RHETORICS OF EXILE: BLACK PROLETARIAN CARTOGRAPHIES DURING THE COLD WAR ERA

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Utilizing material frames including racial-capitalism, world systems analysis, and a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography, this dissertation offers an analysis of the rhetorics of exiled Black political leaders during the Cold War era. Through my case studies, including Mabel and Robert F. William's exile in Cuba, Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's exile in Algeria, and Paul Robeson's forced containment in the United States, I assess how exiled and contained political leaders utilized place-based rhetorics and place-as-rhetoric to engage in a globally oriented political struggle against racism, imperialism, and colonialism. Robeson performed folk music from different national contexts as a mode through which to articulate the struggle against racism, colonialism, and imperialism as fundamentally global, while his particular location at Peace Arch Park tapped into the racialized entanglement of imperialism and citizenship. Similarly, Williams utilized a Black internationalist approach to aesthetics rooted in American Southern regionalism as a mode through which to situate the Black Belt as a key geographical space within a globally oriented political struggle against racialized violence. Cleaver's approach to place was more conceptual, as his Revolutionary People's Communication Network connected Gramscian war of maneuver and war of position tactics as a communicative mode through which to attend to the relationship between space and race. These utilizations of place-as-rhetoric and place-based rhetorics by exiled Black political leaders highlights the fundamental entanglement between nationhood, land, and citizenship. Taken

together, I argue that the rhetorics of exiled Black political leaders chart the emergence of a new global power map, *Black proletarian cartographies of struggle*, oriented toward fundamentally restructuring the existing racial-capitalist world order. Black political leaders in exile depended on the recognition of foreign states to safely navigate the exilic condition imposed on them by the United States empire. As such, their specific movements throughout socialist, decolonial, and non-aligned nations operated as a recognition of their legitimate status as leaders while simultaneously affirming the national identity and claims to citizenship of Black people throughout the diaspora. As such, the mapping of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle charted the boundaries of the possibility for Black emancipation writ large during the Cold War era.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: SITUATING EMPIRE & GEOPOLITICS AS RHETORICAL CONTEXT

"Why do I speak to you from exile?" Robert F. Williams poses this question as the opening sentence to *Negros with Guns*.[1] He proceeds to detail, with admirable political clarity, the series of events and political conflicts that led to him fleeing from his hometown of Monroe, North Carolina in 1961, with his wife, two children, two pistols, a light rifle, and a machine gun in tow. As Williams describes, his initial rise to national prominence came after his statements following the acquittal of a white guest who had kicked a Black hotel maid down the stairs in 1959.[2] Williams stated, "This demonstration today shows that the Negro in the South cannot expect justice in the courts. He must convict his attackers on the spot. He must meet violence with violence, lynching with lynching."[3] Williams's statements caused an uproar not only from white racists, but from the NAACP, who suspended him from office within hours of the printing of his advocacy for armed self-defense. In the two years between this event and Williams's exile in Cuba and China, when and where he could speak, what he could say, and who he could speak to remained primary issues that structured his ability to engage in political leadership.

Similarly, the events leading to the exile of Eldridge Cleaver were largely defined by a struggle over if he could speak, where, and under what circumstances. After Cleaver was released from prison he quickly became involved with the Black Panther

Party in Oakland, CA. Even though he strictly abided by the rules of his parole, the state became concerned after he gave a speech on April 15, 1967 to 65,000 Vietnam war protesters. Soon after, two officers notified him that the content of his speech, which called for armed self-defense and connected the Black liberation struggle in the United Stated with the one waged by the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, offended Governor Reagan.[4] As Robert Sheer recalls, "The two officials stated that, in the future, they would have to approve the content of Cleaver's speeches in advance before granting him permission to speak."[5]

Paul Robeson was forced to speak in 1956 at a hearing with the House on Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) after he refused to sign an affidavit affirming that he was not a Communist and was loyal to the United States. At the hearing, after being asked numerous times about his relationship to the Communist Party, Robeson stated,

> Could I say that the reason that I am here today, you know, from the mouth of the State Department itself, is: I should not be allowed to travel because I have struggled for years for the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. For many years I have so labored and I can say modestly that my name is very much honored all over Africa, in my struggles for their independence.[6]

When Robeson refused to sign the affidavit in 1954 he was denied a passport, and thus, denied the ability to travel, speak, and sing around the world as he had in years prior. For

a man who believed deeply in the enactment of internationalist proletarian politics, forced confinement in the United States functioned as a mode of political exile.

In this dissertation, I analyze exile as a communicative condition through the rhetorics of Black political leaders. Using rhetorical cartography as a guiding framework, I examine place based rhetorics as situated in an internationally oriented political struggle against racialized violence and imperialism. I do so in order to theorize the conditions of possibility for political leadership from exile. Although exile is a fundamentally repressive condition, the rhetorics of Robert F. and Mabel Williams, Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver, and Paul Robeson highlight new possibilities afforded by exile for political work. In effect, exile became a material and rhetorical resource as these figures mobilized the specificities of their condition and the specificities of place to engage in internationally oriented political leadership.

This exploration of exile and Black political leadership builds on substantial work done in rhetorical studies on Black freedom struggles and rhetorics. Many in rhetoric have focused on key oratorical moments of Black Power and Civil Rights movements or written texts that profoundly affected the trajectory of Black liberation struggles, usually by the most celebrated figures including Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and more recently, Fannie Lou Hammer.[7] Others offer insight into the rhetorical nature of the memory politics of Black freedom struggles, as evidenced by Hollywood films, museums, monuments, and commemorative events.[8] Rhetorical scholars of social movements have assessed how the visual politics of photography offered the Civil Rights movement a particular set of rhetorical resources at

different moments.[9] Yet, outside of attending specifically to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, few have studied rhetorics of Black Anticolonialism and Black Nationalism, or the overlap between political struggles for Black Liberation and national liberation struggles or socialist struggles.[10]

As a result of rhetorical studies scholarship on Black freedom movements, a cogent understanding of the instrumental function of rhetoric in pivotal moments for Black freedom movements exists.[11] Relatedly, rhetorical studies scholars of public memory have demonstrated the ways in which radical Black politics have been twisted, constrained, and domesticated in public memorialization of Black freedom movements, thus depoliticizing advocacy efforts.[12] Similarly, other rhetoric of social movement scholars have explored how various tactics of political repression have come to bear on Black freedom movements, thus offering insight into how political actors navigated different kinds of constraints in order to act politically.[13] Although exile is often noted as a reality of political repression for Black political actors during the Cold War era, the relationship between exile and political leadership has not been theorized or explored. Lisa Corrigan comes closest in her exploration of the relationship between incarceration and Black freedom movements, yet prison and exile are fundamentally different forms of communicative repression and containment, and thus, come to bear on the enactment of political leadership in quite different ways.[14]

In this dissertation, I turn to the rhetorics and political activity of prominent Cold War era Black political leaders who took an internationalist approach to the struggle against racism, imperialism, and colonialism. In particular, these leaders, Eldridge and

Kathleen Cleaver, Mabel and Robert F. Williams, and Paul Robeson have been understudied within rhetorical studies. The epistemological effects of this are not solely confined to a lack of attention to these individuals, but instead, also carry the broader implication of implicitly muddying a specific and prominent political trajectory of proletarian internationalism that played a key role in Cold War era political struggles against racism, imperialism, and colonialism. Through turning to the rhetorics of these political actors, I attempt to clarify and highlight the specific political nuances that enabled a globally oriented Black political struggle to emerge at this time. Indeed, through this project, I aim to expand understandings not only of Black political struggle, but more fundamentally exile writ large and its constitutive role in globally oriented Black political leadership during the Cold War era. In doing so, this project offers a rhetorical cartography of struggle, or a mapping of Black proletarian political struggle and Cold War era politics. I offer a conceptualization of how place-specific rhetorical resources articulated through place-based rhetorics and place-as-rhetoric can be mobilized as tools for internationalist political leadership across the African diaspora and socialist nations.

The key questions guiding this project are as follows:

1) What are the political and communicative conditions of possibility while in exile?
2) How did geopolitical shifts and antagonisms come to bear on the communicative resources available from exile?

3) What rhetorical resources did Cleaver, Williams, and Robeson utilize to navigate the communicative constraints of exile?

Within this context, I argue that exiled Black political leaders chart the emergence of a new global power map, which I term *Black proletarian cartographies of struggle,* that was oriented toward fundamentally restructuring the existing racial-capitalist world order. Black political leaders in exile depended on the recognition of foreign states to safely navigate the exilic condition imposed on them by the United States empire. As such, their specific movements throughout socialist, decolonial, and non-aligned nations operated as a recognition of their legitimate status as leaders while simultaneously affirming the national identity and claims to citizenship of Black people throughout the diaspora. As such, the mapping of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle charted the boundaries of the possibility for Black emancipation writ large during the Cold War era. This dissertation unfolds in three major movements. First, I argue that race and space are fundamentally entangled, and understanding them as such is necessary for understanding the role communication and culture play in political struggles on a global scale. Second, I argue for an understanding of exile as a fundamentally communicative condition by highlighting mobility as a racially laden mechanism that determines who can speak where. Third, I demonstrate how exiled and contained Black political leaders utilize the communicative affordances of place-based rhetorics to expand the boundaries of a new power map predicated on emancipation from racialized violence and exploitation.

For the remainder of this introduction, I offer a conceptual and historical orientation for the chapters that follow. First, I engage theories of race, and I detail the

relationship between space, culture, politics, and the diasporic condition of Blackness. Second, the diasporic condition of Blackness necessitates, I argue, a world-systems approach to understanding global racial capitalism. Third, I use this approach to situate this project's examination of Black political exile in a refreshed take on Cold War map(s) of power. From these frameworks, I develop rhetorical cartography as the primarily methodology guiding this project; and, in particular, I detail a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography that enables an emphasis on Black articulations of globally oriented political struggle. Finally, I offer an overview of the maps I chart throughout this dissertation and the major contribution of this project, Black proletarian cartographies of struggle. Here, I define what the Black proletariat is, and preview the implications for these globally situated utterances of political struggle. As a conclusion, I offer an overview of each forthcoming chapter.

International Approaches to Space, Race, & Culture

Blackness is internationally rooted and fundamentally entangled with space and culture on a global scale. Indeed, the internationalist perspective captured by the cultural and communicative activity of Williams, Cleaver, and Robeson stems from a material understanding of capitalism as a fundamentally racialized and global force of governance. This internationalist approach to Black liberation is further contextualized by other historical processes of capital accumulation and race-making, as well as fights for Black liberation, as detailed by Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic and other political projects throughout the 20th century. In sum, this section offers conceptual and material

context though which to understand my utilization of race, space, culture, and internationalism.

The Construction of Race

While various processes of racialization have existed for centuries as a method to justify issues of governance, the concept of race as based on skin color only emerged in the 18th century.[15] Around this time, "scientific racism" provided the pseudoscientific justification for understanding certain groups of people are inherently inferior, barbaric, and unchanging.[16] One notable example is the 1953 publication of Joseph Arther de Gobineau's *De L'Ineqalite des Races Humanites* (Of the Inequality of Human Races), where he breaks human civilization into three racialized groups (white, black, and yellow).[17] Based on so-called evidence such as skull measurements, Gobineau claims that white people are mentally superior and the only group capable of governance.[18] While at the time, ideas such as Gobineau's were contested within anthropological spheres to some degree, such attitudes still created the context for race and racism to "became an essential ideological weapon for imperialism and the development of national discourse."[19]

Stuart Hall describes how processes of racialization and skin color function together, as they are mapped onto one another.[20] Hall argues that for the social operation of race, "visibility itself becomes a kind of truth" that is "…achieved by correlating one vector of difference (say, skin color) against another (say, race)."[21] This socially operationalized "truth" is fluid and shifting as it interacts with other social factors, such as land, region, and class, among others, leading to a reality in which what "counts" as

Black in one geographic local might not "count" as Black in another.[22] In this sense, race and phenotype are not wholly unrelated to each other, but rather, phenotype alone certainly does not capture the shifting and ongoing dynamics of racialization.[23]

While language and ideas rooted in bio-racism or scientific racism are still very much so present today, as detailed by Karen Fields and Barbara Fields, the nature of racism, and the construction of race, has, to some degree, morphed.[24] Etienne Balibar highlights the contemporary function of "racism without races,"

> whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountably of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions; in short, it is what P.A. Taguieff has rightly called a differentialist racism.[25]

The analysis animating "racism without races" does not mean that the interplay between skin color and processes of racialization described by Hall no longer exist.[26] Rather, Balibar is describing a racism that foregrounds cultural difference as the justificatory narrative for mechanisms of governance that solidify racialized difference into a power-laden hierarchy.[27] Underwriting this social logic is the assumption that there is a singularity to cultural archetypes, or a pureness to culture that can be inherited. Paul Gilroy terms this "absolute sense of ethnic difference" as "cultural insiderism," a rhetorical strategy most often associated with constructing national belonging.[28] As such, "cultural insiderism" most often constructs "the nation as an ethnically homogenous

object" which "invokes ethnicity a second time in the hermeneutic procedures deployed to make sense of its distinctive cultural content."[29] Gilroy's emphasis on nation-building is central here, as the delineation between a cultural, ethnic, and racial "inside" and "outside" are fundamental questions of citizenship, or who counts in a given society.[30] In many ways, the logic of "cultural insiderism" is not fundamentally dissimilar to the more explicit bio-racism of earlier centuries.[31] As Balibar highlights, "culture can also function like a nature, and it can in particular function as a way of locking individuals and groups a priori into a genealogy, into a determination that is immutable and intangible in origin."[32] Yet, even while culture functions as a material force that structures relationality, it is never static. Culture is always contested, in flux, and in the process of becoming.

Race, Space, and Culture

The entanglement between culture, Blackness, and political struggle requires an internationalist perspective. Indeed, as demonstrated by Robeson, Williams, and Cleaver, the question of Black liberation is fundamentally international in scope. For instance, Robeson traveled to the Soviet Union and maintained relationships with international leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jawaharlal Nehru of India. Even before Cleaver's exile in Cuba and Algeria, he had sought to establish an international branch of the Black Panther Party because he understood that the dispossession, exploitation, and incarceration of Black Americans was fundamentally connected to the colonization of Africans and other dispossessed and racialized people across the globe due to the global role of United States imperialism. Similarly, prior to

Williams' exile in Cuba and China, he traveled to Cuba and built a close relationship with Fidel Castro, and later, he did the same with Mao Zedong. These attempts to build an international movement against racialized violence, particularly with leaders who are not Black, signals a political investment in building a broader movement rooted in the eradication of imperialism, colonization, and racialized exploitation writ large.

These internationalist political perspectives captured by the leadership activity of Williams, Cleaver and Robeson stem from a material understanding of capitalism, the present structure of the existing world order, as a fundamentally racialized and transnational form of governance. They worked to build close political relationships with leaders of periphery nations within the capitalist world-economy because they understood the colonization and exploitation of these nations as intimately and materially connected to racial violence and exploitation in the United States. This connection is not merely about shared experiences of racialized exploitation, but rather, is manifest in the material structure of capitalist global governance itself. Indeed, as Manning Marable argues, "the forced movement of involuntary labor across vast boundaries; the physical and human exploitation of slaves; the subsequent imposition of debt peonage, convict leasing, and sharecropping in post-emancipation societies; and the construction of hypersegregated, racialized urban ghettos, from Soweto to Rio de Janeiro's slums to Harlem" all point to effects of racialized and imperialist governance on a global scale.[33] Within the context of building a liberation struggle against racial terror, Robeson, Williams, Cleaver and other Black political leaders of the Cold War era recognized, as Marable articulates, "that the destruction of European colonial rule in

Africa and the Caribbean, and the demise of the Jim Crow regime of racial segregation in the United States, were politically linked."[34] As such, their struggle for liberation took an internationalist approach.

Paul Gilroy's project of defining the Black Atlantic as a mechanism through which to situate studies of culture on a global scale gives one such example of how to approach the interplay between culture, space, and race from an internationalist perspective.[35] The circulation of ideas, materials, and cultural artifacts across and around the Black Atlantic fundamentally shapes Black cultural production under modernity. Paul Gilroy offers the conceptual framework of the "Black Atlantic" to grasp the transitory exchange of culture between Britain, the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean.[36] The Black Atlantic invokes an exploitative origin, as the exchange between these places was born of colonization, the slave trade, and violent dispossession. At Gilroy highlights, bringing the circulation of slaves across the Atlantic to the forefront as a contemporary structuring force for social and cultural relations points to the diasporic condition of Black cultural production today. By positioning the Atlantic as a heuristic through which to understand the nature of Black cultural projects under modernity, Gilroy is able to highlight how certain cultural and political artifacts retrace, reclaim, reimagine, or redefine the role of the Black Atlantic.[37] Additionally, Gilroy attends to the materiality of what makes up the Black Atlantic fundamentally impacts what Black culture *is* today, as culture is charted by the traversal of ships around and through the middle passage as good are traded, or Black people cross between their diasporic communities.[38]

Indeed, as Gilroy's framework points to, culture does not exist in a vacuum, but rather, is deeply entangled with the interplay between race, space, culture, and political struggle.[39] Since the fall of slavery, Black cultural production and political projects have still often been molded by the shape of the Atlantic. While Marcus Garvey's Black Star Line shipping project existed from 1919-1922, more contemporary Black nationalist groups still invoke "back to Africa" influenced political projects. For instance, in 1968, the Republic of New Afrika initiated a political project to create an independent Black country in the Southeastern region, or "black belt" of the United States, much like Harry Haywood proposed to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928.[40] Unlike Garvey, they did not even attempt to (re)cross the Atlantic back to an African homeland, and doing so was not part of their political vision. They understood that Africa was not their homeland in a literal sense, but still felt the ways that the existence of Africa, and of a free Black nation, shaped their day to day experiences and political consciousness within the United States. As Gilroy is proposing, they understood "the shape of the Atlantic as a system of cultural exchanges" as well as a shape of historically rooted racialized dispossession.[41] However, Kate Baldwin makes an important intervention in Gilroy's centering of the Black Atlantic in conceptualizing the political nature of the Black diaspora, arguing that "phrases like "black internationalism" cannot be understood without documenting the specific interaction between Soviet ideology and Black American aspiration toward racial liberation and a society free of racism."[42] This opens the door for explicit consideration of how questions of nation and race, as explored and practiced outside of the United States, Great Britain, Africa, or the

Caribbean, have come to bear on Black internationalist and diasporic political projects throughout the twentieth century.[43]

As Gilroy's intellectual project points to, as well as William's, Cleaver's, and Robeson's international cultural exchanges, the general diasporic condition of Blackness under modernity shapes political projects and cultural production.[44] Frantz Fanon argues that colonization is not merely about land or material resources and not merely satisfied "with holding people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content."[45] Processes of colonization also manifest culturally as the colonizer "turns to the past of oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it."[46] Centuries of colonization and forced displacement via slavery have created the conditions for Black people located in what Stuart Hall identifies as the "New World," to try "in a series of metaphors, to play a different sense of our relationship to the past, and thus a different way of thinking about our cultural identity."[47] As Hall proceeds to articulate, diasporic identity is "those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference."[48] Hall argues that communication and cultural production are modes through which diasporic people can be "constitute[d]" as "new kinds of subjects" and are thereby enabled to "discover places from which to speak."[49]

Race and Space on a Global Scale

As Stuart Hall points to, Blackness is an internationally rooted social structure that is constructed and contested through shifting geopolitical relationalities and control over who can go where on a global scale as a power-laden mechanism of governance and race-making. As demonstrated by Gilroy, as well as by numerous Black

(inter)nationalist political projects throughout the 20th century, those engaged in Black liberation also often situate their political struggle globally as manifest in cultural exchanges among diasporic people around the world. The internationalist nature of Black liberation struggles and national oppression is also clearly manifest in the experiences of Robeson, Cleaver, and Williams. Indeed, each of them traveled to and rooted their political work in places such as Cuba, Algeria, the Soviet Union, Ghana, China, and Vietnam, thus engaging an explicitly socialist "power map" as a key tool in their respective political fights.

As such, in this project, I situate the rhetorical artifacts of Cleaver, Robeson, and Williams as rooted at the intersection of race, space, culture, and political struggle within the context of a racial-capitalist world system. Indeed, mechanisms of mobility and spatialization are employed on a global scale as tools of capital accumulation and race-making. As such, it is necessary to situate cultural artifacts that emerged from moments of globally oriented political struggle within that apex. Below, I detail world-systems analysis and racial capitalism as key epistemological tools that guide my analysis throughout this project. Most importantly, each of these tools provide the conceptual background necessary by attending to actually existing material conditions and structures, to connect the entangled operation of space, race, and culture on a global scale.

Global Racial Capitalism

Internationally situated processes of racialization and spatialization are fundamentally entangled with mechanisms of global capitalism. In this section, I offer an

overview of racial capitalism and world-systems analysis as materially rooted and globally oriented frameworks that enable an understanding of global flows of people as deeply bound up with mechanisms of capital accumulation and related geopolitical systems. Ultimately, the analytic frameworks developed here offers a conceptual background for understanding the material entanglement of race and space on a global scale.

Racial Capitalism and World-Systems Analysis

Processes of racialization are permeated through global and transnational relations as manifest in colonialism and imperialism. For example, through his theory of racial capitalism, Cedric Robinson details how the current racialized and capitalist world system evolved from the already racialized feudal order.[50] As Robin D.G. Kelly explicates,

> Capitalism was not "racial" because of some conspiracy to divide workers or justify slavery and dispossession, but because racialism had already permeated Western feudal society. The first European proletarians were *racial* subjects (Irish, Jews, Roma or Gypsies, Slavs, etc.) and they were victims of dispossession (enclosure), colonialism, and slavery *within Europe.* Indeed, Robinson suggested that racialization within Europe was very much a *colonial* process involving invasion, settlement, expropriation, and racial hierarchy.[51]

Various nations utilized this racialized process of internal colonization as they competed for global influence and raw material.

Beyond the more general claim that capitalism emerged from already existing racialized and colonial social relations, Immanuel Wallerstein offers a more detailed analysis that breaks down the role and function of race, nation, and ethnicity within a capitalist world-system.[52] He states,

> Each of the three modal terms hinges on one of the basic structural features of the capitalist world-economy. The concept of 'race' is related to the axial division of labour in the world-economy, the core-periphery antinomy. The concept of 'nation' is related to the political superstructure of this historical system, the sovereign states that form and derive from the interstate system. The concept of 'ethnic group' is related to the creation of household structures that permit the maintenance of large components of non-waged labour in the accumulation of capital. None of the three terms is directly related to class. That is because 'class' and 'peoplehood' are orthogonally defined, which as we shall see is one of the contradictions of this historical system.[53]

While Wallerstein denies a direct one-to-one relation of race, ethnicity and nation to class, his bold claim does not deny the materialist basis for these modal terms. Rather, he is proposing that we understand "peoplehood," as manifest in race, nation, and ethnicity, as "in no sense a primordial stable social reality;" it is "a complex, clay-like historical product of the capitalist world-economy through which the antagonistic forces struggle with each other."[54] In other words, "peoplehood" is always contested, in flux, and within it, ongoing political struggle manifests as oppositional forces come to a head.

Alternately, classes are "objective categories" or "statements about contradictions in a historical system, and not descriptions of social communities."[55] In sum, Wallerstein's framework offers the detail necessary to understand the world-system as always contextualized (primarily by capitalism, today) and always in motion.[56]

Wallerstein and Robinson's respective emphasis on global exchange and (inter)national relationality demonstrates the utility of world-systems analysis as a broad structuring framework for understanding what I consider to be the central context of this project – U.S. empire and the specific geopolitical conditions of the Cold War. World-systems analysis centers the world as the primary unit of social analysis, rather than the nation-state. This approach posits that there is only one world connected by a complex network of economic exchange relationships (a world-economy or world-system) in which the dichotomy of capital and labor and the endless accumulation of capital by competing agents (historically this was nation-states but today also includes private corporations) account for frictions.[57] Importantly, a world-economy is *not* bound by a unitary political structure or homogenous culture, but rather, is held together by the "efficacy of a division of labor."[58] Wallerstein's analysis of the Cold War era highlights the implications of this approach, in which the world itself is taken up as the primary unit of analysis. Rather than understanding the globe as sectioned off into various self-contained blocks (such as the Eastern Block and Western Block), he argues that the United States was still the hegemonic power in a unipolar world-system in which the USSR acted as a sub-imperialist agent of the U.S.[59] This articulation of geopolitical, economic, and social relations opens different doors for analysis, as these different

"power maps" are defined in oppositional relation to one another. Instead of utilizing cement-like taxonomies that tend to implicitly mystify rather than clarify, this mode of analysis encourages attention to the specific existing material conditions structuring world-order. This perspective is taken up in this dissertation project as I utilize a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography to chart the place-based rhetorics among Black and other dispossessed and colonized people globally as a force for liberation via the cultivation of a Black proletarian cartography of struggle. In particular, racial capitalism and world-systems analysis operates here as a background analytic that enables me to situate geopolitics and empire as central context, and specifically describe the cartographies of power in which certain exiled political leaders operated.

Importantly, Wallerstein describes how the axial division of labor within the world-economy, which is related to the concept of race, cultivates a spatial division of labor through the construction of core-periphery antinomy on a global scale.[60] Wallerstein states, "Core and periphery strictly speaking are relational concepts that have to do with differential cost structures of production."[61] For Wallerstein and other world-systems analysts, the world is made up of three zones: core, periphery, and semiperiphery. These respective zones are determined by their economic processes, and in particular, and they are (or are not) integrated into the capitalist world-system. Core countries are capitalist countries characterized by industrialization, while periphery countries both support (through colonization and dispossession) and are dependent on core countries for capital. Semiperiphery countries are in the middle, and are the weaker members of the generally industrialized geopolitical sphere. Wallerstein's articulation of

core, periphery, and semiperiphery is somewhat similar to Mao's articulation of the intermediate zone thesis (detailed in the next section); while Wallerstein's delineation is based solely on modes of economic production and Mao's conceptualization more explicitly includes geopolitical relationality, each analytic recognizes the active role of the periphery and semiperiphery, or "intermediate zone" (between hegemonic global super powers), as a fundamental sphere of activity and political struggle within the capitalist world-system.[62] Each of these frameworks provide a general structure for understanding the relationships between different zones of the world as still part of one whole, as manifest in the world itself as the unit of analysis.

As these zones correspond to production, they are both racialized and spatialized. This racialized and spatialized relationship between structures of production remains intact for three primary reasons, given that this relationship is not inevitable: first, when peripheral or semiperipheral spaces have been associated with primary forms of production, it is usually due to environmental conditions or geographical constraints on the ability to relocate these processes; second, despite the spatial distance between the core and periphery, "the products in a commodity chain cross[ing] political frontier transit is among the greatest real powers that states actually exercise," meaning, the core-periphery spatial divide actually facilitates the transnational expression of state governance; and third, the separation of core and peripheral processes in varrying states cultivates different internal political structures in each, "a difference which in turn becomes a major sustaining bulwark of the inegalitarian interstate system that manages and maintains the axial division of labour."[63] Indeed, the current capitalist-world system

expanded from its initial location in Europe and on its way across the world, created geographically distinct and disparate zones of core, semiperipheral, and peripheral production, as manifest in mechanisms such as colonization. As an example, European powers, namely Britain and France, scrambled for the partition of Africa in the late 19th century as a mechanism to expand global influence, create a trade surplus, and obtain raw materials not found in Europe. The technological advances of the industrial revolution, especially the expanded use of railways and steamships, enabled this new interstate expression of power to take shape as raw materials could be more cheaply obtained and transported. In this instance, more than 90 percent of Africa was colonized by European powers by 1914 with the explicit purpose of creating a peripheral, and at this point racialized, zone to integrate into the growing capitalist world-system. The interplay between space and race here is profound, as each became entangled expressions of capitalist world power. Importantly, Williams, Cleaver, and Robeson primarily engaged periphery and semiperiphery nations, or the intermediate zone, that was not entirely integrated into, or captured by, the capitalist-world system. Indeed, their struggle for Black liberation was part and parcel of a larger geopolitical, or cartographic, fight for an entirely new socialist world order build on a different political basis. Below, I detail the specific geopolitical context of the Cold War era in which Williams, Cleaver, and Robeson operated.

