at nights
They will turn off your light (Beware)
Remember they are rough
You must remember they are tough
They put down their ratchet
And out with their gun (Lord)
Toughest escape from jail (Beware).[69]

This pervasive zone of badness and perturbation in which many citizens feared that they were cornered and trapped, found expression from another angle in the song "Rudies All Round" by Joe White:

Rudies all around
Rudies don't fear
Rudies all around
Rudies don't care

From Kingston to Montego Bay
Rudies everywhere
Cop shot rudies

Rudies shot cop too
Rudies don't fear . . .

Cop shot rudies
Rudies shot cop too
Rudies don't fear
Cop bomb rudies
Rudies bomb cop too
Rudies don't care.[70]

This song seems like a precursor to Junior Murvin's 1976 hit song "Police and Thieves", denoting a shared space and agency to police and thieves, both "scaring the nation with their guns and ammunition",[71] a consequence of the partisan politicisation of youth gangs and the police. As a result, partisan political police activists sided with political gangsters, while another category of police embraced traditional badness. In either case, both these categories of police and the thieves scare the nation with their guns and ammunition in "Police and Thieves".

Conscious lyrics

Pro-rude boy songs were decidedly fewer in number than anti-rude boy songs. Furthermore, not all of these songs could be placed in the category of glorification and glamourisation. There is a category of pro-rude boy songs in which badness was not condoned. Instead, the rude boy was portrayed as a social being shaped in the socio-historical culture of slavery, colonialism and prejudice emanating from the postcolonial Jamaican state. "Set Them Free" by Lee Perry and the Sensations and "Let Him Go" by the Wailers are two such songs. In "Set Them Free", Lord Defend, representing Emmanuel Zachariah Zackiepalm, Adolphus James and Lord Grab-an'-Flee, speaks to the judge and jury saying it is not "fair to sentence these men to five hundred years" in jail because

They are from a poor generation
Having no education, no qualification
So, they are driven to desperation

Can't get a job
They have been forced to rob

I am not suggesting that they should
But as you know a hungry man
Is an angry one
So, give them a chance, your Honour
Please – think it over
Before you throw them over
Please give them a break
To mend their mistake

Your Honour as you already know
That robbery was from creation
For it was robbery that befall the black man.[72]

In "Let Him Go", the Wailers sing: "You frame him / You say things he didn't do / You rebuke him / You scorn him / You make him feel blue / Let him go".[73] These two pro-rude boy songs, unlike Prince Buster's anti-rude boy narrative, "Judge Dread", might be a more reasonable approach, philosophically, to dealing with the rude boy issue.

More than that, of all the rude boy songs, "Let Him Go" and "Set Them Free" came the closest to being explicit political narratives:[74] these came closest to making the link between the rude boy and the historical socio-political system which gave birth to them. Most rude boy songs made no such link. They were in the main, acontextualised narratives. This would change, especially after 1972.

The early 1970s

By the first half of the 1970s, the term 'rude boy' had lost its currency, but not its agential expressions, including the political ethos it helped to shape under the guidance of a section of the postcolonial state-building elite. It was during that time that the first peace treaty among gangs was initiated. It was during this time as well that the second stage of the building of garrison constituencies began, under the PNP. Member of Parliament for Southern St Andrew and Minister of Housing Anthony Spaulding ("The Trench Town

Rock"), would embrace the Tivoli Gardens model with open arms and, in some cases, supersede that model in the vulgarity of the methods used to cleanse Labourites from the political/electoral landscape: methods which even some Spanglers/Vikings found objectionable. But he could not have garrisonised his constituency and catalysed others without support from a higher level, until there was a realisation that he must be checked.

The embracing of the Tivoli Gardens model of political organisation and mobilisation to bring balance to the political equation meant a multiplication of bitterness, animosity and distrust in the evolving political culture. Tribalism had, in some ways, become so much a way of being, knowing and doing, it had now become so cultured, so entrenched, so much of an ethos of mutually inflicted injustice, of mutually inflicted hurt – tit for tat hurt, ritualised hurt, ritualised revenge – that in some ways, it engendered an agency with a kind of social psychology and agenda that can best be described as rooted in a kind of ontological determinism.

