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Performing Postcoloniality in the Jamaican Seventies: *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange*

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The 1970s mark a crucial moment in Caribbean cultural history, as the region made the uneven passage from colonialism to postcoloniality. This essay will examine two Jamaican texts from that decade, the film *The Harder They Come* and the play *Smile Orange*, to read the ways in which the cultural products of that period demonstrate an engagement with a no longer anticolonial, not yet fully postcolonial context. Anticolonialism, as a critique of modern colonialism and a discourse able to establish links between intellectuals and social movements, led to successes such as the Cuban revolution in 1959 and inspired the decolonization era's faith in revolutionary change throughout the 1960s. But the 1970s witnessed the rise of postcoloniality as a new system of exploitative and unequal international relations, and anticolonialism suddenly appeared unable to address these neoliberal forms of domination, leading to what David Scott describes as "the collapse of hitherto existing horizons of possible futures" (*Conscripts* 18). Kim Robinson-Walcott highlights the 1970s in Jamaica as the turning point in what she calls an "ideological trajectory from activism to apathy" in which "an ideological vacuum has been created" (129). Yet while *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* certainly depict the exhaustion of a certain idea of politics that I will describe as anticolonialism, I will make the case that they nonetheless tentatively point to new strategies for renewing a committed and politically engaged Caribbean culture. Their 1970s context makes *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* heterogeneous texts that simultaneously display nostalgic faith in an anticolonialism based on revolutionary opposition even as they show the limits of that discourse in the face of postcolonial modes of exploitation such as tourism and international culture industries ready to commodify nationalism, folk culture, or romantic resistance to modernity.[1]

Examining the 1970s can be a particularly productive entry into understanding how the contemporary Caribbean might be described as postcolonial without suggesting that foreign domination is a thing of the past. The modern colonial system of power, in which exploitation occurred via direct political territorial control and colonials were subject to imperial sovereignty but not accorded the full rights of citizens, organized the political, economic and cultural reality of virtually all of the islands throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether in

the form of the British and French empires or the US occupation of Haiti. Anticolonial movements throughout the region arose to challenge this regime of modern colonialism and brought about its dismantling in the years following World War II. Even places like Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Puerto Rico, while not becoming independent, nonetheless experienced this transitional moment, moving from modern colonial status to something different during the 1940s and 1950s. Juan Flores has called this status the "postcolonial colony" (36), but what I want to emphasize is not the uniqueness of departmentalization or the associated free state. These islands are only the most overt examples of how throughout the region, the future of autonomy and sovereignty that anticolonialists had hoped to establish was never fully realized as postcolonial modes of domination have been consolidated. Anticolonialism's language of freedom has become uncomfortably mimicked by neoliberal celebrations of the free-market as the height of self-sufficiency, throwing this oppositional project into crisis. The 1970s, poised between the end of a system of international domination centered on nation-states and the rise of another based in global institutions like the World Bank and IMF, mark the moment in which the disjunction between nationalistic anticolonial discourse and postcoloniality begins to emerge.[2]

By figuring their engagement with postcoloniality through film and drama, *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* highlight performance as a response to this new context. Performance has generally been theorized as anathema to true resistance in a colonial setting, but examining how it functions in these two texts sheds light on postcolonial as opposed to anticolonial attitudes towards the strategy. Frantz Fanon is undoubtedly one of the major Caribbean voices of anticolonialism: Scott calls *The Wretched of the Earth* "one of the great texts through which this narrative of liberation is articulated—indeed, one might say, through which it is defined" (*Refashioning* 198). Fanon describes compelled performance as a force which destroys the colonial subject's true essence and undermines his revolutionary potential.[3] In the chapter of *Black Skin, White Masks* titled "The Fact of Blackness," Fanon laments what might be called the act of blackness, "a galaxy of erosive stereotypes" (*Black Skin* 129); these stereotypes are forced on the black masculine subject, and in performing them, his ability to define himself is eroded: "The elements that I used [to make myself] had not been provided for me by 'residual sensations and perceptions primarily of a tactile, vestibular, kinesthetic and visual character', but by the other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, stories" (111). The colonizer has power of authorship: the power to narrate, to weave the black man, to script the performance.[4] As Guyanese historian and activist Walter Rodney puts it, within colonial relations, "Blacks simply perform. They have no power" (20). To become the revolutionary anticolonial subject of *The Wretched of the Earth*, the black man must break free, reconnect with his essence, and begin to rewrite history.