Charting Exile Across Power Maps of the Cold War

The Cold War era marks a period of time in which the economic, social, and political governance structures of world-order were openly contested on geopolitical

terms. Within this context, different "power maps" emerged, that to some degree, corresponded with different political and economic systems of governance. Taking the world as the unit of analysis, below, I detail the global geopolitical context in which Cleaver, Williams, and Robeson operated. I do so to illuminate how these large-scale conditions came to bear on the rhetorical resources available for individual political leaders attempting to operate on an international level. I identify the distinction and interplay between different cartographies of power as they struggled *for* global hegemonic power.

Power Maps of the Cold War

In histories of the Cold War, three primary "power maps" are identified: the Eastern Bloc, the Western Bloc, and the Non-Aligned Movement. By "power map," I mean the ways in which different places, people, and practices get pulled into relation with one another (through trading, geopolitical agreements, etc.) and cohere into a region, or bloc, to act in concert toward shared and agreed upon interests. The Eastern Bloc was composed of the Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe and East Asia and Southeast Asia, operating under the hegemony of the Soviet Union. The Western Bloc refers to capitalist countries operating under the United States and NATO. After its creation in 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement was composed of countries operating neither with or against the Western or Eastern Blocs, and specifically, those invested in ensuring national sovereignty. These power blocs operated according to different political logics that fundamentally shaped local and global social, political, and economic relations. The countries each bloc traded with, communicated with, and

enabled travel to and from were premised on these logics. These routes of circulation established, in effect, different maps of power that offered varying rhetorical resources to those located within the places of a respective map. To understand the place-specific conditions of possibility, one must understand the position of that place within a larger, fluctuating, geopolitical order.

The Eastern Bloc was not a static monolith throughout the course of the Cold War. Indeed, the Soviet Union's position as leaders of a worldwide socialist revolution was constantly shifting, especially in relation to ongoing national and anti-colonial struggles. These transferences were largely negotiated via the Soviet Union's relationship to China. From its establishment in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) followed the lead of the Soviet Bolshevik Party, with the goal of facilitating a "world revolution." However, as Chen Jian details, in the early 1940s, a series of events, including the end of China's war against Japan (1945) and the dissolution of the Communist International (1943), "created new conditions for major changes in the CCP's external relations."[64] As Mao and his fellow CCP leaders began to recognize the uniqueness of China in relation to the larger global order, new frameworks, which would fundamentally shape the Cold War as well as the international Communist movement, began to emerge.

Most importantly, Mao introduced his "intermediate zone thesis" in a 1946 interview with left wing American journalist Anna Louise Strong.[65] Through the thesis, Mao claimed that between the United States and Soviet Union existed a vast "intermediate zone" composed of oppressed non-Western countries.[66] Thus, before the

U.S. could attack the Soviet Union, they had to control the intermediate zone, and, "as a result, Asia was made a central arena of the Cold War."[67] As Mao concluded,

> although the postwar situation seemed to be characterized by the sharp confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, the principle contradiction in the world was represented by the struggles between peoples in the intermediate zone and the reactionary American ruling class.[68]

The articulation of the "intermediate zone" was of extreme importance to the proceeding moves made by the CCP, and it recalibrated the relationship between China and the Soviet Union. In 1949, after the victory of the Chinese Communist revolution, the two countries reached a strategic "division of labor" agreement: "while the Soviet Union would continuously play the leadership role in directing the world revolution and take the main responsibility in promoting revolutions in the West, the CCP would play a major role in promoting revolutions in the East."[69] This agreement had major political implications. For one, it acted as an acknowledgement from the Soviet Union that China had a unique and particularly advantageous relationship to the decolonial and national struggles taking place across the world, and that they were in fact in a better position to understand and support those struggles than the Soviet Union. Yet, while the agreement functioned as formal recognition from the Soviet Union of China's unique position in the world revolution, the agreement forwarded a formal and explicit recognition of the Soviet Union as the sole leader of the world revolution. The Sino-Soviet alliance successfully endured for nearly a decade. Yet, the alliance became increasingly fragile

with Mao's reintroduction of the "intermediate zone" thesis in 1954, wherein the concept was "accompanied by a much stronger desire for Beijing to play a central role in international affairs," rather than remained positioned as the "little brother" of the Soviet Union.[70]

This is the context in which China attended the Bandung Conference, a key step in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. Twenty-nine states gathered in Bandung in April 1955, representing around 1.5 billion people spread across Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The five conference organizers, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), had won independence from European colonization in the decade prior. As Sean L. Malloy details, "It was the Asian-African (or Bandung) Conference that gave substance to the notion of a new group of nations with their own agenda independent of the superpowers."[71] Although the attendees represented a vast array of political projects, they came together in opposition to colonialism and racism. In his opening remarks, the Indonesian president Sukarno stated, "We are united by a common detestation of colonialism in whatever form it appears. We are united by a common detestation of racism."[72] The conference attendees adopted a 10-point declaration which was an expansion of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence adopted between China and India in 1954.[73] The core principles of the conference were political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in international affairs, and equality.[74]

The Bandung Conference drastically changed the global geopolitical landscape, allowing a new map of power to emerge through the axis of decolonization and national

sovereignty. For one, the conference set the stage for the formal emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement was founded in 1959 by Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.[75] The purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement was to ensure respect for national and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, and peaceful co-existence for states wishing to take a path outside of the Western and Eastern Blocs. Membership was predicated on an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist orientation rooted in respect for national sovereignty. Essentially, the movement was guided by the same Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence established by China and India and expanded upon at Bandung.

The formation of the Non-Aligned Movement and the emphasis of anti-colonialism as a key axis in the establishment of a power map outside of the Eastern and Western bloc drastically impacted the practice of anti-racist, anti-colonial, and socialist politics throughout the world. As Malloy details, "the anticolonialism and antiracism enunciated at Bandung remained central in the 1960s."[76] In the locations where these tenants were put into practice, "they provided both practical and ideological support for a new generation of black activists in the United States."[77] Indeed, by the mid 1960s, a consensus developed "among a subset of activists that black Americans were not citizens denied their rights (as argued by the liberal civil rights movement) but rather a colonized people scattered throughout the ghettos and Black Belts of the United States."[78] The emergence of a new global map of power, oriented around decolonization, provided Black activists in the United States with a new vocabulary through which to understand

the nature of their oppression within the United States, as well as the opportunity to link their movement to a global movement, oriented around anti-racism, decolonization, and national sovereignty. Thus, the emergence of a new map of power via the establishment of the Non-Aligned movement offered political actors across the globe with a new set of rhetorical resources for political leadership.

Second, the Bandung Conference was the beginning of open acknowledgement of the steadily increasing tensions between China and the Soviet Union. After the conference, China adopted "Bandung discourse," which made it clear that the two countries did not, in fact, agree upon how "peaceful coexistence" ought to be pursued and implemented in the Cold War context.[79] At the same time he initiated the de-Stalinization campaign, Nikita Khrushchev argued that it was possible for socialist countries to maintain "peaceful competition" with capitalist countries, such as the United States.[80] Mao vehemently disagreed. He stressed that it "was neither possible nor desirable to pursue peaceful coexistence with imperialist countries," and that instead, the concept of peaceful coexistence should operate as an agreement among socialist countries, rather than as a framework for all international affairs.[81] Indeed, for Mao, a Communist party could not promote world revolution while also adopting a posture of peaceful coexistence toward imperialist and capitalist nations.

The effects of the Sino-Soviet split were felt across the globe. While it certainly resulted in profound division in the international Communist movement, it also marked how shifting geo-political relationships came to bear on the rhetorical resources available to those engaged in anti-colonial or socialist struggles. For example, even

though Robert F. Williams spent the first four years of his exile in Cuba (1961-1965), he eventually had to leave for China. Williams was a vocal supporter of Mao and articulated political lines (such as de-colonization) that, at least in practice, were more central to the CCP political project than the Soviet project.[82] Cuba was a primary Soviet foothold for Communist struggle in the Caribbean and for South America. Thus, when tensions between China and the Soviet Union became too acute, Williams felt he and his family were no longer welcome in Cuba, and they needed to leave in order to continue exercising political leadership from exile. Once he relocated to China, the resources at his disposal shifted due to the specific communicative affordances and constraints of place. In China, Robert and Mabel could now broadcast their radio show to Hanoi, Vietnam, reaching African-American soldiers stationed there, yet they could no longer transmit Radio Free Dixie across the Black Belt.[83] Indeed, the conditions shaping the global movement and containment of Robeson, Williams, and Cleaver defined their respective exiles.

I use the term exile to describe an imposed dislocation. Exile is not only a forced migration or movement across borders, it is also a schism that manifests socially and communicatively. For instance, while Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois were not forced to move, they were cut off from access to certain international political networks via the revoking of their passports. Their inability to participate or communicate with international political actors operated as a form of social and communicative dislocation, or exile.

Robert F. Williams and Eldridge Cleaver technically engaged in self-imposed exile (the United States government did not literally tell them to leave the country), yet the conditions under which they left were extremely acute. For Williams and Cleaver, the choice was to go into exile or to die. They understood that submitting to imprisonment in the United States was submitting to death, as the government would very likely find a way to kill them once behind bars and out of the public eye. As Robert Sheer details, Cleaver fled the United States instead of showing up on November 27, as the state requested, to go to jail for a parole violation just weeks before he had a trial scheduled. Sheer states, if the state or federal government was not trying to kill him, Cleaver "…reasoned, why are they so bent on putting me in jail on parole violation only weeks before the trial?"[84] Similarly, the day William's fled Monroe, NC the police chief promised William's that he would be "hanging in the courthouse square" by the end of the day.[85] As Timothy Tyson details, Williams later testified "I took this threat seriously, in light of the fact that four attempts had been made on my life within the two month period before that."[86] While Williams's and Cleaver's exile was premised on fleeing from the United States, Robeson's exile was founded in containment as he was ordered to stay within the country. Robeson's exilic confinement was no less acute than the experiences of Williams or Cleaver, as his life was threatened when he attempted to enter Canada in 1952 to perform a concert. Even though American citizens did not require a passport to travel to Canada, he was stopped at the border and threatened with a five-year prison sentence and $10,000 fine. Further, the United States border patrol was instructed to stop him "by any means necessary."[87] To live, Cleaver and Williams's only

option was to flee the country, while Robeson's only option was to remain contained within the borders of the United States.

The exile experienced by Cleaver, Williams, and Robeson was also defined by a restriction of movement. It was not simply that they had to flee the country and merely had to cross the border into any other country. In fact, most other capitalist countries would have turned Williams or Cleaver back over to United States authorities if found within their borders, so as to maintain positive geopolitical ties with the United States. Instead, they had to cross over onto another "map" that operates according to a different political logic. By entering Cuba, for instance, they knew that they would not be used to leverage a relationship between Cuba and the United States because the two countries were operating according to the different logics which defined key antagonisms in the Cold War. The tenuous and fluid nature of entering another "map" is demonstrated by the fact that both Cleaver and Williams had to move around while in exile. They did not move out of desire, but because global political tensions made their stay in specific places at specific times too dangerous. For Williams, his open support of China became a major issue in Cuba due to the increasing intensity of the on-going Sino-Soviet split. Cleaver was eventually pushed out of Algeria when the country began pursuing the development of a more positive relationship with the United States.[88] Had the antagonism between the United States federal government and Cleaver not been so intense, the harboring of Cleaver within Algeria would not have been at issue in the development of a relationship between Algeria and the United States. Robeson was banned from traveling anywhere outside of the United States explicitly because the

federal government did not want him building international ties of solidarity or speaking publicly about the plight of Black people in America, to those in other countries. Indeed, Robeson was dislocated from his international network.

Although each of these political leaders faced intense repression, each turned to place-based rhetorics as expressed through a radio show, newsletters and propaganda, music, and new global communicative networks in order to navigate the specific constraints of their respective situations. Using cultural production from exile as a means through which to map this cartography of struggle offers a foundation for conceptualizing how place-based rhetorics and place-as-rhetoric might be used to maneuver around and through the communicative blockages experienced as an effect of exile. Further, mapping cultural production through rhetorical cartography enables a snapshot of the cultural dynamics and nuances of this specific map of power or cartography of struggle that emerged through the axis of exiled Black political leaders, as well as the interplay between Black freedom movements, anti-colonial struggles, and socialist revolutions, as manifest in a cartography of Black proletarian struggle. To map this cartography, I attend to the global interplay between space and culture. Below, I detail why such an approach is necessary.

Rhetorical Cartographies

For Black political leaders in exile, place was not simply the setting of their experience. Rather, place and its material entanglement with practices of racialization played a key role in shaping the limitations and affordances of communicative possibilities while in exile. As Raka Shome argues, “space is not merely a

backdrop…against which the communication of cultural politics occurs…it functions as a technology—a means and a medium—of power that is socially constituted through material relations that enable the communication of specific politics."[89] Place itself operated as a rhetorical resource as Cleaver and Williams relocated to places from where they still could engage in political leadership and Robeson utilized the specific rhetorical affordances of the U.S.-Canadian border. In each case, these exiled political leaders looked to the specific rhetorical affordances of the place they were confined in to engage in internationally oriented political struggle.

As a method of materialist rhetoric, rhetorical cartography helps chart the role of exile in illuminating a new map of power. As Heather Hayes details, rhetorical cartography is "concerned with mapping as a primary means through which to understand the composition of rhetorical situations and how they are constituted."[90] By mapping exile and the communicative affordances and constrains of each place of exile, the rhetorical situation of transnational communicative and political practices can be accurately charted. For Greene and Kuswa rhetorical cartography can illuminate "how different regions are made and unmade by different maps of power as rhetorics *of* place and *in* place encounter the uneven global flows of ideas and images, guns and butter, capital and labor."[91] Here, I offer a new cartography traced by Black political exiles as a map of power that was distinct from the primary power maps identified during the Cold War; that of the Western Bloc, Eastern Bloc, and Non-Aligned movement. Places of Black political exile, such as Cuba, Algeria, China, and Vietnam, operated according to a different geopolitical logic. In the words of Greene and Kuswa, the anti-colonial and

socialist "accents" of these places "re-draw" dominate "maps of power by exposing their present configuration to the potential that another world (another map) is possible."[92] By following the geographic routes drawn by Black political exiles across places inflected with decolonial and socialist "accents," Black proletarian cartographies of struggle emerged as a political force attempting to call a new global map of power into being.

I position Black geography as a neccessary framework to guide rhetorical cartography as a method. Black geography recognizes and extracts the specific ways that processes of racialization and spatialization are intimately bound up with one another (an idea that will be further explicated in Chapter Two). I approach geography as including the creative, conceptual, described, and material elements of spatiality. Or, as described through conceptualizations of materialist rhetoric, I engage rhetoric as one material modality among others, including the physicality of place and geography, as entangled elements that together, chart Black geographies as they traverse the globe.[93] Black geographies, as described by Katherine McKittrick, "engage with a narrative that locates and draws on black histories and black subjects in order to make visible social lives which are often displaced, rendered ungeographic."[94] By "ungeographic," McKittrick is describing how Black subjects are often stripped of agency and self-determination, and thought to be dominated *by* space – forced across the Atlantic and contained on plantations or in prison cells.[95] Alternately, though the lens of Black geography, we can begin to reveal both how the production of space is racialized, as well as how Black subjects actively participate in the creation of space across the diaspora creating what McKittrick describes as a "black sense of place."[96] Here, rhetorical cartography, when

paired with a lens rooted in Black geography, becomes a methodology through which a "black sense of place" can be globally charted as it untethers colonial, imperial, and racialized spatial practices.[97] In this project, Black geography operates as a guiding lens for rhetorical cartography through which I hone in on the specificity of Black proletarian utterances as they reverberate globally.

Fundamentally, exile is a tactic of political repression enacted by containing the free communication of a transgressive political subject. Within rhetorical studies scholarship, "containment" and "domestication" are terms used to describe tactics to tame or discipline threats to hegemonic structures or the status quo.[98] Rhetorical containment operates through framing that shapes and constrains political narratives, ultimately designating certain groups as an outside threat. Ryan Neville-Shepard argues, "by isolating threats to hegemonic power, the consequences of rhetorical containment is that it damages the public sphere by limiting the free exchange of ideas."[99] In the case of exile, threats are isolated through externalization. By pushing the transgressive political subject outside of national boundaries, their ability to freely communicate and circulate their ideas is severely limited. For Karrin Vasby Anderson, rhetorical containment is a rhetorical frame that shapes and constrains political narratives which govern understandings and representations of those depicted as a threat.[100] Ryan Neville-Shepard argues that there are four parts to the framework of rhetorical containment, including naming outsiders, dissociation from those outsiders, victimage, and appeals for normalization.[101] For those who are exiled, they are physically and spatially designated as a threat, and thus named as "outside" of a state or national boundary.

However, although most studies of rhetorical containment focus on hegemonic structures utilizing containment tactics to tame or demobilize a threat from the "outside," Kristan Poirot demonstrates that containment and domestication are also tactics that can be mobilized internally within social movements.[102] For Eldridge Cleaver, after his split with Huey Newton he was cut off by parts of his political network, as they attempted to "contain" his politics so as to advance Newton's political project. Scholarship on rhetorical containment broadly offers conceptual resources for untangling how the content of communication is constrained and shaped by logics of political repression, ultimately stifling democratic struggle.

Similarly, in her work on Black Power and incarceration, Lisa Corrigan demonstrates that the *space* of prison operated as mode of rhetorical containment, as well as a rhetorical resource, for those engage in the Black Power movement.[103] In her analysis of prison autobiographies, Corrigan demonstrates how, despite their spatial containment, incarcerated Black Power political leaders mobilize prison as a rhetorical and symbolic resource for their political work.[104] While Corrigan's analysis remains firmly rooted in highlighting the symbolic use of prison in Black Power writing, her project gestures toward a conceptual model for untangling how rhetorical and spatial dynamics operate in tandem to create the conditions of possibility for revolutionary struggle during the Cold War era. Taking her lead, I understand the spaces and places of exile as *material* technologies, resources, and constraints for political work that shapes how political leadership can be enacted. In sum, I attend to the general dimensions of exile as a space, *and* the specificities of the places in which each political leader finds

themselves. By taking a materialist approach to rhetorical containment, the spatial dynamics of exile can be understood as operating in relation to the place specific rhetorics of exile, binding and unbinding different places together across the globe into a specific cartography of political struggle.

The map of exile drawn by the traversal of Black political leaders across the socialist world is indicative of "material relations that enable the communication of specific politics," to use Shome's language.[105] The emergence of anti-colonial struggles and socialist revolutions largely determined where Black political leaders went into exile. Black revolutionary political actors in the United States actively cultivated clandestine political attachments with movements globally as an integral part of their political praxis. Importantly, Endres and Senda-Cook describe "place-as-rhetoric," or "the places themselves—not discourse about places—are rhetorical tactics in movements toward social change."[106] Because Black political leaders re-located to socialist countries such as Algeria, Cuba, and China, new rhetorical resources emerged that enabled the articulation of a new politic, primarily rooted in Black proletarian political struggle.

Black Proletarian Cartographies of Struggle

Although the place-based rhetorics analyzed in this project are often understood as part of the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Power Movement, or cultural artifacts of the Black Atlantic, I argue that they should be understood as part of a cultural and communicative make up that emerged from the particular interplay between exile as a specific condition and the global geopolitical relationalities of the Cold War. While the Black Atlantic broadly shapes and organizes much of Black cultural production under

modernity, the concept does not capture the political exchanges offered here. On the one hand, Mabel and Rober F. Williams' Radio Free Dixie and Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's Revolutionary People's Communication Network does, in fact, exist within the physical geographic boundaries of the Atlantic. However, the political and geopolitical forces largely structuring cultural exchanges such as Radio Free Dixie break the Black Atlantic open, to include cultural exchanges and solidarities with socialist and previously colonized nations such as Vietnam, China, and North Korea. Similarly, merely positioning these texts as cultural artifacts of the Non-Aligned Movement does not capture the complexity and political effects of shifting Cold War geo-political tensions. For example, although Cuba was initially part of the Non-Aligned movement, it was often debated to what extent they operated under the hegemony of the Soviet Union, and thus, if they were truly "non-aligned."[107] Similarly, the relationship between China and the Non-Aligned movement is complex. Central tenants of the movement were articulated through an expansion of prior agreements established by China, and thus, clear ideological affiliation existed between the two. However, China often operated as its own power bloc on the global scale, and throughout the 1960s, fostered explicit antagonism against the Soviet Union. This is a fundamentally different position than that of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was premised on acting *neither for or against* any major power bloc.

Exile, if used as a heuristic, enables the emergence of yet another map of power, which I identify and term as *Black proletarian cartographies of struggle*. This map, which I chart through the movements of Black political leaders navigating exile across

and around socialist nations, reveals new contours of Cold War era geopolitical relations. Most primarily, this map enables a study of how geopolitical shifts directly come to bear on the communicative resources for enacting political leadership while experiencing intense repression. In this section, I theorize Black proletarianism as the guiding political framework that captures the specific spatial relations mapped throughout this project as a whole.

What is the Black Proletariat?

In his seminal text *Black Reconstruction,* W.E.B. DuBois articulates the particularity of the Black worker. He states,

> Above all, we must remember the black worker was the ultimate exploited; that he formed the mass of labor which had neither wish nor power to escape from the labor status, in order to directly exploit other laborers, or indirectly, by alliance with capital, to share in their exploitation.[108]

Importantly, DuBois articulates Blackness as a point of emphasis within the capitalist system that captures the larger dynamics of exploitation that all workers are subjected to. Indeed, as Cedric Robinson details, the profound influence of race on the development of world capitalism was possible because "the social, psychological and cultural origins of racism and nationalism both anticipated capitalism in time and forced a piece with those events that contributed directly to its organization of production and exchanged."[109] Race and capitalism are not one and the same, but race does capture particularities of exploitation within the global capitalism system. Antonio Gramsci

offers a similar articulation of the specificity of race and processes of racialization within the capitalist system as he details the racialization of Southern Italians as integrated into the building of a colonial and capitalist structure within Italy.[110] As such, "Black," as used by DuBois, and processes of racialization, as detailed by Gramsci, are not simply reducible to phenotype but are rooted in the material conditions structuring economic production and social relations nationally and globally.

Emerging in the articulation of Blackness offered by DuBois, as well as the analyses of race within the capitalist world-system offered by Robinson and Wallerstein, Black proletarian is offered here as a specific articulation of the fluid interplay between peoplehood and class. As Wallerstein argues, "'class' and 'peoplehood' are orthogonally defined," as demonstrated through his breakdown of the operation of race, nation, and ethnicity as these terms hinge on "basic structural features of the capitalist world-economy".[111] Indeed, as highlighted earlier, peoplehood and class are not the same thing, and should not be collapsed together.[112] Because of this, the relevant question for those engaged in liberation struggles is how can a class community, or class peoplehood, be created, and under what circumstances.[113] This is the fundamental question of proletarian struggle, as the answer to the question will manifest in the cultivation of either a class *in* itself, a social group whose members simply share the same relationship to the means of production, or a class *for* itself, a social group who collectively wields political power not only to cease their exploitation specifically, but also to carry out the role of transforming society as a whole. For activity to constitute a class for itself, a group must engage in transforming society as a whole as a means of ending their particular

exploitation, thus understanding their own particular experience as a manifestation or instance of contradiction caused by the racial capitalist world-system as a whole. The specificity of exploitation, as manifest in various structural features of the racial capitalist world-system, creates a 'peoplehood' correlated with race that requires specific attention. In this project, I attend to the relationship between class and peoplehood through the mapping of Black proletarian rhetorical cartographies, as manifest in the place-based cultural production of Black political leaders exiled to socialist countries during the Cold War era.

Mapping Black Proletarian Rhetorical Cartographies

Black proletarian cartographies of struggle manifest through rhetorical utterances that directly engaged the interplay between race, nation, and peoplehood on a global scale. For example, in 1962 while residing in Cuba, Robert and Mabel Williams initiated a letter writing campaign to establish correspondence with other socialist governments and international leaders such as the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Mao Zedong, Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah, Indonesian president Ahmed Sukarno, and others. In the letters, the Williams urged these leaders to condemn U.S. racial discrimination and oppression, asking that they take a position against "the terror and oppression of Afro-Americans."[114] Mao was the first to honor the request. As Frazier details, "on August 8, 1963, days before the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Mao issued a declaration that expressed China's support for the civil rights movement and pointed to U.S. democracy as a key enabler of Western imperialism and antiblack racism."[115] In Mao's statement, titled "Statement Supporting the Afro-

American in Their Just Struggle against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism," he details the nature of racial oppression in the United States and highlights instances of mass struggle in the United States against racism (such as the sit-ins and freedom rides) before concluding with a call for solidarity against U.S. racism:

> I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practices by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negros in their struggle against racial discrimination.[116]

Following the statement, a rally was held in Beijing where over 10,000 Chinese people echoed Mao's call for solidarity against U.S. imperialism and racism.[117] Similarly, at Paul Robeson's 1952 concert on the border of the United States and Canada, he sang the Chinese national anthem, a song used to represent the emergence of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Through this act, Robeson publicly recognized the Chinese Communist Party as the legitimate governing body of China – a fact that the United States government refused as they continued supporting the nationalists. I point to these examples not as a mere expression of multi-racial solidarity, but to clearly identify how Black proletarian rhetorical cartographies were drawn. In these instances, and in the artifacts analyzed throughout this project, these political leaders engaged Blackness beyond phenotypical manifestations, and rather, as a necessary and needed point of emphasis for liberation struggles happening within the larger context of a racial capitalist world-system. Because of the specific position of the Black worker in the United States,

as both internal to and hyper-exploited by an imperialist nation, Mao understood the necessity of highlighting the material conditions at play in the universal struggle for a socialist world. For similar reasons, Robeson understood the relevance of the Chinese revolution for all people held in the oppressive grasp of imperialism and racism globally. Indeed, they were recognizing, through action, Wallerstein's argument that "there cannot be *für sich* [for itself] class activity that is entirely divorced by people-based political activity."[118] Through these acts, these two political leaders stretch beyond race and ethnicity as a boundary defining mechanism for political action, and instead, were attempting to engage in political activity to constitute a class *for* itself, or a political struggle that directly engaged the nexus of peoplehood and class, struggling to transform the racial capitalist world-system as a whole as a means through which to end their particular oppression, exploitation, and dispossession.

Indeed, as Robinson argues, "The historical development of world capitalism was influenced in a most fundamental way by the particularistic forces of racism and nationalism."[119] As such, race, as peoplehood, operates as a point of emphasis within the operation of the capitalist world-system. Wallerstein argues, "We can never do away with peoplehood in this system nor relegate it to a minor role. On the other hand, we must not be bemused by the virtues ascribed to it, or we shall be betrayed by the ways in which it legitimates the existing system."[120] If those engaged in political struggle simply ignore constructions of peoplehood, or attempt to universalize beyond particularities of peoplehood, their struggles are likely to be subsumed into existing economic and social structures. Wallerstein continues, "What we need to analyze more closely are the

possible directions in which, as peoplehood becomes ever more central to this historical system, it will push us, at the system's bifurcation point, towards various possible alternative outcomes in the uncertain process of transition from our present historical system to the one or ones that will replace it."[121] Indeed, the mapping offered through this project of Black proletarian cartographies as manifest in the place-based relationalities between Black political leaders exiled in socialist nations details "possible future outcomes" that would fundamentally restructure world order.[122]

Chapter Organization and Previews

Below, I offer summaries of the remaining chapters in this dissertation.

Chapter One – Introduction: Empire and Geopolitics as Rhetorical Context

The primary aim of this chapter is to provide overarching conceptual, methodological, and historical context to this project as a whole. In particular, I articulate Blackness as an internationally situated social construct, thus firmly rooting my globally oriented study of exile, race, and culture in historical conditions. Utilizing world-systems analysis and theories of racial capitalism to take the globe as my primarily unit of analysis, I offer an overview of the geopolitical conditions of the Cold War as the primary context in which the rhetorical artifacts analyzed in this project are situated. I theorize a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography, thereby detailing the primarily methodology utilized throughout this dissertation. Finally, I define Black proletarian cartographies of struggle, laying the groundwork for the major analytic contribution offered.