Although Jamaican popular songs no longer embraced the rude boy theme by that name, during that time they spoke to the consequences of its agency and the new terms which emerged to language its evolving existence. In this respect, a number of songs expressed opposition to the tribal division of poor Jamaicans into warring political factions. These songs include "Ballistic Affair" by Leroy Smart (written by Frankie Jones) ; "Ambush in the Night", "Top Rankin" and "Rat Race" by Bob Marley and the Wailers; "In a Dis Yah Time" by the Itals; "Blood Money" by Pablo Moses; "Political Fiction" by Half Pint; and "Peace Treaty" by Peter Tosh.

These anti-tribalist narratives are eloquent expressions of opposition to a political process antithetical to the sanctity of life, peace, community and development. "Ballistic Affair" is an expression of the lamentation of the fragmentation of the spirit of a nation before it could be constituted, a lamentation of the country's woe:

> We used to lick chalice
> Cook ital stew together
> Play football and cricket as one brother
> But through you rest a Jungle
> And you might black a Rema
> You a go fight 'gainst your brother
> Dat noh right my sister

Let us all live as one
Throw 'way your gun, throw 'way your knife
Let us all unite
Everyone is living in fear
Just through this ballistic affair.[75]

In "Ambush in the Night" the political objective of tribalism, the division of the community of the poor into warring camps to facilitate their control by state-building elites, is articulated:

Through political strategy
They keep us hungry
And when you gonna get some food
Your brother got to be your enemy.[76]

And in "In a Dis Yah Time", the Itals represented those who fell prey to tribalism and its modus operandi as, perhaps, being carried away by captivity, or mental enslavement:

In a dis yah time
Man you have to mine
You get carried away by captivity
Carry away by captivity . . .
How you a go say
That you love Jah Jah
Yet you a fight tribal
'gainst your brother
In a dis yah time.[77]

This mental captivity ethos which impelled black Jamaicans to "fight tribal 'gainst [their] brother" was the product of a system of knowing, educating and socialising young people to see and to accept conquistadores, pirates, slave traffickers/slave makers, colonisers and whiteness as role models.

This epistemological, ontological and pedagogical problematic found expression in a number of songs. They include, among others, "Can't Blame the Youth" by Peter Tosh, "Music Lesson" and "Babylon System" by Bob Marley and the Wailers. In "Can't Blame the Youth", Tosh went into a militant accusatory lamentation discourse:

You teach the youth about Christopher Columbus
And you said he was a very great man
You teach the youth about Marco Polo
And you said he was a very great man
You teach the youth about the pirate Hawkins
And you said he was a very great man
You teach the youth about the pirate Morgan
And you said he was a very great man . . .
All these great men were doing
Robbing, raping, kidnapping and killing
So called great men were doing
Robbing, raping, kidnapping
So you can't blame the youth
You can't fool the youth. . . .[78]

And in "Music Lesson" Bob Marley was equal to the task:

Music gonna teach them one lesson
Music gonna teach them one lesson
Music gonna teach them one lesson
Music gonna teach them one lesson

Teach them about Marco Polo
Teach the good youth Christopher Columbus
How these wicked men
Rob, cheat, kill the poor in our defence of this land . . .

Heard they're from this far land
The colour of our skin made us understand
Why is this teaching Marco Polo?
Couldn't it be one of them great African?[79]

Located within the cosmological terrain of these two songs are elements of the epistemological, ontological and pedagogical roots of a postcolonial vision of freedom, justice and sovereignty as being antithetical to colonialism and neo-colonialism, the route dominantly taken by Jamaican postcolonial minority ethnic elites. This colonial and neo-colonial ethos informed a core belief of the elites that black sovereignty should not and could not be allowed to be a mainstream expression of national development.

The wholescale destruction of Back-o-Wall and neighbouring township

UWI students broke through a police cordon while demonstrating against the ban imposed on lecturer Dr Walter Rodney, 1968

communities in 1963 and 1966, the mass detention and imprisonment and abuse of innocent Rastafari around the Coral Gardens incident of 1963, the incident that triggered the anti-Chinese riots of 1965,[80] and the banning of University of the West Indies lecturer Walter Rodney for teaching black consciousness to the poor of rural and inner-city communities in 1968,[81] were driven by this colonial and neo-colonial ethos and the fear of black sovereignty. This fear was summed up thus in Prince Buster's song "Doctor Rodney (Black Power)": "To be black with ambition in Jamaica / It's a dangerous thing / Doctor Rodney . . . / Black power . . ."[82]