This dismissal of performance by anticolonialists like Fanon and Rodney is tied to their assumptions about gender and revolutionary politics. Just as Fanon believes that "the struggle between black and white is to be conducted on a 'man to man' basis" (Young 89), anticolonial literature tends to figure colonial domination and resistance as a confrontation between Caribbean and European men for the feminized body of the island—for example, the struggle between Caliban and Prospero famously described by George Lamming, Aimé Césaire, and others.[5] Heroic masculine action, in these narratives, becomes the only hope for defending the penetrated nation. In this context, performance threatens to feminize the revolutionary subject and emasculate the anticolonial project. In the context of postcoloniality, as performance has begun to be explored as a mode of resistance in texts like *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange*, the gendered associations remain. Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Ramón Grosfoguel, for example, argue for the "subversive potential" of performance, calling this a "feminization of political practices" that they define as "a pragmatic and realistic style of politics which stems from the recognition that peripheral countries are in an unequal relationship of power, constraining the possibility of achieving every objective" (27-28). Negrón-Muntaner and Grosfoguel follow a number of other postcolonial texts—including *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* as well as Caryl Phillips's *A State of Independence* or recent Cuban fiction by Zoé Valdés and Pedro Juan Gutiérrez—in periodizing Caribbean postcoloniality as a feminized state.[6] Even as all of these texts look for potential in this new conception of politics, anxiety about the loss of masculine opposition remains.

As much as *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* exhibit nostalgia for the resistant male anticolonial subject, they make possible a critique of simplistic binaries that see anticolonialism as purely masculine by showing how this form of masculinity always resides on the border of alternative sexualities. Figuring performance as the vehicle of their male protagonists' strategies for keeping alive anticolonial resistance highlights potential slippages in these characters' sexual subjectivities. I will point to a number of moments in each text in which this closed society of men exhibits elements of homoeroticism. In the case of *The Harder They Come*, Ivan's heroic masculinity is enacted primarily through violence towards other men but also towards women: his vision of woman as threat to male self-sovereignty undermines the heterosexual ideal. On the other hand, *Smile Orange* presents postcoloniality via the tourist industry as a direct challenge to Fanonian masculinity, as characters are forced to take on what the play figures as problematic sexualities. It seems no coincidence that, when the play *Smile Orange* was adapted for film, a number of those scenes, as I will note below, were omitted or bowdlerized to avoid presenting main characters whose sexuality might in some way be suspect.[7] Sexuality thus becomes a prime site where the renegotiations of Caribbean cultural politics in the 1970s are most readily visible.

Smile Orange, first performed in Jamaica in 1971, and *The Harder They Come*, released as a film in Jamaica in 1972, are not the product of precisely the same imaginary, but their creative origins are closely related. While Perry Henzell is generally acknowledged as creator of *The Harder They Come*, the script was in fact heavily revised in collaboration with Trevor Rhone, the playwright who authored *Smile Orange* and is credited as co-author of the screenplay for *The Harder They Come*. Loretta Collins describes the difficulties in ascertaining precisely how much of that script Rhone is responsible for—in her words, she "would argue that Rhone's contributions to the script's revision were far from insignificant and should receive substantially more credit from critics, who often forget to mention his name at all when references to 'Henzell's' masterpiece are made" (Collins 53). While Rhone is thus not author of both texts in the same way, a fruitful dialogue can be created between them. In particular, a comparison of the protagonists of each story, the obstacles they confront, and the imaginative strategies available to them in the face of these obstacles, can shed light on the passage from colonialism to postcoloniality taking place in Jamaica in the 1970s.