Chapter Two – War of Maneuver and War of Position: The Spatialization of Culture and Political Struggle in The Revolutionary People's Communication Network

In this chapter, I offer a theoretical framework through which to understand the proceeding case studies including Robert and Mabel F. William's radio show broadcast from Cuba and Paul Robeson's concert on the border of the United States and Canada. In particular, I engage the work of Antonio Gramsci to further explicate the material interplay between race, space, culture, and internationalist political struggle. Looking to Gramsci's essay, "Some Aspects of a Southern Question" as evidence, I demonstrate that Gramsci theorizes spatialization as a key process of race-making. Gramsci takes a spatial approach to the condition of subalternity, demonstrating the entanglement among race, colonialism, and regionalism. To demonstrate the relevance of Gramsci's theories for this project, I utilize his war metaphors (as a congealed articulation of the interplay between race, space, culture, and internationalist political struggle) to make sense of Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's Revolutionary People's Communication Network that they started in Algeria. I focus on their trip to the People's Republic of the Congo, and in particular, how their engagement with revolutionary forces implicitly offered a theorization of the relationship between armed struggle and cultural production on a global scale. Ultimately, I offer a theory of the interplay between race, space, culture, and political struggle.

Chapter Three – "Our Right to Travel": Constructing an Internationalist Black Proletarian Geography Through Rhetorics of Mobility and Containment in Paul Robeson's 1952 Border Concert

In 1952, Paul Robeson and the Canadian Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter workers held a concert at Peace Arch Park on the border of the United States and Canada to protest the State Department's revoking of Robeson's passport for his condemnation of U.S. foreign policy, racism, and colonialism. Through the use of place-based arguments as well as place-as-argument, Robeson's concert utilized the interplay between race, place, and mobility to trace a new Black geography rooted in internationalist citizenship and the freedom of movement. Robeson's border concert highlights how his ability to speak publically was hindered through racialized state imposed physical blockages that fundamentally contained his ability to speak through containing his mobility. This demonstrates that attending to mobility and rhetoric requires a materialist approach to rhetorical containment to grasp how racialized mechanisms are employed to limit who can speak, where, and under what conditions, and how this ultimately comes to bear on the rhetorical resources available for arguments against racism, imperialism, and colonialism.

Chapter Four – Radio Free Dixie: Establishing Black Proletarian Nationhood Through Sonic Cartography

In this chapter, I develop *sonic cartography* as a methodological means by which to follow sound around, across, and through geopolitical boundaries to better understand the rhetorical, place-making force of sound in enabling new nations and new power maps to emerge. In particular, I offer a *sonic cartography* of Robert F. William's radio show, Radio Free Dixie. In my analysis of Radio Free Dixie, I attend to the sonic resonances of place and politics through an analysis of the "creative, conceptual, and

material geographies" offered by Williams through Radio Free Dixie.[123] First, I engage rhetorical cartography and sonic rhetoric, offering *sonic cartography* as a rhetorical methodology for untangling the relationship between sound, geopolitics, race, and nationhood. Second, I situate Radio Free Dixie within a global context in which radio was engaged as a key tool for waging geopolitical struggles during the Cold War era. Finally, I turn to an analysis of Radio Free Dixie, focusing on the geography of the show, as manifest in the material movement of the radio waves as well as the place-based significations offered by Mable and Robert F. Williams.

Chapter Five – Conclusion: Black Proletarian Cartographies of Struggle

In the concluding chapter, I offer an overview of the major contributions of this project, focusing in particular on how Black proletarian cartographies of struggle mapped the boundaries of Black emancipation during the Cold War era. I end with a discussion of what Black proletarian cartographies of struggle can offer Black political struggle today, in the context of a racial-capitalist world system.

Conclusion

Through this dissertation, I aim to expand understandings not only of Black politics, but more fundamentally exile writ large and its constitutive role in Black political leadership during the Cold War era. Through this project, I offer a rhetorical cartography of struggle, or a mapping of Black proletarian resistance and Cold War era geopolitics. This creates a foundation for conceptualizing how place specific rhetorical resources were mobilized as tools for internationalist political leadership across the African diaspora and socialist nations during the Cold War era. To undertake this

project, I turn to cultural artifacts created by Paul Robeson, Robert F. Williams, and Eldridge Cleaver. Each of these political leaders faced profound political repression, and mobilized communicative and cultural tools as a mode through which to navigate their respective constraints. By looking at their attempts to lead politically on an international scale I offer insight into the making of a specific cartography of exilic struggle that attempted to call a new world order into being.

CHAPTER II

WAR OF MANEUVER AND WAR OF POSITION: THE SPATIALIZATION OF CULTURE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMMUNICATION NETWORK

A handwritten note by Eldridge Cleaver, dated December 16, 1968, begins, "I am on my way into exile. Exile! A word to fit the reality."[124] Cleaver's note was written from a ship clandestinely making its way down to Cuba, where he would spend the first nine months of his exile before then traveling to Algeria. Cleaver's ability to engage in globally oriented political leadership was profoundly hindered in Cuba, yet, once he arrived in Algeria he was able to kick start political action oriented toward internationalism, and in particular, connecting Black people in America to socialist and decolonial struggles happening across Africa and Asia. He and Kathleen Cleaver started the Revolutionary People's Communication Network (RPCN), a political project that utilized communicative and cultural production as a key mode through which to engage in internationalist political struggle. By creating a political project that took up the circulation of cultural artifacts as its key task, Cleaver used the RPCN to strategically navigate the communicative and geographical constraints of his exilic position in Algeria.

The geographical limitations Cleaver experienced in Algeria were not the only factor determining his ability to lead politically from exile. Not long after arriving in Algeria, the Black Panther Party experienced a major split. After months of tension and

feuds between Cleaver and Huey Newton, Newton ejected the International Section of the Black Panther Party, the branch of the organization started by Cleaver upon his arrival in Algeria, from the organization. These events catapulted the Black Panther Party into organizational disarray and further muddied their collective political vision. The split also fundamentally cut Cleaver off from much of his previously existing political network, leaving him not only exiled from the United States, but also exiled from many in his political world. The development of the Revolutionary People's Communication Network was Cleaver's attempt to continue cohering and carrying out an internationalist and proletarian political vision in the face of interpersonal, organizational, and geopolitical chaos.

In fact, the transformational geopolitical events of the early 70s put Cleaver's stay in exile in peril. As Malloy details, "whether by design or happenstance, Nixon's engagement with China, combined with the gradual U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, proved devastating to Cleaver's operation in exile."[125] After the Nixon-Mao summit, Cleaver stated that the affair "started a whole stampede throughout the Third World and Socialist World for establishing a diplomatic relationship with the United States."[126] Cleaver's presence in any country, including Algeria, attempting to establish a geopolitical relationship with the U.S. would be a burdensome hindrance that the host government would be unwilling to carry, as the economic gain from partnering with the U.S. would likely outweigh any ideological commitment to hosting a declared U.S. fugitive within their borders. Essentially, Cleaver's stay in Algeria was plagued by a number of communicative issues that manifested geographically, geopolitically, and

organizationally. Yet, within this context of extreme rupture, Cleaver turned to mechanisms of cultural production as a key mode through which to spearhead political engagement on an international scale.

Indeed, within extreme contexts of political repression as expressed through state-imposed containment and exile, Mabel and Robert F. Williams, Paul Robeson, and Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver all reached toward mechanisms of cultural production as a mode of internationalist political leadership. As Antonio Gramsci argues, culture, as a material practice, plays a particular and necessary role in internationalist proletarian political struggle as a tool for subaltern, racialized, and dispossessed people to congeal ideologically. When engaging in political struggle on an explicitly internationalist scale, culture also carries a particular strategic role as the communicative affordances of artifacts such as sound, video, and paper can more easily cross hostile national borders than a person can.[127] For Gramsci, as well as for the Williams, Cleavers, and Robeson, culture and internationalist politics are dialectically connected, and as such, culture is not a neutral category, but rather a site of contestation in which new social forms can be called into being.

In this chapter, I build out a theoretical framework through which to understand the material interplay between culture, space, and race on an international scale in the following chapters. To do so, I turn to the work of Antonio Gramsci, as well as offer a Gramscian analysis of Cleaver's Revolutionary People's Communication Network. Looking to Gramsci's essay, "Some Aspects of a Southern Question" as evidence, I demonstrate that Gramsci theorizes spatialization as a key process of race-making.[128]

Gramsci takes a spatial approach to the condition of subalternity, demonstrating the entanglement among race, colonialism, and regionalism. Building upon this framework, Gramsci offers an analytical approach through the use of war metaphors to explicate the role of cultural production in internationalist revolution that takes specific spatial (and thus racialized) contexts into account. I demonstrate the utility of Gramsci's war metaphors for addressing the entangled nature of space and race by applying them to Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's visit to the People's Republic of the Congo where they developed cultural content to distribute globally through the RPCN. I argue that the RPCN's approach, as made sense of through Gramsci's war metaphors, offers a tactical way to enact political struggle on an international scale across the specificities of different national and racialized contexts. Ultimately, this chapter offers the robust conceptual background necessary for engaging the proceeding case studies including Robert and Mabel F. William's radio show broadcast from Cuba and Paul Robeson's concert on the border of the United States and Canada.

In addition to providing substantive theoretical engagement concerning the entanglement of race and space to frame the remainder of this dissertation, this chapter also provides needed insight into the role of culture when engaged in internationalist political struggle on a global scale. The fact of Cleaver, Williams, and Robeson turning to different cultural artifacts to engage in explicitly internationalist political struggle raises the question of what the constitutive and strategic relationship is between internationalism, political struggle, and culture. Or, put more simply, why culture? I answer this question by first turning to Gramsci's work on its own terms, before then

applying Gramsci's war metaphors to Cleaver's RPCN, demonstrating the particular ways in which culture enables a toggling between the local and global. Essentially, I argue that the RPCN, a cultural apparatus firmly situated within a war of position strategy, spatially and temporally extends the People's Republic of the Congo's internal war of maneuver. This global extension via the circulation of cultural production demonstrates the specific rhetorical affordances of culture when attempting to engage in political struggle on a global scale. Additionally, this extension attempts to chart a new Black proletarian geography that is explicitly oriented toward connecting Black people in the United States with African and socialist political struggles. This analysis, read in tandem with Gramsci's theorization of the entanglement between race and space, offers a framework for understanding how culturally engaged political struggle can map new geographies within the shell of the old.

Antonio Gramsci's Theorization of Culture and Political Struggle

Within Marxist and materialist philosophy more broadly, Antonio Gramsci's work plays a key role in interrogating and explicating the strategic and constitutive relationship between culture and revolution. For Gramsci, culture is a politically laden tool through which to generate class consciousness, as well as a means by which to build the skeleton of a new socialist society within the existing shell of capitalism. As Kate Crehan argues, "Culture, for Gramsci, names shared ways of being and living that have come into existence as a result of the interaction of a myriad of historical forces, and that remain subject to history."[129] Culture is a daily enactment that manifests through material practices which organize political relationships. Christine Buci-Glucksmann

argues, for Gramsci, "culture cannot be rejected in the name of an impoverished politics, no more than it can be isolated as an autonomous field, the specific property of the intellectuals in the class struggle of the war of position."[130] Indeed, for Gramsci, culture is not merely a representational sphere siphoned off from political struggle, but rather, a material practice fundamentally entangled with the becoming of a proletarian state. His orientation toward organizational structures and the building of an internationalist revolutionary culture, in large part, stemmed from his strategic investment in integrating the racialized and dispossessed, or the subaltern, into processes of political struggle despite (and because of) the material constraints of their subjugation. Despite the mischaracterizations surrounding the subaltern that underwrites Spivak's argument in "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Crehan points out that "…her basic argument that the condition of subalternity involves a particular kind of muting" is also "certainly central to Gramsci's understanding of subalternity."[131] Indeed, this does resonate with Gramsci's orientation toward the condition of being subaltern.

Gramsci's broad orientation, in which "muting" or communicative repression is integrated into theorizations of what international political struggle looks like has much to offer my approach to the rhetorics of Black political leaders who were exiled as a result of their political work. The Williams, Cleavers, and Robeson's attempts to continue engaging in political leadership while contained or exiled did not happen in a vacuum. Rather, their engagements in political struggle often directly addressed the condition of "muting" they were experiencing, and they utilized place-based-rhetorics as a method through which to circumvent those communicative restraints. Their use of

culture as a key mode of political struggle is precisely how Gramsci understood the utility of culture, particularly in contexts of repression and racialization. Indeed, as captured by Gramsci's use of war metaphors, he understood the role of culture in political struggle to be cyclical and ongoing – to be *struggle* in the truest sense. Gramsci viscerally understood the importance of seeking out communicative modes to circumvent experiences of political and racialized containment, as Gramsci's famous *Prison Notebooks* were written behind bars, while he was physically and communicatively isolated from his political and interpersonal networks.[132] As such, his political work has much to offer in terms of understanding the broad interplay between social transformation and repression on an international scale.

Additionally, rather than only explicate the condition of dispossession and oppression, Gramsci operated as a political leader that oriented his analysis toward antagonistic political struggle with the goal of building a communist society. Crehan notes, "It is important to remember, however, that the Italian Marxist's goal was never simply to grasp the subaltern view, to see the world through subaltern eyes: his goal was social transformation."[133] Implicitly underwriting Gramsci's consideration of the relationship between revolution and culture is his attention to the strategic question of how to engage politically *despite* muting via subalternity. How can a subaltern, a "muted" subject, engage in political action? As Marcus Green points out,

> Gramsci's analysis of subalternity is ultimately linked to political praxis, for it is his intent to uncover the factors and conditions that contribute to

> subordination, as well as the impediments that prevent subaltern groups from achieving political power.[134]

Indeed, the question of how to engage in political action despite subjugation and muting is particularly relevant to this project as these exiled and contained political leaders sought to engage in political struggle despite the conditions of subordination and repression in which they existed.

Spatialization and Racialization

In this section, I argue that processes of spatialization and racialization are entangled. I do so through highlighting how Gramsci theorizes race and space through his use of the term "subaltern." As Gramsci describes, spatially rooted processes of racialization are not entirely captured by either class-based dynamics or race. Instead, the term "subaltern" highlights the specific ways a population is deemed as outside of the citizenship structure of a nation state. Gramsci's use of the term subaltern is fundamentally similar to my own theorization of "Black proletarian" throughout this project, and as such, can be read as a structuring logic for how I understand subjugation and dispossession to operate on a global scale. Specifically, each term designates that dispossession is rooted in overlapping material forces that overdetermine the social effects as manifest in racial oppression and classed based dispossession. Indeed, each term works to emphasize the specific conditions of the respective context in which dispossession emerges. As a note, I utilize the term "Black proletarian" instead of "subaltern proletarian" because "Black" as a point of emphasis more accurately captures the specific dynamics at play in this set of case studies. Below, I first detail Gramsci's

theorization of race within the context of Italy, before arguing that Gramsci theorizes race and space as embedded processes of social becoming.

Gramsci's Theory of Race

Gramsci's experience of Sardinia's "colonial" relationship to Italy fundamentally shaped his approach to the relationship between race, culture, and political struggle.[135] Stuart Hall suggests in his seminal essay, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," that while Gramsci did not explicitly write about race, his political and intellectual work was deeply inflected and shaped by the issues and reality of racialization.[136] As detailed by Robert Carley, Gramsci enacted his specific attention to race within a broader context of social and political struggle by articulating common demands from workers of racialized regions of Italy, as well as by creating organizational structures ("ward councils") to connect workers from racialized regions of Italy to Socialist Party Members and unionists.[137] Essentially, this organizational form gave "subaltern groups an organizational basis through which to participate in strike actions and, more broadly, in politics."[138] Though his political practice, Gramsci became attuned to the entangled relationship between culture, political practice, and race.

Gramsci's conceptual and political attention to race is perhaps most clearly manifest in his concept of the subaltern. Most often, Gramsci conceived of sublaternity in terms of "race, religion and culture," as well as using the term to refer to "peasants, religious groups, women, different races, the *popolani* (common people) and *popolo* (people) of the medieval communes, the proletariat, and the bourgeoisie prior to the Risorgimento as subaltern groups."[139] Gramsci's use of "subaltern" as a way to signal

specific forms of dispossession is highly contextual and historically bound. Yet, Gramsci's use of "subaltern" is contested.[140] For one, "subaltern" as a general category of oppression has been most widely popularized in post-colonial literature connected to the Subaltern Studies Group, and Gayatri Spivak's article "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[141] in particular. However, as detailed by Marcus Green and Kate Crehan, the approach taken to Gramsci's conceptualization of the subaltern by Spivak and other subaltern studies scholars stems from a widespread misconception that Gramsci used the phrase "subaltern" as a codeword for "proletariat" as a way to evade prison censorship.[142] Yet, there is little to no evidence that this was in fact the case because, as Green details, "this myth largely stems from exaggerated claims of censorship perpetuated in Gramscian scholarship and from the fact that nearly all prominent subaltern studies scholars refer to incomplete English translations of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*."[143] Understanding Gramsci's use of subaltern through the 'censorship thesis' confines Gramsci's theorization of the subaltern to strictly class-based understandings of dispossession and oppression, thereby robbing the term of its expansiveness as manifest in racial and other differences.

Instead, Gramsci explicated the colonial, national, and racial condition of subalternity through contextualized examples that situate subalternity as a collective mode of being (which is notably different from Spivak and others' theorizations of the subaltern as an individual experience).[144] This is because, as Crehan highlights, "subalterns do not exist in isolation from the state. Indeed, the nature of their subalternity is in large part defined by the specific ways that they are incorporated into

the state," or, I would add, *not* incorporated into the state, making subalternity a condition fundamentally related to the question of bourgeois citizenship.[145] Because of this, subalternity is "constituted within an ensemble of socio-political, cultural, and economic relations that produce marginalization and prevent group autonomy."[146] Here, race is one primary mechanism through which subalternity is defined and enacted, as race is, in part, constructed through the nation-state's denial of recognition and citizenship.

Gramsci's essay, "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" provides insight into the contextualized approach Gramsci utilized to explicate and theorize processes of subalternity and racialization as materially rooted, by highlighting the fundamental entanglement between race and place.[147] Gramsci articulates the hegemonic view which positions the Southern region of Italy as racialized, stating, "the Southerners are biologically inferior beings, semibarbarians or total barbarians, by natural destiny…their fault does not lie with the capitalist system or with any other historical course, but with Nature."[148] This statement is exemplary of the larger pseudo-scientific processes underway that worked to naturalize a racialized hierarchy where Northern Europeans were at the top, and Southern Italians at the bottom.[149] As Carley articulates, the so-called scientific studies supporting the idea that Southerners were "barbarians" were "incorporated into national ideologies as the legitimate basis for institutional racism and racist attitudes."[150] Through this process, internal colonialism, regionalism, and race became deeply entangled with one another.

Gramsci's Spatial Approach to Subalternity and Racialization

Gramsci's work more broadly, particularly his attention to the relationship between race, culture, and politics "is mediated and intervened in by a very powerful *geographical sense.*"[151] As Edward Said argues, Antonio Gramsci "created in his work an essentially geographical, territorial apprehension of human history and society."[152] For one, Gramsci utilized a number of spatially oriented metaphors in his work including, among many others, war of position and war of maneuver.[153] Yet, as Jessop and Morton point out, in addition to his use of spatial metaphors, Gramsci also demonstrated profound interest in the actual spatial materiality of social relations and practices as specifically located in place, space, and scale.[154] Indeed, "the way in which Gramsci linked city—countryside questions to imperialism and internal colonialism…explain the appeal of his work for analyses of imperialism, colonization, and racialization."[155] For Gramsci, space and spatial divides were fundamentally political, and often local manifestations of global expressions of hegemonic power. As demonstrated in essays such as "Some Aspects of the Southern Question," Gramsci demonstrates the deeply rooted place-ness of social relations as manifest in race, regionalism, and class.[156] Said highlights that Gramsci demonstrates that "all ideas, all texts, all writings are embedded in actual geographical situations that make them possible, and that in turn make them extend institutionally and temporally."[157] This approach to explicating the foundations of state society animates what Stefan Kipfer calls Gramsci's "spatial historicism."[158] Indeed, Gramsci did produce "a certain type of

critical consciousness" that is "geographical and spatial in its fundamental coordinates."[159]

Importantly, Gramsci understands the spatial organization of people as a primary mechanism of racialization through which race and the condition of subalternity is produced. Gramsci's same essay "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" details that in Italy, the bourgeoisie of Northern Italy subjugated both the peasants of the South and the factory workers of the North.[160] The South was reduced to an "internal colony" of the North, as the South functioned as the agrarian region that produced goods to prop up the industrial North. Gramsci argues for an alliance between these two subjugated groups, despite the racialized, classed, and regional divisions between the two, arguing that the Northern proletariats can work with the Southern peasants to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat that takes over the banks and industrial production in the North alongside reclaiming agrarian land from the landowners of the South for cooperatives, ultimately creating "peace and brotherhood between town and countryside."[161]

Gramsci's attention to the interplay between space and race in "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" demonstrates the role of regionalism and place-making in ongoing processes of racialization.[162] These spatial divisions in Italy became racialized through pseudoscientific claims that positioned the classed divisions between the regions as emerging from biological distinctions. The racialized claims detailed above were regionally rooted, as, Gramsci details, "the South is the ball and chain which prevents the social development of Italy from progressing more rapidly."[163] Indeed, the Southern

region of Italy was positioned as an "internal colony," in relationship to Italy writ large.[164] As Stuart Hall points out, the regional and developmental division between Northern and Southern Italy were also entangled with the complex divisions between "city and countryside, peasantry and proletariat, clientism and modernism, feudalized and industrial social structures."[165] Indeed, David Featherstone argues, "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" is exemplary of Gramsci's foregrounding of "subaltern geographies" in the sense that Gramsci attends to the actually existing fluid nature of political struggle as manifest in the becoming of solidarities across classed, raced, and spatialized divisions.[166] Especially relevant here is how Gramsci's social investigation of the southern question in Italy offers a roadmap for highlighting how political struggles can create new geographies within the shell of the old. Put more specifically, Gramsci articulates a way for proletarian struggle to take shape within the existing shell of the Italian nation state.[167] For this to happen, subaltern groups need to fundamentally interrogate spatialization as a key mechanism of race- and class-making that congeals capitalist governance.

War of Maneuver and War of Position

Gramsci's belief in culture as a key tool through which to build a new global hegemony with the goal of overtaking the existing capitalist state is captured in his use of war metaphors pulled from military history and strategy. Pulling from a robust literature of theories of war from Marxist philosophy and military theory, Gramsci contrasts "war of maneuver" with "war of position" to make an analytical distinction between the different phases of revolutionary struggle, as well as to highlight under what

conditions each respective approach is appropriate.[168] As an internationalist, questions of scale haunted Gramsci's work as he articulated a vision of political struggle that would be viable on a global level. These war metaphors, in part, offer a framework that can be adjusted to scale, ultimately offering a toolkit for making sense of internationalist political struggle.

Gramsci's war metaphors describe the interplay between culture and armed struggle within the context of an ongoing political struggle. War of maneuver is limited in terms of time and space, and highly oriented toward instrumental or tactical action in specific situations. War of maneuver is also a phase of direct, open conflict between the classes. Alternately, war of position, while also strategic, is a longer, slower fight that takes place through some formulation of a political organization. In this phase, forces seek to gain influence and power through institutions or other organizational formations. Importantly, in Gramsci's formulation, war of position encompasses "the entire social formation of the enemy," and thus, the struggle to transform culture is an integral element of this formulation.[169] Gramsci argues that in spaces with more underdeveloped civil societies, revolutionary strategy demands a direct military assault on the state, or a war of maneuver.[170] Alternately, in spaces with more developed civil societies, revolutionary strategy must engage in a slower protracted process of war, or war of position, while simultaneously engaging in self-organization so as to develop an organizational organ to eventually replace the bourgeoisie state.[171] Indeed, through his specific theorizations of "war of maneuver" and "war of position," Gramsci attempts to posit when different strategic approaches to revolutionary struggle are necessary.[172] He

argues that the Russian Revolution was successful because civil society was weaker in Russia than in European countries, and thus, a war of maneuver, or direct clashes, were sufficient to overthrow the capitalist class. Alternately, in the European countries, civil society was stronger, and thus, a war of position was necessary in order for the revolutions to succeed. Ultimately, Gramsci argues that cultural struggle (which is situated within war of position) is absolutely integral to revolutionary activity.[173]

Yet, when engaging in a political struggle on an international scale, overlapping and differing contexts of various nations may be in conflict. Particular nations will have more developed civil societies than others, raising the tactical question of how to engage in a cohesive political struggle on an international basis. Indeed, this is a question that has long plagued political leaders invested in social transformation on the global scale. As pointed out by Daniel Egan, Gramsci's specific explication of the "war of position" and "war of maneuver" metaphors are analytically muddy.[174] In Gramsci's attempt to utilize the metaphors as a mode through which to posit when different forms of struggle are strategically advantageous, he fundamentally siphons each form of war off from each other. In effect, this implicitly forecloses the possibility of engaging in a shared political struggle across different contexts by failing to demonstrate how these tactical approaches might be utilized together.

However, as Egan points out, "it is thus not the case that military action is a tactical concern subsumed within the more political-cultural strategy of war of position, but rather that the military and the political-cultural are inseparable parts of a dialectical process of revolutionary change."[175] This is especially true for those taking an

internationalist and proletarian approach to revolutionary activity, in which they must navigate the interplay between differently developed civil societies and different state structures. I now turn to Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's Revolutionary People's Communication Network as an example to further explicate the role of culture in internationalist political struggle.

The Revolutionary People's Communication Network

Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver started the Revolutionary People's Communication Network during their exile in Algeria. The RPCN was formulated as a political project that engaged communicative and cultural production as a key mode through which to instigate internationalist Black proletarian political struggle. By creating a culturally oriented political project that took up the circulation of cultural production as its key task, Eldridge Cleaver used the RPCN to strategically navigate the communicative, geographic, and political constraints of his exilic position in Algeria. For one, after Huey Newton ejected the International Section from the Black Panther Party, Kathleen Cleaver stated in an interview, "The ideological split with the Black Panther Party prevents us from having communication. We are reorganizing to develop a communication/information network through the Revolutionary Peoples Communication Network."

The split within the Black Panther Party fundamentally changed the nature of the rhetorical situation in which Cleaver found himself in exile. For one, it meant that Cleaver's desire for the International Section of the Black Panther Party to be recognized as an official diplomatic arm was even more unlikely, since the International Section

was no longer officially attached to an established movement in the United States. Second, it meant that Cleaver's political network was in disarray, as individuals and factions scrambled to take sides. This left Cleaver not only geographically exiled, but also exiled from much of his pre-existing communication network. The development of the RPCN as well as engagement in other modes of solidarity building with socialist and decolonial nations was Cleaver's attempt to continue cohering and carrying out a political vision in the face of interpersonal, organizational, and geopolitical chaos.

The RPCN was created as a political-cultural apparatus that would connect revolutionary actors in socialist and decolonial nations with Black people in the United States. At a press conference held to try to raise money for the RPCN, Kathleen Cleaver argued that its necessary "to inform other people of the true strengths and the true weaknesses of the revolutionary movement, so that we may build on the basis of correct information and advance our struggle on the basis of real fact."[176] The implicit assumption underwriting Cleaver's statement is that the existing informational and news structures did not circulate factual information regarding revolutionary movements, and instead, undercut their potential to engage in political action. Because of this, the Cleavers found it necessary to create a new structure that they controlled, presumably under the assumption that they would circulate information and propaganda content created by and for those engaged in revolutionary proletarian struggles. Organizationally, as Kathleen stated, the RPCN "was to be a new form for linking the groups and individuals that had been brought together through the Black Panther Party before the split, but now lacked any central cohesion."[177] As Malloy details, the RPCN

aimed to address the communicative and organizational challenges faced specifically "in the era of détente," while also serving "the more short-term goal of reconnecting the former-Panther exiles in Algiers with supporters around the world."[178] In his "statement of editorial policy" for the RPCN, Eldridge stated, "In carrying out a peoples struggle of the type that we are into, we must pay conscious, serious attention to the problem of communications, realizing that if we are not able to coordinate and transmit information in a controlled manner, then we have little chance of copping with these pigs."[179] Indeed, the basis of the RPCN focused on the distribution and circulation of communication, rather than just on the production of communication itself. The RPCN gathered materials from across newly established socialist and decolonized nations, the United States, France, Germany, and others, and redistributed the materials to other groups in addition to running the newspaper *Right On!* out of the United States.