It was within the rubric of this postcolonial political creation, where man "a fight tribal" against his brother, where "man and man gone in a different segregation" and "living in fear," that Bob Marley urged the people in "Revolution" to "Never make a politician grant you a favour / They will always want to control you forever".[83] Marley, who was a witness to the political control of young men from both sides of the political fence, who personally knew

and interacted with PNP and JLP gangsters[84] and who was apparently familiar with some of their ideas, aspects of their social psychology, ambition and activity, described in "Crisis" the political landscape they helped to fashion:

> So, so, so much has been said
> And so little been done
> They still killing, killing the people
> And they having, they having, having lots of fun
> Killing the people
> Having their fun
> They just want to be the leader
> In the house of the rising sun.[85]

This kind of crime must be punished. And Marley insisted in the warner/prophecy tradition, that "someone will have to pay / For the innocent blood they shed every day / Oh, children, mark my word / It's what the Bible say".[86] Those who authored the system must be dealt with: "Back them up / Oh, not the brothers / But the ones who set them up / Time alone, Oh time will tell".[87] This has not happened thus far, despite the nation's revulsion over the Dudus affair. Maybe such revulsion has not yet reached that catalytic moment.

NOTES

1. A founding member of the Mau Mau told me in an interview (20 January 2010) that the name "Mau Mau" was given to his gang by the police to signal to white Jamaicans, the British colonial population and all white people living in Jamaica, that the intention of these gangsters was to kill them in the same way that the Mau Mau were killing whites in Kenya.
2. Lloyd Bradley, *Bass Culture: When Reggae Was King* (London: Viking, 2000), 180.
3. I conducted these interviews on 7 October 2009; 14 October 2009; 21 October 2009; 28 October 2009; 11 November 2009; 25 November 2009; 6 January 2010 and 20 January 2010.
4. From an interview conducted with a former star footballer of Excelsior High School by the author, 28 October 2009.
5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969, 1976), 118.

6. Ibid., 219–20.
7. Slaveholders throughout the British Caribbean were compensated to the tune of £20 million for the loss of Africans and their stock, by the British Parliament when the Africans were emancipated.
8. See Clinton Hutton, "'Colour for Colour; Skin for Skin': The Ideological Foundations of Post-Slavery Society, 1838–1865, The Jamaican Case" (PhD thesis, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1992), 50–51.
9. Ibid., 36–40.
10. Don Robotham, *"The Notorious Riot": The Socio-Economic and Political Bases of Paul Bogle's Revolt,* Working Paper no. 28 (Kingston; Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1981), 75.
11. A number of these reports, originally published in the *Gleaner* and the *Jamaica Times*, were republished in Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, eds., *"Squalid Kingston" 1890–1920: How The Poor Lived, Moved and Had Their Being* (Kingston: Social History Project, Department of History, University of the West Indies, Mona, 2000).
12. Ibid., 11.
13. Ibid., 14–16.
14. Ibid., 29.
15. See the "Whoppy King" story at http://vintageboss.blogspot.com/2007/06/whoppy king.html.
16. Ibid.
17. See "The Story of Rhygin: The Two-Gun Killer" at http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/128534 7/9/2010.
18. Rhygin and Whoppy King were inspiration to some boys who would become gang members and individual bad men. One leading ex-member of the Spangler gang told me that he knew Rhygin from he was six years old. He also knew Whoppy King. They were part of his community. They were like stars to him. One day he witnessed Rhygin face to face with some policemen. He fell on the ground with his two guns in his hands, rolling and firing at the lawmen in making his escape.
19. Desmond Dekker and the Aces, "Rude Boy Train", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967*, CD, various artists, Trojan, 1993.
20. Political rude boys became increasingly confident that they could get away with committing crimes, including murder, because of their close association with members of the political elite in whose names they allegedly committed criminal acts. One former political gang member told me that he was slapped with over twenty serious criminal charges over his most active political years and walked away with hardly a scratch. This ex-gang member was sure his lawyers, who were themselves influential political actors, were able to get him off circuit charges because they had the ear of judges and other persons in the justice system. Political gangsters were

also able to get witnesses to avoid the courts by demonstrating their elite connections as an expression of power, as well as threatening or actually employing violence against witnesses to get them not to comply with the courts.