Jamaican texts from this moment of transition display elements of two different emerging models of postcolonial Caribbean culture. On the one hand, some islands, such as Cuba, were turning away from international markets and seeking to develop an inward looking form of independence, accompanied by the desire among cultural workers to uncover an indigenous culture outside of foreign domination accompanying this move: we can read the creation of the *testimonio* by Miguel Barnet and its consecration by the Casa de las Américas in this context. For other islands, most dramatically Puerto Rico as well as Trinidad and Tobago, postcoloniality meant full incorporation into North American capitalism, with fiction like Luis Rafael Sánchez's *La guaracha del Macho Camacho*, the stories of Ana Lydia Vega, or Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance* borrowing from the contaminated language of the market to create new artistic forms.[8] Jamaica in the 1970s found itself negotiating between Cuba's total withdrawal and Puerto Rico's full incorporation. From 1955 to 1972, following the Puerto Rican model, "official government policy [in Jamaica] encouraged and welcomed foreign capital" (Beckford and Witter 66). But in 1972, with the victory of the People's National Party, led by Michael Manley, official policy changed. Manley, under the slogan "We Are Not For Sale," pursued a policy of rapprochement with Cuba and opposition to US imperialism. As a result of these competing demands, the island was virtually torn apart in what amounted to a near civil war between rival political parties. The Jamaican cultural scene of the 1970s responds to these various demands, dedicating itself on the one hand to the testimonial project of recuperating the voices of the subaltern folk, as in the drama of the Sistren Collective or the *Savacou* "New Writing" issue edited by Kamau Brathwaite, Kenneth Ramchand, and Andrew Salkey in 1970, and on the other hand to understanding the contours of postcolonial domination, as in *The Harder*

They Come and *Smile Orange*. To emphasize the postcolonial newness of these two texts, I want to examine how they depict exploitation not in terms of traditional colonialism but via new forms such as the culture industry and the tourist industry.

The Harder They Come has been the object of widespread popular and academic attention, with its appeal seeming to come from its anticolonial evocation of revolutionary opposition nourished by folk culture.[9] The film is deeply invested in authenticity: in the DVD commentary, Henzell repeatedly emphasizes how the film uses real people and real scenes, and this has become part of the film's mythology, that as Collins puts it, "with few exceptions, the actors were people off the streets" (Collins 60). The film's hero, Ivan, appears as the ideal representation of masculine resistance. Formed in the crucible of an exploitative Babylon which refuses him any avenue to enter the system, he becomes the anticolonial artist who manages to combine thought and action through his twin vocations as reggae musician and revolutionary. The plot of the film traces Ivan's coming to consciousness, as he goes from a naïve country boy who believes that he can achieve success through the limited legitimate avenues available to him to a critic and eventually opponent of an unjust system that forces him to battle for its scraps. He chooses Fanonian violence as he attempts to overturn this inequality, and his newly conscious self is associated in the second half of the film with Cuba (the site to which Ivan attempts to escape in the film's final scene) and Rastafari, two of the most significant critiques of colonial capitalism to emerge in the Caribbean. Like some of the great heroes of Caribbean anticolonialism such as Manuel in Jacques Roumain's *Masters of the Dew* or Toussaint in C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins*, Ivan refuses resignation and chooses to stand up for the poor, black victims of foreign domination and fight against injustice and exploitation.

Ivan's anticolonial ideology is closely connected to his sexuality in the film. When he arrives in Kingston, Ivan sees Jose as his ideal of manhood. One of the primary conflicts in the movie, then, is Ivan's attempts to unseat Jose as the neighborhood alpha male, a struggle in which Ivan emerges victorious through pure opposition while Jose's accommodation with the corrupt authorities leads to his discrediting. Ivan launches his attack on Jose through sleeping with and then shooting his woman, and then confronting and defeating him in a gun fight in which Jose tries to sneak up on Ivan and then turns tail and flees when Ivan presents himself. This conflict—figured as a conflict between men, through violence, and over the female body—thus follows the anticolonial script of the Caliban-Prospero struggle, even as the real sources of Ivan's oppression can never be directly confronted in this postcolonial world. Ivan's gun fight with Jose can only serve as metonym for his larger conflict with power in the film, which is played out in other scenes in his shootout with police officers and later army forces. Meanwhile, Elsa's struggles to find work and survive within the system provide a foil for