War of Position and War of Maneuver on a Global Scale

The RPCN, in practice, demonstrates precisely how militaristic and cultural approaches to social transformation might be strategically entangled to enact a political struggle across the international arena. The RPCN, as an organizational structure created to foster the circulation of information across nations that are in different stages of civil development, demonstrates how the war of position and war of maneuver can be utilized as a mode through which to wage an internationalist struggle. To explicate the RPCN as a structural process that encompasses culture and militaristic approaches as entangled pieces of a cohesive internationalist political struggle, I turn to the RPCN's specific engagement with revolutionary forces in the People's Republic of the Congo.

In 1971 Cleaver and others from the International Section in Algiers went on a delegation to the People's Republic of the Congo, a nation established in 1969 under Marien Ngouabi's presidency after a revolutionary movement was defeated in Congo-Kinshasa but successfully seized power and established a nation across the river in Congo-Brazzaville.[180] As Kathleen Cleaver details, the members of the delegation were selected to document the trip, because "the story of a revolution in the Congo would make a powerful statement to Blacks in America."[181] Indeed, "Ngouabi's Marxist-Leninist government seemed to offer all of the ideological affinities of states such as China, the DPKR, and North Vietnam while also sharing unique cultural and historical connections to black Americans…"[182] The group included the Cleavers (Kathleen often served as interpreter), writers, photographers, and a videographer. Once in Congo-Brazzaville, the delegation attended events and rallies held in support of the war against Portuguese colonialism in Africa, met with representatives from Guinea-Bissau's African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique's Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, and dedicated study time to learn what they could about the Congolese revolution.[183] They toured cities, visited a camp for Angola's Population Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and met with local political groups, such as the Women's Union.[184]

At the end of their trip, the delegation returned to Algiers with a slew of photographs, video documentary footage, taped interviews, and various other documents. Denise Oliver, a member of the delegation, oversaw the publication of an issue of *Right On* about the Congo with photographs from their travels, excerpts from

interviews, and writing on the events in the Congo.[185] Additionally, the videographer who traveled with them produced a documentary on the trip titled *We Have Come Back.* The delegation also used the materials they brought back to create pamphlets, such as a small booklet called *Revolution in the Congo* and *Message to the Afro-American People From the Peoples' Republic of Congo.*[186] These materials were then sent to the RPCN's contacts in the United States (as well as other nations) and distributed. The goal, as detailed by Cleaver, was to represent the revolution in the Congo as a model for Black people in the United States.[187] Additionally, the members of the RPCN hoped that it would mobilize Black Americans to demand that the United States withdraw support from forces opposing the People's Republic of the Congo.[188] This is in line with the Black Panther's larger adherence to the "internal colony" thesis in which Black people in America are understood to be a colonized people who live "within in the belly of the beast."[189] Cleaver and others believed that because of the 'internal' position of Black people in America, they played a specific strategic role in the global struggle against colonization and imperialism. Specifically, Cleaver took the position that Black people mobilizing around issues such as U.S. aid for anti-liberation movements in Africa was particularly useful since their criticism of U.S. empire came from inside the nation. Because the RPCN was internationally engaged, their distribution of materials was oriented toward garnering support for the People's Republic of the Congo while also orienting toward the specific role that Black people in America could play within that particular political struggle. Indeed, the goal of the RPCN was to provide an institutional and organizational structure through which influence could be expressed culturally and

communicatively, from within nations such as the People's Republic of the Congo outward, across an international sphere, as manifest in emerging Black proletarian cartographies.

Within the People's Republic of the Congo, political forces were engaged in war of maneuver, or direct and open political conflict. Within the People's Republic of the Congo, armed struggles had taken place to establish the state in its current form. While Gramsci's war of maneuver is often correlated to political struggle in the East, Gramsci noted that "East and West are arbitrary and conventional constructions," and instead, as Egan points out, the delineation made between East and West (in so far as they correlate to war of maneuver and war of position) are better understood as distinguishing between core and periphery within a global capitalist structure.[190] The People's Republic of the Congo occupies a more periphery position within global capitalism, as a previously colonized nation exploited for resources to prop-up core nations. In addition to the country's position as a periphery nation, the specificity of the People's Republic of the Congo in the late 1960s and early 1970s was one well suited to a political struggle manifest through war of maneuver. Since gaining full independence from France in 1960, the nation had experienced near-constant political upheaval as expressed through uprisings, coups, the kidnapping of prominent public officials, and provisional governments. Because of this, the reality of political conflict was very much out in the open, and primarily manifest in acts of force (tactics that fit well within the war of maneuver approach) such as violence, kidnapping, and uprisings.

The role of the RPCN and the Cleaver's delegation was to create materials documenting the "war of maneuver" taking place within the People's Republic of the Congo for the rest of the world, and specifically, for Black people engaged in political struggles within the United States. As theorized by Gramsci, the "war of position" is a less direct and longer lasting form of political action that is more akin to "total war," or an approach to war that is unrestricted as far as weapons and tactics used. Rather than mobilizing actions of force, war of position engages institutions and tactics across different sectors of civil society as a mode through which to generate hegemony, or common will. War of position includes cultural struggle as a key front through which to create a new revolutionary orientation.

By extending the direct and open war of maneuver taking place within the People's Republic of the Congo to other nations via agitational cultural production, the RPCN expanded and extended (spatially and temporally) the Congo's war of maneuver, thus transforming the internal contradiction into a globally oriented war of position As the RPCN created and distributed agitational materials of cultural production, they engaged the war of position as a tactical mode through which to participate in an internationalist and Black proletarian political fight. In fact, the very creation of the RPCN fits well within the war of position approach, as the RPCN was an institution created to replace existing cultural and media institutions that provided information in service of maintaining the existing ruling class. As Egan articulates, the war of position requires that "subordinate classes wear away the existing civil society, and, through their self-organization, create a new one."[191] The creation of the RPCN is an act of self-

organization taken on by subordinate classes, that aimed to create, generate, and provide informative cultural products that operated in service of generating a new revolutionary common will on an global scale.

The RPCN's distribution of materials documenting the war of maneuver taking place in the People's Republic of the Congo demonstrates how war of position and war of maneuver can be entangled as a tactic for waging political struggle on an international scale. Indeed, as Egan highlights, "Left strategy must think of maneuver and position as occurring simultaneously rather than sequentially."[192] In the case of the Congo, the war of position continued to unfold within the nation as the RPCN extracted representations of that struggle to distribute globally via war of maneuver. Egan proceeds to highlight that "For Gramsci, the distinctions between war of position and war of maneuver, hegemony and dictatorship, are 'merely methodological,'" meaning, these are tactics or methods that are united toward the same political end of generating a new, proletariat hegemony rooted in liberation for all people.[193] Yet, the utilization of each respective method varies depending upon the specific context in which the political struggle emerges. Egan goes on, "within a concrete social formation, they are best seen as dialectical moments of the same revolutionary process"[194] Indeed, the struggle taking place within the Congo and outside of it were not different revolutionary processes. Rather, they can be understood as different battles within the same global war against imperialism, racism, and colonialism. Because they were different battles that emerged in specific, located contexts, they utilized varying tactics to contribute to the internationalist political struggle taking place. Indeed, the RPCN sought to exert

influence and power through the formulation of a political institution oriented toward communication and culture via the circulation of internationalist propaganda. The RPCN circulated materials detailing the direct conflict that had taken place in the Congo, fundamentally entangling the war of position and war of maneuver together as dialectical pieces of a broader internationalist struggle that attended to the specificities of different and distinct nations.

Conclusion

Through the ways in which the Cleaver's RPCN transformed the war of maneuver taking place in the People's Republic of the Congo into a globally oriented war of position political-cultural project, Cleaver and Gramsci demonstrate the rhetorical affordances of culture when engaged in an internationally oriented political struggle. While the conditions did not exist everywhere to extend the war of maneuver into other spaces, the RPCN utilized culture, as manifest in documentary footage, newspapers, and pamphlets, to spatially and temporally extend a local political struggle to a global political struggle, ultimately drawing a new Black proletarian cartography of political struggle. This Black proletarian cartography aimed to connect Black people in the United States with those in socialist and decolonized nations primarily across Africa and Asia.

In this chapter, I utilized the work of Antonio Gramsci to provide additional theoretical and conceptual background that demonstrates the material entanglement of space, race, and culture. Through Gramsci's investigation of the Southern Question in Italy, I demonstrate that all social processes are rooted in spatialization, and often

demonstrate hegemonic connections between the local and global. This provides the background for understanding how culture, race, space, and internationalism are animated in Gramsci's work and come to fruition through his use of war metaphors. By applying these metaphors to the RPCN's engagement with the People's Republic of the Congo, I demonstrate why culture lends itself to the scale of internationally oriented political struggle by creating a mode through which to bridge the stages of war of position and war of maneuver.

The question of how to engage in globally oriented political struggle is fundamentally animated by spatiality, as the practical issue of scale operates as the fulcrum through which the local and global can be connected, and through which new power maps can be established. Explicating Gramsci's spatially oriented theory of crisis, Michele Filippini argues that Gramsci "opens up a field of possibilities having both a temporal extension (the war of position) and a spatial dimension (the expanded notion of the state).[195] Here, I would interject that the war of maneuver opens up the possibility of the spatial dimension of internationalist political struggle. As demonstrated by Cleaver's RPCN, their war of maneuver enabled a spatial and temporal extension of the locally situated political struggle taking place in the People's Republic of the Congo.

Yet, as Filippini highlights, across these two (temporal and spatial) "extensions," capitalist dynamics either continue to develop, or capitalism is challenged and replaced by a new social system.[196] Through Cleaver's RPCN, as well as William's radio show and Paul Robeson's border concert, an attempt is made to map a new social system, rooted in Black proletarian politics. Through these attempts, new cartographies are

mapped that fundamentally connect racialized and other dispossessed populations across the globe, with the aim of congealing into a new power map predicated on liberation.

CHAPTER III

"OUR RIGHT TO TRAVEL": CONSTRUCTING AN INTERNATIONALIST BLACK PROLETARIAN GEOGRAPHY THROUGH RHETORICS OF MOBILITY AND CONTAINMENT IN PAUL ROBESON'S 1952 BORDER CONCERT

My song is my weapon.

– Paul Robeson

In May 1952, Paul Robeson stood in the bed of a truck on the Canada-U.S. border and proclaimed, "I stand here today under great stress because I dare, as do all of you, to fight for peace and a decent life for all men women and children wherever they may be," to nearly 40,000 people crowded around.[197] The International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (Mine Mill) invited Robeson to speak at their convention in Vancouver in February 1952. However, once Robeson reached the Canadian border he was turned away. Robeson's passport was revoked two years prior by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). Yet, despite not needing a passport to cross over into Canada, at the border, he was stopped and threatened with a five-year prison sentence and $10,000 fine. The United States border patrol was instructed to stop Robeson "by any means necessary."[198] At their convention, the Mine Mill union workers proposed the idea of holding a border concert with Robeson to protest the actions of the State Department and the forced domestic containment of Robeson.[199] On May 18, over 40,000 people gathered at Peace Arch Park at the border between Washington and Canada to hear Robeson speak and listen to him sing.[200]

In the years prior to Robeson's first Peace Arch concert (they were held annually for a few years) and the revoking of his passport, Robeson traveled internationally as a political leader, orator, and performer. W.E.B. DuBois said of Robeson,

> His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South American and in the islands of the seas. Children on the streets of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakarta greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights.[201]

Indeed, at the height of his career, Robeson was regarded as the most famous African-American on Earth. His *oeuvre* of performances, speeches, and political work is profoundly extensive. In 1934, he enrolled in the School of Oriental and African Studies to study a number of African languages. Here, he came into contact with an anti-imperialist movement, which led him to visit the Soviet Union and Africa. He traveled to Spain during the Spanish Civil War to visit the battlefront and sing to the wounded soldiers of the International Brigade. Robeson returned to the United States at the start of WWII. In 1946 he met with President Truman to advocate for anti-lynching legislation, where he warned Truman that Black people would "defend themselves" if need be.[202] As Robeson's political activity increased, his ability to perform was continuously hindered. In 1948, he began concert tours overseas because the FBI frequently canceled his performances in the United States. Indeed, Robeson embodied a statement he made on numerous occasions: "The artist must take sides. He must elect to fight for freedom or slavery. I have made my choice."[203] Finally, in 1950 the State Department revoked Robeson's passport on the grounds that his travel was "contrary to the best interests of

the United States," thereby hindering his ability to engage in political work, performance, and oratory internationally.[204]

Within the context of the internationalist political project Robeson was undertaking, his containment within the United States operated as a form of exile. By physically containing him within the borders of the continental U.S., Robeson's ability to engage in internationalist political leadership was greatly hindered, as his ability to communicate with people across Africa, Europe, China, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere, as he had done before, was essentially cut off. Rhetorical studies scholars engaged in uncovering tactics of rhetorical containment highlight mechanisms of "domestication" as one way through which threats to the status quo are tamed and disciplined.[205] In the case of Robeson, his physical body is literally "domesticated," as he is forced to stay within the boundaries of what is formally recognized as his domestic homeland.

Robeson's forced containment in the United States highlights control of mobility as a key fulcrum through which Black and African-American populations are repressed, and through which the construction of Blackness comes into being. As race hinges on the denial and control of free movement, disentangling containment as a central force in the construction of Blackness is necessary. Cotton Seiler argues, "Mobility was and remains a racialized form of capital; one of the entailments of racial privilege and power is the ability to move about freely."[206] As such, studies of race and mobility require a relational approach to mobility in which various forces or mechanisms of containment can be mapped as constitutive elements of movement. Kathleen M. Kirby states, "Space

and where we are in it…determines a large portion of our status as subjects, and obversely, the kinds of subjects we are largely dictates our degree of mobility and our possible future locations."[207] Robeson's border concert highlights place and mobility as state building tools utilized for racialized modes of rhetorical containment, as well as how those engaged in protest can utilize place and the politics of mobility as key tools in struggles for global liberation through the creation of new "black geographies."[208]

Across communication and rhetorical studies, many have begun to engage with the rhetorical elements of the politics of mobility, especially as they aid in the construction, management, and containment of racialized people.[209] Vincent Pham argues that "attending to spatial rhetorics requires considering how place is turned into space via mobile practices in relation to a place's material constrains."[210] Armond Towns argues that communication scholars should utilize geography because it enables an understanding of how the "long-held White mastery over mobility" is "maintained by controlling the movements of people of color of all genders, sexualities, and classes," thereby enhancing understandings of the contours and mechanisms of racialized violence.[211] Kundai Chirindo identifies the embedded relationship between mobility, rhetoric, race and citizenship, arguing that the nation is a "sociopoliticospatial assemblage that legitimates certain *material* experiences…and limits the *mobility* of certain bodies as banal yet necessary adjuncts of national preservation."[212] Indeed, as Katherine McKittrick argues, engaging with the point of contact between Black populations and geography, "allows us to engage with a narrative that locates and draws on Black histories and Black subjects in order to make visible social lives which are

often displaced, rendered ungeographic."[213] Doing so brings to light what McKittrick calls "black geographies," or "the terrain of political struggle" that coheres locations of "black history, selfhood, imagination, and resistance [that] are not only attached to the production of space through their marginality, but also through the ways in which they bring into focus responses to geographic domination."[214] The interplay between power, mobility, and place shape the communicative acts that can take place in a given situation, and as such, come to bear on what rhetorical resources are available to global struggles against racism, imperialism, and colonialism.

In this essay, I analyze Robeson's Peace Arch Concert on the border of the United States and Canada, utilizing place and mobility as the key concepts through which this specific Black geography, or "terrain of social struggle," took shape.[215] Offering a spatial analysis of Peace Arch Park, I highlight how the material environment of the U.S.-Canadian border enacted a spatial rhetoric through its material signification of "transparent space," or space that appears self-evident while still functioning as a technology that produces power-laden hierarchies, ultimately coming to bear on the rhetorical affordances available to Robeson.[216] Additionally, utilizing recordings of Robeson's 1952 and 1953 border concerns, I argue that Robeson utilized global folk music as "place-based arguments" through which to articulate shared experiences of containment and the racialization of spatializing practices of governance. [217] Robeson's performance at Peace Arch Park contested the "transparent space" of the border, enabling a new Black geography to emerge.[218] This Black geography utilizes

containment, mobility, and place as key fulcrums through which to imagine and enact an internationalist citizenship rooted in the freedom of movement and travel.

Importantly, Robeson's concert raises a broader question regarding how the politics of mobility impacts the viability of speech and performance. Indeed, Robeson's Peace Arch concert highlights the racialized interplay between place and the politics of mobility in determining who can speak, where, and under what conditions. As Alyssa Samek argues, "mobility as a critical framework asks rhetorical critics to consider how the material (bodies, environment, space, and place), along with the discursive, invents, expresses, and transforms meaning."[219] For Robeson, the use of this critical framework reveals how processes of racialization are entangled with the interplay between place, politics, and rhetoric, and as such, attending to mobility enhances the ability of rhetorical scholars to attend to the power laden relationship between race and rhetoric. For those, like Robeson, on the receiving end of containment and control of mobility as a race-making tool and as a tool of political repression, the politics of mobility operate as a key constitutive mechanism in the making of a rhetorical situation. As Leslie J. Harris articulates, "movement through space participates in the creation of a cartography that functions as a means of understanding power and public identity within space," and for Robeson, his *inability* to map an internationalist cartography through the freedom of travel reveals the racialized interplay between politics, speech, and power.[220] Indeed, to analyze a given event or rhetorical utterance without attention to how the speaker arrived (or if they can freely leave) will inevitability gloss over race and the political interplay between place and movement as fundamental elements in the becoming of a rhetorical

utterance. As Lisa Flores and others have argued, rhetorical criticism void of the consideration of race is "incomplete, partial, if not irresponsible."[221] Attending the politics of mobility as both a force for race-making and rhetoric-making offers a key mechanism for revealing the conditions of possibility for rhetorical utterances aimed at racial justice on a global scale.

I first offer a brief history of Paul Robeson, with particular focus on the events immediately preceding his appearance in front of HUAC and the revoking of his passport. Next, through tracing a conceptual history of the relationship between race and mobility, I argue that Blackness in America is constructed *through* control and containment of mobility. Essentially, freedom of movement is a citizenship right that historically does not extend to Black individuals. This provides the context for understanding the racially laden politics of Robeson's containment within the U.S., or, "continental incarceration" ("kontinental'nyi zakliuchenie"), as the Soviets called it, that fundamentally shaped the rhetorical resources available in his orations and performances against imperialism, colonialism, and racism.[222] Next, I offer an analysis of the Peace Arch concert. In particular, I trace the threads of mobility, containment, and place through Robeson's performance. Here, I offer an ideological and historical analysis of Peace Arch Park and Monument and the role the site plays in rhetorically constituting a racially laden conceptualization of U.S-Canadian relations, and ultimately, of conceptualizing transnational citizenship as rooted in whiteness and colonialism. I argue that the Peace Arch Park and Monument constitute "transparent space," or space that appears knowable and self-evident while still functioning as a technology produces

power-laden and racialized hierarchies.[223] Through Robeson's contestation of Peace Arch Park as "transparent space" through performance, he creates a new Black geography, or "terrain of social struggle," through which he offers an articulation of internationalist citizenship for all people rooted in freedom of movement and travel.[224] Next, I turn to Robeson's performance of global folk music, including slave spirituals, Russian and Gaelic folk songs, as well as the newly declared Chinese National Anthem. I argue that these songs are "place-based arguments" that globally situate containment and bondage as effects of imperialism, colonialism, and racism.[225] My analysis of these songs focuses in particular on the themes of containment, mobility, place, and struggles for freedom of movement that emerge across all of the songs. Robeson's "place-based arguments" do the work of respatializing the relationship between oppressed people globally, producing geopolitical relationality on a basis rooted in liberation via freedom of movement, rather than imperial and racialized containment. This "black geography" offers a conceptualization of internationalist citizenship as rooted in travel and the freedom of movement. Finally, I argue that Robeson's Peace Arch concert highlights the imperative for attending to mobility as a racialized force that fundamentally shapes the becoming of a rhetorical situation.

Becoming Internationalist: Robeson's History of Politics and Mobility

In 1948, Paul Robeson sat before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), a committee created in 1938 to investigate so-called disloyal activities of individuals or organizations suspected of having Communist ties.[226] At the beginning of the hearing, Robeson stated, "Could I say that the reason that I am here

today, you know, from the mouth of the State Department itself, is: I should not be allowed to travel because I have struggled for years for the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."[227] He proceeds to state, "The other reason that I am here today, again from the State Department and the court record of the court of appeals, is that when I am abroad I speak out against the injustices of the Negro people of this land."[228] Indeed, Robeson's account of why he was being called before HUAC was true; in the years prior, Robeson had traveled broadly across Africa and Europe, advocating for freedom and full citizenship for Black people across the globe. Because the reality of racism in the United States shone a negative light on the country in the midst of Cold War competition with the Soviet Union, it was in the best interest of the State Department to halt Robeson's international oration of the denial of citizenship rights faced by Black Americans.

Over the following year, Robeson continued with concerts and speaking tours across the country, often speaking out against Truman's decision to send troops to Korea. In 1950, the State Department decided they had had enough of Robeson's screeds. They put a "stop notice" out at all ports to prevent Robeson from departing on a trip to Europe and the FBI located Robeson and collected his passport.[229] When Robeson refused to turn his passport over, the State Department notified immigration and customs that his passport was void, and thus, he was not to leave the United States. At a meeting with Robeson, his attorneys, and State Department officials, Robeson's attorneys requested clarification regarding the State Department's claim that Robeson's travel abroad "would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."[230] Robeson and his

attorneys were told "that his frequent criticism of the treatment of blacks in the United States should not be aired in foreign countries" because that issue is a "family affair."[231] With his passport revoked, Robeson joined a slew of other political figures facing travel bans imposed by the State Department between February 1951 to June 1964, such as W.E.B. DuBois, Rockwell Kent, Carlotta Bass, Howard Fast, and others.[232] Indeed, as anxiety regarding the communist threat intensified, HUAC's decision to restrict the travel of internationalist political figures who were critical of U.S. foreign policy and domestic race relations became a way to prop up American exceptionalism.[233]

In January 1952, the State Department received word that Robeson planned to travel to Vancouver, British Columbia, to perform a concert put on by the United Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union. Because U.S. citizens did not need a passport to travel to Canada, the State Department sent Immigration and Naturalization Service officials to stop him at the border. As an act of protest against the State Department, the United Mine, Mill, and Smelter Worker's Union proposed a border-straddling concert at Peach Arch Park for the following spring.

The Racialization of Mobility and Containment

In his essay, "Our Right to Travel," Paul Robeson states, "from the very beginning of Negro history in our land, Negroes have asserted their right to freedom of movement."[234] From the time of chattel slavery when slave ships traversed the middle passage after Africans were forcibly removed from their homeland, mobility and containment have operated as constitutive elements of Blackness itself, as well as struggles for Black liberation. Throughout the course of slavery, the Underground

Railroad, or the clandestine movement of slaves north, provided a narrative that fundamentally tied movement, location, and Blackness together. In 1896, four years after Homer Plessy was arrested for refusing to move to the 'Jim Crow' train car, the Supreme Court ruled against Plessy, thus legitimizing the 'separate but equal' policy and mode of racialized spatial rule that governed the United States for over half a century. During the Cold War era, Civil Rights struggles often manifested as struggles over the racialization of space and mobility.[235] The bus boycotts, activist work of the Freedom Riders, and the role of bussing in desegregating schools provide salient examples, as activists rejected the state imposed racialization of transportation and utilized technologies of mobility as a way to fight for racial justice. Today, policing practices such as "stop and frisk" and "pretextual traffic stops" demonstrate that transportation and movement are racialized spatial practices and as such, interstate freedom of movement (a Constitutional right granted under the Rights and Immunities Clause) is not in fact available to all.[236] Indeed, due to the way that "all kinds of mobility have been mapped onto black bodies in both negative and affirmative ways," Tim Cresswell argues that "mobility has been central to this construction of Black identities in the United States as a "social fact.""[237]

Whether through forced movement or containment, the control of mobility is a key axis through which America has been governed since British colonialism. When British citizens lived in American colonies, they expected to enjoy the rights and privileges of British common law. Yet, as Kurt T. Lash points out, because these citizens had left England and traveled across the Atlantic, they "enjoyed only those privileges and immunities secured to them by international treaty."[238] Because a colony is

predicated on a different set of social relations than the corresponding mainland, as the colony expressly exists to prop up the mainland through extraction and exploitation, it was not in England's interest to extend the same rights and privileges to the American colonies. This apex of citizenship and mobility was a key motivating force behind the American Revolution, after which the same contradiction manifested anew as "the concept of the conferred rights of citizenship transferred to the newly independent states."[239] Yet, prior to the Federal Constitution, there was no clarity regarding what rights and privileges citizens could expect when traveling to or through different states.[240] This created the basis for the Privileges and Immunities Clause, which gave federal power to the expectation that American citizens would enjoy the same rights and privileges as they traveled across state borders.

However, the relationship between state and federal law as manifest in issues of mobility was not fully resolved, and instead, took on a racialized form as individual states and the federal government each attempted to discern how to manage slavery under varying laws across the territory. In 1793 and 1850, Congress passed fugitive slave laws that ordered escaped slaves found in free states must be returned across state borders, back to their owners. Many felt that these laws violated state sovereignty as the federal government was stepping in to enforce a common law (acceptance of slavery) that all the states had not in fact agreed to. Indeed, a number of non-slave states enacted personal liberty laws, and the Supreme Court of Wisconsin declared the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional.[241] As escaped slaves traveled across state borders, they embodied the existing, and now racialized, contradiction between state power and federal power.

For instance, the Dred Scott decision aptly demonstrates mobility and containment as constitutive forces of Blackness in America. Dred Scott, a slave, had traveled between slave states and free states with his owner, and in 1846 he and his wife filed separate lawsuits for freedom based on a Missouri statute that outlines that when a slave is taken to a free territory, they become free and cannot be re-enslaved, even once they have returned to a slave state. While Scott and his wife initially won their case in the St. Louis Circuit Court, their owner appealed the decision to the Missouri Supreme Court, where Scott and his family lost their freedom. In 1854, Scott and his family appealed their case to the United States Supreme Court, where finally, in 1857, Scott ultimately lost his freedom in the Dred Scott decision. Fundamentally, what the Dred Scott decision demonstrates is how Blackness itself is constructed as a mode through which to circumvent citizenship rights as governed through the political delineations signified and geographically mapped by state and national borders. Indeed, the justification behind denying Scott and his family freedom hinged on the relationship between citizenship and the Privileges and Immunities Clause of the Constitution.[242] While the right to interstate travel can be inferred from this clause, that right only extends to *citizens* of a given state. Thus, since a slave does not count as a citizen in any U.S. territory, the court inferred that any Black person, free or slave, was not entitled to the rights of the constitution. As the rights of mobility were not extended to Dred Scott, this fact was further solidified thus congealing Blackness as a "social fact" that fundamentally hinged on the control of movement.[243]

The identification and articulation of Black geographies clarifies the role of mobility, containment, and place in processes of racialization.[244] Indeed, as Cotton Seiler suggests, Blackness as a "social fact" manifested in spatiality and mobility can be clarified through the framework of "mobilization of race," in which the concept of race itself is illuminated as "a consequence of mobility."[245] McKittrick argues that geographic and spatial distributions, which are "racially, sexually, and economically hierarchical," are naturalized through the enactment of "spatializing difference."[246] Mobility (whether explicitly forced or implicitly coerced) is a key process through which the spatialization of difference proceeds; indeed "spatializing difference" can happen through both imposed mobility (such as when African people were violently removed from their land) and/or containment (such as when African people were contained on plantations across the Black Belt), and/or measures of governance that dictate the relationship between territory and citizenship rights (such as the case in fugitive slave laws). Indeed, as Katherine McKittrick states, "black matters are spatial matters."[247] Yet, geography and space are not "secure and unwavering."[248] Rather, "we produce space, we produce its meanings, and we work very hard to make geography what it is."[249] Indeed, Robeson's Peace Arch border concert is the staging of a clash between a geography of domination with a geography of liberation that demonstrates the use of mobility, containment, and place to produce a spatialization of difference and to control rhetorical possibilities as a process of racialization.