21. Hartley Neita, *Hugh Shearer: A Voice for the People* (Kingston/Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005), 249.
22. "Johnny Too Bad" is said to have been partially written by Trevor Wilson, the brother of Delroy Wilson, a star singer of Jamaican popular music. See Kevin O'Brien Chang and Wayne Chen, *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1998), 146.
23. Edward Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*, vol. 1: *Clash of Ideologies 1930–1980* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2009), 156.
24. Barry Chevannes, "Rastafari and the Urban Youth", in *Perspectives on Jamaica in the Seventies*, ed. Carl Stone and Aggrey Brown (Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House, 1981), 394.
25. Byron Moore of the People's Political Party (PPP) polled 249 votes, while independent candidate Samuel Brown, a Rastafari leader, polled 78 votes. (See An Election Summary – Electoral Office of Jamaica, www.eoj.com.jm/elections/elect_sum.htm.)
26. The JLP won the seat with its founder and leader Alexander Bustamante in 1944, while the PNP candidate, Kenneth Hill, won in 1949, beating Hugh Shearer. Hugh Shearer then won for the JLP in 1955, beating Iris King of the PNP and Kenneth Hill, who ran for the National Labour Party (NLP). In 1959, the PNP candidate Hubert Wallace beat the JLP candidate Hugh Shearer by 99 votes.
27. Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*, 152–53.
28. *Star*, 30 August 1966, 2.
29. Quoted in Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*, 153.
30. Amanda Sives, quoting from *Gleaner*, 22 June 1966, in *Election Violence and the Democratic Process in Jamaica 1944–2007* (Kingston/Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2010), 67.
31. Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*, 158.
32. Seaga, quoted in Sives, *Election Violence*, 67.
33. Mortimo Planno, interview by author, Kingston, 18 July 2002.
34. Justin Hinds, interview on *Prophesy Live*, CD-album, Melodie/Passage Productions, 2003.
35. Planno, interview.
36. Ibid.
37. Joseph Owens, *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica* (Kingston: Sangster's Book Stores, 1976), 24.
38. Planno, interview.
39. For more on Rasta camps, see Douglas R.A. Mack, *From Babylon to Rastafari: Origin and History of the Rastafarian Movement* (Jamaica/London/Republic of Trinidad and

Tobago: Research Associates School Times Publications and Frontline Distribution International Inc. & Miguel Lorne Publishers, 1999), 59–80.

40. Owens, *Dread*, 20.
41. *Daily Gleaner*, 23 June 1966, 1,4.
42. *Gleaner*, 13 July 1966, 1.
43. *Gleaner*, 14 July 1966, 1.
44. *Gleaner*, 16 July 1966, 2.
45. I interviewed this man on 11 November 2009.
46. Desmond Dekker and the Aces, "007 (Shanty Town)", re-issued on *Desmond Dekker and the Aces*, CD, Trojan, 1985.
47. Prince Buster, "Shanty Town", lyrics from http://www.lyricstime.com/prince-buster-shanty-town-lyrics.htm.
48. A number of rude boy songs commented on the 1966 state of emergency. They include "Soldiers Take Over" by the Rio Grandes ("Soldier tek over / Soldier tek over . . . / Rude boys gone and hide / Rude boys gone and hide"); "Curfew" by Bobby Aitken ("Tell me rude boy what you gonna do / Tell me rude boy what you gonna say / When the soldier soldier take over"); and "Copasetic" by the Rulers ("It's a state of emergency / Government call in the military / They say all bad men must fall"). All these songs were re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967*.
49. *Gleaner*, 3 October 1966, 1.
50. Ibid.
51. *Gleaner*, 3 March 1967, 1.
52. *Gleaner*, 6 July 1967, 4.
53. *Gleaner*, 24 December 1966, 9.
54. *Gleaner*, 24 December 1966, 23.
55. The Slickers, "Johnny Too Bad", re-issued on *Tighten Up*, vols. 3 and 4, CD set, Trojan, 1992.
56. Seaga, *My Life and Leadership*, 156.
57. Derrick Morgan, interview by author, 14 April 2005.
58. Derrick Morgan, "Tougher than Tough", re-issued on *Blazing Fire*, vols. 1 and 2, CD set, Unicorn Records, 1993.
59. The person who spoke to me about Buzzbee was an ex-Spangler. He theorised that Buzzbee's habitual wearing of trunks without any other item of clothing except for footwear, sprang from his method of nocturnal robberies, breaking into homes, etc., and wearing trunks and shoes only, on a body oiled to reduce the chance of him being held.
60. Prince Buster, "Ghost Dance", re-issued on *Prince Buster: Fabulous Greatest Hits*, CD, Melodisc Records, 1998.
61. Jackie Edwards, "Johnny Gunman", seven-inch vinyl, Bread label, 1971.