Ivan's romantic rebellion, as Ivan's oppositional identity requires rejecting the domesticity Elsa represents.[10]

The film invites the viewer to celebrate Ivan's rebellion against the corrupt neocolonial Jamaican establishment, yet the futility of his resistance becomes increasingly apparent; the film thus depicts the anticolonial stance as delusional in the postcolonial context.[11] While anticolonial resistance literature typically targets European high culture (most frequently represented by the British literary canon) as cultural purveyor of modern colonialism, *The Harder They Come* identifies postcolonial ways in which Caribbean consciousness is colonized. Ivan, who has been shown throughout the movie to be a connoisseur of the Hollywood Western, is unable to imagine his resistance through anything other than that script. As most commentators on *The Harder They Come* have noted, during his last stand Ivan imagines that he is the hero of one of these Westerns, picturing an audience cheering him on. Seeing himself as hero, Ivan imagines that the righteousness of his cause means that he cannot be defeated. In fact, though, as the starkly unromantic end of *The Harder They Come* makes clear, Ivan has misread the situation: he is not the hero of a Western, and what he imagines as his heroic last stand ends not with triumph but his all-too-real death.

Yet we, the audience of the movie, are witnesses, and become implicated in this final scene.[12] Ivan's attempt to directly confront the postcolonial system fails miserably, due to his failure to imagine a role for himself other than that created for him by the US culture industry, that of gun-slinging outlaw eventually brought to justice. Carolyn Cooper calls Ivan's "total identification with film heroes […] clearly pathological" (98), and the film's ending certainly supports that conclusion. Ivan's death comes from both a misunderstanding of what he is up against—thinking that he will be able to shoot his way out—and a failure of his imagination—not having a creative plan for confronting the disciplinary state. In both cases, he is not the one in control of the script. In rooting for him, though, we are also made to see the inadequacies of our anticolonial imaginary: the film's ending suggests that for postcolonial political movements to succeed, they need to recognize their distinctiveness from the anticolonial struggles of the past, and to imagine new, locally devised ways of organizing themselves against the Empires of the present and future.

While *The Harder They Come* has become something of a canonical text in Caribbean studies, *Smile Orange* has received far less attention from critics. Some of this certainly comes from the generic differences of an internationally released film versus a locally produced play (*Smile Orange* was also produced as a film in 1976, although never distributed as widely as *The Harder They Come*), as well as the simple matter of the availability of the two texts—while *Smile Orange* was published in 1981 as part of the Longman's Caribbean Writers Series, it is not currently in print in the United States. I would add that part of the continued appeal of *The Harder*

They Come comes from the appeal of its anticolonial elements, as opposed to the exploration of accommodation that drives *Smile Orange*. The play clearly depicts a new, postcolonial Empire, a world in which political independence may be the rule, but individuals within the nation are forced to sell whatever they can, including themselves. At the same time, *Smile Orange* offers an especially trenchant critique of these new forms of domination, especially the tourist industry**.** Rhone takes compelled performance and commodification seriously as threats to West Indian independence, but also deploys them as strategies against the imperialism of multinational capital. As the play shows, these strategies do not overturn a system based on inequality and exploitation: like *The Harder They Come*, *Smile Orange* ends without any major reversal of the economic relationships which structure its characters' lives. But unlike the film, *Smile Orange* offers stop-gap techniques of survival, alternatives in a world where straightforward resistance appears futile and utter withdrawal suicide.