Additionally, Robeson's border concert points to racialized rhetorical containment as a material force that determines who can speak, when, and where. For

Robeson, he was physically blocked from speaking outside of the continental United States as a mode through which to repress his ability to orate and perform his internationalist approach to issues of colonization, imperialism, and racism. His forced containment and denial of citizenship rights directly impacted and shaped the rhetorical resources available to him as he spoke out against racialized violence globally. Within rhetorical studies scholarship, "containment" is used to describe tactics, discursive frames, or narratives used to tame or discipline threats to hegemonic structures or the status quo by designating certain groups or people as an outside threat.[250] Ryan Neville-Shepard argues, "by isolating threats to hegemonic power, the consequences of rhetorical containment is that it damages the public sphere by limiting the free exchange of ideas."[251] Indeed, the effect of rhetorical containment is to limit the ability for an orator to respond to an impetus by foreclosing rhetorical possibilities. Karrin Vasby Anderson describes rhetorical containment as a rhetorical frame that shapes and constrains political narratives which govern understandings and representations of those depicted as a threat.[252] Yet, what Robeson's border concert points to are the ways in which his ability to speak publically is hindered through racialized state imposed physical blockages that fundamentally contain his ability to speak, as he is forced to remain within the United States. Indeed, Robeson's border concert demonstrates that attending to mobility requires a materialist approach to the issue of rhetorical containment to grasp the ways in which racialized mechanisms are employed to hinder Robeson's mobility and block him from speaking in certain places, thereby limiting the rhetorical resources available for arguments against racism, imperialism, and

colonialism. Despite these geographical limitations, I now turn to Robeson's Peace Arch performance to demonstrate how the interplay between the spatial rhetorics of the park and Robeson's utilization of "place-based arguments" operate to articulate internationalist citizenship as rooted in the freedom of movement.[253]

The Peace Arch Park and Monument

Peace Arch Park, the location of Robeson's concert, is an international park that sits on the border between Washington state and Canada at the western end of the land border. The park is built directly on the Canada-U.S. border, in the grass median between American Interstate 5 and the Canadian Highway 99. Overlooking Semiahmoo Bay of Puget Sound, the park features a sprawl of neatly manicured green grass, and most prominently, the Peace Arch monument. Because the park is considered an international park, visitors do not need a passport or visa to visit the park as long as they pass through their respective border to enter and leave the park. Reminiscent of a smaller and less ornate Arc de Triomphe, the Peace Arch features a Canadian flag mounted on one side, and the American flag on the other. There are inscriptions on each side of the monument. On the American side, the Arch reads "children of a common mother," and on the Canadian side, "brethren dwelling together in unity." On each side under the arch are iron gates, with the inscriptions "may these gates never be closed" and "1814 Open One Hundred Years 1914." The park and monument were created in 1914 to commemorate one hundred years of peace since the 1814 signing of the Treaty of Ghent, the peace treaty that ended the war of 1812 between the United States and the United Kingdom.

Borders are key sites of defining and understanding national identity. By materially designating an inside and outside via the interaction between the border and land, borders define what territory counts, and thus what people presumably count, under a given governing body. They also define where citizens of a given nation have a right to go, as the concept of "freedom of movement" is generally conceptualized as the right to move freely throughout one's own nation. In her analysis of border walls, Wendy Brown argues that borders react to "transnational, rather than international relations," meaning, they "take shape apart from conventions of Westphalian international order in which sovereign nation-states are the dominant political actors. As such, they appear as signs of a post-Westphalian world."[254] Essentially, borders and the regulation of borders via walls or checkpoints are negotiated transnationally, as nations operate in relation to one another. While Brown is primarily discussing the militarization of borders, this post-Westphalian reality is also demonstrated on the U.S.-Canada border where the two nation's transnational "friendship" is cemented through a non-militarized border as well as through a series of commemorative landmarks including the Peace Arch Park and Monument, as well as the Peace Bridge that crosses the border marked by the Niagara River.[255] These explicitly transnational landmarks serve the purpose of defining each country in relation to one another, thereby providing an opportunity for each to engage in ideologically laden acts of nation-building.

The specific border location of the Robeson's concert, the Peace Arch Park and Memorial, is a site rich with historical and political meaning, as the border site was explicitly developed to pay homage to the friendly relationship between the United

States and Canada. The park constitutes what McKittrick identifies as "transparent space," or geography that appears as "readily knowable."[256] Transparent space "works to hierarchically position individuals, communities, regions, and nations."[257] Indeed, through the ideologically laden Peace Arch Park as nation-building project, the 'friendly' (non-militarized) U.S.-Canadian border appears self-evident, even as it operates as a technology of nation-state and international governance. However, "transparent space" is contestable.[258] While the site is an explicit site of nation building and transnational relationship building as the two nations further define themselves through their relation to the other, Robeson utilizes the site as a "terrain of social struggle" during his border concert.[259] Indeed, the contestation of "transparent space" *makes* "black geographies" possible.[260] As Tim Creswell highlights, "the qualities of place that make them good strategic tools of power simultaneously make them ripe for resistance…"[261] Essentially, because of the centrality of border spaces in constructing nationhood in relation to one another for the U.S. and Canada (and the power laden meaning that comes with that process, detailed below), that specific space is layered with meaning that can be strategically mobilized for liberatory ends, as demonstrated by Robeson's concert. As Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook demonstrate, those engaged in social movements or other attempts at resistance and liberation often strategically deploy place rhetorically during a protest event, or, "place as rhetoric."[262] Endres and Senda-Cook argue that the use of "place-as-rhetoric" in protest can happen in three distinct ways.[263] Here, Robeson, the union, and those attending his performance are participating in the temporary reconstruction of the meaning of Peace Arch Park through

the contestation of the transparent space of the park, and thus, the emergence of a Black geography.

Despite how the Peace Arch park and Peace Arch monument attend to transnationalism by their geographical location on a border, the monument and park are rhetorically embedded with significations of citizenship rooted in white, and specifically Anglo-Saxon, superiority. In Paul Kuenker's detailed analysis of the commemoration of the U.S.-Canadian border, he argues that the Peace Arch and rhetoric surrounding the commemoration "expressed a shared identity based upon the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race."[264] As Kuenker points out, the inscriptions on the arch itself, "children of a common mother" and "brethren dwelling together in unity," reference the two countries shared British ancestry as the basis for peace between the two nations.[265] The commemoration ceremony of the arch and park even more strongly evoked racial commonality as the basis for peace. For instance, Samuel Hill, the man spearheading the Peace Arch Park and Monument, stated that the arch marked "the recognition of the oneness of the English-speaking race, and its friendship, not alone for the white race, but its earnest desire to be at peace with all the world."[266] As Keunker argues, this erased the presence of non-Anglo-Saxon cultures in both countries.[267] America and the British began conceptualizing their relationship as "natural" allies due to common racial heritage back to the mid 18th century, when the two countries scheduled meetings of "All-Saxondom," thus leading to the emergence of "Anglo-Saxon superiority," which relies on racial and linguistic commonalities as a basis from which to position Anglo-Saxon identity as better and more "natural" than other races and languages.[268] The aura

of superiority was astutely captured in a letter from President Harding to Samuel Hill, in which he articulated that the friendship and peace between the United States and British Empire should serve as a "model for peace and a sign of global progress."[269] This was repeated in news media around the globe, such as a *Los Angeles Times* article that argued the U.S.-Canada border should be held up as an "educational example" to the rest of the world.[270] As Keunker's historical work demonstrates, the commemoration of the Peace Arch and other monuments to peace along the U.S.-Canada border happened during a period of post-World War I isolationism which included restrictive immigration quotas that "suggested that non-whites were either harmful to or incompatible with the core values of American society."[271] The "naturalization" of transnational friendship as rooted in shared racial heritage and assumed white superiority is precisely the function of "transparent space."[272] Indeed, as the border park naturalizes U.S.-Canadian "friendship" based on shared racial heritage and assumed superiority, it also continues to delineate the boundaries of nation-hood and citizenship. While the Peace Arch monument was utilized as a way to rhetorically situate the U.S.-Canadian border as a space of transnational peace, the same border was mobilized as a tool of exclusion against those from non-white countries.

Yet, by rooting appeals to transnational peace and citizenship in white racial heritage and English as a superior language, the Peace Arch monument evokes the colonial history of the U.S. and British Empires as the framework through which U.S. – Canada relations should be understood. This history was referenced explicitly during the commemoration. In fact, the date of the Peace Arch dedication was intentionally

scheduled for September 6, the same day the *Mayflower* departed from Plymouth, England in 1920.[273] The dedication ceremony even included placing a piece of wood, supposedly from the *Mayflower*, on the American side of the Peace Arch.[274] By so doing, the monument and park were explicitly articulated as part of a history of colonization and imperialism across North America, in which white settlers forcibly and violently stole land from indigenous groups.

By providing a "transparent space" rich with ideologically and racially laden articulations of transnational citizenship, the Peace Arch Park also provided a rhetorically pertinent place for Robeson to offer a new Black geography, through which he articulates an alternative vision of internationalist citizenship as rooted in mobility and freedom of movement. As Samek highlights, "Turning to mobility and mobile practice extends the value of "place in protest" by tapping into prior meanings associated with place and then examining how embodied movement through it temporarily transforms its meaning and articulates public argument."[275] At Peace Arch Park, Robeson's very presence on the border, along with his use of place-based arguments to articulate internationalist citizenship, contrast with the existing colonial and imperial associations of the place. His presence at the park highlights the location as a space that materially determines who can go and speak where, while also offering a rhetorically rich site from which to offer an articulation of internationalist citizenship rooted in the freedom of movement, rather than whiteness and colonialism. Indeed, Robeson, the union, and those attending his performance are explicitly participating in the temporary reconstruction of the meaning of Peace Arch Park. Importantly, "these temporary

reconstructions of place create short-term fissures in the dominant meanings of places in productive ways," while the contestation over assumed meaning also creates the space for a new Black geography to emerge.[276] Through Robeson's enactment of a Black geography, he offers an articulation of internationalist citizenship (detailed at length below) that is distinctly different from the conceptualization of transnational citizenship as rooted in whiteness and colonialism ideologically signified through the park and monument. The reconstruction of Peace Arch Park as a site of Black geography happens through Robeson's embodied performance and the entanglement of that performance with the "place as performer."[277]

Performing Black Internationalism

Robeson utilized American, Chinese, Russian, and Gaelic folk music during the Peace Arch border concert as a rhetorical mode through which to contest the transparent space of the border and offer a conceptualization of internationalist citizenship rooted in the freedom of movement. As Kate Baldwin argues, Robeson generally used folk music to "cement the appeal of his performances across national boundaries."[278] The folk songs he utilizes, including slave spirituals that discuss the auction block as a specific site of bondage, the Chinese National Anthem, and a Scottish song about a loch that carries particular spatial significance in the country, all advance "place-based arguments," or "a discursive description of a specific place as support for an argument."[279] While each song is firmly rooted in a specific place or nation, each articulates a common theme of struggling against control and containment of mobility as a liberation struggle. As Baldwin highlights, "Robeson believed that folk music contained a "common undertone"

through which peoples of different nations articulated their marginalizations from majority discourses, and through which such peripheralized peoples could be reached and politicized."[280] By utilizing folk music from different nations to highlight common experience, Robeson rhetorically creates the foundation from which internationalism can emerge.

Additionally, spatial practices and discourses of place-based respatialization are central to the cultivation of Black geographies. For one, as McKittrick highlights, dispossessed people, and Black people in particular, are often thought to be "ungeographic," or rather, "racial captivity assumes geographic confinement; geographic confinement assumes a despatialized sense of place; a despatialized sense of place assumes geographic inferiority; geographic interiority warrants racial captivity."[281] Indeed, to be diasporic means to be untethered from the place one is assumed to 'belong.' Through the performance of place-based songs, Robeson offers a glimpse into how oppressed people globally are, in fact, geographic, meaning they root themselves in place, and in relation to the places around them. In fact, if we map the place-based relationalities articulated through folk culture, then new geopolitical relationalities and landscapes emerge that are distinct from those imposed by hegemonic transparent space globally. Robeson's "place-based arguments" do the work of respatializing the relationship between oppressed people globally, geographically producing that relationality on a basis rooted in liberation via freedom of movement, rather than imperial and racialized containment. These geopolitical relationalities constitute a Black proletarian geography that "indicates that traditional geographies, and their attendant

hierarchical categories of humanness, cannot do the emancipatory work…" demanded by Robeson and the attendees of the Peace Arch border concert.[282]

Through his performance of the slave spiritual "No More Auction Block for Me," Robeson mobilizes the specific site of the auction block as a demonstration of the denial of citizenship to Black people in America, as manifest in containment. Robeson introduces the song as "one that comes from the very depth of the struggle of my people in America."[283] During his introduction, Robeson repeats that his father, a slave who escaped, must have sung this song many times. "No More Auction Block for Me" is a song of refusal, in which the singer refuses the slave auction block, pints of salt (the legal allowance of salt slaves were allowed per month in Louisiana), and the driver's lash.[284] The repeated references to the auction block in particular call forth an image of bondage and violent containment, in which slaves were put on top of a block for buyers to evaluate and purchase. The auction block spatially elevates the slave above the crowd, so that the crowd can predict the slaves labor-power, or capacity for work. The slave is contained to the auction block, forced to stand until sold. By calling forth an overt reference to the containment, buying and selling of people, Robeson mobilizes the history of the denial of citizenship to Black people in America. Paired with the denial of citizenship rights Robeson himself is currently experiencing via his forced containment in the United States, Robeson is implicitly demonstrating that this racialized history of containment and control of mobility is still alive.

Through his political commentary preceding his performance of "No More Auction Block," Robeson articulates an alternative vision for U.S.-Canadian relations

rooted in shared recognition of full citizenship for all people. As he introduces the song, Robeson explains that he sang the song the week prior at the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Brooklyn where his father was a pastor and where his brother also served as pastor of the mother church.[285] Robeson details that Fredrick Douglas printed his paper, *North Star,* in the basement of the same church in upstate New York, and describes Harriet Tubman hiding slaves in the church cellar en route North, "by which many of my people came to freedom in Canada."[286] Here, Robeson utilizes "No More Auction Block for Me" as a mode through which to offer an alternative history of the relationality between the United States and Canada than the version of history offered by Peace Arch Park.[287] Instead of rooting the relationship between the two nations in shared racial heritage and white superiority, Robeson roots the relationship between the two countries in a quest for liberation. After the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, escaped slaves could be captured in northern states and returned to their owners (or any other white slave owner who claimed someone as their escaped slave). To achieve freedom, slaves had to cross over into Ontario (the first British colony to prohibit slavery with the passing of the Act Against Slavery in 1793). With the help of the Underground Railroad, slaves traveled north, ultimately reaching Canada and experiencing the freedom of movement denied to them in America through the denial of citizenship. This movement of slaves north mapped a different geography, or spatial organization of people, than that offered by the transparent space of the United States. Slaves contested transparent space through their escape and route to freedom, ultimately offering a Black geography through which new relationalities could emerge. For

instance, this Black geography offered by the movement of escaped slaves and those who assisted them offers an articulation of U.S.-Canadian relations rooted in the refusal of slavery and enactment of freedom of movement. This Black geography offers a vision of internationalism in which all people are seen as full citizens deserving of the right to mobility, regardless of the specific nation or region in which they reside.

Throughout the course of the Peace Arch Concert, Robeson utilizes slave spiritual songs that are tied to collective spatial practices related to mobility and the struggle for freedom of movement. For instance, in addition to Robeson's utilization of "No More Auction Block for Me," to narrate a revolutionary relationship between the U.S. and Canada through clandestine transnational mobility, the song also carries significance for the Black struggle for citizenship in the United States. The song was widely popularized among escaped and freed slaves during the Civil War. In particular, the song was utilized as a marching song by Black union soldiers. As many of these soldiers traversed across American land for the first time, they too declared a refusal of slavery as they embodied an enactment of full citizenship via free and collective movement across different territories. Robeson also performed the spiritual "Go Down Moses," another song historically associated with escaped slaves who worked with Union forces during the Civil War.[288] Additionally, Sarah Bradford details that Harriet Tubman used "Go Down Moses" as one of two code songs that fugitive slaves used to communicate while traveling the Underground Railroad.[289] By utilizing songs intimately tied to political spatial practices of mobility (via marching and traveling the underground railroad), Robeson utilizes spatial practices and discourses of respatialization and

mobility to offer Black geography as a mode through which to conceptualize citizenship as rooted in the international freedom of movement.

In addition to slave spirituals and gospel hymns, Robeson integrated folk music from other nations that utilized mobility and place as rhetorical frameworks through which to imagine new Black geographies and communicate about struggles for freedom of movement. For instance, half way through his performance, Robeson performs "Loch Lomond," a famous Scottish folk song about the Jacobite Rising of 1745, when the Scottish were seeking to replace the English King with a Scottish King to rule the United Kingdom.[290] The song is specifically about the Battle of Culloden Moor, in which 7,000 Highland Scots were defeated by the British. According to folk history, the song is about two captured and imprisoned Scottish soldiers. [291] One will be executed, and the other will be set free. The chorus of the song states, *"Oh! Ye'll tak' the high road and / I'll tak' the low road / An' I'll be in Scotland afore ye', / But me and my true love will never meet again / On the bonnie, bonnie banks of Loch Lomond."*[292] In Celtic folk culture, if someone dies in a foreign land their spirit immediately travels back to their homeland of Scotland via "the low road," or the road for souls of the dead.[293] In the chorus of the song, the dead soldier will arrive back to Scotland first, while the living soldier will take the "high road" over the mountains, to arrive in Scotland later. This narration captures the relationship between power and mobility. For the Scottish, the consequence for their struggle for self-determination was containment in various forms; first in imprisonment in London, then in death. While death "freed" the soldier to travel via the 'low road' back to Scotland, they would never get to experience the banks of Loch Lomond with

their true love again, as the lyrics of the second verse detail. The spatial imaginary offered in "Lock Lomond" articulates the clash between the transparent space imposed on the Scottish, and how Scottish citizens conceptualize their relationship to places of national and cultural significance.

Within the context of the Peace Arch Concert, Robeson utilizes Lock Lomond as a place-based argument that hinges on freedom of mobility. Indeed, Lock Lomond itself is a specific place that plays a significant role in the political and national imaginary of Scotland. For one, the expanse of fresh water, speckled with islands and hills of vibrant green grass provides a visual image that is often used as a cultural reference to stand-in for Scotland as a whole.[294] Additionally, the waterway crosses the Highland Boundary Fault, making the passage a physical "gateway" to the Scottish Highlands. To be able to pass through Lock Lomond means being able to move about the country freely. In the folk song, "Loch Lomond," the imprisoned soldiers are utilizing the loch as a stand-in for the country of Scotland as a whole, as well as a spatial imaginary encapsulating their desire for freedom of mobility in contrast to the transparent space imposed upon them by the British monarch.

By utilizing a historically and politically significant Scottish song that hinges on containment (through imprisonment) and mobility as captured through reference to Celtic folk culture and the place-based argument provided by Loch Lomond, Robeson highlights shared experiences of transparent space across time and space. The themes (specifically containment and mobility) captured in "Lock Lomond" mirror the themes articulated in the slave spirituals performed by Robeson during this concert. Indeed, as

Baldwin highlights, "Robeson used "internationalism" as a kind of minority discourse," to highlight common experiences of oppression, exploitation, containment, and struggles for self-determination, or what might also be identifies as common experiences of transparent space.[295] While the auction block and a prison cell in London are not precisely the same experience, they can both be understood as effects of broader systems of power that utilized spatial organization and containment as modes of racialization, oppression, and exploitation. By utilizing a place-based argument via reference to Lock Lomond, Robeson preserves the specificity of the Scottish experience while also drawing out themes of shared experience across existing borders.

In addition to his utilization of folk music that integrated place-specific significations, Robeson's choice to sing folk songs of other nations in their original language is significant. The last song Robeson performs is the Chinese national anthem, "March of the Volunteers."[296] By performing the song in both English and Chinese, Robeson maintains the cultural specificity of the song, by performing the song in its original language.[297] However, by translating and also performing the song in English, the audience (who is presumably dominantly English speaking, given the location) is able to more fully understand the specific cultural and political ideas communicated through the song, as well as draw connections with their own experiences with slavery, containment, and liberation struggles. Additionally, given the location of the performance, Robeson's utilization of languages other than English is a direct contestation against the transparent space of the park. As detailed earlier, Peace Arch Park historicized the basis of U.S.-Canadian friendship as rooted in shared racial and

linguistic heritage and superiority. By utilizing Chinese and other non-English languages in his performance, Robeson explicitly disavowals the privileging of English as the basis on which transnational relationality and belonging should be built.

Robeson's decision to perform the Chinese national anthem on the U.S. border carried profound political valence, particularly in 1952. The song lyrics were written by Tian Han in 1934, with music by Nie Er, for a play. As Tim F. Liao et al. highlight, "the song swiftly and secretly swept over the Chinese people, galvanizing people's heroic spirit and calling back precious national dignity as part of the anti-Japanese resistance effort."[298] After the end of the second Sino-Japanese war (which was a result of Japan's decades long imperialist orientation toward creating a sphere of influence) and the end of the Chinese civil war concluded with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the song was used in February 1949 to represent the new China at an international conference in Prague. At the conclusion of the Chinese civil war and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the United States, which backed the Nationalists against invading Japanese forces as well as against the Chinese Communist Party, supported Chiang Kai-shek's exiled Republic of China government in Taipei. By recognizing the Republic of China, the United States denied the legitimacy of the People's Republic of China. Additionally, the U.S. was also engaged in an ongoing armed conflict with China, via the Vietnam war, as the Chinese backed the North Korean People's Army and the United States backed South Korea. By singing the national anthem of the People's Republic China ("March of the Volunteers" was officially recognized as the national anthem of the PRC in 1949, three years prior to

Robeson's performance), Robeson is publically recognizing the Chinese Communist Party as the legitimate and rightful governing body of the People's Republic of China, in direct opposition to the official position taken by the U.S. government.[299] Indeed, "March of the Volunteers" did not simply signify China, but a China predicated on a new form of governance.[300] In this sense, Robeson's utilization of the song operated as a place-based argument that entangled place and politics together; Robeson was not simply mobilizing China, but a new Communist China in his performative enactment of internationalist citizenship.[301] In this sense, Robeson's utilization of the song operated as a place-based argument that entangled place, politics, and language together.

In addition to the political and linguistic power of the song, "March of the Volunteers" also integrates place, containment, and mobility as key frameworks through which to imagine liberation and conceptualize internationalist citizenship. For one, the song was written by Tian Han while he was in prison for political activism. Additionally, the song emphasizes a collective spatial practice rooted in struggle. Much like "No More Auction Block for Me," which was used as a marching song for black soldiers, "March of the Volunteers" helped mobilize a people's army in China against Japanese imperialism. As Robeson sang first line, "*Arise, we who refuse to be slaves*," across the U.S.-Canadian border, he emphasized a verse that carried immense rhetorical potential for emphasizing international solidarity.[302] Prior the singing the Chinese National Anthem, Robeson's performance of "No More Auction Block for me," emphasized the refusal of slavery specifically for Black people in America as well as the rhetorical utility of the song for enacting Black citizenship as rooted in the freedom of movement

as the song was utilized for the spatial practice of marching. By re-articulating the same refusal of slavery through a lens rooted in Chinese national liberation, Robeson highlights the effects of transparent space globally, thus creating a shared context from which a Black proletarian geography, or internationalist contestation of transparent space, can emerge.

Conclusion: Freedom and Movement

In this essay, I have highlighted the constitutive role of the politics of mobility in processes of racialization, focusing in particular on the relationship between containment and the construction of Blackness. Through my analysis, I demonstrate that Robeson, the union, and those attending his performance participated in the temporary reconstruction of the meaning of Peace Arch Park. Importantly, "these temporary reconstructions of place create short-term fissures in the dominant meanings of places in productive ways," while the contestation over assumed meaning also creates the space for a new Black geography to emerge.[303] Through Robeson's enactment of a Black proletarian geography, he offers an articulation of internationalist citizenship that is distinctly different from the conceptualization of transnational citizenship as rooted in whiteness and colonialism ideologically signified through the park and monument. The reconstruction of Peace Arch Park as a site of Black geography happens through Robeson's embodied performance and the entanglement of that performance with the "place as performer."[304] Robeson's "place-based arguments" do the work of respatializing the relationship between oppressed people globally, geographically producing that relationality on a basis rooted in liberation via freedom of movement,

rather than imperial and racialized containment. Ultimately, Robeson's Peace Arch concert highlights unique rhetorical resources for understanding the racialization of mobility, while also offering a more just conceptualization and enactment of the politics of mobility. His entanglement of antagonism and imagination offer us with a set of tools for facing contemporary struggles that hinge on the racialization of mobility.

While rhetorical studies scholars, especially those engaged with the politics of space and place, have begun critically turning to mobility as a key avenue through which to understand processes of racialization, or the precariousness and politics of mobility more broadly, my analysis here demonstrates that to fully understand the becoming of a rhetorical situation, one must attend the politics and racialization of movement shaping that situation. For Robeson, his inability to cross any U.S. border fundamentally shaped the rhetorical resources available to him in his protest, performance, and oration against racialized terror and imperialism and for internationalist citizenship. This fact is historically, politically, and racially laden as the U.S. government's containment of Robeson is largely possible due to how mobility has historically been utilized as a key mechanism through which to construct Blackness. Yet, despite these imposed and racialized limitations, at the Peace Arch Concert, Robeson strategically navigates the situation as he still utilizes his position physically on top of a border to speak about race and imperialism in a global context, to sing in different languages, and to deploy place-based arguments that carry the audience to national liberation struggles around the globe.

Additionally, as Robeson demonstrates through his articulation of an internationalist Black proletarian geography, inquiries into the relationship between the

politics of movement and rhetorical possibility must call into question mechanisms of governance that rely on imperial logics and justify the racialized containment of people as a mode through which to control and contain the rhetorical resources available in a political struggle. As Robeson demonstrates, such categories can be reconceptualized through an internationalist approach to mobility, in which dispossessed people globally are granted the rights to global movement and travel. Indeed, Robeson offers a theorization of the racialization of mobility rooted in international freedom of movement; a form of movement that rests on self-determination and solidarity with dispossessed populations globally. Taking seriously such conceptualizations of the politics of movement is vital for the imagining and implementation of a more just social formation.

CHAPTER IV

RADIO FREE DIXIE: ESTABLISHING BLACK PROLETARIAN NATIONHOOD THROUGH SONIC CARTOGRAPHY

Having a radio meant paying one's taxes to the nation, buying the right of entry into the struggle of an assembled people.

– Frantz Fanon, "The Voice of Algeria"

"You are tuned into Radio Free Dixie, broadcasting from the back door of Dixie in the year of revolution!" These words bellowed through radios on October 1, 1964, traveling from Cuba across the American Black Belt.[305] Exiled political leader and "refugee from racial oppression in the USA" Robert F. Williams and Mabel Williams transmitted their radio show, Radio Free Dixie, from Havana, Cuba from 1961 to 1965, and from China from 1965 to 1969.[306] Every week, the show featured blues and jazz, or "freedom jazz," such as Minister Louis X (later known as Louis Farrakhan) "Look at My Chains," the SNCC Freedom Singers "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around," or Nina Simone's "Mississippi Goddamn."[307] As Timothy Tyson details, "Williams used the new jazz in an effort to create 'a new psychological concept of propaganda' by combining 'the type of music people could feel, that would motivate them.'"[308] Indeed, Williams' mix of protest music, fiery political commentary, and cultural references rooted in U.S. Southern cultural identity created a distinct sonic experience for listeners across the American Black Belt. Throughout the show, the Williams utilized place-based rhetorics of Dixie culture as a political framework through which to articulate Black self-

defense and self-determination to a global audience. As radio waves carrying distinct southern signifiers traveled across a geopolitically hostile border, from Cuba across the United States, Radio Free Dixie carved a new Black proletarian geography that respatialized Black nationhood on a global scale.