62. The Rulers, "Don't Be a Rude Boy", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967.*
63. Winston and George, "Denham Town", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967.*
64. Prince Buster, "Shanty Town", lyrics from http://www.lyricstime.com/prince-buster-shanty-town-lyrics.htm.
65. The Clarendonians, "Rudie Bam Bam", re-issued on *The History of Ska*, CD, Receiver Records, 1995.
66. Indeed, Prince Buster's "Judge Dread" was far more than a response to "Tougher than Tough". Ordinary persons fed up with the upsurge in crime asked Prince Buster to make anti-rude boy songs. His own revulsion over crimes committed by persons he grew up with was perhaps enough motivation. According to Buster, "The 'Judge Dread' record came out of real life. Those four men [in the song] that were harassing and aggravating the community were people I'd grown up with, only now I follow a different path, and the good people were fed up with their behaviour. They came to me as the one who could do something as I was not scared. These so-called big men was harassing old people and schoolchildren, but the thing that made me explode against them was when they went into a school in West Kingston, rape a girl, beat up the teacher and almost rape her too. From that came 'Judge Dread', a record that would play on my sound system, and others, to shame them. Which was important for the people" (Bradley, *Bass Culture*, 189–190).
67. Prince Buster, "Judge Dread", re-issued on P*rince Buster: Fabulous Greatest Hits.*
68. Prince Buster, "Too Hot", seven-inch vinyl, Blue Beat label, 1967.
69. The Overtakers, "Beware", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967.*
70. Joe White, "Rudies All Around", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967.*
71. Junior Murvin, "Police and Thieves", re-issued on *Tougher than Tough: The Story of Jamaican Music*, CD set, Island Records, 1993.
72. Lee Perry and the Sensations, "Set Them Free", re-issued on *Rudies All Round: Rude Boy Records 1966/1967.*
73. The Wailers, "Let Him Go", re-issued on *Bob Marley and the Wailers: Greatest Hits at Studio 1*, CD, Studio 1/Heart Beat, 2003.
74. Prince Buster was at times explicitly political, but this was less reflected in his rude boy songs and more obvious in songs such as "Doctor Rodney (Black Power)" and "Police Trim Rasta".
75. Leroy Smart, "Ballistic Affair", re-issued on *Tougher than Tough: The Story of Jamaican Music.*
76. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Ambush in the Night", re-issued on *Survival*, CD, Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1979.

77. The Itals, "In a Dis Yah Time", re-issued on *The Itals: Early Recordings 1971–1979*, CD, Nighthawk Records, 1987.
78. Peter Tosh, "Can't Blame the Youth", re-issued on *Peter Tosh: Honorary Citizen*, CD, Sony Music Entertainment, 1997.
79. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Music Lesson", lyrics from *Complete Lyrics of Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom*, intro. by Noel Hawks (London: Omnibus Press, 2001), 92.
80. For more on the anti-Chinese riots, read Derwin St B. Munroe, "Riots in Post Colonial Jamaica" (MPhil. thesis, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1989), 76–86.
81. Read Walter Rodney, *The Groundings with My Brothers* (London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, 1969) for some of the issues that he discussed in his meetings which he had with inner-city and rural folks in 1968. For more on the Rodney affair, read Norman Girvan, "After Rodney: The Politics of Students in Jamaica", *New World Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (1968); Ralph Gonsalves, "The Rodney Affair and its Aftermath", *Caribbean Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (September 1979): 1–24; Rupert Lewis, *Walter Rodney: 1968 Revisited* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1998); Rupert Lewis, "Jamaican Black Power and Walter Rodney in 1968: A Private Archive", *Jamaica Journal* 32, nos. 1–2 (August 2009): 42–49.
82. Prince Buster, "Dr Rodney", lyrics from http://www.popsite.com/BLANKBUSTERDRRODNEY-PRINCE-BUSTER.../290218374143.html.
83. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Revolution", *Natty Dread*, LP, Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1974.
84. Political gangsters with whom Marley interacted include men like "Leggo Beas'", "Yami Howie", "Tek Life", "Junior Skull", "Earl Frouza", Claudius Massop and Tony Walsh: men in the category Marley described in "Iron Lion Zion" as wanting "to be the star / So they fighting tribal war" (lyrics from *Complete Lyrics of Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom*, 70–71). It was persons from this stratum who shot Bob Marley, and others, on 3 December 1976.
85. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Crisis", *Kaya*, LP, Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1978.
86. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "We and Them", *Uprising,* LP, Island Records, 1980.
87. Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Time Will Tell", *Kaya,* LP, Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1978.