The hero of *Smile Orange* is Ringo, the smooth-talking waiter who makes his living charming tourist women. Ringo's approach of accommodation rather than confrontation thus stands in sharp contrast to Ivan's romantically revolutionary persona; at the same time, a certain continuity exists between the two protagonists, as both the film and play remain invested in exploring how postcolonial forms of exploitation affect Caribbean masculinity. As Mervyn Morris notes in his introduction to the play, *Smile Orange* ends by revealing that the title comes from "the story that to eat an orange is to put one's manhood at risk"; the moral is thus that entering into a tourist economy means accepting the "(symbolic) emasculation" of smiling in order to please those with power (Morris ix). Masculinity as self-sovereignty can therefore no longer provide a basis for writerly authority, as the context of multinational capitalism reframes the questions of authorship and compelled performance within the demands of the global marketplace. In *Smile Orange*, Rhone never downplays the disenfranchisement of poor Jamaicans who have no access to writing their own script. The script is written abroad: in the play's postcolonial setting, the hotel manager stays in New York while his subordinates like the Assistant Manager, O'Keefe, administer things for him in Jamaica, directly evoking the old absentee landlord system (Rhone 95). Yet at the same time, the script is re-written at a local level, literally by Rhone as playwright, and within the world of the play by the character Ringo, who eventually produces a narrative version of events that allows him to achieve a contingent victory.

Performance thus becomes a double-edged sword, simultaneously requiring characters to inhabit dehumanizing stereotypes even as it presents them with the best opportunity to carve out a space for themselves within the system of domination. Performance provides Ringo and the rest of the hotel staff with a strategic defense against the white tourist world and even the possibility to "exploit di exploiter" (107). The potential utility of this strategy is clearly delineated: first, power structures

do not seem to be altered in any fundamental way by all of this role play; and second, the integrity, the Fanonian essence of each of these men, is clearly compromised. Which is the real Ringo, the American-talking "C" man who dances for the tourists, or the patois-speaker hanging out with Joe in the kitchen? By setting the play in the second world, and bringing in the tourist world only in the form of anecdotes—no white characters appear on stage at all in the play, their presence felt only in how they affect the hotel staff—Rhone suggests that this is where the "real" Ringo is located.

Whereas this performative identity is for Ivan ultimately tragic, for Ringo it opens up new possibilities. Through his performances, Ringo becomes author of his own script, supporting himself financially and repeatedly saving himself from potentially disastrous situations. His greatest triumph comes at the end of the play, after a tourist dies in the swimming pool because the lifeguards (Ringo's brothers-in-law, whom he has helped get these jobs) can't swim. Ringo realizes that it is in the interests of the hotel, the assistant manager, and the other employees to cover up the truth; to that end, he takes on the role of author, inventing the story that he dove into the pool to try to save the drowning man, and coaching his coworkers to spread that tale:

> As I see it, is only di three of us know di full facts, and if any of us talk, all of us in trouble, and I don't see how dat going to benefit me, or you, or you […] So all you have to do is keep yuh mouth shut 'bout what really happen and shout out 'Ringo risk him life to save di people.' People believe anything you tell dem, you know. (151-2)

Because of his understanding of the power of authorship, Ringo keeps his job and may even be promoted when the play ends.

Yet the demands of the tourist world which weigh on Ringo mean that the victories that these performances achieve can only be contingent and partial. The play makes this point by emphasizing the effects of performance on its characters' masculinity. One of the first questions which Ringo asks his new busboy, Cyril, before instructing him on his function within the hotel, is "You is a man dat like woman?" (118) When Cyril replies "Sometime, sar," Ringo reprimands him: "How you mean sometime? A man mus' like chicks all di time" (118). Masculinity in this context means liking women, preferably white ones. Rhone suggests that this simplified notion of masculinity opens up certain opportunities within the tourist economy: Ringo's authorship may seem less heroic than Ivan's armed resistance, but it does provide him with some control and some sense of self-worth. In a world where black men cannot physically fight back against their oppressors, sexual potency becomes a way to assert a masculine identity just as commodification of one's own body becomes a tempting entry into an otherwise bleak local economy.

At the same time, *Smile Orange* constantly calls into question this basis for masculinity. Ringo complains to Joe that "Woman will do anything, as long as di price is right," (143) but he, too, will do anything for money. Performing for a living thus places him in the female position

of his own equation. The converse of his postcolonial masculinity, which depends on bedding tourist women, is that Ringo's female counterpart at the hotel, Miss Brandon, equates her femininity with her "pearl," and whether or not she can exchange it for a diamond ring. Miss Brandon must take matters into her own hands; the only other main female character in the play, Ringo's wife, fails to do so by depending on her husband to support her and therefore appears absurd and foolish. Miss Brandon finds that, like Ringo, the only commodity which she can sell is her exotic sexuality. Rhone draws a direct equivalence between the kinds of performance Ringo and Miss Brandon must undertake: her only option is to play the same game as the men, performing for the tourists the stereotype of oversexed, animal African.