While exiled in Havana, Williams continued exercising political leadership for Black people, especially across the American South. Radio Free Dixie was a key tool in this endeavor. As the radio waves of Williams' show transgressed geopolitically contentious borders, Williams mobilized Black geography as a framework through which to engage his exilic condition, and the diasporic condition of Black subjects more broadly, as a mode of political leadership. As Katherine McKittrick argues, Black subjects are often "displaced, rendered ungeographic."[309] Indeed, Williams' racialized experience of exile functioned as a political form of displacement in which he and his family were physically pushed outside the geographic boundaries of what the U.S. nation formally recognized as legitimate. Through this process, Williams was, in fact, made "ungeographic."[310] However, as McKittrick proceeds, geography is made and produced, and in fact, "we work very hard to make geography what it is."[311] By producing a radio show that disavowed existing geopolitical antagonisms, Williams sonically produced a new Black geography, or a bounding together of locations that foreground "Black history, selfhood, imagination, and resistance," through the sonic travel and subsequent mapping produced by the movement of Radio Free Dixie's radio waves.[312]

Sound is a place-making force. In their edited collection titled *Remapping Sound Studies,* Gavin Steingo and Jim Stykes propose situating sound as "diverse sonic ontologies, processes, and actions that cumulatively make up core components of the history of sound in global modernity."[313] By so doing, Steingo and Stykes propose that we might be able to "remap" (which they argue is related to and supportive of but not synonymous with decolonization) the epistemologies underwriting theorizations of how sound operates as a social force.[314] Similarly, McKittrick's theorization of Black geography employed here is a project of remapping in which the making of race is understood as a spatial act, and further, that one way in which subjugated and racialized people contend with oppression is through "alternative geographic formulations that subaltern communities advance."[315] As Douglas Kahn argues, ""sound," rather than being a destination, has been a potent and necessary means for accessing and understanding the world; in effect, it leads away from itself."[316] Following sound as a material force through which to understand the becoming of social and political worlds reveals the making of new geographies. By analyzing the movement of sound alongside the place-based significations carried *by* sound as a coherent space-making force, I offer a mode through which to understand the fluid and shifting nature of geopolitical relations and global struggles for transformation.

In this chapter, I develop *sonic cartography* as a methodological means by which to follow sound around, across, and through geopolitical boundaries to better understand the rhetorical, place-making force of sound in enabling new nations and new global power maps to emerge. In particular, I offer a *sonic cartography* of Robert F. William's

radio show, Radio Free Dixie. In my analysis of Radio Free Dixie, I attend to the sonic resonances of place and politics through an analysis of the "creative, conceptual, and material geographies" offered by Williams through Radio Free Dixie.[317] First, I engage rhetorical cartography and sonic rhetoric, offering *sonic cartography* as a materialist rhetorical methodology for untangling the relationship between sound, geopolitics, race, and nationhood. Second, I situate Radio Free Dixie within a global context in which radio was utilized as a key tool for waging geopolitical struggles during the Cold War era. Finally, I offer an analysis of Radio Free Dixie, focusing on the geography of the show, as manifest in the material movement of the radio waves as well as the place-based significations offered by Mable and Robert F. Williams. In particular, I argue that Williams' offers articulations of American Southern nationhood and citizenship through a framework rooted in Black proletarian geography, ultimately offering a respatialization of Dixie nationhood on a different political basis, in which the Black Belt is conceptualized as a Black nation where citizenship is rooted in self-determination rather than racialized exploitation.

In 1961, Robert F. Williams fled his hometown of Monroe, North Caroline with his wife Mabel, his two children, and a small slew of guns. Over the years' prior, Williams rose to international prominence as an astute political leader that advocated for the right to armed self-defense for Black Americans, as outlined in his seminal text, *Negros with Guns*.[318] He operated as president of an NAACP chapter in his hometown of Monroe, North Carolina, working on numerous integration campaigns that spurred Klan and police violence against his family and political network. In the weeks prior to

Williams' exile, the Freedom Riders came to Monroe to help local activists with pickets for integration and employment opportunities for African-Americans. These pickets destabilized the structure of white racial terror within Monroe and spurred riots where police and white citizens each waged extreme violence against the activists. The FBI and nearby local police forces refused to intervene. During a riot on his block, Williams offered refuge in his home to a white couple, the Stegalls, that happen to drive through town. At that point, the chief of police called Williams, telling him "Robert, you've caused a lot of race trouble in this town, but state troopers are coming. In thirty minutes you'll be hanging in the courthouse square."[319] Williams fled with his family.

At the time of their exodus from Monroe, the Williams were unaware that early the next day, Robert would be indicted by a Union County grand jury on charges of kidnapping the Stegalls.[320] Shortly after, the FBI entered the case with charges against Williams of interstate flight. This enabled a countrywide manhunt to ensue, in which the U.S. Justice Department released 250,000 "wanted" posters in which Williams was described as schizophrenic and extremely dangerous.[321] In New York, the Williams quickly realized that the hunt for Robert was no longer an issue local to North Carolina. They decided to leave the country and head for Canada, where they stayed until finding out that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were also undertaking a nationwide manhunt for Robert at the request of the U.S. State Department. Because the eastern coast of Canada was under close watch by authorities, the Williams traveled across Canada to the west coast, back into the United States, down to Mexico, and from there, traveled to Cuba. Williams states,

> I could think of no other place in the Western Hemisphere than Cuba where a Negro would be treated as a human being; where the race problem would be understood; and where people would not look upon me as a criminal, but as a victim of a trumped-up charge—a charge designed to crush the militant leaders who were beginning to form a new movement, a new militant movement designed for the total liberation of the Afro-Americans.[322]

Shortly after arrival, Cuba publically announced that Robert F. Williams was granted political asylum. Once in Havana, the Cuban government gave Williams the resources to broadcast a weekly radio show, Radio Free Dixie, on Radio Havana. Indeed, throughout the 20th century, radio often played a pivotal role in building and sustaining revolutionary movements in exile. As Stephen R. Davis articulates,

> by the mid-1960s…it was apparent to all would-be revolutionaries that the leadership of a viable movement – particularly a viable movement-in-exile – needed to broadcast over radio in order to influence donors, outmaneuver their rivals, and communicate with the people they claimed to lead.[323]

Due to the specific rhetorical affordances of radio, in which sound could travel across borders and from a distance, the medium played a key role in constituting new nations and a sense of belonging in exilic contexts ranging from South Africa to Nicaragua. Similarly, Williams engaged radio from Cuba as a mode through which to continue engaging Black people across the American Black Belt.

A Cartographic Approach to Sonic Rhetoric

Fundamentally, radio is a social and communicative tool. Within the context of the Cold War, radio technology played a key strategic role in breaking through the borders of existing power maps. The so-called iron curtain was bypassed by electromagnetic waves as they cut through the boundaries established by geopolitical relations, sometimes only to be met or overcome by antagonistic radio jamming. Radio waves are artificially generated by transmitters. Radio transmissions are comprised of two kinds of waves: audio frequency and radio frequency. Audio frequency are waves that represent the sounds transmitted while radio frequency carries the audio information, or sound that we hear when we listen to radio. More specifically, the carrier signal is modulated by the signal (a song, information, etc.) the sender wants to transmit to the receiver. The receiver of a modulated signal must know what kind of modulation was used to change the carrier signal to be able to properly demodulate the carrier signal and receive the information. Radio, as a total entity, is a tool that creates and manipulates energy as a means through which to engage in a communicative act. The modulated and demodulated energy that transmits information via radio is made sense of via sound. Byron Hawk argues that sound is not a holistic object but rather, "an assemblage, a multiple object, a quasi-object—part energy, part material force, and part relational exchange—that is entangled via resonance" – an apt description when considering the energy modulation and demodulation process necessary for transmitting information via wireless radio technology.[324]

The relationship between rhetoric and sound is well established. Debra Hawhee offers a history of rhetoric's engagement with the sensorium (of which sound and hearing is apart), identifying that the field's engagement with communicative concerns beyond the textual meaning of words and arguments has ebbed and flowed over the last century.[325] In particular, the field's engagement with the sensorium over the last quarter century has primarily focused on media-based criticism of television, cinema, and radio.[326] As Hawhee points out, those engaged in these criticisms often "refuse the problems introduced by a strictly visual perspective," instead, taking a "multi-sensory approach to communication."[327] More recently, the sub-area of "sonic rhetoric" has emerged as those in rhetorical studies have offered more sustained engagement with the specificity of sound as a rhetorical mode. As Gunn et al. point out, "prima facie, the key difference between "rhetorical studies" and "sound studies" is that sound persists whether or not it has taken on meaning," and thus, "those laboring under the ageis of sound studies do not presume the semiotic, only the affective."[328] When those in rhetorical studies engage with sound, they pick up on the persuasive elements of noise, whether manifest in collective experience with music, the underlying hum and rhythms of everyday life, the persuasive generation of the materiality of sound vibrations themselves, or how the reproduction of sound alters its rhetorical affordances.[329] Importantly, those engaged in sonic rhetorics are offering a logic, outside of enlightenment-based rationality, through which to make sense of persuasion.

Sonic Cartography: Sound and Rhetorical Mapping

By considering the sonic through the overarching framework of rhetorical cartography, sound can be followed as global force that operates in relation to other mechanisms of governance. Materialist rhetoric, the backbone of sonic cartography, requires attending to the ways in which persuasive effects operate in relation to one another across a plane of governance.[330] As such, rhetorical cartography is a directed methodology of materialist rhetoric in which the specificity of place, and its relationality to global forces, is positioned as a primary force through which power is exerted and practiced. When paired with sonic rhetoric, rhetorical cartography offers a structuring framework for capturing the relationality of sound on a global scale. Sound moves. As such, sonic cartography offers a mode for capturing how and where sound travels across borders, and ultimately how sound and place are enmeshed forces of governance.

Importantly, those engaged with sonic rhetorics and sound studies offer new epistemological practices through which to understand our social and political world. What Hawhee calls a "multi-sensory approach to communication" opens up the door for understanding persuasion as a force that extends beyond the signification of words themselves and instead, to the way the cadence of a voice cultivates an unstated feeling that persuades the viewer.[331] Indeed, in his cultural history of sound reproduction, Jonathan Sterne offers the "ensoniment" as an alternative to the enlightenment, as sound offers another mode (other than rational dualism) through which to come to know our social world.[332] Due to technological advances, Sterne defines the ensoniment as "a series of conjunctures among ideas, institutions, and practices [that] rendered the world

audible in new ways and valorized new constructs of hearing and listening," between 1970 and 1925.[333] While the ensoniment, as defined by Sterne, captures a period of time, it also offers an instructive roadmap for how to think sonically, or how to use sound as a means through which to identify the social relations and cultural logics underwriting a given situation.[334] In his introduction to *The Sound Studies Reader*, Sterne argues that to "think sonically is to think conjuncturally about sound and culture…sound studies' challenge is to think across sounds, to consider sonic phenomena in relation to one another—*as types of phenomena rather than as things-in-themselves.*"[335] To think sonically is a highly relational mode of understanding in which sound must be deeply situated in its given context in order to be understood as a socially persuasive and power-laden force.

Given the relational demands of sonically rooted epistemologies, it should come as no surprise that the entanglement of rhetoric and sound is deeply tied to place. For instance, Christopher Lyle Johnstone discusses the three phases of construction that the Pynx, an open-air amphitheater for rhetorical performances, went through to alter the acoustic properties of the place.[336] This is essentially a sound-focused inflection of Raka Shome's articulation of space as a technology (rather than a backdrop) or Endres and Senda-Cook's concept of "place-as-rhetoric"; here, the materialities of space and sound alongside sound based rhetorical utterances collide and entangle as a medium of power for the enactment of political life.[337] While these conceptual tools are more oriented toward highly localized examples that deal with the rhetorical nature of reverberations as they interact with the materiality of immediate surroundings, the same analytical

principle can be applied to macro instances of sound, in which the rhetorical affordances of sound are analyzed in relation to the specific nature of geopolitical spaces and boundaries.

In fact, radio has often played a key role in the becoming of new nations, an act of sovereignty that deeply entangles sound with land and the specificity of place. For instance, Frantz Fanon articulated the importance of radio as a tool for a widespread revolutionary movement and as a state-building tool during the Algerian revolution.[338] In his essay, "The Voice of Algeria," Fanon traces the transformation of radio as a tool and technique of the occupier to a means for revolutionary forces to call a new nation into being.[339] In 1956, Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) exiles began broadcasting a show called the Voice of Free Algeria that provided the information needed for revolutionary activity against French colonialism. As Fanon details, within twenty days after the announcement of the existence of the Voice of Free Algeria, the entire stock of radio sets in the country was purchased, and those in areas that lacked electricity bought several thousand battery-operated receivers.[340] Similarly, Ernesto "Che" Guevara started Radio Rebelde, the first revolutionary clandestine radio station in Latin America that disseminated information to overthrow the Batista regime in Cuba. The station broadcast across the Sierra Maestra mountains, connecting and organizing revolutionary guerilla forces until they were able to engage in frontal warfare. In 1960, a similar situation emerged in Nicaragua as the Sandanistas established Radio Sandino to broadcast news reports and tips for militaristic engagement across the country. In each of these instances, following sound as it traveled across space from clandestine broadcast towers

to individual radios would reveal an active network of individuals engaged in the process of constituting a new nation through political struggle. This network of political activity essentially reveals the map of a new nation in the process of becoming. As Fanon states, "Having a radio meant paying one's taxes to the nation, buying the right of entry into the struggle of an assembled people."[341] Indeed, in Nicaragua, Algeria, and Cuba, having access to a radio involved the listener in a collective struggle for peoplehood and self-determination over their land. As such, the radio became a means through which to call a new nation into being, fundamentally entangling land, space, and sound together in a rhetorical process of becoming.[342]

I offer sonic cartography as a methodological approach to mapping how sound operates as a rhetorical force for constituting new forms of nationhood that do not adhere to existing geopolitical relationalities and boundaries. Engaging sonic cartography as a method of analysis requires following sound as an epistemological force that can reveal ongoing processes of collective becoming. The process of sonic cartography as a method is twofold. First, it requires following sound as a macro-scale epistemological force. The process of following sound reveals new relationalities that are in the process of congealing. Importantly, following sound also reveals new contexts of contention and struggle, rather than assuming a monolithic context according to hegemonic geopolitical lines. Second, sonic cartography as method requires semiotic analysis of the information carried by sound, as it travels. For instance, in the example provided by Fanon in Algeria, following sound from revolutionary Algerians in exile to those engaged in decolonial struggle against the French revealed the thick network of an emergent nation,

while the content of the radio show revealed the basis of that network (which in this case, was decolonization from France). Taken together, a sonic cartography of the Voice of Free Algeria reveals that a new nation was made possible via the cultivation of a new sound map. Mapping, or following, the sound and attached relationalities revealed the process of production of a new Black and decolonial geography, or "alternative geographic formulation" as manifest in the establishment of nationhood on a emancipatory (rather than colonial) basis.[343]

Sonic cartography as method and epistemology will be demonstrated in the analysis that follows. First, I offer a macro-level geopolitical analysis of the role of radio in Cold War era political struggles, situating Radio Free Dixie with a broader global political struggle taking place at the apex of sound, place, and race. Second, I offer an analysis of the content of Radio Free Dixie, focusing on place-based significations that further positioned the show as a tool for Black proletarian nation building in the American south. In sum, sonic cartography reveals political struggle as a fluid, ongoing force.

Following Radio Free Dixie Across Borders

Sonic cartography requires engaging sound at the geopolitical level, as it travels across contentious borders as a rhetorical force for constituting a new nationhood. Radio Free Dixie, specifically, emerged from a Cold War era context in which radio played a key role in ideological and political struggles across the globe. Often called a "war of ideas," the Cold War frequently manifested as a propaganda struggle over which geopolitical power block most effectively broke through the "Iron Curtain" via

communication technologies and infrastructures. For instance, the United States targeted Cuba via radio broadcast in the immediate years following the 1959 Cuban revolution in the hopes of winning support for the U.S. and discrediting Fidel Castro.[344] In 1960, Gibraltar Steamship Corporation, a Central Intelligence Agency cover, established Radio Swan on a barren island off the coast of Honduras. The 50-kilowatt transmitter casting Radio Swan was previously used to transmit Free Radio Europe in Germany. With the help of the U.S. Navy, the transmitter was moved and installed on Swan Island, while the studios were established in Miami, Florida and run by Cuban exiles. While the station offered everyday broadcasts, it was operationalized 24/7 during the Bay of Pigs, offering appeals to nonexistent battalions and urging counter-revolutionaries in Cuba not to surrender and that "help is on its way."[345] As its name suggests through the linguistic nod to existing state funded radio programs such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Dixie emerged in a global context in which radio was explicitly utilized as a key tool through which to engage in geopolitical contestation.

However, as propaganda tools, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America were unique. As Arch Puddington highlights, prior to the Cold War, governments often "sponsored foreign radio service to promote their own geopolitical objects or to convince a foreign audience of the superiority of their system."[346] Often, this would be done through promoting American culture or familiarizing a foreign audience with the American political system. However, instead of focusing on discussions of America, Radio Free Europe and Voice of America pursued the promotion of Western values and egged on the fall of communism "by serving as surrogate home radio services," or

alternatives to the party-controlled media in the Eastern Bloc.[347] For instance, as Puddington describes, "The Polish Service of Radio Free Europe…focused most of its attention on developments within Poland," just as Radio Swan focused its attention on events and developments happening within Cuba.[348] This is a highly rhetorical process, as Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America would disseminate news information, framed as politically "neutral," that would advance American imperial and capitalist interests, and implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) egg on antagonism against communist governments. For instance, in 1950 the NCFE obtained a base for its first radio transmitter in Lampertheim, West Germany and began publicizing anti-Soviet protests and nationalist movements. Similar to the activity of Radio Swan during the Bay of Pigs invasion, Radio Free Europe cheered on antagonism against the Soviet Union and promised American support to Hungarian rebels during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.[349]

Political leaders in non-Western and newly emerging revolutionary countries felt compelled to engage in the propaganda struggle entering their countries via radio wave.[350] In Cuba, radio became a primary means through which Castro called a new nation into being after the successful overthrow of the Batista regime and in the context of ongoing aggression from the Western Bloc. In response to what he called "a new aggression of imperialistic North America," Fidel Castro turned to the mediumwave radio facilities he inherited from the Batista regime before developing a plan to establish an international shortwave radio service.[351] Finally, in 1960 the Cuban government announced plans to create an international shortwave radio service. After the station was

constructed later that year at Cayo la Rosa near Havana, Radio Havana Cuba began experimental broadcasts in early 1961. Radio Free Dixie, which began broadcasts in 1961, can be understood as one mechanism in Castro's attempts to exert Cuban influence beyond the island's borders. Similar to the approach taken by Radio Free Europe in which the news of the particular region of the broadcast comprised the content of the show, Radio Free Dixie regularly broadcast news directly affecting Black people across the American Black Belt.

The transmission of Radio Free Dixie required the traversal of established geopolitical boundaries. Indeed, communicative and cultural transmission between Cuba and the United States was blocked, given Cuba's relationship with the Soviet Union. As Robert F. Williams details "I was broadcasting 50,000 watts, which could be heard all the way up to Saskatchewan, Canada, but despite the range, the show "was aimed at the South, primarily, "because the black people in the South didn't have any voice."[352] Robert and Mabel would often read through a series of recent incidents of racial violence targeting Black people in the South, offering iterations of local news framed through an internationalist perspective by virtue of broadcasting from Cuba (in addition to the inclusion of international content). As such, the Williams were engaged in a highly rhetorical process situated in an ongoing global battle of radio wave wars.

As these proclamations traveled across the geopolitically contentious border between Cuba and the United States, Radio Free Dixie demonstrated that the existing geographic context (in which the United States and Cuba operated through different power maps) could not do the emancipatory work necessary for Black liberation. Indeed,

the travel and transmission of cultural production from Cuba to the United States was fraught. Mail stoppages meant that materials could not travel directly between the two countries due to their conflicting geopolitical positions. This reality meant that Radio Free Dixie had to create a new map, or Black proletarian geography, through which to circumvent these stoppages. On Radio Free Dixie, the Williams frequently requested records from their listeners to play on their show. This required that the listeners mail the Williams physical copies of the records, so that the William's could then broadcast them.

Yet, due to the constraints of Cold War era postal delivery in which mail could not travel directly between the United States and Cuba, they had to find an alternate route for the materials. Tyson details that "friends such as Amiri Baraka, Richard Gibson, Conrad Lynn, and William Worthy as well as listeners around the country sent Williams hundreds of phonograph records for the show."[353] Additionally, listeners would send Williams news clippings from magazines and newspapers of content for him to broadcast on Radio Free Dixie, such as information about voter registration drives or racial violence.[354] However, these materials were first mailed from the United States to friends in Canada, then from Canada to Havana, Cuba. Indeed, the listeners of Radio Free Dixie were active participants in the production of the show, as they funneled key resources that enabled the show to continue and offer new relevant content every week to a mass audience. In his theorization of the Black Atlantic, Paul Gilroy argues that the movement of key cultural artifacts, such as books and gramophone records, through the middle passage created the "shape" of the Black Atlantic, or the geopolitical and geographical trails that fundamentally shape Black culture and experience in the African

diaspora.[355] Here, the Williams and the participants in the production of Radio Free Dixie are creating a new cartographic shape, or Black proletarian geography, through which to establish and organize an internationalist Black culture. This new cartography carries political possibilities, as well as a different geopolitical logic, outside of the established Cold War power maps. Indeed, the travel of materials from the United States to Canada to Cuba, as well as the transmission of the show from Cuba to the United States, charted geographic paths that violated the hegemonic power maps in operation. As McKittrick argues, "…new sites/citations of struggle indicate that traditional geographies, and their attendant hierarchical categories of humanness, cannot do the emancipatory work some subjects demand."[356] Ultimately, this demonstrated that the existing power maps were not capable of attending to Black liberation on an international scale.

As the radio waves carrying Radio Free Dixie charted a new geographic path, new spatial resources for Black liberation were revealed. For one, the Cuban state's sponsorship of Radio Free Dixie is an enactment of external support for the national liberation of Black people. Civil wars and the establishment of new nations often take place when external countries lend financial, militaristic, and political support to the emerging nation. In this instance, Cuba is lending support to the establishment of a Black Belt nation by providing the material infrastructure necessary to proclaim international solidarity and engage in internationalist cultural production oriented toward Black liberation. Beyond the material movement of radio waves from Cuba to the United States, the show carried rhetorical markers of Cuban nationhood and national support for

Black liberation, such as the intro to each broadcast of Radio Free Dixie, "transmitting live from Havana, Cuba!" following the statement that the show was broadcast as an act of "solidarity, peace, and friendship with our oppressed North American brothers."[357] These utterances of Cuban national support entangled Cuba with the struggle for racial justice across the Black Belt, as a nation in and of itself.

In addition to the show's involvement with international geopolitics, Radio Free Dixie engaged the internal domestic racial politics of the United States, so as to position the Black Belt as a nation distinct from the United States writ large. The Black Belt, or "Dixie" as it is generally referenced via the title of the radio show, is a distinct region where place, race, and politics are deeply entangled. As signified by its name, "Dixie" is a term used for land in America south of the Mason-Dixon line, and as such, the name "Radio Free Dixie" (a clear reference to earlier CIA sponsored radio stations such as Radio Free Europe), offers explicit focus on this region of the United States. Indeed, this southern region of the United States carries an amplified historical weight for racial justice, given the history of slavery and ensuing Civil War. Harry Haywood details how processes of racialization which defined race as "a strictly limited biological concept" were utilized to structure the south.[358] Indeed, racial inequality justified via "natural inherent differences" is, as Haywood describes, "a hideous distortion, whose roots go back into antebellum times and beyond."[359] This so-called "natural conflict" "permeates the entire cultural pattern of the South; this vile calumny is fixed in the South's folkways, mores and customs, sanctioned in its laws, and, in the last analysis buttressed

by violence and lynch terror."[360] The very landscape, or place-ness, of Dixieland was constructed through racial violence.

At the time of Radio Free Dixie and through the first half of the 20th century, the "black belt thesis" had gained traction as a key political line that addressed the entanglement of land, race, and sovereignty through a lens rooted in national oppression.[361] The thesis was introduced in 1928 by the Communist International, after the international appointed a Negro Commission to research and report on the question of African-American exploitation. Harry Haywood wrote the proposal which most closely resembled the resolution adopted by the International and built upon Stalin's prior theorizations of national oppression.[362] Across Haywood's writings published through the first half of the 20th century, he argues that two nations exist within the borders of America; a dominate white nation and a subject Black one.[363] He details how Black people fundamentally contributed to the becoming of America via forced labor, yet time and again were denied the full rights of citizenship.

Haywood argues that the existence of the Black Belt sets the stage for Black nationhood.[364] He specifically identifies the Black Belt as "an area girding the heart of the South, encompassing its central cotton-growing states and 180 counties in which the Negroes constitute more than half (50 to 85.5 per cent) of the population" as well as overflow from that core into "290 or more neighboring counties, whose populations are from 30 to 50 percent Negro."[365] At the time of Haywood's writing, the Black Belt region comprised around 470 counties, where five million African-Americans resided.[366] Beyond population density, Haywood describes the Black Belt as the heartland of Black

people in the United States, as this is where slaves were brought to plant and raise cash crops.[367] Haywood states, "His unrequited labor as a slave formed an essential part of the primary accumulation of wealth upon which the towering edifice of American industrial civilization was founded."[368] Haywood compares the Black Belt to a colonized nation, terming the region an "internal colony," where those who produce the labor necessary for mass profit do not own or control the means of production.[369] The racialization of the relationship between labor and land during Antebellum slavery fundamentally tied race and place together in the Black Belt, as race was used to justify forced agricultural work across the region. Indeed, this entanglement is present in the dual meaning of the "Black Belt" name – a term used to designate a region with particularly dark, nutritious soil as well as a term used to denote an area across the south with large numbers of Black slaves prior to the Civil War.

Within the specific context of the Cold War era, in which new nations were emerging on the basis of decolonization and self-determination, the entanglement of land, race, and labor in the Black Belt enabled political leaders such as Williams to assert Black Belt nationhood within an international context of racial, decolonial, and proletarian struggle. Following the radio waves of Radio Free Dixie from Cuba across the Black Belt via sonic cartography reveals that Williams produced a basis for international geopolitical relationality between nations such as Cuba and the Black Belt specifically, as distinct from the United States as a whole. This process enabled a new Black proletarian geographic power map to emerge, in which Williams respatialized

Black nationhood on a global scale. I now turn to an analysis of the content of Radio Free Dixie.

Reconstituting Dixie Through Sonic Rhetoric

Throughout Radio Free Dixie, Williams utilized place-based aesthetics of Dixie culture as a rhetorical mode through which to articulate the Black Belt as a distinct, racialized region. As the sound of Dixie traveled from Cuba across the American Black Belt, Radio Free Dixie produced a new Black proletarian geography that revealed the Black Belt's potential for independent nationhood. In this section, I offer an analysis of the sonic rhetorics of Radio Free Dixie, focusing in particular on the use of place-base aesthetics. Specifically, I offer an analysis of the use of "Dixie" as a key framework for the radio show, as well as the use of sonic signifiers that fundamentally tie race, land, nationhood, and labor together. Additionally, I offer an analysis of Radio Free Dixie's use of sonic rhetorics of liberation, focusing in particular on how these rhetorics generate feelings of solidarity despite physical distance.