Despite these similarities, though, the play treats Miss Brandon's performance as fundamentally different. At the end of *Smile Orange*, the audience is left thinking that Ringo has become a hero, while she has been used and deceived: the final stage directions describe her hearing her lover's plane departing and tells us "she knows she has lost" (155). The reason for these different outcomes seems to be that she takes on her role too naïvely, while Ringo holds no illusions about his relationships with the tourist women. Miss Brandon's mistake is to convince herself that the one-legged American wants to marry her. She cannot imagine that he, too, is aware that he is acting a part, the part of her passport to the United States. Miss Brandon's short-sightedness indicates how the play conceives performance differently for its male and female characters. The men are tricksters, active agents, knowingly entering a game whose rules are clear. Miss Brandon tries to play the game without enough self-consciousness, and becomes exploited, rather than exploiter. The difference between Ringo's success and her failure, then, stems from the play's limited vision of womanhood. While the men may be able to take advantage of the tourist industry, Miss Brandon is destined to be passive and taken advantage of.

Even as the men appear to fare better, the similarities between Ringo and Miss Brandon—both are participating in this sexualized tourist economy in almost identical ways—threatens to feminize the male performances as well. This similarity is exposed in one of the more humorous scenes from the play, as Ringo decides to take Cyril under his wing and teach him his tricks of the trade. To do so, Ringo asks that Cyril join him in a performance: "A going to show you something. Sit down. Sit down! Now, you are di guest and I is di waiter" (116). Later, the two switch roles. In both cases, Cyril doesn't show himself to be particularly good at playing his part, but Ringo zealously takes on his role as a female diner for Cyril to serve: "Right, now I will be the guest. Take up di tray, I am di lady" (121). Cyril appears very uncomfortable throughout this scene, clearly unwilling to either play the part of a woman or to pretend to pick up the woman played by Ringo. The masculinity which Ringo represents is closely tied to sexual performance, in particular with white women. But it is also integrally linked to the more general sense of

performance, the ability to play a part. When Ringo scolds Cyril about his reticence to join the role play, he seems to present the moral of *Smile Orange*: "If you is a black man and you can't play a part, you going starve to death" (120). What cannot be overlooked is the part which Ringo insists Cyril play in their rehearsal: the part of the tourist woman. Ringo is giving seemingly contradictory advice to Cyril: on the one hand, a man must like women all of the time; on the other hand, a man must be willing to perform, even if that role is a woman's.

The role-playing that Ringo uses to initiate Cyril into the sexual economy of the hotel appears to be so suspect and problematic that the filmed version of *Smile Orange* actually leaves out some of the more risqué moments. One moment left out of the film comes at the beginning of Ringo's tutorial, in which he begins rubbing Cyril's leg, shocking and alarming the boy. Although in the play Ringo tells Cyril he was "just testing" him, and that it's "cool" if he doesn't "dig dat scene," the implication seems to be that Ringo has familiarity with a variety of sexual experiences (118). Indeed, when Ringo's turn comes to show Cyril how to act the part of the woman in their role play, Ringo takes on the part with relish. But the film again edits this lesson by omitting Cyril asking Ringo if he can show him what to do once he has successfully picked up a tourist woman. Ringo's response—"No, I can't show you. You must be mad" (119)—again highlights the sexual ambiguity of the relationship between the two. Another slight alteration occurs in the line from the play in which Ringo instructs Cyril to "imagine you is the girl and me is the waiter" (120): in the film, it has been changed to "imagine you is the guest and me is the waiter." Whereas in the play this entire scene is fraught with sexual ambiguity, the filmed version of *Smile Orange* leaves out these moments to try to smooth over the ambivalence that comes from the ways that the homosocial bonding of this scene resides at the border of homosexual relationship.[13]