When Radio Free Dixie came on the air, energetic blues, jazz, or rock music would pulse through the speakers, before an announcer would proclaim the start of the show with the declaration, "You are tuned to Radio Free Dixie, the sound of thunder in the year of revelation!" or "You are turned to Radio Free Dixie, exposing U.S. racism to the whole wide world through the songs of protest that the so-called free world radio dare not play!"[370] Each episode opens with a steady voice stating, "The following program is brought to you as a public service."[371] A disclaimer follows, stating that the

following program does not necessarily represent the views of the station.[372] The voice continues,

> The facilities of this station have been made available in hope of promoting a better understanding of the struggle for freedom in North America. The revolutionary people of Cuba sympathize will all people who struggle for social justice. It is in this spirit that we proudly allocate the following hour in an act of solidarity, peace, and friendship with our oppressed North American brothers.[373]

The steady beat of a drumline playing a consistent military cadence creeps into the auditory frame. Then – a whistle blows, shortly exploding into a joyful eruption of horns. "From Havana, Cuba!" a jubilant voice declares, "free territory of the Americas! Radio Free Dixie invites you to listen to the free voice of the south! Stay with us for music, news, and commentary by Robert F. Williams."[374] The drums and horns fade, and Radio Free Dixie begins.

The format of each show varied. Sometimes, Mabel would first come on air to relay recent news of the struggles against racialized violence in the United States, or she would read through a series of violent racist incidents. Often, the William's would put together themed shows, such as "protest music" or "blues in Mississippi."[375] On these themed episodes, Mabel and Robert would speak in-between songs about the history or political imperative relevant to that theme. Other episodes were special programs that played recordings of speeches from recent international events, such as Anna Louise Strong's speech given in Hanoi to the International Conference for Solidarity with The

People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for The Defense of Peace.[376] In most episodes, half way through Robert F. Williams comes on the air to offer some form of a political call to action. Regardless of the specificity of the episode, Radio Free Dixie as a whole consistently offered a cultural and political mode through which Black people in the United States could be understood as a nation oppressed within America, or an internal colony.

The Sonic Aesthetics of Radio Free Dixie

Despite the fact that the term "Dixie" signifies the constitution of a nation in which Black people did not count as citizens, Williams utilized the term, song, and other Southern aesthetics as the cultural and spatial framework through which to rearticulate the Black Belt as a nation rooted in Black self-defense and self-determination. The show title, Radio Free Dixie, explicitly evokes Dixie as a geographical, political, and aesthetic framework through which to understand the show, as does the repeated used of the song "Dixie" on Radio Free Dixie. Most episodes of Radio Free Dixie followed a similar format, which included a speech or monologue by Robert F. Williams in the middle of the show. An announcer, either Mabel or someone else, would introduce him with the following statement: "And now, Robert F. Williams, Afro-American refugee from racial oppression in the USA, former official of the NAACP, author of the book *Negros with Guns*, and publisher of *The Crusader* in exile" while an instrumental version of "Dixie" jubilantly plays in the background.[377] Williams would then come on air and pointedly denounce racial oppression in the United States, offer updates and criticism of the imperialist project underway in Vietnam, or condemn police brutality in America. The

political juxtaposition between William's monologues and the cultural, place-based signification of "Dixie" is stark.

Dixie, a term with a distinct regional history, offers an overarching framework for the show, Radio Free Dixie. While the term "Dixie," as well as "Dixieland" emerged as slang terms to refer to the territory south of the Mason-Dixon line, the term gained popularly in the Civil War era with the emergence of the South as a distinct nation. The song "Dixie," is one of the most distinct musical and auditory products of the 19th century in the United States. While it was one of antebellum America's last and most widely known minstrel songs, it is now better known as the de facto anthem of the southern Confederacy. While the song was written by the northern minstrel song writer Daniel Decatur Emmett in 1859, its migration south coincided with the deep South succeeding from the United States in 1860. As such, new cultural signifiers emerged to further solidify the distinct identity of Confederate nationhood and citizenship. The lyrics, "In Dixie land I'll take my stand, to live and die in Dixie. Away, away, away down south in Dixie" vividly captured the ethos of the confederate cause, and thus, became a collective mechanism through which citizens of the Confederacy could perform their patriotism.[378] Indeed, the song "Dixie" is deeply place-based, fundamentally entangling land and culture together. The solidification of "Dixie" as a signifier of a particular kind of nationhood in the American political landscape was further demonstrated by the introduction and subsequent dissolving of the Dixiecrat party in 1948, the segregationist political party briefly active in the South a decade prior to the launch of William's radio show.

However, by utilizing "Dixie" as a primary framework for liberatory political education, culture, and commentary, Williams did in fact acknowledge the South as a nation distinct from the United States of America writ large. While William's never explicitly articulates Haywood's Black Belt thesis as his guiding framework, he taps into the American popular imaginary surrounding Southern succession by utilizing Dixie as a cultural framework through which to articulate Black self-determination.[379] Within the context of Radio Free Dixie, a show where the William's provided weekly updates on national struggles taking place across the world, the Black Belt is positioned as a nation in and of itself through William's mobilization of a framework rooted in the constitution of citizenship. Of course, outside of the mere fact of succession, Williams shared little political commonality with the Confederate cause. Instead, contextualizing "Dixie" through the framework of Black national liberation, Williams rearticulated Southern nationhood through Black self-determination, thus constituting a Southern nation in which Black people were granted full citizenship rights. By so doing, Williams creates the foundation from which Black people across the Black Belt can articulate bonds of solidarity with other oppressed nations globally.

In addition to the utilization of broadly place-based aesthetics, Radio Free Dixie also integrated sonic utterances that evoked the entanglement of land, race, and labor that is unique to the Black Belt region. One episode included a recording called "Blues in the Mississippi" made by ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax that includes live field recordings of blues music, interspersed with conversation between blues musicians Big Bill Broonzy, Memphis Slim, and Sonny Boy Williamson. This episode opens with

men's voices singing call and response in tempo with the sound of mallets knocking against metal and chains jingling in the background. The voices wail in concentrated unison. As their voices heighten, one can visualize the swing of a mallet as it lands on raw material, producing the distinct "clack" that operates as evidence of ongoing labor as well as the tempo for collective participation in song. A man's voice fades in and tells the listener what they already know – it is the sound of chain gang. The sound of a chain gang played on William's show was from a field recording of prisoners from the Mississippi State Penitentiary in 1947 and 1948. Indeed, the sound of a chain gang is a sound so vividly written into American cultural memory that one of Sam Cooke's most popular singles of the time, "Chain Gang" carries the refrain, "that's the sound of a chain gang" sung after the aestheticized sound of men simply grunting in unison, demonstrating that a single non-verbal signifier is enough to bring forth the image of (Black) chained men working along a distinctly southern highway, as uniformed men with riffles and dogs keep a watchful eye.[380]

The sound of the chain gang is written into the landscape of the Black Belt. The sound created much of the infrastructure of the region, as prisoners offered free labor for the growing need for transportation infrastructure across the South in the early 20th century. Chain gangs were also a distinctly regional practice until they were largely phased out by 1955, with Georgia as the last state to suspend the practice.[381] As Alex Lichtenstein details, penal road gangs were "regarded as a quintessential southern Progressive reform" and as an example of "penal humanitarianism, state-sponsored economic modernization and efficiency, and racial moderation."[382] While chain gangs

were introduced prior to the Civil War, they became a pronounced feature of the Southern landscape in the post-war Black Belt as the "good roads movement" recognized that a large, efficient, and cheap labor force would be necessary for highway expansion across the south.[383] As detailed by Lichtenstein, the good roads movement and those invested in the "rationalization" of race relations found common ground in advocacy for the adoption of chain gangs.[384] As Lichtenstein argues, "the substitution of the public chain gang for the private convict lease mobilized the power of the state to reproduce what Progressives understood to be the benign paternalism of antebellum slavery."[385] Essentially, the chain gang became a primary means through which the state could reproduce and maintain race relations through the control of the South's criminal class (synonymous with "Black").[386] Thus, chain gangs, like share cropping and other distinctly southern mechanisms of domination over Black people, were a profound embodiment of the modernization of slavery through the first half of the 20th century. Indeed, the chain gang captures the specificity of the continued national oppression of Black people post-slavery; despite Black people's full contribution to the reproduction of the nation via forced and free labor, they did not count as full citizens. The sound of the chain gang, of metal clacking in rhythm with call and response, captures the violent history of the bondage of Black people across the South, and with it, the ways in which Black people did not count in Cold War era Dixieland. The sound of the chain gang, of metal smashing and men singing in union, evokes a history of violence that is fundamentally tied to the South as a distinct region within the United States.

In addition to the utilization of place-based aesthetics tied to the Black Belt, Radio Free Dixie also utilized sonic rhetorics of liberation. For one, Radio Free Dixie consistently broadcast music that foregrounded struggles for racial justice. Songs that detailed racial violence and advocated for social transformation were often heard over the airways, as Mabel and Robert regularly played musicians such as Nina Simone, Max Roach, Odetta, and the SNCC Freedom Singers.[387] They called the music used on Radio Free Dixie "freedom jazz," evocative of "freedom songs," the term given to songs sung in the Civil Rights movement such as "We Shall Overcome" and "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize."[388] Yet, the specific signification of the music as "jazz" rather than the more ubiquitous term "songs" explicitly evoked a Black music history.[389] Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka) details that prior to the time of big bands, the music of jazz "and its sources were *secret* as far as the rest of America was concerned, in much the same sense that the actual life of the black man in America was secret to the white American."[390] Jones and others understand specific forms of music to be a mode of Black cultural expression that "captures the ever changing voice of the black masses in its forms."[391] Within the context of the Black Freedom Movement, Robin D.G. Kelly highlights that freedom songs "created a world of pleasure, not just to escape the everyday brutalities of capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy, but to build community, establish fellowship, play and laugh, and plant seeds for a different way of living, a different way of hearing."[392] Tammy J. Kernodle argues that shift within the Black Freedom Movement in musical aesthetics from freedom songs such as "We Shall Overcome" to protest music by musicians such as Nina Simone paralleled political shifts taking place

internally to the movement writ large.[393] Through the early 1960s (the same years Radio Free Dixie aired from Cuba), movement activists in groups such as SNCC were actively splitting from the ethos of non-violence. Specifically, Kerbodle argues that protest songs by Nina Simone, such as "Mississippi Goddamn" and "Old Jim Crow" "became the embodiment of these beliefs and served as a strong link connecting the different militant factions developing across the country."[394] By integrating this new wave of protest music into Radio Free Dixie, and terming it "freedom jazz," (thus still harkening back to "freedom songs") William's actively cultivates a robust political aesthetic capable of connecting listeners situated across the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power Movement, and other adjacent political struggles against racialized violence. Additionally, the use of "freedom jazz" also created space for more classical jazz music as well as African music, such as that by Max Roach and Ahmed Abdu-Malik, that was justice oriented but never formally integrated into the collective cultural practices of the Civil Rights Movement.

The William's utilization of music as a tool for political leadership is not unique. Indeed, a number of scholars have firmly established the particular importance of song and music in the Black Freedom Struggles.[395] Freedom songs were often used to open and close mass meetings, to develop leadership skills via leading the group in song, and to develop solidarity through shared cultural practice. In particular, many scholars have also pointed to the rhetorical utility of collective singing as a mode through which to bridge cultural gaps between Black and white activists in multiracial civil rights groups such as SNCC.[396] However, when broadcast via radio, the experiential element of

physically singing together, of feeling the vibration of other's voices, is lost. Instead, through the utilization of the radio, Radio Free Dixie takes the protest song and inserts it directly into the home, the car, or onto a patio, while still evoking the collective sentiments of a shared protest space, such as the street, lunch counter, mass meeting, or courthouse steps.

The imaginative aspect of radio, of visualizing and feeling solidarity with other listeners even when not physically sharing space, stems from the sensory specificity of radio. Susan J. Douglas argues that radio's invisibility, or "the fact that it denies sight to its audience," is fundamental to how radio operates as a communicative force.[397] In particular, Douglas argues that radio is the modern extension of the oral tradition in which stories are told, and this "reliance on sound produces individualized images and reactions" thus cultivating a deeply personal and affective experience.[398] Despite the personal nature of the experience, the imagined knowledge that others are listening to the same content creates a basis through which to construct a sense of belonging. Douglas states, "most modes of listening generate a strong sense of belonging. Even as mere background noise, radio provides people with a sense of security that silence does not, which is why they actively turn to it, even if they aren't actively listening."[399] Those listening to the freedom jazz of Radio Free Dixie did so with the explicit knowledge that the protest music is broadcast from another nation. As such, the movement becomes bigger as one begins to imagine just how far the song is traveling, and who else is hearing it. By doing so, the broadcast of freedom jazz evokes the reality or knowledge of

the use of these songs in protest spaces, thus keeping the struggle alive, in a sense, after the mass meeting concludes and everyone goes home.

Within a context framed by national oppression, the sense of belonging generated by radio takes on profound political valence. Fanon argues that within the context of calling a new nation into being, as William's was doing in constituting Black people as an oppressed nation, radio holds "exceptional importance" as a mode through which the oppressed can collectively speak "no" back to the oppressor.[400] Indeed, for Black people across the Black Belt tuning into Radio Free Dixie, hearing the songs of their liberation movement, as the voices of the SNCC Freedom Singers traveled across the ocean and into their homes and cars, certainly recalled the sensory experiences of singing these songs alongside their comrades. Even while Fanon gives explicit attention to the instrumentality of radio for disseminating relevant news and information to the masses, he also articulates that within the context of national oppression, listening to the radio is a practice of political belonging. Fanon states, "Buying a radio, getting down on one's knees with one's head against the speaker, was no longer just wanting to hear the news concerning the formidable experience of progress in the country, it was hearing the first words of a nation."[401] As such, listening to radio is a collective political and cultural practice through which new conceptualizations of citizenship and nationhood are established.

As Radio Free Dixie traveled from Havana, Cuba across the American Black Belt, the show created a new Black proletarian geography through which the Black Belt could be understood as an independent Black nation. The place-based sonic aesthetics

utilized by Williams rooted the show in the landscape of the Black Belt, offering a new basis on which to imagine Black citizenship and belonging both in the region, but also in relation to the rest of the globe. Indeed, the transmission of Radio Free Dixie from Cuba to the United States respatialized Black citizenship by creating geopolitical relationality between the Black Belt and other socialist and decolonized nations.

Conclusion: Mapping the Black Belt as a Black Proletarian Nation Through Sonic Cartography

As demonstrated in this chapter, *sonic cartography* offers a way to approach sound and its rhetorical affordances as an epistemological force for understanding the relationship between race, place, sound, and nationhood. Indeed, through Radio Free Dixie, the Williams demonstrate the place-making force of sonic rhetoric. By following the sound of Radio Free Dixie from Cuba across the Black Belt, I demonstrate the role of radio in constituting a new Black geography, or geopolitical relationality that brings together "black history, selfhood, imagination, and resistance" capable of doing the emancipatory work necessary for Black liberation.[402] Here, the movement of sound across borders is a map-producing force that moved in opposition to hegemonic power maps, and instead, carved out space for the Black Belt to emerge as a free Black nation distinct from the United States.

Through the use of place-based aesthetics, Radio Free Dixie articulates the Black Belt as a Black proletarian nation. Sonic resonances such as the chain gang highlight the entanglement between race, land, labor, and place, while Williams argues that the region was fundamentally built on the forced labor of Black people, as manifest in slavery,

incarceration, exploitation, and the denial of full citizenship. The contradiction of Black citizenship emerges as Williams simultaneously highlights racialized violence and the denial of basic rights to Black people. Taken as a whole, Radio Free Dixie utilizes place-based sonic rhetorics to rearticulate Dixie culture and aesthetics bound to Southern regionalism on a different political basis in which the Black Belt emerges as a free Black proletarian nation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: BLACK PROLETARIAN CARTOGRAPHIES OF STRUGGLE

I began this project with the goal of honing in on the constitutive relationship between exile and Black political struggle during the Cold War era. Through exile, the particularities of Blackness toggled between the local and the global as historical and contemporary geopolitical contexts came to bear on where exiled Black political leaders could go. Through this dissertation's mapping of Black proletarian political struggle, I assessed how exiled and contained political leaders deployed place-based rhetorics to engage in a globally oriented struggle against racism, imperialism, and colonialism. Ultimately, I demonstrate that power as expressed through forced containment and/or movement via exile operates as a racialized force that affects the communicative resources available for Black political struggle on a global scale. Within this context, I argue that exiled Black political leaders during the Cold War era charted the emergence of a new global power map, which I term *Black proletarian cartographies of struggle,* that was oriented toward fundamentally restructuring the existing racial-capitalist world order. Black political leaders in exile depended on the recognition of foreign states to safely navigate the exilic condition imposed on them by the United States empire. As such, their specific movements throughout socialist, decolonial, and non-aligned nations operated as recognition of their legitimate status as leaders while simultaneously affirming the national identity and claims to citizenship of Black people throughout the

diaspora. As such, the mapping of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle charted the boundaries of the possibility for Black emancipation writ large during the Cold War era.

Indeed, Robert F. Williams, Eldridge Cleaver, and Paul Robeson each demonstrated that while exile was a profoundly repressive force, their ability to continue engaging in political leadership was largely due to the global existence of a distinctly socialist and decolonial power map. In large part, particularly for Cleaver and Williams, this is due to the fact that they had the material backing of nations who were invested in waging an indirect political struggle against United States imperialism and global hegemony. For Williams, the Cuban nation provided him with the radio tower for his show and gave him a weekly slot on Radio Havana, the state-sponsored radio station. For Cleaver, the Algerian government funded the building space for the International Section of the Black Panther Party and invited Cleaver and other Black Panthers to participate in various events with representatives from other socialist and decolonized nations. For Robeson, part of the context in which he was forcefully contained in the United States was one in which he had previously traveled around the world to speak in opposition to racism, imperialism, and colonialism. Because of his international fame, the United States contained Robeson as a way to contain his global influence and his capacity to highlight the failures of the U.S. However, even while held in the U.S., Robeson pushed the boundaries of his containment through mechanisms sponsored by foreign political groups, including a concert on the US-Canadian border (sponsored by a Canadian labor union) and the use of the then- transatlantic telephone cables to give telephone concerts in other countries. The material and national support extended to

Williams, Robeson, and Cleaver is evidence of the international formal recognition of the Black liberation struggle. Indeed, by housing so-called American fugitives and extending material resources to enable the continuance of globally oriented political leadership, nations such as Algeria, Cuba, and China recognized the legitimacy of these political leaders as such, and by extension, recognized Black claims to nationhood and citizenship as legitimate.

Although the support garnered from nations such as Cuba, Algeria, and China largely enabled Williams, Cleaver, and Robeson to continue engaging in political leadership, these nations' support also created different constraints and contingencies as a result of shifting geopolitical antagonisms and investments. For instance, both Cleaver and Williams began their exile in Cuba, but did not stay. Williams remained in Cuba for about five years, while Cleaver stayed for less than a year. They each left, Williams for China and Cleaver for Algeria, because they felt that they would have more political and communicative tools at their disposal as an effect of geopolitical relationalities. For example, as I mention in the introduction, Williams' departure from Cuba and to China was a direct result of the Sino-Soviet split. Cuba was a primary Soviet foothold for Communist struggle in the Caribbean and for South America. Thus, when tensions between China and the Soviet Union became too acute, Williams felt he and his family were no longer welcome in Cuba and that they needed to leave in order to continue engaging in political leadership from exile. Once he relocated to China, the communicative resources at his disposal changed as an effect of shifting geopolitical

relations. Robert and Mabel could then broadcast their show to Black soldiers in Vietnam, but they could no longer broadcast across the Black Belt.

The macro-scale geopolitical forces that pushed and pulled Williams and Cleaver across the socialist, decolonial, and non-aligned power map are evidence, in part, of the emergence of the socialist contestation surrounding the question of Black proletarianism, or Black citizenship. Even though the non-aligned bloc, the Eastern bloc, and decolonized nations all were working to implement socialist forms of governance, there was no consensus regarding how the question of national oppression would be handled in the establishment of a new world order. As these exiled leaders entered into nations such as Cuba, the contradiction between race and citizenship became particularly pronounced since they articulated Black liberation and national citizenship as a mode through which to call a new world order into being. Indeed, as Robinson and Kelly respectively argue, and as Wallerstein demonstrates, race is not merely a mechanism of capital accumulation, but rather, a fundamental element of the becoming of the capitalist system.[403] As such, to dismantle capitalism and call a new world order into being, the question of national liberation must be frontally engaged. When Williams felt he had to leave Cuba for China, and Cleaver felt he had to leave Cuba for Algeria, it was not merely because of an external geopolitical conflict coming to bear on their respective personal situations. Rather, at various points in the Soviet struggle, it became clear that the Soviets were ill equipped to deal with the question of race and national liberation.[404] Arguably, the communist fight taking place in China and the decolonial struggle in Algeria were ones that attempted to deal with the issue of national oppression head on

(likely as an effect of their historical status as colonized nations), rather than disavowing such particular forms of dispossession as a distraction from resolving the so-called "real" contradiction between capital and labor that would emerge in the final instance. As such, the effect of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle on the capitalist global order was also felt across the world map under socialist governance. Understanding Black proletarian cartographies of struggle as ones that challenged both the existing capitalist and socialist power maps enables a more dynamic understanding of the ongoing nature of political struggle on the global scale, and in particular, the extent to which world order was up for grabs during the Cold War.

Within this contested and shifting context, Cleaver, Williams, and Robeson all reached for place-based rhetorics or place-as-rhetoric as a primary means through which to communicate. For example, Robeson performed folk music from different national contexts as a mode through which to articulate the struggle against racism, colonialism, and imperialism as fundamentally global. Additionally, Robeson's particular location at Peace Arch Park on the border of the United States and Canada tapped into a deep history of the entanglement between colonialism, whiteness, imperialism, and citizenship. Similarly, Williams utilized a Black internationalist approach to aesthetics rooted in Southern regionalism as a mode through which to contextualize the struggles of people across the Black Belt within a globally situated political struggle against racism and imperialism. Cleaver's approach to place was more conceptual, as his Revolutionary People's Communication Network connected Gramsci's war of maneuver and war of position tactics as a communicative mode through which to toggle between

the local and global, ultimately attending to the relationship between space and race. These utilizations of place-as-rhetoric and place-based rhetorics by exiled Black political leaders highlights the fundamental entanglement between nationhood, land, and citizenship. Indeed, as articulated throughout each chapter, each political leader utilized place-based-rhetorics as a means through which to call for Black citizenship. By rooting these calls for citizenship in specific territories (such as the Black Belt), they highlight formal nationhood as one mechanism through which to resolve Black subjugation. By doing so, Robeson, Williams, and Cleaver rhetorically work to expand the boundaries, or the cartography, of Black emancipation across the globe.

This global material entanglement between space and race, as manifest in the apex of nationhood, land, and citizenship, charts Black proletarian cartographies of struggle. As such, the mapping of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle that I offer in this project highlights the political interplay between struggles for Black liberation, decolonization, and socialist governance. While each of these respective movements are often understood as singular entities siphoned off from one another, the mapping of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle reveals their deep entanglement; how the global existence of decolonial and socialist struggles enabled Black political leaders from the United States to continue exercising globally oriented political leadership while exiled, how socialist and decolonial struggles engaged with Black political activity within the United States as it emerged from within the belly of the imperial beast, and how shifting geopolitical relations between and among capitalist and socialist forms of governance came to bear on the rhetorical resources available at different points for all

of these political struggles. Understanding these political struggles as such is fundamental for grasping the actually existing political affordances and constraints as they came to bear on the resources available for arguments against colonialism, racial-capitalism, and imperialism, and for a more just world order. Indeed, attending to the interplay between race, space, culture, and political struggle provides scholars and ongoing liberation struggles with the communicative and cultural tools necessary to imagine a world released from the racialized bondages of empire and capital.

Moreover, such charting of Black proletarian cartographies of struggle relied on specific materialist critical frames to uncover the political interplay between rhetoric, space, and race on a global scale. In particular, theories of racial-capitalism and world-systems analysis respectively provided by Robinson and Wallerstein position the world as a primary unit of analysis, and such theories describe processes of racialization as permeated through transnational relations as manifest in colonialism and imperialism. Within this global system, rhetorical cartography charts the relationship between rhetorics of place (which includes place-based rhetorics and place-as-rhetoric) as they emerged from different cartographic nodes, coalescing into a specific and active power map. Additionally, a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography attends to the entanglement between race and space. This approach offers a methodology through which a "Black sense of place," as articulated by McKittrick, can be globally charted through the colonial, imperial, and racialized spatial practices which become untethered and reinvented.[405] Indeed, racial-capitalism, world-systems analysis, and a Black geographic approach to rhetorical cartography offer a robust approach to understanding

the role of rhetoric in charting the emergence of a new power map. By attending to, as Greene and Kuswa put it, "how different regions are made and unmade by different maps of power as rhetorics *of* place and *in* place encounter the uneven global flows of ideas and images, guns and butter, capital and labor," Black proletarian cartographies of struggle offers a materialist articulation of the role of rhetoric in the unmaking of racial-capitalism and the becoming of a new world order.

With Black proletarian cartographies of struggle, the politics of space and mobility as central mechanisms of racialization comes into view. Such a view not only tells us of the past, but sheds light on current and ongoing struggles against racialization and imperialism. For example, racialized containment and the control of movement continue to operate as a key mechanism of governance that determines who counts in society. In the aftermath of Trump's recent attack on Iran, over 200 Iranian-Americans were detained at the U.S.-Canadian border (at the same Peace Arch crossing that Robeson spatially and rhetorically reconfigured nearly 70 years ago) for 10 hours and interrogated about their political allegiances.[406] Also recently, the Trump administration installed a plaque marking the celebration of 100 miles of wall along the U.S.-Mexico border – an environmental and humanitarian disaster by design that functions to even more clearly delineate an "inside" and "outside" of U.S. nationalism.[407] As the summer of 2020's wide-spread protests against police brutality and the murder of George Floyd demonstrate, the act of arrest is a racialized act of governance that is explicitly about *not* being free to go, or free to move, and thus, signifies a denial of full citizenship rights to Black people in America. These racialized acts of containment and spatialization of

difference affect some populations more than others, and in fact, deeply affect how many move through the world – where they go, how they go, if they go, where they call home, and who can speak where. For those engaged in rhetorical studies, an approach that explicitly attends to how racialized dynamics of containment and movement come to bear on rhetorical possibility is essential to fully understand the becoming of a rhetorical situation. Such attention enhances scholars' ability to attend to race as a material force that structures our communicative world.

Additionally, understanding these material forces of racialization as globally situated asks us to consider how seemingly domestic struggles are situated within a racial capitalist world system today. Over this past summer, cities across the United States burned with a collective rejection of racialized violence. Confederate statues were topped in the United States, while a statue of a slaver trader was torn down and pushed into the harbor in the English city of Bristol. Similarly, at various points over the past decade, statues of colonial rulers have been torn down in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.[408] These regional accents, manifest in the material rejection of the contemporary reverberations of colonialism, are present-day materializations of the "Black Atlantic," which Gilroy's theorizes as how the shape of the Atlantic fundamentally structures Black life, resistance, and culture due to the centrality of the Atlantic in creating Black diasporic communities across the Americas, United Kingdom, and Africa.[409] While Gilroy's project provides the conceptual and material tools necessary to identify the diasporic and internationalist nature of such key moments of collective Black life and resistance, my offering of Black proletarian

cartographies of struggle emphasizes the specific political nature of such events.[410] My extension of Gilroy's theorization of the Black Atlantic provides the resources for a collective imagining and articulation of what specific politics are necessary to release our existing racial-capitalist world order from racialized violence waged by the hand of empire and capital, and allows us to see the interconnected nature of political struggles against racialization, imperialism, and colonialism that exist beyond the specific shape of the Atlantic.[411]

Indeed, much like during the Cold War, manifestations of struggles against racialized, capitalist, and imperial governance today extend far beyond the boundaries of the Black Atlantic. For example, this past summer, in the Pacific, indigenous Māori people performed the Haka, a ceremonial Māori dance, outside of the United States consulate in Auckland as an expression of solidarity with Black Lives Matter protestors.[412] As this protest of solidarity gestures at, Māori people in New Zealand also experience the denial of citizenship rights as manifest in disproportionately high incarceration and arrest rates. Here, the effects of a racial capitalist world-system manifest anew through a historical context of colonization, dispossession, and racialization. This context is fundamentally connected to the same global mechanisms that cultivated the Black Atlantic, while not being *of* the Black Atlantic. Indeed, through the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries as European imperial powers pillaged and stole people from Africa to provide labor for their so-called new world in the Americas, they continued their expeditions across the Pacific to expand territorial influence and garner new raw materials. Other present -day manifestations of the rejection of racial-capitalist

expansion exist across the globe. Indeed, at the same time that statues toppled in the United States and England and Indigenous people protested across the Pacific, in Kenya, residents in Kisii County burned down a police station to protest the police killing of a trader who was accused of selling fake sanitizer during the COVID-19 pandemic.[413] While the police violence and resulting public outcry in Kenya does not manifest along the same racial divides as in the United States or New Zealand, the same structural dynamics at work are deeply connected. For one, police forces in Africa are often established by former colonial powers, demonstrating the connections between local governance and global geopolitical conquest and relationality.[414] However, as highlighted throughout various points in this project, phenotypical understanding of structural issues alone do not capture the totality of the power-laden dynamics at play. Irrespective of whether phenotypic bias is present in the specific interaction itself, other economic and geopolitical forces are also at work.