Performativity and masculinity are both central to Ringo's identity, and yet always at odds: in order to teach Cyril how to be a man, both of them must be able to play a part that sometimes involves literally playing a woman. At the same time, the play *Smile Orange*, even more than the movie version, forces its audience to consider that there may not be a site of ultimate refusal like the one Ivan tries to occupy in *The Harder They Come*, that every strategy can only be contingent and possibly flawed. Ivan's defeat and annihilation come from a failure to recognize the changed postcolonial reality; Ringo's survival and partial victories prove him better attuned to the new context. Anticolonialism's narrative of revolutionary triumph and utopian transformation thus appears as a lost horizon for these two texts from 1970s Jamaica, even as they attempt to imagine what new horizons might look like. Alongside romanticism and nostalgia, these texts offer a new set of strategies—a postcolonial idea of masculinity and authorship—to confront new, postcolonial forms of domination. Rhone's own adherence to the anticolonial model, as well as his ideas about gender and sexuality, may lead to these texts' frequent

discomfort with the implications of this transformation. But looking back at *The Harder They Come* and *Smile Orange* as embodiments of the contradictions and ambivalences of the transition from a past form of colonialism to the postcoloniality we now inhabit can offer new ways to imagine the future of Caribbean independence and sovereignty.

Notes

1. Santiago-Valles describes how "tourism, as the new plantation, is the only sector where foreign investment has grown consistently during the last 30 years, making its economic, political, and cultural impact greater than that of sugar. The foreign advertisers, tour operators, airlines, and cruise ships, hotels and services repatriate profits from tourism before they can be redistributed locally"; he draws the parallel to how "foreign culture industries reassemble popular expressions like son, reggae, calypso, zouk and soca to return them as world music merchandise deprived of any content that might make tourists uncomfortable (270). Dunn's edited collection, meanwhile, analyzes how postcolonial culture industries have emerged from technological changes in which "satellite, microwave, and fibre-optic cable transmission systems have combined with digital switching and advanced computer techniques to enable constant distribution of cultural products and information across national borders in real time"; in the context of the "increasing global, as distinct from national, patterns of economic and cultural interaction […] the boundaries of political, economic, military and cultural activities are becoming de-linked from national borders" (xi). Santiago-Valles explicitly identifies "the last 30 years" as the timeframe of these transformations, while the technological changes Dunn highlights also began to become widespread in the 1970s.

2. Harvey identifies 1973 as the onset of postmodernity in the Western world, as he makes the case for considering the economic organization of the post-1973 period as a distinct international order governed by global organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. While Harvey's account focuses too exclusively on the United States and to some extent Europe, Amin analyzes these processes from the perspective of the rest of the world. Klein also shows how redefinitions in global capitalism took place outside of the U.S. or Europe; she follows Harvey in identifying 1973 as the onset of this new era but shows the role of the Pinochet coup in Chile in the developing doctrine of free market fundamentalism.

3. Scott presents an excellent overview of how this narrative of liberation is figured in the "Fanonian story": "the colonized are physically and psychologically dehumanized. In a fundamental sense they are denied their humanity. […] Eventually the native learns that the settler is not the superhuman he makes himself out to be. His glance ceases to turn the native to stone. […] This is a turning point. It is, for the colonized, the

moment of Consciousness; the moment of Awakening—the creation of what one might call an anticolonial Will. The criminal is turned into an activist; the lumpen becomes a militant. Moreover, through this canalization of the violence of the colonized there also begins a period of psychic healing, the reconstitution of the alienated self of the colonized. The 'New Man' of whom Fanon speaks begins to emerge" (*Refashioning* 202).

4. Hall explains that Fanon sees "The Antillean, who is obliged, in the scenarios of colonial relations, to have a relationship to self, to give a performance of self, which is scripted by the coloniser" (18).

5. Edmondson writes of how anticolonial writers imagined colonial domination and resistance in these gendered terms: "On one hand is posed the masculine figure, a combination of conqueror, colonialist, and travel writer. He owns the landscape, defines its parameters, inscribes it in writing. On the other hand is posed the feminized figure of the land itself, which is defined/owned/written upon. The female figure is posited as the nostalgic essence of Caribbean culture, to be 'restored' to its rightful place; the male figure stands in for the newly politicized Caribbean, which will enact the restoration" (60-1).

6. Machado Sáez describes how Caribbean postcoloniality comes to be figured as sexual exploitation in Phillips's *A State of Independence*: "Independence, represented by Bertram and Patsy's heterosexual relationship, is short-circuited as the future of the Caribbean emerges within the context of American imperialism, which the narrative associates with both a feminized exploited position as well as a homosexual relationship. […] The implication is that Caribbean society, defined as male dominated, is emasculated by engaging in a neocolonial relationship with the United States" (30). Whitfield looks at how the work of Valdés, Gutiérrez and other Cuban writers during the 1990s focuses on prostitution and sexual exploitation as metaphor for Cuba's place in the global economy after the loss of Soviet subsidies.

7. Walcott's *Pantomime*, another play written in the Caribbean during the 1970s, presents a similar critique of tourism as a form of postcolonial domination in the region. Like *Smile Orange*, *Pantomime* theorizes the way that performance may undermine the Caribbean subject's ability to define the self even while offering tentative moments to foreground and perhaps even challenge power relations. Puri's *The Caribbean Postcolonial* contains an excellent political reading of the way that the play breaks from what I am calling the anticolonial script even while keeping alive certain of its ethical demands. What is interesting to my discussion here, though, is the fact that just as the film version of *Smile Orange* omits certain moments from the play that foreground anxieties about sexuality, the film version of *Pantomime* presents only the first act of the play, which focuses on the conflict between Harry and Jackson as a continuation of colonial relations, but leaves out the second act, which injects the issue of sexuality into their relationship, as Jackson performs the part of Harry's ex-wife.

8. In *Caribbean Literature and the Public Sphere: From the Plantation to the Postcolonial*, I look at both the *testimonio* of Miguel Barnet and the Sistren Collective as well as cultural studies as two responses to the emergence of postcoloniality in the 1970s.

9. There are many examples of how these anticolonial elements attract the attention of critics. For example, Brathwaite describes the film as a "revolution in the hierarchical structure in the arts of the Caribbean […] a revolution as significant as Emancipation" (41); Collins, in calling herself a "fan of the film" (48), notes that the scenes which give her the most enjoyment as a viewer include those of Ivan posing with his pistols; Yearwood sees that "[Ivan's] heroism contains the seeds of his revolutionary development," although he laments that this potential is "sabotage[d]" (439).

10. Yearwood provides an excellent discussion of the roles women play in the film. In constructing domesticity in this way, *The Harder They Come* resembles the "black empire" texts Stephens examines: see especially her discussion of how Claude McKay treats domesticity as the imprisonment of black male freedom (Stephens 148-49, 155).

11. Yearwood sees Ivan as "a hero from a different time who inevitably comes into conflict with society's enforcers" (439), although Ivan's anachronistic nature is not the focus of his argument. Cooper, meanwhile, is especially attentive to film as representing a new epochal moment: "film (and its TV/video spinoffs) is *the* post-literate, twentieth-century popular art form *par excellence*" (96).

12. The musical version of *The Harder They Come*, written by Henzell and first staged in London in 2006, plots Ivan's rebellion less as failure than as inspiration: instead of ending the show with Ivan's death, the entire cast returns to the stage to resurrect him and perform one last number with him. This version becomes a much more romantic vision of Ivan's rebellion, and Henzell's retrospective awareness of the film's enormous influence seems embedded in this version in which Ivan's memory becomes a rallying point for new political projects. But the original film ends without establishing this pact with the audience that Ivan's memory will live on; the film ends only with futility and death.

13. These omissions evoke Fanon's assertion: "Let me observe at once that I had no opportunity to establish the overt presence of homosexuality in Martinique" (Fanon, *Black Skin* 180). As Mercer explains, this disavowal comes from the idea that constructing revolutionary blackness requires "the figure of the homosexual as the enemy within" (125).

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