For example, as demonstrated by the example in Kenya, racialized shadow economies are a crucial element of a racial-capitalist world system that manifests in localities across the glove. Much like Eric Garner, who was arrested and murdered for selling loose cigarettes on a Staten Island street, or Alton Sterling, who was killed selling CDs at a Baton Rouge gas station, the individual murdered in Kenya was allegedly caught selling petty commodities – in this case, fake hand sanitizer. Petty commodity production is often criminalized and relegated to the proverbial shadow economy, and income flows outside of wage labor (particularly petty commodity production and subsistence activity) are often gendered, racialized, or otherwise attached to subjugated

personhood characterized by the denial of full citizenship as manifest in forced poverty, denial of education, and the denial of access to other basic needs and rights.[415] Yet, the income flows generated outside of the wage labor relation are not outside of capitalism itself, but rather, are necessary elements of the racial-capitalist world system. As highlighted by Wallerstein, petty commodity production and subsistence activity lower the wage necessary to keep a household afloat, as non-wage streams of income in effect transfer surplus-value to the wage paying employer by permitting the employer to pay less than the absolute minimum wage.[416] Indeed, situating instances of racism within a racial-capitalist world order is necessary to reveal how varying material elements congeal to ensure the reproduction of the existing world system. As each of these examples, from the United States to England, and New Zealand to Kenya, demonstrate, today, racial-capitalist governance has stretched its fingers across the globe, entangling the particularities of local dynamics within a larger circulatory system of racialized capital accumulation. Understanding the racial-capitalist world order as fundamental context in each of these offers a richer understanding of the role race plays in the reproduction of our existing world.

Additionally, popular uprising was a direct result of each of the examples described above. Each of these instances of burning down police stations, collectively dancing outside consulates, protesting in the streets, or tearing down statues signal a collective refusal of racialized violence to varying degrees. The same can be said for the summer protests in the United States that mobilized more people than ever before to collectively condemn racialized extrajudicial murders, inhumane policing tactics, and a

system of incarceration that demonstrates profoundly grotesque forms of racism. These mobilizations are an undoubtedly good thing, as they demonstrate popular refusal of participation in racist legacies, as well as an active and openly engaged struggle against racial-capitalist business as usual.

Yet, the systemic limitations of these popular responses also highlight how the global conditions of racial-capitalism are fundamentally distinct from those of the Cold War era. Today, while popular rejections of racialized violence are present across the globe, very few, if any, are actively supported by or engaged with struggles for national liberation. To be more specific, due to the post-Cold War acceptance of racial-capitalism as the hegemonic mode of world-order, virtually all governing nations have, to varying degrees, internalized different mechanisms of racialized rule to ensure the reproduction of the racial-capitalist system as a global whole. In the Cold War era, this same process occurred within the former socialist bloc through peaceful coexistence, which necessitated the acceptance of racial-capitalism as a legitimate mode of rule, limited national liberation struggles, and ultimately eradicated socialist governance itself.[417] As a result, by the end of the Cold War era, Black proletarian cartographies of struggle were destroyed (as evidenced, in part, by the end of Williams and Cleaver's respective exiles and the reinstating of Robeson's passport). As such, the conditions of possibility for Black liberation, and for a world free of racism, capitalism, colonialism, and empire, were fundamentally repressed and transformed.

Simply put, Black proletarian cartographies of struggle do not presently exist. As such, how can this concept still be used to inform Black political struggle today? Beyond

bringing to the foreground the internationalism within acts of protest against racialized violence, as demonstrated through the examples above, Black proletarian cartographies of struggle offers a map through which to (re)conceptualize the struggle against racism, imperialism, and capitalism as fundamentally entangled with global forces of capitalist governance. Specifically, racial-capitalism should be attacked on the geopolitical level, meaning, the entire world should be taken as the "unit of analysis," so to speak.[418] Within this macro-scale approach, Williams, Robeson, and Cleaver each offer insight into the use of rhetorical strategy for situating the specificity of racialization. Particularly, they utilize place-based rhetorics that explicitly and implicitly connect the fight against racism, imperialism, and colonization to land and citizenship, bringing to the foreground the necessity for national liberation. By so doing, they put the local in direct conversation with the global, as (locally rooted) national liberation is dependent upon (globally oriented) geopolitical recognition.

Indeed, Black political leaders in exile offer a guidebook for understanding how to continue engaging in globally oriented political struggle within a specific context of extreme repression. As highlighted here, the existence of socialist, decolonial, and non-aligned governance offered Williams, Cleaver, and Robeson unique rhetorical and material resources that to a large degree, actually enabled their continued engagement in globally oriented political struggle. In today's context, where no Black proletarian cartographies exist on a global scale, political actors, scholars, and those invested in supporting the establishment of a more just world-order must work to chart new boundaries of possibility for Black emancipation.

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[168] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks,* Vol III ed. And transl. Joseph A. Buttigieg (New York, NY, Columbia University Press, 2007): 169.
[169] Daniel Egan, "Gramsci's War of Position as Siege Warfare: Some Lessons from History." *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory* 44.4 (2016): 440.
[170] Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks,* Vol III, 169.
[171] Ibid, 109.
[172] Ibid, 169.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Daniel Egan, "Rethinking war of maneuver/war of position: Gramsci and the military metaphor," *Critical Sociology* 40.4 (2014):
[175] Ibid, 535.
[176] Malloy, *Out of Oakland,* 193.
[177] Kathleen Cleaver, "Back to Africa: the evolution of the international section of the Black Panther Party," *Black Panther Party Reconsidered* eds. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998): 243.
[178] Ibid. Détente is a term used to describe a period of improved geopolitical relations between the United States and Soviet Union, beginning officially in 1972. Both countries were interested in reaching trade agreements, while the Soviet Union's interest in fostering diplomatic relations with the United States grew, as their hostility with China increased.
[179] Eldridge Cleaver. Statement of Editorial Policy for the Revolutionary People's Communication Network. Eldridge Cleaver Papers (Series 7: Exile in Algiers 1962-72, Box 1, Folder 30). Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.
[180] The Congo gained independence from France in 1960, and had three presidencies over the following decade. During Ngouabi's leadership (1969-1977) the country was renamed the People's Republic of Congo.
[181] Kathleen Cleaver, "Back to Africa," 240.
[182] Malloy, *Out of Oakland,* 191.
[183] Ibid, 241.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid, 242.

[186] Revolutionary People's Communication Network. Revolution in the Congo pamphlet. Eldridge Cleaver Papers (Series 7: Exile in Algiers 1962-72, Box 2). Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.
[187] As noted by Sarah Fila-Bakabadio, the specificities of political contestation, or "the complexity of its history, the diversity of its people and cultures (from Mbochi, to Bacongo to Bateke)" in the Congo disappear somewhat behind discourses of transnational unity. See Sarah Fila Bakabadio. "Against the empire: the Black Panthers in Congo, insurgent cosmopolitanism and the fluidity of revolutions," *African Identities* 16.2 (2018): 152.
[188] Eldridge Cleaver. Revolution in the Congo essay. Eldridge Cleaver Papers Series 7: Exile in Algiers 1962-72, Box 2). Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.
[189] Malloy, *Out of Oakland,* 148. This is inherited from Haywood's analysis of race in the United States in "The Negro Nation," as well as other active Black Nationalist groups, and additionally, is similar to how Gramsci theorized southern Italy as an internal colony within Italy writ large. See Antonio Gramsci, "Some aspects of the southern question," *Selections from political writings (1921-1926)* eds. Quintin Hoare (London, UK, Lawrence and Wishart, 1978).
[190] Daniel Egan, "Gramsci's War of Position as Siege Warfare," 439.
[191] Daniel Egan, "Rethinking war of maneuver/war of position: Gramsci and the military metaphor," 523.
[192] Daniel Egan, "Insurrection and Gramsci's 'War of Position,'" *Socialism and Democracy* 29.1 (2015): 120.
[193] Ibid, 119.
[194] Ibid. See also Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Gramsci and the State* (London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart, 1980).
[195] Michele Filippini, *Using Gramsci: A New Approach* (Pluto Press, 2016): 89.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Paul Robeson, "Paul Robeson's Welcoming Remarks," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording; As Martin Duberman details, American press covering the event estimated total attendance at 5,000 but Canadian reported a number 7 times higher. See Martin B. Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989): 847.
[198] *Paul Robeson Collection 1925-1956,* The New York Public Library Manuscripts and Archives, http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20649
[199] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* 834.
[200] Ibid, 835.
[201] Sterling Stucky, "Introduction", *Here I Stand* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988): xxvi.
[202] Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography,* 307.
[203] Paul Robeson, *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, and Interviews, a Centennial Celebration* (New York: Citadel Press, 1978), 118-119.
[204] Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* 388.
[205] Kristan Poirot, "Domesticating the Liberated Woman: Containment Rhetorics of Second Wave Radical Lesbian Feminism," *Women's Studies in Communication* 32 (2009): 263–92; John M. Murphy, "Domesticating Dissent: The Kennedys and the

Freedom Rides," *Communication Monographs* 59 (1992): 61–78; Ryan Neville-Shepard, "Containment Rhetoric and the Redefinition of Third-Parties in the Equal Time Debates of 1959," *Communication Quarterly* 16.5 (2018); Karrin Vasby Anderson. "Rhymes with Rich": "Bitch" as a Tool of Containment in Contemporary American Politics." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2.4 (1999): 599-623.

[206] Cotton Seiler, "Mobilizing Race, Racializing Mobility: Writing Race into Mobility Studies," in *Mobility in History: The State of the Art in the History of Transport, Traffic, and Mobility,* eds. Gijs Mom, Gordon Pirie, and Laurent Tissot (Switzerland: Editions Alphil-Preses universitaires Suisses, 2009): 233.

[207] Kathleen M. Kirby, *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity* (New York: Guilford Press, 1996): 12.

[208] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[209] Joan Faber McAlister & Joshua P. Ewalt (special issue eds.), "New Materialities and Precarious Motilities: Reinventing Studies of Space and Place," *Women's Studies in Communication* 41.4 (2018).

[210] Vincent Pham, "Drive-By Cinema's Drive-Outs and U-Turns: Materiality, Mobility, and the Reconfiguring of Forgotten Spaces and Absurd Borders," *Women's Studies in Communication* 41.4 (2018): 372.

[211] Armond R. Townes, "Geographies of Pain: #SayHerName and the Fear of Black Women's Mobility," *Women's Studies in Communication* 39.2 (2016): 123.

[212] Kundai Chirindo, "Micronations and Postnational Rhetorics," *Women's Studies in Communication* 31.4 (2018): 390.

[213] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* x

[214] Ibid, 6

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Paul Robeson, 1952 & 1953, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording; Danielle Endres & Samantha Senda-Cook, "Location Matters," 257-282.

[218] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* 6.

[219] Alyssa A. Samek, "Mobility, citizenship, and "American women on the move" in the 1977 International Women's Year torch relay," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 103.3 (2017): 209.

[220] Leslie J. Harris, "Rhetorical motilities and the city: The white slavery controversy and racialized protection of women in the U.S.," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104.1 (2018): 22.

[221] Lisa A. Flores, "Between abundance and marginalization: the imperative of racial rhetorical criticism," *Review of Communication* 16.1 (2016): 6.

[222] Kate Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963* (Duke University Press, 2002): 218.

[223] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* 6.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Endres & Senda-Cook, "Location Matters,"

[226] Mark Andrew Thompson offers an analysis of how Paul Robeson navigated the rhetorical dominance of HUAC. See Mark Andrew Thompson, "Now you're making it up, brother: Paul Robeson, HUAC, and the challenge of institutional narrative authority," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105.2 (2019): 156-181.
[227] U.S. Congress. Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Part 3: Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session, June 12 and 13, 1956 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1956), 4499.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid, 388.
[230] Ibid, 389.
[231] Ibid.
[232] In June 1964, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional Section 6 of the Internal Security Act. This section denied passports to members of the Communist organizations required to register under the same act. See Alan Rogers, "Passports and Politics: The Courts and the Cold War," *The Historian* 47.7 (1985): 497-511.
[233] Tony Perucci traces how the cultural attention given to hysteria, madness, and anxiety during the Cold War era were examples of pathologies of dissent, mobilized to contain dissent as if "containing madness." See Tony Perucci, "The Red Mask of Sanity: Paul Robeson, HUAC, and the Sound of Cold War Performance," *TDR: The Drama Review* 53.4 (2009): 18-48.
[234] Paul Robeson, "Our Right to Travel," *Here I Stand* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1988), 67.
[235] Tim Cresswell, "Black Moves: Moments in the History of African-American Masculine Motilities," *Transfers* 6.1 (2016): 14.
[236] In *Terry v. Ohio*, the Supreme Court adopted "reasonable suspicion" as the legal standard for a police officer to temporarily detain a person, however, as Angela Davis points out, "in cases decided after *Terry*, the Court has exhibited increasing deference to the judgements of police officers in its interpretation of the reasonable suspicion standard." Thus, the standard is left up to interpretations and judgements easily clouded with racial bias and racialized notions of criminality. See Angela Davis, "Race, Cops, and Traffic Stops," *University of Miami Law Review* 425 (1997): 429.
[237] Tim Cresswell, "Black Moves," 13.
[238] Kurt T. Lash, "The Origins of the Privileges or Immunities Clause, Part I: 'Privileges and Immunities' as an Antebellum Term of Art," *Georgetown Law Journal* 98 (2009): 1258.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] The legal justification for the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was that the federal government was stepping in to enforce slave owner's need to protect their property rights, as dictated in the 1787 Constitution; the specificities of the personal liberty laws varied by state but included provisions such as allowing jury trials for escaped slaves or forbidding state police from cooperating in slave capture and return.
[242] Article IV, Section 2, Clause 1

[243] Angela James, "Making Sense of Race and Racial Classification," Race and Society 4.2 (2001): 236; Tim Cresswell, "Black Moves," 13.
[244]Racialization is "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group." Michael Omi & Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 111.
[245] Tim Cresswell, "Black Moves," 13; Cotton Seiler, "Mobilizing Race, Racializing Mobility: Writing Race into Mobility Studies," *Mobility in History: The State of the Art in the History of Transport, Traffic, and Mobility* (2009): 230.
[246] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xv.
[247] Ibid, xiv.
[248] Ibid, xi.
[249] Ibid, xi.
[250] John M. Murphy, "Domesticating Dissent: The Kennedys and the Freedom Rides," *Communication Monographs* 59 (1992): 61–78; Ryan Neville-Shepard, "Containment Rhetoric and the Redefinition of Third-Parties in the Equal Time Debates of 1959," *Communication Quarterly* 16.5 (2018); Karrin Vasby Anderson. "Rhymes with Rich": "Bitch" as a Tool of Containment in Contemporary American Politics." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2.4 (1999): 599-623.
[251] Ryan Neville-Shepard, "Containment Rhetoric and the Redefinition of Third-Parties in the Equal Time Debates of 1959," *Communication Quarterly* 16.5 (2018): 52.
[252] Karrin Vasby Anderson. "Rhymes with Rich."
[253] Danielle Endres & Samantha Senda-Cook, "Location Matters."
[254] Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 33.
[255] Ibid.
[256] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xv.
[257] Ibid, 6.
[258] Ibid, xv.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 164.
[262] Danielle Endres & Samantha Senda-Cook, "Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97.3 (2011): 257-282.
[263] These include building on the pre-existing meaning of a place, reconstructing the meaning of a place, or repeated reconstructions that result in new place-based meanings. See Endres & Senda Cook, "Location Matters," 259.
[264] Paul Kuenker, "One Hundred Years of Peace: Memory and Rhetoric on the United States/Canadian Border, 1920-1933," *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas* 4.1 (2011): 96.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid, 101.
[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid, 102.
[269] Ibid, 103.
[270] Ibid, 104.
[271] Ibid, 103.
[272] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xv.
[273] Paul Kuenker, "One Hundred Years of Peace," 108.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Samek, "Mobility, citizenship, and "American Women on the Move in the 1977 International Women's Year torch relay," 208.
[276] Endres & Senda-Cook, "Location Matters," 259
[277] Ibid, 258.
[278] Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line,* 214.
[279] Endres, & Senda-Cook, "Location Matters," 264
[280] Ibid, 217
[281] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* 9
[282] Ibid, xix.
[283] Paul Robeson, "No More Auction Block for Me," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Paul Robeson, "Go Down Moses," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording.
[289] Sarah Bradford, *Harriet Tubman: The Moses of Her People* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
[290] Paul Robeson, "Loch Lomond," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording.
[291] According to another historical interpretation of the song, after their defeat, Scottish leaders of the rebellion were taken to London for show trials. To attend the trials, their families and friends walked the distance from Scotland to London. Everyone was found guilty and executed. To make an example out of the criminalized, the British displayed the Scots' heads and body parts on spikes in all the towns and along the roads between London and Glasgow. The bodies of the slain men "traveled" the high road, the most important road through the country, while the ordinary people of Scotland, had to take the common, or "low road" back to their home in Scotland. See "The Dark Tale of Bonnie 'Loch Lomond;" *National Public Radio,* 24 July 2005: https://www.npr.org/transcripts/4766584.
[292] Paul Robeson, "Loch Lomond," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording.
[293] Allan Ingram, "Taking the High Road: The Form, Perception and Memory of Loch Lomond," *Spatial Practices: An Interdisciplinary Series in Cultural History, Geography & Literatures* 11 (2011): 119-131.

[294] Ibid.

[295] Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain,* 216.
[296] Paul Robeson, "March of the Volunteers," 18 May 1952, *The Peace Arch Concerts,* musical recording.
[297] In addition to the Chinese national anthem, Robeson also performed a Russian folk song in Russian, as well as a Gaelic folk song in Gaelic. In each of his performances of these songs, he would weave English in with the native language of the song.
[298] Tim F. Liao, Gehui Zhang, and Libin Zhang. "Social Foundations of National Anthems: Theorizing for a Better Understanding of the Changing Fate of the National Anthem of China," *Journal for The Theory of Social Behaviour* 41.1 (2012): 108.
[299] Paul Robeson, "March of the Volunteers."
[300] Ibid.
[301] Endres & Senda-Cook, "Location Matters," 264.
[302] Paul Robeson, "March of the Volunteers."
[303] Ibid, 259
[304] Ibid, 258.
[305] Robert F. Williams. "Radio Free Dixie." Robert F. Williams Collection ("Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts 1962-1966, Box 5). Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid. See also, Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
[308] Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie,* 288.
[309] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* x.
[310] Ibid.
[311] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xi.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Gavin Steingo & Jim Sykes. *Remapping Sound Studies* (Duke University Press, 2009): 4.
[314] Ibid.
[315] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xix.
[316] Douglas Kahn, "Introduction," in *The Sound Studies Reader* ed. Jonathan Sterne (Routledge, 2012): 6.
[317] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* x.
[318] Robert F. Williams, *Negros with Guns,* ed. Marc Schleifer (Mansfield Center, CT: Martino Publishing, 2013).
[319] Ibid, 88.
[320] Williams was indicted on the testimony of two policemen. No court record indicates that the Stegalls ever appeared before the grand jury.
[321] Ibid, 92.
[322] Ibid, 104.
[323] Stephen R. Davis, "The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35.2 (2009): 353.
[324] Byron Hawk. "Sound: Resonance as Rhetorical," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 48.3 (2018): 315.

[325] Debrah Hawhee. "Rhetoric's Sensorium." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101.1 (2015): 2-17.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid, 11.
[328] Joshua Gunn, Greg Goodale, Mirko M. Hall & Rosa A. Eberly. "Ausculating Again: Rhetoric and Sound Studies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 5.43 (2013): 476.
[329] Jonathan W. Stone, "Listening to the Sonic Archive: Rhetoric, Representation, and Racein the Lomax Prison Recordings," *Enculturation: A Journal of Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture* (2015); Erin Anderson, "Toward a Resonant Material Vocality for Digital Composition," *Enculturation: A Journal of Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture* 2014); Thomas J. Rickert, *Ambient Rhetoric: The Attunements of Rhetorical Being* (University of Pittsburgth Press, 2013); Gregory Clark, "Virtuosos and Ensembles: Rhetorical Lessons from Jass," *The Private, the Public, and the Published, Reconciling Private Lives and Public Rhetoric* eds. Barbara Couture and Thomas Kent (Logan UT, Utah State Press, 2004); Greg Goodale, *Sonic Persuasion: Reading Sound in the Recorded Age* (University of Illinois Press, 2011).
[330] Ronald Walter Greene, "Another Materialist Rhetoric," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 15, no. 1 (1998): 21-41
[331] Hawhee, "Rhetoric's Sensorium."
[332] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Duke University Press, 2003): 2.
[333] Sterne, *The Audible Past,* 2.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Jonathan Sterne, "Introduction," *The Sound Studies Reader* (Routledge, 2012): 3.
[336] Christopher Lyle Johnstone, "Greek Oratorical Settings and the Problem of the Pynx: Rethinking the Athenian Political Process," *Theory, Text, Context: Issues in Greek Rhetoric and Oratory,* ed. Christopher Lyle Johnstone (Albany, Suny Press, 1996): 97-127.
[337] Raka Shome, "Space Matters," 40; Endres & Senda-Cook. "Location Matters," 259.
[338] Frantz Fanon, "This is the Voice of Algeria," *A Dying Colonialism* (New York, NY: Grove Press).
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid, 83.
[341] Ibid, 84.
[342] Davis, "The African National Congress," 355.
[343] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xix.
[344] Ross A. Johnson & R. Eugene Parta, *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, A Collection of Studies and Documents* (CEU Press: 2010).
[345] Ibid, 7. The Bay of Pigs was a failed operation carried out by Cuban exiles who supported Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution, and was financially supported and directed by the United States government.
[346] Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (The University Press of Kentucky, 2000): I.
[347] Ibid.

[348] Ibid, x.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Howard H. Frederick, *Cuban-American Radio Wars: Ideology in International Communication* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986): 7.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie,* 287.
[353] Ibid, 288.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic.*
[356] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xix.
[357] Robert F. Williams. "Radio Free Dixie." Robert F. Williams Collection ("Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts 1962-1966, Box 5). Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
[358] Harry Haywood, "Negro Nation," *Negro Liberation* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1948): 136.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid, 137.
[361] Harry Haywood, "For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question," (1958). Pamphlet retrieved from Marxists.org.
[362] J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and National Oppression* (1913).
[363] Haywood, "Negro Nation."
[364] Ibid.
[365] Ibid, 144.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid, 146.
[370] Robert F. Williams. "Radio Free Dixie." Robert F. Williams Collection ("Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts 1962-1966, Box 5). Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid.
[378] Howard L. Sacks & Judith Rose Sacks, *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (University of Illinois Press, 2003).
[379] Haywood, "The Negro Nation."
[380] Sam Cooke, "Chain Gang," 25 Jan 1960, Hugo & Luigi, *Swing Low,* 1960, record.
[381] Although, chain gangs were briefly revived in 1995 (starting with Alabama) during the "tough on crime" phase of American politics.
[382] Lichtenstein, 86.

[383] Ibid, 87.
[384] Ibid, 90.
[385] Ibid, 91.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Robert F. Williams. "Radio Free Dixie." Robert F. Williams Collection ("Radio Free Dixie" Broadcasts 1962-1966, Box 5). Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
[388] Kerran L. Sanger, *When the Spirit Says Sing!: The Role of Freedom Songs in the Civil Rights Movement* (Routledge, 1995).
[389] Freedom songs explicitly developed from African-American music, and in particular, hymns (see Goertzen, Chris. "Freedom Songs: Helping Black Activists, Black Residents, and White Volunteers Work Together in Hattiesburg, Mississippi during the Summer of 1964," *Black Music Research Journal* 36.1 (2016).) However, terming them "freedom songs" rhetorically removes them from the religious and racial context from which they came, instead, resituating them as a tool for a universal struggle for justice.
[390] LeRoi Jones, *Black Music* (New York, NY: Quill, 1967). See also LeRoi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 1963).
[391] Harris, William J. ""How You Sound??": Amiri Baraka Writes Free Jazz," *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies* ed. Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, Farah Jasmine Griffin (Columbia University Press, 2004): 313.
[392] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Beacon Press, 2002): 12.
[393] Tammy J. Kernodle, "Nina Simone and the Redefining of the Freedom Song of the 1960s," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2.3 (2008): 295-317.
[394] Kerbodle, 306.
[395] T.V. Reed, *The Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from The Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
[396] Chris Goertzen, "Freedom Songs: Helping Black Activists, Black Residents, and White Volunteers Work Together in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, during the Summer of 1964," *Black Music Research Journal* 36.1 (2016): 59-85.
[397] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening in: Radio and the American Imagination* (Times Books, 1999): 6.
[398] Ibid, 17.
[399] Ibid, 8.
[400] Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism,* "The Voice of Algeria," (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1965): 74.
[401] Ibid, 93.
[402] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* 6.
[403] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism;* Robin D.G. Kelly, "What Did Cedric Robinson Mean by Racial Capitalism?"; Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood."
[404] For more detail see Suyin Han, *Wind in the tower: Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution, 1949-1976* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1976): 190-203. As Han details, Kennedy made demands of Khrushchev including "the unification of

Germany on American terms; the western powers must occupy West Berlin; there must be "effective inspection" within Soviet territory of armaments before disarmament could be considered; the U.S. must have the right to oppose the government of Castro in Cuba; the "independence and neutrality" of Laos must be respected; the USSR should cooperate in keeping the peace for "twenty years" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (the latter clauses meant that the U.S. and USSR must cooperate to put down the "brushfires" of national liberation movements everywhere in the Third World); and there must be "free choice" for the peoples of Eastern Europe" (197).

[405] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds.*

[406] Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Mike Baker, and Mariel Padilla, "U.S. Stops Dozens of Iranian-Americans Returning From Canada," *The New York Times,* 5 Jan 2020: https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/05/us/politics/iranian-americans-border.html.

[407] Jason Hopkins, "Homeland Security Officials Tout 100 Miles of New Border Wall," *The Daily Signal* 13 Jan 2020, https://www.dailysignal.com/2020/01/13/homeland-security-officials-tout-100-miles-of-new-border-wall/

[408] https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-06-12/pulling-down-statues-of-racists-africas-done-it-for-years

[409] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic.*

[410] Ibid.

[411] Ibid.

[412] Amna Nawaz & Maea Lenei Buhre, "Indigenous Peoples Echo Black Lives Matter Call for Justice," *PBS News Hour,* 12 Oct 2020. Retrieved: https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/indigenous-peoples-echo-black-lives-matters-call-for-justice.

[413] John Campbell, "Black Lives Matter Protests in Africa Shine a Light on Local Police Brutality," *Council on Foreign Relations,* 8 July 2020. Retrieved: https://www.cfr.org/blog/black-lives-matter-protests-africa-shine-light-local-police-brutality.

[414] Bankole A. Cole, "Post-Colonial Systems," *Policing Across the World: Issues for the Twenty-first Century* ed. R. I. Mawby (Psychology Press, 1999).

[415] Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis.*

[416] Ibid, 35.

[417] Peaceful coexistence is discussed in more detail on pg. 26 of Chapter 1.

[418] Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis.*